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Borderline Hospitality

Homestays as a commercial hospitality development project
in Grahamstown East, Eastern Cape

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Abstract

This study started as an anthropological investigation of commercial hospitality from the point of view of the hands-on host. The chosen case study for this investigation was the Kwam eMakana Government Initiated Poverty Alleviation Project which offered homestays in the townships of Grahamstown East since 2004. Homestays are the most intimate form of commercial hospitality, one step removed from non-commercial or social hospitality. Even at the homestay level there is a conceptual conflict between poverty and (Westernized) commercial hospitality, however, Kwam homes are more middle class than poor. Later the investigation revealed the deeper-seated form of poverty of the Kwam participants being (almost) illiterate. Kwam was a development project like many others, in which huge amounts of money were spent in the name of the project but very little of the benefits reached the intended beneficiaries. Thus, as fieldwork ensued, the emphasis of research migrated from an empirical study of homestay hospitality, to actively assist with the struggle of the Kwam hostesses to maintain the project and gain autonomy for themselves.

This study was from the outset reflexive, as the host's point of view could technically only be presented by auto-ethnography. Then the investigation shifted to a form of engaged anthropology far exceeding advocacy as it is usually understood. The presentation of this can be called radical reflexivity, while it is simultaneously an ethnographical account in the sense of anthropology 'at home'. It also implied, besides ethical concerns, revisiting literary sensibilities, such as the use of a third person narrative for the reflexive account. To conceptualize the development process of both Kwam and the research interventions Bourdieu's 'totality of capital' (in which the strands of economic, symbolic, cultural and social capitals intertwine) proved most useful. By assessing the various capitals the development of the project and the power struggles central to it can be understood. This study confirms that long-term anthropological investigation is best suited to the study of

development projects, if not necessary for real development to be effected. Reflexivity and ethnography are complementary methods to reveal truths which under certain research circumstances may have been very difficult or even impossible to research.

Preface and acknowledgements

Hospitality has fascinated me all my life and my involvement with commercial hospitality began when I was 16 years old and found a job as a waiter in a pizzeria. After school I worked my way through various positions in the hospitality industry in different locations in South Africa, while I studied Law and completed the LLB degree. Although I have been admitted as Advocate of the High Court of South Africa, I never practiced law as such and instead continued hosting commercially. In 2003 my partner Claudia and I settled on a small farm 20km east of Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. As we had school-going children at the time we decided to come to Grahamstown because of the quality schools and Rhodes University. By then I had two decades of on-the-job experience in restaurants, hotels, guest houses and eventually my own hospitality businesses - my 'profession' could now be described as that of commercial host in the accommodation and food sector of the hospitality industry. So, when we moved to Bon Tempo (as we call our farm) we started building guest facilities such as a huge dining or functions hall, guest cottages and a central ablution block. Unlike elsewhere in South Africa where I had set up a hospitality business, our enterprise at Bon Tempo has yielded very slow returns. When an opportunity arose to try out what a business in the centre of Grahamstown itself would bring we operated a very successful restaurant there. Soon we moved to bigger premises which also allowed us to expand into the accommodation sector besides the restaurant. After two years of these operations a buyer made a suitable offer in 2008 and we returned full-time to Bon Tempo.

At first we could draw on the client base we had built up during the two years in town but this dissipated as, besides Bon Tempo being a very different venue with a unique style, few people saw their way so far out of town for a restaurant and/or accommodation experience when places in town were perhaps more convenient. So business was back to slow again

with only occasional parties and functions, and only a handful of tourists and other travellers who came in times outside of the few peak seasons on the Grahamstown calendar. Grahamstown is the principal settlement of Makana Municipality, and was the second city of the old Cape Colony. A former garrison and centre for missionary as well as military and administrative activities, the city had a key role in the frontier wars of the 1800s. Since then it has become mainly an educational centre, which was what attracted us to the place. Although the borders of Makana more or less coincide with the regional tourist route dubbed 'Frontier Country', this municipal area is not a major tourist destination despite efforts to make it so; the only successful tourism sector is game farming within and beyond its boundaries. This failure is unfortunate especially because Grahamstown has no significant industrial development to otherwise employ people, who largely rely on the educational institutions for formal employment. Nevertheless, there is sufficient coming and going in the city itself to permit, formerly a number of hotels, but more recently a competitive B&B sector.

With time on hands and driven by my interest in the hospitality phenomenon I embarked on an MA by thesis entitled "The Nexilitas Factor; Host-guest relationships in small owner-managed commercial accommodation facilities in contemporary South Africa" (Von Lengeling 2011). In this study I compared myself and my experiences as commercial host with other hands-on hosts in Grahamstown operating 'neo-inns' (B&Bs, guesthouses and the like) in a sector dominated by white middle-class owners. I found that a root motivation for hospitality, also present in commercial hospitality, is the reward of social bonding, even if it is only temporary. I had expanded on Derrida (2000; 2003) and Caputo's (1997) interpretations of Derrida, concerning his expositions about 'Abrahamesque hospitality' (pure or true hospitality), the 'master of the house' (host autonomy), and the importance of the threshold (liminality); and I discovered various mechanisms hosts engage to maintain the seeming contradictions and paradoxes of the hospitality situation, especially when it is commercialized. I had drawn on Turner's (1969) *communitas* concept (which is social bonding in liminal circumstances where the participants to it have been equalized; thus

distinctions like material wealth or status have been temporarily suspended), to discover that at the bottom of the hospitality experience lies social bonding (or at least the potential for such bonding) of a different, more structured, kind; since there was no term capturing this I called it *nexilitas* (a derivative of the Latin word *nexus*). The major difference between *nexilitas* and *communitas* is that the latter pre-supposes an equalization of social relations (such as in the course of an initiation ritual or pilgrimage), whereas with *nexilitas* the hierarchy between host and guest in the liminal hospitality situation is maintained throughout. Although the host offers what might be taken for subordination to the guest via a warm welcome and an offering to meet all reasonable needs of the guest, it by no means implies that the host steps down from the autonomous position of master/mistress of the house. Hands-on hosts prefer to choose whom and when to host and use various mechanisms to control this. But once guests have been welcomed into the home hosts engage strategies to maintain at least a balanced encounter, yet the host also desires a pleasurable experience which, in turn, is bound up in guest satisfaction. Good examples of successful bonding occur in instances of host-guest commensality (sharing meals) or compototality (sharing drinks) and with return guests. What all these findings point to is that even in commercial hospitality, non-commercial aspects of the interaction are very important, if not sometimes more important, than commercial considerations. The objective of that study was to contribute to the restoration of the position of the host in tourism studies in anthropology with special reference to small commercial enterprises catering to the particularities of the market in the Grahamstown area. I had noted that hospitality and the host had been neglected in the inter-disciplinary field of tourism studies and this neglect was probably due to the difficulty of the research task derived from the fact that the researcher is *always* in the guest role, particularly the anthropologist who resides with the people s/he studies over lengthy periods. Key to delivering on my objective to emphasize the role of the host was an innovative auto-anthropological approach in my essentially 'anthropology at home' research situation.

Although my inquiry was restricted to the more established neo-inns, which were found in Grahamstown West (the formerly white area), I took note of the existence of a government-initiated poverty alleviation project in Grahamstown East (the area of former black townships) which aimed to encourage tourism while at the same time providing an opportunity for emerging black entrepreneurs to establish themselves in the hospitality sector by offering homestays (Von Lengeling 2011:26-7). Further investigation of this aspect of the hospitality industry of Frontier Country fell outside of the scope of the MA study but I concluded that in African culture innkeeping or commercial hospitality is emerging as a more recent phenomenon, whilst the in the West commercial hospitality developed over millennia; I cautioned that this form of emerging hospitality would “necessitate proper understanding, especially of the position of these hosts” if it were to be a success and avoid conflict in the hospitality situation (Von Lengeling 2011: 160-1). After the successful completion of the MA, when I decided to study further, I turned to investigate this phenomenon of emergent commercial hospitality ‘on my doorstep’ emphasizing as before the role and interests of the host over those of the much-studied guest. Little did I know that, rather than devoting the entire study to interactions between hosts and guests in the context of an emergent homestay project, my partner, Claudia, and I would become deeply involved, on the side of the hosts, in their struggle to maintain the project and wrest some autonomy and their rightful dues from the local municipality, among other interested parties. *Borderline Hospitality: Homestays as a commercial hospitality development project in Grahamstown East, Eastern Cape* is the outcome.

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With Claudia I had the extraordinary benefit of a participating partner who also became an indispensable field assistant. It is clear with hindsight that if I had been a single (older white Afrikaner male) person I would not have been able to make the progress we achieved together. Besides being two people observing and being able to instantly, and constantly,

share and compare observations, it was also Claudia as a woman, I have to stress, which was a very important link between me and the women of the homestay project. Claudia accelerated, or even made possible at all, such close contact with them as I eventually had. But as we went along Claudia also made her own observations, as a foreigner, a German (and thus free from the apartheid *habitus*). Her academic background in medicine and psychology obviously contributed invaluable depths to her observations, insights and analyses. As we shared, compared and discussed our observations it certainly added another dimension to my approach because I had the benefit of another informed point of view within my reflexivity. Claudia would also question and/or criticize my thoughts and actions and even if we operated as a team it by no means implied that Claudia was in agreement with everything. Throughout it remained my study and Claudia had no intention of writing about it herself; nevertheless, to a great extent Claudia became as involved as I and she too had to deal with emotions as a result of stressful experiences, and these were kept alive though our on-going reflexivity afterwards. But another consequence of both of us having been so deeply involved with the homestay project was that we seriously neglected our own enterprises. Even if our hospitality business had been slow before my study, it became much slower as we often used the 'fully booked lie' because we were too exhausted to deal with guests. Besides limited funding for my studies by the NRF, for which I'm very grateful but which barely covered tuition fees, we did all the interventions at own cost and it had reached a point where our private funds had become exhausted too. Thus my study had direct impacts also on Claudia's material position. It is impossible for me to give an acknowledgement here which would do justice for the immense part Claudia contributed to this work.

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To Robin and Di

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADC	Assumption Development Centre
AGM	Annual General Meeting
ANC	African National Congress (ruling party)
AWCAS	African Women's Chartered Accountants Society
B&B	Bed and Breakfast
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIPC	Companies and Intellectual Property Commission
DA	Democratic Alliance (official opposition party)
DoJ	Department of Justice
DoT	Department of Tourism
DSD	Department of Social Development
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
DSRAC	Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture
ECPTA/B	Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency/Board
ECTMP	Eastern Cape Tourism Master Plan
EI	Emotional Intelligence
GHG	Grahamstown Hospitality Guild
ID	Identity Document
IDA	International Development Association (affiliated to the World Bank)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
LED	Local Economic Development
LRC	Legal Resources Centre
LTO	Local Tourism Organization
MC	Master of Ceremonies

MEC	Member of the Executive Council (of provincial government)
MEP	Makana Edutourism Partnership
MM	Makana Municipality/ Municipal Manager
MT	Makana Tourism
NAF	National Arts Festival
NPC	Non- Profit Company
NPO	Non-Profit Organization
PAIA	Promotion of Access to Information Act
PAJA	Promotion of Administrative Justice Act
PAR	Participant Action Research
PAYE	Pay As You Earn (Employee's tax)
PSAM	Public Sector Accountability Monitor
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
R	Rand (South African currency; average value in 2015: €1 = R14; \$1 = R17; £1 = R20)
RFQ	Request for Quote
RU	Rhodes University
RUCE	Rhodes University Community Engagement
SAMRO	South African Music Rights Organization
SARS	South African Revenue Services
TGCSA	Tourism Grading Council of South Africa
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund
VC	Vice Chancellor
WTO	World Tourism Organization

1. Introduction

This study started as a quest to find some limits of commercial hospitality, especially for the hands-on host, and it ended quite somewhere else. The initial objective included to transfer the experience of my MA study of commercial hospitality in small owner managed accommodation facilities, or neo-inns, in Grahamstown West across the river as it were, to Grahamstown East. It has been government policy especially after 1994 when South Africa became a democracy, to harness tourism for development with special attention given to women and children, both for their protection against exploitation and support for development. In line with these policies, generally regarded as pro-poor tourism (PPT), a project was initiated in 2004 and had survived with relative success by the time I began this study in 2012. Thus, the project provided the necessary milieu to test borders of commercial hospitality in the same bigger locale but with a very different background. I set out to investigate this income generation project mainly for black female home-owners in a formerly disadvantaged township situation.

The project was called the *Kwam eMakana* Government Initiated Poverty Alleviation Project (hereinafter, 'Kwam'). *Kwam eMakana* is isiXhosa for 'My place/home in Makana' and since its inception in 2004 the project's aim was to develop homestay¹ accommodation in the previously disadvantaged townships of Grahamstown East mainly during the ten days of the annual National Arts Festival (NAF) – the largest of its kind in Africa. A former premier of the Eastern Cape Province, Mrs Nosimo Balindlela, conceived the project in line with government policies as mentioned, but also because of the simple yet very important fact that commercial hospitality always brings money from the 'outside' into the area where the accommodation is offered. After initial set-up problems the project ran relatively smoothly

¹ Sometimes written as two words, I prefer using homestay as one word for it is a singular concept.

for the first five to six years until 2010 and then decline set in. The next period from 2011 to 2014 eventually saw a 'nose dive'. This is the period in which I started the study of Kwam, and the encounters and interventions that ensued are the focus of this thesis.

The story of Kwam epitomises a very wide range of borderline² hospitality situations, right from the actual liminality of the hospitality situation to the continued borderline state of hospitality as a field of study within tourism studies and the marginality of the host's point of view; from the theoretical challenges of defining homestays; the borderline viability of yet another development project; the borderline viability of the hospitality industry in the Frontier Country tourism region, itself only a borderline tourist destination; and to the borderline promotion (by government) of commercial hospitality as a poverty alleviation project for black households in the same area. But borderlines are not static, and in the process of Kwam's development many borderlines shifted, and the evolving nature of my empirical research led me to end up somewhere different from where I began. 'Going with the flow' generated new and deeper insights into the development of grass-roots commercial hospitality, its motivators and the involvements of multiple stakeholders in the development project. To find out what it meant to be a Kwam mama, as they liked to call themselves, under these circumstances I investigated, besides poverty and development, the motivations for the project, actual commitment and participation in the project, the position of women, leadership and power struggles, government intervention, self-presentation, competition and standing up in the face of possible crime (fraud and corruption). Against the odds, Kwam showed resilience and ultimately made the successful transition to a non-governmental yet by government registered 'private' Non-Profit Organisation (NPO). This reflected a political process in which Kwam became more empowered, less borderline, compared to when the project began.

² Borderline is to be understood in its dictionary sense and as adjective means "not clearly belonging to a particular condition or group; not clearly acceptable" and as noun borderline means "the division between two [or more] qualities or conditions" (Hornby 2005: 161).

Besides the questions about the project's survival and development, one of the first theoretical dilemmas I had was that poverty contradicts the basic requirements for commercial hospitality. Being a Western host and having studied others like myself I was well aware of all the complicated refinements of Western commercial hospitality and I was wondering how could poverty alleviation and such an intimate form of hospitality as a homestay work at all. It seemed too close and too poor to make commercial sense, besides the colour divide which persists in South Africa. Knowing the risks involved, I also foresaw a danger with a type of hospitality, Western commercial hospitality, being introduced to an emerging African market without any basic understanding of it and this could be detrimental for both host and guest, not to mention the dangers of exploitation of women and children. In my previous study I made quite a point that at the very least the commercial host should "be in a material position to host and have the necessary facilities" (Von Lengeling 2011: 75). It follows that there are ambiguities and ambivalences when one considers materially poor commercial hosts and any hospitality situations where there could be inversions of power roles between hosts and guests. If tourists come for a cultural experience and to see and experience how the poor live and by doing so contribute directly to their income it constitutes the epitome of pro-poor tourism (PPT); yet if commercial hosts play the poverty card it can be construed as begging and as Pitt-Rivers (1963: 22) has it, there is no honour in begging. All hosts need honour in order to host – that is, to be able make the guest feel welcome and to take care of the guest, with or without money involved. An Akan proverb reads "when you [as host] accept the hospitality of a stranger, your dignity is small" (Fortes and Patterson 1975: 234) – "the host is supposed to dispense hospitality, not the guest" (Von Lengeling 2011:38). But hospitality as such is one of the very basic forms of human socialization and something that everybody knows about. I concluded from historical sources and cross cultural examples "that there are universal rules of hospitality; that these rules concern *both host and guest*; and they also apply in commercial hospitality" (Von Lengeling 2011: 155). Hospitality is one of our 'human universals'. Shryock (2012: S24) wrote that "even the poorest Bedouin still living in a tent or a two-room cinderblock house, will be able to create the hospitable effect by means of language and a deft manipulation of space". But the dilemma was how does one as an apparently poor host treat a *paying* guest? In the present case it turned out that poverty was more apparent than real in most cases: I became aware that I was not dealing with really poor people but with members of

the emerging black urban middle class, thus finding another borderline. Much later in the research, I uncovered a deeper seated form of poverty: the powerlessness of being (almost) illiterate, especially computer illiterate. While this form of 'poverty' or 'disability' does not prevent anyone from being even a successful commercial host, it becomes a huge obstacle when dealing with government administration, which pre-supposes not only literacy but also a degree of fluency in English. In the real commercial hospitality world of today technological advances placed much of the market competition in the cyber realm, another obstacle for Kwam. Kwam was in the untenable situation of being a government initiated project ('top down') but after some years Kwam was expected to participate in government administration processes to secure continued government support while they lacked the skills and abilities to fulfil government's requirements and government lacked the skills and abilities, and in some cases also the will, to understand their real needs. This contradiction can render grass roots entrepreneurship still-born, as it so often does, yet Kwam struggled on regardless.

In the First World commercial hospitality developed from the small inn (hands-on host), to medieval monastic hospitality, to hotels as more and more people needed a home away from home (with an increasing emphasis on luxuries as industrialisation and affluence spread). Lately, hotels strive to be more like a (middle class) 'home' while neo-innkeepers are encouraged to offer accommodation as 'hotel-like' or 'professional' as they can make it. Pre-colonial traditional Africa shunned commercial hospitality as hospitality was part of the not-to-be-commercialized idea of *Ubuntu*.³ Large-scale commercial hospitality in Africa is still mostly white or Western multinational owned and even locally, in the Frontier Country, neo-inns are mostly white owned. Today the Bloukrans River is still the physical borderline between Grahamstown West which is a predominantly white area and Grahamstown East inhabited by formerly disadvantaged black people. Race remains an unavoidable borderline in almost all aspects of everyday life in South Africa, as even this study will prove. But

³ *Ubuntu* is an African social concept comparable to *Mittmenschlichkeit* or *medemenslikheid*, meaning broadly that one is human by sharing humanness.

regardless of race, from the onset I regarded homestays as a borderline in commercial hospitality.

A homestay means allowing a stranger into your home for money. It is the most intimate form of commercial accommodation. Even if homes are of the most natural spaces for hospitality to happen, the commercialization of the event is countered by social factors such as the autonomy of the host. Therefore the borderline of commercial hospitality in the home is determined by the host, the host decides when, whom and how to host. Because homestays involve an active home, definitions of social hospitality and commercial hospitality blur. For instance, the 'obligation' to be hospitable when friends and family visit (social hospitality) may have continued to develop into a general rule in the hospitality industry that guests *must* be accommodated as long as there is space for them – the “duty of hospitality” (Derrida 2003: 4). But if it is your own home, you decide. Hosting the mother-in-law (social hospitality) may be difficult to evade but paying guests could be and are sometimes avoided, for whatever reason (like being too busy hosting the mother-in-law), clearly demonstrating the hands-on commercial host's autonomy. Of course, the logic of commercialization implies attracting guests, not avoiding them, but it is the extent of commercialization of the home which is determined by the host.

A practical challenge with this investigation was how to approach the research of hosts, starting with the acknowledgement of the actual impossibility of researching the host from a host's point of view as all research automatically places the researcher in the position of a guest. This probably explains the neglect of hospitality and the host in tourism and hospitality theory (a problem I return to below). Nevertheless, I applied a traditional approach when I started this investigation and I extended this with creative supplementary approaches (also elaborated on below), but in the course of this study the parameters of both the research and the development project shifted and the hospitality theme became

borderline when the development story of Kwam became central. 2014 was the worst year ever for Kwam and had it not been that Kwam actually took control - and they would not have been able to do so alone - government would have declared the project a failure. Hindsight confirms that if Claudia and I had not intervened the project would have crashed. We were instrumental in assisting the Kwam mamas to gain the independence and autonomy of Kwam. With our help Kwam is now a registered NPO but the struggle for recognition and proving self-sustainability continued in 2015. One thing is certain though, Kwam's future is now solidly in their own hands.

Entering the field of applied anthropology further challenged the methodology to investigate a project of this kind: besides the centrality of the host's point of view, the concept of anthropology 'at home', feeling 'at home' in a homestay, the commercialization of the home and the very meaning of *kwam* ('my place/home'), all readily indicate the complexities associated with this investigation. In addition, researching 'development' empirically involves taking into account the points of view of the developpees, the developer (and/or agent)⁴ and the researcher – and these perspectives are seldom the same as they each reflect divergent interests (Ferguson 1990; Escobar 1995; Olivier de Sardan 2005). Another layer of complexity is introduced when the research involves quite a bit of reflexivity, or even radical reflexivity, and may be classified as auto-ethnographic, besides being 'anthropology at home.' With intervention and the applied nature of it, the research simultaneously moved into the auto-ethnographical field and understanding the distinction between the terms *auto-anthropology* and *anthropology at home* became critical. Not only I but also Claudia became directly involved with the running of the project. Our intervention did not concern intervening with the way hospitality was 'practiced', but rather had to do with the development of the organizational structure of the project and Kwam's struggle with often hostile government officials. I became the project's legal representative too and

⁴ Olivier de Sardan (2005: 149): "Many logics could be highlighted to demonstrate how the practices displayed by developpees differ from the intentions, objectives and preconceptions of those who initiate and supervise development projects."

although this had never been my intention, it changed not only my position as researcher and the applicable ethics but also the direction Kwam was going. It was an intense form of applied/activism/advocacy anthropology, far beyond what usually happens with intervention.

It seemed that the Kwam story resembled a typical story of a development project like any other, a textbook case of corrupt tertiary level administrative practice resulting in borderline benefits for the supposed beneficiaries. What happened with Kwam was comparable to what happened with the projects described by Crewe and Harrison in 1998 *Whose Development?; An Ethnography of Aid*, or Escobar's 1995 *Encountering Development*, or Ferguson's 1990 *The anti-politics machine; "Development," depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*, or *Anthropology and Development* by Olivier de Sardan (2005). The Kwam mamas, the actual beneficiaries of the project, got their income from the project by hosting guests and if guest numbers dropped it meant less income for them. On the other hand, most of the money spent on the project, all of it government funding, increasingly landed with the intermediaries, the various 'development agents', staff members of the Local Tourism Organization (LTO) and various consultants or 'service providers'. Their efforts, if they did do something, had nothing to do with securing more guests for the homestays of Kwam, but to secure continued government support to set up and maintain an oversized administrative 'machine' for the project in which there were paying jobs or spin-offs. As has become standard with development projects in the 'new' South Africa, Kwam had been used to side-line funds – in the name of 'the development of Kwam' huge amounts of money were spent and the intermediaries or 'development agents' harvested the project for cushy salaries or supplementary 'compensation', while the supposed beneficiaries were left out in the cold.

With so many various processes and borderlines to take into account and to keep everything together as a whole, yet in a way which is not static, I found Bourdieu's (1989: 17) 'totality of capital' construct very useful to understand the process as it unfolded. The totality of capital is made up by the four strands of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. Although the categories overlap and are interdependent they nevertheless provide ascertainable reference points on which to 'hook' a holistic picture of the development process. By assessing each of these capitals from time to time it is possible to follow the rather complex process of development while at the same time it reveals the strategies and mechanisms which the role players used to acquire or maximise the various capitals and how it was lost again in some cases. Identifying and evaluating the various capitals as we move through the story of Kwam will enable us in the end to total them all up and we will have an understanding of how Kwam transformed. Thus starting with the beginning of the project it involved determining the social genesis of Kwam which was a twofold investigation of the Kwam hosts as agents of a particular style of commercial hospitality and the capital they needed to form and/or maintain the group.⁵ Or, as Bourdieu explained, this "double structuring" of the twofold social genesis is where there is "on the one hand the schemes of perception, thought, and action which are constitutive of what I call habitus, and on the other hand of social structures, and particularly of what I call fields and of groups, notably those we ordinarily call social classes" (Bourdieu 1989:14). With "class" Bourdieu (1989: 24) stated that it could mean "the people, the nation, or any other otherwise elusive social collective" and it "exists if and when there exist agents who can say that they are the class, by the mere fact of speaking publicly, officially, in its place, and of being recognized as entitled to do so by the people who thereby recognize themselves as members of the class, people or nation, or of any other social reality that a realist construction of the world can invent and impose." Kwam is such a social collective or social reality, and so are Makana Tourism (MT), the Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC), and suchlike. In a later development, I was responsible for the eventual "legal consecration" as Bourdieu

⁵ For instance to be recognized as group: A constellation "begins to exist only when it is selected and designated as such, a group, a class, a gender, a region, or a nation begins to exist as such, for those who belong to it as well as for the others, only when it is distinguished, according to one principle or another, from other groups, that is, through knowledge and recognition (*connaissance et reconnaissance*)" (Bourdieu 1989: 23).

(1989: 22-3) described it, by literally adding to the symbolic capital which Kwam already had, that which they lacked and needed, the “power of constitution”.

Structure of the thesis

The following chapter reviews the literature on hospitality and the host in the commercial home, and I consider definitions of homestays. Chapter three reflects the context of the tourism and hospitality industry of the Frontier Country as part of the Eastern Cape and South Africa, and the field setting of Grahamstown East is introduced. In chapter four the methodology I employed is revealed in detail, which included besides traditional approaches, engaged/action/applied anthropology. I also differentiate between auto-anthropology (as a form of radical reflexivity) and anthropology at home while the chapter also deals with other issues such as presentation, language and race and ethical concerns. The following five chapters contain the ethnographic detail of the Kwam project: chapter five provides an account of the beginning of the Kwam project, some role players, the organizational structure and how to determine the borderline of poverty in relation to Kwam; chapter six accommodates a description of the Kwam homestays, the hosts and the guests, and the nature of a Kwam homestay; in chapter seven, also starting the reflexive account, the reasons for engaging with action and the initiation of action are detailed; in chapter eight the story of even deeper involvement unfolds; and in chapter nine the story continues of Kwam’s struggle for survival and ultimately the granting of autonomy in the context of the wider habitus. Chapter ten is a short interlude offering a comparison with some Oceanic homestays that are comparable and particularly well covered. Finally, in Chapter eleven I assess the various capitals in order to reach a totality of capital and then conclude the study.

2. Hospitality

This chapter starts with a discussion of commercial hospitality and the neglect of both hospitality and the host's point of view in the social sciences. Thereafter the so-called 'commercial home' will be examined before homestays as such are defined.

Commercial hospitality and the host's point of view

With my previous study I already found that hospitality 'at home', and particularly commercial hospitality as practised by hands-on hosts, has been neglected as a theme in social sciences (Von Lengeling 2011), and this neglect still continues at the time of the present study. What is even rarer is a rendering of hospitality, let alone of commercial hospitality, from the host's point of view. However, recently there has been a tremendous increase in anthropological interest in hospitality. For instance, an entire 2012 special edition of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (JRAI) deals with hospitality (albeit non-commercial hospitality), and the book *African Hosts and their Guests; Cultural Dynamics of Tourism* by Van Beek & Schmidt (2012) appears to deal with hospitality *per se*, but it is more concerned with (foreign) tourism in Africa in general. Prefaced by Valene Smith, the title pays homage to her ground-breaking 1987 work *Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism*. In the most recent special issue of the journal *Research in Hospitality Management*, Lashley (2015: 6) recognised that this latest contribution to the study of (commercial) hospitality is still part of a starting point and for instance about hosts he concluded that "there is a need to know more about the personality, demographic, gender, and ethnic profiles of those who appear to be genuinely hospitable: who they are, what they are, why they are, etc." - thus also giving recognition to the fact that hosts have rarely been studied. The host's point of view whether in commercial or non-commercial

(social) hospitality has seldom been given more attention than simply recognizing that there is such a thing.⁶ Thus the position remained much the same as with Smith's (1987) recognition of the impacts of tourism on local populations, their cultures and lifestyles but nowhere is there an account of the hosts themselves. The closest *African Hosts and their Guests* gets to the hosts' point of view are representations of how sex workers ('hosts') view their clients (sex tourists)⁷, thus reconfirming the age old relation between commercial hospitality and prostitution, to which I had referred to before (Von Lengeling 2011: vii). Among the few recent journal articles that do in fact deal with the host's perspectives and even address homestays directly are McIntosh, Lynch, and Sweeney's (2011) *"My Home Is My Castle": Defiance of the Commercial Homestay Host in Tourism in New Zealand*; Pusiran & Xiao's (2013) *Challenges and Community Development: A Case Study of Homestay in Malaysia*; Abdullah and Said's (2014) *Economic Empowerment of Rural Communities in Homestay Programmes: Loopholes of Governance Structure and Tourism as a Poverty Eradication Tool for Rural Areas in Selangor, Malaysia* by Kumar et al. (2012). The latter are examples of increased academic interest in hospitality, and specifically in homestays in Oceania. I mention them here to indicate the turn in social sciences towards recognizing alternative viewing of hospitality and later I compare the findings of these studies with my findings concerning Kwam (see Chapter 10).

Kirsch (2010: 89ff), in his chapter *From the Spirit's Point of View: Ethnography, Total Truth and Speakership*, makes quite a fuss about the importance of the native's point of view to the extent that he concluded, in strictly following Geertz's 'meaning-making', that there is a case for the spirit's point of view as it expresses itself through a medium. It amazes me to what extent academics theorize 'the point of view' when right in front of them, in every

⁶ "It may be that this polyvalence of hospitality was precisely its downfall ... In sum, it is perhaps because anthropology, as a lived practice and a conceptual exercise, is thus inhabited by the paradoxes of hospitality, replete and saturated with them, that the theme, until recent years, has often failed to catch the light of anthropological theory ... Recent years, however, have seen a veritable explosion of interest in the subject across the social sciences and humanities – marked by a multitude of new interdisciplinary publications involving anthropologists ..." (Candea & da Col 2012: S2).

⁷ Wanjohi Kibicho (in Van Beek & Schmidt 2012: 284) in a chapter titled: *Sex trade & tourism in Kenya: Close encounters between the hosts & the hosted*.

research situation, they are in a hospitality situation where there are hosts and guests. The hosts are real, not ghosts, but taken for granted; hosts perform the magic of hospitality and hide the effort from the guest for the guest's sake of feeling 'at home'; but guests - and hence researchers - do not see this as long as they stay guests. I have pointed out that almost all research in tourism was done from the guest's point of view (Von Lengeling 2011: 22). This is already built in the position of the fieldworker as guest, as Wagner (2012: 161) also noted, which in turn makes it difficult for the researcher to represent the *host's* point of view. When Di Domenico and Lynch (2006: 326) claim they presented the host's point of view it was an extremely limited attempt as they forgot that they remained guests in the field, but interestingly they decided on covert research so as not to moderate their subjects' behaviour. Researching the host, if it is not the host her/himself, can only be covert which in turn seems to be impossible in one-on-one host-guest encounters.

Because of this inbuilt guest bias, key themes in tourism studies are biased such as the 'tourism bubble'⁸ construct which has its roots in the founding theories in the field of tourism. Dean MacCannell's (1976) *authenticity*, Erving Goffmann's (1963) *back-front*⁹ and, most obvious, John Urry's (1990) *tourist gaze*¹⁰ are all experienced from the tourist's or

⁸ Van Beek & Schmidt (2012:13) state in their book *African Hosts & their Guests* "what constitutes the heart of this book, [is] the actual encounter in the field between 'hosts' and 'guests'. For that encounter, one major concept is the 'tourist bubble'." As noted, this book reflects a guest's point of view.

⁹ I do not agree with Di Domenico and Lynch's (2006: 331) statement that Goffman's back-front construct "is taken from the perspective of the host". This construct lies within the tourism bubble where there is this back-front borderline to control people, as we will see, in a homestay commercial hospitality moves beyond this borderline.

¹⁰ Or as Brooks, Spierenburg & Wels (2012: 205-6) put it: "Most famously, following MacCannell, attention has been drawn to the 'tourist bubble' in which consumers of tourism products are often forced to exist ... The resulting tourist bubble can take numerous forms, from the organised coach tour in which visitors travel through their host country observing it from the safety of a hermetically sealed environment bubble, to the luxurious coastal resort from which tourists are not encouraged (or even allowed) to move on their own, so that they see nothing of the world of poverty and violence outside. Immersed in the tourist bubble, visitors' awareness is limited to the artificial environment that has been constructed for them. Cushioned from the shock of the real, managed twenty-four hours a day and carefully insulated from any unpleasantness, the tourist's entire experience – what John Urry famously termed the tourist 'gaze' – is in this sense premised on hypocrisy... Equally, while alternative forms of tourism such as 'ecotourism' are supposed to provide a better and more responsible form of engagement with both communities and the environments in which they live, in reality the 'ecotourist bubble' can often be a similarly protected sphere in which tourists exist and within which their experiences are shaped and framed."

guest's or consumer's¹¹ point of view and hospitality and the hosts are simply taken for granted. Van Beek & Schmidt (2012: 21-3) seriously criticize 'authenticity', calling it McCannell's "ghost" which has "long haunted the study of tourism" and they found it a "powerful driving myth in the case of Africa". However, they admit that authenticity is here to stay and will "continue to haunt us" (ibid). Authenticity is clearly a concept belonging with the tourist's gaze, the guest's point of view – it is something the guest wants. Even if it is 'mythical', thus 'staged' and not 'real', for the guest it may even seem real, but for the host it is reality – everything a hands-on host does is for that matter 'authentic'. Hosts do not look on what they do as authentic or inauthentic because hospitality is difficult to fake in the face-to-face host-guest encounter. Hospitality is what hosts do, including 'emotional labour'¹² that goes with it. Therefore authenticity is not a myth but a guest-gauge of hospitality or the touristic experience; it is not possible to holistically examine the tourism phenomenon if it reflects the guest/tourist point of view only.

The hands-on host remains in control, even in commercial hospitality, and I have identified various mechanisms and strategies hosts use to balance the hospitality act (Von Lengeling 2011: 79ff; 101ff). From the onset of the hospitality situation, hosts 'screen' or discriminate between guests and use, for instance, the "fully booked lie" to avoid potentially problematical guests. This immediately appears to be non-commercial behaviour but as I have found, that for hosts, even commercial ones, it is not all about the money, but rather a confirmation of the hosts' power, their autonomy, even to withdraw an offer of hospitality. I have also referred to the 'panoptic control' hosts have over their homes and their guests within it, which again confirms the authority of the host. The warm welcome, sharing a meal (commensality), sharing a drink (compotuality) and the 'invisible' emotional labour of maintaining the welcome are mechanisms hosts use to make the experience hospitable.

¹¹ For instance, Alister Williams (in Lasley and Morrison 2000: 218ff) following post-modernist thought calls for a more 'consumer led' approach to analyse the hospitality industry.

¹² Hochschild (2003: 7) defined *emotional labor*: "I use the term *emotional labor* to mean the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has *exchange value*. I use the synonymous terms *emotion work* or *emotion management* to refer to these same acts done in a private context where they have *use value*."

And this is where the nexilitas factor comes in: nexilitas is social bonding in the hospitality situation which differs from other liminal situations in that there remains a hierarchy (between host and guest) throughout (with *communitas* hierarchies are collapsed). Thus also in the intimate homestay situation the use and control of social space are mechanisms which reflect the social structure and it is all the more important to understand these mechanisms - but from a host's point of view. Bourdieu (1989: 19) stated that "[h]abitus thus implies a 'sense of one's place' but also a 'sense of the place of others'", quite clearly implying distinct borderlines of space. The self-other borderlines are as essential in the hospitality encounter, as they are to traditional anthropology.

There is no doubt that hosting, even commercial hosting, mirrors mothering – taking care of the basic needs of guests. This theme links with the discussion about the activities in the home space and work at home which is often seen as 'invisible' or 'effortless', as Hochschild (2003: 170) commented:

There is one further reason why women may offer more emotional work of this sort than men: more women at all class levels do unpaid labor of a highly interpersonal sort. They nurture, manage, and befriend children ... The world turns to women for mothering, and this fact silently attaches itself to many a job description.

Contrary to the mother-image in traditional Western commercial hospitality the industry as a whole has been male dominated and until fairly recently women in the industry were seen as "strumpets from the lowest stratum" (Firebaugh 1928: 64). With the rise of B&Bs, and other so-called neo-inns from the 1980s on, women dominated this section of commercial hospitality, also in Grahamstown (Von Lengeling 2011: 60). However, the position of women in general is still regarded as rather problematic and complicated with the commercialization of the home. Concerning women's empowerment projects it is necessary to note the caution both Escobar (1995: 171) and Willis (2005: 130-1) expressed as to what real benefits 'development' brings for women. Both refer to living conditions which became more difficult, with increased costs of living and reduced government support, "women's work load has tended to increase". This in turn results in "increased stress and health

problems as women have to combine this paid work with their continued domestic responsibilities ... In addition, policy-makers have often assumed that women who are not in paid work are doing nothing" (ibid). But every host knows the work involved with hosting besides the ordinary running of a household which in the case of most Kwam homes, is the sole responsibility of the Kwam mama. There is no doubt about the mother's authority, or then the host's autonomy, in the home as a necessary condition to be able to take care of family and guests.

My analysis coincides with the very rare study by McIntosh et al. (2011) "*My Home Is My Castle*": *Defiance of the Commercial Homestay Host in Tourism*, which claims to represent the hosts' point of view, specifically that of the homestay host. The study was done in rural New Zealand, and although the researchers remained 'guests' they nonetheless attempted to see things the way hosts do. Even if the 'normal' guests of these New Zealand homestay hosts were mainly tourists seeking a rural get-away, the hosts had very similar ways of dealing with guests in their homes as the hosts in my previous study. Just as I had used the expressions of *master of the house* and *king of the castle* to define the host's authority, McIntosh et al. (2011) also refer to the host's home as a castle. However, concerning the host-home relationship they identified three key themes: "self-marginalization, tyranny of the home host, and anticommercial hospitality" and concluded: "Overall, the hosts' relationship with their commercial home can be summarized in the aphorism "my home is my castle," which reveals itself through an underlying sense of defiance in terms of the respondents' attitudes to the outside world and in particular commercial homestay hosting" (McIntosh et al. 2011: 517). McIntosh et al. (2011: 513) elaborated on the three themes as follows:

Self-marginalization is evidenced not only in relation to geographical location but also with regards to hosts' acceptance of highly seasonal business, nonstandard décor imposing the owner's identity on the guest experience, and it is also reflected in the available food choices for guests. At the same time, the hosts showed strong social motivations and a conformity to observance of certain hospitality practices, reinforcing a sense that the hosts would offer hospitality but on their own terms. Therefore, self-marginalization here is a complex concept concerned with affirmation of chosen lifestyle and hosting on self-defined terms.

Their second theme, the “tyranny of the homestay host”, McIntosh et al. (2011:514) ground in the take-it-or-leave-it attitude of the hosts. It is the host’s home where the host is king/queen or then, tyrant. McIntosh et al. (2011: 515) surmised “that these differences are founded in hosts’ attitude of tyranny— the desire to be authoritative, dominant, and autocratic in order to dictate the terms of their commercial home hosting. As such, hosts are effectively able to protect the personal and private domains of their home or “castle” and chosen lifestyle.” The hosts decide when they want to operate or not and these arbitrary ‘open’ times “may be frustrating for disappointed potential guests, [but] providing hospitality when feeling hospitable might also be perceived as in the interests of guests as well as being congruent with the nature of the product on offer” (ibid). To be available or not extends to discrimination by hosts: “Hosts reported many instances of choosing not only when and when not to host, but also many hosts selected who to host and who not to host.” McIntosh et al. (2011: 515) further note that the “ability to select which members of the public to host differentiates the smaller commercial homes from the larger ones”, and if hosts do not want guests, say because they are having family over, they would answer guest enquiries with “sorry, we are full”. As noted, I call this the fully booked lie.

Concerning the third theme of ‘anti-commercial hospitality’, McIntosh et al. (2011 :516) refer to the behaviour “of hosts that challenges norms of (larger) commercial hospitality establishments in relation to operation standards, business practices aiming to maximize profitability, commercial accommodation product norms, and host–guest social distance.”

They conclude:

By transforming the visitors into guests, the hosts are able to exercise a greater control over the guests’ behaviors owing to sociocultural expectations surrounding the guest role, for example, gratefully accepting the hospitality on offer and minimizing demands on the host. Thus, the visitors whom hosts allow to cross the threshold do so on the tacit basis that they will conform to the host’s “rules” and be tolerant of the host’s idiosyncratic “tyrannical” behavior permissible in a home context (cf. Derrida 2000), but not in a purely commercial context where payment leads to the exercise of certain rights and expectations... The final emergent theme is that of host behavior that might be construed as anticommercial hospitality. Of note here is the defiant pride in not behaving in conventional business fashion, for example, regarding rates charged, promotion, and the nature of the guest experience, as well as in emphasis on the home and the self-sacrifices made for the benefit of their guests. This theme fits with observations of previous authors, albeit at a more

theoretical level, concerning the bed-and-breakfast as being antithetical to that of the hotel... (McIntosh et al. 2011: 517)

What is meant by anti-commercial hospitality is where the borderlines between social and commercial hospitality blur. But at the bottom line it is of utmost importance to bear in mind the specific hospitality space - if that space is a home it comes with a whole lot of social baggage. In a commercialized home many of the traditional borderlines between the social, cultural, commercial and private aspects of hospitality become obsolete.

The Commercial Home

“Commercial home” refers to types of accommodation where visitors or guests pay to stay in private homes, where interaction takes place with a host and/or family usually living upon the premises and with whom public space is, to a degree, shared. “Commercial home” therefore embraces a range of accommodation types including some (small) hotels, bed and breakfasts . . . , and host family accommodation, which simultaneously span private, commercial and social settings (McIntosh et al. 2011: 511, quoting Lynch’s definition).

While this definition confirms the multiple settings which simultaneously come into play, those that Lynch identified reflect Lashley’s (2008) ‘three-domain approach’ to explain hospitality where he distinguishes “between a cultural/social domain, a private/domestic domain and a commercial/public domain in which hospitality occurs”.¹³ O’Mahoney (2015:

¹³ Lashley (2015: 4-5): “The *cultural/social domain* of hospitality activities suggests the need to study the social context in which particular hospitality activities take place ... The *domestic/private domain* helps the consideration of some of the issues related to the meaning of hospitality, hosting and ‘hospitableness’. Hospitality involves supplying food, drink, and accommodation to people who are not members of the household ... The commercial provision of hospitality takes place in most post-industrial societies in a context where hospitality no longer occupies a central position in the value system... Yet the provision of *commercial hospitality* involves a financial transaction whereby hospitality is offered to guests at a price, and would be withdrawn if the payment could not be made. Hence commercial hospitality can be said to represent a contradiction, and cannot deliver true hospitableness (Ward & Martins 2000, Ritzer 2004, 2007). Telfer (2000), however, reminds us that this is a somewhat simplistic view because it may be that hospitable people are drawn to work in bars, hotels and restaurants, and offer hospitableness beyond, and in spite of, the

32) showed that academics placed their views of hospitality, as a consequence of “the ongoing debate ... within the *non-traditional* domains (private and social) of hospitality” [my emphasis]. What these authors are talking about is the hospitality industry as it is with hotels, not the position of the hands-on host at home – where the private and social domains are exactly the traditional hospitality domains. This is also evident in the discussion by Ritzer (2015: 9-17) about ‘automated hospitality’ and the industry which in general becomes increasingly reliant on self-service by the guest – there is no host, so strictly speaking this is not a hospitality situation. Bastos and Rejowski (2015: 52) confirm that “hospitality research can be organised into three categories: Research in Hospitality Studies, Research in Hospitality Management, and Critical Hospitality Management Research (CHMR)”. Then it is no wonder that they also point to the fact that the domestic domain of hospitality is one of the least studied areas of commercial hospitality (ibid).

Slattery (2002:22) has long lashed out at the ‘three-domain zealots’ who maintain that “if it is commercial it is inferior to the private”. In my previous study I found that commercialization does not kill *nexilitas* and I agree with Slattery when he states that:

Lashley’s exposition of the commercial domain is based on the assumption that if hospitality customers pay, then their enjoyment is compromised. The commercial domain condemns the hospitality business because it is a business. No professional involved in hospitality can accept this as a serious interpretation of the industry. It is also an interpretation that flies in the face of the historic and long-term future global growth in demand for professional hospitality services.

Then, considering the ‘cultural/social domain’, it has long been argued that ‘culture’ has a vague meaning and Schlee (2010: 213) argued that culture may be a concept anthropologists should avoid. Zammito (2010: 191) also noted the vagueness of the concept of culture in that the “most common objection in the anthropological literature has been to the notion of culture as coherent, as organic unity” and he quoted Arjun Appadurai who

commercial transaction and materialistic instructions from owners. In addition, it may be that hospitable people are drawn to set up hospitality businesses in guesthouses, pubs and restaurants because it allows them to be both entrepreneurial and hospitable at the same time.”

“resorted to the notion of fractals to claim that there were ‘no Euclidean boundaries, structures, or regularities’ to culture”. Therefore, it seems useless to discern a cultural domain in hospitality, unless what is meant is a ‘culture of social hospitality’ as for instance envisaged with the concept of *Ubuntu*. When it comes to homestays the distinction between private and public domains also does not help as the contradictions between the home as a site for both social interaction and commercial hospitality crosses of borderlines between what is commercialized (or commercializable) and what not.

McIntosh et al. (2011: 511) also found that with their focus on the relationship hosts have with their homes, there are instances in hospitality which fall outside of the purely economic exchange:

In focusing on the host–home relationship, the researcher moves beyond tourism as purely an economic exchange. Such investigation focuses on a hospitality “transaction” that is interactional and multifaceted: social, cultural, psychological, economic etc., concerned with a “crossing over” between host and guest, where participants interact with hospitality space and artefacts ..., and which recognizes that the study of hospitality and tourism also leads to the study of society ... The concept of transaction is preferred to that of the exchange as there is no connotation of reciprocity in the host–guest power dynamic. Transaction gives recognition to the possibility of the host–guest relations involving nonreciprocal relations.

This alludes to what I call the ‘Mauss trap’ or what Wagner (2012: S170-2) has termed the ‘reciprocity speculation bubble’ following his reassessment of Mauss’ *Essai sur la don*.¹⁴ Gift-

¹⁴ “The net long-term result of Mauss’s *Essai sur le don* ... has been to fixate theorists permanently on the ideal of exact, symmetrical exchange, if only as an expectation. Hence Lévi-Strauss’s commitment to ‘elementary structures’, and a whole set of diatribes involving relationships and the connection of exchange to gender. This sort of fatuous, self-indulgent reading ignores what is certainly the vast majority of the earth’s peoples, including major civilizations, who rely on the indefinite postponement of return for their sense of what exchange is all about; not only a vital *flow* of human potential across unit boundaries, but also such apparently unrelated qualities as profit, loan interest, and the Wall Street ‘futures’ market. There are more serious charges than this to attribute to Mauss, of course, especially those having to do with motion and symmetry... There is much about the traditional *potlatch* that recommends itself to the current financial crisis, with its all too familiar inflation of monetary standards and deflation of socio-cultural ones. None the less, insofar as an economy never gets to be an economy (or a history a history or a culture a culture) until disembedded from its original context and redefined by alien critical interests, our whole knowledge of what a *potlatch* is or is supposed to be has been taken hostage. This would have to include Marcel Mauss’s iconic

centrism had given prominence to the concept of reciprocity and blurred the way in which anthropologists hitherto have evaluated hospitality (Candea and Da Col 2012: S2; Herzfeld 2012: S212). Hospitality does not happen as consequence of a perceived duty of reciprocity. At the root of hospitality, and even commercial hospitality, lies social bonding (Von Lengeling 2011: 160). The very recent Special Issue of *Research in Hospitality Management* (Lashley 2015) resulted after a conference held in November 2014 in Leeuwarden, Netherlands, and a number of Brazilian academics who concern themselves with hospitality studies were invited to make presentations at the conference. This publication follows on Lashley's previous works '*In Search of Hospitality: Theoretical Perspectives and Debate*' (Lashley & Morrison 2000) and '*Hospitality: A Social Lens*' (Lashley, Lynch & Morrison 2007), all of which promote his 'three domain approach'. Interestingly, the Brazilian academics such as Camargo (2015: 20ff), Bastos and Rejowski (2015: 45ff), Spolon, Netto and Baptista (2015: 70ff) duly acknowledged the three domain approach as Lashley put it in a Venn diagram (which is replicated several times in volume), and then, leaving this approach aside, they claim to have been influenced by French philosophy regarding hospitality (notably Derrida) and they also demonstrated that they did not fall into the 'Mauss trap' as they recognize the hospitality milieu (host's gift) of Mauss' essay and the gift which Mauss examined is the subsequent guest gift. Hence these academics do not overly rely on a reciprocity principle which according to others supposedly underlies hospitality. The Brazilian authors also refer to 'the bond', 'the inter human bond' or 'social ties' in hospitality as the underlying motivator to socialize in a world generally considered by humans to be inhospitable or even hostile - thus rather similar to what I have found with *nexilitas*. This together with the other non-commercial aspects of the home actually makes

treatment of it in his classic *Essai sur le don ...* as the definitive external limit approached by any competitive regime of reciprocal exchange. The root of Mauss's misunderstanding may be traced to his arbitrary subdivision of the exchange process into the obligations respectively to give, receive, and reciprocate... For when we realize that what is offered in hospitality is the gift of reception, and that what is received is the possibility of reciprocation, the ostensibly separate offices of host and guest turn out to be opposite sides of the same coin. And it transpires that all Mauss was doing was flipping that coin over and over again and calling it a different thing each time" (Wagner 2012: S170-2).

However, Mauss did not call it a different thing – it is always *the gift*. What Mauss did however was to spin the coin and describe the action, the movement, as an indication of the *animation* of the gift. In my reading of Mauss I have identified what I call the *Mauss Trap* which ensnares the topical reader. Mauss opens *The Gift* with quoting several stanzas from *The Hávamál*. *The Hávamál* is all about the rules of **hospitality**. So the rest of the text in *The Gift* is to be seen against this backdrop; this clearly situates the gift *after* hospitality i.e. once the stranger has been converted to at least a guest. Some form of social bonding is the background for the gift.

it theoretically possible for 'poorer' hosts to enter the hospitality industry. We will return to the issue of reciprocity below when commensality and return guests in the case of Kwam are discussed.

Lynch and MacWhannell (2000: 101ff) also investigated the meaning of home, and particularly in the commercial hospitality context. In their chapter titled *Home and commercialized hospitality* they traced the origins of early British hotels in the reproduction of the 'aristocratic domicile' as opposed to the 'bourgeois model of the home'. From this early development which encouraged quality and standards according to the aristocratic model, there recently seems to have been a return to the tendency to 'domesticate' hotels, making them look and feel more 'home-like' - Boutique hotels are a good example of this. Therefore one can argue that rather than smaller accommodation facilities aspiring to be more hotel-like, it is actually the other way round: hotels strive to be more home-like. Lynch and MacWhannell (2000: 102-4) extensively list the multiple meanings of home¹⁵ and point to the complexity of the term especially if one were to add commercialized hospitality. Particularly where hosts and guests become involved face-to-face in the accommodation scene, Lynch and MacWhannell (2000: 122) pointed to various areas of tension and conflict linked to the sharing of that space in the context of the home as a refuge from the 'outside' and they noted that geographical separation between host and guest could resolve some conflicts. Rapport and Overing (2007: 176) note "A working definition for charting the morass of ambiguities and fluidities of contemporary identity may be of 'home' as 'where one best knows oneself' ... – where 'best' means 'most', even if not always 'happiest'...

¹⁵ Lynch and MacWhannell (2000: 102-4) identified "the meaning of home as bringing together the meanings of house and of household, of dwelling and of refuge, of ownership and of affection. 'Home' meant the house, but also everything that was in it and around it, as well as the people, and the sense of satisfaction and contentment that all these conveyed. Thus home has multiple meanings, and operates on different levels both simultaneously and for individuals. Adding commercialized hospitality to the equation further complicates the dimension of the home and its meanings. 'Home' as an idea is not a simple concept but one which has multiple meanings and significance: worksite, memories and associations, place to rear family, a refuge, prison, statement of independence ... ideas of security, affection and comfort ... a place of self-expression, a cocoon, a place of deep contentment in the innermost temple of the soul ... a relatively recent term of nostalgia ... associated with comfort, domesticity; a place under feminine control; place of ritual and customs ... site of patriarchal relations..."

Increasingly, individuals are seen as moving between homes, erstwhile to current, or as moving between movement and home: not only can one be at home in movement, but that movement can be one's very home." They continue their discussion with John Berger's notions of homelessness which specifically links up with travel and tourism. Rapport and Overing (2007: 179) conclude that the home space is a cognitive environment:

Being 'at home' and being 'homeless', in short, are not, as such, matters of movement, of physical space or of the fluidity of sociocultural times and places. One is at home when one inhabits a cognitive environment in which one finds one's identity best mediated – and homeless when such a cognitive environment is eschewed ...

Miller (2001: 2) noted in *Home Possessions: Material Culture behind Closed Doors* that the study of life at home is at the core of anthropology, precisely because home distinguishes from the outside, thus reaffirming the self-other dichotomy at the core of anthropology, and as noted, also of hospitality. But in his book only very scant reference is made to the home or household also being the host's (or the host family's) connection place to the outside world. Miller did refer to the fieldworkers' hosts, Clarke (in Miller 2001: 37-42) referred to a 'parlour' or such room which is reserved for guests and remains largely underutilized, and Daniels (in Miller 2001: 204) mentioned a host-guest encounter in a Japanese teahouse, but beside these reflections no mention is made of the application of the home space for hospitality purposes. And as Miller (2001: 2) noted "that for some considerable time the working-class house has been rigorously privatized, and apart from kin, entry into the private home has been highly restricted", it seems that commercialization of the home would be determined by the extent of relaxing private restrictions.

In their investigation of the home concept, McIntosh et al. (2011: 510) found that normally a home is not used for commercial purposes or "economic service", and quite to the contrary, a home is usually a place of retreat from commerce, a 'haven' to relax in, even if there is always 'work' at home too though it is not seen as 'real work'.¹⁶ McIntosh et al. (2011: 510)

¹⁶ Hochschild (2003: 167): "The emotion work of enhancing the status and well-being of others is a form of what Ivan Illich has called "shadow labor", an unseen effort, which, like housework, does not quite count as

refer to the traditional B&B where there is “a fairly high intensity of interaction between host and guest ... a shared expectation of a “homely” ambience among hosts and guests ... indicative of both conceptual and emotional similarities ... whereby the intangible experiential qualities of the hosts’ “home” environment yielded an emotional, unique, personalized, “homely,” and “exclusive” experience” for the guest.¹⁷ Thus for a commercial hands-on host at home it involves over-riding the inclination towards privacy and to throw open the home to paying guests while maintaining a balance between what is private, social, cultural and commercial. This includes the emotional work hosts do but what motivates them is the possibility of nexilitas.

Defining homestays

As stated, the homestay is the most intimate form of commercial hospitality, offering the most opportunities for host and guest to engage. The private entry restrictions of a home are relaxed so that a stranger can be offered ‘a home away from home’. In the strict sense, commercial (paying) guests in a homestay are treated as ‘members’ of the host family, or as friends would be treated if they were to visit, thus in that sense reflecting social hospitality. Guests have a private bedroom and although there could be en suite toilet and bath facilities, host and guest generally share facilities, meals and entertainment – if the guest so wishes; otherwise guest privacy and space is respected. But in the face-to-face hospitality situation it is not only a matter of guest privacy but also of host privacy.

labor but is nevertheless crucial to getting things done. As with doing housework well, the trick is to erase any evidence of effort, to offer only the clean house and a welcoming smile.

¹⁷ See also Hochschild (2003: 51): “Home is carefully distinguished from office, personal flair from professional expertise. The stage setting is intended to inspire our confidence that the service is, after all, worth paying a lot for... Airlines seem to model “stage sets” on the living rooms seen on daytime television serials; the Muzak tunes, the TV and movie screens, and the smiling flight attendants serving drinks are all calculated to “make you feel at home.” Even fellow passengers are considered part of the stage.”

There is quite some confusion about the term homestay. Homestays and B&Bs are in fact very similar and the terms are often used synonymously or simultaneously as in “homestay B&B” (Sand 2012: 20). The most obvious difference between them is the degree of guest (and host) privacy and the sharing of space and facilities (also with other guests) – B&Bs strive to be more like a hotel and less personal, homestays are less formal and more personal. Homestays promote contact between host and guest whereas B&Bs, guesthouses and hotels promote space in the name of guest privacy or ‘professionalism’;¹⁸ for instance, in B&Bs and guesthouses guests usually have private separate outside entrances to their rooms. Rates are also adapted accordingly so that with homestays and B&Bs rates are usually below that of hotels; at the top end of the market one can find very expensive B&Bs, competing with hotel rates, but homestay rates remain lower. B&Bs tend to permanently offer accommodation with dedicated guest rooms whereas homestays do not necessarily have dedicated guest rooms and can therefore only offer accommodation if the hosts have made alternative arrangements for the usual inhabitants of the potential guest rooms. The extent of the commercial enterprise will also reflect whether a home qualifies as a ‘commercial home’ or not – whether it is a business or not. The Tourism Grading Council of South Africa (TGCSA), for instance, does not recognise a homestay as a business; their grading criteria starts at B&B level. Being a business or becoming a business involves legal requirements and Sand (2012: 29) noted particular statutory requirements in South Africa when running an accommodation business from home, as opposed to a small scale supplementary income generating operation which is not formally a business. These involve municipal zoning, different tariffs for water and electricity, registration with the health and fire departments, public liability insurance and if one were to employ people, the relevant registrations for employees (such as PAYE tax, contributions to the Unemployed Insurance Fund (UIF) and Workman’s Compensation Fund), not to mention other registrations such TV licences and music licences such as with SAMRO.

¹⁸ Although Ritchie and Goeldner (1994: 225) stated “The bed-and breakfast phenomenon in the United States in the 1980s; farm and ranch tourism in Australia, New Zealand, and France ... all promote a type of tourism long on friendliness, hospitality, and in most cases, informality. Such tourism builds on local people, products, and services, which allows greater control of tourism and more local employment opportunities”.

According to some international definitions¹⁹ of homestays it seems that the majority of guests in homestays worldwide are exchange students who are interested in a cultural experience. This is not the case with Kwam. Rhodes University is situated in Grahamstown, but Grahamstown East hardly ever hosted a student, never mind a foreign exchange student.²⁰ The websites of service providers or networks promoting homestay type accommodation on the internet, such as *Airbnb*, *Couchsurfing* or *Homestayinn*, actively encourage people to become hosts by sharing their homes while stressing cultural exchange much more than the commercial aspect of the transaction. For instance, on the *Couchsurfing* homepage they state that strangers are “friends you haven’t met yet”, and in certain cases it even involves ‘total reciprocity’ whereby hosts and guests swap roles by visiting each other with no money exchange involved. Being non-commercial, this form of homestay has nothing to do with the present case. And there is yet another form of homestay which is when the entire host family moves out of their house and temporarily have guests occupy their home at a rate agreed on, but this form of homestay involves no host-guest interaction and is closer to a rental agreement. Other definitions of homestays such as the one by the Malaysian government also underline the basic idea that a homestay involves more than just accommodation for money. Pusiran and Xioa (2013: 3) note that “the official definition of the Homestay programme according to the [Malaysian] Ministry of Culture, Art and Tourism ... is ... where tourists stay with the host’s family and experience the everyday way of life of the family in both direct and indirect manners.” They further note that homestays in Malaysia are rather a rural phenomenon whereas other forms of commercial hospitality, such as hotels, motels or B&Bs are found in and around urban areas. Again, this is not the case in the present study as the Kwam homestays are urban, but the rural prevalence of homestays, specifically called farmstays, seems international. Abdullah and Said (2014:113) noted a recent development with Malaysian homestays away from the idea of ‘hardcore’ cultural exchange and rather focussed on guest comfort (i.e. modern

¹⁹ As reflected in websites such as <https://www.airbnb.com/>; <https://www.couchsurfing.com/>; <http://www.homestayin.com/>

²⁰ Rhodes University International Office informed me that all undergraduate exchange students are accommodated in the university’s students’ residences; Post graduate exchange students are dealt with by the particular department itself and often lecturers accommodate these students themselves. Others may find room in a digs. In 2013 the International Office official related that only in passing has township accommodation been mentioned when a student inquired about it but they had no further information about homestays. Since, things have changed.

structures, furnishings and appliances). They also noted variations on the homestay theme, still within the frame of cultural exchange, with what has become known as ‘kampungstays’ (where guests staying overnight have their own free standing traditional kampong style accommodation) and ‘home visits’ (or ‘kampung visits’), where guests stay for the day or several hours but do not overnight.

McIntosh et al (2011: 509-510) identified four types of operations in studies of small tourism businesses which I summarized as:

1. A small business as a type of *business on its own*, as opposed to a small version of big business (for instance, homestays are a recognisable type of business and are not a small version of a hotel, but B&Bs strive to be hotel-like);
2. A family business where it is not determined by size but by its role as a contributing or *supplementary source* of family income;
3. The ‘*lifestyle entrepreneur*’ for whom non-commercial motivations are of equal or even greater importance than economic reasons for running a business;
4. The “small rural farm-based tourism businesses” which is known as ‘*farm tourism*’.

McIntosh et al. (2011: 510) confirmed the rural predominance of homestays in New Zealand and then continued that they had “identified two types of bed-and-breakfasts distinguished on their degree of economic orientation: first, a bed-and-breakfast home where income is a lifestyle supplement, and second, a bed-and-breakfast business.” Again, this reflects the borderline definition of homestays and their easy equation to B&Bs. McIntosh et al. (2011: 510) further list terms coined to name so-called ‘new’ hospitality providers, these include “parahotel business”, “supplementary accommodation sector”, “boutique accommodation”, “homestay” and “quasi hotels”. I refer to ‘neo-inns’ but I agree with McIntosh et al. (2011: 510) that all these terms

seek to create a common descriptor for a form of small accommodation that apparently either aspires to emulate hotel-type accommodation or is a contrast to a hotel benchmark. Yet there is no agreement regarding the types of accommodation being described, and the

terms used largely stress the functionality of the lodgings without communicating any real sense of their intrinsic nature. In short, the terms ascribe labels that lack a fuller explanatory meaning.

Even concerning homestays, where it seems obvious what the label reflects and the transaction usually involves money, it could also indicate total reciprocity, or role swapping which is non-commercial. The distinction between rural and urban also does not help any real further understanding because it still concerns a home albeit in a different environment. As we will see the Kwam homestays are a variant of their own kind and as it is with Kwam, the homestays are urban although there is a strong rural connection with urban Grahamstown East.

3. Field setting

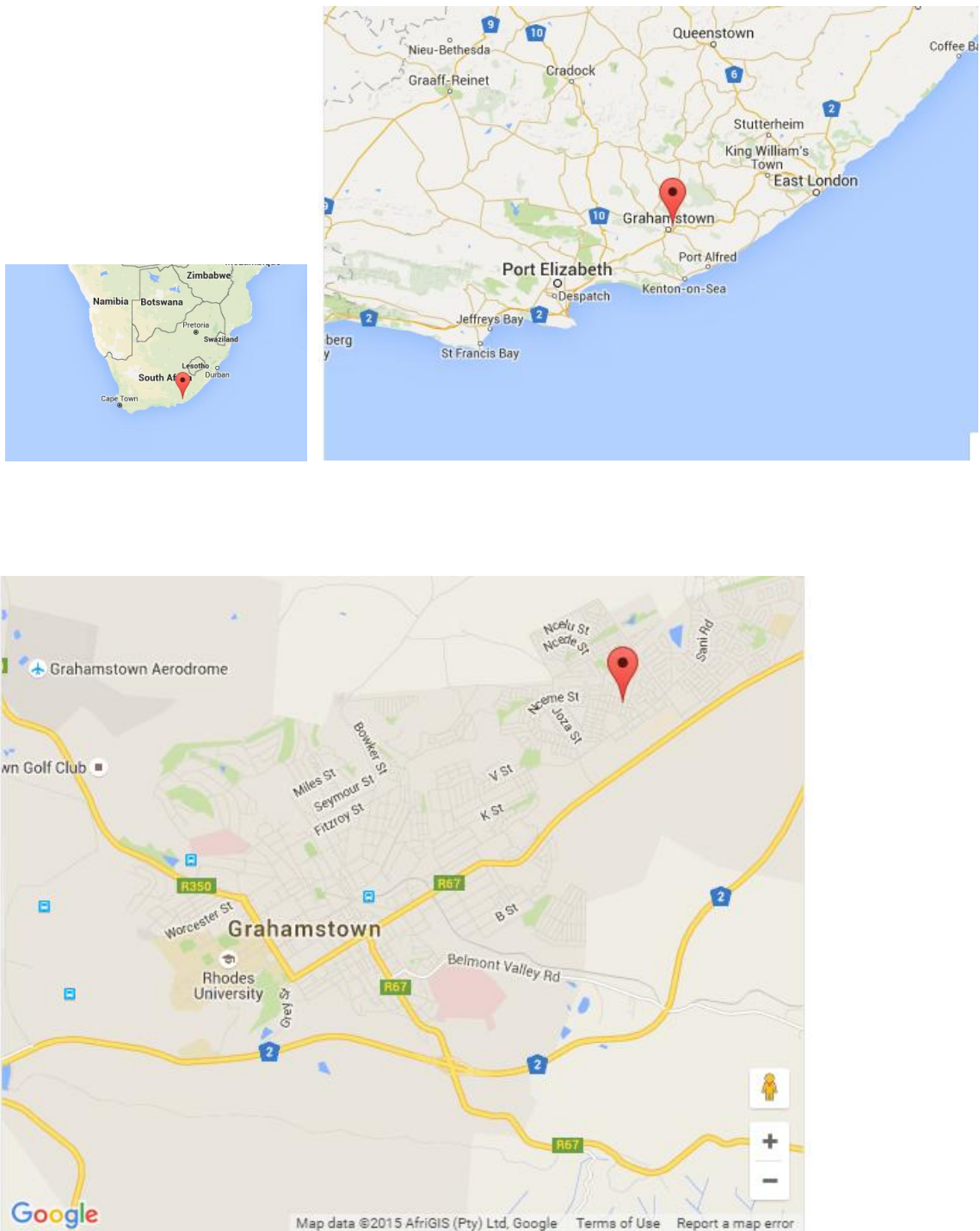


Figure 1: Maps showing the location of fieldwork

These maps were taken from Google Earth and the flag is on the central location of Kwam eMakana in South Africa, the Eastern Cape and Grahamstown East respectively.

Tourism in South Africa and the Eastern Cape

After the end of apartheid the entire Southern African region has become “one of the fastest growing tourist destinations in the world ... with nature-based tourism dominating” (Mbaiwa and Darkoh 2006: 1). Van Beek & Schmidt (2012: 5-6) commented that South African studies of tourism differed from the general ‘nature tourism’ studies in Africa and were much the same as tourism studies elsewhere, covering “a wide range of types of tourism, including beach holidays, sports, small town, township and ‘dark’ tourism (to Robben Island) ... as well as backpacking studies.” South Africa has been industrialised for decades and has experienced local entrepreneurs that can host as well as supply tourism ventures from within the country, but the problem is that this experience is associated with the white sector rather than the black sector.

As usual with the geography of tourism, the ports of entry and exit and the biggest cities are the hubs of the greatest attractions (Ritchie and Goeldner 1994: 201). In South Africa these are Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban and their respective hinterlands, including the tourist destinations of the Kruger National Park, the Wine- and Garden Routes and the Drakensberg. The biggest cities of the Eastern Cape are Port Elizabeth and East London with their respective hinterlands of the Karoo and the Wild Coast, but these do not compare in size and economic power with the cities of the other regions. Moreover, both cities and hinterlands were quite neglected during Apartheid (Alebiosu 2005: 5) and huge parts of the Eastern Cape were under the often corrupt control of former Bantustan (Homeland) dictators; the Eastern Cape is also the only province which after 1994 ‘inherited’ two of these former homelands – Ciskei and Transkei (Ruiters 2011). Had the Eastern Cape continued to be a region of the Cape Province, as it was before democracy, it might have more easily absorbed the Bantustans, but it was hived off from the more prosperous Western Cape and had to ‘sink or swim’ on its own.

Satour, the national tourism agency of the apartheid years did not encourage the little international tourism that came to South Africa before 1994 to visit the Eastern Cape. However, the region's incomparable coastline and unique game reserves – the Addo Elephant Park and the Mountain Zebra reserve – had long attracted domestic tourists and travellers from land-locked neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe. Now international tourists looking for 'off the beaten track' experience have become more numerous in the Eastern Cape, and as such compose a promising 'new market'.²¹ Besides the historical neglect of marketing the Eastern Cape, there is a "bias in favour of 'high-end spenders' [and this] has spatial implications as it privileges the 'traditional' regions with facilities and attractions that draw such tourists" (Palmer et al. 2002: 234). The region is reasonably popular with budget travellers ('backpackers'), but these make a smaller economic contribution, especially when it comes to accommodation.

Today the Eastern Cape is still the poorest province, having "inherited the poorest populations, the most burdens and the worst structural problems of the country" (Ruiters 2011: 29); it is still the most underdeveloped province in respect of tourism despite its enormous tourism potential, however elements of this sector have experienced meteoric growth (Palmer et al. 2002: 231). This includes the many agricultural farms that have converted to game farms especially in the last 20 years, most with luxury lodges and paid for with international funding. The numerous coastal resorts have continued to attract mainly (white) domestic tourism, but these South Africans are coming predominantly as owners, and their guests, to their 'second homes by the sea' rather than to the relatively few hotels and guest houses. Historic inland towns such as Grahamstown and Cradock have never realised their tourism potential.

²¹ Palmer et al. (2002: 223) referred to these tourists seeking 'off the beaten track' and noted: "these tourists are just as likely to visit land-locked destinations: ecotourism in protected areas (which are more frequently inland than coastal) has become extremely popular among new tourists ... This is connected to a further characteristic: activities not formerly associated with tourism, such as education and sport, are attracting new tourists to an unprecedented extent. Moworth and Munt have listed 25 qualifiers from 'academic' to 'wildlife' that can be added to the word 'tourism' to make credible specialities for the new market."

Frontier Country – a marginal tourist destination

Grahamstown is the only significant commercial centre of the Frontier Country tourist route which also more or less covers the area within the boundaries of Makana Municipality, in the bigger Cacadu, or recently renamed Sarah Baartman, District Municipality which in turn falls under the Eastern Cape Province. The name 'Frontier Country' commemorates the 100 years of almost continuous conflicts on the north-eastern border of the old Cape Colony as the indigenous amaXhosa tried to defend their land against the incursions of the Dutch and British colonial forces during most of the 1800's. As Prof. Winifred Maxwell noted in 1972: "A frontier, as I understand it, is not merely a military line; it is a zone of cultural contact and psychological adjustments. For generations men on a frontier seem to live confused and torn between two worlds" (O'Meara 1995: 84). Today it is hoped that those generations have passed and Frontier Country is a place where borders are crossed and humans exchange knowledge, ideas, skills, arts and culture – not confusion or conflict; but the persistence of black poverty and racial separation reflect the legacy of colonialism apartheid (which nowadays is exacerbated by widespread corruption and incompetence). Efforts to mitigate this dire legacy are epitomized by Grahamstown claiming to be "Africa's Festival Capital" mainly because of the annual National Arts Festival (NAF) which is one of the biggest festivals of its kind in the world and the oldest and biggest in Africa (Tony Lankester (CEO National Arts Festival) 2014: personal communication). The latest attempt is to recast Grahamstown with a marketing drive called "Creative City" which hopes to reach even beyond the image of festivals. Frontier Country has no major industries but it is renowned for Rhodes University and excellent schools, both public and private, which in the absence of industry, are major employers of unskilled workers as well as artisans and professionals.

There is a huge incentive to do something – anything – for the small towns of South Africa and especially the poor blacks who still live on their peripheries, even if it involves

misrepresentation. For example, Van Kessel (2012: 104) explored the virtual heritage tour on the website of Fetakgomo Municipality in Sekhukhuneland, in the Mpumalanga Province, and compared it with the real-life experience and concluded:

However, the tourist business is also a mirage: ordinary South Africans see pots of gold at the end of the rainbow but have little understanding of what will attract tourists. What to do if there is no game park anywhere near and local historical imagery is not as colourful as the archetypical Zulu warrior or the staunch Boer commando? Many South African municipalities now sport elaborate websites in the hope of attracting tourists...²²

Makana Tourism (MT), as the official Local Tourism Organization (LTO), also sports an elaborate website with French and German text options in the hope of attracting foreign tourists.²³ Besides a description of the location of the area and the historic links, the text is attempting to address a target market of international tourists, but little differentiates the site from descriptions of many other areas of South Africa: “Fast gaining in popularity, our small part of the world offers visitors easy access to the unspoilt beaches of the Sunshine Coast and premier game reserves in a malaria -and bilharzia-free environment. View the Big 5, enjoy our spectacularly rugged scenery, immerse yourself in our rich history and enjoy our warm hospitality!” Hard copy marketing is reflected in *‘GRAHAMSTOWN; The Heart of Frontier Country; Africa’s Festival Capital’*, Makana Tourism’s Visitor’s Guide for 2010/11 through to 2014/15, which also characterises this tourism region as focusing on nature-based tourism:

one of the most diverse ecological regions in South Africa, with a variety of biomes that provide unspoilt and spectacular scenery. Thousands of hectares are devoted to nature and game conservation, bringing with them the return of great herds of wildlife to places where they once roamed freely. This malaria-free region is fast gaining local and international popularity for excellent game-viewing with a variety of private reserves which include the Big Five.

The phrase “fast gaining local and international popularity”, may apply to the game farms in the area, but in the case of the small city of Grahamstown, it remains a wish rather than the reality. Small comparable historical cities elsewhere in South Africa, for instance Graaff-

²² Attempts to promote heritage tourism with recasting Frontier Country as a ‘battle field’ have succeeded as little as similar attempts in the Sekhukhune District, as Ineke van Kessel (2012: 112) pointed out that “Most importantly perhaps, the ‘battlefields’ niche of heritage tourism has already been taken up by the Natal battlefields.”

²³ <http://www.grahamstown.co.za/>

Reinet or Oudtshoorn, do well out of tourism because, besides spectacular scenery (and in the case of Graaff-Reinet an immaculate restoration project), they can offer more with specific attractions such as the Congo Caves and The Valley of Desolation respectively.²⁴ Grahamstown simply is not a tourist destination because it lacks some unique tourist attraction(s) - practically nobody comes to Grahamstown for 'holidays'.²⁵ A description of Grahamstown in 1980 reads: "School and university life in the town so dominates modern Grahamstown that during the vacation periods the streets are often empty and the stillness of the air is disturbed only, it is said, by the subdued weeping of commercial travellers" (Mayhew 1980: 146). This scene has not changed significantly by 2015 but the hospitality offerings have most certainly changed; and so have the politico-economic priorities of government at local, regional and national levels.

The annual National Arts Festival (NAF) is the only significant highlight on the calendar in terms of 'other' visitors to the area, but it lasts only 10 days (usually straddling the last days of June and stretching into the beginning of July) and most visitors to the NAF are South African, thus 'locals' or domestic travellers. Studies of the economic impact of the NAF on Grahamstown indicated that the area is quite dependant on this annual cash injection. An estimate in 2009 of the total annual direct expenditure by tourists to the Makana region was R42,43m, but which accounted for only 4,9% of employment in the area (*Local Economic Development (LED) Strategy: Makana Municipality; Situation Analysis* 2009: 71). It was estimated that the Festival brings about R33m to Grahamstown (Snowball 2005: 186); of this only about 10% accrued to the 'formerly disadvantaged' in Grahamstown East (Snowball 2005: 244). However, there were increasing opportunities for Grahamstown East to reap financial benefits, not the least by providing much needed accommodation facilities, but a few years later the *LED Situation Analysis* (2009: 62), in a section "Responsible Tourism

²⁴ For the past few years Oudtshoorn and its attractions have been negatively affected by political in-fighting in the municipality, which reflected a national tendency at the time as many municipalities have been placed under provincial administration, including Grahamstown's Makana Municipality.

²⁵ According to Snowball (2000: 44): "... unlike larger cities, Grahamstown does not have many other attractions which may account for the presence of a significant number of tourists at other times or for other reasons."

Sector Plan”, found that the market for accommodation had reached saturation in Grahamstown.

The advent of the luxury game farms is only the most recent of changes in the farming sector that have placed pressure on Grahamstown and other towns of the region.²⁶ Manona (1988) has documented the increasing drift of redundant farm labour to the towns since before the shift of so many arable and cattle farms to game farms. The devastating economic and social impact of game farming on the local population has been assessed in this area by Luck (2004). The development of game farms in Frontier Country was also much in line with what Brooks, Spierenburg & Wels (2012: 207) found about vast other areas of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal where game farming has changed much of the agrarian landscape since the 1990s. They also mention the often overlooked fact that

each of these farms is [or was] home to resident farm labourers and (former) labour tenants, generally poor and ill-educated but with their own particular histories on the land and claims to it. The position of these people on farms – we refer to them collectively ... as ‘farm dwellers’ – is severely impacted by the expansion of private wildlife initiatives ... Established agrarian relationships ... are being challenged, restructured, and in many cases broken (Brooks et al. 2012: 210).

And indeed, the vast expansions of the townships of Grahamstown East bear witness “the generally poor and ill-educated” who moved from the farms to Grahamstown in the hope of finding a RDP house²⁷ and a job (Luck 2004: 35). The ‘push factors’ for agricultural farmers to convert or sell their land to game farming included a decade long drought in the Eastern Cape from 1982-1992 which made conventional farming almost impossible (Luck 2004: 43), and new and existing farm owners were trying to avoid new minimum wage regulations after 1994 (Brooks et al. 2012: 215). The solution for the farmers or new landlords with

²⁶ “The number of private and public game reserves has grown by a significant amount between 1995 and 2007, with the area devoted to game and nature conservation now 118 653 of the municipality’s 437 562 hectares” (MEP 2009: 74; Luck 2004: 33).

²⁷ Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) houses are part of the post 1994 government’s attempts at providing adequate housing for formerly disadvantaged people. The houses were often built of inferior quality materials and workmanship.

game farming promoted ecological conservation but paid little heed to the people who depended on the land for their living. Therefore Brooks et al. (2012: 212-3) refer to the game farm phenomena as an example of 'organised hypocrisy', which is similar to Büscher's (2009) criticism of 'neoliberal conservation'. Tourism enterprises are expected to be socially responsible and also to assist 'poor people' but it seems that with game farming it rather contributes to poverty than alleviates it. "Two main components of this rhetoric can be identified: first the promise of job creation ... and second, claims by many private game reserves that they are involved in social upliftment programmes and thus actively contributing to poverty alleviation in the country"(Brooks et al.2012: 212-3). In the private game farming sector there is not much room for community initiatives mainly because what this sector offers is nature but without people (Palmer et al 2002: 240). Moreover, the natural attractions of the game farms are behind high fences, defended by mostly white professional rangers – all very reassuring for the tourists in a country of high crime rates and hundreds of farm murders a year but not generally conducive to income generation for the poorest of the poor. Game farms draw guests rather exclusively to them with full board offers and consequently the rest of hospitality operators in the area do not receive any real benefit from the growth of this industry – it is a form of 'enclave tourism'. In Frontier Country, one of the bigger international accredited game farm operations, Kwandwe Game Reserve, through its Angus Gillis Foundation, has made significant attempts at poverty alleviation in its immediate area, but these efforts are by no means representative of the sector.

Since long before my previous study in the same region the fact remains that most visitors to Grahamstown are VFRs (visiting friends and relatives). The main market for commercial accommodation in the city itself can be described as utilitarian hospitality opposed to leisure hospitality – visitors come to Grahamstown for reasons other than leisure but they still require accommodation. The parents of students at the university and of the boarders at the various schools who bring and fetch their offspring and attend sports days, speech days and graduation at schools and the university, form the bulk of visitors outside of the 10 days of NAF. A smaller number of guests are made up by attendants to conferences or

court cases, and those that just require a stop-over, particularly for locals travelling by road between Durban and Cape Town. The Director of Makana Tourism stated at their AGM in 2014 that only about 5% of all visitors to Grahamstown were international tourists and of these most were hunters or otherwise interested in the game farms. And in March 2015, the Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for Tourism in the Eastern Cape Province said on radio that there had been a steady *decline* in tourism numbers to the Eastern Cape since 2011 (despite the steady annual increases of around four percent nationally). Thus foreign tourists remain very marginal when tourism in Grahamstown is concerned.

However, there is an on-going shift in visitors' demographics and if most of them are VFRs it would translate that increasingly more black commercial guests come to Grahamstown because, for instance, the parents of learners and students are increasingly black, as the schools and university strive to be more demographically representative. Observations and interviews with various stakeholders in the industry have confirmed that there are still clear racial divides in the local hospitality sector which further thwart tourist development in the black sector. Game farms are white or internationally owned and in the mainly white Grahamstown West the Grahamstown Hospitality Guild²⁸ holds sway. As Ritchie and Goeldner (1994: 223) found "that the smaller and less diversified the city, the greater are the political traumas likely to be", and Grahamstown is such a small city, and the sudden increase in numbers of visitors, during for instance NAF, brings with it its own challenges and problems. The Makana Municipality struggles to cope with the 'aging infrastructure' of the city and in the period of this study power and water outages have become the norm rather than the exception. Most of the townships to the east of Grahamstown are in higher lying areas and are the first to suffer water pressure drops and cuts. Also during the time of this study Makana Municipality has been placed under administration by the provincial government in an attempt to prevent total collapse of the functions of the municipality, mainly due to fraud and corruption. The aging infrastructure is actually less of a problem than its poor management by under-skilled officials, and is collapsing mainly because

²⁸ The Grahamstown Hospitality Guild (GHG) was founded in 2000 by (white) B&B and guest house owners and some booking agencies, who were disgruntled about the way Makana Tourism was promoting Grahamstown.

nothing has been done to maintain or upgrade existing facilities over the last 20 years and, indeed, it has been frequently damaged as a result of incompetence or neglect. In 2015 it turned out that even if the provincially appointed administrator had been the best paid administrator in the country and cost taxpayers R3m for nine months' intervention, there were as good as no 'improvements', in fact the town was worse off than before. These problems are hardly conducive to a growing reputation for tourism and hospitality.

That Grahamstown fails to be a (domestic or international) tourist destination is a very important fact, not only for the reality of tourism development but also for the applicability of tourism studies in general. The underdeveloped tourism potential also means that as yet there is not an established thriving tourist industry from which pro-poor tourism can also benefit.²⁹ Government, including regional and local authorities have made considerable efforts and suggestions as to how tourism can be developed, but with a limited response. Here, then, it is not a case of policy obstructing development³⁰ but rather the reality of the area and the performance of the actual stakeholders involved. Despite state initiatives, black empowerment or black entrepreneurship has remained peripheral especially concerning the hospitality industry: the production of arts and craft as an adjunct to the tourism industry seemed to have much more success (Palmer et al 2002: 236-8; Graburn and Moore 1994: 239). Inroads by black owned tourism business in South Africa were only made in areas where competition from the private industry sector was the least, hence township-, 'struggle'-, or deep rural tourism. Tourism is often seen as the 'sure thing' (Ritchie and Goeldner 1994: 221) and huge promises are made about the potential tourism has for the alleviation of poverty. However, the negative social impacts of tourism, particularly when development is rapid and the seasonality of it have been discussed from the outset of anthropological inquiries into tourism up to the present: from Valene Smith's

²⁹ "Commercial viability is paramount; tourism can only thrive where there are sufficient quality attractions, access and infrastructure. Pro-poor tourism cannot be developed without latching on to an existing tourism product, or an existing flow of tourists and the poor do not have sufficient resources – including their time and their labour – to risk engaging in initiatives which do not have strong links to demonstrably viable markets for their goods and services" (WTO 2002: 94).

³⁰ "The success or failure of tourism often is linked to the institutional and policy framework of a country" (Mbaiwa and Darkoh 2006: 5).

(1977) ground-breaking work *Hosts and Guests*, to recent studies of tourism's impact on areas as diverse as the Greek Islands (Graburn and Moore 1994: 237; Lenz in Scott and Selwyn 2010: 222), the Okavango Delta (Mbaiwa & Darkoh 2006) and the Far East (Da Col 2012: 184). Ritchie and Goeldner (1994: 225) highlight a major constraint especially for developing countries like South Africa:

Despite the desirability of local participation in tourism and the advantage of gradual expansion of the industry with maximum diffusion, some governments may lack the luxury of options on this issue. Where major infrastructure like a new airport is required ... only rapid and large-scale development will earn a reasonable rate of return on the airport. Rather than choosing between slower and faster or dispersed and concentrated tourism, the choice may have to be between tourism and no tourism.

Thus, if the challenges of developing a sustainable tourist industry are insurmountable, authorities should rather focus on establishing, for instance, manufacturing industries to create jobs and alleviate poverty. This could be particularly applicable to Frontier Country where there is a lack of industry, lack of infrastructure (such as an airport) and no lack of chronic high unemployment.

Grahamstown East

Because of the proximity of the townships of Grahamstown East to Rhodes University a number of theses, including those by Wilsworth (1979), Manona (1981, 1988) and Brown (1996), have been submitted which focussed specifically on the development of the townships, poverty and the way people live there, or as with Luck (2004) the people of the rural areas around Grahamstown. But there were also informal studies and surveys such as that of Holleman and Paterson (2002). As most of these studies and surveys had been done twenty and more years ago they provide valuable insights about where the Kwam mamas

came from, to compare the circumstances in which they grew up and continued to live, under what conditions Kwam was conceived in 2004, to where they are now.

Grahamstown East is literally on the other side of the (now abandoned) railroad which runs along the Bloukrans River³¹, roughly the border of the old white town to the West of it and the black townships to the East. Soon after the founding of Grahamstown in 1812 and especially after the arrival of the 1820 British settlers, the local isiXhosa speaking peoples were also attracted to new possibilities offered by the booming town. These locals formed the first township east of the Bloukrans which was called Fingo Village because most locals at the time belonged to the Mfengu, former refugees from the Shaka wars who had rights of settlement in the colony³². Towards the end of the 1800s and mainly with government housing schemes the township spread north-east to an area called Tanty³³. From the 1900s the township spread further east and up around the little hill called Makana's Kop to KwaTatha³⁴ and Joza³⁵ and it kept extending eastwards onto an area called Kings Flats. Most of the houses in these areas had been built before 1980. The extensions numbered four and five are also known as Mahlasela Park and is referred to as the 'elite' area of the township with mainly privately built houses. During the 1980s the apartheid government had plans to relocate the entire black township 40 km North-east into the Ciskei homeland and therefore not much attention was paid to the further development of the township in Grahamstown in the 1980s. But after the government was dissuaded from this plan by well-connected local white activists more extensions to Joza were resumed in the 1990s. The newer, post 1994, extensions, numbered eight, nine, and ten, are more homogeneous in appearance as most houses were again government built structures but with a different uniform design and not so many outbuildings and added rooms as in the older areas. The townships are

³¹ Although called a river it is more of a little stream

³² As pressure increased on the amaXhosa proper, many passed themselves off as Mfengu to gain support at mission stations or in the colony, and the Mfengu category underwent a population explosion beyond natural increase. Later, when the Transkei was annexed, an area called Fingoland was created to resettle some of them.

³³ After a certain tooth (Afrikaans *tand*, hence *tandjie* as diminutive) leaved herb which grew on the slopes of Makana's Kop.

³⁴ After building materials for new government houses were repetitively stolen or 'taken' (*tatha*).

³⁵ After construction workers from Johannesburg (*Jozi*) were contracted to build the houses there.

sometimes collectively called Joza or Rhini³⁶; the latter is also a proposed name for the renaming of Grahamstown.

Many houses have annexed rooms or one or more free standing buildings very close to the main house similar to what Brown (1996: 7) observed. She suggested that this reflects people's perpetuation of the 'old ways', in line with Manona's (1988: 118) interpretation that it reflects the (rural) way the family group (*umzi*)³⁷ lived in the past. These outside rooms are usually inhabited by direct family members who are part of the household. Brown (1996: 8; 64) concluded that most households in the townships were "comprised of a group of people, usually kin, and often multi generational, who live together in one building or group of buildings, eat together, pool resources and support each other to a certain extent." But it is not a static unit because people move in and out to seek work or attend training elsewhere, besides death and illness. Already prevalent with Brown's (1996: 12;70) study were female-headed households which she noted were "most often to be found in conditions of poverty and unemployment, as well as in areas of intensified migration and urbanisation", such as Grahamstown East. From her sample of 100 households across the townships 42 were male-headed and 58 female-headed households (Brown 1996: 50). Manona (1988:397) also noted this prevalence and referred to these households which "may include a mother and her adult daughters and their children" who often "co-operate in providing support for their homes". The men in these households, usually sons, nephews, grandsons or grandnephews and occasionally a husband or boyfriend depend on the senior woman and therefore play marginal roles in the household (Brown 1996: 110) and contribute far less to the communal income. Brown (1996: 168) concluded that

It was obviously easier for the women ... to adapt to a changing society than it was for the men, for these women were able to adopt familiar roles in the urban world in which they now lived ... women have been care-givers and nurturers for millennia ... [and] therefore

³⁶ After reeds (*rhini*) which grew in the area; the deserted farm on which Grahamstown was founded was called *De Rietfontien*, also referring to reeds.

³⁷ *Umzi* is seen as the focal point of traditional Xhosa society and the position held therein affects positions held outside, such as status within the larger community (Luck 2004: 17).

continued to take on these roles, whether they were scholars, single parents, household heads or junior members of extended households. They also made use of the informal economy through hawking, child-minding and working with crafts such as beadwork and sewing ...

Housing has always been inadequate with overcrowding and squatting a rampant condition of township life (Brown 1996: 35). Manona (1991: 297) referred to older sources which spoke of the townships as “disease-ridden ghettos”. Wilsworth (1979: 86) noted that the lack of a waterborne sewerage system was perhaps the most unpleasant aspect of life in the township. Brown (1996: 35) also referred to other sources dating from the 1980 which describe “a lack of adequate refuse disposal, sewerage ... neglect of crucial sanitation and water facilities” and Crapanzano’s (1986: 167-8) informant told him that “Grahamstown is one of the most backward places in the world”.³⁸

Brown (1996: 37-9) described the visible poverty with reference to dilapidated structures, worn linoleum floors, threadbare curtains and a minimum amount of furniture, bucket toilet systems and piped water only from taps in the street. The toilet buckets were supposed to be emptied twice weekly but the system often broke down with dire effects on everybody (Brown 1996: 44). Brown (1996: 39) was surprised to find that most of the homes she visited were “spotlessly clean” inside, in contrast to the piles of rubbish which line the streets of which only very few were tarred. The gravel roads were “rutted and full of potholes so that they became impassable after heavy rain and were very dusty when the weather was dry.” She also noticed that no road maintenance was done during the time of her study. The roads were also used as general drainage for dirty washing water “where it often lay in

³⁸ Crapanzano (1986: 167-8) noted what an informant had told him: “The township was in Grahamstown, and Grahamstown is one of the most backward places in the world. When the government wanted to build a railway line through the town, the people stopped it because it was going to put ox wagons out of commission. When someone wanted to open a second brick factory, they stopped it as well, because of pollution. The result is that there is only one pottery and one brick factory. That’s the sum total of industry in Grahamstown. There’s no work. When the university’s in session, there is some work for domestic servants, but when the university’s closed down, there is no work at all. Blacks there literally starve to death. They scavenge on dead bodies, looking for bits of food. And this is where the government’s created its Bantustans!”

stagnant pools.” Brown (1996: 44) concluded that there had been only marginal improvements of living conditions in the townships, such as the start with electricity provision. Over the fifteen years preceding her study, Brown (1996: 49) noted the resulting overcrowding and unemployment as the population of Grahamstown East kept increasing as still more farm workers lost their jobs and flocked to town to join already settled relatives and in the hope of finding a job. The main employers in Grahamstown at that time were “the university, the schools, the hospital, the municipality, the judiciary and a few small industries” (Brown 1996: 59) – far too few to supply employment to the rapidly increasing population. In the 1990s there were 12 small industries and she mentioned an ostrich meat processing plant but that closed down a few years later. The only real sizable industry which seemed to have remained in constant operation is a brick and tile factory. Brown concluded that “Grahamstown has had a long history of low industrial activity for a variety of reasons” (ibid). Holleman and Paterson (2002: 38) present a graphic which shows that the population of Grahamstown East more than doubled between 1980 (from about 45 000 people) and 1997 (to over 115 000). Even if the accuracy of the numbers is difficult to establish, given that in the 2011 Census there appeared to be less people (about 53 000 in total)³⁹, all sources concur that there were massive population increases in Grahamstown East from the 1980s onward.

What is particularly interesting about Brown’s (1996) study is that it straddled the period of transition in South Africa from 1993 to 1995. Since 1994 many people owned their houses and Brown (1996: 46) suggested that this “security of tenure” led to people making improvements to their homes and adding rooms, which they had been reluctant to do before. But for many it was a long term aspiration as they could only afford bits at a time. Before 1994 most houses in the township were leased from government under the Department of Bantu Administration (as it was called then). The monthly payments changed after 1994 from lease payments to payments of municipal accounts for rates and taxes, water and electricity, and the home owners were registered as such. For various proof of

³⁹ Stats SA 2011

residence requirements a copy of such a municipality account, reflecting the name of the home owner, suffices even today.

Sharing accommodation was and still is the norm (Brown 1996: 166). "For example, the size of a typical living room was 4m x 3m, and such a room would usually double up as a bedroom. In one case it also became playing space for the children who were being cared for as part of a child-minding service" Brown (1996: 43). Brown (1996: 52-4) noted the mobility of the household as children were often moved within kinship groups (usually to the maternal grandmother) for longer and short periods for reasons ranging from better schooling opportunities, economic circumstances, divorce of the parents, a new lover or death. Even at the time of migration from the game farms, it was not one-way as many people moved between relatives in town and those out of town, either for visits, celebrations or rituals or for longer periods for a variety of reasons, from ill health to economic circumstance. Luck (2004: 12; 23) referred to a "household fluidity" as she noted there were new faces belonging to a household almost on every visit, although these were mainly children. Especially for secondary school education children were sent to stay with urban relatives (Luck 2004: 53). Luck (2004: 53) also noted that women who had lost their husbands tended to move to town especially in the face of possible eviction from the farm they were staying on. Consequently there developed a strong "urban-rural link" and poor people moved between the urban and rural as a strategy to have the benefit of both worlds similar to what Ferguson (1999: 78) saw in Lesotho and Manona (2001) described about the 'poor' of the Eastern Cape. The fluidity of the households and female-headed households were common features of the township's societal structure (Luck 2004: 79). However, overcrowding in Grahamstown East was still a huge concern in 2003 and the urban commonages insufficient for the influx of rural live stock (Luck 2004: 59). Although younger people seemed more eager to urbanize than older people, they were often seriously disappointed by not finding a way out of poverty (Luck 2004: 103) "they have found town life hard and opportunities even harder to come by". Thus these people have become entangled with 'a culture of poverty'. In 2003 Luck (2004:1-2) noted that despite the end of

apartheid a decade before “the province's black residents were trapped in a desperate cycle of poverty and powerlessness” and the migration from the rural areas to town continued mainly because of the rapid extension of game farms in the area. Game farming is far less labour intensive and hence the migration added a “layer to the underclass of unemployment and pension dependent people in the region's country towns”, such as Grahamstown.

For Brown (1996: 13) poverty in the township was apparent and she often heard her informants complaining, “We are pulling very hard”. Even if “a television was an important item for most families” (Brown 1996: 85) people often struggled to buy units of electricity to operate the sets after the purchase of basic necessities such as food eroded the available financial resources. However Brown (1996: 69) also noted that

there is an increasing differentiation between the very poor and those who can afford to improve and extend their houses, of which there is a growing number. Electricity is now available in much of the township, but there are many people who cannot afford to make use of it, or only to a very limited degree. Not only is there is a marked contrast between the middle class suburbs and the informal settlements, but also between houses which have been extended and upgraded and those which are very dilapidated and in need of repair, both of which may exist in the same street.

Brown (1996: 47) noted that her informants told her that “people are jealous” of other’s visible improvements. Brown (1996: 124) quoted an informant who said

There is a lot of jealousy here. People try to pull you down. And my friends get impatient if I want to go to church on Sunday. They want me to go drinking with them.

Luck (2004: 122) also recorded “[t]he fact that some women have recorded more success than others has aroused jealousy and resentment”. The jealousy and resentment follow because the borderline of poverty has shifted: in the poverty situation resources are finite, there is a limit: both material and non-material resources are a ‘limited good’ (Luck 2004:

123; Foster 1965). Therefore, if someone displays apparent success others see it as something that has happened at their expense, and very often this is accompanied by foul play as everybody is suspicious of another's success (Luck 2004: 123). Luck (2004: 124) concluded that "[t]he most pressing problems have been internal community conflicts premised on jealousy over another's success and financial matters, and persistent subservience and deference in relation to white people." These same sentiments were still present in 2013 as a local black businessman/politician chastised the black community at a meeting for what he called "the problem of the pulling down syndrome" – jealousy.

Alcohol abuse is still a big problem, where perhaps contrary to this vice, church attendance also still formed an important part of life for the residents of Grahamstown East in 2015. Of the 100 households Brown (1996: 109) had surveyed every one belonged to a church of some sort and she noted that "Churchgoers are very conspicuous in the township on a Sunday morning as they set off for church dressed in their best; and on a Thursday afternoon many women can be seen walking to their women's church group meetings in their various colourful uniforms ... participation in a church group provides both social and spiritual support for many of the women I had contact with" (Brown 1996: 66). In 2015 this image has not changed.

Siyanda Centwa and Pedro Tabensky's article *No place for 'peasants': Tales of a Divided City*,⁴⁰ is a reflection of poverty and race relations in 2014. Centwa tells about having grown up in Extension 8 of Joza where "township life is unforgiving and barren". On a scholarship he could study at Rhodes University and described how his life was before and how it changed:

⁴⁰ In the local newspaper Grocott's Mail 7 March 2014: 13

I grew up in shacks, always sharing one room with my mother and two sisters. There was no privacy. We had no money. We only had two meals a day. My days at school were marked by hunger. Everything about my life changed abruptly when I came to Rhodes ... [it] is wonderful, but ... it plagues me with guilt, for I cannot help thinking about my mother and surviving sister living in squalor, with empty bellies ... It is not nice to be told over and over again that one is like an untouchable ... [Rhodes] is a hostile home, full of people who despise me for not having money. I have no middle class friends. All my friends at Rhodes come from my socio-economic background. Middle class students either reject me or don't seem to understand what it is to be penniless ... But middle class black students seem desperate to flaunt their wealth and to distance themselves from students from my background ... The fact that I am someone to be despised suggests that they fear being identified with people like me who vividly remind them that they were not born white ... Their situation is tragic, for they want to become what they can't.

Little seems to have changed from the on-going struggle with unemployment, poverty and the racial divide of the town which were all still rampant in 2015. Huge improvements have been made (more roads were tarred, water and sewage connections extended) but the rapid population expansion caused a severe backlog with government housing provisions and many people still helped themselves and built their homes with whatever material they could find, from traditional 'wattle and daub' structures to shacks out of plastic sheeting, old corrugated roof sheets and parts of signboards. Thus alongside government housing schemes there are still quite a number of informal settlements.

Below are some photos that show what parts of the townships of Grahamstown East looked like in 2015, and as will be seen, they depict similar scenes to those described above. Typical daytime street scenes in the townships reflect quite a lot of outdoor life, where children play, housewives and mates mission around, lovers stroll, dogs scrummage, cattle stray, donkeys or goats browse and the streets are usually liberally decorated with litter, particularly plastic bags which the wind spreads around. Occasionally some street corners

become illegal dumping grounds for any imaginable refuse causing quite a smell and an obvious health hazard. The municipality clears these sites from time to time and has put up sign boards strictly forbidding residents to use the site as a dump site but as rubbish is in continuous supply, new dumps quickly pile up again. At night the streets are rather empty as life withdraws into the homes. Security is a serious concern and especially single women avoid the streets at night. Although the townships of Grahamstown were still considered 'safe' in the first part of 2015, crime was on the increase.



Figure 2 Grahamstown East viewed from the West with Makana's Kop in the middle



Figure 3 Grahamstown West (viewed from the East) in the background, Tanti in the foreground



Figure 4 Grahamstown CBD viewed from Makana's Kop; 1820 Settler's Monument in top left quarter of the picture



Figure 5 Some streets have been tarred but animals roam freely



Figure 6 An illegal dump on a street corner with a municipal notice forbidding dumping



Figure 7 Informal housing area (next to Extension 7)

4. Methodology

The methods, procedures and techniques which I used in the beginning of my investigation had to change significantly at a certain point in my fieldwork, when things happened which made me change from observer/ethnographer to also be activist/patron of the Kwam project. Although the change to activist research was not anticipated it became my dominant approach. Below I begin with a survey of some traditional approaches and this is followed by an account of my fieldwork approached in the conventional manner, as it was before the change. The subsequent survey of approaches to engaged anthropology includes the distinction I make between auto-anthropology and anthropology at home. I highlight issues concerning reflexivity and radical reflexivity before other matters such as literary sensibility, language, race and ethics are discussed.

Traditional Methodology and the “multi-rationalities” approach

Clifford and Marcus’s (1986) *Writing Culture* was the most influential outcome of what became known as the ‘crisis of representation’ (Marcus 1999) in social science. *Writing Culture* and its sister volume *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* by Marcus and Fisher also in 1986, summed up the traditional approaches and the subtitle of *Writing Culture, The Poetics and politics of Ethnography*, already reflected ‘alternative paths’ to ethnographic production including encouraging renewed debates on “objectivity, colonialism, reflexivity and literary sensibility, to mention but a few” (Zenker and Kumoll 2010: 1-2). Up to that time traditional approaches in anthropology had been predominantly engaged with “participant-observation, data collection, and cultural description, all of which presuppose a standpoint outside – looking at, objectifying, or somewhat closer, “reading,” a given reality” (Clifford 1986). Graburn and Moore (1994: 234) liken anthropologists to “translators” of “the

natives' point of view" and in the process to present such a 'translation', besides long-term fieldwork and participant observation, also supplement direct observation with examinations of historical, archival, and statistical sources. These include "[s]tudies of symbolic meanings and of local and national identities, using linguistic, psychological, and semiotic as well as textual analyses, [which] are important in the analysis of advertising, motivation, representation, and cross-cultural understanding." Graburn and Moore claim that these additional sources of data have particular advantages for the interdisciplinary nature of tourism research, so I have added them to a post-*Writing Culture* understanding of ethnography.

I also followed Olivier de Sardan (2005: 209) who expanded on the meaning of the "anthropological enquiry" and in particular when applied to development projects:

Yet the word 'enquiry' also has another meaning, one that refers to anthropological enquiry proper, sometimes called 'qualitative' enquiry, based on in-depth interviews, so-called participatory observation, more or less informal conversations, non-directive or semi-directive interviews, descriptions, surveys, case studies, etcetera ... This is a 'fundamental', complex, lengthy, global anthropological enquiry which is unquestionably the best approach for obtaining knowledge about the finer aspects of social knowledges and social logics, topics on which 'quantitative' sociology is not competent ... But anthropological enquiry, as such, is not easily applied to development projects. And the time and professional qualification it requires do not generally correspond to the demands made by development institutions.

... Finally, there is another type of enquiry, namely expert enquiry or the 'tour of the field'. This allows experts, consultants, researchers and decision makers to become a little more familiar with a problem or a situation, to 'get an idea', to put feelings, words, faces on files and figures. This is the favourite working method of (most) consultancy offices, NGOs ... co-operation offices ... Such enquiries respond to certain evaluative needs, but they have nothing to teach us about the logics that regulate the way populations react to the action carried out on their behalf... Expert enquiry is opposed in many aspects to anthropological enquiry.

Olivier de Sardan (2005: 52ff) suggested a "multi-rationalities approach"⁴¹ and he is "convinced that a less pretentious approach is needed, one that is more empirical and

⁴¹Olivier de Sardan 2005: 51-2 explains: "This type of approach covers two complementary levels. First, it is more localized, with a greater focus on the micro and even on the meso levels. Planetary and continental perspectives are abandoned. Its efforts at theorizing focus on the understanding, partial though it may be, of

which shows a greater awareness of the fragmentation characteristic of current social reality". This aligns with the holistic approach of anthropology and even in the present study where I combined 'expert enquiry' with my anthropological enquiry which eventually led to intervention, I believe it is still within a multi-rationalities approach.

Then I was also inspired by Miller (2012: 69) who summarized his approach: "My method, like all successful ethnography, was not to have a method, but to remain sensitive to what worked best for that particular project." Although this implies flexibility, as with 'go with the flow', it does not mean that fieldwork is just happening at random (Ervin 2000: 142). Wolcott (1995: 97) also noted that "all research depends on intuition to a greater extent than anyone ever seems to acknowledge" and some research is done "on a highly intuitive basis". Besides that it is important to be sensitive to emotions in the field, to reflect this intuition is particularly important when it comes to represent the research, say, in writing, but this will be discussed separately below.

In this study I augmented traditional methods of anthropological research to include an eclectic assortment of formal, less formal and informal techniques of data collection (details are in next section below) so "that fruitful combination of empirical enquiry and 'heuristic viewpoints' can be achieved" (Olivier de Sardan 2005: 60-7). And this is perhaps the bottom line of the anthropological quest: to find the holistic truth and make a proper representation of it.⁴² But a "holistic engagement is a civic engagement. It is by its nature critical. Therefore

regional and sectoral phenomena, preferred over general theoretical viewpoints and dogmatic statements made out of context.

Second, the emphasis is placed on social actors or groups of social actors, their strategies, and the stakes they vie for. The elbow room available to individuals and groups within the series of constraints determined by structures is now a major object of study."

⁴² Or as Bourdieu (1989: 16) stated: "Interactions, which bring immediate gratification to those with empiricist dispositions—they can be observed, recorded, filmed, in sum, they are tangible, one can "reach out and touch them"—mask the structures that are realized in them. This is one of those cases where the visible, that which

it comes with risks” (McKenna 2013: 60). Olivier de Sardan (2005: 117) identified some methodological challenges such as the “yawning cultural and cognitive gulf between surveyors and the surveyed, the developers and those they develop, the enquirers and the enquirees” but he states that ethnological research tends to bring these actors together whereas “hard quantitative research tends to produce knowledge that estranges experts, developers and surveyors from the life-worlds and concepts peculiar to those being experted, developed or surveyed”. Here Olivier de Sardan also referred to “methodological populism” which he describes as “a heuristic postulate: social science should observe the conceptions and practices of the ‘poor’ with the keenest attention” (ibid). Again, this refers to the required sensitivity in the field. He also described populism as “an endemic social science attitude: a relatively enthusiastic discovery of the ‘people’ by intellectuals has resulted in the production of a significant amount of knowledge in anthropology, history and sociology ...” (ibid).

Olivier de Sardan (2005: 202) also recognized the biases in the process of fieldwork (of which, I would argue, the guest-bias is the most common) and concluded that

The bias observed in quantitative enquiries also applies to ‘qualitative’ enquiries based on prolonged interaction with peasants. *The researcher’s ‘participation’ clearly implies personal and subjective slants. The role of anthropological savoir-faire is to minimize, control and use such biases.* [emphasis in original]

To recognize these biases is the first step in dealing with them and when it comes to the host-guest power relations, also with fieldwork, it is of utmost importance to minimize, control and use them. However, Meneley and Young (2005: 15) confirm that even if their work “is animated by complex structures of feeling”, also of the anthropologist researcher, the method of long-term participant observation remains after all a most viable research method.

is immediately given, hides the invisible which determines it. One thus forgets that the truth of any interaction is never entirely to be found within the interaction as it avails itself for observation.”

In the field

Besides a survey of various literary sources to collect information on the history and development of Kwam, I started in the beginning of 2012 to collect data through numerous semi-formal and informal interviews with involved people such as members of Makana Tourism's office, the Kwam liaison officer, community development agents, government officials, and stakeholders in the hospitality industry of the Frontier Country. These included interviews with the former director of Makana Tourism, Mr Willem Makkink (generally referred to as Mr Makkink), the current director, Ms Susan Waugh (generally referred to as Sue), and volunteer consultant at Makana Tourism, Mr Brian Jackson. I voice recorded these interviews with the consent of the interviewees and made notes; later, usually still on the same day if possible, I transcribed the recordings.

To approach the Kwam hosts I investigated various methods to overcome one problem, that of trying not to be a guest, as I did not want to directly approach the Kwam hosts by just appearing on their threshold (even by arrangement). I decided to 'participate and observe' by offering to be an independent (and unpaid) 'consultant' for Kwam, the organization. This position was accepted by the Kwam liaison officer, Mr Otto Ntshebe (generally referred to as Otto) and Sue and I was duly introduced and instituted as such at the first Kwam general meeting for 2013 in March. Since then, as consultant-researcher, I attended almost all Kwam members' meetings and, as with the interviews, voice recorded and transcribed them. In 2013 there were five meetings during May and June where at least seven presentations were made to the Kwam members by various government officials and private consultants. These presentations were organized by the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA) in conjunction with Makana Tourism (MT) and some of these meetings were better attended than others. Out of the 42 members on MT's lists generally

about 20 mamas were present, but not always the same 20. The presentations included Ms Keketso Kostile from ECPTA who spoke about the future possibilities for Kwam – stressing that Kwam had to become self-sustainable. Mr Bonani Matshaya of the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) presented different possible business forms which Kwam could take, notably the trust or the co-operative (co-op). Mr Simphiwe Ntshweni from Eastern Cape Development Corporation (ECDC) elaborated on the forms of legal entities and registered formal entities. Mrs Wilhela Gie, Managing Director of ED Solutions, did a presentation on the homestays in Port Elizabeth during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Mrs Gie explained that the 2010 World Cup homestay project in PE was a complete disaster – with only a 12% occupancy rate or 60 beds filled out of 500 – and the reason she gave was the delay in marketing because the municipality could only get the website up on the internet two weeks before the World Cup, and that was far too late. I wondered why Mrs Gie was commissioned, to transmit what message? Do homestay projects usually fail? Generally I wondered how all these presentations were working to bring more guests, as that was obviously what the Kwam mamas wanted, besides that the technicalities were way above their understanding. Even I struggled to follow some of the presentations which were mostly in English. Then there was a consultant from a company called Letsima who spoke animatedly about marketing, Coca-cola, Lever Bros and branding – is Kwam to compete on this level? And finally, shortly before the 2013 Festival there was a presentation by the chairman and grader of the Grahamstown Hospitality Guild about the guild and their pineapple grading.⁴³ What all these presentations had in common was the message that Kwam had to become self-sustainable, stand on their own, and Kwam had to be marketed (in time). Particularly the non-governmental presentations stressed marketing (especially in cyber space) where the government representatives would refer to standardization (grading) in the context of marketing.

⁴³ The Grahamstown Hospitality Guild (GHG) introduced their own grading system for their members which is similar to that of the Tourism Grading Council of South Africa; instead of the star insignia the GHG uses pineapples as these are the main crop farmed around Grahamstown.

As was usual before Festivals, the Kwam homes were inspected by a delegation usually consisting of representatives from MT, the Kwam management and the relevant government department, the Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC). A part of MT's duties as custodian of the project was to organize these inspections to determine the 'state of readiness' of Kwam, which would then be reported to the NAF/DSRAC planning meetings shortly before Festival. The state of readiness confirmed the number of participants and their facilities for that year's Festival so that guests could be allocated accordingly. Again I thought it would be an excellent opportunity to get to know, if not all, then most of the Kwam mamas and their homes if I were to participate in the inspections. And importantly, not to come to them as guest - although a consultant-inspector remains strictly speaking still a guest. I asked Sue if it would be in order if I participated and she said she was relieved that she then did not have to do it as she had done the year before; she asked if I would do the driving from house to house and she said that the booking officer, Ms Welekazi Hloyi (generally referred to as Welekazi), would come along to represent MT. Sue gave me a copy of the Kwam members' list (the so-called 'database') and back home Claudia helped to prepare and print a compilation of a single page check-list for each homestay, so that when we did the inspections I could mark and note information in the boxes and spaces on each page. I had also asked Claudia to assist with filming the inspections because that would leave me free to take notes and operate the voice recorder, besides driving. This was Claudia's introduction to Kwam and as she had become curious about Kwam anyway, she from then on almost always accompanied me in the field and later even attended meetings which I could not. The 2013 inspections took place over three days – on 18 June we managed eight homes, on the 19th we did 17 and on the 21st 10 – thus a total of 35 homes were inspected by a team consisting of myself, Claudia, Welekazi and Ma Gora (as Kwam representative). There were eleven more names from years before on the list which Sue had given me, but those homestays indicated that they were not participating in 2013.

In September 2013 I had arranged via email and phone calls to have an interview with the founder of Kwam, Mrs Nosimo Balindlela at her home in Stutterheim, Eastern Cape. The interview revealed some of the original spirit with which she started Kwam. With reference



Figure 8 Mrs Balindlela with Volker at her home, September 2013

to Steve Biko's⁴⁴ social ideas Mrs Balindlela envisaged a *transformation* not only of the poor themselves but of how government was viewing the poor. For Mrs Balindlela it was a process of "conscientizing of the mind" and exposing government officials to the poor. It was not about the money but about *humanity*, and in the case of township homestays the humanity of the African mother. Therefore it also involved 'educating' the

guests to Kwam about who they were dealing with and what to expect. In following chapters I refer to Mrs Balindlela's original spirit in more detail. However, Mrs Balindlela was of the opinion that the project had not really worked out and it had been perhaps "too idealistic" of her. She put the blame on "the lack of the power of a political arm", particularly after her term as premier ended. For her, government's priorities had changed and that was the reason why she changed from the leading ANC party and joined the opposition DA, or as she put it:

Because what has happened now is that government's focus has moved completely away from either side, it moved away from the poor and it also moved away from business it focussed itself on individuals and cronyism and of course, the issue was the quick hand to the till! That's the problem – quick hand to the till! Everyone was in a hurry to become rich, it became a get-rich-quick scheme.

Also in September Claudia and I met with Otto and Sue to discuss a proposal for funding to help create a Kwam website. The idea came about because Sue had asked me the year before if I could think of something because the municipality had money budgeted and it needed to be spent, and the need of a website was obvious. But important for me, it would provide another opportunity to work with the Kwam mamas and so extend my consultant position and besides, we already had quite a huge collection of photos of the Kwam homes

⁴⁴ Steve Biko was an apartheid-era freedom fighter and was killed in detention by the police in the 1980s.

and their facilities which we could use. We submitted a formal proposal to MT but in November Sue informed me that MT could not accept the proposal because they did not have money for it. With the website then not happening, I had to consider other plans to reach the Kwam mamas. I felt that I had struck increased rapport with Ma Gora and importantly, Claudia and Ma Gora got on very well too. I realised that Ma Gora would be the key to the other mamas. Claudia and I came up with the idea to approach Ma Gora and offer to also list her homestay, as we had done with our accommodation facilities, with the booking website *Airbnb* and since registration was free and *Airbnb* specialized in small places, we thought it could work. I saw it as an experiment and if it worked, we could extend the signing up to other Kwam mamas. That way I thought I could be 'back on track' to get closer to the mamas and while gathering information for a listing I could use this to compile the host's profiles. During November and December 2013 Claudia and I contacted and visited Ma Gora several times to discuss *Airbnb* and to prepare her portfolio for signing up, this included uploading written descriptions and photos we had worked out together with her. In January 2014 I fetched Ma Gora and her daughter for a visit to our farm so that we could finalize her listing with *Airbnb* and then we activated it via our internet connection as Joza had no internet coverage. By April the listing had attracted more than 150 views but no booking materialized. I decided that the *Airbnb* experiment did not work and if I wanted to get the information for the hosts' profiles I would have to try to interview each mama without any other mission attached to it such as collecting information for a website or listing. Although nothing concrete came from the *Airbnb* listing, Claudia and I felt we had at least bolstered our relationship with Ma Gora in the process.

On 16 April 2014 I had arranged a 'pilot' interview with Ma Gora, and I explained that I wanted to collect host stories, stories of the experiences of the Kwam mamas with their guests and I wanted to ask the mamas about their organization, their forming a co-op, their thoughts about a website and the importance of a constitution. I asked Ma Gora my questions, but it was more like an informal chat, and I preferred that to a formal interview. It was a pilot interview to test and tune my approach but also to acquaint Ma Gora with my

research matter as she would help with organizing and translating the interviews with the rest of the mamas. We planned to have interviews with as many of the mamas as possible, if not all, and decided to visit six or so mamas per day. I also wanted to keep the first few interviews very informal, more like the discussion we had with Ma Gora where I would ask questions off the top of my head. We arranged for the first set of interviews to be on 29 April in the afternoon and from then on over the following three weeks several sets of interviews followed. To cover Ma Gora's phone costs in organizing the interviews I provided her with pre-paid cell phone vouchers from time to time.

Again I voice recorded and made notes of every interview and as soon as possible afterwards made transcriptions. After the first set I realized that I had to change my initial approach from the trial interview with Ma Gora. It seemed that the mamas were not aware of some of the issues concerning their organization and planned government interventions (such as the co-op), so much so, that I dropped these themes from the next interviews all together. I also realized that I had to be more direct about the main issues of hospitality I wanted to cover (commensality and return guests) even if with the hospitality theme in general the mamas easily told their stories. So I made a list of key words from which I formulated questions (See Appendix 1). The list more developed from the first set of interviews than being preconceived. Except for the introduction, the order of the 'questions' or key words differed from interview to interview as the flow of the discussion allowed one question to better follow the other for continuity.

After about 10 interviews a routine developed whereby Claudia first went around taking photos and then we sat down for the interview. Most of the interviews took place with all of us seated in the lounge or dining room of the Kwam host. Besides Ma Gora's translations, I could pick up some phrases and expressions in isiXhosa, and so understood better what the mamas wanted to say in their generally poor English. I also learned how to phrase the

questions so that they could be easily understood, and if necessary, easier to translate for Ma Gora. The repetition had helped a lot in becoming more concise. Ma Gora had been extremely helpful – or, rather, without her help the operation would have been extremely difficult; she quickly cottoned on to what I wanted and at any time when an interview was not moving she would intervene, rephrase it in isiXhosa and we continued. This was besides translating at any other time when it looked as if a mama had difficulty understanding. Sometimes her translations were summaries of what the Kwam mama said because it seemed much shorter than the story the Kwam mama had told. Very often Ma Gora would remind me of a question I had forgotten because of the changing sequence of asking the questions, even if I had them written down and at hand. From the overall response of the interviewees I felt that there was progress from those who were perhaps ‘bombarded’ in the beginning and those that expected us later. In the beginning some mamas complained and said they did not know about us coming, and their place was not clean yet. There seemed to have been some communication problems between Ma Gora and her network of sending messages; some would simply not pass the message on. Ma Gora was quite annoyed by it, especially by one mama who lied about having passed the message on. I stressed with Ma Gora that she has to make it clear to the mamas that our visits were not inspections but interviews for my research purposes, as the mamas could have been under the impression from the year before when we participated with the inspections and the mamas were anticipating the inspections for that year at the time anyway. In the times between interviews, driving from one house to another, I also cleared some uncertainties with Ma Gora, such as the reasons why a Kwam mama appeared nervous or the way in which they and we all addressed each other or other issues that transpired from the interviews. Thus I had a lot of follow-up opportunities, and used them, to check and/or re-check facts, much in line of what Olivier de Sardan (2005: 205) suggested about follow-up action as “an excellent opportunity for collaboration between anthropology and development institutions”. Altogether we had interviewed 38 Kwam hosts out of the possible 42 who were officially listed with Makana Tourism. In five cases the hostess herself was not at home but we could conduct the interview with a husband, a sister, a daughter, a son or a cousin respectively, who each became involved with the Kwam business, helping the hostess and dealing with the guests themselves. I summarized the results of the

information gathered with the interviews in a table reflecting the Kwam host's profiles which is available in Appendix 2.

After the interviews Claudia and I continued to attend the Kwam meetings and there were again quite a few before the 2014 Festival. It was after one of these meetings that I consciously decided to intervene and that radically changed my fieldwork position.

Approach to engaged anthropology

As said, I augmented the traditional approach of participant observation and interviews with a multi-rationalities approach which included being very sensitive to the field conditions, to be attuned to what my informants needed and wanted, particularly as consultant, and I did a little bit of volunteerism. Becoming much more engaged with my informants left little time for more interviews, yet open ended conversations especially with Ma Gora became an almost everyday experience. I continued to participate and to observe but I had never intended, anticipated or imagined that Claudia and I would get as entangled with the project as we eventually did. Throughout I kept a detailed field journal and although I continued recording my encounters with the mamas, there was no time anymore for transcriptions of these recordings. I had set out to study hospitality and dare not intervene with or as the host because that would be absurd and totally disregarding the essence of hospitality especially in the intimate homestay situation. In the face-to-face hospitality situation between host and guest there is no room for a researcher without seriously influencing the whole encounter. I could not imagine how I would observe, let alone participate, while the mama and her guest(s) interact; the guests would certainly be disturbed with their feeling at home and this would damage the business of the host. As pointed out earlier, this could be overcome with covert research but then one enters a minefield of ethical and practical

concerns and subsequently I did not consider that option. Yet, as I became more engaged I did make further observations concerning hospitality and got deeper insights about a handful of issues (for example, I could confirm the speculations concerning reciprocity and I found that African *guests* have difficulties with bookings via the internet). Although valuable, these further insights about hospitality certainly did not justify the extent of the interventions. The problem with the project was never with hospitality (hosts-guests), but with power struggles within the development machine (hosts-developers or hosts-development agents). I identified that the pivotal struggle lay between Ma Gora (host) and Otto (development agent) and it became clear that any efforts of intervention would have been in vain if it failed to take into account the developpee's, and in this case also the hosts', point of view. Hence the intervention was between the hosts and the often hostile environment they had to deal with – especially government officials, their endless 'red-tape' and shifting goal posts. In order to give effect to the group's desire of self-sufficiency and autonomy, thus working *with* Kwam, meant sharing knowledge and support in crucial arenas such as in dealing with government or initiating marketing programmes, especially on the internet. Kwam struggled to get any accountability and transparency from MT about the past handling of their project and it took quite some effort to extract bits and pieces. Therefore, if it seems perhaps like a conspicuous omission that information reflecting the economic capital of the project is rather scarce, it is because by the time of writing this it had been a year and a half since we for the first time requested the financial reporting from MT but to date have not received them – back then this was the basis of my suspicion that things were not in order and this in part motivated me to intervene. The fact that I am an advocate of the High Court and used this position to effectively 'advocate' for Kwam, even though I did not anticipate that I would need to use the qualification while doing research, meant that I exceeded the borderline of advocacy as it has been understood in anthropology. In crossing this borderline, I cannot agree with Hastrup and Ellass (1990) who mooted that anthropological advocacy is impossible (as opposed to the 'anthropologist's advocacy'). My advocacy was driven only by the desire to help my informants, to empower them and not to gain power for myself. I used the power vested in me *pro amico*. I was not simply a lawyer who acts with a certain detachment and necessary arrogance, I remained an anthropologist throughout and in that sense my anthropological advocacy has been a case of advocacy initiated by a research motive. As for Claudia, her motive was also to help, both

me and the mamas, and therefore our interventions could be regarded as purely social work. However, we were instrumental in changing the social reality of Kwam and government policy regarding Kwam. Thus far surpassing 'conventional' intervention this position obviously had added challenges besides new ethical concerns. I was then responsible for the wellbeing of my 'legal creation' – as lawyer/consultant I was working *for* Kwam, and it would only be a year later that I could hand over this responsibility to another lawyer. Besides that Claudia was/is there all the time, and we constituted a team, I was in the context of the academic world pretty much a lone operator. In the first instance it was because as Kwam's legal representative ethics required privileged release of information. I could, and did, discuss the situation with the Rhodes Law Clinic but it would have been unethical to discuss the case elsewhere, particularly at certain critical points.

Besides becoming friends with the Kwam mamas and having both a researcher-informant- and lawyer-client-relationship with them, we became mentors and facilitators, so much so, that eventually our relationship with Kwam became one of patron-client too, as the mamas called Claudia and me *mama* and *tata* respectively, although we were of similar age to or younger than most of them. Even if we are not Kwam members, we would talk about "we" and "us", including us with Kwam and to a great extent we do 'belong' to Kwam which, I think, is the ultimate connection in the field any anthropologist wishes for and reflects successful bonding with informants. Incidentally, in Roman Law the *patronus-clienti* relationship had very close similarities to the functioning of the *nexum*⁴⁵ relationship - it maintains a hierarchy - and in this sense I actually succeeded to be a host in the field! (at least in theory). Whereas we were called *mama* and *tata* by the Kwam mamas, the opposition would refer to us (derogatorily) as "that (white) couple". Thus, what is also clear besides race issues, was that from all sides it was recognized that Claudia and I were in it together. Understanding hospitality from the host's point of view and having available Claudia's support, understanding and critique were two essential keys to get close to my informants and to establish what they wanted and needed. As fieldwork progressed, we

⁴⁵ *Nexum* was a bond sanctioned by law; *Nexilitas* is a derivative from the word *nexus*

reflected on and discussed the things that happened and bounced ideas and observations off each other, this extended to encounters with the Kwam mamas and in particular Ma Gora. In this sense it was 'analysis-on-the-go', as we were constantly busy analysing the situation. Hence, the analysis was directly connected to the action in the field and the interventions based on analyses of the relevant factors. It was fortunate for both me and Kwam, sort of being in the right place at the right time, as it eventually turned out that our interventions were not in vain. I was then merely the instrument Kwam could use to change their social reality and I had the extreme luck of becoming so deeply involved that I gained insights into this reality which may under any other circumstances have remained hidden. Yet, my, or then our, interventions surpassed most of the disciplinary boundaries and resulted in a total revolution of the project. And even if I maintained a pure anthropological research motive, I entered the power structures at play in the field as the project's survival was dependent on our intervention. Of course, especially considering power regimes, there were/are opposing views to what the project's survival should have looked like, and the situation required to take sides.

The effort with the interventions was then obviously not with hospitality, it was to help the mamas with their organization, but I had no preconceived plan of intervention and continued to follow my intuition. Together with Kwam, Claudia and I analysed each situation and made plans to continue, step by step, and the bigger plan developed and took shape like that. At this stage of fieldwork my theoretical knowledge about applied or engaged anthropology was rather limited as I have entered the discipline on a post-graduate level and still had to discover some of the intricacies of it. Because of the intense nature of our intervention, I could only survey most of the literature about intervention, action or advocacy after these had happened in the field already. Scanning the literature about applied/engaged anthropology I was surprised to find so many similarities in approach and execution, right from the start of this branch in anthropology with the works of Sol Tax and Allan Holmberg. This method, also referred to as 'participant intervention', is a combination of a simultaneous approach of research and development to social change (Ervin 2000: 21;

Van Willigen 1991: 4; Singer 2008: 331ff; Goode 2013: 80ff; Beck and Maida 2013: 11; Butler 2013: 101). I found quite a number of specific correlations with the Vicos Project and Kwam, albeit on a much smaller scale and without having planned any intervention from the start as Holmberg had and we did not have the university backing he enjoyed, although we were/are also patrons. As noted, we also embarked on a step-for-step process of change rather than one huge once-off, as our motto is 'learning by doing' which involves taking the process into account, and it is never a very fast one. Over time, as Isbell (2013: 144) noted with Holmberg, the recognition of power relations became crucial, something Abram (2010: 239-40) noted anthropologists have become increasingly sensitive about in the field. In Vicos there were also "larger forces at work ... [which] left indigenous people in states of underdevelopment and subjugated them to exploitation" (Beck and Maida 2013: 13), and we had with Kwam, as Holmberg and the Vicos project staff had, "provided that important external source of power constituting a social umbrella under which the people of Vicos were able to alter their lives to their greater satisfaction, and without the imminent threat of tragedy and retribution to discourage them as it had before" with exploitative patrons (Isbell 2013: 145). Beck and Maida (2013: 11) identified that "[o]ne central feature in collaborative knowledge production is a vigilant levelling of power", and while "[t]his is not a matter of anthropologists working *for* such people. It means they are working *with* them, using their expertise, their wisdom, to inform decisions being made by people employing their indigenous knowledge" [emphasis in original] (Beck and Maida 2013:13); similar sentiments were confirmed by Singer (2008: 338) and Ervin (2000: 24). However, my experience crossed this borderline too as I was working both *with* and *for* Kwam.

Even if applied anthropology has been with the discipline for many decades and has been viewed as the "fifth subdiscipline of anthropology" (Ervin 2000: 7; Singer 2008: 339), there have been claims that it is "not real anthropology" (Singer 2008:337). And as noted, advocacy was even seen as incompatible with anthropology (Hastrup & Ellass 1990). Contamination theorists viewed applied anthropology as 'impure' or 'polluted' but the *application* of anthropology is already inevitable in the basic empirical research methods

used in traditional anthropology (Abram 2010: 239-40). Or as Holmberg accurately asserted, “Even the most ‘pure’ anthropologist imaginable, conducting his research with ‘complete’ detachment and objectivity, cannot avoid influencing his subjects of study or in turn being influenced by them” (Singer 2008: 337). Singer (2008: 326) identified two traditional disciplinary principles which applied anthropology violates: “*cultural relativism*, which proscribes judging any given society by the values of any other, and *data purity*, the scientific standard that data contamination through researcher activity must be minimized. Both these principles suggest that intervention is, by definition, not anthropology”. Subsequently Singer (2008: 328) quoted Kroeber’s summary of the usual attitude: “Applied physics is engineering and applied anthropology is social work”. This may be so, but it is not the end of the story, for both engineering and social work could be scientifically studied, and with reflexivity this becomes quite clear. As Kessl and Maurer (2012: 1) noted, reflexivity is “a central dimension of a critical scientific understanding of social work.” Thus if social work is applied anthropology, reflexivity is central to it too. Engaged anthropology is a process of dialogue much focussed on what the outcomes of decided-on actions would be, and therefore the research partners “are intentional participants ... as co-knowledge creators”(Beck and Maida 2013: 11). The aim is after all benefit to the society and “[s]ocial science praxis demands unrelenting public voice about injustice. Required is a radical rupture with a cocooning academic culture and its centripetal rituals ... social scientists are among the few professionals with the time, education and power to fill in the cultural gaps by reconstructing their public roles – as border crossers – in addressing the educated lay public” (McKenna 2013: 71-2). Clearly this reflects a populist approach which involves criss-crossing the border between social science and social work. However, the debate as to the academic validity of applied anthropology seems to have stuck with the discipline (Abram 2010: 240; Olivier de Sardan 2005: 39;⁴⁶ Luck 2004: 4ff). Anyway, these considerations belong to modernist anthropology which had been heavily criticised in the course of the ‘Crisis of Representation’; all of anthropology is reflexive today. This must then also affect the traditional self-other dichotomy at the core of anthropology, which, it seems, needs to be collapsed in favour of a more (real) democratic dissemination of knowledge and

⁴⁶ Olivier de Sardan (2005: 39): “More than fifty years ago Malinowski noted: ‘Unfortunately there still subsists in certain milieus a prevalent but erroneous opinion according to which applied anthropology is fundamentally different from theoretical and academic anthropology’”.

meaningful exchange in the production of knowledge. Recently Beck and Maida (2013: 1) stressed that anthropologists “*must* participate in generating and bringing about change. We *must* be engaged in protecting the most vulnerable from oppression and exploitation and support the empowerment of communities to improve people’s lives” [my emphasis]. It seems that applied anthropology has indeed become imperative for the future of the discipline as a whole, as Singer (2008: 327) also noted that “In today’s world, practice is not an option for anthropology if it is to survive; it is the discipline’s destiny ... the place of application in the future of anthropology is certain.”

From its conceptualization applied anthropology had a populist approach as it was concerned with who is to benefit from the production of knowledge. However, most work which is understood as engaged anthropology, remains internal to the discipline, that is inside of the academia microcosm, with the result that the acquired knowledge benefits “institutions rather than society” (Butler 2013: 99; Beck and Maida 2013: 8-9). Butler (2013: 100) stated that “engaged anthropologists need to ask is who is the ‘public’ of a ‘public anthropology’? Or for whom is such knowledge useful?” Butler (2013: 104) with reference to Johannsen classifies this approach as post-modern- or interpretive ethnography, where it is not about finding solutions or representing a ‘target’ group but rather to “provide a mechanism by which the target community represents itself and determines the nature and solution of its problem”. Abram (2010: 248) also questioned “what kind of intervention is anthropological” (in the context of tourism) but suggested that the answer may lie “(w)ith detailed studies of the politics and policies of tourism in practice, with knowledge of this most complex of social fields”. Ethnography is exactly such a ‘detailed study’. Ethnography is most suited to establish first what kind of intervention is necessary and/or appropriate and then to ground advocating its implementation and ultimate success. With researching development Olivier de Sardan (2005: 26) confirmed that “intensive anthropological field enquiry is particularly adapted”, and he also stressed that only intensive field enquiry will reveal “how interventions from without are adopted, ignored, sidetracked, recomposed or refused” (Olivier de Sardan 2005: 39; 60-1). These sentiments were echoed by Maida

(2013:15-6) when he stated that “[m]aking sense of the ensuing conflicts as social processes emerging between and among the various stakeholders in a community will require an institutional analysis that derives from long-term fieldwork – one that takes into consideration the multiple experiences and cross-cutting ties of the participants in the policy arena.” Clearly, both the fields of tourism and development - particularly in Africa - require specialized methods, and as will be seen, to make sense of ensuing conflicts requires intense specialization while at the same time considering the complex whole. Time and time again, social science scholars stress the value of ethnography in understanding complex social scenarios and that is no different with this study.

This study of the Kwam project could also be likened to what Wolcott (1995: 102) suggested with “microethnography (also known as focused or specific ethnography)”. Wolcott explained that with microethnography the focus is on very specific settings “drawing on the ways that a cultural ethos is reflected in microcosm in selected aspects of everyday life but giving emphasis to particular behaviours in particular settings rather than attempting to portray a whole cultural system” (ibid). Here the focus is on Kwam as a microcosm, and not the macrocosm of the entire hospitality industry of the Frontier Country or the Eastern Cape, neither the entire urban Xhosa culture, all of which Kwam is a part of. But this social microcosm (Kwam) is a real-world microcosm, as distinguished from an academic microcosm.⁴⁷

The approach to engaged anthropology requires perhaps more reflexivity than the usual research circumstance where reflections of this kind are usually marginalized to introductory parts of a text (such as prefaces and acknowledgements). Mosse (2011: ix)

⁴⁷ For example, Butler (2013: 106) reported about two researchers of a particular case-study and that the “critical culture in which both are involved is not that of academia but of Hip Hop.” Interestingly, Butler also noted that there was a considerable amount of personal information provided about the two, confirming the need in applied anthropology to position the author(s).

stated that accounts of applied anthropology, especially with work on development aid, should include reference to the anthropologist's reflexivity and Pratt (1986: 31) had already pointed out that

Even in the absence of a separate autobiographical volume, personal narrative is a conventional component of ethnographies. It turns up almost invariably in introductions or first chapters, where opening narratives commonly recount the writer's arrival at the field site, for instance, the initial reception ... the slow, agonizing process of learning ...and overcoming rejection, the anguish and loss at leaving ... it is quite significant that this kind of personal narrative, in the form of both books and opening anecdotes, has in fact not been "killed by science," that it persists as a conventional form in ethnographic writing. This fact is particularly noteworthy given the multiple pressures on ethnography that militate against narrative ("mere anecdote") and devalue it as a vehicle of usable knowledge.

Pratt (1986: 33) further confirmed that the "practice of combining personal narrative and objectified description is hardly the invention of modern ethnography, ... it has a long history in those kinds of writing from which ethnography has traditionally distinguished itself ... [such as] travel accounts". Heintz (2010: 149) referred to the "cognitive genesis of ethnographies" and confirmed that

acknowledgements form a genuine part of academic texts. They can be the subjects of textual analysis, as they constitute a genuine literary convention in the academic world. I am not aware that this convention has been studied by the authors of the Writing Culture movement, but acknowledgements provide a rich source of information on their favourite topics, such as power relations.

I am in a position to verify that these reflexive anecdotes are indeed sources of valuable knowledge. In order to demonstrate the difficulty and thus the scarcity of anthropologist's studies of hospitality for the purposes of my MA thesis, I ransacked the anecdotal reflections in prefaces, acknowledgements and introductions to ethnographies as a source of anthropologists describing their experience with hospitality (Von Lengeling 2011: 62ff). This collection includes references to these types of reflections by many great minds in anthropology, including Malinowski (1932), Fortes and Patterson (1975), Evans-Prichard (1969) and Turner (1969). Very often there were emotional references to the hospitality of their hosts (informants), thus also recognizing the most basic position of the researcher in

the field but without recognizing that they (researchers) were guests as such. It nonetheless demonstrates that anthropologists have always recognised the positionality of the researcher, even if this was not explicitly incorporated in the analysis (Richardson 1995: 210).

Heintz (2010: 152-3) seriously criticized the presence of the ethnographer in the main part of the text, that is beyond some autobiographical information about the ethnographer in the introductory section of the work,⁴⁸ but he did not take into consideration the case of auto-ethnography outside of the academic microcosm. Heintz (2010: 145) recognized that Bourdieu (2003) has moved beyond *Writing Culture* especially with what Bourdieu calls 'participant objectivation', but he also pointed out that when it concerns Bourdieu's autobiographical representations they are quite in line with what the *Writing Culture* suggested – promoting a more reflexive turn to the representation of ethnographies (ibid:147). Participant objectivation "consists in the objectivation of the ethnographer, viewed as an objectifying agent" (Heintz 2010: 145). Participant objectivation is not instead of participant observation but rather an obvious different point of view which is available for the researcher even in the traditional research situation - after all, he/she is there too besides the interlocutors. In this context Kessl and Maurer (2012: 2) added that "Researchers also enter this space themselves – in a certain sense they also expose themselves to this space, and occupy varying positions in it (as questioner and questioned, as expert and learner, as a cothinking and a cosubject)." Adams (2003: 224) argued that reflexivity transcended traditions and that it "is increasingly apparent in the way we construct our sense of self, our self-identity. Reflexivity excavates layers of tradition which

⁴⁸ Heintz (2010: 152-3) stated: "It is this reflexivity and the process of distributed critical thinking that renders the reference to the ethnographer in the field irrelevant, if not misleading, in the main part of ethnographic texts... Ethnographies are not facsimiles of some unrealistic scientific ideals. They are to be understood as a means of scientific communication. So the question concerning the presence of the ethnographer in the main part of any ethnography is: what more could be communicated by providing further autobiographical details? The answer is that further information about the ethnographer is irrelevant, because ethnographies are meant to be answers to questions cultures asked by members of the community of anthropologists. Simply said, ethnographies address an audience that is presumably not so interested in the life of the ethnographer... The autobiographical section of an ethnography describes conditions under which the ethnographer has interpreted indigenous people's behaviour."

once formed the unquestioned, naturalized aspects of the self.” Reflexivity as such implies a very specific position or point of view, the ‘self’, which on the one hand reflects a definite bias and on the other highlights the positionality of the research (Meneley and Young 2005: 2-3), or the need to ‘anchor’ the work (Pratt 1986: 32). Reflexivity is the psychological process of critical thinking and analyses of events, experiences and feelings in a particular circumstance (such as fieldwork) of the ‘self’. The placement of the self and what I understand reflexivity to be, leads to a distinction between what is called auto-anthropology and anthropology at home and I discuss this in the next section before consideration is given to radical reflexivity.

Auto-anthropology and/or anthropology at home

Generally the two terms are used as equivalents, for example in Rapport and Overing (2007:19ff)⁴⁹ or Meneley and Young (2005), even if the latter’s book is titled *AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHIES*. Zenker and Kumoll (2010: 13) in their volume *Beyond Writing Culture* refer to ‘anthropology at home’ only once and the terms auto-ethnography or auto-anthropology are totally avoided. In their introduction they conclude that “we believe that the essays in this volume are ultimately united in that they all suggest specific doors to be opened beyond *Writing Culture* in ways that exhibit their reflexivity less in terms of textual strategies of self-reference and more in terms of a heightened awareness of the individual condition and conditionalities of the author” (Zenker and Kumoll 2010: 29). Where Adams (2003: 221ff) referred to reflexivity as a product of ‘neo-modern’⁵⁰ or ‘post traditionalist’

⁴⁹Auto-anthropology “covers the notions of an anthropological study of one’s own, one’s home and oneself, and explores that murky ground, at once physical, phenomenological, psychological, social and personal, which ‘an anthropology at home’ gives onto” (Rapport and Overing 2007: 19).

⁵⁰ Adams (2003: 225): “I want to argue more specifically that dominant understandings of reflexivity are shaped by a ‘neo-modernist’ normative take on culture, which values rationality, teleology, voluntarism and instrumentalism. This is what we understand reflexivity to be; it is seen to reveal the exposed circuits of experience but is a particular, and thus partial understanding of identity.”

thought, Kessler and Maurer (2012: 2) pointed out that reflexivity “clearly reveals the link between (scientific) knowledge and (political) power, which in the German speaking world was explicitly problematized in scientific theoretical thinking at the latest in older critical theory (Frankfurt School).” I suspect that the various terms are used by different ‘schools of thought’: the continental French-Germans (like Bourdieu and Zenker promoting a post-*Writing Culture* form of reflexivity such as participant objectivation with reference to power relations) and the Anglo-Americans (like Rapport and Overring or Meneley and Young using the terms auto-anthropology and anthropology at home to refer to researchers’ reflexivity, often concerning the ‘situationality’ of the academic self as researcher). But there are also hybridizations, such as Joy et al. (2006: 345) who identified auto-ethnography as a ‘stream’ in anthropology next to Bourdieu’s “sociological reflexivity” and Foley’s “intertextual reflexivity”.

Reflexivity is a method of fieldwork to produce both auto-anthropology and anthropology at home but the same method does not imply that the ‘products’ are the same. Both auto-anthropology and anthropology at home have to do with the ‘anthropology of proximity’ (Meneley and Young 2005); both involve being simultaneously observer and participant, and although Meneley and Young (2005) focussed specifically on anthropologists doing research on themselves as academics, their exercise was to ‘objectify the familiar’, quite similar to Bourdieu’s (2003) participant objectivation. (However, much of Bourdieu’s work is dedicated to (auto-) ethnography of the ‘academic world’ as epitomized by his book *Homo academicus*.) Heintz (2010: 148) suggested that “Bourdieu’s analysis must be enriched with the idea of distributed cognition”, which implies knowledge distribution outside of the academic microcosm as suggested with populism.

Different as the terms are they can mean different things: I use the term *auto-anthropology* (hence also *auto-ethnography*) when the fieldwork is centred on the researcher him/herself,

such as Bourdieu's self-analysis (2007); Ronai (1996) or Von Lengeling (2011)⁵¹; and the term *anthropology at home* will be used when the fieldwork is done within one's own culture, society, or group or even profession, such as described in Strathern's *The limits of auto-anthropology* (1987) or Fox's (2004) *Watching the English* – these are examples of the 'traditional' anthropological approach, and as McKenna (2013: 61) pointed out "Anthropologists need not travel to all four corners of the globe in search of the exotic: it is right before their eyes 'at home'". Auto-anthropology reflects part/s of the researcher's own identity and is distinguished from an autobiography by being an *auto-ethnography* – although the terms do overlap (Fisher 1986: 198). In the strict sense of auto-anthropology the 'other' should simultaneously be the 'self' and in that sense the exercise seeks to objectify the familiar. Butler (2013: 103) with reference to Hastrup (1992) stated that "at the level of autobiography, the anthropologist and informant are equal, at the level of the anthropological discourse their relationship is hierarchical". The hierarchy is that between the self and other, the researcher and the researched, and this is moderated in accounts which include autobiography.

Anthropology at home represents an ethnographic account where the researcher is part of the 'home' of the research participants ('home' in this sense has a very broad meaning) but there is an 'other' or usually 'others' under examination – the research participants or interlocutors. To position or anchor this type of account would require, as actually all anthropological accounts do, also some auto-ethnographic reflections (reflexivity) by the researcher (even if it is only anecdotal and marginalized, as referred to above), while the main focus is still that of reflecting the research participants' (native's) point of view and they are still 'other', as opposed to the self. Van Maanen (1995: 9-10) noted that "self-" or "auto-ethnographies ... often offer a passionate, emotional voice of a positioned and explicitly judgmental fieldworker and thus obliterate the customary and, ordinarily, rather

⁵¹ One of the examiners of my MA study commented in his examiner's report that it was "one of few studies that have come to be termed 'auto-anthropology' ... While discussions of auto-anthropology generally refer to the ethnographer as member of a particular culture, in this instance the candidate is a member of a particular profession ... He brings with him decades of intimate experience as a participant and observer of his field of study. This is something that all anthropologists might aspire to, but is seldom within their grasp".

mannerly distinction between the researcher and the researched ...” Therefore, in the case of auto-anthropology there is a merger of ‘the self’ and ‘the other’ (albeit a temporary one) and with anthropology at home the self-other dichotomy is maintained.

In the afterword to Meneley and Young’s (2005) *Auto-Ethnographies* Michael Lambek titled his contribution “Our Subjects/Ourselves: A view from the Back Seat” and likened his point of view as that from the back seat of the ‘auto-ethnographical vehicle’. The comparison to an automobile also indicates that auto-ethnography may be contained in a much smaller physical space than, say, even the home. Fox (2004) also referred to the family car as a small (mobile) space representing the home or being an extension of the home. Again a division between auto-anthropology and anthropology at home can be made: auto-ethnography can be likened to a journey in an automobile and anthropology at home stays at home; broadly seen home is immobile.⁵² Staying within home territory, like I did with this study, points to this immobility as opposed to doing ‘traditional’ fieldwork away, say, overseas. The physical areas of the research or fieldwork also confirm the distinction between auto-anthropology and anthropology at home: the research participants in this enquiry were all fellow-South Africans who live in the same area as I and operate small-scale commercial accommodation facilities, as do I. I thus share with my informants what it means to be a commercial host in Frontier Country. For all that we do not share the same home language, are from different socio-economic, educational and cultural backgrounds, and besides having grown up on opposite sides of the racial fence of apartheid, the study of Kwam still qualifies as anthropology at home to the extent that my informants and I inhabit the same occupational sector in the same geographical area. Up to a certain point in doing fieldwork – then still labelled as a project of anthropology at home – my point of view changed from researcher to interventionist researcher and my investigation became an exercise in activist anthropology. When I reflected on my interventionist role I found it helpful to regard it as an instance of auto-ethnography. The location of the fieldwork was no longer only ‘out there’ but also within myself, as I along with Claudia became intertwined in the story of

⁵² See Rapport and Overing (2007: 179) about the immobility of the home.

Kwam, thus also part of the ethnography of Kwam. Hence, the result could also be seen as parallel ethnographies, a 'traditional' (micro) ethnography of Kwam (anthropology at home) interwoven with my auto-ethnography or then what has been called 'radical reflexivity'.

Radical reflexivity

Extending on my observation above about the different schools of thought, it seems that what Kessler and Maurer (2012) describe as 'radical reflexivity', and to an extent what Joy et al. (2006: 345) argued, is not much different from what I define as an account of auto-ethnography. Joy et al. (2006: 349-51) compared radical reflexivity with 'infra reflexivity'⁵³ and 'diffraction'⁵⁴ and they concluded: "We suggest that radical reflexivity is primarily centered on a reliance on rhetorical devices that yield 'truer' texts" (Joy et al. 2006: 358). Whereas Kessler and Maurer (2012: 1) rely on Foucault's power theories concerning the author, criticism and the research position (power-knowledge matrix), they conclude that "[r]adical reflexivity thus means the taking of a critical position with regard to truth" (Kessler and Maurer 2012: 3), which "can be understood as a strategy to enable justified changes to

⁵³ Joy et al. (2006: 352-3) referred to Latour's (1988) critique of the position of radical reflexivity: "He argues that metareflexivity, as evidenced in experimental ethnographies with their self-referencing system, is sterile and misleading. Worse yet, it is unbelievable. Instead, he suggests infrareflexivity, a process of simply telling a story pretty much as novelists and journalists do. This would necessarily mean a reduction in methodological detail and a greater focus on style. The aim is to write better stories ... No privilege is asked for the account at hand. Reliance on the world and not the word is encouraged. Ultimately, since no quantity of words and literary devices will make our stories into non-stories, it is better to focus on writing better fictions. Latour argues that including the author in a text and identifying how the story was constructed do not make it any more believable... A final component of infrareflexivity is hybridization and making research articulations relevant for other disciplines.

⁵⁴ Joy et al. (2006: 355-6) referred to feminist theories and in particular Haraway's (1991, 1992, 1997) work where she introduced the concept of 'diffraction': "a term she coined to reflect the articulation process; it implies a multiple reading... According to her, diffraction is composed of 'interference patterns, not reflecting images. This concept will produce effects of connection, embodiment and of responsibility for an imagined elsewhere' ... This model depends on a model not of representation but of articulation... Diffraction engages with the different possible patterns that interactions with others create. This interference pattern makes it possible to shift existing meanings."

existing social structures – and thus connects with a long tradition of critical theory” (ibid: 1). They define radical reflexivity as having both a “*critical science* perspective” and a “(professional) political perspective” which indicate the limits of their approach to practices of academic professionals rather than to real life situations. Yet Kessl and Maurer (2012: 1) state that “distancing in solidarity” should be the basic pattern for this approach, thus echoing Kirsch’s (2010: 107) “anthropological strategy of balancing propinquity-in-distance”, but they advanced that “this necessary distancing should not lead to a positioning in a supposed location beyond everyday practices.” Interestingly, where Joy et al. (2006: 348) referred to a ‘betweenness’, Kessl and Maurer (2012: 2) also found that a radical reflexivity approach is well-suited to borderline situations:

Taking a radical reflexivity approach here means focusing on the borders and boundaries of the existing society and the delimitations on which social work with its – assigned or self selected – tasks and interventions is based, but also looking critically at the limitations of social work itself and the (renewed)delimitations it makes. Further, ‘social work as border work’ would become part of a critical project if it so worked at the borders and boundaries addressed, as borders of life opportunities and chances for participation and belonging, in relation to access to material and immaterial resources (such as care, recognition, respect, representation), that greater ‘equality’, ‘solidarity’ and ‘justice’ could be achieved here.

What this approach involves, according to Kessl and Maurer (2012: 4), “is thus a matter of analyzing very precisely how social situations are created through social and discursive practices, what effects these practices have, and through what practices opportunities for action change, and social situations ‘open’ or ‘close’... But it is necessary to reflect not only on these structural conditions for research – its ‘situationality’ and ‘positionality’ – but also on the dynamics of the concretely occurring research process.” Kessl and Maurer (2012: 4 - 5) have identified an extensive list of possible questions which a radical reflexivity approach could take into account, these range from handling emotions in a huge variety of circumstances, maintaining balance between ‘relative independence’ and ‘relative neutrality’ (or the ‘propinquity-in-distance’ paradigm) and ethical concerns when publishing a work. They concluded that if “we regard critical research as ‘analytical border work’, then not least because these questions – raised here – cannot be answered unambiguously or definitively in the sense of a methodological rule. Rather, they must, in every case, be posed

anew and answered – with self critical assessments and decisions” (ibid). This is actually a very general phenomenon as Adams (2003: 222) demonstrated, based on the works of Giddens, that reflexivity is a premise on which (at least) Western notions of identity are developed in everyday life. Taylor (1989: 428ff) already confirmed that radical reflexivity is nothing new to western society and is actually the basic self-reflection people in general do in order to make sense of things and base their decisions on, just viewed scientifically (or then psychologically).⁵⁵

I have already made the point that the position of the fieldworker is by nature that of a guest (Wagner 2012: 161; Von Lengeling 2011: 22), and this is a major challenge with investigating hospitality from the host’s point of view. If the relativity of a point of view is “the vision that every agent has of the space [and it] depends on his or her position in that space” (Bourdieu 1989: 18), it renders representing the host’s point of view almost impossible – except, perhaps, in the case where the researcher is a host as well and this challenge could be overcome with the practice of auto-ethnography of a (commercial) host. Although self-analysis cannot be done outside of one’s culture it is possible to test personal perceptions against those of others, others’ culture or society. Thus I conclude that concerning any representation of the host’s point of view, that is of the ‘hosting culture’, it would necessitate *host* reflexivity, especially to avoid the guest bias, and hence representing the host’s point of view is only possible through the auto-ethnography of a host, thus auto-anthropology in the strict sense or radical reflexivity.

On top of this, as my investigation took on an applied nature and participant observation mutated into participant intervention, this shift required a much more extensive reflexive account of my positionality (participant objectification) and here too, I argue that auto-

⁵⁵ In this context a very good example is Thomas de Quincey’s (1856 – first published in 1821) *Confessions of an English Opium-eater*, which today can be called an auto-ethnographical work.

ethnography is best suited for such an undertaking. Graeber (2005: 200) in his chapter titled “The Auto-ethnography that can never be and the Activist’s Ethnography that might be” proposes “ultimately, a form of auto-ethnography – in the sense of examining movements to which one has, in fact, made some kind of commitment, in which one feels oneself a part.” It is examining the self’s movements in the field which again presupposes a particular context or point of view, but interestingly Graeber also saw the borderline between auto-ethnography and action anthropology. Recently, (although I could only access the abstract) Bähre (2015) confirmed that reflexivity can at the same time be ethnography, and by having an ethnography reflecting reflexivity it can reveal knowledge/information which would otherwise have been very difficult, if not impossible, to research – such as violence in Bähre’s case. This also reaffirms the validity of reflexivity especially in the action research situation, illuminating it in the darkness the contamination theorists had cast on it. Reflexivity and ethnography are not mutually exclusive or opposites, rather the one compliments the other and hence extend research possibilities. Thus in the present case, where Claudia and I actually became a real part of the Kwam story, it involved our emotions, our aspirations, our decisions and all these directly affected our lives and the development of the Kwam project, which still remained under my investigation. In a case where the researcher’s capitals come into play in the field it certainly requires reflexivity. For me then, ‘radical’ in radical reflexivity is in multiple ways in accordance with the dictionary meaning of the word: basic, new, pro-change and good.⁵⁶ I conclude that as this is a study of hosts ‘at home’ from the host’s point of view which also engaged action and advocacy (in more than one sense), it is a case of radical reflexivity in a radical sense. Of course, this also affects the representation of such a work in writing and that is one of the further considerations below.

Following is a summary of the various interventions. The detailed reflexive account of these interventions is found in the ‘parallel ethnographies’ in chapters seven, eight and nine, where I cover the development of Kwam simultaneously with the development of my fieldwork.

⁵⁶ Radical means: “**1** concerning the most basic and important parts of something; thorough and complete ... **2** new, different and likely to have a great effect ... **3** in favour of thorough and complete political or social change ... **4** very good ...” (Hornby 2006: 1196).

In the field: Action quantified

Although I started with this investigation in February 2012 and I was still ‘in the field’ for all practical purposes by the time of writing this towards the end of 2015, the bulk of the interventions happened within the 13 month period from June 2014 to July 2015. There was not only one single act of intervention but rather a series of acts, some more much important and circumstantial than others. There were various issues which gave rise to our engagement with action and these became all the more urgent as the 2014 Festival was only a month away. From that time on, during that Festival and thereafter our involvement increased quite a lot and we actively ‘steered’ Kwam’s development. In the process we dealt with a variety of challenges, external and internal to Kwam. All of these actions involved constant feedback to and from the mamas and thus it was a process of questioning and investigating possibilities and then settling for the most suitable action, given the circumstances. The story ends with the success of the 2015 Festival. It is rather difficult to quantify all the different actions of intervention but below is a list summarizing the things we have done with and for Kwam (as said, these will be detailed in the chapters to follow):

- Legal advice and services: Development of the Kwam constitution (three constitutions and the drafts that go before); Application and registration of Kwam as Non-profit Organization (NPO) with the Department of Social Development (DSD); Formal letters to Department of Tourism (DoT), Makana Tourism Board, Makana Municipality, and the provincial Member of the Executive Council (MEC); Three requests in terms of the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA)
- Moral support: protest meeting; meetings with Makana Tourism (MT), Makana Municipality (MM), National Arts Festival (NAF) and Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC); protest walk-out; assist with internal problems (committee set-up; disciplinary action; membership)

- Communication with officials of MT, MM, NAF and DSRAC (emails, arranging/facilitating/attending meetings)
- Consultation with Police, Rhodes Law Clinic, and Legal Resources Centre (LRC)
- Keeping and drawing up minutes, agendas, memorandums of undertakings and agreements (Kwam meetings, and meetings with MT, MM and DSRAC)
- Drawing up of reports and presentations: Progress Report, Budget Proposals, Evaluation Report, Plan of Action, Presentation to MM, and Provisional Financial Report
- Inspections 2014 (notes and driving); Kwam membership lists
- Kwam booking office: laptop, 'training', internet connection, Kwam data base
- Kwam website and updates; internet listings; other marketing material: booklet, pamphlets and NAF advertisement
- Networking: Assumption Development Centre (ADC), Rhodes University Community Engagement (RUCE), Rhodes Conference Centre

Considering that all this happened within 13 months, the intensity of our engagement with Kwam is rather obvious. I found it impossible to quantify the actual pages or productions, and the many hours spent in producing them. So too is it not possible to calculate the costs involved with all of the interventions which included copying, printing, communication, getting to and from places, waiting and wasted time. Of course I have a detailed record of the actions we took, which is simultaneously my field journal, but I did not keep an account of what it cost us. Firstly, because I worked on a *pro amico* basis as lawyer, and secondly, because doing research I/we never anticipated such costs neither that we would get that deeply involved, but once we were in we felt obliged to continue. Thus besides neglecting our own business we also carried the overheads of our interventions which in the end meant that we had to delve into our savings to make ends meet.

Other issues

Literary sensibility: first and third person

In my previous study I referred to myself in the instances of auto-ethnographical data presented there by my first name, Volkher, in a *third person narrative*. I did this both to enhance the distinction of point of view – that of a host – and to enhance the difference between auto-ethnography and anthropology at home (Von Lengeling 2011: 22). It was rather experimental and when an examiner commented that the “use of the third person ... when relating the candidate’s own experiences is not customary in contemporary anthropological texts, and in this context it suggests that the writer is feigning a degree of objectivity that we recognize as unattainable”, it became obvious that my actual intention, which was to enable *the reader* to see different viewpoints, had not become clear enough. However, this critique helped to shape the present reprise (and as it is a different kind of study my previous examiner’s reservation may not apply). I am thoroughly aware that it is impossible to be ‘scientifically objective’ – in natural sciences and even more so in social sciences (Clifford 1986: 109; Strohmeier 2010: 66; Zammito 2010: 19). In the present study I use the third person narrative again for the reflexive account, and although ‘Volkher’ is no longer only a source of auto-ethnography against which to test the findings of research about hospitality among other keepers of neo-inns, ‘Volkher’ is now also an advocate, at law and in social work.

In the light of what I read in Ronai’s (1996) “My Mother is Mentally Retarded” and Fine’s (2010) “Delusions of Gender”, even if their work addressed different themes, the idea for me, as the author, was not to try to be more objective but to give the *reader* the chance (or

choice) to be more 'objective' through easy recognition of different layers and points of view. The reader's 'self-other merging' when reading a text written in the first person brings with it another subjective bias and the scientific author needs to be aware of this. Particularly with reflexivity, where authorial authority demands references to the author's habitus, it is clearly connected to the power/knowledge matrix of the exercise of fieldwork (Marcus 1999: 8; Crapanzano 2010: 49-51,53). As said, the position of the fieldworker is by nature that of a guest, and at a basic level, even this power matrix in the field should reflect in the language of the ethnography. Kumoll (2010: 83), quoted Sahlins (1997) who confirmed the "Nietzschean moment, or a built-in will to power" in text where "I" is an assertion of power. This also ties to the idea of speaking 'with' and/or 'for' the 'target group' and the ensuing debates about the politics and "conventions of representation and how these are maintained by particular academic cultures and logic" (Butler 2013: 114). Representing fieldwork experiences in the first person confirms the authorial power of the researcher and it is perhaps this power which authors have in mind when they are in the field and conclude a form of researcher-informant hierarchy where they are 'on top' - forgetting that they are guests.

Most ethnographic texts are produced and presented in a first person narrative, the "I" form (Clifford 1986: 14), and I found only a few examples where some authors used the third person.⁵⁷ Interestingly, most examples where the third person narrative was used concerned reflexivity or autobiographical self-reflections but no explanation for the shift between persons was provided. However, the conventional monograph, particularly required for PhD presentations, implies the use of the first person by the monographer.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ * Camilla Gibb (in Meneley and Young 2005: 218) in her piece titled "An Anthropologist Undone" slips into the third person when, in her auto-ethnographical account, she shares intimate biographical information (such as her 'addictions') while the rest of her account remains in the first person. Gibb made no point about this change in person but it certainly added depth to her narrative.

*Raymond Apthorpe (in Mosse 2011: 199ff) presents an example of creating a third person perspective even as Apthorpe jumps between referring to himself in the first person and then also as 'researcher', thus third person.

*Peter Manning (1995: 253ff) reviewed several works and commented on the use of different persons.

⁵⁸ A convention Marcus (1986: 263) already criticized as "an antiquated standard and practice for research and writing" (Butler 2013: 114).

Butler (2013: 104) noted that “to directly engage with such conventions requires forms of creative experimentation and praxis, which perhaps by definition can only occur in the space of the margins”. The borderline circumstances of the present case certainly required creative experimentation and praxis!

Both writing and being the author are the actions and responsibilities of the ethnographer alone (Butler 2013: 103) but, as said, the position of the reader has to be a definite consideration in the process of producing ethnography. This links to the debate of “the relationship between anthropological work and its audience, questions of the ‘uses’ as opposed to the ‘writings and readings’ of that work” (Butler 2013: 104), in other words, who is to benefit from the work? Eriksen (2013: 36ff) reported that in Norway much of what is ‘public anthropology’ is read and interpreted by a non-academic readership and anthropologists “whether they like it nor not” have to be aware of this merger between the political and the scholarly. For knowledge to be useful it needs to be understood by as many people as possible especially outside of the academic world. “Activism is not just a matter of publicity or reaching broader publics with a message from social science. It is a way of *doing social science* ... often in collaboration with non-social scientists” (McKenna 2013: 58). As pointed out, *doing social science* is crossing the research borderline of social science, and this would obviously reflect in the representation of such a work. Kirsch (2010: 90) pointed out that it is because ethnographers are usually endowed with “a speakership that – despite claims and attempts to the contrary - more or less inevitably rules out the speakership of those studied ethnographically”. And Zenker and Kumoll (2010: 23) posed that claiming the “‘voicing’ of informants as co-authors” remained “largely pretentious” as an attempt at a polyphonic style. Butler (2013: 102-3) confirmed that only a few examples of successful attempts at multivocality have been produced but generally “the anthropologist dominates the text”. Thus to enhance a more egalitarian representation it makes for yet another case to use the third person and to also represent the author (anthropologist) with a proper name like all the other characters in the text. It certainly contributes to textual coherency in the case where the author is in fact a very real character in the development story or the

ethnography of his/her informants, as in the present study. Proper names can represent selves and others whereas “I” always represents self only. By distinguishing authorial functions the reader is enabled to position a particular part of the text relative to the author. And particularly when anthropological works should to be accessible to general readers, that is the public (as Eriksen (2013) suggested), anthropologists have, given their insights, the responsibility for “nuanced explanations and textured material” if knowledge is to be shared in a democratic way (Butler 2013: 100). But usually with ethnography, or then ‘creative nonfiction’,⁵⁹ the author is swallowed up and disappears from the text (Van Maanen 1995: 7; Crapanzano 1986: 53, 71), or, as we have seen specifically with ethnographers whose presence are marginalized to the prefaces, acknowledgements or introduction sections of the works; the standard justification for this convention is that it lends an air of objectivity through an attempt at limiting subjectivity.

The third person is said to be more distanced or ‘emotionally cold’⁶⁰ for the reader but the third person easily mingles with other characters in the text who are all anyway third persons as opposed to the very singular ‘I’ (Crapanzano 1986:71). Hochschild (2003: 50) commented that:

scientific writing, like scientific talk, has a function similar to that of covering the face and genitalia. It is an extension of institutional control over feeling. The overuse of passive verb forms, the avoidance of “I”, the preference for Latinate nouns, and the abstract over concrete, are customs that distance the reader from the topic and limit emotionality. In order to seem scientific, writers obey conventions that inhibit emotional involvement. There is a purpose in such “poor” writing.

⁵⁹ “Like a novelist, the CN [creative nonfiction] writer is the voice behind – or perhaps in – the story. He or she is the Jamesian “organizing consciousness,” the force that makes coherent meaning through skilful rendering of the details, a coherent meaning that, like good literature, should offer moral advice on one of the eternal human dilemmas. The writer’s presence in the story varies from Capote’s “recording angel” hovering in the background to Mailer’s use of self as central character in books like *Armies of the Night*” (Michael Agar 1995: 118).

⁶⁰ In the 2014 Movie *Third Person* actor Liam Neeson portrays a writer casting his own story (autobiography) in the third person, but both his wife and his lover, who upon reading recognize themselves in the text, scald him for being “emotionally cold” because he wrote of himself in the third person.

But emotionally cold is not the same as being scientific or objective. Writing about oneself remains subjective, even if it is in the third person. Therefore writing in the third person does not make it more objective (scientific) or less subjective, but it certainly shifts emotions *with the reader*. Yet, Fine and Martin (1995: 166) stated that

Scientific writing “should be” emotion free. Emotion, if included, resides in segregated prefaces, acknowledgements, or methodological appendixes. Yet, despite the normative expectations, emotion does creep into ethnographic description. It should not be surprising that a discourse heavily dependent on the authorial presence ... will incorporate the feelings of the author. Emotion presumes that the author’s self is positioned in the text, and, so, we find echoes of fear, sadness, and exaltation.

In the present case reflections of these emotions cannot be marginalized to the conventional introductory sections only. As said, usually accounts of these experiences are excluded to make it appear more scientific, but this cannot apply with radical reflexivity because then the feelings, thoughts and emotions of the ethnographer become as relevant, and sometimes even more so, than those of the informants. This is then not a case of situating of oneself ‘away’ from oneself, but in fact it is the author completely uncovering his/her subjectivity and subsequently the reader has a chance at greater objectivity. Rapport and Overing (2007: 350) noted that “through a personal documentation anthropologists can do justice to the flow of subjective experience, others’ and their own, to a phenomenal consciousness as individuals themselves experience ...” The search for objectivity once the research becomes represented, that is written down, lies with the reader and one way an author can make it easier for the reader is by candidly revealing the flow of subjective experience. As Clifford (1986: 13) already noted: “The subjectivity of the author is separated from the objective referent of the text.”

Then there are also practical considerations advancing the use of the third person narrative. By keeping the first person reserved for the dialogue parts in the narrative, it clearly demarcates dialogue from rest of the narrative because dialogue text already occupies first (and other) personal pronouns whereas the rest of the text could be in any person. If the

author writes in the third person the 'I' in the dialogue parts, and which 'I' belongs to whom elsewhere, are easier to recognise. At first this may seem trivial but in line with the democratization of knowledge it would mean taking into account that my informants are not English speakers. As per convention, I have edited the direct transcriptions of dialogue to conform to understandable English, and most of the editing I did had to do with the fixing of personal pronouns as "I" and "you" were used interchangeably as were "he" and "she". Using proper names, and hence the third person, in the narrative makes it more certain who is talking, thinking or doing something.

There are a number of references involving action research which involved a 'research team' or 'peer community' (Goode 2013: 93-4; Butler 2013: 111-2; Maida 2013: 16; 32) and as a consequence of the teamwork situation the results are usually recorded in the third person and the end product stays in the third person. As noted, I was not alone in the field and Claudia became to a great extent as involved as I was, we made a team albeit not in a formal academic way as either research or peer team. The conventional reference of "Claudia and I" would place me as author both second and nameless, but it is ultimately my work, I am the author. To present it in the text as "Volkher and Claudia" neatly deals with these issues and the reader is again in a better position to distinguish between the different characters, pronouns and their positions in the text.

Besides the use of different persons, another literary sensibility concerns the form of writing. Richardson (1995: 218-9) asked "How should we write?" and he suggested "we *should* value the narrative" because through narrative "a union between poetics and science" is possible, also reflecting the post *Writing Culture* spirit. The narrative has many forms and in this case involving parallel ethnographies of which the interventions entailed analyses 'on-the-go', it implies a running account of what happened. It is difficult to separate a discussion on 'methods' and the actual field account as these were tied up in the

chronology of the story. However, this part of the ethnographic account together with the more traditional part anteceding it, although different in representation, contributes to the final analysis and the totalling of capitals.

Partially inspired by Apthorpe's allegorical use of Alice in Wonderland (in Mosse's (2011) *Adventures in Aidland; The Anthropology of Professionals in International Development*) to 'explain' the incredulousness of the development world, I devised a fairytale involving a multi-headed dragon to explain the very complex combination of dealing with multiple challenges and setbacks against the backdrop of emerging power struggles and Kafkaesque administration. In this fairytale I assume the role of a knight who sets out to find this dragon and then fights it. In reality, fighting the setbacks and challenges meant even deeper involvement, deeper disappointments and failures, and more costs - but also joy and pride about achievements.

Language

At home Claudia and I speak mainly German, mixed with parts or phrases in English and occasionally a sprinkling of Afrikaans. I have a very limited and rusted understanding of isiXhosa which I had learned more than ten years ago but fell out of practice with. The Kwam mamas speak mainly isiXhosa at home sprinkled with English phrases, except for one who speaks Afrikaans and English. Even if most of the officials were isiXhosa speakers most conversations with them and addresses by them at meetings were conducted in English. As said, Ma Gora would translate from isiXhosa to English, or the other way round, not only with the interviews but whenever there was a need. There were occasions where I misunderstood the spoken language, either because I did not understand the isiXhosa or the

English was inadequate, but if they were significant to my investigation follow-up enquiries cleared any of the misunderstandings.

Generally English was the spoken language, except if the mamas had their own meetings, but all writing was in English. This posed a challenge as most Kwam mamas have very limited literacy levels and little English proficiency and one also has to take into account that the Xhosa culture was until fairly recently maintained by a strong oral tradition. Whereas the written word also represents the 'development language' and/or 'government language' very little is written in the actual hospitality situation. To actually do commercial hospitality does not require literacy, save perhaps for some basic maths literacy, which makes hospitality a particularly suited enterprise for the illiterate. However, as marketing accommodation facilities has increasingly moved to internet related presentations, literacy again poses a challenge. As our interventions were not concerned with hospitality as such but to empower my informants, it was language, the written English words, they needed to claim what is rightfully theirs. In this sense Claudia and I shared our 'expert' knowledge with the mamas even if we ourselves were not versed in the development and government languages, besides my legal and academic background.

Race

As noted, race is an unavoidable issue in South Africa. Two decades of post-apartheid democracy proved not to be enough to normalize racial relations, but race is not a uniquely South African issue. As Swan (2012: 252) noted about volunteerism in Ghana: "the issue of 'whiteness' and Nyamnjoh's [2000] argument that Africans have been forced to realise that with white skin comes all kinds of advantages; 'whiteness' has come to symbolise power, status and 'the good life even for the most fragile or the most mediocre of whites'." Swan

(2012: 253) further referred to Sarah Pink's article, *The White "Helpers"*, to stress that 'help' should (no matter the race) "always be mindful of local understandings about what constitutes 'help'". Liebow (1967: 248) already noted about his skin colour, and that was in the USA: "Some things, however, are very clear. They saw, first of all, a white man. In my opinion, this brute fact of color, as they understood it in their experience and as I understood it in mine, irrevocably and absolutely relegated me to the status of outsider". Liebow continued that even if people got to know him and saw "more than a "white male adult", it still contributed to being seen as outsider. Kelly Luck, even as a white female in the research situation, coincidentally also involved with anthropological advocacy in the Grahamstown area, referred to the cultural and social capital which her black informants gained as they were said to be "lucky to have a white friend" (Luck 2004: 108). Contrary to this, in an African tourist situation, Van Kessel (2012: 106) described the expression of distrust in white people when she told how she was introduced to the black mayor of the town in Mpumalanga she was visiting:

Without any introductory niceties, Mayor Marota launches into a diatribe against imperialism and the plundering of Africa's mineral resources by whites. 'Never trust a white person. They only come here to steal from us.' I am somewhat taken aback. This is not the red-carpet welcome tourists are promised on Fetakgomo's website.

Interestingly the 'theft' by white people is usually the justification for retribution to the previously disadvantaged (and justification for 'white guilt' on the whites' side), but which in effect still means that because of skin colour one race is supposed to give and the other to receive. Either way, because of an 'advantage' or retribution because of having used an advantage, whites are expected to pay up. Right from the beginning of my relationship with Kwam I noted that there seemed to be some expectation which I perceived to be such because I am white.

After my first interview with Otto he asked me to think of 'something' which I could give to Kwam. When I asked him what that could be, he repeated "something ... you know, that can help us". Then at one of the first Kwam meetings I had attended, a mama who turned out to

be one of the poorest, came to me and after she greeted me with “sir”, she introduced herself and asked “what are you going to give us, sir?” I replied “I don’t know ... I’m here to learn, once I know the whole picture I can perhaps help, but first I have to learn about Kwam”. The mama left it at that. Another Kwam mama also came over and asked me “Excuse me master, are you going to lead the meeting?” Then I answered “no – I am just a guest!” Shortly thereafter, after another Kwam meeting where I was formally introduced to Ma Gora as the chairlady of Kwam, she also asked me if I could help Kwam, “perhaps you could give us some soaps and towels”. I explained to her that I was in no financial position to do such a thing and repeated that I would like to first establish what Kwam really needed, than to just give them something which was not going to help them to become self-sustainable. During our visits some other mamas also expressed their expectations: “it does help me, master, if you can get people, lots of people” or “*Yuh!* I’m very glad you could come, maybe something would move now!” Still some time later, it was Welekazi’s turn to ask me what I could give Kwam and I replied in a similar way as before. As reflected in an anecdote above, I was sometimes addressed as ‘master’ (and Claudia then as ‘miesies’). When this happened Ma Gora afterwards apologized for the mama and explained that “she is old, she still has the apartheid ways”. At other times we were simply referred to as *abantu nhlope* (white people) reflecting an awareness of racial distinction, but at times also distrust and even fear.

During the visits for the interviews Claudia accidentally stepped into the *kraal* (a cattle enclosure) at a Kwam house; it was because Claudia wanted to have a closer look at a plant which was adjacent to a (rather inconspicuous) pole with horns fixed on the top. We had not learned about the *kraal* yet and that one was not fenced in any way. Ma Gora told us only afterwards about the ‘accident’ because it would have been very disrespectful as women are not allowed in or near a *kraal* but she added that it was not so bad because Claudia did not know that (as an ignorant white person). After another interview Claudia asked Ma Gora about the mama who seemed very nervous during the interview and Ma

Gora confirmed that the mama was so nervous that she even asked Ma Gora to think of something to say for her in reply to my questions. Ma Gora explained:

Do you know that other people are not used to white people, do you know that? So, that's why she's like that. If you never work with and meet white people you are scared, got that fright.

This was in the beginning of the interviews and it was after this incident that I asked Ma Gora to be more specific about my research purpose, and that she should mention it was not an inspection when she organized the interview with a mama. Alas, as we will see, this is not to be the end of the race issue, and also not of other differentiating issues which Liebow (1967: 251-2) pointed out, concerning "occupation, education, residence, speech and religion."

Ethical concerns

The critical importance of ethics in research is repeatedly highlighted in any discourse on fieldwork. In my MA I observed that following the basic rules of hospitality eliminates most problems with ethics in the field (Von Lengeling 2011: 70), starting with being aware that one is always a guest in the field and all else is subject to that position – also the researcher-informant relationship. In any ethical consideration the interests of the host community, those that have hosted the researcher, should come first and the next consideration should be the interests of the *client*, the person, agency, or organization that has commissioned and is paying for the work" (Ervin 2000: 28). With this study there was no such client, as I chose and paid for it myself (with partial financial support from the NRF), which leaves the host community, the Kwam mamas, central to any ethical consideration.

A most conventional way of dealing with sticky ethical issues is to anonymize and fictionalize communities and individual identities. But as Schlee (2010: 22) pointed out there are other considerations: one would, for instance, quote the name of a reference but if the reference is an interlocutor and pseudomized, the interlocutor's 'right' to reference has been infringed. This "might lead to the conclusion that in certain cases the right of the sources of one's information to be mentioned by name carries more weight than harm possibly done thereby. They have intellectual property rights." Schlee (ibid) goes as far as saying that "I would feel ashamed if I had deprived them of this by changing their names". Ervin (2000: 34) also noted a drawback with the practice to use pseudonyms:

When the community's name has been disguised, the knowledge contained in the report cannot be used by other researchers as part of an accumulating body of data about that community or region. It may be a crucial impediment in the growth of an effective policy science if that information about ongoing events and long-term trends is valuable.

In the present investigation there is a case to advance research and development by not fictionalizing the field setting, but in order to protect at least the individual Kwam mamas' identities I refer to them all as 'Kwam mama(s)' and not by their names, although there are a few exceptions, notably with the Kwam chairlady, Ma Gora, whose identity is revealed by their status. The exception does not apply to the Kwam committee members and so I have also omitted their names. Generally the Kwam mamas here speak with 'one voice' and so individual identities disappear in the anonymity which the sizeable group offers. However, this 'one voice' turned out to be a fiction as I discovered much later that there were dissenting voices.

When it comes to intervention there is a shift in ethics. Butler (2013: 101) noted that for action anthropologists their perceived responsibilities "to the people we study should go beyond that of 'doing no harm'," and instead we should extend our responsibilities to actively assist in improving the lives of the people we study. Quoting Tax, Butler (2013: 101) confirmed that "Community research is thus justifiable only to the degree that the results are imminently useful to the community and easily outweigh the disturbance to it". To

determine what is useful or a disturbance would depend on each case's specific circumstances and this requires the sensitivity anthropologists need to develop in the field. Concerning ethics in the case of reflexivity Meneley and Young (2005: 15) cautioned that

ethical concerns do not evaporate into thin air because one is self-critical. Indeed, acting ethically requires constant vigilance, and awkward – even nasty – situations remain unavoidable. Anthropologists are not the only ones capable of succumbing to the enticements of power, and ours is, for the most part, a cautionary tale about the hubris of academics.

As part of my power display in the process of advocating for Kwam it had nothing to do with the exercise of power for my own gains or reflecting the “hubris of academics” referred to above. Because we never expected any financial returns from our interventions, as it was part of my research, we were uncontaminated by the power struggles of those who were part of the organizational structure of project for the purpose to make money or to take money. With my becoming Kwam's (unpaid) legal representative, ethics then required that I act, and not just observe, to the benefit of my clients. Also being the legal representative of Kwam I have the duty of client confidentiality, which implies a clash of interest concerning what information I can reveal or not. As Ervin (2000: 130) stated “potential conflict exists, because scientific ethics require open access to data. However, in this subordinate role, all data must be kept confidential, and the advocate must accept all terms dictated by the client.” Kwam was my client (in the true sense of the word), and I have a duty only towards them. Under these circumstances this work or parts of it will have to be embargoed.

5. The Kwam Project

The Beginning: The Mother

Mrs Nosimo Balindlela told what moved her to initiate Kwam:

Well, it is a long story. For me Kwam eMakana was a sum total of the life I wished to live: that is the life of helping the poor people. So with whatever I did it was the culmination, culmination in the sense that I had decided that I was in the position, in a lucky position, to be a premier. And throughout my life I'd always vowed that I will never abandon the poor⁶¹ because I have seen myself how poor I was and how I'd yearned because I knew that the heart and the mind were not in that poverty ... yearning to be a better person and of course, I got the chance and I must. So, I have looked at the township in Grahamstown and I felt that the economy is lopsided in the sense that it, for the little economic benefits that were there, they were mainly made for a few, the educated. That's how I looked at Grahamstown. I felt that the few and educated were benefitting economically, they are at Rhodes, they are all over, they are trying to get a better life. But for anybody who is staying at Kwam eMakana the access to economic benefit was very limited. So, I thought that I could use my power as a political leader to do, what, to try and negotiate with the staff members and whole departments to ask them, particularly my department [DSRAC] then, that whoever goes to the Festival, goes there. As we knew that it had some economic spin-offs, and as we also knew that we had put in some little money to also help it, let us spend this money at least in investing in the economy of the poor. So, there it was then, which was a bit difficult, a message to be sent to all the officials of the departments who will be going to the Festival, to make use of the location, in terms of accommodation, and in terms of giving something to the poor. We spend the money we are getting for the accommodation at least there. I tried, with the good help of the Festival organisers⁶², to even bring Festival activities to Kwam. So it would become a thriving kind of a township ... So indeed it happened. That's the story!"

In March 2004 and in preparation for that year's National Arts Festival (NAF) Mrs Balindlela, then premier of the Eastern Cape, announced the ambitious "800 Rooms Project". 'Poor people' or 'previously disadvantaged' people were called to the sports stadium in Joza and those interested in hospitality were encouraged to join the project. About 120 people joined

⁶¹ After Kwam Mrs Balindlela maintained her vow through the work of her Balindlela Poverty Alleviation Foundation (B-PAF).

⁶² The CEO of NAF at the time, Ms Lynette Marais, is a lesser celebrated force that contributed to the inception of the project. No Kwam mama nor anybody else referred to Ms Marais in 2012-5.

up⁶³. Mrs Balindlela actually stayed with a future Kwam host when she visited the Festival that year while her predecessors had opted for upmarket accommodation in Grahamstown West. Many of the '800 Rooms' hosts went through the trouble and expense of getting ready for the 2004 NAF but no guests arrived. Only two homes had guests, the one where Mrs Balindlela stayed and another where two Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC) officials stayed. Towards the end of that Festival the group involved with the 800 Rooms Project toyi-toyed⁶⁴ at Makana Tourism's (then Grahamstown Tourism) office in High Street demanding that they receive guests or at least be reimbursed for their expenses. But that was the first time that the local tourism office learned about the 800 Rooms Project and as volunteer consultant at Makana Tourism (MT), Mr Brian Jackson recalled, "Kwam started with a rather debacle-ish launch" which led to a "great flurry" to solve the problem. In the words of Mr Jackson:

It was something thrust at Makana Tourism, a project that wasn't initiated by us, but we ran with it. The funding still came from the provincial department [DSRAC] – it was their idea. Our budget is just too small for it. They carried on funding but they are hands-off now (personal communication 2012).

Kwam clearly had a 'top-down' initiation and the subsequent communication failures between the premier and/or other structures and the Local Tourism Organization (MT) threatened to cause the project to be stillborn. At the time, it seemed to have been a general governmental problem as Luck (2004: 131ff) also described the reluctance of various authorities to actually get involved beyond repeating development rhetoric at endless meetings. However, in July after the 2004 Festival representatives from all the "relevant stakeholders" (The Office of the Premier (OTP), Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA), the Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC), National Arts Festival (NAF), Makana Municipality (MM), Makana Tourism (MT) and the Kwam hosts) converged and the *Kwam eMakana Government Initiated Poverty Alleviation Project* was officially launched. Representatives of each of these organizations formed a steering

⁶³ By 2013 the average number of bedrooms per Kwam house was three and that included rooms added over the years, therefore 120 homes in 2004 offered at the most about a third of the over-ambitious 800 rooms.

⁶⁴ A South African term for a dance-like action during a protest march often accompanied with singing.

committee which would supervise the project. “Symbolic power, whose form par excellence is the power to make groups rests on two conditions” (Bourdieu 1989:23). The first condition is the “possession of symbolic capital” such as social authority; the second condition is that “the vision proposed is founded in reality”, reality in the sense of “the objective affinities between the agents who have to be brought together” (ibid). Kwam’s founding fulfilled both conditions: as premier Mrs Balindlela possessed sufficient social authority and, by virtue of founding statements, directives and missives to various government departments and participation of the hosts, words were turned to reality.

Also appointed in 2004 on the payroll of the OTP was a project manager, Ms Tracey Mackie, who worked close together with Mrs Balindlela but after three years, and apparently because the pay was not good enough, she left for another position in Port Elizabeth. A Kwam mama nostalgically recalled in 2014: “She was doing well! Tracey was working well for this project, if Tracey was here – wow, wow, wow! We will be here!”, and the mama pointed high up. Another mama pleaded with Claudia when we visited for the second time with the interviews: “*Miesis ... miesis*, please! ... *abantu miesis nhlope* [white madam; literally: person madam white] ... if you can occupy Tracey’s place?” She repeated that it would be better for Kwam to get a white woman like Claudia “so that she’s going to raise Kwam up ... Back in a good standard because we don’t have someone to put Kwam in a good standard since Tracey. Kwam is very low now”. Quite clearly the mamas liked Claudia very much and it was not only because she is a white woman, she also represented an independent and not helpless woman, and one who was really listening to them. (Claudia liked the cultural exchange but she had no intention of becoming a project manager.)

By 2014 the steering committee was by and large a ‘ghost’ supervisor without any traceable records. In meetings with DSRAC during 2014 mention was made of this steering committee but no one could confirm any of its activities, or who the persons serving on it were, save

perhaps for some DSRAC officials who spoke of 'us' and 'we' as a claim of appropriation as if they were part of Kwam. However, the actual 'work' with Kwam for the first 10 years was done by MT as MT became the custodian of the project in 2004.

Out of the 120 candidates 55 homestays were eventually chosen in 2006 on the basis that they apparently earned less than R1 500 per month⁶⁵ and/or were divorced or widowed women, but with no significant income. Otto's, was the only male owned homestay but since he hosted only for a few years in the beginning and later became the Kwam Liaison Officer (discussed below), the actual hosts of Kwam were all women. The most important requisite to belong to Kwam was that the hosts had to be home owners: people who rented disqualified. As it involved the development of homestays in existing homes, the rationale was that the host should also be the home owner so that the ultimate beneficiaries could be identified. No owners of informal houses ever participated. The next qualifier was that people who were married to or were themselves government officials/employees at the time, such as teachers, nurses and members of the police force, were also disqualified, the obvious reason being that government employees are not allowed to benefit from a government poverty alleviation scheme. A group of these disqualified homes founded their own organization called *Entabeni Homestays and B&Bs*. They also operate in the township of Joza but are limited to Mahlasela Park, the 'elite' areas of Extension 4 and 5, and they have about 12 members. Besides the obvious rivalry between Entabeni and Kwam, which never led to direct confrontation though, there was confusion at MT because Entabeni was an informal member of MT and Kwam was under MT's custodianship. There was a clash of interest all along as bookings for both Kwam and Entabeni were handled by MT, Entabeni payments were done over the same account as that of Kwam and the only real difference was that Entabeni guests did not have the advantage of the taxis and cadets (discussed below).

⁶⁵ Luck (2004: 131) also noted the R1 500 income cut-off line for government grant applications at the time.

With the entry requirements for Kwam limiting the number of participants and the impetus given by 'formalizing' the project, it transpired in 2005 that more homes would be needed. Otto was responsible for the introduction of about 12 'overflow' (female-headed) homes which formed part of the 'original' 55 members in 2006. These 'overflow' homes provided a few Kwam homestays which had more income and some of these mamas were married all along. Most Kwam mamas are the head of the house, and in two or three cases a Kwam mama now lives with a man. Of all these 'husbands'⁶⁶, a few actually actively assist their wives with Kwam but in most cases it was a daughter and only three Kwam mamas had the assistance of a son. As can be seen from the hosts' profiles in the table in Appendix 2, in four cases it was a mother-daughter team which meant both were actively involved with Kwam, attending courses, meetings and co-hosting; in one case the daughter started with Kwam but, as she subsequently found employment, her mother took over; in another case where the elderly mother passed away her daughter took over and became the member of Kwam – as no formal taking over procedures existed at that time and these were the only new members; in three other cases of the death of the mother it was also the end of that household's membership as nobody took over or wanted to take over. As for relatives among the whole group there were two pairs of sisters, each having her own homestay, but otherwise the Kwam members were not related.

Many Kwam mamas reflected with nostalgia on the time of the beginning years of the project (besides about Tracey) as they felt things were 'happening' and they thought the project would do 'wonders' for them. Mrs Balindlela truly inspired the mamas when she told them that poverty should not stand in their way to accommodate guests because the most basic thing is that everything has to be clean and everybody knows what is clean. But Mrs Balindlela realized that the guests might not be as happy with Kwam as elsewhere, so she also made an effort to 'educate' the guests and as a concrete measure each homestay received laminated A4 sheets with the house rules, code of conduct and a letter by Mrs Balindlela addressed to the guests (See these in Appendix 3).

⁶⁶ Home ownership in these cases has not been investigated.

Four years after the beginning of Kwam Susan Cook (2008: 1) wrote:

Nosimo Balindlela ... is like a mother hen that spreads its wings to offer shelter and protection to those around her. She remains close to her African roots, maintaining a home that accommodates cultural customs. She's well known for her traditional African dress, sometimes down to the bare feet.

She also has a hard time passing up a linen sale. So when she saw an advertisement for a sale of bed linens in a Jo'burg newspaper she sprang into action and solved a nagging detail that had been blocking progress on a project dear to her heart, the Home Stay Programme.

The price was right so she selected sheets, duvets and towels in vivid colours and patterns that were to become a key element in a project created to provide empowerment to women (and some men) across the province; to use their homes – their one available asset – to not only provide much needed hospitality for guests during regional events, but to also provide some additional income for their family.

The Home Stay Programme is a reflection of Balindlela's leadership, including the warm hospitality, economic empowerment, celebration of tradition and the intangible but powerful Ubuntu.

It celebrates the value of the African home, not only as a reminder of a past that has incorporated creativity and resilience in times of hardship, but as a way of life that may become an example to follow in the future, in a world rapidly facing shortages of natural resources.

At the end of her report, Cook noted the challenges of Kwam as she saw them in 2008 (summarised below):

1. the need for Kwam to attract business all year round and to expand the customer base beyond mainly government officials and guests
2. to tap into the emerging conference market of Grahamstown
3. the need to become a self-sustaining business, with better management and marketing
4. finding ways to deal with the competition of Grahamstown West and Entabeni, and to address the conflicts of interest between Entabeni, Makana Tourism and Kwam

It is rather interesting that when I started this study in 2012 none of the challenges identified by Cook had been addressed and instead very similar ‘challenges’ were identified in subsequent surveys, such as *Makana Edutourism Partnership (MEP) Feasibility Study (2009)*⁶⁷, and those by Burunguz et al. (2011)⁶⁸ and Kwarambaa et al. (2012)⁶⁹, but without anybody making an effort to move beyond the identification of problems. Quite clearly this indicates the effect of Mrs Balindlela’s leaving in 2009 and the loss of her ‘political arm’ as the project seemed to freeze, or start to freeze around 2009-2010. But on the ground, among the mamas, the effect of this only became really palpable from 2012 onwards.

The MEP Feasibility Study (2009) recognized the low economic activity and low tourist numbers in Grahamstown but the aim was to promote edutourism (tourism for educational purposes) to address both these issues (MEP 2009: 3-4). The report claims that there is fertile ground in Grahamstown for edutourism particularly because of the many schools, learning centres and the university (MEP 2009:37ff) but also as Grahamstown has emerged as a good venue for conferences and other events such as festivals (MEP 2009: 43-4). However township accommodation had the least patronage and there were complaints of favouritism with the allocation of guests, poor marketing and the very seasonal nature of the NAF. The report noted with specific reference that Entabeni homes were favoured over

⁶⁷In 2009 the EU funded an investigation into the viability of edutourism in Grahamstown. The result is contained in the *Situational Analysis report for the Makana Edutourism Partnership (MEP) Feasibility Study (2009)*. The report subscribed to government guidelines of development of tourism specifically to address poverty and to enhance the position of women.

⁶⁸The Burunguz, Wijker, Vink, Radtke, & Boeff Paper (2011) was compiled by five Dutch students who spent 10 days in Grahamstown in 2010, mostly with Kwam, so that they could make an assessment ‘on the ground’ of what Kwam was like which in turn could inform their advice for Kwam on how to attract more tourists. The limited time the researchers spent here reflects in several erroneous assumptions (such as a bustling tourist trade in Grahamstown) which might cause us to question the value of the whole report.

⁶⁹ Kwarambaa, Lovetta, Louw, and Chipumuroc (2012) applied an “emotional intelligence” (EI) test to Kwam in 2011 and published their results in the journal *Tourism Management*. Kwarambaa et al. (2012) also spent very limited time with Kwam and besides disregarding the commercial hospitality context Kwarambaa et al. (2012: 892) concluded that “[t]he confidence levels represented by the EI scores were low on all the four competencies, this reveals in part why the participants face difficulties in assimilating into the tourism economy as a result of diminished EI competency levels; self-awareness, social awareness skills, self-management and social skills.” The study thus also disregarded the lack of a tourism economy and at best rather reflects the very general position of women in the townships.

Kwam's besides the general preference of guests to stay in town rather than in the townships (MEP 2009: 49-50). The report concluded that

Since township accommodation offerings do not have a clear cost advantage, there is a need to promote and develop differentiation advantage – that is, promote the unique character and experience as well as opportunities available to guests. Comments and suggestions made in this regard by respondents to Township B&B questionnaire survey include the township social life, the wealth of history around each location in the township, the homeliness and warm hospitality of Kwam B&B homestays as well as the need to market the individual character (the host, the house, the rooms) of each homestay (referring to both Kwam and Entabeni) (MEP 2009: 50).

Concerning marketing it was noted that “[t]here is a clear need for web-based marketing of township homestay offerings, particularly for Kwam B&Bs as they do not currently have a page on the Makana Tourism site” whereas the Entabeni homestays were listed on MT’s site (MEP 2009: 50). The report quotes MT’s “Marketing – Development Plan 2005-2010” where it stated that Makana Tourism was to “serve as a booking office for Kwam e-Makana until such time as a Black Economic Empowerment person or company is in a position to take over, and the need for such a dedicated booking office is apparent, as is the need for web and internet marketing of township establishments” (MEP 2009: 49-50). Whereas guests at the time commented on “value for money” (particularly referring to the famous ‘English breakfast’ the Kwam mamas serve), other guests commented on the need to upgrade facilities and particularly the bathroom and toilet facilities, “as they are not up to standard” (MEP 2009: 51). But the report also noted other problems and these were listed as:

- Negative impact on service standard as a result of poor liaison and new establishments with untrained people;
- Some houses are built by owners, not professional contractors;
- Absentee business owners; and
- Funding is not directed to upgrading but only to training (MEP 2009: 51).

This 2009 report confirms the challenges as noted by Cook in 2008 and alludes to deeper management problems which could be overcome by bringing in an outsider, a “Black Economic Empowerment person or company [who] is in a position to take over”. I only read this report after most of our interventions and we are not a BEE person or company.

However, we were ‘outsiders’ who were in a position to take over but we worked for/with Kwam to take over themselves. Also important is the identified need for cyber presence, but as with the other challenges they were only met with lip service by 2014. This report contributes to an assessment that the mamas had very limited power in dealing with the administration of the project and to a degree submitted to the top-down nature of the project, while desiring to somehow improve their situation.

The name Nosimo Balindlela (Mama Nosimo or Mama Nosimo Balindlela) was mentioned at least once at almost every Kwam meeting, and even at official meetings with DSRAC and NAF when Kwam came up for discussion somebody would mention her name. In the beginning of fieldwork I thought that all Kwam members belonged to the same church or Christian religious grouping because I could sense something was keeping them together but I had not yet discovered what it was. As noted, Christianity is widely practiced in the townships, especially among women. Almost every meeting was opened with a hymn and prayer and closed with prayer. But it was the mantra-like reference to Mama Nosimo Balindlela which was the basis of their solidarity; they were all linked together through her, the mother of Kwam. At another level, the frequent use of the ‘Kwam mantra’ by officials was a confirmation of their appropriation of Kwam, through calling the mantra they too were part of Kwam and thus had a say in what should happen. The capital Mrs Balindlela had contributed still elicited calling her name, but the change in her political alliance worked against it.⁷⁰ In the interview with Mr Jackson in 2012 he recognised the decline of political power which backed Kwam in the beginning, as he said:

With the Kwam thing, I think that would be successful. It’s an opportunity. I say it’s a development project, it’s actually a good idea. But they hate it. Politics are interfering. Balindlela is a bit of a hot potato - anything she did before is really meant not to pay any attention to. The other thing too, is that the civil servants do not want to stay in the township. Provincial government employees have to stay there, that’s the rule! They would much rather stay in a R1000 suite to entertain girlfriends or boyfriends, rather than stay in the township and pay R200 to R300 a night, and perhaps even share the room.

⁷⁰Mrs Balindlela had been with the ruling ANC all along but left the ANC a year after her premiership ended in 2009 and joined the opposition party, the Democratic Alliance (DA), in 2010 and she became the DA leader for the Amatole District in the Eastern Cape. Currently Mrs Balindlela is a member of parliament for the DA.

Below I will deal with the 'unhappy forced guests' and MT's bias about Kwam homestays, but what is important here is that the order from the top was still recognized in 2012. By 2012 the Kwam name and logo has been in public circulation for many years (and common law ascribes a copyright to the use of the name and logo), for instance, at Festivals before 2010 taxis were provided with huge bright red stickers with the Kwam name and logo on. The name and logo had by then gained symbolic power and goodwill which is an important asset for any business. It seemed that save for some material and administrative challenges, which could be solved such as with the starter pack and MT's involvement, the project had been set on a path. The momentum gained with the beginning years contributed to the continuation of the project after Mrs Balindlela had left. But there were other areas of the project which showed a decline too, such as the number of members. Four Kwam members had left the project after only a few years, so that in 2008 there were 51 Kwam homestays (Cook 2008), including the liaison officer even though he was no longer hosting. But since 2011 the membership numbers dwindled more rapidly so that by 2012 the MT Database for Kwam had 42 names on it, in 2013 there were 35 and in 2014 Kwam had 34 members. Four Kwam mamas had passed away before 2011, others moved away from Grahamstown, some became government employees or employed elsewhere, and a few just gave up.

The starter pack

At the founding meeting of Kwam the need for a 'starter pack' was identified. A starter pack was also in line with set-up support generally granted by government to development projects at the time (Luck 2004: 121-2). The first Kwam starter packs were handed out in preparation for the 2005 Festival and consisted of bed linen (two sheets and four pillow cases) fitting each guest bed whether single or double bed, a set of three different towels per bed, a handful of guest soaps with the Kwam logo embedded on them, an electrical hot water urn for those homes without hot water plumbing, and a visitors' or guest book. And,

township vegetable and butchery suppliers were contracted to provide fresh fruit, vegetables and meat (mainly for the guests' breakfasts) on a daily basis to Kwam members on an account which was settled by the Office of the Premier after the Festival. In 2006 the starter pack consisted of one blanket per bed and a R500 cash loan (provided by Makana Tourism and deducted from the pay-out after Festival), and for the years to come until 2011 this mini-credit scheme continued to be what was then understood as 'the starter pack'. Not every Kwam mama used this scheme, and neither had each of the more substantial starter packs been the same, nor has every Kwam member received a full starter pack. This caused resentment and internal conflict. Seven mamas reportedly received nothing at all and one of these mamas continued to bemoan this fact for years, even still when I started this study, and others had by then left the project. There were no starter packs for the years 2012 and 2013 and in 2014 the starter pack became an issue again, but that will be related later.

Cook (2008) noted that government input in 2007 for Kwam was R500 000 without guest payments, which probably amounted to double that in the end when guest payments were included. Since 2011 government input comprised of:

- an annual grant of R150 000 from DSRAC for Kwam's operational expenses, controlled by MT
- numerous presentations by consultants and various training courses (e.g. hospitality management, accounting & financial management) paid for by Makana Municipality and/or ECPTA and arranged by MT
- a signboard for each homestay sponsored by the municipality in conjunction with MT
- the payments for guests DSRAC sent for each Festival; in 2011 these totalled about R400 000

The decline which started when Mrs Balindlela left in 2009 continued and by 2013 the expense of keeping Kwam running and whether this was in relation to any real benefit for

the community became very questionable. The 42 members of Kwam with the 2012 Festival had an average turnover of about R5000 each, compared to the 'good old days' up to 2011 when they each turned around R9 000 or even more (some said R15 000 to R20 000, and Kwarambaa et al. (2012: 887) noted that the mamas earned anything between R8 000 and R28 000 with the 2011 NAF). Even in the fatter years (before 2010) the turnover had to be seen in the context of one whole year, but it was still worthwhile as most of the mamas confirmed that Kwam had helped them to improve their homes. After 2012 the decline continued and by 2014 the average takings at Festival were R3000 per homestay.

Organizational structure

In this section we have a closer look at the organizational structure which was set up to operate the project, thereafter a few role players will be introduced. Kwam as a top-down project is depicted by the diagram below which shows the Office of the Premier (OTP) on top. The arrows depict the hierarchy as we move down to the provincial level of DSRAC and ECPTA. DSRAC, because of Mrs Balindlela's historical connection with this department, continued to be the main funder and guest provider for Kwam. ECPTA was more involved in an advisory capacity and they would organize and sponsor training courses for the Kwam members. On the local level there are NAF and Makana Municipality. Although NAF is a non-governmental organization, the funds from DSRAC are channelled through the NAF Office for distribution to the various beneficiaries. Makana Municipality or, more specifically, the Local Economic Development (LED) and Tourism Portfolio Committee of the municipality is the main funder of Makana Tourism which they recognize as the local tourism authority. The municipality would in collaboration with MT occasionally attempt to make direct contributions to the project, as we will see later, besides the signboards already mentioned. Others shown on the local level of the diagram are the Grahamstown Hospitality Guild, Entabeni, other rivals and Rhodes University which have been mentioned above. They did not form part of the organizational structure but have had some influence on the project. At

the bottom of this hierarchy are the beneficiaries, the Kwam homestays. The nucleus organizational structure of the project concerned Kwam, MT and the taxis and cadets, and together these bodies have been called the 'three legs' of Kwam by the Kwam liaison officer.

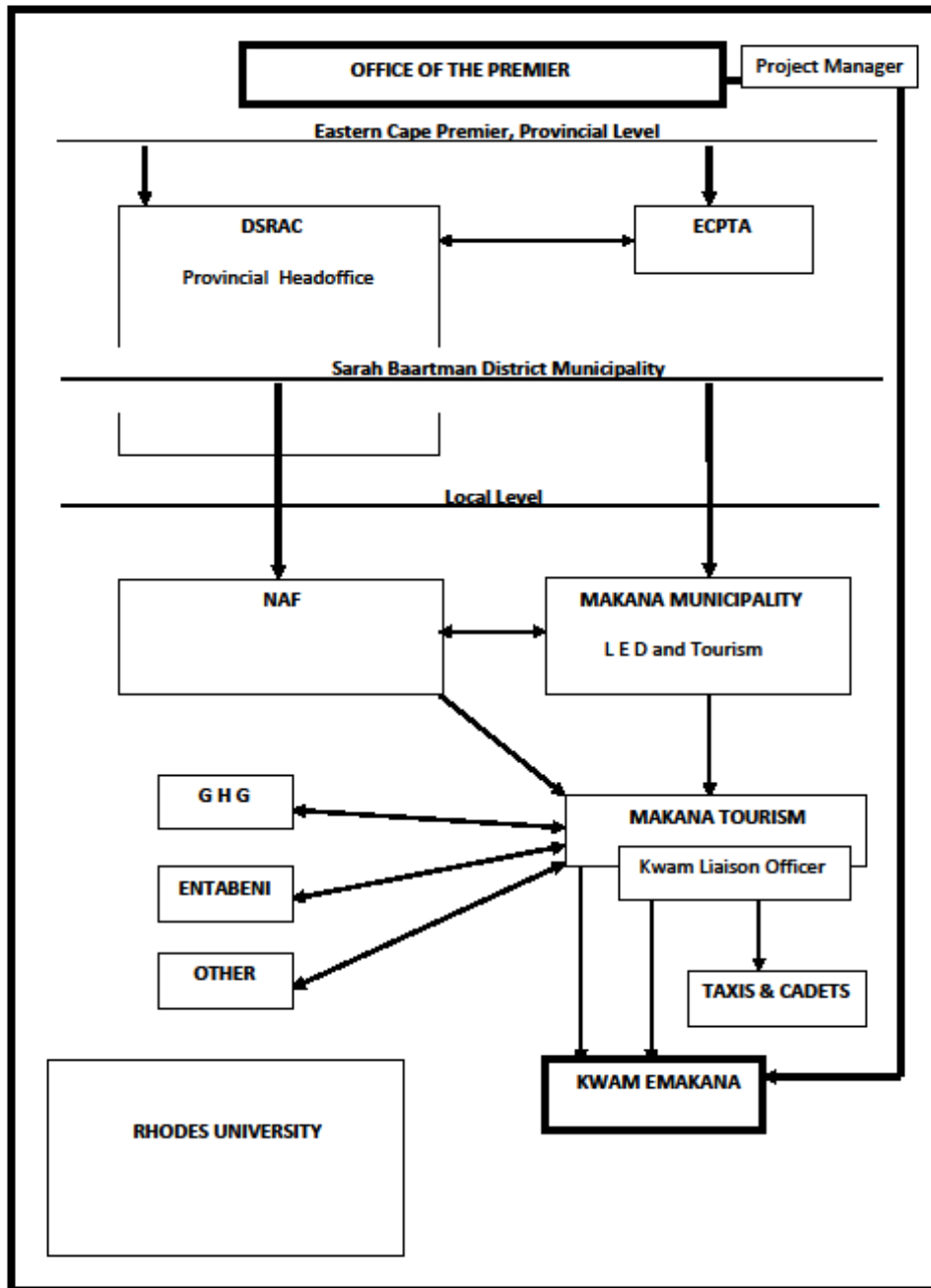


Figure 9 Diagram showing the position of Kwam with reference to government hierarchies

Kwam management

Besides the steering committee, the 'Kwam Executive Committee' consisted of the Kwam committee members, the chairlady, the liaison officer and a representative from MT. Ma Gora has been the chairlady of Kwam since 2004. Ma Gora was 53 years old in 2014, which was slightly younger than the average age of 57 for Kwam mamas in that year. She grew up in Grahamstown and finished high school during the height of apartheid in the 1980s. Because of the turbulent township conditions during the eighties she finished school in the neighbouring Ciskei, a typical example of children at the time who moved between the rural and urban areas for education, as mentioned above. Ma Gora is mother to four children and her daughter of around twenty years old assists her at home and with Kwam. Ma Gora's husband was stabbed to death in a *shebeen* (informal drinking place) in 1999⁷¹ (Ma Gora did not mourn too much as it was not a happy marriage and he became violent at times). As part of an art exchange scheme with a Swedish-funded organization connected to the Dakawa Art Centre in Grahamstown, Ma Gora spent two years in Sweden attending an arts school for textiles. Her children were looked after by her mother and sisters who live just around the corner from her home. She had toyed with the idea of staying longer in Sweden because of opportunities there but she missed her children. When she started with Kwam she was among the 'poorest' of the members. But all along Ma Gora had shown a resilient commitment to Kwam even if on occasion Ma Gora confided that "it is not easy to lead them". When she wanted to resign after some years as chairlady a few mamas came to her and pleaded with her to remain chairlady because "nothing was happening" otherwise. Even if Ma Gora was considered 'a poor widow' her connection to white people such as Mr Makkink and the fact that she had finished school, been overseas and had served in petty leadership positions (e.g. in church) contributed to her distinction as leader – she was simply

⁷¹ Like with Ma Gora, Brown (1996: 73) quoted an informant a few years earlier: ""Things were very bad. He always had a girlfriend and he has children all over Joza. But then he would come back home and expect to be looked after. In the end his last girlfriend stabbed him because he picked a fight with her new boyfriend. He managed to get back home, but then he died in my kitchen."

the most qualified and 'connected' of the group to do the job, and she had ambition which I have learned to be of the rare honest kind.

While the chairlady stayed, committee members have come and gone over the years. Other, ad hoc committees had been elected for various reasons, such as for petitioning the mayor about water supply in 2009, but nothing ever came of these. By 2012 the Kwam committee had faded away and Ma Gora was the only representative of the mamas of Kwam alongside Otto who as liaison officer also claimed to be on the Kwam Executive.

The Kwam Liaison Officer

The position of Kwam Liaison Officer was introduced at the initiation of the project when all the stakeholders met and one of the problems identified was that of communication: the project would need someone to liaise with all the different stakeholders and/or government departments and the Kwam hosts. It was seen as a three month a year job centring around the National Arts Festival (May, June, July) and then particularly to be available for any problems with guests during the days of Festival itself. At first a man known as Stambo did the job for two years and in 2007 it was a man called Vuyani, both were also office workers at MT at the time. In 2008 Otto, who had stopped hosting, became the Kwam Liaison Officer. Mr Makkink, the director of MT at the time, and Otto never got on well, according to both. Mr Makkink wanted Ma Gora to learn what the position of Kwam Liaison Officer involved and he suggested she and Otto share the job (and stipend) but Ma Gora said they should rather alternate years. So Otto stayed on as liaison officer in 2009 and in 2010 Ma Gora was liaison officer, while being chairlady anyway. The next year, 2011, it was Otto again and then Mr Makkink retired at the end of that year. At that time the stipend for the

Liaison Officer was R5 000 per month for three months (May, June, July) thus totalling R15 000. When Sue took over from Mr Makkink at MT in the beginning of 2012, Otto simply stayed on as Kwam Liaison Officer and for the next two years he stayed firmly in that position. In 2013 Otto received a stipend of R30 000 for being the Kwam Liaison Officer. However, as we will see, Otto was voted out before the 2014 Festival and then the position of liaison officer was abolished, but he continued to claim that he was part of Kwam, as if for life: "I'm on the database of Kwam!"

When I started this research and asked Sue about Kwam, she told me "speak to Otto, he knows everything about Kwam". So I spoke to Otto, or rather Otto told me 'everything' over the course of four interviews and many chats before or after other meetings with Kwam, MT or by chance. Otto was born and raised in Grahamstown and claimed to have finished high school. He lives in Joza with his fiancé and their three small children. Otto operates a tour guiding business under the name 'Ottours' which is a one man show guiding 'tourists' through the townships of Grahamstown East. His motto is 'Spirit of life' and he believes that he is carrying all those spirits which from generation to generation have been carried over to "welcome guests" and to relate stories of his ancestors – how the battle of Grahamstown, for instance, and the enduring conflicts between the amaXhosa and Mfengu which erupted again in the 1970s and only calmed with the new dispensation – affected his family. On Sundays Otto is a lay preacher in a Christian Sect in the township. During the first interviews I had with Otto he claimed that he had been chairperson of Kwam from 2004 to 2007 and, from 2008 on liaison officer; and he has been cited as "the manager of Kwam" in other reports on Kwam.

Otto also told me that the problems in the beginning of Kwam were that the mamas were not trained in hospitality – he said that was the reason why no guests came. He made no mention of marketing or then communication which is what brings guests, not training, but

he was quick to point out that government failed to understand the 'needs' of the hospitality industry and that they do not have any expertise with it; neither had he, and that was why he stopped hosting. I had booked a tour with Ottours and he took me to what he described as one of the flagship houses of the Kwam project, a rather luxurious home. He said that during Festival the family moved out of their house to a room outside but otherwise they stayed in the house. Otto continued to explain how the home had 'graduated' and the hostess also hosts international people whereby he claimed that "with this place we are on the international level with Kwam!"

Of the general position of development agents, Otto seemed to epitomize what Olivier de Sardan (2005: 107) described as one being from the local society and having learned the 'language' of the outside world and claiming to be an entrepreneur, with "sufficient mastery of the 'world' of development to be able to use it to [his] own benefit". Further Olivier de Sardan (2005: 181) described the use of the 'project language' by development agents which is almost identical to the way Otto spoke when he used words such as 'converge', 'emanate', 'transformation', 'relevant stakeholders' and phrases like "you have to feel it in your bloodstream, you know", or a repetition of the history of Kwam including citing Mrs Balindlela and a lengthy explanation of his "three legs" theory almost every time he spoke about Kwam, but he would not speak like that in ordinary conversation. Most importantly for Otto though, was the loyalty he enjoyed from the mamas he had introduced as 'overflow.'

Makana Tourism

As we have seen, Makana Tourism (MT) came to their relationship with Kwam by default. Although MT has been referred to as the custodian or 'facilitator' of the project, MT had the

central position of the 'development agent', and, as stated, in much the same way as Olivier de Sardan (2005: 167-8) described their involvements and particularly those that had to 'learn' and improvise as they went along.

As a non-profit organization MT is headed by a board with a chairperson but the Director is the sole executive and also controls the physical office in High Street where a handful of office staff work as employees of MT. Mr Willem Makkink became the Director of Grahamstown Tourism, as Makana Tourism was known at the time, in 1997. Mr Makkink had his own business with TV sales, installation and repairs, which he sold before he became Director. He, together with Mr Brian Jackson⁷², came up with the name *Frontier Country*. Mr Makkink is an Afrikaner and belonged to the National Party of the apartheid regime during the 'old days'. However, the Kwam mamas themselves only had praise for him and of how he used to handle the matters of Kwam since the time of Kwam's inception to 2011 when he left. This is in stark contrast to the notions the Grahamstown Hospitality Guild (GHG) held of Mr Makkink as the GHG was founded partially because the members were unhappy with Mr Makkink as head of tourism. Although Mr Makkink referred to himself as 'a liberal' some people said they thought he was racist. For Kwam, and taking the mama's apartheid-era upbringing into account, Mr Makkink was a benevolent white male, a good 'boss' or patron, and it was beneficial to submit to his guidance. Although they felt he did not exploit them, he could not contribute more to their development. Mr Makkink retired at the beginning of 2012 and reverted to his trade from before, although he now operates from home and approaches it more like a hobby.

As noted, Sue took over from Mr Makkink at the beginning of February 2012, coincidentally at the same time when I started this study. She had been born and raised in Grahamstown

⁷² Mr Brian Jackson has been opposition party (Democratic Alliance - DA) councillor in Makana Municipality and volunteer consultant at Makana Tourism from before Mr Makkink's time; previously he had been employed in tourism promotion at the provincial level.

and completed a Fine Arts Degree at Rhodes University. Around 50 years old at the time of this study, Sue had experience with marketing, property development and tourism when she had worked at SA Tourism in Johannesburg for several years. She has been living with her old mother since the end of 2011 when she returned to Grahamstown.

When I spoke to Sue about Kwam for the very first time she also bluntly told me that she wanted to get rid of them. In an interview with Sue at the beginning of 2013 she described how she saw Kwam after she had been in office for one year:

When I sit down with Otto ... every time we've been discussing how this Kwam project is going to evolve and become really self-sustaining. 'Cause quite frankly, I don't want to deal with the ladies, they are difficult and they are quite nasty, some of them, they give us all a rough time. Having said that, I understand that they need the money but at some point I would like to hand the project over, because they need to take ownership, but it's not going to happen unless there's something more to it than relying only on DSRAC. Everybody's got to be involved and last year we sat and talked to the Province as well, ECPTB, as to how we can make this thing self-sustaining, how do we get the training, get them organized, have a section 21 company or whatever. Look, they got some really nice tourism training, they bribed them to attend meetings with food – it's the usual way. I think to a certain extent they learnt quite a lot, but it didn't ... We still haven't got to the stage as to how to hand the project over, so that they can get ownership. And poor Otto is beside himself, he's also been thinking, talking to people. He said we don't know how to take this on. One of the discussions that we did have was, perhaps, that the homestays should change to the core group of ladies being an entity like the Grand Res [formerly the Grand Hotel, now a privately owned student residence]. At one stage I heard that Rhodes was interested in selling, so if by some chance that was turned into a Backpackers and you can get these ladies to look on it as a business. But the bottom line is they don't want to run an eight to nine hour job, they don't want to run a fulltime business, because a lot of them are retired and old. They prefer working from home and if they see two people a year, that's fine. For some of them that really rely on the money, instead of just making a killing in July, there're other opportunities...

People are very wary to stay in the township, I don't know why because it's really quite safe, I mean, I went there, looked at all the homes, visited the ladies, you know. And I've been there three or four times and it's been fine, there is no problem, security is fine, you know. I am waiting to see if DSRAC is committed this year in doing it. There is a feeling in DSRAC, I've heard it from one of the civil servants, "why are we still doing this? It was Nosimo's project, she's no longer premier" etc. Our civil servants are very "larney" [fancy], they don't want to stay in a small little house in the township – it's not up to their standard. And that's what

kills me, these are not shacks, the houses that the people have are by and large ... smart. I think our group is too big, we've got 50, we should have 55 but a few of them have dropped out due to age and infirmity and that sort of thing. We've got about 51 ladies or households. But out of those 50 I think 20 are really passionate, they come to meetings, they get stuck in.

Sue had made the effort to see the Kwam homes for herself and she had a good idea what the challenges were, but she seemed bent on getting out of the project. When I explained that for me the image of a poverty alleviation project makes one imagine poor people living in squalid conditions which is certainly not attractive from the perspective of commercial hospitality and it certainly does not reflect the project in reality, Sue answered "I think you have hit the nail on the head and perhaps we should actually market it slightly differently". She then also remembered from when she was working with SA Tourism "when we needed township tours and things started in Soweto, it was always *cultural*, never poverty alleviation." But I learned that with Sue there seemed to be quite a difference between what she says and what she does.

From the experience of the first real run with Kwam in 2005 it became evident that Makana Tourism would need support and extra staff to deal with the bookings and payments. The job of the booking officer was introduced to allocate the guests and, after Festival, reconcile payments for the Kwam hosts. The next year a booking assistant was seconded from MT to help the booking officer. Although MT retained a 10% commission of the payouts to cover their costs it was not enough and money from the annual grant by DSRAC was allocated to cover the over-time of the booking officer, the stipend of the booking assistant and the stipend of the liaison officer. Welekazi, a woman in her latter twenties at the time of this study, had been a cadet before and then started to assist with bookings in 2010. She became the 'permanent' booking officer in 2012, when she also became a permanent staff member of Makana Tourism. Actually, Welekazi is an example of the type of positive knock-on effect which the project could produce, that of finding permanent job opportunities for participants in the programme.

Taxis and cadets

The physical location of the township is about 5-8 km from the centre of town where most of the Festival takes place. Further away are the performances and exhibitions at the 1820 Settlers' Monument which is, seen from Joza, on top of the hill on the other side of town, above Rhodes University. Guest transport was identified as a crucial aspect of the project and the taxi⁷³ associations of Grahamstown were engaged. Of the Kwam operations budget granted by annually DSRAC, by far the biggest amount - usually more than half of it in the last few years - has been paid out to the taxis. Taxis were paid to be exclusively available during Festival for the government guests to get to and from their Kwam homestay in Joza and the various Festival venues around town. Every year before Festival representatives of the various taxi associations met with MT and Kwam to discuss and plan that year's functions. In the beginning years there were 14 taxis that participated each year with Festival. In 2011 there were 12 taxis and as guest numbers declined there were eight taxis in 2013 of which half were cancelled leaving only four. The issues with the taxis in 2014 and 2015 will be related later.

In order to facilitate this transport system, and to assist both taxi drivers and guests with getting around, so-called cadets were trained and appointed for each Festival. Initially the idea with the cadets was to offer a job during Festival for unemployed young people (16 to 21 years old). An eager group of 70 young people were trained in 2005 and then they were supposed to be rotated over the following years to give each an opportunity. Each taxi was assigned a cadet and so their numbers correlated over the years. The rotation never really

⁷³ Taxi in the South African context usually means a minibus with seating for about 20 people; often the only means of 'public transport', these taxi operators usually belong to a union or association.

happened, and by 2014 some of the cadets were not so young anymore. One cadet ‘graduated’ to become the bookings officer as noted above.

Borderline Poverty

I have described the conditions of life in Grahamstown East generally, including overcrowding, poor sanitation, low levels of education and literacy and we have seen that Kwam had a rather difficult ‘birth’ and on top of that various stakeholders had varying opinions about how the fledgling project was to develop. For instance, Sue wanted to get rid of it and while Otto made quite a point that the failure at the beginning with the project was due to a ‘need’ for training in hospitality, later it became clear that this concocted ‘need’ was more to promote his self-interest in a paying position. During the years before 2012, the municipality in conjunction with Makana Tourism provided each homestay with a sign board, as mentioned, and occasionally some mamas received jackets with the Kwam logo embroidered on them. These were justified as contributions to the poverty alleviation project but never were the mamas consulted about what they really needed. There were also genuine material needs which were identified and addressed as with the starter pack and providing credit, though some of the mamas were never very poor and others have emerged from poverty over time, not necessarily due or only due to their involvement with Kwam. Mrs Balindlela’s message was that it did not matter if the mamas were poor⁷⁴ as long as everything was clean and tidy, they should be proud of their homes. This reflects the very meaning of Kwam eMakana as expressed by a Kwam mama:

“Kwam eMakana means *my* place in Makana – the business we are doing, we are doing in our *own* houses – this is where Kwam came from, it belongs to me. We attend to guests in our houses. I’m working in my house.”

⁷⁴ Mrs Balindlela referred to having fresh dung floors, but no Kwam home ever had dung floors and this rather reflects her own rural background.

When I had asked the mamas what Kwam has meant for them besides making money (See Appendix 2), three answered that Kwam meant little more than a means to get to some money; significantly these were also among the 'poorest' of Kwam. Eleven mamas answered that they felt that Kwam meant learning, training or gaining experience and nine others felt that Kwam meant they were able to improve their homes. Overall 16 mamas expressed outright that they felt they have benefitted positively from offering hospitality, they like and enjoy guests and were happy about being part of Kwam. However, seven mamas expressed their disappointment or indifference about what Kwam meant for them, especially in the last few years preceding this enquiry, as the decline with the project became really palpable in terms of dwindling guest numbers which translated to less money. Although these mamas refer to concerns with a diminution of material capital, the social capital that the mamas gain through hosting is also important. Especially being marginally literate, informal information exchange and practical learning through hosting guests are ways to deal with the challenges of life, besides the experience of pleasure and pride hosts feel when the guests are satisfied.

A few Kwam mamas referred to themselves directly as 'poor' and reasons given besides being uneducated and "unemployees" was that many were "grant people", living off social grants and pensions. A Kwam mama described her position like this: "because I'm poor, so I don't benefit... Those who have got all the requirements they benefit, but me, I don't have all the requirements that they need". This is similar to what Bourgois's (2003: 307) informant described about seeing no way out of poverty.⁷⁵ Bourgois (2003) throughout his book constantly referred to the utter poverty the various people of East Harlem in New York had to deal with, but he criticized notions of "the dependency of the poor" and he found that "most wives, mothers, grandmothers, and lovers of the crack dealers were aggressively struggling with the system" (Bourgois 2003: 243). Therefore the "culture of poverty theory"

⁷⁵ "Basically, when a woman who is poor dedicates herself with a man who's poor too, then something will always go wrong. When you're poor, things just don't work. And when there's a kid involved, then everything just totally fucks up... But there's nothing else you can do if you're poor. You try, but it still fucks up. It just doesn't work when you're poor" (Bourgois 2003: 307).

which had been developed in the 1960s had backfired because of its limited focus on “poverty-reproducing psychological traits” (Bourgois 2003: 64; see also Escobar 1995: 76). Ervin (2000: 49) also referred to 1960s attempts to review “the various theories from anthropology and sociology that attempt to link poverty in the United States to subcultural differences of behaviour and attitude or show how poverty itself generally perpetuated a unique culture.” As Liebow (1967: viii) stated at the time: “the critical problem for all of us now is ... how to ‘cross simultaneously these coinciding lines’ ... of income, race, education, and residence which separate the poor from the middle class, particularly in our cities.”

In South Africa’s Grahamstown East, as in East Harlem, the situation is tied to all the borderlines previously discussed. Historic inequalities, not resolved by black majority rule from 1994, means that people tend to “move in and out of poverty” and poverty becomes an even more difficult concept to capture (Alebiosu 2005: 2; see also Willis 2005). In an African context the concept ‘peasant’ has proven problematic too (Olivier de Sardan 2005: 112) and Luck (2004: 9) referred to ‘post-peasants’. Traditionally, in the West, income or consumption criteria were used to identify poverty (Liebow 1967), but here “poor people” when they were consulted about what poverty meant “emphasise lack of income, low levels of access to health, education, clean water; and a sense of powerlessness, insecurity and vulnerability” (WTO 2002: 21). Alebiosu (2005: 1) cited the World Bank definition of poverty which includes “alienation from the family, food insecurity, crowded homes, use of basic forms of energy, lack of access to social services, lack of adequately paid secure jobs and fragmentation of the family.” The WTO (2002: 66) accepted the definition of poverty as it was posed by the IMF and IDA:

[Poverty is the] denial of choice and opportunities and a violation of human dignity. Poverty means a lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or a clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one’s food or a job to earn one’s living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities.

It means susceptibility to violence and it often implies living on marginal and fragile environments, not having access to clean water and sanitation.

The WTO definition continues that besides a lack of money, poverty is also “about hunger and lack of shelter, not having access to clean drinking water and sanitation, illness and illiteracy – and the inability to do anything about them” (WTO 2002: 72). Olivier de Sardan (2005:112-3) pointed to definitions where ‘the poor’ and the ‘the people’ are equated (in South Africa the counterpart tends to be ‘the community’). He is unconvinced of this equation or any vague or ‘all-inclusive definitions’ and rather moots for a ‘populist project’, as referred to earlier. In yet a more polemical mode, Olivier de Sardan (2005: 85-6) argued for an alternative view of what poverty is, particularly when needs were created rather than properly identified:

The hitch is that ... there is nothing vaguer, more uncertain, more imprecise or more utterly unusable than the notion of ‘needs’. What is really a need, who is to define the needs of whom, how is a ‘need’ expressed, and to whom? ... the idea that objective needs exist, that these needs are common to an entire population, that its representatives are capable of making a spontaneous statement about these needs or of identifying them based on a consensus arrived at during village meetings ... is a misguided conception, whose shortcomings can be demonstrated by serious sociological analysis ... This is an example of ‘supply’ producing the ‘demand’... Hence, the identification of needs is merely a method of justifying, with the help of ‘what the peasants say’ and of hasty surveys, projects that the development operators had already, more or less, been carrying all along in their briefcases under the guise of ‘offers’.

As we will see, in the case of identifying Kwam’s needs it was no different. Even if Mrs Balindlela particularly moved to address the poor, and government officials were excluded from the project, there was the basic distinction of home ownership right from the start. In many parts of the world home ownership divides poor from not poor, and thus the project already cut out the poorest of the community before it even began. And as Kwam developed the poorest among them were also systematically excluded, they became a Kwam ‘anti-matter’, a stark contrast to the successes of the project. Whereas most mamas said that they have learned something or could improve their homes, the ‘poorest’ ones

said that it was about the money only. They have been marginalized because they did not meet the so-called 'minimum requirements' and did not host guests, thus they never made any money. However, they would keep the signboards on their front walls identifying them as a Kwam home, thereby showing that they still belong perhaps with the hope of some future benefit.

Kwarambaa et al. (2012: 892), when they applied the 'emotional intelligence' (EI) test, found it particularly interesting that as Kwam was a top-down initiated project, it may well have contributed to a "dependency culture" among the members and "it is plausible that the dependency is exacerbated by the low levels of EI competencies". Although this reflects a generalized township condition and is not Kwam specific, Kwarambaa et al. (2012: 893) noted opposition by some mamas to their situation with comments by them such as "they call us to come and sit there, listen to their speeches and give us lunch - we are not children!"; and they concluded that "[m]ost people dislike being patronized and clearly the home-stay operators are no exception"(ibid). In the end Kwarambaa et al. (2012: 892) found the mamas hopeless when it came to *social skills*. They referred to comments by the mamas such as "Yes, the government should help us to market our home-stays. We need help, we do not know where to start", to be indicative of the strong dependency of the mamas. They found that "these women do not think that they have power to move towards a success either individually or as a group", and even if it seemed that there was no visible conflict between the mamas, there "was also no cohesive force meshing the team together to achieve a common goal ... there was no catalyst for a change factor that one would expect of a group with a common goal" (ibid). However, I found that the mamas' helplessness is not with their offering of commercial accommodation as such, but with the official set-up which renders them incompetent, that of dealing with government and red-tape. The Kwarambaa et al. study is an example of erroneously establishing that because the mamas have difficulty in dealing with official matters, they have difficulty with hosting. No mama would have kept on hosting in her home if it were such a challenge.

The mamas joined the project because they were interested in hospitality, besides the possibility of extra cash. Most Kwam mamas had no previous experience with commercial accommodation hospitality but some had experience related to hospitality, most of them in catering (for events or parties, traditional and for church) which they continued to do (See Appendix 2). Three mamas were already operating their own B&B/Homestay before Kwam started and joined to get an opportunity to 'grow their businesses'. Two other Kwam mamas specifically referred to previous experience in 'white' households of which one operated a B&B. None of the mamas reported that they had made a living by being a domestic worker, however, the role of the domestic worker or maid is familiar to most women in the townships. One can assume that every woman in the township has hosted socially, particularly with the movement between rural and urban in Grahamstown East, but for many Kwam mamas it was the first time to get money for hosting in an officially sanctioned and organised way.

Female-headed households have become a common feature not only in the changing township life but also worldwide and we have seen their predominance in Grahamstown East (Brown 1996: 10). Strategies these women use to maintain their households include "the utilization of income from a number of sources, particularly that gained from welfare and from the informal economy, the sharing of accommodation by several generations within a family, the pooling of labour resources, and the recourse to support groups such as church groups, burial societies and childminders" (Brown 1996: 166). In the informal sector women extend their skills with the traditional domestic role of mothering and "women seemed more innovative than the men to generate extra income (such as laundry services, engaging in handcrafts, selling of food or child minding)" (Brown 1996: 57-8). Brown (1996: 12) further noted that "women tend to show more responsibility and concern for the household than men are inclined to do and is supported by various writers reporting on lower income households in different parts of the world". These autonomous earnings increase the women's sense of "self-image and self-esteem" while she is investing in the

household. Men tend to keep far more 'pocket money' to spend entirely on themselves whereas women spend more on the household. Against this backdrop one can see why the homestay project found fertile ground. The connection to women 'at home' in the hospitality sense is obvious, particularly with the strict definition of a homestay where a guest is treated as part of the family headed by the host-mother.

As mentioned, at many Kwam meetings during 2012-13 Kwam members were bombarded with presentations, 'workshops' or courses by various consultants and officials about business and co-operation forms, grading criteria, government support schemes and other administrative intricacies, most of which they simply did not understand. Ma Gora explained the sentiment concerning literacy: "There's no education with those older ones ... Most of the people got Standard 5 [primary school], basic education - that's why they are not interested to attend these courses, it's not easy for them." Although all the mamas have cell phones most are computer illiterate. This poses another hurdle for development in an industry which is increasingly technologized particularly with marketing and advertising via the internet. Willis (2005:191-3) stressed that the digital divide "can also exacerbate existing social divisions (as with the 'green revolution') as only some people are able to use these new technologies ... Access to the Internet and telephone technology is not equal, with large regional differences, as well as more local economic and social inequalities in access." Olivier de Sardan (2005:161) also expressed this concern:

Besides, we need to bear in mind the fact that peasants do not have access to technical-scientific knowledge properly speaking (as knowledge which is taught in schools, over time). This knowledge comes to them in the form of 'deconstructed' bits and pieces, in the shape of the messages diffused by development agents, as opposed to the systematic character of the technical-scientific culture itself.

The township areas do not yet have internet coverage (WIFI or 3G) but the Vice Chancellor of Rhodes, Dr Sizwe Mabizela, announced at his inauguration in February 2015 that he wished Grahamstown - including the townships - to become a "wireless city". However, affordable access to the internet does not of itself lead to the spread of computer

ownership and literacy, especially among older people like the members of Kwam. They would need to be subsidised and trained if they were to handle each their own books and bookings in this way.

Minimum Requirements

When I started this investigation there was much talk about those at the lower end of the scale, the six or seven 'poorest' (out of the original 55) Kwam members, and specifically about them meeting the 'minimum requirements'. These requirements were not written down somewhere but were apparently determined by guest complaints and criticisms lodged with MT. Thus the basic minimum requirement had become to have indoor plumbing, particularly a flushing toilet inside the house, yet there was no subsidy to help the poorer mamas attain these shifting minima. As a Kwam mama explained:

What I need is the toilet inside, because I try my best to do so that my house can be like the others ... but I'm not working, not getting any pension, I don't get money anywhere. I'm selling things there by the schools, chips, everything, small things ... to buy electricity, that's all.

This mama was not lacking in entrepreneurial spirit, but without any funding from the project she had no hope of raising the considerable sum needed to install indoor plumbing. While the majority of Kwam members benefitted from the project, some languished in a 'poverty trap'. Many Kwam houses were 'government houses' (from the apartheid days) or two-roomed RDP houses (built after 1994) in the beginning, but additional bedrooms and bathrooms have been added in most cases and some even sport *en suite* facilities. It was some of these houses that had outside toilets, serviced by a bucket system, until 2011. In the very early years the few Kwam members who still had a bucket system never received guests and there was a story that Mrs Balindlela had used her 'political arm' to speed up

sewerage connections to the areas where Kwam houses were located. The Kwam houses vary considerably from each other: from those where the original government or RDP structure is still clearly visible, to those which were never RDP houses but had always been privately owned and built. But it is the inside flushing toilet which symbolizes the 'poverty' borderline for Kwam, the minimum requirement.

Leaving aside those who had not reached the minimum standard one could claim that if Kwam started as a poverty alleviation project it had succeeded: the inspections and visits revealed no house that could be perceived as really poor. There was no evidence of 'real' poverty, and none of the hosts, even if they claimed to be poor, were anywhere near undernourished, appeared insecure or desperate or anything included in the definitions of poverty mentioned above. Quite the contrary, most of the mamas radiated pride at their offering. Poverty is, of course, relative, therefore these houses were not 'rich' either, but rather indicative of what has become known as 'the emergent black middle class'. In 2014 five Kwam mamas even owned their own cars and drove them which also rather indicates them belonging to a middle class than being really poor. Thus from an economic capital point of view the Kwam mamas gained from belonging to the project by being able to improve their homes and reach a certain minimum standard. But it by no means implies that the improvements were only paid for by benefits from the project. As part of their survival strategy people join any possible scheme or project as usually there is at least a starter pack of sorts and the possibility of more benefits in the future. Kwam must be seen as a project amongst many in which individuals participate and it provided yet another supplementary income mainly over the NAF period. Ultimately, the Kwam members represent a sample of a cross-section of the emerging broad black urban middle class, excluding among them the bottom end, the really poor, and also excluding the 'elite'. In this sense it is perhaps more accurate to refer to the 'previously disadvantaged' than to the poor.

In the light of the definitions and descriptions of poverty, which include lacking certain material necessities and notions of insecurity, vulnerability and 'helplessness', it is impossible to be both poor and a commercial host. Poverty in the case of Kwam was more in the name of the project than in reality and thus my initial dilemma with poverty and commercial hospitality was only in theory. This study proved the finding in my previous study that commercial hosts need to be in a certain material position to host. This finding also gives the lie to the notion that Kwam, or indeed any homestay project could ever be about *poverty alleviation* – yet it certainly means stimulating entrepreneurship at a basic (domestic) level.

6. Kwam Homestays

In this chapter I describe what the Kwam homestays are like, the way the homes and the mamas appear and how guests perceive them. Although the Kwam houses are each unique reflecting the personal style of the hostess, the general style is called *ekasi*-style. Ekasi is derived from the Afrikaans word for township which is *lokasie* (location). Therefore ekasi-style literally means township-style, and it is not limited to Kwam homes only. Ekasi-style is an expression of contemporary urban African lifestyle which is a hybridization⁷⁶ of rural and traditional and Western influences including modern technology and appliances. Kwam represents a cross section of middle class ekasi-style as there are many houses with a much higher standard of appearance in the township and the poorest have been excluded from Kwam.

Outside Appearances

The photos below of the outside fronts of some Kwam houses show the variety in look and style, as well as the differences in the extent of home improvements but they are hardly distinguishable from neighbouring houses, save perhaps the municipality sponsored signboard which most Kwam houses display on a front wall. Some houses are plastered and painted others are clad in face brick but generally from the outside the houses do not appear very inviting. As the photos below also show, with improved outside appearance there are more security measures, proper gates and burglar bars. This is no coincidence

⁷⁶ With hybridization I follow Escobar (1995: 220): “Let us be sure about one thing: the notion of hybrid cultures – as a biological reading might suggest – does not imply the belief in pure strands of tradition and modernity that are combined to create a hybrid with a new essence; nor does it amount to the combination of discrete elements from tradition and modernity, or a “sell-out” of the tradition to the modern. Hybridity entails a cultural (re)creation that may or may not be (re)inscribed into hegemonic constellations.”

because the more the outside of a house is differentiated from the general run of township houses, the more it signals a claim for higher status of the owner. This either attracts envy or signals possible valuables within. The alternative is to restrict home improvements to the interior, so as not to attract unwelcome attention.



Figure 10 A house with incomplete improvements to the front



Figure 11 The same house two years later with security improvements



Figure 12 A house on the upper end of the Kwam Scale (the mama's husband is a builder)



Figure 13 Increased security measures as improvements were added



Figure 14 A plainly plastered house in an older part of the township



Figure 15 An older semi-detached house

Yard and the Kraal

As mentioned, the Kwam houses are not easily distinguished by their look from other houses in the neighbourhood and this extends to general outside areas too. Every house has an area of about 50 to 100 square meters in the front and/or at the back of, or around the house. In the Kwam hosts' profiles I referred to this space as the yard and at many houses the yard would be paved or covered with concrete slabs (See Appendix 2). I referred to plants instead of garden because only three Kwam houses have such a variety of plants (flowers, herbs and vegetables) and trees, including fruit trees, to constitute a garden; the rest have some plants, often a singular little patch and/or some pot plants. The reference to 'lawn' is not to be seen as a manicured lawn but usually an area of the yard where the grass was generally kept short, and of the three houses with a garden, two also feature something close to a lawn. Many people are not interested in gardening, and like people living in highrise apartment blocks in urban areas, do not care about the outside.⁷⁷ There were 'pets' at five houses, these were usually dogs but we also saw two cats and one mama kept three

⁷⁷ As Garvey (2001: 63) quoted an informant, a female homeowner in Norway: "... and then I suddenly saw that every house had the same sign and everything should look so nice from the outside and I thought, dear god that we should be so occupied with such things, that it doesn't only have to look nice from the inside but from the outside too. All of this on the outside, now style is going too far."

tortoises as pets in her small yard. Besides dogs, generally of the *Canus Africanus* variety, which are seen roaming freely all over the township, few people seem to keep any animals as pets, in the sense that these animals would also be at times inside the house. As a rule all animals of all kinds were kept outside.



Figure 16 Kwam house with lawn and garden
(outside toilet in background)



Figure 17 Kwam house featuring plants and trees outside

A very prominent outside feature at many houses was a visible ‘kraal’ or *ubuhlanthi*, a traditional cattle enclosure.⁷⁸ Because space is limited in a small township yard the area is used for multiple other uses and therefore at times rather inconspicuous, which is why, as mentioned, ‘accidents’ such as happened with Claudia at a kraal can occur to one not sensitised to the typical lay-out of a township homestead. The main feature of the kraal is the central thick *umthati* pole⁷⁹ (about 1,5m tall) with horns attached at the top. In urban areas the kraal is not necessarily for keeping animals (although some people do keep a few animals such as cattle or goats in their kraals) but it is the pole that symbolizes the kraal and therefore it is not always fenced. A number of yards do not even have a pole and a temporary pole would be erected or just laid on the ground for an event requiring one.

⁷⁸ The kraal compares to the “*boma* (pl. *maboma*) [which] means cattle-pen in Swahili and is commonly used to refer to Maasai homesteads, where several houses are built in a circle around the central livestock pen” (Vanessa Wijngaarden in Van Beek & Schmidt 2012: 188-191). The kraal is similarly connected to life and death rituals.

⁷⁹ *Umthati* or *umquma* (sneeze wood) is the only wood supposed to be used for the pole but lately any pole would do.



Figure 18 A kraal doubles up as temporary storage space



Figure 19 A kraal doubles up as car parking area

The kraal is the place where the household ancestors are honoured. It is then also no coincidence that this place was/is used to keep safe the most valuable traditional assets, cattle. Ma Gora explained that “it is a place for ancestors and men ... then all the men are sitting around there chatting, drinking *umqomboti* [African beer] and brandy! There should be at least one bottle of brandy ...” Or as a Kwam mama put it: “they are there ... in the kraal you communicate with the ancestors, like a holy place”. However, this communion is reserved for special occasions. *Ubuhlanti* is still commonly used in isiXhosa idioms and expressions reflecting the high symbolic and cultural heritage status of the kraal, even in contemporary urban contexts. It serves as a good example of the adaption of rural identity to that of urban life.

Rosaldo (1986: 83) pointed to the almost synonymous terms ‘household’ and ‘family’, “as if both were a single entity”. This is particularly true concerning Kwam where the homestay actually involves the *umzi*, the whole household, homestead or family. It concerns the house, inside and outside, surrounding areas and structures and the goings-on of the people in these spaces – in other words the home to which individuals refer as ‘my place’. Thus in line with Elia Petridou (in Miller 2001: 87-8) who confirmed that the notion of home as “‘a kind of space’ is grounded on an understanding of space as a reality that is autonomous,

independent of its human subjects. The concept that should be used instead and which captures the ontological significance of home is 'place'." Again this is captured in the very meaning of Kwam eMakana, *My home/place in Makana*.

Inside Ekasi-style

The front door, which more often than not is covered by a roof overhang or veranda on the outside, usually leads directly into the more formal sitting room or lounge. Most Kwam homes have at least two outside doors of which the side or back door, usually leading from the kitchen, is much more used than the front door. In some homes the front door is never really used as from the inside the entire wall is draped with curtains, hiding the front door completely and some have become jammed from not being used. In these cases access to the lounge is through the kitchen which is then the only outside entrance/exit used by hosts and guests. The curtains serve both decorative and practical purposes as they provide another isolation layer for dust and cold which seeps through cracks. Thus front doors are mostly used for receiving visitors and guests, those that are unfamiliar with the practices of the home. Because Ma Gora is quite familiar with all the Kwam homes, she went straight to the kitchen door to knock when we arrived for the inspections or visits. So it happened that we entered and left most Kwam homes through the kitchen door, as seems to be the general practice. Whichever way, crossing the threshold into any Kwam home brings into sharp contrast the outside appearances and the inside of ekasi-style.

The home, that most personal and intimate space, is also a self-presentation (Garvey 2001: 47), and the way people furnish and decorate their homes "becomes a mirror for the self" (Miller 2001: 7). Anat Hecht (in Miller 2001: 123) explained that furnishings and décor are

important in that these material things transform a house into a home. Clarke (in Miller 2001: 28), besides confirming a link between home ownership and decoration of the home, further argued that:

These 'ideal homes' conjured up by middle-class home owners, are not just trivial fantasies about a perceived aesthetic style or associated social aspiration, rather they offer an idealized notion of 'quality of life' and an idealized form of sociality. Furthermore, these daydreams directly inform the construction, provisioning and aspirations of the lived home, allowing the occupants to begin to actualize beyond the limitations of their particular domesticity.

The Kwam mamas also demonstrate their engagement with their domestic environment through decoration and furnishing, thus as Garvey (2001: 49) put it: "[m]aterial culture could be seen as a tool for self-actualization, and practices such as redecoration illustrated the importance of personal engagement with the domestic environment ...". Garvey (2001: 56) continued that

Home decoration is one vehicle through which an individual engages in a continually revised presentational field. In many ways, home decoration is an ongoing process of self-definition through which continuous revision is a necessary factor.

A beautiful example of this ongoing process of decoration over ten years is a pot plant creeper which a Kwam mama had trained all around the cornices of her lounge, down the passage and it has almost reached the 'new' kitchen – the most recent of her refurbishments. As noted, the Kwam mamas constantly improved their homes, and if one considers that they operated mostly only ten days a year the improvements were more for their own benefit and enjoyment than that of guests. Nevertheless, the improvements and decorations reflect "an aspiration, a dream which is inviting but unattainable" (Garvey 2001: 57) or as Clarke (above) put it, "an idealized notion of 'quality of life' and an idealized form of sociality". Garvey's case study also reflected that "the 'ideal home' provides an intellectual or emotional space that has little correspondence with their domestic situation." With Kwam there were vast contrasts between the perceptions of a poverty alleviation project, the mamas' actual socio-economic circumstances, the actual locality of the homes in the township, and the way the mamas decorate and furnish the inside of their houses. The simulated luxurious displays in the interiors of the homes reflect an aspiration, a dream,

to live the type of lifestyle they see 'rich' people do, more often than not as it is portrayed on their large TVs which are kept switched on all day long. The urbanized mamas know that there are limited things they could do outside, besides building and fencing, paving or plastering have become male dominated activities, whereas traditionally Xhosa women plastered and finished walls when they were of mud and dung. Also, improving the home on the outside attracts "the 'peering eyes' ... of the social audience" (Garvey 2001: 66), which would, in the case of Kwam, more often than not be those of nosy or jealous neighbours rather than the interested 'tourist gaze'. From the description of township life it is clear that jealousy concerning limited goods is an important factor to keep in mind. But guests, whose peering eyes are allowed inside, appreciate the hostess' efforts and they actually contribute to the realizations of the aspirations the Kwam mama reflects with her style. This also links up to the desired autonomy hosts have, and have to maintain over their space, by being proud of what they offer; the hosts gained recognition of the dream world they had set up mainly for themselves with things they find beautiful. Guest appreciation, which is a reward in itself, is a social capital hosts gain as a result of their material presentation, opposed to neighbourly competition where the expression of material culture is often a result of 'keeping up with the Joneses'.

We have seen from Susan Cook's description of Mrs Balindlela that she loves vibrant colours and the Kwam mamas certainly express this love too, alongside boldly ornate furniture and fittings. The mamas commented that with Kwam money they could piece for piece, year after year, improve their homes by buying a new lounge suite, fitting a new ceiling or fancy lamp, or upgrade their kitchens and bathrooms. The income generated with the project was certainly not enough to pay for all the improvements but it is very clear that we are not talking real poverty in the case of Kwam.



Figure 20 A 'standard' type lounge; curtain drapes hide the front door



Figure 21 A very ornate lounge; two walls disappear behind drapes



Figure 22 Excessive draping and fittings



Figure 23 A fancy new lamp in the dining room

These and the following photos were mostly taken during the inspections and therefore everything appeared particularly neat, dining room tables were set and the kitchens spring-cleaned. The mamas presented their home as they would to guests, and they would maintain it like that during a guest's stay, otherwise they live in and use the space themselves. Some mamas commented that during Festival they would clean their whole house everyday, including changing all the bed linen daily. As mentioned, with some of the interviews the mamas were not ready yet and we could see the traces of usual habitation, such as laundry being sorted in the lounge or on a bed, used crockery and cutlery on the dining room table or in the kitchen, unmade beds and children's toys etc. When much later we became quite familiar with more mamas and would occasionally arrive unannounced at a house, we also noted the clutter and remains of people living their daily life in that space. Every house was fully to over-fully furnished, most houses sported at least one new TV (many large flat screen TVs), at least one ornate sitting room suite, many kitchens were new

and few even had granite or marble working surfaces and state-of-the-art built-in appliances. Of course these elaborate fittings and furnishings compete with inferior door, window and ceiling materials, damp walls, cheap paint, superficial electrical cables and fittings and cracked floors - all these still reflect a material culture which does not easily fit into the poverty category.



Figure 24 Lounge with TV



Figure 25 A formally set dining room table



Figure 26 An older kitchen



Figure 27 A new state-of-the-art kitchen

The general living spaces are the kitchen, lounge/sitting room and/or dining room (if there is such a separate room) and these rooms are central to the house. Although some houses have passages leading to bedrooms and bathrooms, in many cases the bedrooms lead directly off the central rooms. Two features which stand out about ekasi-style are the liberal application of frills everywhere, extending to the bathrooms and toilets, and the very ornate headboards for the beds. The main bedroom, the Kwam mama's own, usually sports a double bed and besides the decorative headboard is often half covered with pillows and

cushions. The single beds in the other bedroom(s) are generally more modestly dressed but everywhere the mamas compromised the Western standard of crisp white linen (of which they were taught to use in their hospitality courses, but never had) with their own improvisations. The love for colour cannot be suppressed. On average, in 2014 the Kwam homes had two to three bedrooms each (one home had the most with six bedrooms), and these were then converted to guest rooms.

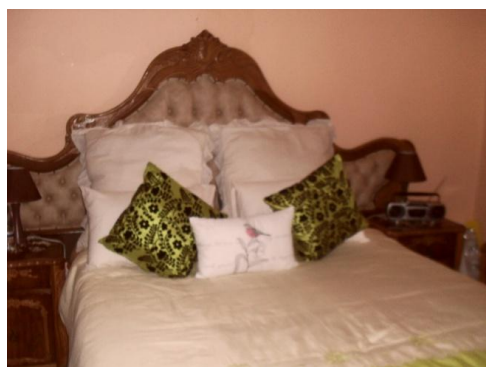


Figure 28 An ornate head board and pillows



Figure 29 Another elaborate head board



Figure 30 Vibrant colours



Figure 31 A modest adaption of the crisp white look

Finally, we come to the area of the 'minimum requirement', the indoor toilet facilities. The pictures below show different 'standards' with bathroom facilities, from a luxurious en suite facility to perhaps a middle standard, to a bathroom which is still under construction. As mentioned, the frills extend into this area of the home too.



Figure 32 A luxurious bathroom with free standing bath tub



Figure 33 Standard type older bathroom



Figure 34 Bathroom featuring frills



Figure 35 A recently installed indoor bathroom

Life ekasi-style involves people living closely together, as the references to overcrowding indicate, and people have adapted to live comfortably with a minimum of personal space – space is not a limited good then. We have seen that sharing accommodation is a strategy of poorer people to pool resources, so too, is the fluidity of the households indicative of the ways people are dealing with their situation. So it is not unusual then in the case of a Kwam homestay when the rooms are prepared for the guests, and it means that the children and/or the mama move temporarily out of their rooms and share beds with others of the household. To sleep in overcrowded conditions in small rooms is nothing new and weighing the economic benefit of the paying guest, it far outshines any discomfort.

The Kwam group identity was still emerging and there was nothing much which distinguished a Kwam mama from other women in the neighbourhood. Of course, the mamas would add their own style and adapt what they had learned. From the individuality of the ‘mother of Kwam’ to the mamas themselves, what was identifiable as ‘Kwam behaviour’ was still bound up with each mama giving expression to her own identity, her ekasi-style home. Thus even if Kwam’s cultural capital seemed underutilized, it is also of a developing nature. The hybridization that comes with ekasi-style implies that the nature of Kwam’s cultural capital can shift. The ekasi-style branding is capitalizing on this capital. Once exposed, as they would be toward guests, they rely on their cultural capital to proudly exhibit their beautiful homes.

Kwam Host Appearances

As far as ethnicity goes, initially there had been two coloured⁸⁰ Afrikaans speaking mamas but only one was still a Kwam member in 2014; all other members were/are black isiXhosa speakers. All along the women referred to themselves as the “Kwam mamas”, “mamas of Kwam” or “group of mamas”, and various officials would refer to them like that too, although sometimes the mamas were referred to as “the ladies” or “the Kwam ladies”. It is common for isiXhosa speakers to address a mature woman as *mama* as a sign of respect and authority, younger ones are called *sisi* (sister), which implies equality. Very old ones are gently and respectfully called *gogo* (the male equivalents are *buti* (brother) for younger men and *tata* (father) for older men).

⁸⁰ In South Africa people of mixed race (usually between black and white) are referred to as coloured.

The average age in 2014 of the Kwam mamas was 57 years old which meant that the average age was 47 when Kwam started, and 37 when South Africa became a democracy in 1994 (See Appendix 2). With the exception of some younger ones, all mamas grew up during apartheid which formed part of their *habitus* and would reflect both in their individual persons and their identity as a group (of previously disadvantaged people). Tied to their apartheid time upbringing is the continued submission to government and government institutions even after 1994.

Most mamas would attend the Kwam meetings but not many participated with every training course which was organised for them by DSRAC, ECPTA and/or MT. Over the years the mamas had training courses and workshops in virtually every field of commercial hospitality from housekeeping, guest treatment (including dealing with 'difficult' guests) and service, to cooking, management and financial administration. Sometimes a daughter would attend a training course in the place of her mother. Those that had some training or 'education' also proudly displayed it with the many certificates of courses the mamas (or daughters) had completed which were framed and usually hung in the lounge or dining room. However, the meetings were also where rules were determined. For instance, those that had attended training courses and workshops would report back to the others at the meetings and MT would report back about what transpired from guest reports to their office. The rates the mamas would charge were also determined at meetings and a standard rate across the board was determined. They would repeat these issues at following meetings to remind all the mamas of them and over time that was how 'rules' were made. An example of a Western style standard which became a rule like this, was the English breakfast which the mamas proudly serve. What the mamas called an English breakfast consisted of at least two eggs and two sausages, bacon and toast besides the usual condiments. The mamas equally gladly served a traditional breakfast of sour milk and porridge (*maas* and *pap*) but only if their guests required it, otherwise the Kwam standard was the English breakfast. Limited as they were, the Kwam meetings were also the rituals at which, as noted, the Kwam mantra was repetitively invoked and together with the

repetitions of the unwritten rules, contributed to forge group identity where they could experience *communitas* with fellow group members by ritual repetition. Also at Kwam meetings a few Kwam mamas would wear the blue jacket with the Kwam logo which they had received from the municipality as 'gifts'. Ma Gora was wearing hers more often than any of the others, thereby expressing her 'official' position as representative of Kwam. Save for this jacket and attending meetings, Kwam mamas generally appeared as any other township woman would.

One of the training courses the mamas had was on 'hostess propriety' and Ma Gora said that because they were trained they were quite "strict" about the way the mamas had to be dressed for the guests. She likened it to the way domestic workers in white households had to get up very early to wash and be ready in their uniform even before the household awakes (Ma Gora's mother had been a domestic worker in a white household for a very long time). Brown (1996: 62) mentioned that an informant spoke with nostalgia when she reminisced about her time as domestic worker, because being a domestic worker had its perks even if it limited freedom, especially for those that lived-in, and these included free accommodation, extra food, privacy, security and respectability (Brown 1996: 61). In Grahamstown, because of the close proximity of the township to town, domestic workers often did not live-in and therefore could tend more to their own homes and pursue other informal income generating operations, but being a domestic worker still implied employment and at least some of the perks, including respectability. Aprons in Western clothing were and are part of the service dress for mostly female service staff such as maids, chambermaids, cleaners and waitresses, but they had become part of traditional peasant style clothing, like the apron as part of the traditional *dirndl* dress women in Austria wear. Wearing an apron may symbolize a service position but on the other hand it expressed value as social capital because it meant one had employment (in a Westernized household in South Africa). Or if not employed and wearing an apron, it reflected the aspiration and readiness for such a position. The maid outfit was then worn with pride, as something better than what the 'poor' wore and over time became acculturated into the traditional

dress where it had also changed in shape, style and functionality, to having perhaps more symbolic value than practical value.

The bathrobe or morning gown seems to be the general preference as 'over coat' for women of all ages in the townships, at home or even on the street, and not only in the morning. Although I saw a lot of women wearing gowns on the street, I hardly ever encountered a Kwam mama in her gown. One mama had a cold when we came for the inspections and understandably remained wrapped up in her gown. And once when we came to Ma Gora's house a bit early she was chatting to her neighbour over the fence, both in their gowns, but when she saw our car approaching she quickly ran inside her house and got dressed before she received us. Much later, when we had grown close to Ma Gora and would drop by her house we would sometimes find her in her gown or a type of house coat. Because we had become familiar she would receive us like that whereas before she would rather that we waited until she was properly dressed. This also proves that at large I remained a guest in the field. Whereas the Kwam mama would not wear her gown in front of visitors or guests a daughter who helps her in the household may continue to wear her gown. If Kwam mamas expect guests or go to town they 'dress up'. Being 'ready' for a Kwam mama means to be appropriately dressed (such as wearing an apron) and certainly not a gown, but guests or members of the household who 'receive' service wear what they want. The gown then symbolizes being 'off-duty'. Most mamas wear ordinary Western style clothing as everyday dress or when they go to town, and they also mix second hand clothes (often from overseas) or self-sewn clothes with Africanized designs combined with clothing from the cheaper clothing shops specializing in products from China. Especially older ones wear aprons with frills over their dresses and always have their hair covered with a head scarf, but they very seldom wear pants. The younger mamas and daughters would wear more revealing designs, and regardless of body weight, so that even overweight curves are proudly revealed with either a lack of fabric or tight fitting shirts and pants. Below are some photos showing examples of everyday dress, fusion of styles and traditional dress.



Figure 36 A daughter still in her gown around midday



Figure 37 Everyday winter wear



Figure 38 Fusion of styles



Figure 39 An adaption of the traditional apron



Figure 40 Full traditional regalia



Figure 41 Fusion of traditional and other styles



Figure 42 A young choir performing for Kwam displaying Western-style formal wear

The Xhosa traditional dress is usually reserved for special cultural occasions such as the ceremony after initiation (*umgidi*) when a son (*abakwetha*) returns from ‘the bush’ having become a man (*nDoda*). Kwam mamas would also dress traditionally if they expect foreign tourists, but as noted, these are extremely rare. Occasionally a mama or two would appear dressed up (either traditional or businesslike) at a Kwam meeting but these mamas usually left before the meeting ended, obviously indicating that the dressing-up was for another occasion. The mamas would wear formal dress to church or if they need to appear ‘businesslike’ much in the same way the young members of the choir were dressed.

Borderlines in Hospitality

The observations concerning dress throw light on the ways in which the mamas asserted themselves, be it towards guests, their group or their position in society. Inside the home clothing is the last ‘front’ (then ‘back’ would actually mean naked) and this borderline is expressed with the clothing of the hostess and what she wishes to express by wearing them. To be ready for service on the one hand and to express her host position on the other - she has to self-marginalize and wearing an apron is one way of achieving this. She has to present herself to a stranger in a way to make the relationship clear but also as an expression of her

autonomy – this is my place! This follows on my previous study where I found that “the propriety of the host is part of the show of the master of the house” (Von Lengeling 2011: 75). Staged authenticity, or at least seemingly staged authenticity could be the case when the mamas dress up traditionally for an odd international guest, however, they only do so for the reception and to entertain the guest by showing off their heritage – capitalizing on their cultural capital. They do what they would have done in a traditional circumstance because they like doing it, as a mama exclaimed “I love my traditional dress!” It is authentic rather than staged. However, the Kwam mamas had been trained in the ways of Western style commercial hospitality which implies that the commercialization of hospitality is measured by the adaption to Western commercial hospitality: ‘humanity’ is adapted to be more professional or hotel-like, as is also reflected with the standardized English breakfast the mamas proudly serve for their guests. The mamas were trained to Westernize their hospitality offering and the result is as much a fusion of styles as ekasi-style is, and it more often than not involved compromising the traditional.

Clothing then is the closest borderline and expresses the host’s self-marginalization to remain in the host position, ready for service to the guest. I found that with the upper end of the scale, in terms of luxury commercial hospitality such as with the numerous game farms and hunting lodges in the area, the more luxurious the less it is owner-managed. In these places the hands-on ‘host’ is a manager on the payroll of the owner or owning company, and managers and staff (representing the host) wear uniforms as the hospitality has been sanitised of the host’s representative’s person, the commercialization of the situation requires that: the guest pays for seeing nature without humans in it, the guest pays for service without the person. With uniforms the idea is that all look the same and thus become de-individualized. Once the host is replaced by someone to do the job, the process of commercialization of hospitality is ‘complete’ as far as the person of the host is concerned. The employed ‘host’ is sanitized with a uniform, and the guest is not confronted with the host’s home environment. This happens in the name of professionalism (Western commercial hospitality) and it is obviously quite the opposite of the owner-manager hands-

on hosts who are sharing their individual home space with guests.⁸¹ So the Kwam hosts, while learning about commercial hospitality learned to express the borderlines in a more Western fashion. The traditional borderlines of hospitality were pushed more to the background as the space for both host and guest increase – the more commercialized, the less guests shared facilities with the host – the privacy borderlines between host and guest expand. As commercialization increases it pushes the borderline further and further, it moves completely out of the home and like with the game farms the end result is a ‘tourist bubble’; here the borderline of commercial hospitality is neatly described (and contained) because inside this bubble absolutely everything is sanitised of a host personality. The hospitality is produced by staff who are expected to dress and behave in certain ways, produce service but leave their personalities largely at home. Contrary to this, in the home the host gives expression to her/his personality so the hospitality is drenched in it, the house, the room, the bed, the decor and even the smell. The nature of a homestay revolves around the person of the host. Of course, this is not every guest’s cup of tea and therefore it highlights the need to be precise about what a homestay, or then a Kwam homestay, involves. Before I define a Kwam homestay, it is necessary to identify the guests who had made their way to Kwam and the hosts’ experiences with them.

Kwam Guests

When I started this study I had a biased image of what Kwam was, which linked to the dilemma of the conceptual clash between commercial hospitality and poverty. My initial image was conjured up by listening to white contacts and informants and combined with my own white/Western middle class perceptions. Frankly, I thought to stay at Kwam would be

⁸¹Bourdieu (1989: 16) compared social space to a geographic space but “this space is constructed in such a way that the closer the agents, groups or institutions which are situated within this space, the more common properties they have; and the more distant, the fewer.” Social distances depend on the habitus of those interacting and as we have seen with commercial hospitality distances grow as it becomes more ‘professional’ and/or Western.

demeaning, certainly not because it was black owned but because it concerned poverty: I imagined poor hosts who had to deal with 'forced guests' and these poor guests were delivered to hosts whose hospitality I estimated to be a procrustean 'one size fits all'. If Kwam was in the news, such as the local *Grocott's Mail* newspaper, it was because of some 'struggle', as with the beginning of Kwam. Usually Kwam was portrayed as the poor having to fight with unequal competition or varying opinions about roles and positions within the project or extreme delays with payment, but interestingly never about Kwam hospitality. Then I found an article in the Festival newspaper and quoted it in my previous study (Von Lengeling 2011: 199ff) in which the author, Debbie Sprowson, described her experience in a Kwam home: she arrived in time for a 'traditional' evening meal of spaghetti with canned sardines in a spicy tomato sauce, which she shared with the very friendly host family; after some talk she retired to her small and basic room with a bare concrete floor, save for a little rug, and slept in a "surprisingly comfortable bed"; ablution facilities were outside but the hostess got up very early the next morning to get water hot for her bath in a tub in her room and to bake muffins for breakfast; after a tasty English-style breakfast and delicious muffins the guest concluded that it was "an experience" and she really appreciated the warm hospitality which the Kwam hostess radiated, while she also noted the gratitude of the hostess for the extra income. Sprowson's experience was in 2010 and I concluded that the Kwam homestays probably appealed to a particular type of guest, like those in the traditional definition of homestays offering a 'different' experience and cultural exchange.

As Mrs Balindlela had told me, the original idea included to get government officials to stay in touch with the people ('the poor') and there was the 'order from above' to stay with Kwam, thus by far the majority of guests at Kwam for the first ten years were government officials or government guests. More specifically, these guests were DSRAC or ECPTA officials and performers, artists and crafters invited and paid for by DSRAC to attend Festival. Almost all were black people and most of them isiXhosa speakers from the Eastern Cape. The guests were familiar with township style accommodation and hospitality, and for them the programme was not about cultural exchange. But as they were employed or paid

for by government their status was higher than that of a Kwam mama.⁸² Mrs Balindlela knew this and as noted, she actually addressed this situation (See Appendix 3).

The Kwam hosts represent a group consisting of a cross-section of a particular social class or grouping, and so did most of their guests. Thus broadly speaking both hosts and guests to Kwam were members of the emerging black middle class. With the training of the mamas the original idea was adjusted and the Kwam homestay was not so much about host-guest exchange – as the mamas put it: “the guest must be free”. Thus with training came westernization and this is also demonstrated with the discussion of commensality below. Rather contrary to the definition of a homestay, government officials after Mrs Balindlela’s term even required that the whole host family move out of the house, not only a room, and so the hosts tended to their guests ‘by proxy’, almost like in a hotel or guest house where the service or hosting staff live separately. The idea with a homestay for the guest to ‘become part of the family’ had then become limited for Kwam. However, there were a few isolated cases of international tourists or ‘exotic’ tourists seeking cultural exchange with Kwam, such as Sprowson.

Exotic guests are perhaps to hosts what fulfilment guests (tourists) have in their “quest for otherness” (Crick 1989:311) of visiting ‘exotic’ places. A Kwam mama told of Puerto Rican guests and a few mamas mentioned having hosted white guests, from white South Africans in four cases to a handful of white people from overseas (one each from Germany, UK, USA, and Australia, and a group of ten from the Netherlands). These isolated examples also

⁸² For the ‘poorer’ host it follows that almost all guests will be ‘higher’ in social standing and hosting these guests can be seen as an upliftment or empowerment; as Pitt-Rivers (1963:17) noted that “Honour is gained by all through a visit of a superior person, since in accordance with its paradoxical nature it is gained by being paid (and lost by being denied) where it is due.”

confirm that Grahamstown is not a tourist destination, and of the small number of tourists coming to Grahamstown only a few intrepid ones ventured to Grahamstown East.

Contrary to my initial misconception that ‘forced guests’ were delivered to procrustean hosts, it turned out that most guests were ‘satisfied’, if not happy, guests. This was reflected by the comments guests wrote in the guest books of some mamas and the many positive statements the mamas made about their guests. Following are some examples of guests’ comments in guest books: *We were very comfortable; Everything excellent, coming again; Your pleasant service ... thanks very much ... your food is very nice; Everything was very nice; Excellent; Warm family; We felt 100% at home; Accommodation was wonderful; I feel at home because I was welcome; My stay was wonderful; We feel warm welcome; Nothing to complain; Great hostess; Five star treatment; I feel like it’s my home; We were treated like queens, we enjoyed; I feel at home; Loving caring people; Like to be here again; Thank you very much, I could live here forever!; Your service was excellent; Wish to come back again; I would like to come back again.* These comments were written in English but many more were written in isiXhosa, also confirming the origin of most guests. Ma Gora translated some of them and they were more or less of the same kind as these above. A Kwam mama summarized what so many others also said about their guests:

They felt at home, yes. I’m sure I have summarized it like that: they felt at home! Another guest said, “even if it is not Festival I will look out for this home!”

So, even if it was not about cultural exchange, guests still became ‘part of the family’ by experiencing at-homeness. The present study confirms the findings in my previous study that in small commercial accommodation facilities by far most guests are ‘happy guests’, but the very small number of guests with whom problems occur tend to be much more talked about and quickly that becomes a generalized picture, albeit quite a distorted one (Von Lengeling 2011: 139-140). We have seen that Mr Jackson and Sue were of the opinion that the government guests did not want to stay in the township, or then with Kwam. This can be explained by the general perception that black guests often want white style commercial

hospitality and find ekasi-style accommodation inferior because it could lower their social capital. Every year there would be a handful of ‘complaints’ and these were the only things Makana Tourism (and for that matter Mr Jackson and Sue) got to hear about: the sensational ‘bad’ cases, whereas by far the majority of guests were happy guests. One very prominent example of this had to do with the story Mrs Balindlela told when in 2011 she came again to visit Kwam incognito together with her niece and they were allocated to different homestays:

Nobody knew me because I booked under my niece. And so, she phoned me when she came there and said “come here quickly” and I said “why?” They are now saying she must sleep in a bed and share with this little girl in this bedroom, she said there were three! I said “no, three people, different people!” They said there is no space and I said “no, it can’t be a homestay now, I don’t know what this is called!” If it’s going to be sharing like this now, and you don’t know them? I don’t understand the mamas. We had to move in the night, you know, they didn’t even recognize me...”

This ‘complaint’ reverberated still in 2014 when references were made by officials to the ‘taboo’ of guests having to share beds and the Kwam mamas were again specifically told to vacate their families from their houses when they accommodate guests. Even if the problem had been one of allocation, at that time done solely by MT as booking office, the blame and rumours haunted and damaged only Kwam. But the mamas were powerless unless they could control their own bookings.

Other guest ‘complaints’ about Kwam that reached the MT office were similar “horror stories” of family members sharing the room with a guest and in an extreme case, the bed. Then there were stories of some very old mamas who were not capable to host anymore and some others who would have everything in order for an inspection but everything was gone by the time the guests arrived: “no blanket, no nothing, the guests had to sleep under black refuse bags cut open!” There was no further evidence that any of these were any more than nasty rumours. For instance, after the 2012 Festival Otto told of such false

complaints being set up by DSRAC officials who would with their subsequent intervention of 'dealing with the problem' secure promotion:

There are officials who don't want this project to progress, so they try to make up stories – they are enemies of the project. From the initial stages of the project all the officials were 'forced' to sleep over with Kwam, it was the instruction – they must, they must! These people are coming from a township, they know township life – for them it's not a cultural experience. So now they come up with all this sort of bad things, making up rumours, going to the papers.

It is not to say that there were no real complaints, but rather that the few complaints should be evaluated against hundreds of happy guests and some cases where officials seemed to foster dubious ulterior motives. No mama would have continued participating with the project if it were so much about the problem cases, neither would government have succeeded in 'forcing' hundreds of guests every year if that were really the case.

From their side Kwam hostesses described some difficult guests, and these were also only a handful. Guests being drunk and demanding seemed to be the most frequent problem. Some Kwam mamas also reflected on guests' misconception of homestays as this one put it: "I don't know what they expect, they were expecting that we look like hotels or ... these well-equipped establishments." In these cases, even with measures such as the laminated code of conduct, house rules and the letter from Mrs Balindlela in place, the (government) guests have broken the rules which resulted in the experience having being unpleasant. But the mamas also developed strategies to deal with problematic guests and particularly concerning the drunk guests often turn a blind eye. In one case where the mama could not control the situation anymore she called help from the Kwam Executive and the guest was subdued. A Kwam mama also used the opposite approach and decided to 'spoil' her guest. He complained that he was hungry and the mama cooked a meal for him in the middle of the night, that way she could make the best of the situation – trumping the drunk man with service. When another Kwam mama found out that her guest was a drug dealer she used

the 'fully booked lie' to get out of the situation when the guest wanted to extend her stay. When dealing with guests the Kwam mamas, like other hosts, rather clearly display their autonomy – they are queens of their castles. Thus the Kwam mamas employ various mechanisms to handle the situations with 'bad guests', from confronting the guests and enforcing the rules of the house, to calling in help or to 'grin-and-bear', or to avoid further contact with the guest. This is much in the same way commercial hosts behaved in Grahamstown West towards their guests (Von Lengeling 2011: 148). Unlike the Grahamstown West hosts though, the Kwam hosts had very little control over their bookings, they did not procure and allocate their own guests.

A Kwam mama was on her veranda pointing to the mess the swallows made against the wall just above her front door, she shouted "They don't pay! Just stay, make a mess and run ... don't pay! Bad guests!" Interestingly, unlike the mama's cursing of the swallows, the Kwam mamas did not have to deal with the problem of bilkers as government secured payment, even if it was delayed sometimes. On the positive side this had the effect that 'money talk' between host and guest was very limited, in line with general perceptions in the industry (Von Lengeling 2011: 144). With the 'money talk taboo' the commerciality of the transaction is hidden and the social aspects enhanced, while it is another example of the anti-commercial behaviour which hands-on hosts sometimes display. On the negative side, Kwam's financial administration was handled entirely by MT and the mamas also had very little control over this important aspect of their project. The mama's experience extended to making up invoices according to MT's schedule of payments so that they could receive their money. As a standard rate was required by government across the board (in 2014 it was R300 per single person and R200 per person sharing, including breakfast), regardless of the facilities such as en suite bathrooms, charges were not really market-related.

The table with the Kwam host's profiles in Appendix 2 contains three columns which dealt with observations about the way Kwam mamas interacted with their guests (See Appendix 2 Columns C, D and E). These columns cover, respectively, the times when the homestays were actually open for business, whether the Kwam hosts had commensality with their guests, and what bond they had established with some guests. Following is a summary of what is reflected in the table:

*most Kwam members were uncertain about when they should or could be open for business while about half of the homestays only operated during Festivals;

*most Kwam hostesses confirmed that they would not, as a general rule, have commensality with a guest, unless specifically asked to by the guest;

*and most Kwam hostesses had made friends with some guests but that in the past a rotation policy had prevented return guests from returning to the same homestay.

These issues are examined in more detail below.

Operational times

As noted, the project was initially intended for Festival only but it was hoped that operational times could extend to other times of the year. Only very rarely would guests be booked via MT at times other than Festival and then not all mamas participated or received guests. Most Kwam mamas had very occasional commercial guests at other times of the year which were either procured through family, friends or the church. As the idea with the project was that government 'guarantees' guests for Festival, the mamas made no attempt on their own to attract guests and instead many mamas were under the impression that they were not 'allowed' to take guests, even at other times of the year. As seen, MT also controlled the allocation of guests and the Kwam mamas had no autonomy over their

bookings and had to make do with the guests they got. This makes it even more important to note that most guests and hosts were nonetheless satisfied with their encounter.

Commensality

In my previous study I discussed commensality and what I gleaned from cross-cultural data and other ethnographic snippets is that “commensality causes or reinforces an extremely strong bond, so strong that it is perhaps too strong for the commercial aspects of professional hospitality” (Von Lengeling 2011: 120). In the same thesis I introduced the neologism *compotorality*.⁸³ Whereas compotorality more often than not implies imbibing alcohol together, the mamas only referred to having tea or coffee with guests. It was also against the ‘house rules’ (See Appendix 3) for guests to drink alcohol implying the same prohibition for hosts. I have seen men (and women) at certain traditional celebrations ‘compotorate’ (vast amounts of) alcohol but this does not concern commercial hospitality. Hazel Andrews (in Lashley and Morrison 2000: 250) also found commensality of primary importance to hospitality: “giving, receiving and sharing food is a symbol of the bond of trust set up between host and guest” while at the same time Andrews stressed that “offering or accepting a drink is an indication of a social relationship, the acknowledgement of social obligation”.

The Kwam mamas commented that they stay ‘far’ from the guests as Ma Gora explained: “She exactly treats them as a *guest*, so, she’s far from them, just doing that food and staying far from them...” Or the family would sit and talk with the guest but when the meal is served

⁸³ The word comes from the Latin *compotor* which means ‘drinking companion’, made up of the prefix *com-* (together) with *potare* (to drink). Latin gave recognition to a female drinking companion as *compotrix*.

the guest is given space, as a mama commented: “The guests, they are free! If they are coming to our homestay at Kwam eMakana, they are free”. Sometimes there are practical constraints in having commensality as this mama explained:

Volkher: Okay. And if they eat like that do you join them, or you just serve them?

Kwam mama: No, you serve them and leave them alone, because we have to clean the rooms while they are eating, so that we can also get ready for work.

If guests request that the mama and/or the family join them for a meal, the mamas would join or let the guest join the family. Whichever way the mamas would do their best to make the guest feel at home, whether it is because of cultural practice or cultural exchange. Following are a few more examples of the way Kwam mamas described commensality (or not) and their social interaction with guests:

V: Do you eat together with the guests like a family?

Kwam mama: I dish up for everyone, like my family, I treat them like my family. My children, when they were smaller, I didn't allow them to come inside the house. I must quick-cook earlier so that I can take their food to their rooms outside. Then I can be alone with my guests in the house so that the guest can have their space, you see. No one can irritate them, they must be with me.

Kwam mama: Yes, others they would like to eat with us and then by the time we are eating we are talking, talking ... about this meal, everything ... because it's the meaning of the homestay, we used to tell them it is 'a home away from home', you know ... “Please be part of this family! ... and I can even take you to my neighbours

V: And then you do it all together like a family?

Kwam mama: Ja, like a family. And they mostly feel like they are at home ... a lot of them feel they are at home!

Kwam mama: Yeah, I just take the table and put it here, make it nice and serve them and they just eat for themselves. It's a nice experience. The moment they are here we take them as our visitors, not as guests.

Volkher: So they must feel at home?

Kwam mama: They must feel at home ... they are feeling at home! They tell me that it's even better than in town! Because in town you are a guest, they say. Here sometimes they come and you talk to them, they ask you some questions about Grahamstown, about everything, so that experience is a nice experience. And they tell you about where they come from ...

Interestingly the last Kwam mama reported that her guests were more at home with her than they were in a white B&B in town. The 'nice' experience in this case was more of a social exchange as the guest was of the same culture as the host. However, it is clear that the hosts make quite an occasion of serving meals to guests. As shown with the 'memorable meals' research done by Lashley (2008: 77) the most important dimension of the meal is not so much the actual food but that which makes the meal memorable, i.e., the social encounter. Ma Gora told me that a Kwam mama had let her know that she decided not to charge her guests for dinner, only bed and breakfast, because they had the dinner all together and she enjoyed it so much that she felt awkward to ask money for it. Or as this mama explained:

Volkher: ... and if you cook for the guest, do you give them breakfast and supper, or?

Kwam mama: It depends on them what they want. Sometimes I treat them like my family if I am cooking an African dish, and also I cooked the African dish to surprise them. I dish up for them then they enjoy that, you know. Not because I was expecting to be paid for that but to motivate my business.

Commensality is reserved for established bonds or it strongly promotes the establishment of a bond, so much so that generally hosts do not want to commercialize it when they are part of it – it is too close. And the Kwam mamas certainly did not expect any reciprocity from her guests. They could not have expected any reciprocity because there was almost no chance that hosts and guests would ever see each other again as these guests had been from Europe. So, it rather had to do with the actual situation which the hostess found balanced and no need existed to commercialize the dinner event which had turned social. The social capital gained surpassed the need for commercialization of the situation. Of course, this does not pose a hard and fast rule and remains a generalization. But here we also link up with the notions of the non-commercial behaviour of homestay hosts as discussed earlier. It suggests an incomplete transition from classic or social hospitality to

commercial hospitality which has been pointed out by, for instance Berno (1999), to be exactly the cause why local hosts in the Cook Islands felt abused when they royally treated (Western) guests. While for the tourists it was a purely commercial transaction, they did not appreciate the meaning of the bonding with commensality in that specific setting as the hosts expected. The hosts desired the establishment of social bonding while for the tourists it meant paying for a cultural experience. However, if the experience was a cultural (or social) exchange for both hosts and guests, as with the Kwam mamas and their dinner guests above, misunderstandings could have been avoided. With homestay hospitality the transaction can never be only commercial as it affects other capital interests of the hosts too. Usually if a meal is served separately and exclusively to the guests there is no problem charging. The commercial guest has to be “far”, the hospitality space for the guest is extended also when it concerns eating. There is a difference between reciprocity and sharing which Olivier de Sardan (2005: 79-80) implied with his reference to a ‘moral economy’ or an ‘economy of affection’. The central role of reciprocity particularly in Western societies rather reflects a capitalist ‘give-and-take’ sentiment while sharing is more socialist, as with *Ubuntu*, and in fact much closer to the basic idea with hospitality. The Kwam guests *share* the hospitality experience with their hosts and the hosts share their home and care for their guests to feel at home.⁸⁴

Return and referred guests

In commercial hospitality nexilitas is epitomized by the return guest or ‘regular’ guest⁸⁵ whereas referred guests, those acting on the strength of ‘word of mouth’, indirectly reflect nexilitas. Because of successful bonding host and guest like to repeat their encounter, the

⁸⁴ Incidentally, this links in with the difference between *communitas* and *nexilitas*: *communitas* occurs with sharing and caring for each other such as guests amongst themselves; *nexilitas* occurs when host and guest share the host’s space and the host cares for the guest.

⁸⁵ “Regulars or return guests, those guests who come back to the same facility when they visit the area again, are excellent examples of what is meant with *nexilitas*. Return guests do so because of a bond in hospitality – that is not a bond of kin or affine” (Von Lengeling 2011: 136).

guest becomes 'like family' (Von Lengeling 2011: 101, 127, 158). Elia Petridou (in Miller 2001: 88) noted that a key element of the meaning of a home is the 'right to return': "The 'right to return' involves an understanding of home as the result of repeated practice, that of setting out and coming back. It becomes a point of reference, 'a place of origin and retreat' ... a starting point to which we eventually return, and which gives us a sense of history and continuity." For guests to return to the same host or even the same room increases the feeling of being at home.

As mentioned, there was a policy which prevented guests from returning to the same homestay. This policy developed because of the idea that the (government) guests have to get to know as many of the ('poor') homes as possible and also to ensure a fair distribution of guests among the mamas. At the same time it reinforced the unrealistic standard rates and it effectively thwarted building on established connections and complicated matters as the guests were not always the same people every year anyway. Mamas stated that they had made friends with guests during Festival but the next year the guest was elsewhere, and we have seen the guest comments expressing their wishes to return. The risk taken with hospitality is universal and even with commercial hospitality the risk (the fear of the stranger) has to be addressed (Herzfelt 2012: S215). Ma Gora clearly understood the risk involved with hospitality and the logic to continue with a relationship once the 'fear' has been assuaged, and actually because the rates were the same for all guests, there was no proper reason for the rotation system:

Ma Gora: There is this problem to start with a new place, really! You don't know, you've got a fear, so, if you experience one and one on the other side, I think that is destroying Kwam. Because sometimes you had this nice experience at this house and you want to go to the same, but you are not allowed. Then you start a new one, and when you start that new one you won't feel happy as you were happy in that one ... in that one no complaint can come in and the money is the same.

The non-return policy obviously also affected the hosts' autonomy, but as noted, about half of the mamas were uncertain about their rights, as this mama commented:

I don't know if I've got the right to just take them if they book straight with me. I said, if they phone me and say they want to come back, I said "Go and book at Makana Tourism" ...

As there are always exceptions with Kwam, some mamas reported that they had return guests:

V: You mean it's like a family, they come back?

Kwam mama: That's why I said to you when people come here they said they feel at home ... There was another man who came back, the year before last, he said "Here I feel at home! I don't want to go home, I want to stay!"

Kwam mama: Really! Because some of them if they want to come back they want to know is there still space for them, they want to stay here. Most of the time the same people come back, as that guy from East London for the Jazz Festival, he stays here every year, and I keep his room ... he always wants the same room.

Another mama told of a guest she had for Festival who returned when he came to Grahamstown for a funeral, "He wanted to sleep as family now!" And there were guests referred by word of mouth:

V: Have you had people that would come back?

Kwam mama: Yes, yes ... even if it is not Festival and if somebody was so pleased with my house. Even if they were coming to Rhodes Graduation, people asked for accommodation and last year I had guests from Zimbabwe, and then that dark lady give her friends my name. I was so impressed! They referred me.

These anecdotes prove both the importance of return and referred guests and they reflect the lack of autonomy the Kwam mamas had also over this important aspect of their business. However, it seems that the mamas have a deep understanding of their business, what guests want, such as the wishes of a return guest for the same room, while at the same time they have been helpless. There are a number of factors contributing to this helplessness, not least the 'learned helplessness' of women in general. During apartheid black people developed and learned to cope with helplessness as almost everything was top-down. As with the close relatives of the township folk, the farm workers which Luck

(2004) studied, this sense of helplessness was transposed into the new democracy because government was still making decisions for them and they were ignorant of their rights as a result of a lack of education. In the present case, Otto as dominating male used this sense of helplessness to control the mamas and the agents of government structures were not much better, they did not know or understand the intricate functions of hospitality yet they still made the rules. And as it is with bureaucracy, once a pattern is set it simply keeps on repeating, institutionalizing itself, thus perpetuating even damaging practices. However, when it concerned their dealings with guests the mamas were certainly not representing even a hint of helplessness, on the contrary, they reflected pride.

In the touristic sense the mamas have an enormous amount of cultural capital and readily display it, given the right situation such as with traditional dress, and Lynch and MacWhannell (2000: 122) noted that “home accommodation can serve as a cultural icon”. But as there were only a handful of foreign tourists seeking cultural exchange this capital is to a huge extent dormant for Kwam. To access benefits from this cultural capital is thwarted for Kwam by both the small numbers of tourists that come to the Frontier Country and their not having more internet advertising. We have also seen that with the commercialization of hospitality comes Westernization and this erodes ‘traditional’ practices which resulted in a fusion between rural, urban, Western and Xhosa cultures. For instance, in the townships the people are used to live very close together and a homestay in the strictest sense would imply the guest would then share this proximity to be part of the family, but Kwam mamas provide as much space as possible to their commercial guests. Traditional African hospitality is bound up in the concept of *Ubuntu*, as is Western hospitality grounded in *Mitmenschlichkeit*, but in Africa there was no millennia old tradition of commercial hospitality. Both African hosts and guests are new to the game of commercial hospitality and they could have opposing views as to what a commercial accommodation experience should be like; for instance, guests could expect all commercial hospitality to be hotel-like. As noted, contemporary Western commercial hospitality is rooted in capitalism with the resultant emphasis on reciprocity, whereas *Ubuntu* stands for a more socialistic idea of

sharing; the 'culture' of hospitality involves sharing. Sharing is also a strategy to deal with helplessness and even if the Kwam project was initiated with good intentions of empowerment, there were serious infringements on the hosts', the Kwam mamas' autonomy inside their own homes which thwarted proper development. Of course, for years the benefits outweighed the infringements and the project could continue, but this was changing rapidly as the benefits shrank.

Defining Kwam Homestays

In this section, concluding the ethnographic description of Kwam approached in the conventional way, I offer a (long) definition of a Kwam homestay. To start with the beginning of Kwam, Mrs Balindlela said that for her homestays were about humanity:

... because there was humanity built into that, you see, we had gone to the extent of saying let the Kwam project have a human spirit even behind these difficulties, let the human spirit come through! ... There in the morning the mothers knock [she knocks on the table as if on a door], they come into your bedroom, they ask "how are you, how did you sleep?" So, you stand in your gown and you've got this ... it's a *human spirit*! It's what happens when they come in, they want to do that so that they can make you feel that you are *at home*, you know, "how is life?"

When I asked Ma Gora about the concept of a homestay she said "but we are *homestays*! Not *B&B*, we are not like the *hotel*! We know the difference in between." But as we have seen, people hold different opinions of what a homestay is. In the introductory section I discussed the various forms of homestays as they appear in different parts of the world and I have pointed to aspects of the commercialization of the home-space. I referred to the four types of operations in studies of small tourism businesses McIntosh et al. (2011: 509-510) identified: 1) A small business as a type of business on its own, as opposed to a small version of big business; 2) A family business as a contributing or supplementary source of income; 3)

The lifestyle entrepreneur who considers noneconomic motivations; 4) The rural prevalence of homestays or then farmstays. Save for the equation of homestays to farmstays, as the forth type, we have seen that the Kwam homestays easily fit into the other types too. But as noted these distinctions hardly reveal anything about the nature of the encounter between host and guest within them. The distinction between a homestay and other commercial accommodation enterprises such as B&Bs is relevant in the quest to understand the intricate workings of a commercial hospitality situation at home. The types of homestays offered by websites such as Airbnb represent a stricter application of the homestay definition in the sense of being a temporary arrangement aiming at cultural exchange, a hybrid between social and commercial hospitality, where elements of the commercialization are restricted by social hospitality convention.⁸⁶ A good example of this is that with these websites like Airbnb payment is resolved before the guest arrives, hence there is no necessity for money-talk between host and guest and the encounter is free to initiate on a social basis. Homestays which involve exchange students also regard the encounter far more as a cultural exchange experience than that it resembles a commercial transaction – the student is supposed to be treated as a ‘child’ of the family. In other parts of the world such as Malaysia, Nepal and Thailand where homestays were also government-initiated and specifically aimed at foreign tourists the underlying idea is also cultural exchange, as noted with the definition of Malaysian homestays. But the important fact is that these homestay programmes could latch onto a strong existing tourist market and the idea was more to tilt the ‘cake’ than expand it. In Frontier Country there is a very small tourist ‘cake’ to tilt and expanding the market would involve a major make-over so that the region attracts significant tourist numbers.

Although we have seen that most mamas wanted guests at other times of the year than Festival, and some occasionally had these guests, many of them were under the impression

⁸⁶ Recently Airbnb was forced to extend their listing to bigger hospitality providers, such as hotels, who complained that they were unfair competition and evaded tax on commercial accommodation. Their enormous international popularity attracted big business and hence their offering extended to include a more commercial slant to their approach than before.

that they were 'allowed' to operate only during Festival; they depended on Makana Tourism to 'authorize' guests and this usually happened for Festival only. The idea with a homestay could not be to be open for business everyday of the year because where would the usual inhabitants go, in cases where there are no dedicated guest rooms? In this sense then a Kwam homestay would only operate occasionally and specifically during the peak seasons; this also makes homestays an ideal form of commercial accommodation particularly adaptable to the erratic tourism/visitor calendar of Grahamstown. The Kwam mamas are very proud of their product and after all these years have had more than sufficient practical exposure so that the hospitality they offer is smothered with excellent service. As seen from the way the Kwam mamas deal with and perceive their guests, they operate in very similar ways to neo-inn hosts elsewhere. The proviso, of course, which is also the underlying assumption of the McIntosh et al. (2011) study, is that host and guest are of broadly equal social status (white New Zealand hosts and their white tourist guests). For the most part the black Kwam mamas are dealing with black guests in the pigmentocracy that South Africa still is, but hosts and guests were broadly speaking of an equal class, hence also the generally positive perception concerning host-guest relationships. But as said, there were no real problems between the mamas and their guests but the mamas were disempowered in relation to their guests by the development agency's bureaucracy, mainly because they did not deal with their own bookings and financial administration. The mamas did not have available the discrimination tool of screening to match host-guest compatibility. Hosts want to choose, as McIntosh et al. (2011: 515) put it, "not only when and when not to host ... [but also] who to host and who not to host." The Kwam hosts were limited in their expressions of a take-it-or-leave-it attitude as government had prescriptions.

The move from social hospitality to commercial hospitality implies a submission to Western type hospitality. Western guests and people in general prefer more personal space, and crowd perhaps for special events but close-up and personal they avoid overcrowding. This means the more Western-oriented the clientele (including aspirant local blacks), the more the borderline shifts further and further away from personal contact between host and guest. The basic borderline is resembled with the dress of the host and a borderline is set

with a private guest room – in a Kwam home the host temporarily vacates the room but it never becomes standardized or completely sanitized. The next borderline is found with the sharing of facilities as host and guest ideally use each their ‘own’ bathrooms, lounges, dining rooms etc. There is no end to the expanding borderlines of luxury in commercial hospitality which imply all the more physical space for the guest’s private use. The space one occupies is directly linked to one’s social status, small overcrowded spaces reflect lower status. But in the Kwam home the mama provides the guest with as much space as she could and she would compromise with overcrowding elsewhere, as some mamas commented “the guest must be free”. However, the guest’s space can and will be invaded by the service the mama offers although the mamas take care not to disturb the guests while they are in their rooms. The Kwam homestays are thus another hybrid form of the neo-inn phenomenon, catering neither for students nor for tourists nor for cultural exchange, but for ordinary domestic travellers and for the most part only during the NAF.

7. Engaging with Action

The previous two chapters revealed how Kwam started, its organizational structure, the role players (including the hosts and guests), the nature of a Kwam homestay, and some of the borderlines with poverty and hospitality were identified. These two chapters represent a more traditional approach to ethnography, whereas in the following three chapters it is simultaneously a reflexive account as the development story unfolds, and as indicated, it is cast in a third person narrative. The narrative covers the main period of intervention (from before the 2014 Festival to after the 2015 Festival) more or less chronologically, and this chapter starts with describing the factors which lead to the interventions and engagement with action or advocacy. As some factors had their roots before the period of intervention the story begins in 2013.

Already after the inspections before the 2013 Festival Volkher found that his volunteer consultant position provided him with access to information about Kwam and even the Kwam mamas which he could not have hoped for in the conventional researcher position. Already he saw the possibility to provide Kwam with the benefit of his experience and knowledge in the hospitality industry. He had completed a compilation of a-page-per-homestay comprehensive list detailing every available room, related and general facilities, besides contact and address details of the Kwam hosts, as this was the base for the host profiles he was building up. In an effort to help, he emailed the lists to MT and Sue replied thanking him, adding that “it would really help a lot”. Volkher felt encouraged that his fieldwork could be useful and it would actually be used, that was besides physically helping with the inspections by doing all the driving around (with his car and at his expense). After the 2013 Festival Sue explicitly thanked him again for the profiles and then went on to confirm that there had been no serious problems that year (as in the past) and she

mentioned that somehow that for the first time ever there was money left over in the Kwam account.

During the course of the inspections in June 2013, some mamas asked to see the video footage Claudia had taken and the idea came up to edit a short 'movie' out of all the footage, which Claudia then did with Volkher assisting. After Festival 2013 Volkher and Claudia then presented the movie to the mamas at an occasion in the usual Kwam meeting place, the Duna Library Hall in Joza. After the screening of the movie Volkher felt that he had at last struck rapport with some of his informants. Giving something back to the mamas about who they were was greatly appreciated. Also, Volkher only heard later, it was the first time that the Kwam mamas could see what all the other homestays looked like. Of course, there were groups of friends within Kwam who knew each other's homes but they had never seen all the Kwam homes. As a whole group they would see each other only at meetings. But Volkher actually struck rapport because of Claudia. He overheard a Kwam mama who explained to Claudia how "we are each one trying to be registered because government says we have to become a business and need to be registered ... we are not clear ... but we hear that if you want your business to progress you must be registered. So I wish, if you can carry on with us, and let us know more and more about B&B and this Kwam homestay." It was a plea. As they were leaving the hall many mamas expressed that they enjoyed the show and a mama even asked when and where the movie would be publically released. Afterwards at home, Volkher said to Claudia that he noticed quite clearly that, although the mamas have met her only with the filming during the inspections before, they seemed to make readily contact with *her* – whereas he had been with them for months and only recently felt that he had made contact with a few individuals. Much later Volkher would realize that there was another reason why the mamas were suspicious of him in the beginning and how Claudia's presence swayed their attitude, besides that he was 'a man in a women's world': Volkher had been introduced to Kwam by Otto, the liaison officer, who was later ousted from Kwam.

Volkher and Claudia also realized that all the footage they had collected provided a base on which to build a website for Kwam. So many people at various presentations had referred to the fact that Kwam needed a website; the surveys about Kwam by for instance the Makana Edutourism Partnership (MEP) of 2009 and Burunguz, Wijker, Vink, Radtke, & Boeff's Paper in 2011, already strongly recommended cyber exposure if township accommodation was to be competitive and also Mrs Balindlela had added her voice to this chorus. It is not only indisputable but indispensable to have a cyber presence in a world increasingly regulated through the internet, especially when it concerns commerce. A well known example was also with the Vicos community's renewed partnership with Cornell University in 2005 where the first priority they identified was assistance with "building a Vicos website that would document not only the history ... but also describe the contemporary development projects chosen ..." (Isbell 2013: 149). The importance of a website for the Vicos project was critical already in 2005, and so too had the need for a website for Kwam time and time again been highlighted. Volkher also thought that to extend on his consultant position the opportunity of helping to develop a website for Kwam would give him access to the information to complete his host profiles while at the same time rendering a very valuable service to his participants. In September Volkher and Claudia met with Otto and Sue and in principle the idea was approved and so they set to work on a formal proposal for funding to help create a Kwam website which they submitted to MT. However, in November Sue told Volkher that MT could not accept their proposal as there was no money available. This was rather contrary to the impression Sue had given Volkher before, that the municipality did have money to spend on Kwam to the tune of R120 000. She had even asked him if he could think of something as she was looking for a project to spend the money on and that was partially what contributed to the idea of developing a website for Kwam in the first place.

In the meantime Mr Thembinkosi Sindane (generally referred to as Thembinkosi), the manager of the Tourism Portfolio Committee of Makana Municipality, concluded that Kwam would become a set of primary and secondary co-operatives. It was one of the results which materialized from the many presentations made to Kwam in the first half of 2013 which

stressed that they should become formalized; specifically the one where Mrs Gie had made her presentation about the failure of homestays in PE during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. At that meeting Thembinkosi had asked Mrs Gie what form of an entity she would advise Kwam to be and she answered that she was not too knowledgeable about these things but she reckoned that a co-op would be more suitable than a trust. In September Thembinkosi sent out a 'request for quote' (RFQ) in terms of municipal regulations and in October Imbewu Communications was awarded the tender in terms of RFQ 279/13 as service provider to register Kwam as a set of co-ops. In the beginning of November the representative of Imbewu Communications, Mr George who was believed to be a friend of Otto and Thembinkosi, met thrice with the Kwam mamas to further explain things about their registration as primary and secondary co-ops, fill in forms and photocopy their identity documents. Mr George explained that his mandate included to assist Kwam to develop a project plan, but they needed to be registered first. He passed an 'Assessment Form' around which he said was to "gather information in terms of what level Kwam is at, so that we can determine which areas they need to improve. There are things they are currently doing that need to be improved in order for their business to be sustainable." So Kwam was to be snap-surveyed yet again. There were some very vague 'questions', for instance, there were boxes to be ticked off next to "*Language Proficiency: English, Xhosa or Afrikaans*" followed by "speak/read/write" but with only one box to tick. So if this box was ticked off it meant speak and read and write all three languages. One of the Kwam mamas asked about this and Mr George told her "just tickish there in the box". Then there were YES and NO boxes at the end of one question covering many topics such as "how many rooms", "en suite", "parking" etc. and Volkher was convinced that no proper assessment could be made from this but he did not say anything. Mr George continued and passed around what he called "a draft constitution" for everybody to peruse. It was a generalized model of a constitution and obviously incomprehensible for the mamas, with a space left open for the name(s) of the co-op(s) on the top of the first page and several other spots where the name(s) would have to be filled in; at the end there were spaces for the date, place and lines for signatures and names below. Mr George concluded that from there they would develop a business plan and project implementation plan. After seeing all of this Volkher had serious doubts about the co-op business: the appropriateness of this formal structure could be questioned as, for a start, the 'product' *homestay* cannot be standardized as, say, with vegetables or chicken.

Olivier de Sardan (2005: 74) noted how over the last fifty years or so it has become popular in the 'development industry' to formalize development projects in the form of a co-op and how these are "smokescreens" in order to secure further aid. In Kwam's case Otto had shamelessly told Volkher that they were doing the registration as a co-op to get more funds, i.e. more government funding. That was after Volkher had asked him if the co-ops were going to bring more guests to Kwam as the mamas benefit from hosting guests, not from funding.

Volkher had noted several repetitions at the Kwam meetings, not only the usual place (the Duna Library Hall in Joza) and procedure (for instance, the opening and closing prayers and the Kwam mantra), but also the interactions between members. One thing that occurred at every Kwam meeting was that there seemed to be some argument between Otto and Ma Gora, and/or Otto and other mamas. At a Kwam meeting in November, after MT had declined their proposal for a website, Volkher and Claudia made a presentation about websites in general. Otto, as usual, started an argument with Ma Gora and stressed that Kwam's priority lay in their formalizing as co-ops and then a website could follow. Ma Gora argued that they could not wait for the formalization when they could have a website in the meantime. This time Volkher tried to intervene saying that these things could develop concurrently, but to no avail and Otto continued his tirade. Eventually Otto rather aggressively turned onto Volkher and told him that he could make as many presentations as he liked but nothing was decided. With that Otto left in a huff and a puff. Afterwards Ma Gora concluded that Otto seemed to want all the glory for himself, he was bossing the mamas around, and Claudia added that she had observed him "herding them like cattle". The Kwam mamas were the ones to decide and actually Otto had nothing to say, he was only the liaison officer. Ma Gora said that she and some other mamas were very upset with Otto and as he was not a host he should not be part of Kwam. There were some mamas who suggested they found a second Kwam – without Otto. Volkher pointed out that it was exactly why they also needed a constitution, then the matters with chairperson and office bearers would be sorted and people would be elected, that way Otto could be controlled. In

fact, long before Volkher had suggested the same to Otto when he complained to him about an argument with Ma Gora, but then Volkher told him that a constitution would control the mamas.

The first Kwam meeting for 2014 was scheduled for the morning of 29 April but besides Volkher and Claudia, only Otto arrived. While they waited for any Kwam mamas to come Volkher thought that it was a good opportunity to set things straight with Otto and he started a conversation about the newly erected billboard for Kwam and DSRAC's involvement and commitment to Kwam. Volkher purposely avoided the website and/or co-op themes and afterwards he thought that if there had been any animosity between Otto and him it had then probably been cleared. He thought it was a bonus to have received so much unsolicited information about the way Otto perceived the issues about the billboard and DSRAC. It was later on that day that Volkher and Claudia returned to Joza to meet with Ma Gora for the first set of interviews.

Volkher noticed that as the sets of interviews progressed, 'openness' to and from the mamas increased, and all the mamas were happy to see Claudia again – epitomized by the mama who pleaded with Claudia to take up the position of Kwam project manager (like Tracey had been before). Some mamas must have talked among each other about the interviewing party and the small packet of fresh chillies which Volkher had picked from his garden and which he gave each mama at the end of the interview as a small gesture of gratitude. Later there even seemed to be an expectation by the remainder of the mamas to be visited (and get their little packet of chillies) as Ma Gora told about a mama who phoned and asked her, "What's going on? Because I hear that you are doing door to door..." They all laughed when Ma Gora told this because it was General Elections at the time and they joked that Ma Gora was 'campaigning' for Kwam. But they felt that they could not leave anybody out lest these be offended or saddened that they did not come by them too. Towards the

end of the interviews Volkher felt that his understanding of 'fieldwork fatigue' and the 'emotional residue' of experiences in the field had considerably deepened. Becoming so involved over time and trying to feel with his informants, he started to capture an understanding of how the Kwam hosts operated and what they needed and wanted.

Volkher had provided Ma Gora with cell phone vouchers to cover her communication costs for organizing the interviews, and to make good for all Ma Gora's special efforts he and Claudia decided to give her the R1500 she still needed to have her bathroom installed, that was both the bath tub which had been standing for months in the hallway, and most importantly, an indoor flushing toilet. Volkher had asked Ma Gora sometime during the interviews how much it would cost to have her inside bathroom fixed and he thought that amount would be appropriate as compensation for all her efforts with the interviews. Claudia made little guest soaps and a card booklet for the money and wrapped it all in a little basket. They gave the basket to Ma Gora after the last interview and they were all still quite emotional when they greeted. By then both he and Claudia felt that they had become attached to Kwam and particularly to Ma Gora. However, the interviews were done and Volkher thought that would herald the end of a major part of his research, although he anticipated further selected in-depth probes concerning the themes in hospitality he had isolated. He knew that the end of fieldwork also forecasts a certain disengagement from the field. So, in a sense he felt it was a double good bye when they left Ma Gora. But whereas he thought he had his breakthrough with fieldwork, especially after the set-back with the issue with Otto and 'patching' it up again, he did not realize the extent to which they had really empowered Ma Gora – for her it was finally reaching 'minimum requirements', a vital turning point indeed. Long before Volkher understood that the minimum requirement was an inside flushing toilet, Ma Gora had mentioned to him that she had not reached the minimum requirements and therefore she did not display the signboard outside her house which the municipality had sponsored for all the Kwam members, she said "I'm too ashamed". She had no reason to be ashamed anymore, and what was more, she had acquired a real friend with Claudia. Being in a position to communicate with each mama

with the cell phone vouchers and the subsequent door-to-door rounds with the interviews contributed to the growing social cohesion of the group, under the leadership of Ma Gora. It had been the first time Ma Gora went around ‘privately’ to practically all the Kwam mamas and this meant that she, perhaps not even intentionally, actually did ‘campaign’ for Kwam or then at least bolstered her position in Kwam; she had gained enormous amounts of social capital.

With the interviews Claudia took photos again and this time she compiled a photo montage of each homestay featuring the hostess and a few pictures of her homestay. These collages Volkher and Claudia had printed in A4 size and framed and they handed them to each mama her own individual collage at a next Kwam meeting. Their intention with the pictures was, like with the little packets of chillies, another ‘thank you’ gesture towards the mamas who participated with the interviews – particularly as Volkher thought that he was coming to the end of his fieldwork and he had been a guest and therefore (‘practice as you preach’ – also in the field) the rules of hospitality dictate that the guest brings a little gift. The mamas were very grateful and seemed to like the pictures as they were showing them off to each other. When all the mamas had their picture Ma Gora said “they want to say thank you to you” and Volkher replied “but it’s saying thank you to you!” Then a Kwam mama spoke in isiXhosa saying “thank you for the gift” and Ma Gora translated:

Kwam mama: The things you are doing for us, we see it ... it’s beautiful! With this photo today you are taking Kwam eMakana forward and you are doing things which were never done by anyone to Kwam eMakana, *enkosi* [thank you]!

Ma Gora: Kwam eMakana mamas say today may you live a long life!

Volkher: Thanks, thanks a lot ... that’s so nice ... thanks!

Again Volkher was pleased that his participants seemed to benefit from his involvement with them, the mamas were again expressing their pride – like he had noticed with the movie before. It seemed that he had succeeded in giving back something with more than just material value. He was satisfied that he had applied the necessary sensitivity to his fieldwork situation by limiting his interference to that of a benign researcher in the

participant observer role. For him it exemplified anthropology at home where successful bonding in the field simultaneously implies a (very mild) form of intervention. He did not participate or observe within the actual Kwam hospitality situation because that would have been too much of an interference which would compromise the face-to-face host-guest relationship. He participated with and observed the hosts on their organizational level, when they met or some kind of 'house visits' were done, in other words, with Kwam as a group under the leadership of Ma Gora.

In April 2014 Sue had asked Ma Gora to write a report for DSRAC about the 2013 Festival. Otto was supposed to help but Ma Gora said he did not like writing and so she wrote what she thought to report by hand on one A4 lined sheet (See Appendix 4). Instead of assisting Ma Gora, Sue rudely rejected her report and said she should write a 'proper' one but Ma Gora had no information, such as numbers and figures, and she had no experience of writing a 'proper report' for government. Ma Gora left it at that but Volkher and Claudia encouraged her to keep probing Sue for information about the Kwam financial reports and some other issues that came up. Ma Gora reported that she felt all the more 'sidelined' by Sue and Otto who were deliberately excluding her from receiving information about meetings, financials and/or budgets. In fact, this had started already the year before, if not earlier, but Ma Gora's exclusion became increasingly acute. On the other side though, Volkher and Claudia felt that the empowerment Ma Gora got by having their support as friends increased her fighting spirit and she passed that on to the other Kwam mamas with which she had close contact - there was a drive to stand up for themselves, or at least with those that were loyal to Ma Gora.

The 'committee' that had been set up with planning the co-ops was as non-existent as the co-ops themselves, but Ma Gora was still chairlady. In May 2014 at one of the first report-back meetings to the Kwam mamas Ma Gora told how rudely Sue had treated her, and it

was Otto who suggested that they elect more mamas to go along to Sue. At first the mamas called their group of elected members a 'delegation'. There was a general unwillingness to serve on the delegation, as Ma Gora explained, most of the mamas could not read and write properly, and they did not want to be embarrassed. Rather in line with what Foster (1965: 303) found that filling leadership positions remained problematic for peasants because honour is also a limited good and by acquiring it through a leadership position, it means less for the others and hence the vicious circle of jealousy spreads out. However, after two visits to Sue, each time with a different delegation as the delegation members changed, the delegation demanded that they needed to be stricter and form a 'committee'. Ma Gora remained chairlady and three more committee members were elected. One week later one committee member resigned after the other committee members questioned her commitment and she admitted that she was too busy with other things. A new committee member was elected and together with Ma Gora these four mamas remained the management committee of Kwam until after Festival. One committee member, who had been the only constant member in all the delegations, reminded of a go-getter type of person, dedicated and hard working, whereas the new committee member, although enterprising, did not really apply herself to the cause of Kwam, she seemed to be just going along. The third committee member who counted among the Otto loyalists was of the opportunistic type. She was the mama who the year before pleaded with Claudia to guide Kwam and later told Volkher and Claudia about her participation in various other projects; she made no secret of telling that she belonged to as many projects as she could.

There were again many Kwam meetings up until shortly before Festival 2014 and they were increasingly better attended. Notable about these meetings were that they were called by Ma Gora on her own initiative, where usually MT, the municipality or DSRAC would instruct Ma Gora (or Otto) to call a meeting. Ma Gora had also decided, on her own, after another fruitless meeting with Sue, to go directly to the DSRAC offices and make enquiries there. This resulted in the local DSRAC official, Rev Baxana, attending and addressing the next Kwam meeting, where he expressed his, or then DSRAC's, support for Kwam. As the meetings ensued the mamas were getting increasingly annoyed with Sue and Otto. The

report-back they got from Ma Gora, and later from the committee too, after they had seen Sue to ask her to explain things about the previous year's budget and what will happen that year, just became worse from meeting to meeting. Ma Gora and the committee consistently reported that they were "extremely cross" and as usual "there was a lot of fighting with Sue". Sue shouted at them at times and more than once screamed that they must take Kwam for themselves: "Take Kwam, take Kwam! I don't want Kwam anymore!"

Since Sue became director of MT in 2012 there were no more evaluation meetings like Mr Makkink used to call and where he explained everything to the mamas. The mamas felt that they were kept in the dark while both Sue and Otto went around claiming that there were so many 'things' which they did for Kwam, but the mamas did not see anything, least of all guests. When Sue at last gave the committee a printed 'Financial Report' concerning the R150 000 DSRAC budget expenditure for 2013, the mamas' temper reached boiling point. And Otto as liaison officer failed to shed any light on what the mamas questioned, instead they learned about the money Otto got for being liaison officer. His stipend as liaison officer had increased from R15 000 in 2011 to R30 000 and he had received R2 000 'pocket money' to represent Kwam at a tourism show in Durban, about which the mamas knew nothing. The committee then told Sue that they did not want Otto anymore and she suggested that they then share his job and stipend between them. After that meeting the opportunistic committee member approached Ma Gora and suggested that she become chairperson and Ma Gora liaison officer and then they could split the money equally between the two of them. Ma Gora said she was appalled by the suggestions but this was never mentioned or discussed again, although it indicated the ambition of the opportunistic committee member. At the next Kwam meeting Otto was voted out and the mamas even formalized it with a note which was simply titled "Proposal for Otto out" and all 24 mamas present signed it.

There were other issues besides 'Otto out' and the financial report, such as a starter pack, Safarinow.com⁸⁷, the 10% booking fee MT charged on Kwam guests, and dwindling guest numbers, so that the mamas decided at their next meeting on 3 June that they would hold a protest meeting at MT and perhaps toyi-toyi and/or sit-in. Coincidentally, it had been almost exactly ten years ago with the failure of the 800 Rooms Project when the group of mamas last toyi-toyied at MT. The mamas had asked Volkher and Claudia to accompany them and they and twelve mamas crowded into Sue's small office where the mamas cross-examined her about their grievances and confusions concerning the financial report. Sue could not satisfactorily explain what the mamas wanted to know. The mamas presented their note confirming their vote for 'Otto out', but Sue just scoffed at it. However, in the end she gave an undertaking to sort some of the issues, notably the starter pack and the listing of Kwam with Safarinow. Even if the meeting did not turn into a real protest, as it remained dialogical, the Kwam mamas felt that they had had some success.

Afterwards the mamas ascribed their success to Volkher's and Claudia's presence, just the fact that they had been there with the mamas meant for them that Sue did not yell at them and even promised to really do something about at least the starter pack. While the mamas branded Sue as a racist they commended Volkher and Claudia for being like the kind of white people who had helped black people during the apartheid years. Back home, Volkher and Claudia mulled over the meeting again and again; it still somehow seemed unreal to them. Although both had at times felt to intervene during the meeting (especially when Sue's claims and explanations seemed very questionable or plain false), they had been there to observe in the first place, just like the anthropological 'fly on the wall'; they felt it best to hold back, because they did not want to intervene directly. But after what Volkher and Claudia had witnessed all along about the way both Otto and Sue were treating the Kwam mamas, and especially Ma Gora, they had to do something.

⁸⁷ Safarinow.com is a booking website where hosts can list their facilities and through which guests can make and pay for bookings. Safarinow charges 15% plus VAT, thus 17,5%, for their service and this is deducted from the payment to the host. Safarinow does aggressive marketing in the cyber realm and is considered one of the biggest booking websites in Africa.

Kwam needed to be a formalized organization - not being legally formalized with a constitution made it problematic for the government to deal with Kwam officially besides the increasingly uncertain relationship with Makana Tourism and the numerous internal issues that remained unresolved such as the duties, powers and remuneration of the chairperson, liaison officer and executive committee members. All Volkher's enquiries, even with Mrs Balindlela, about a constitution or other such founding document of Kwam led to dead ends, and Mr George's attempt at formalizing Kwam as primary and secondary co-operatives remained still-born. Volkher suggested to Ma Gora that he would draw up a constitution for Kwam which would be custom made and understandable for the mamas. He was convinced Kwam should rather be a Non-profit organization (NPO) than a co-op. Also, now that Otto was voted out, with a constitution they could ensure that he stayed out as he would have no part of it.

At this stage Volkher felt he had a basic ethnography of Kwam 'in his head', and except for the Kwam profiles which by that time he had almost completed, he had written tentative bits and pieces. As he believed he knew what the Kwam mamas wanted and needed, the customised constitution would be the first step for Kwam to show to the world "Hey, this is us, here we are!" Nobody could ignore a proper constitution. But Volkher realized that Kwam would need more than this gesture because Sue showed there could be resistance: she had twice ignored or even repudiated what Kwam had put in writing (first the report Ma Gora wrote in April and then the Proposal for Otto out). For Volkher, taking on the responsibility of providing Kwam with a proper founding document meant that he would have to defend it if necessary – non-partiality in the field flew out of the window. He had taken the side of Ma Gora and the mamas against Otto. He suspected that Otto and Sue collaborated as 'development agents' to exploit Kwam, and Sue's performance at the protest meeting deepened suspicions about mismanagement of the Kwam funds. Of course,

private citizens can, and do, intervene to help suppressed people, but Volkher also perceived it as his duty as a justice officer of the High Court to intervene under these suspicious circumstances. After Volkher and Claudia again discussed everything extensively, he consciously decided to be an 'active' advocate again – officially and for Kwam. Volkher would offer to be Kwam's legal representative and from that position he could protect the constitution and see to its implementation. From that time on (and for at least the next four months) the predominant theme of discussion day in and day out between Volkher and Claudia was Kwam. They repetitively reflected on and analysed what they had experienced with the Kwam mamas, Ma Gora, Otto, Sue and the protest meeting and they were speculating about future possibilities for Kwam. All of this required a different stance than that of a fly-on-the-wall anthropologist. One big implication was that the ethics of anthropological fieldwork were extended by the lawyer position where, besides confidentiality, one has to speak out and actively represent and protect one's clients.

Volkher drafted a constitution for Kwam by taking as example the constitution of the Grahamstown Hospitality Guild, a template constitution off the internet and he extracted whatever information he could find from his (old) law books. First he cut it down to the bare essentials and then Claudia helped to simplify the English text as much as they could. They knew that most mamas struggle reading English especially long complicated sentences and words, and it was of utmost importance that the mamas understood what it was all about. Volkher also used this opportunity to subtly steer away from any poverty alleviation image because besides the conceptual clash with commercial hospitality, poverty in the case of Kwam was relative. He knew he could discuss these issues with Ma Gora but the other mamas, who had referred to themselves as poor, would perhaps not understand it, partially because of language problems and partially because 'poor' is what they had internalised and used to get benefits. He drafted the constitution with the aims and objectives of a women's empowerment organization and used the reference to poverty alleviation only in a historical sense. He was careful to connect the organization-to-be to the historical Kwam so that it was certain Kwam was still the same group. Volkher and Claudia presented Ma Gora with

some copies of their draft so that she could discuss it with the committee and other mamas. After some amendments Volkher prepared an original document which all the homestay representatives present at a Kwam meeting on 10 June 2014 signed. Then the freshly formalized committee signed a Power of Attorney which confirmed Volkher's position as legal representative of Kwam. On this day the new formal name for Kwam became the *Kwam eMakana Homestay Project* and 34 homestays closed their ranks as the only members of Kwam (See the constitution in Appendix 5).

Without realizing it as such at the time, Volkher's decision to become Kwam's legal representative hugely inflated Kwam's symbolic capital, both with the legal consecration of the constitution and Volkher's capital as lawyer.⁸⁸ After the inception of Kwam with Mrs Balindlela the second most important event on a symbolic level for Kwam was the acceptance of their first constitution, almost exactly ten years after the beginning of Kwam, and fittingly attended by the local DSRAC official, Rev Baxana, and his assistant. Ma Gora had invited him to the occasion after his previous visit and he then expressed his good wishes for Kwam; he told the mamas that they should work hard to make their future work out and take advice from their lawyer. The reverend led the closing prayer and asked for special blessings for the new direction Kwam had taken.

After the meeting the committee decided that they would present their newly signed constitution to Sue that same day, in the afternoon, and to discuss a new way forward. Although unannounced it was not a protest meeting, and this time it would only be the Kwam committee, Volkher and Claudia who would go to MT. Ma Gora was on the way to the MT office with Volkher and Claudia when a committee member phoned her to say that

⁸⁸ As Bourdieu (1989: 22-3) put it: "The legal consecration of symbolic capital confers upon a perspective an absolute, universal value, thus snatching it from a relativity that is by definition inherent in every point of view, as a view taken from a particular point in social space..."

she saw Sue and Otto were having a meeting with the taxis at the office, as if he still was the liaison officer. Ma Gora became very irate, after their discussions and having received the Otto Out vote, she questioned what Sue and Otto were doing there, exactly a week later. The Kwam committee was supposed to deal with the taxis but they did not know about any meeting. Volkher told Ma Gora that he would sort that out and this time he marched into the office first, Claudia and the Kwam committee in tow. Inside Sue and Otto were indeed having the meeting with the taxi drivers to discuss the Kwam operations for Festival. Volkher interrupted the meeting and announced that he was the legal representative of Kwam and according to Kwam's constitution and the previous voting out of Otto as liaison officer, the meeting they were having was totally out of order and Otto should leave immediately. Otto refused but Volkher insisted and after a few to's and fro's Sue said she would talk to Otto later and eventually he got up. The taxi drivers then also got up and started to leave but they were friendly and one of them said on their way out that they would deal with the committee of Kwam, whoever that was. Volkher replied that they would let them know soon about a meeting. The Kwam committee, Volkher and Claudia then sat down at the table which had become vacant and another 'forced' meeting with Sue followed. Together they presented Kwam's position to Sue and gave her a copy of the signed constitution. Sue then asked them what DSRAC would say of it and she was quite surprised when they told her that Rev Baxana had witnessed everything and approved. The committee then questioned Sue why she was having a meeting with the taxis *and* Otto, when she knew about their decision of Otto Out and the signatures of the vote they had shown her. Sue replied that the committee was supposed to meet with Otto to discuss that. The reference to Otto, who was still hovering around the front office, made him come back protesting: "Don't mention my name! Also, please, don't ever mention my name and I've got to say anything here because I was elected!" Even if the mamas shouted him down the argument continued while Otto insisted that he was still part of Kwam. After another round of arguments Otto finally retreated and the rest of the meeting proceeded in a civil manner without any further interference from him. At the end Volkher thanked Sue and promised to send her a memorandum of what they had discussed. Later, that evening he drafted a Memorandum of Agreements and he emailed it to Sue the next day (See Appendix 6).

One of the things they had agreed on with Sue was that she would let Ma Gora know of any upcoming NAF/DSRAC planning meetings for the 2014 Festival and the first one was on the next day, Wednesday 11 June 2014. Every week on a Wednesday for about six weeks from the middle of May right up to the day before Festival, there were two NAF/DSRAC planning meetings. The first meeting was in the morning at the 1820 Settler's Monument, on a hill on the southern outskirts of town, and the second meeting was at the DSRAC offices in town, usually directly after the first leaving no or little time for lunch. Ma Gora told later that she saw Sue there just before the first meeting started but after briefly talking to the chairman Sue left again. Ma Gora also told that the agenda had a point concerning Kwam but it was skipped without explanation and no word was said about Kwam at the meeting. Ma Gora was convinced Sue had something to do with that and afterwards she decided to speak to Mr Chetty (senior official from DSRAC), the chairman of the meeting. After she had told him about the constitution and Otto's demise he then invited her to the second DSRAC meeting later that day and said he would give her an opportunity to speak there. At that meeting Mr Chetty, as promised, invited Ma Gora to tell about the developments in Kwam. Ma Gora was very nervous to do a 'presentation' about Kwam off the top of her head, but she told the meeting that Kwam had a constitution and they would take control of the Operations Budget because the way MT was dealing with it was unclear. She continued that MT would still be the booking office for DSRAC guests and that Kwam would pay 10% for this service as in the past. Otto, who was at that meeting actually officially representing MT as he had become the deputy chairperson on the board of MT, laughed at Ma Gora during her report which hurt her. And after getting to speak himself, Otto told a very long story starting with the beginning of Kwam, including Mrs Balindlela, and of how much he had done for Kwam and that he was elected as liaison officer and was on the data base of Kwam. Otto spoke very long and even if Mr Chetty often tried to cut him short, he just went on again. Ma Gora also told that Otto had launched an attack against Volkher. Insinuating that because Volkher and Claudia did not get the "very expensive" R65 000 quote for doing the Kwam website as they had proposed, they would now try other tricks to go after the money. Otto told the meeting that "Volkher is no lawyer, and no part of Kwam", and he repeated "I remain liaison officer of Kwam, no matter what!" Ma Gora got no chance to reply at that meeting but a

special meeting was scheduled for Friday the 13th to deal with the Otto issue and Ma Gora asked Volkher if he and Claudia would accompany her again. Contrary to Sue's prior indications that she wanted to be rid of Kwam or that Kwam should take over themselves, she sent out confusing SMS and email messages to DSRAC and Ma Gora questioning Kwam's move away from MT. At the same time rumours were doing the rounds, which were said to come from Otto and Sue, that 'a white couple' were taking over Kwam.

By then Volkher did not get a chance to work on the transcriptions of his recordings anymore, never mind writing anything for his thesis (besides keeping a field journal), as preparations for the next step in assisting Kwam ate all his time. Volkher had prepared notes from what they had discussed and he prepared himself for the meeting with information and questions to argue for the things Kwam wanted or which he might need to defend Kwam's position. In the end he had a seven page long 'case sheet' comprehensively listing most of the topics as they had emerged over the four weeks before, ranging from Safarinow to Otto's incompetence and criticism of DSRAC, and from Sue's apparent mismanagement and confusion, to some future plans for Kwam. He printed his notes and he made a few copies of the Kwam constitution. Having mulled over his arguments and all that was happening till late, Volkher and Claudia finally decided to retire for the night. But on the way Volkher had a black-out and hit his head on a stair so that it bled, luckily it was nothing serious and they could stop the bleeding and finally go to sleep. They were convinced the black-out was caused by stress as he did not usually suffer from black-outs.

As had become habit already during the interviews, Volkher and Claudia picked Ma Gora up from her house the next morning and then they drove on to the meeting while discussing it. Ma Gora had phoned the committee members and when they arrived at the DSRAC offices the committee members were already waiting there. Volkher, his head still hurting a bit, and Claudia had dressed in black and white for a more formal appearance but they noted

that the Kwam mamas also dressed up and looked business-like. In fact, from then on the Kwam contingent was always discretely 'dressed-up', unlike some of the other participants at the meetings who were far more casually dressed (such as Sue who often wore a black tracksuit with running shoes). The meeting was Volkher and Claudia's introduction to the government officials of DSRAC who until a few days before were the ultimate 'bosses' of Kwam. Besides the historical link through Mrs Balindlela which still had symbolic value, when it concerned economic capital DSRAC was still the main funder and guest provider. But Kwam had a constitution now as even DSRAC had required that they become formalized. Kwam had taken charge of their own symbolic capital, yet they needed continued funding from DSRAC, and it seemed that at least Sue and Otto were not happy with this new development. Not really knowing what to expect, Volkher anticipated resistance.

At the meeting Otto still introduced himself as the Kwam Liaison Officer. It was then 10 days after having been formally voted out and three days after having been 'thrown out' at the unlawful meeting with the taxis. Volkher introduced himself as advocate and legal representative of Kwam which caused a stir and the chairman, Mr Chetty, asked "why legal representation?" Volkher briefly explained why he became involved including his suspicions of mismanagement. When Otto got a chance to speak he told again about all the things he had done for Kwam, including being "instrumental in registering Kwam as a co-op". He rehashed at length what he always told about Kwam (including calling on Mrs Balindlela – at that meeting he was the first to do so) and eventually he came to the point in his story when Volkher and Claudia did the proposal for the Kwam website and he repeated how "overwhelmingly ridiculously high it was priced at R65 000". Then Otto turned to the Safarinow issue and he explained that he and Sue had "handpicked" Safarinow as a promotional tool for Kwam and he was very shocked when at a Kwam meeting Claudia had told the mamas that they should leave Safarinow because "it was dangerous" (in fact, Claudia had only said that there was a danger with 'instant' bookings but never that they should leave it). Then he continued that it was also during that time that Volkher had

become very close to Ma Gora and he complained that where before Volkher always came to him if he wanted to know anything about Kwam, he then did not see him anymore, and then he turned against him:

Otto: I was trying to be open to him, I said he is welcome to this family of Kwam. I didn't know that this thing will come to me like the head of the snake at the end of the day. Because at the end of the day he did not come and say "let us draw this thing". I think, Mr Chair, it emanated there. This is what I told the meeting: "We want Volkher, but we can't give the money we don't have for the website project". I think it started there. Volkher, every time he wanted to know everything about Kwam, he will come to me. But suddenly it changed, I don't know whether if it's because of that quote for the website, you know ... we didn't actually accept it.

Mr Chetty cut Otto short and asked Volkher and Claudia to explain the website issue. Both in turn explained their quote and that it was certainly not excessive considering what it included, such as 50 individual pages with numerous sub-pages and training for 50 mamas on how to access their website etc., but they concluded that the quote had long since expired and had therefore no relevance at all. Besides, Volkher was appointed as Kwam's lawyer on a *pro amico* basis, so he questioned what the issue was with money then. At this moment Volkher realized that the issue with the website and the 'fight' Otto had had with almost everybody at that meeting last November had indeed been a turning point. The issue with the website at that time was symptomatic of the shift Otto felt in the power struggle between him and Ma Gora. Volkher and Claudia supported Ma Gora's wish for a website; Otto wanted Kwam formalized (as co-ops) to have access to more government funding. From that time on already Otto's perception had changed as he thought Volkher had chosen only Ma Gora's side, even if Volkher had made efforts to remain impartial at that time.

At the meeting it became clear that the SMS and email messages Sue had sent had caused confusion about the status of Kwam and Volkher then presented the Kwam constitution and handed a few copies around. The officials at the meeting had no choice but to recognise the constitution, although they constructively criticized it and said that as it stood it would not

be tight enough for government to accept it so that they could send funds directly to Kwam. Volkher reiterated that the constitution was as plain and simple as it was because it was important that the mamas understood what they had signed and he offered to assist Kwam with an amended constitution to suit government requirements. After that it seemed that some officials, not only Mr Chetty, were not as opposed to the development of Kwam as Volkher had thought. In the beginning of the meeting the officials seemed sympathetic towards Otto but as the meeting progressed they somehow seemed to appreciate the direction Kwam was taking. Although Rev Baxana was also present he did not say anything which was most likely because in the DSRAC hierarchy at that meeting he was the lowest. However, Mr Chetty and other senior officials even commended Kwam that they were on the right path and said that they had to push ahead to get all in order so that government could do business with them, even directly. They told the Kwam committee that they should use their legal advisor to help them to get these things in order, confirming Rev Baxana's previous advice to Kwam. Volkher felt it was as if they were mandating him and giving him instructions to continue, in other words they supported his intervention, and he was doing the right thing.

In the end Mr Chetty announced that the stipend Otto was supposed to get, was to be 'frozen'; that the Kwam Operations Budget would be dealt with by both the Kwam committee and Sue together, but Sue would remain signatory on the account for the time being; and last but certainly not least, that the Kwam mamas would get a starter pack out of the 'left over' money. Mr Chetty repeated that they, as government, respect civil organizations and they would listen to what the committee had decided. Volkher thought Mr Chetty was very diplomatic and it was obvious that he must have grasped that there was something seriously wrong but deftly avoided confrontation throughout.

Afterwards one of the committee members expressed that she was rather unhappy that DSRAC had decided to 'freeze' the liaison officer's stipend because they thought that the

R30 000, as Sue had promised, would come to them. Of course there needed to be made provision for reasonable compensation especially as some of them argued to be poor and that, in fact, they actually could not afford to serve on a committee as the 'honour' costs too much in terms of real expenses (taxi fares, cell phone vouchers etc.). It seemed that some committee members had voted Otto out more to get to the money themselves. Most Otto loyalists also signed the constitution as that was the 'new' thing, a promise for perhaps new ways of making money out of the by then stagnant project. However, Volkher could all the more distinguish between those mamas who were opportunists and those who sincerely wanted to host guests - for both groups it was about making money but the means were different.

Ma Gora was not perturbed by not getting the money, she wanted progress of the project, and she excitedly expressed that she felt things were moving. Kwam tasted their first real victory albeit only partial, and the fact was, Kwam was again recognized by the provincial government for whom and what they were, but there were procedures. Volkher realized that had it not been for their intervention the meeting would not even have taken place, he could also not fathom how the mamas would have fared on their own to keep their position against Otto and Sue. Volkher concluded on another level that what Kwam actually needed at that stage was someone who would stand up against Otto's domination, and he had done so. Volkher was satisfied that they had done the right thing, although he was not quite sure where his research was going. He had set out to investigate hospitality and just when he thought he was almost done, the research drew him into the development 'machine' which Kwam actually was. Although a thorough understanding of hospitality was absolutely necessary to be in a position to properly apply the knowledge, the hospitality theme from then on became borderline to the pressing issues of the development of the project. Over the weekend Volkher and Claudia scarcely did anything else than reflect on the special meeting of Friday. They went over and over the various statements and again scrutinized the printed financial report Sue had given to the mamas. When Volkher spoke to Ma Gora again she said that she had also scrutinized the report and using a calculator discovered multiple calculation errors. Volkher's suspicion grew that Sue and Otto did not handle

financial matters correctly and he was trying to decipher a pattern. The fact remained that in 2013, R71 000 out of the R150 000 Kwam Operations Budget (almost half of it), was spent on MT staff (in particular on Otto, Sue and Welekazi) while the Kwam mamas earned pittance over Festival.

The memorandum of 10 June also reflects the first time Kwam, or then Volkher, officially and in writing requested the financial reports from Sue. When they had asked for the reports at the meeting Sue said the reports were at the auditors as it was their financial year-end just then. During the time leading up to Festival Volkher felt like Sue was deliberately keeping him busy as she continued to sow confusion wherever she could. Later Volkher suspected that it has been her tactic to divert attention from the financial reports. One of these confusing things which kept Volkher busy and wasted his time was an indemnity contract she wanted the taxis and Kwam to sign. Sue claimed MT's lawyers had drafted the contract and insisted that it be signed before Festival. Volkher studied the contract and dismissed it as completely inapplicable (and a waste of time): neither the taxis nor Kwam were in any employer-employee relationship which was the basis on which the contract relied. Instead, Volkher suggested that they draw disclaimer notices, have these printed and laminated and distributed to the homestays because that should suffice to indemnify whomever. Sue agreed without any counter argument and even offered to print and laminate the forms at a nominal fee, but then she kept postponing doing it and the delays became very frustrating as Festival came closer. Volkher was convinced she was dragging her feet on purpose with anything he (or Kwam) asked.

It's a sign!

As another support gesture from the municipality a huge billboard was erected during May 2014 on the side of the northern entrance road to Grahamstown. Thembinkosi had announced the billboard already in 2013, at the same meetings where the co-ops were discussed. In the same manner as with the appointment of Mr George for the co-ops, the Kwam mamas were presented with it; they had no part in actually deciding if that was what they wanted and if they wanted it, or what it should look like. Volkher and Claudia noticed the newly erected billboard on their way to Ma Gora just as they were starting with the interviews. When they told her about it and then took her to see it, she was appalled and shocked. There was a map and a list numbered from 1 to 55. The names of four mamas who had died already before 2011 were still listed there, 4 others were not doing homestays anymore, the number 24 was just open, two names on the board were never Kwam members, the phone numbers were wrong and points on the map were incorrect.



Figure 43 Kwam billboard May 2014



Figure 44 Detail of the Kwam billboard

Instead of contributing symbolic capital in reality it was a disaster, giving false information to possible guests. Later Ma Gora told Volkher that she had asked Otto about the billboard but Otto denied having had anything to do with it – “it was Thembinkosi”. Otto had told Volkher that he had also tendered to do the job but Thembinkosi refused his tender as he said it would have been a clash of interest because of Otto’s position (in both Kwam and MT). Thembinkosi awarded the tender to a service provider rumoured to have been a friend of his, and when he then asked Otto to help with the numbers and details (as was actually his duty out of both his positions), Otto simply refused and said he did not do things for free. When Otto saw the board he was as appalled as Ma Gora about the mistakes and they agreed that the board was shoddily made on top of it. Volkher compared the billboard to the boards of the road signs on the N2 and it was almost as big as those but with a flimsy support structure. Volkher told Otto that he had seen the big boards on the N2 being blown over when a big storm came, even if they had thick poles, and he said to Otto “I want to see what a big storm does to this one!”

A month later, in the afternoon of Sunday 15 June 2014, Volkher decided to write to the Municipality and he drafted an acerbic letter about how the board came about, demanding that “the billboard has to go – it is a disgrace!” At exactly the same time a wind storm ripped the billboard to pieces. When Volkher saw it the next day he was astounded, he had predicted it but he could not believe the timing, “It is a sign!” Or rather, it *was* a sign!



Figure 45 The Kwam billboard on the morning of 16 June 2014

Festival 2014

Run up to Festival

Volkher and Claudia would accompany the Kwam Committee to the NAF/DSRAC meetings as they had been asked again; besides that they felt themselves so far drawn in and they wanted to help Kwam. At these meetings, which were mostly also opened and closed with a prayer, the name Nosimo Balindlela as the Kwam mantra was invoked too. Volkher and Claudia introduced themselves as friends of Kwam because Volkher wanted to steer away

from his image as lawyer, and they deliberately wanted to come across less confrontational. After the special DSRAC meeting Volkher advised the Kwam committee to abolish the position of liaison officer altogether to avoid any misunderstandings and he prepared the letter confirming this, supported by minutes of the meetings where Otto's fate was concluded and a copy of the signed vote. Ma Gora had distributed copies of this letter to Sue and Thembinkosi and Volkher had given Mr Chetty a copy of it. Mr Chetty accepted the letter and confirmed again that DSRAC respected the committee's decision. With that they thought Otto had been dealt with. Thus there was no need to antagonize NAF or DSRAC, and quite on the contrary, Volkher and Claudia made an effort to show DSRAC that Kwam, under the leadership of Ma Gora, could stand up for themselves. Kwam still needed support but this help was on a level with which the mamas in their daily operations did not deal with. Even if Ma Gora was the best educated of the group, she had not yet mastered the language spoken and written at government meetings. What made it worse was that it seemed the written word was for many government officials nothing more than lip service anyway, either because they could not or did not want to read, as it became evident that most of the reports handed up at these meetings seemed to remain unread.

As decided at the special DSRAC meeting, Kwam and MT (or then Sue), would work out the Kwam Operations Budget together and most importantly for the mamas, the starter pack. The budget planning meeting with Sue was such a turn-around as she was as co-operative as one could only wish for and subsequently the budget was sorted also with the taxis and cadets, besides all the other things. They agreed that out of the left-over money, which was estimated at over R40 000, a R1000 starter pack will be paid out to each mama (totalling R34 000) and R6000 will be paid into an account to be opened for Kwam to cover 'petty cash' (cell phone vouchers, taxi fare etc.) for the Kwam committee during Festival. Volkher and Claudia went along with the Kwam committee to open a bank account for Kwam and it would be the first time money from the budget would come straight to both the mamas and their organization, thus their victory started to materialize with real benefits. At that stage Volkher had not learned yet that the old starter pack which involved R500, had actually

been a cash loan which the mamas paid back after Festival. Volkher and Claudia thought that the R1000 starter pack (as 'gift' then), would really mean something for the mamas to compensate for their expenses of getting ready and their general unhappiness. However, the mamas were not considering how they could use the money for the development of their project; they wanted to share the 'left over' money among themselves - but that would still be better than the money landing with MT. In the same vein Isbell (2013: 145) noted, like with the starter pack here, how with the model development project of Vicos, when an amount of US\$1m was paid as compensation after successful collective legal action against a mining company, the "community voted that the funds were to be dispersed in three payments to all households". The community decided this while at the time various public or community works and projects were in dire need of funding. But taking into account that the recipients were considered 'poor' or 'peasant' this behaviour concerning a limited good is not surprising. When it came to any money which could be used for the advancement of common benefit, such as internet marketing or upgrading their booking office, even the Kwam mamas rather had the money dispersed among them. This 'take what you can get' attitude was also reflected by the opportunistic committee member who had suggested the same thing with splitting the liaison officer's stipend between her and Ma Gora or the committee members wanting the R30 000 to be shared.

Booklet

The 2014 Festival Programme highlighted the fact that 2014 was a year of anniversaries: NAF turned 40 years old, Standard Bank had been involved with NAF for 30 years and the 'new' South African democracy was 20 years old. Volkher then thought that the picture would be completed with a celebration of 10 years of Kwam – Kwam was after all a 'product' of the Festival and this way Kwam could be promoted. Ma Gora asked at a meeting if NAF/DSRAC could support Kwam with their 10th anniversary. Mr Mqhayi (a DSRAC official a rank below Mr Chetty) first apologized if it appeared as if they had

forgotten about it, and then said if there was anything they could do they would consider it. He suggested that perhaps they should get a commemoration booklet reflecting 10 years of Kwam and Mr Chetty immediately added that it was a great idea - if it was humanly possible to do before Festival. Volkher knew Claudia loves challenges like that and he could see that she too thought that since they had so much footage and some text it could indeed be possible (as if they did not have enough to do before Festival as it was.) Then at the second meeting that day Claudia asked about the booklet again, as she had discussed it with Volkher and the committee in the meantime and she was convinced she could do something. Claudia was invited to deal directly with the DSRAC officials as they seemed to really support the idea too. Within a few days, while Volkher and Claudia also prepared a progress report for Kwam which DSRAC had requested, they made a dummy copy of the booklet and then presented it to the mamas for approval. They approached DSRAC to get it printed, but now the officials, who before had encouraged the booklet, said there was no money and to get some it required lengthy procedures. This felt like having been led up the garden path, but then Claudia suggested that they use money from the Operations Budget for the printing which was originally set aside for 'contingencies', and this was approved by the officials (See Booklet in Appendix 7).

Final run before Festival

Having asked to help with the inspections in 2013, with the inspections of 2014 Volkher was asked to help by Rev Baxana from DSRAC. Although Rev Baxana 'directed' the inspections which they rapidly completed within two sessions of visits over two days, Volkher was the only one making notes and could in the end again compile an updated Kwam membership list detailing each home's facilities. When he presented these lists again to MT and spoke to Welekazi about them she said that she could not use them because she did not understand them; she had never used the previous lists of 2013. Volkher wondered why Sue had made such a point of thanking him twice for them. On the other side though, the mamas seemed

to really appreciate Volkher and Claudia's efforts as he noticed during the inspections that many mamas had hung their photo montage picture next to their family pictures and the framed certificates in their lounges or dining rooms. Even in 2015 when he visited Kwam homes he would see the montages still hanging there which confirmed that their gift had real value for the mamas and they proudly displayed it.

All along Volkher and Claudia helped with what they thought would ensure that more guests come to Kwam and the indications at the meetings were that there would be again substantial numbers of guests. Then, at the end of the very last NAF/DSRAC meeting before Festival Mr Mqhayi curtly answered a Kwam mama who had asked about these guests particularly for the opening day: "Because things have changed, there will be no guests". This simple announcement was an enormous setback for all their efforts before and for Kwam it contradicted the commitment DSRAC had pronounced at almost every meeting they had to sit through. It was also too late to try and market Kwam elsewhere, even with another internet booking agency. They had all along thought that DSRAC had, so to say, booked Kwam out for Festival and thus they did not take other bookings – even if they could have done so as there had been enquiries. Yet at the press conference and the opening ceremony of the Festival, high ranking officials claimed "Kwam is full" and repeated their support to the 'success story' they stated Kwam was. The Kwam mamas, especially Ma Gora, felt embarrassed and humiliated by this, besides that this seemingly positive comment, that Kwam was full, would deter any guests still seeking accommodation, it was a double blow then. Volkher recalled that rather oddly Sue had asked at one of the meetings before "What if there are going to be no guests?" MT was still the booking office for Kwam and it seemed as if Sue knew something but did not tell.

Festival Evaluation

For some unknown reason a delegation of three women officials from DSRAC ‘demanded’ an extra inspection of Ma Gora’s house in the afternoon of the opening day of Festival. This was on top of the inspections with the reverend from the same department, as if his inspections did not count or they did not believe him. Ma Gora told Volkher that the women left without complaints, but she felt very uneasy because she was even nervous when the reverend and Volkher inspected her house the day before. For Ma Gora everything became too much. When Volkher phoned Ma Gora in the evening on the 3rd July, the first day of Festival, she was very depressed and she told him that she wanted to resign. There was a humiliating factor to this extra inspection, but Volkher could not yet figure out the motive, coming from DSRAC. Ma Gora also said that she felt it was only her and the one constant committee member who really worked, the other two did not do anything. She said she would tell him later about more stories with DSRAC officials and Makana Tourism, but it was all just getting too much for her, she was tired. Volkher tried to encourage her not to give up and he pleaded with her to stay on. He invited Ma Gora and the committee to visit him and Claudia on the farm so that they could talk and for them just to get out a bit. Ma Gora gladly accepted and said she and the constant committee member would come the next day.

On the 4th of July Ma Gora and the constant committee visited Volkher and Claudia, and over some drinks and snacks they rehashed at length what had happened. When Volkher told them that he wakes up in the middle of the night thinking of Kwam, the Kwam mamas said they had difficulty sleeping too because all the things kept spinning in their heads, they were repetitively asking “what has Kwam done wrong?” When they left Ma Gora said she was feeling much better. That evening Volkher and Claudia decided to write to Mr Chetty as they thought DSRAC had to know these things:

Dear Mr Chetty

It is with great concern that we write to you as friends of Kwam.

As you know the business of Kwam is hospitality – the Kwam hostesses are wanting to host guests for money. It is from the payments by/for the guests alone that the Kwam hostesses make their money.

Although no confirmation of numbers of guests was given by anyone from DSRAC, all indications at several NAF/DSRAC meetings were that there will be more guests this year than last year. And then at the very last meeting on 2 July a committee member asked about the guests for the opening ceremony and Mr Mqhayi answered that since things have changed there will be no guests. Kwam was/is shocked.

Mrs Gora and a committee member visited us today and expressed their embarrassment and disappointment about what had happened and the following issues arose on which we all wish to have clarity:

1. Kwam was committed to DSRAC guests and therefore took no other bookings and turned many potential guests away, which could otherwise have filled them up – the business of Kwam this year seems to be disappointing again.
2. Why would DSRAC spend R150 000 knowing that there would be no guests? As it is at the moment, the taxis and cadets are being paid for doing nothing because deals were made with them on the basis of the indications that DSRAC will send many guests. Is there any connection between this issue and the point raised by Ms Waugh at a NAF meeting last week: “what if there are no guests?”, and if she already knew, why was this information never passed on to Kwam?
3. The taxis promised to commit themselves to Kwam guests in exchange for guaranteed pay – not as last year where Makana Tourism cancelled half of them. Besides that it turned out that the taxis were ‘duplicated’ on the opening day (the taxis DSRAC organized were the same as the ‘Kwam’ taxis) it is now expected that Kwam renegotiate with them. But the Kwam ladies feel it is unfair to expect of them to deal with these ‘wolves’ (as they call them) while there is nothing at all in it for Kwam.
4. Why would top-ranking officials at both the press conference and the opening ceremony refer to Kwam as being busy and full, when in fact Kwam is empty? The Kwam committee was invited to both these occasions but felt embarrassed and humiliated afterwards. However, this seemingly positive but false statement also prevents other guests still looking for accommodation to approach Kwam.
5. Why was Kwam encouraged by DSRAC and told they are ‘on the right way’ if suddenly they are left without guests? They ask themselves what did Kwam do wrong?

We received information that about 70 guests from Wordfest will come for which Kwam is very grateful but ultimately the income from these will barely cover costs. We are trying our best to get other guests to Kwam via the internet but that may only bear fruit next weekend. If there is anything else we can do to help Kwam we will surely consider it.

We believe the seriousness of our concern is clear and we would really appreciate it if you could share your thoughts on this or cast light where it looks gloomy.

Looking forward to your advice

Many regards

Volkher and Claudia

Mr Chetty immediately responded, thanked them for bringing the matter to his attention and asked if they could meet the next day at 13:00 at Makana Tourism, he also requested per forwarded email that Mr Mqhayi, Sue and the Kwam committee be present. Volkher arranged with Ma Gora, and Claudia would go alone because he had to look after his art exhibition that day. In the end there were Mr Chetty, the Kwam committee, Claudia and Sue at the meeting. Claudia reported that Mr Chetty had been as diplomatic as he usually was and avoided any conflict: she was confident that they had reached some conclusions. Mr Chetty sent his summary of the meeting on Sunday morning:

Good Morning Dr Claudia

I trust you are well!

Thank you for giving me an opportunity to meet with the Kwam E' Makana Committee yesterday to discuss the issues raised in your e-mail message below.

I am glad that we have amicably agreed on the following:

1. There have been problems that arose associated with the former liaison officer of Kwam. These have impacted on Kwam's ability to exert itself in the hospitality sector for the 2014 Festival.
2. DSRAC artists and performers are booked in under the Dakawa Jazz and WordFest Programmes for this festival.
3. The Kwam E' Makana Committee must not only rely on DSRAC to make bookings for artists. DSRAC has created an enabling environment for the homestays to grow. Other external sources for accommodation publicity and promotion must be used such as safarinow.com
4. For the future, all artists brought in to the Festival and being paid for by Provincial Government will be advised that they will be accommodated at the Kwam E' Makana Homestays.

Trusting that the above will help the project move forward.

Regards

Pragasen Chetty

Manager: Visual Arts and Craft

Eastern Cape

This email settled the issues for the time being and the rest of Festival was uneventful which gave Volkher and Claudia a little time to reflect about their experiences again. They appreciated the opportunity to have had a glimpse into the huge machine the NAF was and the large scale of the organization of such an event. Actually Kwam was one of the really minor issues NAF/DSRAC had to deal with - out of a total DSRAC Festival grant of about R3,5 million for NAF, the Kwam budget was only R150 000. It was clear that it was only because of Volkher's and Claudia's intervention that Kwam had become prominent on agendas and was talked about but they had no idea where all this would lead to.

Festival for the mamas and their guests

The mamas reported their experiences of Festival to the committee and they discussed these at the Kwam evaluation meeting on 18 July. Many mamas expressed their disappointment to Ma Gora and even to the local newspaper, Grocott's Mail, which featured an article headed "Homestays fading", describing the frustration the mamas experienced and some of the conflicts with MT (See Appendix 8). For the majority of mamas Festival 2014 was the worst ever in terms of what they had earned, but again there were only a handful of guest complaints and difficulties.

A committee member told of a rumour of a guest complaint about getting just one sausage and one egg for breakfast. The mamas were agitated that someone would spread such a malicious rumour, because the mamas pride themselves in their offering of especially their English breakfast. Nevertheless, the committee member stressed that the mamas must make sure that what they provided was up to standard and that it was what the guests wanted. The mamas all agreed that guests have to get what they want and “if it is an English breakfast it is two eggs and two sausages”, repeating it in a classroom fashion.

Then a Kwam mama told that while she had been at MT she heard how Sue told visitors to Festival who came to her office desperately looking for accommodation that “sorry, Grahamstown is full”, and she sent the guests on to Kenton-on-Sea or Port Alfred. They could not afford to pay R2500 per person per night in a luxury game farm outside Grahamstown which was apparently the only available accommodation (and in Port Alfred they then paid R900 per person per night in a boutique hotel because it was getting late). All the time Sue knew there was lots of affordable space with Kwam – Makana Tourism was the booking office after all! The mamas suspected that because the visitors were a white family Sue did not want to send them to Kwam because “she is a racist”. Volkher and Claudia knew that it was standard practice for the GHG only to refer guests to Guild members or to recommended upmarket facilities in neighbouring towns, but not to Kwam. The Grocott’s Mail for the week after Festival carried an article titled “East, West, Fest Feud”, which clearly underwrites the racial segregation of Grahamstown still in 2014, and it claimed that Festival exposed the divisions between Grahamstown East and West even more. One could question why the local tourism authority has not done more to redress this by, for instance, really advancing Kwam’s development and one could also assume that the authority responsible for claiming “Grahamstown is full” or “Kwam is full” is Makana Tourism - who else would be asked such a question or then make such a statement?

Another story was about a young woman (“a girl”), a DSRAC guest for Wordfest, who wanted to sleep in the same homestay as a friend, but there was no free bed, however she decided to share a double bed, which was actually against the rules of DSRAC. First she wanted to share a bed at Ma Gora’s house, which Ma Gora accepted as to do her a favour, but later she changed her mind and simply went to a neighbouring homestay to share a bed with another friend. The next day rumours were that she had to sleep there on the floor because Ma Gora had refused take her in. This story caused a lot of trouble, even with a DSRAC official who ended up having an argument on the phone with Ma Gora. Still later that day, when Ma Gora saw Welekazi at the tourism office, she asked Ma Gora to phone that official and apologize to her. Of course Ma Gora refused but wondered what had Welekazi to do with it, why did the official discuss the matter with Welekazi? At the Kwam evaluation meeting the other mamas each confirmed their part of the story, and also questioned Welekazi’s role. Features of this story were remarkably similar to what Otto had told Volkher before about officials making up stories to get promoted because they had then ‘solved’ the crisis.

A committee member then explained how she saw the so-called “three legs story” of the Operations Budget which Sue had confronted them with again (the “three legs of Kwam” had always been one of Otto’s favourite expressions). The mama said that the three legs were the taxis, cadets and Makana Tourism, “Kwam is the pot on top but while the three legs are in the fire the pot is empty, dry! How do you feel about this?” Many mamas replied at once expressing their dissatisfaction and anger. “Why were Makana Tourism, the taxis and the cadets getting something from the budget when the money was intended to benefit Kwam?” The mamas again questioned what the office actually did, and specifically what Welekazi did. The mood at the meeting reflected the general unhappiness, as Ma Gora summed it up towards the end: “We feel very bad and uncomfortable, we are embarrassed”. Volkher and Claudia had discussed the possibility that the mamas could as well blame them for the worst Festival ever, because they were partially responsible that

things have changed, but a committee member addressed the mama's confusion and disappointment, and it did not include them:

We can sit here the whole day and talk about this, Tourism, DSRAC, what did they do to us? But now the questions are: what are we going to do to help ourselves? What can we do to be better? What are the complaints we get from *us*? Now, we must also ask the question why do the guests go out to Kenton? What are we doing wrong in Kwam eMakana? [Then pointing to Volkher and Claudia] But these people work very hard for us! They talk about things and they research things for us to help us get away from DSRAC and that Makana Tourism! So mamas, we must work hard. We must try our best to do better!

In the end a Kwam mama praised "our *gwetha* [lawyer] and *u-mama*", and yet another mama thanked Volkher and Claudia and pleaded "you must never leave us until you see we are in a proper way, you are *mama* and *tata* of Kwam!" And then all the mamas applauded. Quite contrary to their fears that they could have been blamed, Volkher and Claudia suddenly realized that the mamas had accepted them and awarded them with a position of respect and authority within Kwam. While Volkher was still struggling to make sense of the extent of applied anthropology and where all this was taking them, the Kwam mamas seemed to have developed a deeper trust in them. They realized their value as 'white' friends and besides being Kwam's lawyer, Volkher was asked for legal advice by some mamas even about their private affairs, he did all the driving in his car for the inspections and with Claudia they did all the writing, designing, and printing such as with the constitution, letters, the booklet and the reports. They did these things to help Kwam without anticipating or wanting to become the patrons of Kwam. They realized it would bring responsibilities too.

Wolves, Taxis

The taxi drivers broke the deal brokered with them before Festival but nevertheless, without the knowledge or consent of the Kwam committee, Sue paid them in full three days

before Festival was over. Volkher, Claudia and the Kwam committee only learned about this payment after they had tried to renegotiate with the taxis at the evaluation meeting, and it was obvious that they were not interested. When Volkher pressured Sue for a reason why she had paid them, knowing that they were in breach of their agreement, she at first said that Ma Gora had told her to do so. Ma Gora vehemently denied any knowledge of this and when Volkher continued to question Sue, she seemed to give up with saying “Okay, I’m sorry, I’ll take responsibility”. Volkher wondered what that meant but he left it there, the damage was done. The wolves had eaten.

Volkher and Claudia also pointed out that the taxis were excessively over-paid in relation to the few guests they had to transport. The payments were not market-related and it seemed unfair that the taxis, who have no extra expenses or inconveniences as such, got paid a fixed or guaranteed rate whereas the mamas, who had extra expenses and a lot of preparation work, were paid according to the number of guests DSRAC did send in the end.

Budget payments

Leaving the discrepancies they had found with the budget aside, the Kwam contingent could again conclude the budget payment schedule in collaboration with Sue, in terms of which she would pay R20 000 immediately over to the Kwam account so that they have money for compensating the committee members and also for marketing, and a basic website (a new idea at the time). As there were some other smaller payments still to be made they agreed with Sue that the remainder in the account would be paid over to Kwam once all pay-outs were done.

Volkher and Claudia noticed as Ma Gora's position was seemingly getting stronger and stronger there were developments with the committee members too – others also had ambition as the opportunistic committee member had shown. After their meeting with Sue the Kwam committee had a discussion about 'reasonable compensation' for themselves for the work they had done for Festival. At first a committee member said that they should perhaps "not involve our lawyer in this". As Volkher, and most of the time Claudia too, attended almost all the committee and general meetings he thought that it was a strange remark after all the trust they had shown in him, but he said he was there to give them advice not to make their decisions. Ma Gora said "okay, let's discuss it" and she continued that she wanted to buy a smart-phone to handle internet bookings quickly, and that was why she wanted R4 000. The others then said they wanted R2 000 each. Volkher explained that they had to be very careful with the money in the Kwam account and that there were still many things they would need to pay for, like for their website which was already half paid and in progress at that time, and other advertising and communication costs in the future. The only other money that they could hope for before the next Festival was what was left after Sue had finished with the pay-outs – and that was a very uncertain matter! (Volkher and Claudia estimated the remainder at not less than R10 000). Volkher left the committee meeting for another appointment before the committee reached a decision about their compensation, but later Ma Gora told him that they had "a fight" about the money after he had left. In the end they settled on an amount of R4000 for her and R1500 for each of the other three. The constant committee member told Ma Gora afterwards that she was still not happy because the other two committee members did not do anything, it had been only her and Ma Gora who really worked during Festival. But Ma Gora said she must let them be. She told Volkher that she would like to get other committee members but she would leave it like that for then. Volkher advised her that others could be voted in when they accept their amended constitution.

Before Festival they had attended endless meetings with NAF and DSRAC and prepared all the required reports in the hope to secure guests for the mamas, which was after all their business and source of income. Putting aside what Kwam (and Volkher and Claudia) had learned and the insights they had gained, and the recognition Kwam finally got at these meetings, they felt that they had failed in their goal. If they had known from the beginning that the only guests Kwam would get from DSRAC were a total of 135 guests they would not have wasted their time (business time) attending endless meetings and writing reports. They would have used that time to market Kwam and fill up the gaps around the DSRAC bookings. Kwam and MT were under the impression that the Operations Budget committed Kwam to DSRAC guests exclusively though it was mostly spent on taxis and the administration by MT, and not on development or marketing of Kwam. This misunderstanding was only cleared with Mr Chetty at the meeting on 5 July, but Festival was already underway then. The budget had actually become a millstone around Kwam's neck and thus negative economic capital.

Progress

Kwam website

During Festival Volkher and Claudia were acutely aware that the most important marketing tool, a website for Kwam, was still just a dream. If they wanted to help Kwam they had to help Kwam to get a website and perhaps re-consider how they would approach doing it. They had so many photos and could work on some text and then they concluded that a very basic website should be possible for them to create as long as the costs for a webmaster were covered. The money for the website could easily come out of the R20 000 which Sue still had to transfer. This proposed website would be a far cry from what Volkher and Claudia had envisaged with their proposal the year before. For instance, they had proposed a website with at least one individualized page per homestay, including texts and

photos/videos, besides all the general information pages ('home', 'about us', 'contacts', 'maps', etc.), and training for 50 mamas. The simplified website would be a website with about eight pages in total, thus a general overview contained in the conventional sub-pages. At the Kwam evaluation meeting on 18 July Claudia made a short presentation about a possible simplified website for Kwam which she said she could set up with a webmaster for R5 500. The mamas applauded and encouraged Claudia to go ahead. Even if most of the mamas were computer illiterate and some had no idea what even a website was, now that it was possible to have such a thing they wanted it and for them it mattered little according to which proposal it should happen.

While Volkher and Claudia worked on the report for the NAF/DSRAC Evaluation meeting they were choosing photos and writing the text for the Kwam website. It was not possible to show all the mamas what it would look like, but Claudia showed it to Ma Gora on her laptop and they went together to the webmaster to arrange the final touches. On 9 September the Kwam website went live and Volkher encouraged the mamas to visit Ma Gora and have a look at their website once she has internet.

Second constitution

As Volkher had promised to help Kwam amend their constitution so that government could do business with them, he investigated the registration possibilities for Kwam as a Non-profit organization (NPO). Kwam could register as a NPO with the Department of Social Development (DSD) which has a director of NPO's who oversees that the registered NPO's maintain a level of transparency and accountability through a series of prescribed annual reports. The DSD website also featured a model constitution and Volkher used this model to amend Kwam's constitution and he downloaded the application forms. Again he simplified

even the model constitution and aligned it with what he thought best reflected Kwam. Besides all the prescribed stipulations concerning the entity, management and membership he moved the aims and objectives away from any involvement with MT or DSRAC (or poverty) to ensure that more possibilities for Kwam stayed open. So that in section 2 concerning 'objectives' it stated:

(a) The organisation's main objectives are to **support, promote and empower women who provide commercial hospitality in their homes and to enable them to grow their businesses.**

(b) The organisation's secondary objectives will be to **market and advertise Kwam and to administer bookings with Kwam including follow-up action where needed.**

At the Kwam meeting on 26 August 2014 Volkher and Ma Gora presented the new constitution to the mamas. Volkher had made copies of the amended constitution so that each mama could take it home and have her family look at it and maybe explain or question things. At that time there was no urgency as there had been with the first constitution, and instead of the previous two page document this constitution spanned six pages, thus a lot more to explain. Ma Gora went through the constitution point for point, translating most of it into isiXhosa as she went along. Concerning the exclusion of MT the mamas asked Volkher how far MT would still be involved with Kwam. Volkher explained that Kwam became independent of Makana Tourism with their first constitution on 10 June. Once registered Kwam would henceforth deal directly with DSRAC and/or any other guests and all monies involved would go straight to the Kwam account. He sensed that there was still a feeling of uncertainty or disbelief among the mamas – were they really 'allowed' to do that? Volkher suspected that this was again an expression of the lingering symptoms of having been oppressed and helpless, they did not know their rights or, if they knew them, did not know how to go about enforcing them. And how far could they really trust Volkher and Claudia?

The next Kwam meeting on 8 September 2014 started as usual, with hymn and prayer but very late. Volkher had printed out an attendance register and an original copy of the

amended constitution (See in Appendix 9). Although the mamas seemed far more interested in the arrangements for their 10th anniversary celebration which would be in a few days time, all the mamas there agreed that they were happy with the new constitution and the committee signed it. Volkher was convinced that this constitution would be accepted by the DSD. Now they could finalize the application for registration and if all went well Kwam was to be a registered NPO before the year was out.

Kwam booking office

In the industry most guests nowadays are booked via email or phone, and to take bookings is a work which can easily and cost effectively be done from home as long as there is phone and internet access. Thus Volkher and Claudia suggested that Ma Gora could do the bookings from her home and at the Kwam meeting on 26 August 2014 the mamas discussed and approved their new booking 'office' at Ma Gora's house. They had budgeted for the internet installation and the necessary data bundles to be paid from the Kwam account. Earlier in August Claudia had given Ma Gora a small laptop so that she could start practising to work with it. Volkher and Claudia also accompanied Ma Gora to arrange with a local supplier for an internet installation at her house. Ma Gora kept practicing on the laptop and regularly contacted the internet supplier who first had to make a few other arrangements to get internet reception at Ma Gora's house as there was no general internet coverage for the township area. Ma Gora's internet connection only came about on 18 September, after the Kwam website went live and a week after the Kwam party. Ma Gora's house was one of the first homes in Joza to have a private internet connection and on the outside of the house the only evidence of this was the small reception unit which was mounted on the highest spot an outside wall could offer. Although this was a crucial development for Kwam, and at the same time for Ma Gora personally, it was met with the 'usual' jealousy. This became very clear when some mamas later questioned why the booking office should be at Ma Gora's house (without suggesting another place); they even accused Ma Gora and her family

of unduly benefitting, forgetting that the most expensive part, the laptop, was a private gift from Claudia to Ma Gora. Claudia's intent was to help her friend so that she could help Kwam. It would take some time before some of the mamas accepted Ma Gora's improvements because it still took a while to conclude the first bookings, but as the bookings increased the mamas could also share in the benefits of having a Kwam booking office.

The Kwam party

Before Festival a mama had suggested at a meeting they have a party for their 10th anniversary after Festival sometime, and they should then invite Mrs Balindlela. That was at a time with high hopes for at least a better season than the year before. So it was a surprise for Volkher and Claudia when the Kwam mamas decided on the Kwam evaluation meeting after Festival that, after all, they would have their 10th anniversary celebration and on the 12th of September. Volkher thought that after the disappointing Festival the mamas would not have money and they would have lost the drive for such a party but they financed the party themselves by collecting a contribution of R150 each. All along the mamas had speculated whom to invite and even joked to invite Otto, which Ma Gora did in the end as she invited all of the staff of MT. Except for Mrs Balindlela, they decided to invite only locals, not people from Bhisho, Port Elizabeth or elsewhere. Ma Gora was expecting around 50 people and the mamas decided that they would use their general meeting place, the Duna Library Hall, for the event.

The mamas also decided that Volkher and Claudia should be traditionally dressed. When Volkher asked Ma Gora what the mamas meant with the traditional dress, she said "I don't want to tell the surprise, but it is because of *mama* and *tata*". However, the next week Ma

Gora invited them to her house and she showed them a traditional dress she was sewing. She asked Claudia to fit it and she measured the difference. She also demonstrated the wrap around the waist and the wrap of the headdress. Volkher asked what the men wear and Ma Gora said they wear “*dashida* tops⁸⁹ and maybe jeans, but Kwam is going to make a *dashida* for you”. Ma Gora indicated that the dress and top should be ready by the time of the meeting on the 8th September 2014, a few days before the party.

The mamas decided on a menu with fish for starters, and a main course with two meats (chicken and beef), rice, potatoes and veggies, and a granadilla pudding for dessert. Because there were quite a few mamas who also did catering, they would take care of the food preparation and cooking. The rest to be organized, such as tables and chairs, cutlery, crockery, decorations, drinks, champagne glasses, entertainment and the writing of invitations, ended with Ma Gora telling Volkher that he would be the master of ceremonies (MC). The mamas also delegated the making of the fish starter to Volkher and Claudia and provided a R300 budget for the ingredients out of the money (R4 800) they had collected from the mamas. Also from this money Ma Gora received R1 500 to make the clothes for Volkher and Claudia and besides the printing of the invitations, the rest of the money was budgeted for the main course, dessert, sparkling wine and cold drinks. Ma Gora went around to MT, Grocott’s Mail, the municipality and DSRAC and personally handed out the invitations she had designed and printed.

From the people they had invited and who came were Sue, Welekazi and a clerk from MT, two journalists from Grocott’s Mail, Mr Makkink and a group of four with Rev Baxana from the local DSRAC office. As MC Volkher opened the party by asking Rev Baxana to do the

⁸⁹ Dashida tops are ‘traditional’ African shirts made of colourful printed material and usually boldly embroidered around the neck, down the front and around the ends of the sleeves.

opening prayer. After the prayer and the usual round of thanks to the reverend, the special guests and everybody for coming, Volkher said:

To start our programme, I wish to start with the beginning and that is, as we all know, with Mama Nosimo Balindlela. Mama Nosimo phoned me on Wednesday and apologized that she would not be able to come. But Mama Nosimo was very excited to hear about Kwam's developments and the Kwam website and she promised to spread the word. In the end Mama Nosimo said, in her own words: "but remember, sweetheart, I'm always with you!"

Enkosi [thank you] Mama Nosimo Balindlela!

The mamas applauded loudly and Volkher felt it was an honour to have relayed the message from Mrs Balindlela, he was well aware of the symbolic value of that at the time. Next he introduced a group of a cappella singers called the Equilibrium Singers⁹⁰ and while they sang the starters and cold drinks were served. Ma Gora had asked Claudia to make a speech and so Volkher introduced Claudia and in her address she confirmed that Kwam had become independent and that the most important thing for them was that they had to get more guests – thus marketing! And that was where their website came in and Claudia announced that the Kwam website had gone live just a few days before. It was a pity they could not show it to the mamas as even the library next door had difficulty with the internet that day. Volkher and Claudia had also designed and printed bright red flyers with the web address and contact details of Kwam on them and asked the mamas to distribute them so that many people could look at their website, as the new website needed traffic. Claudia concluded that "actually Kwam is the biggest single hospitality provider in town, no hotel in Grahamstown has a 100 rooms!" When the applause subsided, the Kwam mamas started to sing and dance and then they all moved onto the stage while singing and dancing and ululating. Next Volkher introduced Ma Nonyati who would perform a 'poem'. Ma Nonyati was over 70 years old but had the volume in her voice of a young soloist with which she ear piercingly loud and with Gatling gun tempo did her praise singing poem. Here and there crescendoing with ululations from the rest of the mamas, Ma Nonyati agilely ran-danced to and fro, as if she had entered a trance while she was rattling off her praise singing, throughout at the top of her voice. Ma Nonyati's show was rousingly applauded and then all the mamas got up and sang and danced again. When everybody had finished eating,

⁹⁰ The Equilibrium Singers are a group of six young women, usually singing at church related events and of which Ma Gora's daughter is part of.

including Ma Gora and the other mamas who were serving the food, Volkher announced that Ma Gora would say a few words of thanks. Again the mamas danced and sang and ululated and stomped around on the stage and then they left Ma Gora alone on stage to make her speech.



Figure 46 Kwam mamas singing and dancing



Figure 47 Ma Gora making her speech

First Ma Gora thanked everyone, especially the guests, for coming and Rev Baxana for his encouragement and then she thanked the Kwam mamas who worked so hard to get everything together. She thanked *tata* and *mama* for all their inputs, advice and support, without which she claimed Kwam would not have come as far as the celebration that day. Ma Gora briefly sketched where Kwam started in 2004 and where Kwam was then, and she reminded the mamas that with standing up as Kwam has done, it also implies responsibility and commitment. Ma Gora took the cue from Rev Baxana who had spoken about ‘rejoicing’ and she ended her speech with expressions of sincere gratitude to everybody involved. When Ma Gora left the stage she went to where Sue sat and she asked her if she could open the ‘champagne’ (sparkling wine) as a gesture of honour. In the meantime the plates had been cleared and after a while of everybody just milling around Ma Gora gave Sue a nod and Sue tapped a glass to get attention. Sue then asked everybody to open the other ‘champagne’ bottles on the tables and with corks popping and hurray’s following everybody got a tot in some drinking glass and then Sue proposed a toast on Kwam and congratulated them on their great achievements and wished them luck for the next ten years. Sue appeared rather emotional as everybody were clinking their glasses and Volkher wondered if it was because she really saw Kwam for the first time, the *real* Kwam, so that she perhaps

only then and there comprehended what was actually happening? But that was wishful thinking.

The last item before closure on the party agenda was the cutting of the Kwam cake. A Kwam mama was cutting the cake while Ma Gora opened another bottle of sparkling wine and everybody started singing “Happy birthday to you, happy birthday dear Kwam ... How old are you now? Ten! Hurray! *Halala!*” and ending with ululating. After everybody had eaten their piece of the cake Volkher asked Rev Baxana to close the party with a prayer. Again the mamas sang a hymn as Rev Baxana took to the stage and he asked for God’s blessings for the future of Kwam, “for they have shown that they rejoice and they are grateful for what has happened”.



Figure 48 Cutting the birthday cake



Figure 49 Ma Gora, Volkher, Claudia and two Kwam mamas

When most of the cleaning up afterwards was done Volkher and Claudia sat down with the committee members and they shared another bottle of sparkling wine while each gave their impression of the party – all agreed it was a huge success! Kwam has made a big statement and this has been an official expression that Kwam was ‘out there’. It had also been a marketing event for Kwam because the Grocott’s Mail covered it. But the ritual of the celebration strengthened the officialness of the ‘new’ Kwam, and for that alone Kwam could be very grateful to Rev Baxana to have officiated both the first constitution and then the celebration. For the first time the group of mamas had celebrated their project together, before there were only meetings, very occasionally there were some snacks, but this was a

party – their party. On the capital scale the party was perhaps the most important social event in the entire history of Kwam. Yet at the same time it reflected the hybridization of cultures with traditional singing, dancing and praise singing on the one hand and, on the other, the adoption of Western cultural practices, such as the Happy Birthday song, birthday cake, sparkling wine and three course menu. The mamas reflected their culture with the traditional clothes of which a very important symbolic gesture was to acculturate *tata* and *mama* by dressing them with traditional clothes – another hybridization. At the party everybody ‘oh’-ed and ‘ah’-ed about Claudia’s outfit and Volkher’s Dashida shirt Ma Gora had made. Some mamas commented that it was “funny” to see white people in Xhosa traditional dress. But it were not only the mamas who thought that it was strange, as Volkher and Claudia experienced later on the day of the party when they were at a petrol station to tank diesel, and several black people (staff and passers-by) gathered and took photos of them, or posing with them to take photos. These people also commented that it was funny to see white people wearing traditional Xhosa outfits.

Beneath the surface there were some problems though. The members of an ‘Events Committee’ that had been elected to organize the party, seemed to have disappeared and in the end the Kwam committee had to organize everything themselves. The opportunistic committee member was conspicuously absent at the party, no apologies or any other news, and none of the Otto loyalists came to the party either, although all of them had paid their R150 contribution towards it. There were rumours at the time that the opportunistic committee member had resigned from the committee, but Ma Gora said she could only confirm it as gossip. Ma Gora suspected that the opportunistic committee member and Otto (and possibly others) were scheming: “Otto wants a way back in”. Besides having had the ambition to be chairlady herself, the opportunistic committee member also showed her envy. Ma Gora was firmly in the seat with Volkher and Claudia supporting her, but the opportunistic committee member did not find a similar connection between herself and the white couple. Otto was known for making all sorts of promises and the opportunistic committee member would take what she could get. She did not answer her phone nor

respond to Ma Gora's messages and Ma Gora assumed after some months that the rumour about her resignation was true. But the dissent of this committee member was symptomatic for what was to come, it was like a consuming disease, and other committee members would follow. Nevertheless, the 2014 Festival was wrapped up, the party was a success and Kwam was well on their way with their new constitution and Volkher was busy preparing the application for registration as NPO with the DSD.

In a second attempt at finding 'closure' Volkher thought that Kwam's 10th anniversary bash would make a fitting end to this investigation – it was such a positive climax to all their hard work and effort especially after the disappointing Festival. He also felt that the hospitality theme has become so thoroughly borderline and the few new bits of information about how the mamas dealt with their guests actually just confirmed what he had found already: that ekasi-style may be a different style but the challenges of commercial hospitality were the same. Besides, the mamas had limited exposure to all the aspects of commercial hospitality because guest allocation and payment arrangements had been under MT's control. However, Volkher now realized that his investigation had become action research although he had no real plan, and it was so different from what he had set out to do. Nevertheless, in earnest he started writing-up and he told friends and family that he would be scarce so that he could devote his time to his first draft. For about two weeks Volkher drafted day and night, and he started to get acquainted with the literature about engaged anthropology. But then the vortex in which he and Claudia had become entangled pulled them back in and being engaged meant continued action. For the next four months their interventions would be even more intense and emotionally taxing than before and Volkher had to postpone writing up until February 2015.

8. Finding the Dragon

Below is a translation by Ma Gora of the praise singing poem Ma Nonyati had so spectacularly performed in isiXhosa at the Kwam Party:

Mama Nonyati's praise-singing poem

The sky is striking there is storm

The princess is heard

Mr Volkher spoke

He took us from Nosimo

Nosimo spoke over the hills

And over the sin hills of GRAHAMSTOWN said

We are not the smallest, because today

Kwam eMakana is born!

Halaaaaaala!!!! (praises) Princess!

I move slightly little by little

I move slightly little by little

Where are the women of this village?

Put scarves on your waist (woman should stand up and do something)

Don't let the ticks bite you (don't let the suffer come over you)

Because here is Kwam eMakana

Let the guests sleep in your houses

The sky is striking!

Here is the son of Vonlengeling

Here is mama Gora

Halaaaaala!!! Halaaaaala!!!

Analysing Ma Nonyati's poem, Volkher saw traces of a 'fairy tale' and as the story further developed he found it useful to refer to this fairy tale, especially because of the complexities which displayed some 'monstrous' dimensions he could not have foreseen nor have imagined – and there was the primary power struggle between Ma Gora and Otto, which was far from over. The fairy tale would go like this:

Once upon a time in a forgotten corner (Frontier Country) in the land of the poor (Eastern Cape) a knight (Volkher) found a princess (Ma Gora) in distress. The mother (Balindlela) had left some years before and divorced herself from the ruling party and then the father (Makkink) left too. The treasure which the parents had arranged for the development of princess's fief (Kwam) was then in the hands of an evil stepmother (Sue), who at first warded off the hungry wolves (taxis) with excessive pay-outs and then cancelled their payments so that by the time the princess had to deal with them they were very angry. In the meantime, an ambitious knave (Otto) conspired with the stepmother and even attracted a rank of sorts, and together they ruled the fief in a feudal way: raking in the lion's share of the treasure while seemingly offering protection and 'doing things' for the people, such as dealing with the wolves. While the knave had a strong connection to an evil lord in the kingdom (Mona), the knight knew the law and enjoyed the support of his countess (Claudia) and together they would help the princess.

The knight, his countess, the princess and her council (Kwam committee) with the support of a benign official (Chetty), managed to evict the knave. The knight used his special powers to secure the position of the princess and her council, and on this basis they negotiated joint control over the treasure with the stepmother and the knight and the countess kept an eye

over it so that the people benefitted. To honour the knight and the countess for their efforts they were officially recognized as patrons of the fiefdom by the princess and her people.

But all was not well within the fief as the knave and his followers among the people of the fief undermined the princess. Instead of retreating when dismissed, the knave increased his attacks to regain the power he had lost and he conspired with the representative of the local governing council (Thembinkosi). One by one the princess's council abandoned her. Not knowing what the shape of the evil plan was the knight could imagine that all the dark forces working together against the princess and her fief constituted a multi-headed dragon. The knave was one head of this dragon and the knight had thought by chopping off this head, he had dealt with the problem. But as the dragon had other heads of different shapes and sizes, the severed head could grow back and the dragon could again attack with full force. The knight went on a quest to seek out the dragon.

Setbacks and challenges

Letter to the Department of Tourism

The reports to DSRAC which Volkher and Claudia had written stated clearly all Kwam's problems but nothing came of it. With the budget expenditures and Sue's 'mistakes' Volkher's suspicions deepened that something was seriously amiss at MT. They had asked for all the financial reports from 2012 onwards since 10 June 2014 when they had presented Sue with the Kwam constitution. At the time and from then on, her excuse was that the reports were at the auditors and that was why Kwam could not see them. Volkher and Ma Gora had also spoken to Rev Baxana about their suspicions during the inspections and Volkher remembered that the reverend had told them that MT would fall under the Department of Tourism (DoT), and not DSRAC, so that would be the relevant higher

authority to approach. Volkher thought it best then to inform these higher authorities about his suspicions so that the matter could be properly investigated and he wrote an email to the DoT's fraud and corruption centre. He explained the situation at length and offered any assistance with the information he had. He hoped to set the wheels of justice to roll so that whatever was wrong could be brought out. Also, without a practice it was very difficult for him to imagine how he as a lawyer should do such an investigation himself, besides he wanted to write his thesis and had no ambition at all to become a prosecutor. Two days after he had sent the email he received a response from the DoT, acknowledging receipt of his 'complaint', promising updates on progress with the matter, and finally thanking him for bringing the matter to their attention and for the great contribution to tourism in South Africa he has made. A month passed without any further news and the week before the NAF/DSRAC Evaluation meeting which was on 13 August 2014, Volkher emailed the DoT again asking for updates and advice about what information they should/could reveal at the NAF/DSRAC meeting. He got no response to that and at the evaluation meeting he and Ma Gora again pointed to all the 'errors' Sue had made in the Kwam report. After some weeks Volkher received a phone call from a man from the DoT in Pretoria asking him about the "corruption allegations" he had raised against MT. The man said that they had done their own investigation and the matter was transferred to the Provincial Tourism Authority. What he wanted to know from Volkher was where the funds came from for the different organizations, "were they private or government funds?" Volkher explained that MT was funded mainly by Makana Municipality; Kwam (as a government initiated poverty alleviation project) was mainly funded by DSRAC; DSRAC paid money to NAF and NAF to MT and from there it got distributed further – the latter was also where it possibly got misappropriated. The man said they would have to contact DSRAC on a provincial level and take it from there. Volkher offered to meet or speak to anyone who wished to do so. Volkher had almost forgotten about the complaint with the DoT but now he hoped that something may materialize, just very slowly. Besides, he thought that the timing for such an investigation would be much better when Kwam was 'officially divorced' from MT - if it should come to a crunch then Kwam would be safe.

Kwam-Makana Tourism meeting of 25 September 2014

As there were some outstanding issues between Kwam and MT, Volkher and Claudia discussed these with Ma Gora and they arranged with Sue to have a meeting on 25 September 2014 for which they prepared an agenda with the following points:

- 1. Changes to the Kwam listing on the Makana Tourism website*
- 2. Introduction of Kwam's own website*
- 3. Kwam has their own booking office now and MT is not allowed to take bookings, they must send all bookings to the Kwam office*
- 4. Kwam is to be a registered NPO*
- 5. Kwam, as one, will become a member of MT and pay membership fees*
- 6. The balance in MT's account for Kwam is to be paid into Kwam's own account, and the MT account for Kwam is to be closed*
- 7. Archived material like financial and/or bank statements, pictures and more must be made available for Kwam immediately*

Volkher and Claudia were the first to arrive at MT's offices. They greeted Mr Brian Jackson who was just leaving the office and he quipped "Kwamming again!?" as it had become his jocular habit whenever he saw Volkher. When Volkher, as usual, replied "yes" he exclaimed "Oh, that minefield!" Volkher asked him "what 'minefield' do you mean?" and he replied "Well, it was a minefield. You have sorted this thing when we've been trying for years, nobody has managed until you came along!" Volkher replied "It's not us, it's them – Kwam is theirs!" Mr Jackson nodded, lit his cigarette and said he definitely wanted to read Volkher's thesis. Once Ma Gora and the going-along committee member arrived they filed into Sue's office. The opportunistic committee member had not returned Ma Gora's calls and messages about the meeting and the constant one had to take her children somewhere.

Volkher had printed some copies of the agenda and an attendance register and he started by saying that Claudia should explain the changes to the Kwam listing on the MT website as they had discussed with the mamas. Claudia had prepared these changes and she gave them in digital format to Sue who said she would do them as soon as possible. They moved on through the other points on the agenda rather swiftly and there was no palpable opposition from Sue about anything. However, when it came to the sixth point, the balance in the Kwam account, she was vague and 'complained' that the books were *still* at the auditors. They agreed to wait for the books to return so that they could do a final reconciliation and then they would also see the bank statements. They agreed that the memorandum of the meeting would serve as a written notice to the board of MT as Sue had indicated that her board had required that Kwam put requests for financial statements in writing. In the end Sue said: "I'm really so happy that Kwam has achieved this, I've been waiting for it for so long!"

Over the weekend Volkher prepared and emailed the memorandum of the meeting (See Appendix 10) and a letter to the MT Chairperson at the time, Mr Eugene Repinz, informing him of the agreements and requesting Kwam's financial statements.

Kwam-Makana Municipality meeting 3 October 2014

Volkher also suggested to Ma Gora that they meet with Thembinkosi from the municipality; he prepared an agenda again and emailed it to Thembinkosi. On the agenda for the meeting with Thembinkosi on 3 October 2014 were the following points:

**Kwam's registration as NPO*

**Kwam and Makana Tourism as per Memorandum of 25 September (which was attached)*

**Kwam Billboard*

**Request for Quotation (RFQ 297/2013 - Mr George and the co-ops)*

**Support, marketing*

At the meeting Ma Gora started with a little history (10 years on etc.) and then said Kwam was in the process of registering as NPO, “Kwam is on its own now!” Almost accusatory Thembinkosi responded that it was pity Kwam had not told him before because the municipality had spent quite a lot of money on a service provider to get Kwam formalized. Volkher quietly thought that it was exactly why they were there then, because if Thembinkosi had been to the NAF/DSRAC meetings, as he was supposed to do as representative from the municipality, he would have known about Kwam’s development! Thembinkosi said that he thought Kwam would be a co-op, but of course, there was nothing wrong with Kwam being a NPO. Thembinkosi wanted to know what type of NPO and Volkher explained that there were three types and Kwam was the voluntary variety, a ‘voluntary association’ (the others are companies, formerly usually known as ‘Section 21 Companies’ and trusts but they now all fall under the new Companies Act of 2000 and are now called Non-profit Companies (NPC)).

When they came to the relationship between Kwam and MT as reflected in the memorandum of the meeting on 25 September 2014 Volkher went through all the items in the memorandum. Thembinkosi responded that he did not know that Kwam had their own website and Claudia explained how it came about and she added that it needed exposure. Then Thembinkosi wanted to know how Kwam will manage bookings and he asked Ma Gora “Do you have the capacity for it?” She stood her ground and said Claudia was helping her, she has a laptop and internet at home! Thembinkosi wanted to know for what or why Volkher and Claudia were involved and they explained that they were friends of Kwam, helping them with advice and support. Volkher repeated that he did research and that they were only advising Kwam – “Kwam makes their own decisions!” Still Thembinkosi wanted to

know if Volkher and Claudia got paid for doing these things and of course they said no. He reaffirmed with his secretary that she had noted that. Then Thembinkosi wanted to know if Volkher and Claudia had an 'exit clause': "when are you going to leave or are you going to stay forever?" Volkher thought that was another weird question, but he answered that they were not formally appointed and their idea was anyway that Kwam do things themselves, they were just helping. Volkher added that they expected their help to become less as Kwam got along, if that was what he meant with the 'exit clause'. Afterwards when they were chatting with Ma Gora about the meeting she referred to this question of Thembinkosi and said it was strange that just the other day a Kwam mama (an Otto loyalist) had also asked her "how long are the white people still going to go with us?" The presence of the white couple with Kwam seemed to irritate some people.

Yet another curious remark Thembinkosi had made was that Mr Mxube (the manager of the Frontier Hotel, chairperson of the new United Business Chamber of Makana, and general political stirrer) who had first claimed to be a "representative of Kwam" at a municipality meeting, then 'predicted' that "Kwam is going to disband Makana Tourism!" Volkher, Claudia and Ma Gora exclaimed "What?" almost simultaneously. Quite obviously, that was again not a truthful representation of Kwam. Volkher wondered why there were these people popping up claiming to be speaking on behalf of Kwam on the one side, and on the other, statements like these reflected that some people saw a threat with the way Kwam was developing. Could it have been the same expression of the mentality behind the image of a limited good, which moved some people to perceive the development of Kwam as a realization that they were losing something in the process? Both Otto and Thembinkosi have 'lost' something while Kwam gained.

When they discussed the disastrous billboard and what shoddy work it was besides all the wrong information on it, Volkher reiterated that it was a disgrace – "four people already

died before 2011 but their names are still on there!” Thembinkosi said that they got the information for the billboard from MT, from Sue and/or Otto, thus blaming them for the mistakes. However, Volkher made the point that if they wanted to fix the billboard there was no sense in replacement, the mamas never agreed to that board in the first place and if they wanted to put up a board they would have to do it together with the mamas. Thembinkosi undertook to contact the service provider. After they had discussed the billboard issue they came to the case with Mr George. Thembinkosi said that there had been a meeting “and we decided that Kwam is going to be a co-op”. Ma Gora confirmed that they had had meetings with Mr George in November 2013 and they were promised a return in about three months. By April 2014 Ma Gora enquired about it and nothing was forthcoming and even when they did the interviews in May no mama knew anything about the co-ops. Thembinkosi said there had been a ‘project plan’ which he had given to Otto, and obviously this information was never passed on to Kwam. Volkher then asked Thembinkosi to email Ma Gora a copy of that project plan and then he wanted to know how much the quote had been for. Thembinkosi answered that Mr George had been paid the amount of R50 000 “in full” already in December 2013.

With the last point on the agenda concerning support and marketing, Ma Gora asked what the municipality could give the ‘new’ Kwam. Thembinkosi explained that, as they all knew, the municipality did not have any money – being placed under administration just then. He continued that if Kwam wanted money they should write a letter and he could then send that on to the District Municipality who might have money. He lamented the fact that people were under the impression that the municipality was “a funding agent”. Volkher pointed to the fact that if the municipality could promote the Kwam website and helped to get the word out there, it did not cost anything – “*what Kwam needs are guests!*” Later when Volkher thought about the meeting again, he remembered that they had discussed with Ma Gora before that they were not going to ask for money, it was “support and marketing”. They knew the municipality did not have any money, yet Thembinkosi withdrew behind “sorry, we don’t have money”. Also, instead of just deciding what they think Kwam

needed, now that Kwam themselves *asked* for something it was suddenly unobtainable. The Kwam mamas never asked for the billboard, nor for the signage nor for a service provider to guide them to co-opness, yet the municipality PAID for it with “lots of money” as Thembinkosi lamented, while implying that it was Kwam’s fault that it did not work out. Volkher thought that was typical of the government that chooses how they are going to ‘help’ and then give it – they have never asked the people what *they* wanted and if the people say what they want they have to apply like this and that and deal with red tape everywhere, just in the end to hear “sorry, there is no money!” Again, like with DSRAC, Ma Gora felt that now that Kwam was standing for themselves, as all these government departments wanted before, they did not come with any support, let alone congratulations, but just orders, still telling them what they should or should not do.

A week later when Claudia gave Ma Gora another training session with the internet bookings Ma Gora told her that Thembinkosi had phoned her “and he asked a lot of negative questions”. He wanted to know again how Volkher and Claudia fitted in and how long they were going to stay. He also asked these questions particularly referring to their old quote of R65 000 for the Kwam website (information he obviously got from Otto) and who was paying for the website now. Ma Gora said she explained again that the old quote had expired and had nothing to do with the website they got. Ma Gora also confirmed again that Volkher and Claudia did not get paid and she told him frankly that “Volkher and Claudia are with us for life!” Ma Gora wondered again, and this would not be the last time, why, when Kwam was at last doing things for themselves all these government people seem unhappy about it? – “they always said that this is what Kwam must do, but now they seem to have problems with it. They were all using the name of Kwam and now there is no more benefit for them”. For instance, Thembinkosi now had to explain to his superiors why more than R50 000 was spent on the co-op story and nothing came of it, wasted. And also about the billboard, he would have to explain that it was a mess too. His way out seemed to be to blame Kwam for ‘misunderstandings’ and/or the influence of “that white couple”.

The obvious reason why the mamas felt that there was no support from government anymore was because the real support had faded. A lot of people were benefitting directly or indirectly from Kwam as a project which they could lay claim to, but the moment it was not there for them to claim, nothing happened anymore. In reality, over the last few years up to 2014 everyone except the mamas benefitted from the project, guest numbers dwindled but huge amounts of money were spent elsewhere in the name of Kwam.

Dealing with the Makana Tourism Board: Mr Repinz

In the week after the meeting with Thembinkosi Volkher and Claudia met with Ma Gora in town to help set up Kwam's internet banking with the bank. As the changes to the MT website had not happened Claudia went to Sue's office, which was next door to the bank, to give her again the memory stick so that she could copy the photos and text changes of the Kwam listing. Sue said she had 'lost' it on her computer when Ma Gora had asked her why the changes had not happened yet. While there, Sue gave Claudia an envelope addressed to the "Chairperson; Kwam eMakana Homestay Project" which Claudia gave to Ma Gora at the bank. It was the response from the MT Board to the letter and memorandum of the meeting on 25 September. Although it was signed by Mr Repinz, they agreed that it looked as if it was written by Sue. Later it showed that Mr. Repinz indeed did not know about any of the details. The letter starts with the statement that "it is gratifying to see the Kwam Homeowners taking ownership of their Kwam Project and I wish you every success" but then demands and questions follow: had Kwam consulted with the 'steering committee'; Kwam had to provide proof of their expenditure for the R6 000 and R20 000 amounts which were paid over to Kwam before any reconciliation could be done, and more money transferred; then concerning the 'archive material' the letter made clear that Kwam had to ask in writing for specific documents. The letter closes with a promise to get the changes to the website done and stating "looking forward to Kwam eMakana becoming a fully-fledged

tourism member". After discussing the letter with Ma Gora Volkher wrote an email to Mr Repinz on 22 October:

Dear Mr Repinz

Response to your letter dated 20 October 2014

Thank you for your letter and the good wishes.

I'm writing on behalf of Kwam eMakana because it seems that there are some misunderstandings concerning the position or status of Kwam. With this response we wish to highlight these in the hope to clarify matters.

Concerning your question in the first paragraph, we or the Kwam mamas have never met and do not know the members of this 'steering committee'. However, we, the chairlady and committee of Kwam have attended **every** NAF/DSRAC meeting before and after Festival. Makana Municipality and Makana Tourism were invited to these meetings and subsequent Kwam meetings but were mostly absent or late. At these meetings Kwam made several presentations and submitted detailed written reports about the development and plans of action for the future of the project (you can confirm this with Mr Chetty of DSRAC). In fact, all of the points in the memorandum followed directly from these reports and presentations and the meeting with Ms Waugh on 25 September was part of the execution thereof. On 3 October we and the chairlady of Kwam met with Thembinkosi Sindane from the municipality to update him. So, as to this 'committee' we are not sure if there are still other individuals we need to inform and if so, please let us know who they are.

The agreement reached on 25 September regarding the closing of the account and Kwam monies is reflected in point 6 of the memorandum. The only delay in this happening was that the books were at that time physically not there. It is rather surprising to now find more/new conditions for the transfer of the Kwam monies and the closing of that account. Since 10 June 2014 Kwam is an independent NPO and since then conducted its own private financial affairs. Kwam is only accountable to its members and, once a registered NPO, they will submit financial reports to the Director of NPOs as required. However, as Kwam has nothing to hide, the Kwam bank statements will be made available for Makana Tourism, although not as the fulfillment of some 'condition'.

Concerning the archived material, we accept that the actual material belongs to Makana Tourism however the information contained in it belongs to Kwam. Since neither we nor the Kwam members had insight of this material we are unable to specify which copies to request. Besides having verbally requested access to the information on numerous occasions before, this is the second time in writing that we request that all the information concerning Kwam be made available to Kwam without delay.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you need any further information or, even better, if you prefer us to meet with you to discuss these issues.

Looking forward to your reply

Yours sincerely

Adv VHC von Lengeling

On the 27th October Volkher and Claudia received an email response from Mr Repinz:

Thanks for your letter. I had a meeting with Sue Waugh and Otto Ntshebe this morning and we discussed this at length. We would like to arrange a meeting with you and the necessary role players in order to finalise this matter in the best way possible.

Sue will be contacting you to organise a time for the meeting.

Volkher was enraged. Mr Repinz clearly just 'threw the ball back' to Sue AND Otto! How did it come that Otto had anything to say about Kwam again? As 'complaining' to the chairperson of the MT Board did not seem to help, Volkher decided that the time had come to act more aggressively, "enough is enough!" He thought that he should have acted earlier but it was good that Kwam was on relative solid ground first, and that they were not rushing the case. Letting it go its own course had its own benefits, for instance, at the time there were internal problems with the committee that also needed time to get sorted out and rest. However, they thought that after all that had happened Sue had a duty to keep Kwam's interests away from Otto, even if he had a position in MT. Besides, most of what they had discussed with Sue was finalised by then and it was only Sue who held back with paying over the left over money and providing Kwam with transparency and accountability about the project's financial management since she took office.

Volkher and Claudia discussed with Ma Gora that they should consider taking legal action. Volkher believed that he had a thorough understanding of justice but because he was not a practising lawyer procedures and other legal intricacies evaded him and therefore he wanted proper legal advice. As Kwam had no money they decided to approach the Rhodes Law Clinic. They thought it best to investigate civil action possibilities first, before going to the police and, like before with the letters to the DoT, they also decided not to speak out about their planned legal action to anybody else. Ma Gora was afraid that some committee members and Otto loyalists may leak sensitive information, so they would rather wait until they had something concrete and then the others could know. Volkher also decided that before he sought other legal advice and/or approach the police he had to enquire again with the DoT and the next day he phoned the telephone number on the response letter that he

had received in July. To his surprise the phone was answered and he had reached Adv Sowana, a young woman at the legal services division of the DoT head office in Pretoria. He told her 'the whole story' and asked if she could tell him what progress has been made save for referring the case to the 'Provincial Tourism Authority'. Adv Sowana said that she would phone the provincial office and find out what was happening and then she would call Volkher back. A few hours later Adv Sowana phoned back to report to him that she had no luck with reaching anyone in the provincial office, being sent from one end to another, she added that she was rather unhappy about that. Adv Sowana advised him to go ahead with pressing charges with the police, as the matter became all the more urgent. She requested that he send her a copy of the charge sheet and the attachments so that the DoT could follow up from their side then. She also said she would continue enquiring about the matter and would update Volkher as soon as she had news. He never heard from her again.

An hour after Volkher had last spoken to Adv Sowana, Mrs Weziwe Bushakwe, "call me Wezi, I'm the Director of Tourism for the Eastern Cape Province" phoned him. Positively surprised, he again explained the matter at length and tried to make the 'complaints' clear. The main issues were the misappropriation of funds by MT, the refusal to provide Kwam with the financial information and the refusal to pay over the balance to Kwam. Wezi said they would appoint someone to investigate and Volkher pressed the urgency, adding that this appointed person was welcome to contact him and he confirmed his email address. The next time Volkher would hear from the Department of Tourism was on 11 March 2015 when he received a letter from a "Legal Admin Officer" informing him that the matter had been transferred to the provincial authority, and they would henceforth deal with it. The letter ended with the same sentence as the previous one "The Department would like to thank you for taking time to bring this matter to our attention. Your efforts will greatly assist to improve services to tourists in South Africa." Nothing ever came of Volkher's requests to the Department of Tourism but it influenced the way Volkher thought. At first, confident that the department would act, he slowed down with his pressure on Sue and when it seemed that 'nothing was happening' he realized he had to act again. Both Wezi and Adv Sowana

confirmed incompetence within the DoT and the latter actually mandated Volkher to press charges with the police.

Makana Tourism Annual General Meeting

As per the agreement of 25 September Kwam became a member of MT. However, for the MT Annual General Meeting (AGM) in the evening of Thursday 30 October, Kwam received no invitation. When Ma Gora spoke to Welekazi on the phone about something else, and then asked her about the AGM, Welekazi actually tried to dissuade Ma Gora and/or the Kwam committee to come that evening. Nevertheless, when Ma Gora and the two Kwam committee members arrived together with Volkher and Claudia they were welcomed and served with wine and snacks. Otto was the chairperson of the meeting but he was nervous and stuttered from time to time. Sometimes he just repeated what he had said or, without easy flow, he just called the next item on the agenda. When the meeting was over Otto left in great haste. During the course of the meeting it came to Sue's turn to present her Director's Report and again, like the year before, coming to the financial reports she announced that they had achieved a "good" audit when in fact, it had been a qualified audit⁹¹. Sue's financials also appeared very confusing: printed back to front without logical order and in a very small font, they were very difficult to follow. Everyone was busier turning the copied pages upside-down and the other way round than studying the content. Sue also reported about Kwam: she flatly stated that Kwam had celebrated their 10th anniversary at "a bash in Joza, and it was nice", and that MT was no longer a booking office for Kwam: people must now book directly with Ma Gora to whom she then pointed. Volkher found more interesting what Sue did *not* say: she omitted to say that Kwam was a NPO and that Kwam had their own website – the two most important achievements in the recent development of Kwam. Nobody commented on or questioned Sue's entries about Kwam. In

⁹¹ A qualified audit means that the auditor has some reservations; an unqualified audit is a 'clean' audit.

the end, as chairman of MT, Mr Repinz, also as he had done the year before, commended Sue and her team for “sterling work done” and everybody applauded.

Rhodes Law Clinic

On Monday 3 November Volkher, Claudia and Ma Gora met with a young apprentice lawyer from the Rhodes Law Clinic to discuss legal action and/or other alternatives. Volkher explained as best he could but on that Monday he succeeded in thoroughly confusing the young legal advisor, and in the end, already deep into his lunch time, the apprentice said he would have to refer the case to his superior. At this stage Volkher realized how very complex the case was and he had more than enough evidence that Sue was indeed a master at confusion, another sly head of the dragon. Further he realized again how different anthropology is to law. That what is ethnographic data is not *suo moto* legal evidence. In fact, in this case the ethnographic detail only cluttered the picture, and it could have made understanding his suspicions even more complicated.

A week had passed when the young apprentice from the Law Clinic finally phoned to arrange a meeting with his superior. Volkher, Claudia and Ma Gora had another very long meeting at the Law Clinic with both the director and his apprentice, trying to explain Kwam’s position. A civil action was going to be very costly and what they lacked was ‘hard evidence’ – suspicions are not enough for court. Because the Law Clinic dealt mostly with civil cases they could not give any real advice on criminal charges but advised that Kwam go to the police and enquire about criminal charges. Of course, it did not have to be the one or the other, the actions were not mutually exclusive but if a criminal case succeeded, then the civil case, if there would be one, could follow easily. But it all hinged on hard evidence – namely, the financial reports and bank statements. Although Volkher had hoped to get real

legal support, the Law Clinic was then more of a sounding board than a source of third party involvement.

Police

As everybody's advice was for them to approach the police, Volkher arranged to meet with Captain Melinda Coetzer of the Grahamstown Police Station's Crime Intelligence Unit. Again he explained as much as he could and Ma Gora added her comments. When they had done Capt Coetzer said that even for an intelligent person as she regarded herself, she was confused. However, she phoned an advocate friend of hers and discussed the matter with him. Then they discussed what the advocate had suggested and the captain phoned him again. After another round or two like that she announced "I'm going to help you". Volkher felt elated, help at last! Capt Coetzer said she would prepare a letter which she hoped would move at least the municipality to intervene and she wrote the letter there and then (See Appendix 11). During the course of their discussion Volkher had told the captain that Thembinkosi had invited Kwam to make a presentation at the municipality's Tourism Portfolio Committee meeting which was scheduled for the next Monday, and Captain Coetzer suggested that they present her letter at that meeting.

Makana Municipality Tourism Portfolio Committee meeting

Before the Tourism Portfolio Committee meeting started on Monday 17 November 2014 the chairperson of the meeting, Councillor Masoma, and another councillor introduced themselves to the Kwam delegation and said that they were very happy to meet Volkher and Claudia; they had heard about Kwam's development and they were happy with the way

Kwam was going. So it seemed that not all the people in the municipality had a problem with the white couple. The meeting started with Mrs Masoma welcoming everybody and in particular the Kwam delegation and she continued that they as the municipality recognized that Kwam was standing for themselves and they supported that. She used a simile of a baby that was crawling but still needed help to get up to walk on its own and so she reiterated the municipality's commitment to help Kwam 'to get up and walk'. Mrs Masoma confirmed that the municipality viewed Kwam as a very important project, especially with bringing tourism to previously disadvantaged areas of Grahamstown. Then she asked Kwam to make their presentation.

Volkher got up and went around the table and handed out printed copies of the presentation to everybody there, including Sue. He and Claudia had prepared the presentation over the weekend with email and phone exchanges with Ma Gora (see Appendix 12). Ma Gora read the 'speech' Volkher had prepared for her verbatim, which was basically a summary of the presentation but with emphasis on the "challenges" in the last part of it. The last part of Ma Gora's speech went like this:

*Lastly there are some challenges from the past and we ask this Committee to assist Kwam with getting them solved **and it does not cost money:***

a. Kwam's presentation on the Makana Tourism website does not reflect our ekasi-style and although new photos and text had been given to Makana Tourism it is still not fixed.

b. The Kwam billboard was destroyed by wind on 15 June but it is still there and creates a bad image for Kwam.

c. Kwam wants to know about Mr George who had been appointed for Kwam because he holds personal information about Kwam members.

d. Kwam had agreed with Makana Tourism to be paid the left over in the account and then to close that account, but this has not happened.

e. Kwam has many times asked for our financials but we have only received incomplete bits. Kwam needs all its information, as we have listed there, since 2011. Kwam urgently needs this information in order to prepare a proposal for DSRAC in

time for next year's Festival. We need to analyze our history so that we can avoid the mistakes of the past in the future.

Kwam sees no reason for any further delay with solving these 5 matters and we ask of this house to support Kwam to solve all these issues by 12 o'clock tomorrow.

Thank you

At first there was an uneasy silence and then followed some throat-clearing. Recomposing herself, Mrs Masoma started with the issues of the billboard and Mr George as she saw they had to do with the municipality and she suggested they address those first. Thembinkosi stuttered and he was unable to satisfactorily answer any questions about these issues. In the end he passed the blame on to Otto and hence he called it a matter “within Kwam – Kwam must get its own house in order, it is an internal problem”. Volkher wondered how could something like the making and erecting of a billboard by the municipality of which the mamas knew nothing, be an ‘internal’ problem of Kwam. Besides, Thembinkosi told a different story than what he had told on 3 October and he knew Otto was voted out. Even some councillors got visibly irritated but the chairlady sternly ordered that “the municipality will sort the matters out”, and deftly helping Thembinkosi out of the spot, she then gave Sue an opportunity to react to the issues concerning MT (points a, e and d). Sue apologized about the website and said she would do it the next week (although she had received the material twice since 25 September, and there was obviously no real reason for the delay). About the left-over money, she said she was still waiting for the cash slips from the Kwam mamas about their petty cash expenses, she said the auditors needed this information to finalize the books. Upon a question about audited financial reports Sue contradicted herself saying Kwam’s books *don’t* get audited because there was no money for it. Volkher pointed to Sue’s contradiction and made a hefty point of transparency and accountability. Mrs Masoma agreed and said that the information should be made available for Kwam. Sue then referred to the letter of Mr Repinz which requested that Kwam specify in writing what exactly they wanted (Kwam had said they wanted to see *everything* since 2011 - how else could they specify what they wanted copies of?). As it seemed to become contentious Mrs Masoma steered back to the issues with billboard. After a short discussion she stated that as

there was no money to correct and fix the billboard it should be removed. As some councillors made comments that money had been wasted on service providers, the theme turned to the co-op registration and Mrs Masoma gave a long lecture that Kwam had to decide, "you must make up your minds, if you want to be a co-op or NPO". Volkher was dumbstruck, how could she say such a thing now? She herself had referred to Kwam's development, the written presentation was in front of her and she was in the room when Ma Gora explained Kwam's development and application for registration as NPO. Ma Gora confirmed again that Kwam was already a NPO and that they were in the process of registering. Mrs Masoma curtly said that it was good then and she asked Thembinkosi to respond to that and then he just said that they have cancelled the service provider, Mr George. Suddenly Mrs Masoma announced that she wanted to close this part of the meeting and she called for accountability and transparency on both sides. The chairlady thanked Kwam for coming and also for informing the municipality about their challenges and she added that solutions had to be found. With that, Kwam was excused from further participation in the meeting. Mrs Masoma continued with her portfolio meeting while the Kwam delegation left. Volkher gave her the police letter on his way out and he whispered to her "this reflects Kwam's intention".

Outside the Kwam committee was very unhappy, "Why do they ask us here and when we say what we need, they ignore us?" Again, it seemed to be the same story with government as before. Volkher thought that it was no wonder then that with this type of incompetent governance the municipality was placed under provincial administration at the time. But they were all very curious about what was happening inside the room with the police letter and what would happen next. Volkher had dropped a 'bomb' and as Mr Jackson was also at the meeting he thought back about his comments of a 'minefield' sometime before.

Scarcely were they back home when Ma Gora phoned and told Volkher that Thembinkosi had phoned her to ask about “that letter” and he again asked “what are these white people to Kwam?” Ma Gora repeated to him that Volkher was their advocate and that he and Claudia advised and helped them with their things. Thembinkosi said he wanted a meeting with the committee without the white people, and he also wanted a meeting with all the mamas because he has heard that some of the mamas were not happy with the “procedures of Kwam” (quite clearly adding value to rumours). Ma Gora said she repeated to him that Kwam was a NPO and “nothing of the municipality”, and if they wanted to know something about Kwam they could email her, and if they wanted a meeting with Kwam they could email her the agenda and request a date. She also told him that if a Kwam mama wanted to complain, he should send that mama to her first – that would after all be an ‘internal problem’! Volkher noted that Ma Gora had made quite a point of her internet connectivity besides claiming the authority due to her and her organization. Thembinkosi had, regardless of what he had said, still strong connections to Otto. He ignored the mamas’ requests and just did as he pleased, and he seemed to enjoy the support of his incompetent superior. So it seemed that yet another head of the dragon had revealed itself.

Mr Repinz again

Deep into the night Volkher drafted ‘charges’ in order to be prepared for their meeting with Capt Coetzer the next day after the Portfolio committee meeting. That meant he had to cut through all the data to find the concrete points on which he hooked his suspicions. Of course he knew where to look but the data had been piling up as they went along. When Volkher and Ma Gora came to Capt Coetzer she said she had feed-back for *them*, even before they could report about the previous day at the municipality. Mr Repinz, whom she knew and held in high esteem, had phoned her early that morning to ask if she could arrange a meeting between Kwam and MT (including himself) and if Kwam could bring the receipts for the R6 000 petty cash and the R20 000 payment, then MT would give Kwam all the

documents they wanted. After some deliberation with Capt Coetzer they decided that they would accept the offer, but to meet with Mr Repinz only. The relationship with Sue had gone too sour and it would just drag it all out. Capt Coetzer arranged there and then with Mr Repinz to meet at 10:30 at his Graham Hotel on Friday, and he confirmed with Capt Coetzer that he would have the Kwam documents there. Captain Coetzer's letter seemed to have had the effect they had hoped for. They felt that this was such a positive turn at last and it seemed that Mr Repinz would mediate a solution.

On their way to the meeting with Mr Repinz on Friday 21 November 2014 Volkher and Claudia picked Ma Gora up from her house as usual. She told them that she had phoned the remaining two committee members but both had excuses not to attend the meeting. So it was just Volkher, Claudia, Ma Gora and Mr Repinz and his assistant, X, whom Mr Repinz said would translate if necessary. Volkher thought that it was a very nice gesture and actually if Sue did not understand isiXhosa she should have gotten a translator instead of humiliating the mamas if their English was wobbly. However, Volkher assured Mr Repinz that Ma Gora's English was good but from their side X was welcome to stay. Mr Repinz added that he had expected more mamas and Volkher apologised for them and said that they could unfortunately not make it. Volkher then started by repeating the deal they had brokered with Capt Coetzer. Mr Repinz replied that he did not usually work with Kwam's financials, so, what Sue had sent him the day before was new to him too and he admitted that he had difficulty making sense of it. Soon it became very clear that there were several other crucial facts which were also new to the chairman of Makana Tourism. Volkher was shocked to learn that Mr Repinz had absolutely no idea that Kwam had voted Otto out, he did not know more about the issues with Otto other than that there were some problems. He was under the impression that the problems had been resolved – that was all Sue had told the board when the issue came up. It turned out that Mr Repinz, and that counted for the rest of the board of MT (excluding of course Sue and Otto, and Thembinkosi) also did not know about Kwam's development and becoming a NPO. Volkher got rather carried away and really raised his voice trying to explain to Mr Repinz what had happened and that the mamas have

expressly stated that Otto was certainly no longer any part of Kwam. The conversation got really heated when they talked about Otto. When Mr Repinz said Volkher should not shout at him and threatened to end the meeting, Volkher apologized and explained that he was not shouting at him, Mr Repinz should not take it personally. Calmly Claudia added more feelings to what Volkher had told Mr Repinz and described what they witnessed of Otto's bullying behaviour towards the mamas. Volkher liked Mr Repinz and he thought that they could communicate, and they did. Actually the two men had a lot in common: both were of German descent, both were commercial hosts in Frontier Country, both lived on small farms outside of Grahamstown, both had tame zebras, both were working for free – Mr Repinz for MT, and Volkher for Kwam.

After they had 'settled' the Otto issue, they started with point 'a' of the presentation, changes to the Kwam listing on MT website. Kwam did not understand the delay of two months for something so simple which they had agreed on with Sue on 25 September already. Mr Repinz replied that he would follow-up, unfortunately he did not know anything about the Kwam listing either. Then they turned to the financials (points d and e) and Volkher said to Mr Repinz that he did not understand the purpose for which MT needed Kwam's receipts, since Kwam was a NPO all proofs of expenditures belonged in the Kwam books and could not feature again somewhere else. Mr Repinz replied that the auditors needed the slips to close the books of Kwam. Nevertheless, Kwam had copies of everything there as agreed, and gave it to him.

Mr Repinz said that he was unhappy about the documents he had received from Sue because the reports were largely incomplete and he wanted to return the originals to Sue. Volkher said they would check the copies in due time and perhaps they could assist Mr Repinz in understanding them. Mr Repinz said he would immediately take everything up with the other members of his board and he would force Sue to hand over the complete

reports. Then Mr Repinz said that the problem could be that Kwam's books did not get audited because that would cost too much, about R15 000 for a year, and MT did not have the money for that. Volkher stared at Mr Repinz and asked: "why did you say these two totally contradicting things – the auditors need the slips to close Kwam's books but Kwam's books don't get audited?" Mr Repinz just sat there, there was no answer. Later Ma Gora said that she felt sorry for him because he was going red.

However, Volkher provided Mr Repinz with all the documentation he had referred to (he came prepared with by now a thick file full of documents related to Kwam), and X kept the Xerox machine busy as Mr Repinz asked him to make copies. In the end Mr Repinz said he understood Kwam's frustration and Volkher thought that Mr Repinz perhaps had a better understanding of the position he was really in as chairman of MT, not knowing anything. But this did not shift responsibility and he would have to do something. Mr Repinz clearly wanted to avoid Kwam pressing charges of any kind which could possibly imply him as (passive) chairman, but with all the copied documents he at least had something in his hands. By the end of the meeting all were on very friendly terms again and they arranged to meet again the next Friday, 28 November. Mr Repinz promised that Kwam would get everything then, even reports from Mr Makkink's time so that they could make a better evaluation. By the time Volkher and Claudia got back home their heads were spinning, and this would continue for days to come as they sieved through all the documents and were trying to make some sense of them. For Volkher it seemed all the more clear that things were not in order and they still only had a small part of the picture. However, he felt encouraged that perhaps they could start to sort everything out, at last.

Failure

In the meantime they received the 'progress report' by Mr George from Imbewu Communications which would be the only thing that came from the municipality after the promises of accountability and transparency on that Monday's meeting with the Tourism Portfolio Committee. Thembinkosi had promised a copy of this report already on 3 October. Volkher again followed Capt Coetzer's advice and he drafted a letter to the administrator of Makana Municipality, Ms Yako, outlining the problems Kwam still had with the municipality, the misrepresentations made by Thembinkosi and Sue at that meeting, and requesting a meeting with her. Volkher decided to sign the letter again as "Adv Von Lengeling, Kwam's legal representative" and he emailed it first thing the next morning. At that time he felt that he was fighting on two fronts, MT and MM, and he bargained on Ms Yako's good reputation with Capt Coetzer that at least one front could be settled and at then they could exert pressure on the other.

Perhaps the most important thing the Imbewu report reflected was the monetary value of the envisaged co-op development project, something Volkher had not considered before then. Similar to the glimpse they had into the enormous NAF 'machine', this report offered a glimpse into the 'development machine' which it proposed to set up in the name of Kwam. But one of the worst aberrations the report put forward was the apparent bustling tourism industry in Grahamstown which still today is nothing more than a dream. Thus "Promoting and enhancing a viable township accommodation model" rested on the erroneous assumption of a steady supply of tourists. While Kwam certainly had potential to be a tourist attraction in itself, it needed a tourism market to latch onto. The report promised under the

heading “Improving the individual owner’s experience”, flat screen TVs, home renovations, cooking training courses, computers etc. amounting to more than R800 000 per homestay - none of them were realistic and Ma Gora laughed them off as ridiculous and said that everybody knew they were just empty promises. The report was as shoddy and riddled with errors and nonsense as the registration papers Mr George had produced to Kwam a year before in November 2013. For example, the “Business Economics” section in the report made projections based on annual occupancy rates of 30%, 50% and 70%. This is ridiculous when one considers the nature of a homestay, let alone a Kwam homestay where people move out of their room to provide guest space – for up to 70% of the time! Besides this, the percentages are completely unrealistic also in terms of good occupancy rates in the hospitality industry which average between 30% to 50%, depending on the season. A 70% occupancy rate, even in areas with a strong tourism market, is considered exceptionally good (whereas a 100% occupancy rate is practically unattainable). Kwam had an occupancy rate of no more than 3% at the time of the report and even if the mamas wished to extend their business beyond Festival it could translate realistically to an occupancy rate of perhaps 10% to a maximum of 15%.

The Imbewu report also reflects the power struggle between Ma Gora and Otto at that time:

It became clear that there was tension amongst the leadership. It clearly appeared in numerous occasions that the Kwam eMakana leadership is not united. There is a strong lack of a shared vision among the project members. There are organisational dynamics resulting from the lack of proper leadership guidance.

From the report it is also apparent that the decision that Kwam was to become a set of co-ops was taken before the Kwam mamas ‘consented’. After his appointment, according to his report, the first thing Mr George did was to convene a workshop between himself, Otto and Thembinkosi at Makana Tourism “to ensure buy-in from broader Kwam eMakana collective” and there they decided that a meeting with the Kwam mamas would be called on 6 November 2013 for this purpose. At that meeting the mamas were ‘presented’ with the

project plan and asked to bring their IDs etc to a next meeting. Otto instructed the mamas that they had to do it otherwise they would not get money. That was how the 'buy-in' from the mamas was ensured, but the decision had been taken and a service provider appointed already in October.

The size of the proposed project with the primary and secondary co-ops was estimated at well over R2m, and would have required quite a huge bit of administration and the appointment of various external role players, for instance, a well paid project manager. Volkher realized that Otto had been organizing this position for himself and that was why he was still clinging on to Kwam, still claiming to be part of Kwam. Volkher also realized that Thembinkosi was obviously cross with him ("that white man" or "that white couple") because according to him he/they thwarted the municipality's role in this huge project worth millions, and he had to explain to his superiors why. Perhaps that was why he had asked when Volkher and Claudia were going to leave Kwam because they all just had to wait until Ma Gora 'breaks' then they could have still called up the 'ghost' of a co-op (a stillborn head of the dragon). By empowering Ma Gora they had obstructed the plan but Volkher also realized that as it was at that moment he and Claudia were in the power position of actually 'leading' Kwam. If they wanted to they could have taken control and taken on the position of project managers themselves and perhaps even got paid. However, as *tata* and *mama* they saw themselves as mentors and facilitators, and not as managers, and they wanted Kwam to lead themselves.

When they still noticed no changes to the MT website Volkher enquired with Mr Repinz and then they promptly received an email from Sue providing them with access details and password so that they could do the changes themselves. Now they would also like to have an explanation why this had taken so long and had to become such an issue when it had been possible for them to do the updates themselves all along. Next they noticed that

where there originally had been a button on the homepage of the MT website for Kwam, this button, which was supposed to be a direct link to the Kwam website as discussed with Sue, had disappeared. While this was going on Kwam received an email from the DSD regarding their registration as NPO with the Department and it stated “Application incomplete”. Volkher felt that they had failed. However, the department advised in the email on the two issues they had problems with: the first was that there were not enough committee members listed (they required six and not three as Volkher had thought); and the second was that essentially the aims and objectives as they were reflected in the Kwam constitution could be interpreted as ‘commercial’ and therefore Kwam should consider approaching the Companies and Intellectual Property Commission (CIPC) to be registered as NPC under the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), or, they could amend their constitution to reflect a more social purpose – it was after all the Department of Social Development they had applied with. Volkher and Claudia spent most of a day on the internet finding out what they could about NPOs and NPCs (the CIPC commercial equivalent of a NPO). Volkher came to the conclusion that there were three options for Kwam:

- 1) Kwam was a NPO as it was and could stay like that – if nothing on that level changed Kwam still remained an independent civil organisation, registered or not.
- 2) Kwam could pursue to become a registered NPO with the DSD which would involve changing the constitution and electing more members to the committee – this would have to happen with a two-thirds majority vote in favour (which in reality translated to 23 out of 34 mamas voting in favour); Kwam could resubmit their application and become registered.
- 3) Kwam could apply to CIPC to be registered as a NPC, but it was boldly advised in the application documents that one consult with a legal practitioner and appoint an auditor to assist with the application.

Volkher realized that the third option was beyond his knowledge of law and besides he did not want to do that job – even if he got paid – he had a thesis to write! Kwam would need professional service providers for this type of registration and this would be costly. Volkher and Claudia discussed the options with Ma Gora and said that they could help with option

one and two, but not three, and together they decided that they should abandon option three. Volkher said they would look again into amending the constitution and he suggested that Ma Gora should let the mamas know that there would be a meeting in about two weeks and if enough mamas supported it, they could be registered early in the next year. Volkher found the application for registration with the DSD fairly easy and well within the capacity of ordinary literate people; besides ordinary guidelines the department also offered specific guidelines and was generally helpful.

During all the internet searches it came to Volkher to investigate MT and the NPO registration number which featured on at least both the 2013 and 2014 MT financial reports which were handed in by Sue at the respective MT AGMs. Volkher was unable to find anything under Makana, Grahamstown, Makana Tourism, Grahamstown Tourism or the number on the online registers of the DSD or CIPC. It states clearly in sec. 29 of the NPO Act that using a NPO number or pretending to be an accredited NPO while not being such is a criminal offence. The false numbers on the financial reports of MT also cast serious doubt onto the auditor who had procured these reports. Volkher wondered how DSRAC or NAF would react when they got to know about this as they had stressed all along that Kwam had to be registered in order for government to do business with them. It turned out that being recognized by the municipality as Local Tourism Organization (LTO), MT had no need for registration, which only deepened the question about the false NPO numbers.

Early on the Friday morning of their planned meeting Mr Repinz sent an email to Volkher:

Hi Volkher

I trust you are well.

Progress is being made indeed. We expected the financial reports to be completed by the accountants for today's meeting, but they will only be ready early next week. We preferred

to have the accountants do it properly for the years that Sue has been there, beginning of 2012 onwards. The previous periods with Willie Makkink will be supplied as they were.

Unfortunately this means that our meeting today will be a bit pointless, so I would like to postpone until we have those financials from the accountants to hand over to you. My fault for not getting hold of you yesterday after our meeting. I rushed off to something else and forgot. My apologies.

In the meantime we also agreed that the KWAM button stay on the home page as suggested by yourselves. In addition the monies will be paid over to Kwam immediately. The only query was with the payment of membership to MT, which we can't pick up. Obviously this membership is due for representation with MT and we would like to know if we can pay the membership out of those funds and transfer the balance over to you?

Please let me know if this meets with your approval.

Regards
Eugene Repinz

Volkher and Claudia had decided to go to town anyway and would go past Ma Gora on their way. They were halfway to Ma Gora's house when Mr Repinz phoned and asked whether they had received his email. Volkher said that they were on their way to Ma Gora to discuss it with her, and they would confirm everything with her but he thought it would be okay if MT took the membership money from that account and then pay over the balance. Volkher reminded him that they would need an invoice and he also asked him to send a copy of the constitution of MT. Mr Repinz said that was fine and about an hour later both documents were in their email inbox. During the phone call when Mr Repinz referred to the books still being 'audited' at Taxhouse, Volkher asked him if they were then to understand that there were no books before. Mr Repinz answered that what they received the week before "is all what there was". So, Taxhouse now had to clean up Sue's mess before Mr Repinz could present it to Kwam. Of course, as the chairman of the former custodian of the project he would like to hand over a proper set of books – as it was supposed to have been all along.

Back to the captain

On Monday 1 December Volkher and Ma Gora went to Capt Coetzer to update her, to ask for advice as to how to proceed and to show her the false NPO number of MT. Volkher showed Capt Coetzer all the copies they received from Mr Repinz and told her what Mr Repinz had told them that the thin file “is all what there was”, and he showed her a copy of Mr Repinz’s email of Friday. Capt Coetzer told them that her impression was that her letter had caused quite a few eyebrows to rise and that Sue was probably in a very uncomfortable situation at that time. The captain also reported that MT’s lawyer had phoned her to ask what the intentions had been behind her letter. She said she told him that it was about the financial reports and the left over funds Kwam wanted and did not get, Kwam had tried the civil route but that did not work, so Kwam came to her. She confirmed that surely there must have been separate accounting for the money government put in for the project, and the fact that this information was not forthcoming created serious suspicions, and the continuing non-performance further confirmed suspicions. She said that the way she understood it, Kwam wanted the money to be transferred and insight of the financials, not necessarily criminal proceedings.

Capt Coetzer said she understood that Kwam wanted closure and move on. Then she asked how things were inside Kwam and Ma Gora answered that the mamas were ‘happy’. Volkher suspected that Captain Coetzer had also heard rumours and he shared his thoughts with her about a conspiracy involving Otto, his following, Sue and Thembinkosi and even some individuals of DSRAC, wanting to break Kwam by depriving Kwam of guests – the only income the Kwam mamas got through DSRAC as they had not benefitted from the budget

before 2014. Capt Coetzer agreed that the impression she had gathered so far was that for whatever the reason 'they' wanted Ma Gora to give in, to submit. She suggested that they ask Mr Repinz for a definite timeframe so that the outstanding issues could finally be settled. Everybody knows that by mid December Grahamstown literally shuts down until mid January when things slowly start to pick up for the year again. So if something was still to happen it had to happen before mid December. Before they left the captain commented that Ma Gora looked much happier than when she first came to her office and she encouraged Ma Gora: "You must be strong and carry on, Kwam must carry on!"

Ma Gora heard rumours that Mr Repinz would not see them that week either because he was going to resign as chairman of MT. Apparently someone had overheard him when he had complained that he was sick of all the lies Sue and Otto were telling. This did not bode well as it implied that Sue and Otto (with the help of Thembinkosi who was also on the MT board) convinced the MT Board meeting on the last Thursday to their advantage. With the other members of the board also being totally in the dark about the Kwam issues, as Mr Repinz had been, it would have been easy to discredit Volkher and Claudia, never mind Ma Gora. In the end Mr Repinz probably stood there isolated, a lone voice against a barrage of confusion - who were the board members to believe? Much later Sue lamented that they struggled to reach their quorum (five out of thirteen members) at board meetings, which confirmed that Sue, Otto and Thembinkosi could easily sway the decisions.

As Captain Coetzer suggested, Volkher wrote an email to Mr Repinz enquiring about the 'immediate payment' and further he requested a fixed date for all the outstanding matters to be finally settled. He decided to write to Mr Repinz rather earlier than later because that may confirm or dispel rumours of his resignation. However, an hour later Volkher received an email response from Mr Repinz where he attached the correspondence with Sue and the proof of payment of the balance of that account (about R10 500, as they had estimated) to

Kwam. Although he had to push again, the money was in, indeed another victory! And according to Volkher and Claudia's forecasts the money should be enough to help Kwam through to Festival 2015 - if they controlled it properly. Volkher exchanged more emails with Mr Repinz to arrange where and when they would meet the next day "to sort out the rest, at last!"

Kwam financial reports

On Wednesday 3 December Mr Repinz (again accompanied by X), Volkher, Claudia, Ma Gora met at Mr Repinz's hotel. Mr Repinz had with him a big black file and proceeded to page through the long awaited 'Kwam financial reports'. There was also a form which he said Sue had asked that the Kwam mamas sign and then to send it back to MT. The form stated that the Kwam mamas approved of the financials of the past, and Volkher questioned how they could be asked to take responsibility for something they had no say in; he said they would first have to study the file at home. However, Mr Repinz referred back to the previous meeting and concerning Otto he suggested they look into ways of perhaps reconciling with Otto. Volkher, making a huge effort to control himself, again confirmed that Otto had been voted out and the Kwam mamas did not want to have anything to do with him. Ma Gora looked like she was going to explode but then just shrugged it off. Having missed this part of the meeting concerning Otto, the last committee member arrived very late, shortly before the meeting was over.

After the fairly brief meeting the Kwam delegation discussed what they were to do next. The committee member said they should forget about the past and move on to the future. Ma Gora argued with the committee member, asking her how come she was saying they should just leave everything, after all what they had been through. The committee member would

have understood Ma Gora's frustration and if she had heard that Mr Repinz suggested that they sit together and reconcile with Otto, she would have exploded herself. Ma Gora became agitated and said that "I'm not doing this for me, I'm doing this for Kwam!" Volkher and Claudia's efforts to console either did not work and the party broke up like that. They said their goodbyes and went their own ways. Ma Gora later told that after that she went through town not knowing what she was looking for, standing in the queue at the bank but forgetting what she wanted there. Everything was getting too much again and she found herself rather alone, she felt the committee had abandoned her. The next day Ma Gora received a SMS from the last committee member saying she resigned. Ma Gora phoned the committee member and she said she resigned because of that 'fight' they had in front of Mr Repinz's hotel and in front of Volkher and Claudia; she resented being treated like a child and being embarrassed like that. Volkher reminded Ma Gora that in terms of Kwam's constitution new committee members would have to be appointed anyway.

Volkher and Claudia scrutinized the reports in the thick file Mr Repinz had given them and after having studied the reports until late that night they came to the conclusion that the figures were even more confusing than before and they simply did not match. The next morning Volkher and Ma Gora then spent three hours with Capt Coetzer going through the file. Volkher had made a list of all the issues and discrepancies he had picked up the night before and these they checked again. Capt Coetzer felt that there was enough evidence for serious suspicion but what stood between her and opening a case were exactly audited reports. Though the reports were compiled by an auditing firm they were not audited reports. Only with audited reports would the police (or then the prosecution) have a water tight case to ensure conviction. There was a dilemma though – who was going to pay for the audits? Kwam had no money for something like that and while they were waiting for these audits the dragon's poison would continue to spread. In the end Capt Coetzer, Volkher and Ma Gora settled on a five point plan of action: firstly, Volkher would write to Mr Repinz again, secondly they would contact Taxhouse who could perhaps assist with auditing (as they were already involved), and the other three points concerned ways to deal with Otto

(publicizing a notice that Otto had nothing to do with Kwam, letters to various authorities with the same message, and to investigate possibilities to restrain Otto in terms of the Harassment Act).

A few weeks before Claudia had solicited a free half an hour consultation with Taxhouse for Kwam and Mr Repinz had told them at their last meeting that they were welcome to ask Annelien at the Taxhouse to explain things to them. So, they went there and told her everything, including where they were with the police, and Volkher begged her to help Kwam – they, Taxhouse, could produce audited reports! Taxhouse obviously did not know about the police but they had a serious clash of interest problem as they were the auditors for MT, MT was their client. Annelien said she would try and ‘fix’ the financials for Kwam so that they tally with the reports for DSRAC and that the financial years run from January to December (not as they had been, running from July to June, thus cutting Festival in half). She undertook to find out what she could about the other problems they had pointed out and then she would return the original folder plus the reworked reports to Kwam.

Volkher felt thoroughly dumb and dazed after two full days busying himself so deeply with trying to make sense out of confusing numbers and reports, but that evening he still wrote an email to Mr Repinz. He thanked Mr Repinz for all his efforts but then expressed his disappointment with what were supposed to be the Kwam financials and that the file he had given them was useless for Kwam. Volkher also added that he was all the more convinced that things were not in order and he requested that at least the bank statements be made available to Kwam as they were not included. The next morning they got news from Taxhouse that Kwam would get ‘new’ financials from 2011 to 2014, running the financial years from January through to December, as they had requested.

At the end of that week Volkher and Claudia analysed the situation afresh. They reached the conclusion that what it all ultimately boiled down to was still the power struggle between Ma Gora and Otto. And, actually it had been there right from the start of Kwam. Even the Imbewu report and other short term surveys of Kwam, such as the Burunguz et al. Paper of 2011 and the Kwarambaa et al. (2012) 'emotional intelligence' test of Kwam, clearly identified 'management problems', which these papers claim also reflected with the lack of social cohesion of the group. It is because the group had two distinct sub-groups: Ma Gora represented the original intended beneficiaries and Otto had brought some of his followers in and so he got hold on the project. Both had a much better education than the rest of Kwam. Mr Makkink kept Otto at bay but when Sue came and she and Otto sided, he was firmly in the driving seat. Volkher speculated that Otto aimed to become the project manager of the 'bigger and better' Kwam, established with the government grants he had helped to secure. Volkher and Claudia empowering Ma Gora was 'throwing a spanner into his works' and the three of them became objects for him, together with his allies Sue and Thembinkosi, to target. Sue did everything she could to make life as complicated as possible by seemingly deliberately confusing issues or making 'mistakes' in the hope that the couple would just go away, or give up. But they did not go away and so she had to give in little by little, bit by bit and Kwam was getting more and more what they wanted. Money-wise it started with the R1000 starter packs (x34) and R6000 petty cash, followed by the R20 000 for Kwam operations and finally the R10 500 as pay-over of the balance in the Kwam account MT kept. All in all, of the DSRAC Budget (and 'left over') R70 500 had been channelled directly to Kwam in 2014; in 2013 R71 000 had been channelled to MT and nothing to Kwam.

A New Dawn

New committee

It was Saturday morning 6 December 2014 and Volkher was on his way to town. He had arranged to drop off an old basin with Ma Gora as the one in her new bathroom broke. Volkher was rehashing the power struggle theories he and Claudia had talked about the night before - he saw himself defending Kwam and their rights; defending and not attacking even though he felt attacked, personally, and Claudia too. Suddenly an idea dawned on him and it could all happen very fast: according to Kwam's constitution they had to get a new committee together as the old committee had by then faded away. Instead of trying to subdue or fight Otto, why not remove Ma Gora from the position in which Otto was out to attack her? So, if Otto could not attack Ma Gora they would not have to bother with him anymore – after all, a power struggle takes 'two to tango'. Ma Gora was the only one who could do the bookings, process payments and who understood the finances of Kwam and she should therefore be treasurer, not chairlady. Nobody, least of all Otto, could attack the new chairlady as she would not be part of the old power struggle vortex. It would be like a 'new' Kwam from within, with a new chairperson and at the same time proof to the mamas that Ma Gora was not doing everything by herself as some former committee members had accused her of doing. That also meant that they did not have to pursue the last three points of their plan of action as they had discussed with Captain Coetzer which concerned dealing with (attacking) Otto. Volkher had his reservations about the execution of those points anyway – he had hoped that if they could come right with Mr Repinz and Taxhouse, Sue

would be tied up and Otto would fall by the wayside without her support. Of course, he could only hope and not predict.

When Volkher got to Ma Gora's house he excitedly told her about his freshly hatched idea. Ma Gora immediately cottoned on and agreed that it would take her out of the line of fire and let her carry on with her work instead. And she was tired of operating like she had to do without a committed committee. Volkher advised Ma Gora that she should contact those of the old committee who have not formally resigned yet and if they did not respond, she should get together a new committee and call them to a meeting. By Monday 8 December Ma Gora confirmed that none of the old committee members answered their phones nor replied to her SMS message, and she could so far only get one other mama who was willing to serve on the new committee. Ma Gora said she would try other mamas and phoned back later to say that she found two younger mamas and an old mama who would join and that they have arranged to meet the next day, at 10 o'clock at the Duna Library Hall. Clearly the reluctance to join their committee showed again but it looked like Kwam would have a new committee after all, and Volkher said he would facilitate the meetings as Kwam's lawyer. He would also record the meetings with agendas, minutes and notices as he knew nobody could expect any of the new committee members to keep a paper trail of such exceptional circumstances – especially as new-comers to the world of constitutions and formalized meetings hinging on written words, and in English on top of it.

On Tuesday morning 9 December 2014 the willing mamas gathered at the Duna Library Hall. Four Kwam mamas were introduced as new members of the management committee and together with Ma Gora, the five mamas constituted the new committee of Kwam (according to Kwam's second constitution). Volkher then asked the committee to decide on portfolios and he added that Ma Gora had indicated that she would step down as chairperson but would be available as treasurer. Without much ado and rather informally the positions of

chairperson, (the new position of) deputy chairperson, treasurer, secretary and one additional committee member were sorted out. The first topic the new committee had to discuss were the changes to their constitution. Volkher had prepared a draft amended constitution and copies of this he then distributed among the committee members for further distribution and discussion among the other Kwam mamas. He pointed the proposed amendments out and explained what they meant. In essence the constitution did not change but he had increased the number of committee members and adapted the aims and objectives to reflect a more social purpose, as the DSD requested. He also asked Ma Gora to explain it in isiXhosa. Because it was so late in December already the committee decided to call a general Kwam meeting at 10 o'clock on 9 January 2015 at Duna Library Hall. Volkher drew up a notice, and copied it at the library next door, to serve as written notices to members and containing the agenda which included notice of amendments to the constitution. The new chairlady, Ma Moli, led the closing prayer. After the meeting Volkher and Claudia went to town and Ma Gora joined them. They were all elated, "What a relief!" It felt as if a huge burden had fallen off them and although it boiled down to names on paper, they were very pleased with the way things developed and worked out.

However, the new Kwam secretary (a younger mama) resigned the next day by sending Ma Gora an SMS reading "please scratch my name". When Ma Gora spoke to her she said that she felt she would not be committed enough as she had a full time job. A week later at the last committee meeting for the year Volkher advised the committee that no replacement for the secretary was necessary until the General Meeting they had planned for 9 January 2015 when more committee members would be elected in terms of the third constitution. Nothing would happen until then anyway, especially concerning MT as Sue was still 'sitting' on the reports, in no hurry to reveal them. Volkher had enquired with Taxhouse when the financials would be available and they replied that the financial reports were completed as Kwam had requested and that they had given them to Sue who, as they understood it, would contact Kwam soon to arrange handing them over. Also at that committee meeting they agreed to a budget of R500 per month for stationery and airtime for the booking office

and the committee, and a monthly compensation for the booking officer, Ma Gora, of R1000 per month to be paid from the Kwam account and starting as of 1 December 2014. Further they decided that of the 10% booking fee, 5% would go for costs and the other 5% would accrue to the booking officer and they envisaged that this would become much more substantial as bookings increase. Volkher congratulated Ma Gora because she had become the first person to be 'employed' by Kwam itself. They also considered a joining fee of R500 for new members and an annual membership fee for Kwam members but these would have to be confirmed with the mamas in January. With the closing of the meeting the work of the committee for that year also came to an end. Ma Gora would, of course, continue with her work as booking officer throughout the rest of December and into the New Year.

Third Kwam constitution

The meeting on 9 January 2015 could not be held in the Duna Library Hall as it was still closed for holidays and Ma Gora let everybody know that the meeting would be at a mama's house which was fairly close to the hall. It turned out to be an ill attended meeting but surprisingly all three former committee members came. As soon as Ma Gora, who chaired the meeting, started with the agenda the former committee member who had that 'fight' with her at Mr Repinz's hotel, interrupted and said they should discuss the "problems within the committee". All three former committee members then argued with Ma Gora, accusing her of not letting them know what was going on. Ma Gora retorted that it was the duty of the committee members to be active and besides she had always tried to contact them, or left messages about meetings but they did not come. After more arguing the old committee members got up and left. On the way out the one former committee member who had supposedly been treasurer left the balance of the party money, R70, on the table and another left a note containing her formal resignation from the committee. Of the former committee members one was an Otto loyalist to start with, the other disliked the white couple and the third had a fight with Ma Gora, but that was history. The meeting continued

first with the rest of the mamas rather shocked and questioning the behaviour of the former committee members. Ma Gora said she did not appreciate them coming there only to disrupt their meeting, “why did they not come and listen?” Volkher told them not to worry, they already had their new committee, but they would have to have another meeting because they needed at least 23 mamas for the quorum to get the improved third constitution through. The mamas decided to recall the general meeting on 14 January.

After the botched general meeting Volkher had a rather depressing weekend. Just when he had gained confidence that the internal problems were assuaged it now seemed that the poison was still spreading within Kwam and it was quite possible that there could even be a split as the power struggle around Ma Gora raged on. Volkher now doubted if his plan had been anything more than cosmetic. However, he again revised the constitution and polished some bits, notably the preamble which now referred to Mrs Balindlela too so that the historic connection was undeniable. He also revised the aims and objectives and widened the scope of operations beyond homestays as some mamas had other enterprises ‘at home’ and these could also be promoted under Kwam. The day before the meeting he printed some copies of the new constitution and kept a copy to be signed as the original document (See Appendix 13).

Surprisingly, at the meeting on 14 January there were 29 signatories on the attendance register, thus exceeding the quorum requirements and it even included all three of the former committee members and some other mamas who had not been to meetings in a while. As usual there was an opening hymn and prayer and then Ma Moli started with reading the minutes of the previous meeting, which Volkher had prepared again. But Ma Moli did not get far with the reading of the minutes and never finished it because two of the former committee members started to question how the new committee came about. Then the one former committee member rehashed at length again that ‘fight’ she had with Ma

Gora but with that she seemed somehow satisfied (got it off her chest, as it were) because for the rest of the meeting she participated constructively. Another one, who was known to have close ties to Otto, started questioning the way Ma Gora was handling the Kwam funds and why the booking office was at Ma Gora's house; she demanded accountability and transparency. Ma Gora chided her for not having attended the meetings they had towards the end of the last year where financial reports (which Claudia had drawn up) were presented and she added that the mamas could access this information anytime, it was not secret. But the former committee member obviously had another agenda and kept criticizing Ma Gora, she denied the progress of Kwam and instead exclaimed "Kwam is going down!" Then she had yet another point she wanted to make: "Otto is now chairman of Makana Tourism" and she criticized the Kwam committee for not knowing this. Volkher could not figure how or why Kwam (or even he) should or could have known, as MT did not know about Kwam's new committee either. But whereas Volkher was rather surprised by the news (the rumours about Mr Repinz's resignation became true after all), the mamas showed complete indifference, and he thought about the coincidence that both the chairpersons of Kwam and MT quietly resigned almost simultaneously and to a great extent for the same reason – to be rid of Otto.

Next a former committee member also took a swipe at Volkher, first commenting that the absence of a secretary was a joke and then criticizing him that his reports were in English. Volkher became very annoyed but stayed calm and asked that they move on to discuss the constitution, as all these other issues were historical. He quietly wondered on whose side the mama was on, why did she fight against Kwam instead of for Kwam? Ma Moli later said that "they were out to kill Ma Gora, but they did not succeed", and a committee member added that "Ma Gora did so much for Kwam and now they wanted to crucify her like Jesus, but luckily Volkher had written everything down, so that when someone asked something she could take out the paper and read from it, it is all there!" Towards the end of the gruelling three and a half hour session they finally discussed the constitution and the mamas accepted the third constitution and elected two more committee members (they needed a

six-person-strong committee and they were only four at the time). It took a while for two mamas to avail themselves to serve on the committee and Volkher again noted the reluctance. However, after two mamas accepted their nominations and the quick fuss-free election of these members, Volkher asked all the committee members to sign the original copy of the third Kwam constitution. After the meeting Volkher had the feeling that Kwam was somehow largely bound together again, even if it was partially as a result of the probing mamas' attacks being deftly destroyed by Ma Gora's patience. Over the course of the very long and tedious meeting the rift which he had sensed in the previous meeting seemed to be narrowing.

Ma Gora wanted to change the signatories on the bank account still that day, so some committee members went along to town with Ma Gora and Volkher. While they were waiting at the bank Volkher asked about some things he had not quite understood and the mamas added their recollections of the long meeting. After they had been to the bank the Kwam party went to MT next door to get the file with the financials, which in December the Taxhouse had returned to Sue instead of to Kwam. Sue said that her board insisted on a 'formal handover', together with DSRAC and the municipality; they were getting everything ready for that, copying everything and making 'parcels' for each party so that everybody would know what was going on. She would let them know about a date, hopefully before the end of January. Volkher then told Sue about Kwam's new committee and she just said "Oh, that's good!" They left it at that but Volkher could not fathom what Sue still had to do with the financials after she got them back from Taxhouse already in December and now to get them ready for a 'formal hand over'?

Revelations

Now that the former committee had become history Ma Gora told Volkher and Claudia more stories about the members, which before she had withheld. So she told the story of what happened after a big group of sangomas stayed with Kwam. It had been during Mr Makkink's time but not during Festival. Somehow the payment of more than R120 000 came over in cash. Otto called everybody he liked, not everybody of Kwam who had hosted, over to the city hall where the money was counted out and split up around a big table. Ma Gora described and gestured how some mamas grabbed at the money of others, wiping notes to the floor 'by accident' and the general chaos of the payout. She had made a list of the payouts but those that were not there did not get any money in the end – such was the mad money grab under the auspices of Otto. Ma Gora recalled that she had seen the same happening with the Dakawa Arts project some years before: once the Swedish control handed over, everybody that could just grabbed whatever money there was to grab and that was the end of that project. It is perhaps just the non-violent relative of looting – for Volkher outright criminal behaviour. The way Ma Gora operated seemed to be more the exception to the rule when it came to dealing with money. For Volkher it seemed that Ma Gora's education contributed to a different understanding of limited goods – Ma Gora could visualize beyond the limits of 'here and now' which dictates 'take what you can get' if there is a treasure to be shared.

Some of the Otto loyalists operated their own (illegal) money lending schemes, these people are called *skopari* or *mashonisa*. In Volkher's interview with Mrs Balindlela she specifically referred to the societal evil which *mashonisa* were, certainly contrary to any philosophy she held. But rumours were that Otto was a debt collector for these *skopari* and hence their support for him when it came to Kwam. Several not-so-poor mamas, all Otto loyalists, joined the Kwam project as 'overflow' and thus could bypass the original entry requirements. Otto bragged with their 'luxurious' homes as examples of the successful development of the project. Even if government knew this, as they made up eight to ten of the members of Kwam (at the time less than a fifth of the total number), they counted as an insignificant minority. However, with dwindling member numbers the Otto loyalists counted for perhaps a quarter of the group of 34 by 2014.

Ma Gora also told about that 'fight' again which she had with the former committee when they had discussed their 'compensation' after Festival and it was decided that each would get R1500 and Ma Gora R4000. What the fight was really about after Volkher had left that meeting was that the three former committee members did their best to try and convince Ma Gora to agree that they split up *all* the money in the Kwam account between them – to clean everything out. Ma Gora refused and said that she was very angry and eventually walked out on them. That was why one of the committee members had asked at that meeting if they could discuss it "in front of our lawyer", a comment Volkher found very odd at the time. Also, just before Volkher left that meeting, he had admonished the former committee to be very careful with the money because further funding was in no way certain and they still had some bills to pay, notably for the website. Ma Gora said she had realised then that the others in the committee were only in it for the money and probably because Sue had before Festival 2014 held the 'carrot' of Otto's stipend (R30 000) in front of them to divide among themselves, which would have meant no less than R5000 per head. That was why the former committee just faded, they discovered there was no money (or not enough) and they were not driven by the cause. Ma Gora said she did not want to tell Volkher or Claudia about these things at the time because she did not want to risk them thinking ill of

the former committee. Of course, she was right, Volkher and Claudia might have abandoned the group of money grabbers there and then and they would not have carried on with their intervention. That was relatively early with their interventions but they were already considering 'ways out' as Volkher wanted to get on with writing his thesis. He had no idea where all of their inventions would lead – it certainly had very little to do with hospitality – and had they learned about the intentions of the former committee back then, it would have been a good enough reason to quit. Now that they have heard these 'money grabbing' stories and about the large number of moneylenders among Kwam, Volkher had to reflect again on their position as both he and Claudia had – at their expense (material and immaterial) – made enormous sacrifices and such huge efforts for Kwam, trying to *help* them. He understood the issues with limited goods but he rejects dishonesty; he questioned who his informants really were – crooks and thieves? And on top of that Ma Gora also told him that some mamas, notably a younger mama and two of the former committee members, questioned the motives of "the white people". But Ma Gora said that the majority of Kwam, at least two thirds, were behind her and supported her being supported by Volkher and Claudia. Thus Volkher and Claudia decided they would 'hang in there' as long as Kwam wanted them, but they were also aware that they would leave Kwam, or Kwam leave them, sometime – the whole idea was anyway that Kwam would do it all on their own in the end. It was thus a matter of determining when 'in the end' is to be and this may be more complicated than a simple calculation of time. Of course, they have become friends besides the honorary titles of *tata* and *mama*. Later when Volkher again talked to Ma Gora about their relationship with Kwam they concluded that because Volkher and Claudia were *tata* and *mama*, no one can expect their relationship to end, just as any parental relationship did not end, but it also meant that they would leave room for the free development of the 'child'.

Without knowing that it could be the case, Volkher, by presenting the mamas with their own paper trail, scared them because they knew they did not have the literacy level to manage it. Being only literate and numerate in the most basic ways, they were afraid of all

the paper work; they could see what an effort it was to leave a paper trail – even the former committee member recognised this indirectly by criticizing Volkher for his intervention. Volkher asked Ma Gora who she thought was going to do it when he was not there anymore, as she was the only one close to doing it but her problem was also with English (which had improved over the last six months because of the intense contact with Volkher and Claudia). But Ma Gora could not do everything, and then they would be exactly at the point which the previous committee complained of. Volkher said that he and Claudia realized that just because the mamas have no or little education it did not mean they were stupid, and therefore they were sharing their education with them, as she did too. Ma Gora agreed and added that “when the mamas speak at a meeting one can hear what they are saying has value, but of course, there is also a whole lot of rubbish-talk”. Concerning the registration and the work thereafter of keeping the paper trail it looked as if, for the time being, Volkher was the only one to really do it. He either had to see to it that he got paid for keeping the records and generally keeping everything formally together (not a job he ever wanted) or he had to find someone to hand over to and this was where he thought Rhodes University could come in. Kwam was far too big for one private couple with limited resources like them, and they had given Kwam what they could, but they could not sustain the maintenance of what Kwam would need, never mind supporting their development financially. Kwam needed to latch onto the biggest industry in town and that is the University. While Volkher wrote emails to the Vice Chancellor of Rhodes and Rhodes University Community Engagement he also contacted the Rhodes Conference Centre which managed the ‘Rhodes Hotel’ during Festival. In the meantime Volkher also prepared the re-application of Kwam with the DSD.

Application for registration

Volkher had made copies of the committee members’ Identity Documents (ID) so that he could attach them to the application for registration with the DSD as required. Out of the

six, only one member's ID was still not photocopied and Ma Gora kept phoning her but with no answer. Ma Gora said that when she had looked at her house the gate was locked and the house also seemed closed or locked up. A day later Ma Gora phoned Volkher to tell him that when she at last reached the committee member, the new Deputy Chairlady no less, she told Ma Gora that "she wants her name to be taken off", and she resigned from the committee. Volkher was very annoyed but Ma Gora said that she had already found a replacement and wanted to know how they were to go about installing the new committee member. Also, time was short as Sue let Ma Gora know that the 'hand over' meeting with DSRAC and MT would be on the coming Monday 26 January 2015. Volkher advised that they should have a committee meeting as soon as possible and that would then confirm the new member. Volkher thought that at this rate every mama would have been on the committee before the year was out, like playing musical chairs it seemed, and all along he would have filled in a lot of papers for nothing, the curse of the paper trail! However, the biggest problem was that they also had to amend the signatories on the constitution to match them with the application. Ma Gora organized the committee meeting for Friday 23 January 2015, but the new Deputy Chairperson had unfortunately been so delayed that the committee decided she would have to sign the attendance register and constitution later. Volkher knew this was irregular, but things needed to move and there were no 'bad' ulterior motives for doing so and he would sanction everything as facilitator again. Volkher settled that the constitution and supporting documents would be ready for the application latest by Monday.

Hand-over meeting

Over the weekend Ms Citwa (from the local DSRAC office) visited Ma Gora to discuss her participation in an art project and they were talking about Kwam too. Ma Gora said "I told her everything" and Ms Citwa reacted very positively and said to Ma Gora "Thank God those white people came and helped you!" She added she was happy that Kwam did not 'go

down' because that would have been very bad for DSRAC, and she was equally glad that Kwam had left MT. She repeated that DSRAC would not let Kwam down and in the end she commented that Volkher and Claudia had actually done the work DSRAC was supposed to do, but DSRAC did not know how to do it. Hearing this Volkher wondered "As if we knew!" Learning by doing is/was/had been their motto all along, they had never claimed to be experts of sorts, especially not concerning dealing with government or development projects. Ma Gora said that she had been suspicious of Ms Citwa before, especially after that extra inspection of her house before Festival 2014 and the way Ms Citwa seemed aloof when Ma Gora asked support, therefore her positive remarks surprised Ma Gora. Volkher had had reservations about the upcoming 'hand-over' meeting but his mood swung when he heard about what Ms Citwa had said to Ma Gora. If DSRAC was still so much committed it should be relatively easy to secure future funding for Kwam, no matter what Sue and Otto had up their sleeves. He was even more optimistic when on Monday morning Sue sent a message that the venue had changed from MT to DSRAC's offices. This meant that instead of Otto being chairperson of the meeting, had it been at MT, Mr Chetty would be chair and indeed he was. Volkher wondered if this had anything to do with Ms Citwa's talk with Ma Gora.

At the DSRAC offices on Monday 26 January 2015 there were five of the six committee members present and Ma Gora said the sixth was on her way back from Gauteng and somehow got delayed. They were on time, but had to wait for another meeting to finish in the DSRAC boardroom. Volkher used the opportunity to get all the signatures and copies of IDs he still needed, and finally he had all the papers for the application of registration ready and in order. By the time the 'hand-over' meeting started there were only four committee members left as the new Deputy Chairlady had again another appointment to go to and them having had to wait so long, ate her time. When the meeting finally began Volkher noticed that there were no parcels of papers anywhere which Sue could hand over as she had promised – so they were not going to get the financials, again! As usual, Mr Chetty asked that everybody introduce themselves and from the MT delegation it was only Mr

Repinz who did not seem gloomy; judging the way Sue and Otto looked, it seemed they had bones to chew on (Sue, Otto and Mr Repinz had attended the meeting with DSRAC just before too). Otto introduced himself as chairman of MT and Mr Repinz as former chairperson and when it came to Ma Moli she stated her name and added proudly, "I am the chairperson of Kwam". Mr Chetty's eyebrows rose sharply and he immediately asked "When did this happen? I didn't know you had an AGM! Where are the other mamas?" Volkher answered that the former committee members had resigned and that because they were getting ready for registration there had been an AGM, just two weeks before, on the 14th of January. Then Volkher introduced himself, and as Claudia had done, as a friend of Kwam. Ma Gora was next and she stated she was the treasurer of Kwam. Again Mr Chetty raised his eyebrows and then asked for the resignation letters and minutes of the meetings where these changes were decided. Volkher protested that Kwam had not received an agenda or any notice that they had to bring or present something, the meeting was called by MT to hand things to Kwam. However, Volkher, relying on his paper trail, added that he could compile a formal letter with minutes attached and email it to all of them later or, if they wanted, he had the signed constitution of Kwam there with him and they could copy that. Mr Chetty asked Mr Mqhayi to make copies and continued with the points he wanted to make clear, that the funding for Kwam was seen by DSRAC as "seed funding" and it was not intended for paying salaries (and Volkher quietly thought about the salaries MT had paid from it). The funding was there for 'development' so that the project could become self-sufficient, and then they could pay their salaries from their own money. Then Mr Chetty repeated that Government could only do business with registered entities. Concerning the Kwam financials, he said that they belonged to MT as MT was responsible for the originals; the originals had to stay with MT and Kwam could only have copies. He made quite a point of it that the financials were the responsibility of MT *only*. This meant that Sue could not pass the letter or form of approval she wanted the Kwam committee to sign at the meeting with Mr Repinz on 3 December 2014.

When Mr Chetty came to the point of the 'hand-over', Mr Mqhayi questioned "the readiness of Kwam". Volkher was thinking "the readiness, for what?" But Mr Mqhayi was not referring to the same 'readiness of Kwam' as before Festival. Mr Chetty then churned a little history tour of recent developments and Kwam's performance and he thanked Kwam for submitting a 'Plan of Action' and he thanked Volkher and Claudia for helping Kwam. Referring to the Plan of Action, he said Kwam was to be registered accordingly and he then wanted to know if Kwam was registered. Volkher explained that they were literally on the brink of registering. Mr Chetty said that was a problem because DSRAC could not do business with Kwam if they were not registered, *and* therefore he could not 'hand over' to Kwam – that would have been "illegal". Mr Chetty then asked the Kwam committee what their expectations were and Ma Gora put it to DSRAC that they had all along said Kwam must stand up for themselves and then if they did that, they say "No, we cannot help you"; DSRAC had become a hurdle or obstacle for the very thing they were promoting. So the meeting deadlocked and Mr Chetty pleaded, "Volkher, help us out here!" Volkher said all he could do was to submit the application for registration ASAP and so see to it that Kwam got registered. Volkher said he would do the registration online still that same day but there was nothing else he could do now. Desperate to get somewhere with the meeting Mr Chetty asked MT if they were ready and Sue said they were. She waved a thin white A4 sized envelope and said "it is all here". She added "the other stuff is in my car" and as they were the originals, which they could not give out as Mr Chetty had made clear earlier, they would first have to make copies before Kwam could have the copies. Volkher quietly wondered what had happened to the file they got from Mr Repinz and the 'parcels' with copies which Sue had promised before. Nonetheless, Mr Chetty had the scribe note that "Makana Tourism is ready". Then he asked: "Okay then, when will Kwam be ready?" Volkher answered that he did not know; once they had submitted the application it could take up to a month for the DSD to decide to accept the application and from there follows the final registration process. The question felt like an unfair complaint, because Kwam had not asked for a meeting with Mr Chetty, they wanted to wait until they were 'ready' and their application was approved and only then meet with him. Claudia then said that perhaps they should postpone the meeting until such time as Kwam was registered, as all hinged on that. Mr Chetty thanked Claudia and said that was very helpful and then concluded that "DSRAC will not let Kwam down". He told of his superior (the MEC of Arts and Culture, Dr Pemmy

Majodina), who had recently told him that she was keenly keeping an eye on Kwam and “keep watching Kwam eMakana and if there is anything we as a department could do to help Kwam, we should do it”. So there was yet another ‘high cat’ eyeing Kwam, but Volkher wondered if and how this would help Kwam. Wrapping up, Mr Chetty had the scribe note that Volkher undertook to submit Kwam’s application still that same day and that a next meeting be scheduled towards the end of February; Kwam should liaise directly with him on the progress made. With that the meeting closed. The MT delegation left with great haste while Claudia and Volkher talked to Mr Chetty about the free advertisement for the 2015 Festival programme, which Claudia was busy designing and she asked if he could remind the NAF office about it. In the end Mr Chetty said to Volkher and Claudia “I can see that you are really into this with your heart”. Back home Volkher completed the application and submitted it online and then sent an email to Mr Chetty late in the afternoon, providing him with the reference number of the application which the DSD had returned online.

A few days later Mr Chetty forwarded the draft minutes of the ‘hand over’ meeting and asked for corrections and comments. After reading the minutes Volkher was shocked that it stated that copies were handed to Kwam when in fact Kwam did not get anything at all! As usual, *Kwam* were the ones handing over documents, like with the constitution for them to copy. But this crucial act was not mentioned in the draft minutes. In the conclusion section the scribe noted: “The Kwam eMakana group is still not ready with registration documents that are tax compliant, so as to make business with the Department and they accept that. So in the meantime Makana Tourism Board still continues its role to the Kwam group.” But the only role MT had to Kwam was that Kwam was a member of MT; registered or not, Kwam has been an independent civil organization since 10 June 2014. There was also an accusatory tone (elsewhere in the minutes too) implying that Kwam ‘failed’ to get registered, which Volkher rather resented because he had done everything humanly possible to move with the application and he did not get paid for this in any way. Now the minutes read as if Kwam had promised something and failed. Again Volkher wrote a very long email to Mr Chetty explaining all their issues in detail and pointing out the absurd

outcome of the meeting that MT could seemingly escape their responsibility of accountability and transparency because Kwam was not registered. They received no reply from Mr Chetty.

Assumption Development Centre & Rhodes University Community Engagement

From Volkher's approaches to Rhodes University he managed to arrange a meeting on Friday 30 January 2015 with the Kwam delegation, Rhodes University Community Engagement (RUCE) and the Assumption Development Centre (ADC) at the ADC in Joza. For Volkher it was such a relief that he afterwards said to Claudia that it must have been the first 'normal' meeting he had attended with Kwam ever. There were no tense under currents, it was a stress-free meeting. As it was meant to be an introductory meeting they kept formalities to a minimum and everybody could speak freely and did. Suggestions to help Kwam were made ranging from accounting to website upgrading and marketing. The ADC were thinking of creating a Township Art Route in line with other Creative City initiatives and they named a few optimistic examples of changes in the township where they could see obvious connections between these and Kwam. For instance, there could be collaboration with tavern owners and a new fresh produce market in Joza. They also confirmed that accommodation was probably the one thing that brings in the most money from the outside *into* the township and Volkher added that that was in fact the case as Snowball (2005) had found that at NAF most of the money visitors spent was for accommodation. ADC and RUCE also offered solutions for the documentation which they suggested could easily be done by student volunteers and then gradually the mamas could do it themselves. That is, the normal keeping of minutes etc, and not dealing with the exceptional circumstances of battling with dragons. The Kwam delegation would meet a few more times with ADC and RUCE and Mr Masonwabe Nduna (generally referred to as Maso) from ADC would also accompany the Kwam delegation to their meetings in future. A few months later Kwam partnered with the African Women's Chartered Accountants Society

(AWCAS) of Rhodes who would assist with their financial reporting and website. Long overdue, Kwam had finally found new friends with significant capitals.

Success

Private guests

Already during December bookings for Kwam started to trickle in via the internet and when it came to the start of the university in the beginning of February, it was evident that the website and other internet exposures were starting to bear fruit. It was the first year ever in Kwam's ten year existence that Kwam hosted a significant number of students' parents who brought their children to study at the university and stayed over until their children were settled in, usually two or three days. The university called this time of the year Orientation week or 'O-week', and out of over 40 enquiries Ma Gora managed to secure 15 confirmed bookings. Almost half of the mamas had guests for O-week. Ma Gora reported that most of the O-Week guests were happy but there were also an unusual higher number of difficult ones. One guest kept changing his booking and in the end stayed elsewhere; a Kwam mama reported that she had gone to a crossing at the entrance of the township to guide her guests to her house but the guests complained it was too far for them and left; another Kwam mama told about guests who had not even alighted from their (luxury) car, in which they remained for a long while in front of her house, and when the Kwam mama eventually enquired the guests said their friends had booked them into the hotel in town and left; guests at still another mama booked for two nights but they stayed only one night and without saying anything to the hostess they just left in the morning and never returned. After the committee had reported these problems they concluded that it had to be even clearer from the website and other marketing material that Kwam was located in the township, and also not a B&B in town as people perceived them. Claudia suggested that this should be repeated in the email conversation with the guests, because guests must know what to expect to make their choice. However, for the first time Kwam dealt with a significant number of 'private' guests (real commercial guests), and these guests proved to have different requirements than the usual government guests. This was where Volkher and

Claudia's experience as hosts came in handy again: they had experienced similar problems with O-Week parent guests in the past, so these problems were not peculiar to Kwam but rather to the type of guests –'rich', demanding parents (black or white) who were looking for a cheap deal but then moved somewhere else, mostly because they had not informed themselves properly and usually they did not claim any refund. However, they also suggested that guests should pay a full deposit for bookings over the busy times (O-Week, SciFest, Graduation & Festival) and there would have to be a cancellation policy making provision for refunds.

Ma Gora also reported about problems within Kwam. Many, according to her too many (about six), Kwam mamas were not willing or not available to take guests, others did not answer their phone nor returned messages (about five) and others were not at home or out of town. This meant that at least one third of Kwam was inactive. The result was that it made Ma Gora's job significantly more loaded because she had to phone from one to another to find a host for the guests – costing time and money. Ma Gora said she was embarrassed by this. The other committee members wanted to know why these mamas, as recent as at the last Kwam meeting, criticized Ma Gora's guest allocations and moaned about not getting guests, but now if they could get some they did not want guests or were not ready. However troublesome, the behaviour of the mamas again underwrites the autonomy of the host and the sometimes non-commercial behaviour of especially homestay hosts – they want to decide when they are ready to do business and with whom. But the non-commercial behavior was countered by the fact that Kwam has many members where a host could be found and then the transaction could be completed; if they were single operators the opportunity would have been totally lost.

Volkher and Claudia could again suggest from their experience some solutions for these problems. Suggestions included availability lists which would indicate when a Kwam mama

wanted guests and when not. Some mamas really only wanted guests for Festival, others sometimes but not every week etc. If each mama would specify what she wanted, the job for the booking office would be much easier. But the mamas would have to be committed then. Volkher also suggested that they should consider inviting Entabeni to join Kwam. Their houses were better and their rates were about double that of Kwam, and Kwam should be able to accommodate all prices and have different rates for different places. Now that Kwam was an independent civil organization, government officials could be members of Kwam, and besides that, historically the Entabeni hosts had been part of the 800 Rooms Project. However, the mamas felt that business had to pick up first before they would consider extending their membership and this idea of joining remained one of Volkher's rose-coloured fantasies. The reality had more to do with complex power relations and township politics of which Volkher could only grasp tiny little pieces.

Registration

When Volkher phoned Ma Gora on 24 February 2015 to confirm the meeting with ADC/RUCE later that day, Ma Gora asked if he had seen the message from DSD - she had just received an email. Volkher had not seen the email and asked her what it was about. In a matter-of-fact way Ma Gora told Volkher that the message said that Kwam was registered. Volkher could not believe it, but he exclaimed that it was great news and he would phone back. He immediately checked the emails and indeed ... "With reference to your application for registration in terms of the Non-Profit Organisation Act 1997, you are herewith informed that the name of your organization was entered into the register on 24/02/2015 with the number 149-279 NPO". Volkher felt really proud, regarding it as a big feather in the cap of this non-practicing lawyer! Volkher and Claudia immediately emailed Mr Chetty with the news and requested a meeting with DSRAC. However, now that the registration was a fact Volkher got the feeling that DSRAC perhaps did not believe that Kwam would make it – at that meeting in January they made such a big issue about Kwam not being registered yet –

that Kwam had failed. The carrot they dangled in front of Kwam, funding, was 'promised' as soon as Kwam was registered. But would DSRAC keep their promise?

Later that day they again had a pleasant meeting with ADC which heartily congratulated Kwam on their registration status. Maso reported back on six people he had contacted in connection with Kwam besides emailing Mrs Balindlela and some other people he still wanted to contact; he would also find out about a Tax Exemption Certificate from SARS; and he confirmed that he would accompany Kwam to their meetings with DSRAC and/or MT. It seemed that Kwam had found yet another man-friend, which particularly pleased Volkher. Volkher and Claudia noticed that after all the good news from ADC and their congratulations Ma Gora's mood had picked up considerably. Volkher gave Ma Gora a bottle of sparkling wine so that she too could celebrate that evening as they would do – success at last!

First NAF/DSRAC Meeting for 2015

Two months after the registration they still had not heard from Mr Chetty and Volkher wrote an email to him reminding him and that there was some urgency as Festival 2015 came closer. Volkher also wrote a reminder to Ms Yako, the municipal administrator, about meeting with Kwam as from his two previous requests nothing had materialized. In the meantime, with 'nothing happening' again, Volkher sat down and for the third time started writing up his thesis. This time he thought that the registration would be a fitting climax for the story and as Kwam was set on a path, his and Claudia's involvement could start to move to the background. However, 'nothing happening' also kept nagging with him on a different level and on 11 May, after still no reply from Mr Chetty, Volkher sent him another email:

Dear Mr Chetty

With Festival just around the corner we are enquiring about meeting with you so that we can plan ahead. We are still waiting for the original registration documents from the DSD as they notified us that they had problems posting it. In the meantime, as mentioned before, the digital access to proof of registration with the DSD should suffice.

We are very grateful that the Kwam advertisement features in the Festival Programme and can add that enquiries for bookings with Kwam for Festival have become a daily feature in Kwam's emails.

Looking forward to seeing you soon

Many regards

Volkher and Claudia

The next day Mr Chetty sent out a general email inviting "all the stakeholders" to the first NAF/DSRAC Planning meeting for 2015 to be held on the 14th of May. So, no special meeting with Kwam would be held before the run of the NAF/DSRAC planning meetings for Festival started. On Wednesday 13 May the Kwam committee met at Ma Moli's house to prepare for the meeting the next day. Afterwards Volkher summarized everything important in the minutes and as he had promised Ma Moli, he wrote something for her to say at the meeting. With this and his own notes he was again busy until late that night, discussing everything with Claudia as he went along – they were kwamming again! In the morning they checked Ma Moli's speech and Volkher felt nauseous when he looked at his notes, he feared that they may have to fight. Besides Volkher and Claudia, Ma Gora, Ma Moli and a committee member, Maso also became part of the Kwam contingent at the NAF/DSRAC meetings. At this meeting Mr Mqhayi was the chairman although Mr Chetty co-presided, as usual they alternated roles because one was chairman at one meeting and the other at the next. Everybody seemed very happy to see each other and the mood was light and jovial. After the introductory briefs Mr Chetty told about Kwam and their developments and that Kwam was now a registered NPO. He congratulated Kwam and asked everybody to applaud. Then he announced that the department had decided to make payment directly to Kwam but they would require written reports such as a progress report. He said that he would talk to Kwam afterwards and then Mr Mqhayi continued with the agenda for the meeting. After a long nothing-to-do-with-Kwam meeting, it was finally wrapped up with the schedule of future planning meetings leading up to Festival. Touching for Volkher, as it had been before

with him having been the only Afrikaans speaker in the room, Rev Baxana's closing prayer was again in Afrikaans. Afterwards the Reverend said he was very happy to see Volkher and Claudia again and he looked forward to working together again.

Everybody else shuffled out and the Kwam delegation stayed behind with Mr Chetty. He confirmed again that DSRAC would pay the money straight into the Kwam account (via NAF of course) but first he needed a letter from Kwam requesting that the funds be deposited into their account. Mr Chetty addressed Volkher directly about this and they discussed the contents of the letter. Mr Chetty confirmed that the amount would be R150 000, although they were not to mention it as such in their letter. Mr Chetty said he knew that MT was not happy with the arrangement but they would just have to deal with it. They returned to the issue with the certificate from the DSD which they were still waiting for and Volkher suggested that perhaps they could provide Mr Chetty with other documentation as interim documentary proof of Kwam's registration. Mr Chetty said that it would be in order and once he has received this letter he would return to Kwam with the requirements for the budget proposal and the rest of the reporting DSRAC required.

What wonderful news and such a big victory for Kwam after all! The Kwam delegation could scarcely believe it and they congratulated each other. Volkher felt it called for another celebration but he had arranged another meeting that day at 17:30 with a future student partner. That was where Kwam and the African Women's Chartered Accountants Society (AWCAS) of Rhodes partnered. Coincidentally the AWCAS representative had been a guest in a Kwam house just the week before as part of a RUCCE programme and she told that she was amazed at what the homes looked like and exclaimed that she would have loved that to be her home!

9. Fighting the Dragon

About a hundred years ago Czech-German Kafka wrote about similar things Kwam experienced and were to experience when dealing with officials in 2014-15. According to the dictionary Kafkaesque is “a situation that is confusing and frightening, especially involving complicated official rules and systems that do not seem to make any sense”. It is quite remarkable that Kafka’s insights into 19th Century European bureaucracies are transferable to 21st Century South Africa, and it also captures the way Volkher saw the dragon – a complex creature which was confusing and frightening.

Over time the knight could recognize that the dragon had indeed numerous different heads and even some seemingly invisible ones (rumours, jealousy, incompetency, illiteracy) and the poison of the dragon continued to debilitate the princess’s council. The knight, the countess and the princess then tried to negotiate with the dragon and little by little, with the help of a captain of the guard, an influential business man and jurists, they managed to secure control and capital for the princess and her council. They also dealt with the representative of the local governing council who turned out to have strong connections to both the knave and the evil lord. In the meantime the knight used his power to move the king to officially recognize the fiefdom. Business expanded and new allies were found and the people of the princess and her council could benefit again.

However, in the meantime the knave engaged with his evil lord and, with the stepmother and the representative of the local governing council in the rear-guard, they launched a massive attack to finally subdue the princess and reclaim her fief, and if necessary even change its name. The evil lord would personally come down to the forgotten corner in the land of the poor to execute the plan. Two of the princess’s former council members who became jealous of her strength and the support she had of the knight and countess, turned around to support the knave who made promises of fame and fortune. Fired by their jealousy

they were instigated to betray the princess and while they demeaned her and the knight and countess, they falsely claimed to be the true representatives of the fief.

The knight realized that if he wanted to slay the dragon he had to find a way of chopping off at once all or most of the heads of the dragon. While the knight encouraged the princess and her council to walk away from the abuses of the evil lord, and deal with the traitors whom they eventually exiled, he unsheathed several weapons. In each case he would aim at a head and jab at it as best he could and before waiting for results he would move to the next and the next, and because there were major as well as minor heads he would repeat the action on a higher level. The knight decided on this approach for dealing with the knave and the stepmother, the representative of the local governing council and the evil lord. One after another of the knight's attacks hit their targets within short succession and in the end the dragon was subdued. The princess, in the meantime stronger with her new council, could again take control of the treasure and care about the development of her fief. The knave and the stepmother had to concede to the princess' victory and the evil lord withdrew. The countess had helped the princess to establish her fief in the cyber realm too, and at last the princess and her people were free to operate when and with whom they wished to do business with, without being tyrannized or oppressed while wanting to do so. However, the knight has not succeeded in slaying the dragon completely and the dragon within revealed itself ...

Enter Dr Mona

Still dizzy from the success with DSRAC and exhausted after a long day of meetings Ma Gora finally got back home. Scarcely could Ma Gora relax when a Kwam mama came and told her that a former committee member, the opportunistic one, had phoned her earlier that

afternoon to tell her that she had to tell all the other mamas that there would be a Kwam meeting the next day at 2:30. Of course, the mama first wanted to hear from Ma Gora what was going on. Ma Gora did not know anything about a meeting and they wondered what that was all about. The next day Volkher visited Ma Moli and she showed him a “dirty little piece of paper” another Kwam mama had brought to her also informing of a ‘Kwam’ meeting that day at 2:30. However, on the day it was only the mama who had told Ma Gora and another mama who were at the Duna Library Hall ‘spying’ on the supposed meeting. Even the opportunistic ex-committee member herself was not there and when one of the two mamas phoned her she said that she was at home and would come over, but the mama said she should not bother as they were going home too. That was the end of the unconstitutional Kwam meeting. Volkher advised Ma Gora and Ma Moli that they should take disciplinary steps as only the committee could call meetings.

The day before the next NAF/DSRAC meeting the Kwam committee met at Ma Gora’s house to prepare for it. Once they had worked through the points which needed to be addressed, Volkher said that he and Claudia would not accompany the Kwam delegation the next day. They had decided that as things were well on track they would not attend further NAF/DSRAC meetings, because Kwam could manage on their own. Of course for Ma Gora these were important platforms to display Kwam and herself, and Ma Gora was not without ambition, but for Volkher and Claudia it would make little sense to sit through hours of endless meetings again. However, they would still be there if Kwam needed any advice or support. Besides, Kwam had a six member strong committee and Maso from ADC would also be there. Volkher was again actively making an effort to get ‘out of the field’. As a non-practicing lawyer and self-funded, it was beyond his resources and a waste of his time to chase after obstinate public officials while he should be writing up, but there was some unfinished business and he thought it best to get some advice from ‘outside’ again. He had heard about the Public Sector Accountability Monitor (PSAM) at Rhodes University and he wrote an email to them in the morning of 21 May requesting their advice on how to proceed to force transparency and accountability from Makana Municipality and Makana

Tourism. He had just sent the email when Ma Gora phoned him. Ma Gora told that she was on her way to the NAF/DSRAC meeting that morning when she bumped into Dr Mona (Senior Director in DSRAC) at a shop near the DSRAC offices and he inquired about Kwam. Ma Gora told him about Kwam's developments and that they were a registered NPO. But Dr Mona told her bluntly that Kwam did not have "the right structure" which government recognized and Kwam would not get money from government directly, and therefore Kwam could not move away from MT. Words failed Ma Gora, she was too shocked, but Dr Mona told her they would talk later and she should wait at the DSRAC offices. Ma Gora was very upset and so were Volkher and Claudia upon hearing the news. Ma Gora asked "Why this now? How can he contradict what we have been following step for step as government wanted and now they shift the goal posts?" But Ma Gora said she would phone later again, after the meeting.

Volkher and Claudia recalled that Dr Mona was also a known friend of Otto's and he was instrumental in cementing him as liaison officer in 2012; Dr Mona also 'consecrated' Sue's cancellation of half the taxi money which they had budgeted in 2013, which resulted in the contentious 'left-over'; and Dr Mona's daughter worked in the same office as Thembinkosi. Dr Mona had been in the background, though, for the last three years because he was apparently completing his PhD in Xhosa poetry. At the NAF/DSRAC planning meeting on 21 May Dr Mona was chairman. When the meeting was almost over, after having dealt with the usual matters on the agenda, Dr Mona invited anybody interested to afterwards join them for an unscheduled meeting so that they could hear what two Kwam mamas, "committee members" whom they had invited, had to say. Ma Gora, feeling this was treason, left after the first meeting but Dr Mona caught up with her in the passage outside and urged her to attend the annexed meeting, "as it concerns Kwam". Ma Gora returned to the boardroom where at least six senior DSRAC officials (including Dr Mona, Mr Chetty, Mr Mqhayi, Mrs Nonkenke, and Ms Citwa) were intently listening and recording what the two traitors had to say. It was washing Kwam laundry in public: the two were complaining that they did not know how Ma Gora was spending all that money Kwam got (the R6 000 for petty cash and the R20 000 after Festival) – and these were the exactly same two who

wanted to split it up among themselves!; that Ma Gora got R4 000 compensation for Festival against their R1 500; that Ma Gora has internet at home and about her daughter who helped her with it; and they complained about the white couple who had excluded them and about the very expensive clothing Ma Gora had made for them. In short, they were very unhappy that Ma Gora controlled the Kwam finances and they concluded: “we don’t like that white couple”. They pleaded that DSRAC should pay the money to Makana Tourism rather than to Kwam. All along Mr Chetty, Mr Mqhayi, Ms Citwa and the other officials appeared to have had their tongues cut out, not a word from them. The high and mighty Dr Mona spoke and they had to listen; they were obviously not allowed to contradict him. Although Ma Gora was told beforehand by Dr Mona that she would not be given a chance to reply she nevertheless did, and argued that the meeting was completely out of place; that Kwam had a constitution and that these members were in breach of it; and that Kwam had a validly elected committee and these two ex-committee members knew that. Ma Gora emphasized that Kwam was a registered NPO and they would do things properly – “not like this!” Dr Mona asked Ma Gora for a copy of the constitution but as she did not have one at hand, one of the officials who still had a copy gave it to Dr Mona. Dr Mona then stated that if Kwam was now independent and not anything of government, government would also not fund it, and, as he had told Ma Gora in the shop before, they would carry on dealing with MT. He also proposed that a new Kwam be formed, “Kwam needs to be started afresh”. The meeting closed with Dr Mona ordering the officials to study the Kwam constitution and then to convene a meeting with all relevant parties (who ever they were) so that the matters could be settled. Dr Mona obviously had a different agenda for Kwam and just like that he completely disregarded the by government recognized status that Kwam actually had.

Upon hearing this from Ma Gora Volkher wrote an email to Mr Chetty in that same evening:

Dear Mr Chetty

It was with great shock when we learned how Kwam was treated at the DSRAC meeting today, Thursday 21 May 2015. Just at a time when we have gained the impression that everything is finally on track as we confirmed with our last correspondence. You gave us your word last week and now everything seems to be in the balance again. For almost a year long

we have repetitively heard that Kwam has to be registered in order for DSRAC to do business with them directly and now that they are registered they have to hear that DSRAC is no longer doing business with them because they are on their own now? Government has created a reasonable expectation and we expect you to keep to it especially because Kwam has fulfilled all the requirements as you step for step asked of Kwam.

It is beyond our understanding how a room full of senior government officials entertain what is essentially an internal matter and watch on as Kwam's laundry is being washed in public (even if it is clean). DSRAC has been well informed about who the elected representatives of Kwam are and we see no reason why any other persons than committee members were recognized to be in any way representative of Kwam. These members have not followed the internal procedure as prescribed by the Kwam constitution but seem to have been invited by DSRAC to stage an opposition to Kwam's development. Without consulting Kwam first about these internal matters DSRAC imposed on the authority of the Kwam leadership by providing an unwarranted platform in public for unauthorized people. One would have expected that senior government officials are well versed with procedure and they cannot ignore the procedures of a by government recognized organization. What happened is a serious infringement on the rights of the organization. We therefore have to request that you provide us with written reasons as to why DSRAC saw fit to override Kwam's legally elected committee.

We have extensively explained to you before why it is absurd even to think that Makana Tourism, an unregistered association with grounded suspicions of mismanagement, be again imposed over Kwam. We trust that you will set the matter straight as a matter of urgency as all of us have to prepare for Festival and time is running out.

We wish to believe that you feel as much saddened by the recent happenings as we are, but hope to find a good way to go together, as we have done in the past.

Regards

Volkher and Claudia

They learned the next week that the internet server had been down and the email was never delivered. Attempts to resend it failed too, and by then their protests were too late already. However, in the meantime there was a Kwam general meeting on the Friday and the traitors were chastised. All the other mamas at the meeting seemed to support the way Kwam was going and at one stage the fight with one of the traitors became almost physical.

In the meantime Volkher received a response from PSAM and they referred him to the Legal Resources Center (LRC) with whom he had made an appointment. He desperately hoped to find some legal support especially now that Dr Mona had entered the scene. He just could not see how he and Claudia could carry all of this seemingly on their own and at their expense, also emotionally. Their involvement with Kwam kept on running up costs while nobody was feeding them funds to make good. They had no doubt about their loyalty to their friend Ma Gora but sooner or later they would have to draw the line as to how far that friendship extends to other mamas. But they also realized that after all they had been through it was impossible to just opt out. Even if some mamas kept on reminding them that Kwam would have been dead by now if it were not for their intervention, Volkher questioned what it was they had 'saved' as he doubted if it was worth all their effort. For the mamas it concerned an opportunity for some extra cash once or more a year, but Kwam was not the extent of their existence; it was a project to belong to among many other possible sources of income. For Volkher, as a result of his in-depth research, he was probably more concerned with the project on a day-to-day basis than the mamas themselves, but it now also concerned his pride in his work of the whole last year (which was another reason not to give up).

Disciplinary Action

As decided at the Kwam meeting, the traitors were invited to the committee meeting in order to clear the issues and consequences of the statements they had made to DSRAC on 21 May. At the committee meeting then, with the two traitors present, the issues were again presented. Ma Moli asked why they had gone to DSRAC and they replied that they were invited but refused to say by whom. Both the mamas expressed that they wished to continue to be part of Kwam and again denied having said some of the things they had said to DSRAC. By now they had offered more than three different versions of what they had said or intended to say or did not say. Volkher explained that they had been abused by

government officials because these should not have gone over the heads of the committee, and DSRAC knew who the committee of Kwam was. They had been misguided in making them believe that the DSRAC meeting was a platform for their internal matters. It was wrong on the side of government to invite them and entertain them like they had. But the opportunistic ex-committee member said that she did not feel that she had been abused and she was adamant that she was still on the committee. Volkher explained to her that she has been the first of the former committee to have absconded in the previous year and besides she was present at the election of the new committee in January. It was ironic though that generally the mamas were unwilling to serve on the committee but once they had a position it seemed, as it was with Otto too, that the position is 'for life' regardless of any democratic processes along the line.

Volkher had prepared three sets of letters to deal with the two traitors. The first letter contained statements to the effect that the comments the two mamas had made on 21 May were of a purely personal nature, that they were erroneously invited by government to make these statements public, and that they submitted to the Kwam constitution and the authority of the Kwam committee. The second set of letters were resignation letters for each in case they did not want to sign the first letters. If they failed to sign the first letters yet refused to resign, they would then be found undesirable in terms of the Kwam constitution and accordingly expelled. This was contained in the third set of letters which would then be signed by Ma Gora and Ma Moli. Both the traitors refused to sign their first letters at the committee meeting and requested a day to work over it. It was agreed that they would provide the signed letters the next day to Ma Gora and they were excused from further attending the meeting; the committee carried on with other business. Volkher left the second and third set of letters with Ma Gora to use when necessary and on Sunday Ma Gora gave both the (third set of) letters confirming that their membership with Kwam had ended after they had failed to confirm either of the other letters.

Also at the committee meeting Ma Gora had reported that Mr Mqhayi, on order from Dr Mona, had contacted her about a meeting with the taxis and DSRAC at 11 o'clock on Thursday, before their scheduled meeting with DSRAC that day. But Ma Gora asked how could they want a meeting with Kwam and the taxis while Kwam did not even know if they were going to get the budget to deal with? It was like forcing Kwam to deal with the taxis with their hands tied behind their backs while Kwam had since the last Festival repetitively stated that they did not want to deal with the taxis anymore and DSRAC should deal with them. The committee decided that they would not attend the meeting.

Legal Resources Centre

On Wednesday 27 May the Kwam contingent met with Mandira from Legal Resources Centre (LRC) in Grahamstown. After they told her 'everything' Mandira commented that the Kwam story seemed like a combination of all the various stories the LRC dealt with concerning government and the municipality - that was how bad it was! Her superiors were away until the next week which meant she could not commit to anything but she seemed eager to help. She said she would investigate the MT and MM matters in the meantime and she advised them on how to proceed with DSRAC and she referred Volkher to the Promotion of Administrative Justice Act 3 of 2000 (PAJA). Not practising, he had very limited knowledge about these things and he appreciated the advice. PAJA provides for certain constitutional rights to be protected especially concerning the practise of good governance (openness, accountability and transparency) – in other words PAJA regulates 'correct procedure'. That night Volkher studied PAJA and found that the meeting the week before where the traitors spoke was in breach of quite a number of provisions in the act (e.g. proper notice, representation of the other side, clear statements etc.). Volkher concluded that the meeting had to be considered null and void and DSRAC could be held to the legitimate expectation they had created with Kwam concerning both the budget and the guests. He had tried his utmost to follow correct procedure and that was the least he

expected from government. Again Volkher polished his armour and prepared himself for battle as the lawyer of Kwam. He made notes of all the points of contravention of PAJA and armed with a copy of the act itself, the minutes of the last Kwam meetings and all other relevant documentation, he was ready for the meeting with NAF/DSRAC.

NAF/DSRAC Meeting 28 May

At 12 o'clock on 28 May the Kwam delegation was waiting outside the boardroom for the meeting of DSRAC with the taxi association representatives, Otto and Sue to finish - the meeting the committee had decided not to attend. Mr Mqhayi was chairman although Mr Chetty was also present. Volkher had prepared to start his argument when Mr Mqhayi moved to adopt the minutes of the previous meeting which were handed out for perusal and there were a few entries about Kwam, confirming the PAJA breaches. Mr Chetty must have read Volkher's mind because just then he gestured across the floor to him that he and Kwam should talk afterwards and Volkher nodded approval. Presenting his 'case' fell flat but he also did not want to appear as yet another disgruntled meeting-goer arguing about issues which most of the others in the room did not know anything about. The meeting generally seemed to have tense undercurrents and so many things seemed to be in disarray that Volkher concluded Dr Mona also interfered with the other projects, but he had resigned himself to yet another boring two hour long meeting until at last it was just Kwam and Mr Chetty left in the room.

Mr Chetty started by telling them that the whole DSRAC server had been down and therefore he received no emails. As Volkher and Claudia received notices that the emails were not delivered, Volkher gave Mr Chetty a printed version of the email they had written to him on 21 May and pointed out that they requested written reasons for DSRAC's change

of mind. Mr Chetty said he knew that Kwam had complied with all the things he had asked for but his superior had difficulty with directing the budget directly to Kwam and, as the last year, the budget would be paid to Makana Tourism. All of the Kwam delegation were thoroughly shocked and each one vehemently protested, but Mr Chetty said that it was what his boss had said and his hands were tied, he could not go against 'orders'. When Volkher asked Mr Chetty what the reasons were for this change of mind he answered that Kwam had still not produced their NPO registration certificate. Volkher repeated that it was not Kwam's fault as the DSD had misplaced it or something, they have been phoning and emailing but without luck. So surely that was not a valid reason and then Mr Chetty said that Dr Mona was worried about the instability of the Kwam committee. That was the damage then as a result of that meeting the week before. The Kwam committee had been stable since 14 January and those two mamas had been instigated (and for that matter abused). After more protests Mr Chetty said he would convene a meeting with Kwam, Dr Mona and his superior, Mrs Nonkenke, and himself and he asked the Kwam delegation to vent their opinions towards these superiors then just as they had done towards him. Volkher thought, as his esteem for Mr Chetty plummeted, now they even have to do his dirty work! But Mandira had advised them just the day before to seek exactly such a meeting as one way of avoiding court action, which she did not encourage unless as a last resort. So they agreed on such a meeting to be held early the next week. The Kwam delegation left shaking, close to tears. How was this possible? It seemed as if there were people who actively busied themselves with trying to destroy Kwam. Of course, they were all convinced that Otto and Dr Mona and Sue were the masterminds behind it all. These, Volkher also suspected, were the main heads of the dragon.

Mandate from the mamas

At the committee meeting on 1 June to prepare for the Kwam meeting on the next day the whole scenario was discussed again. Volkher said that they did not have to fear anything,

they had nothing to lose and that is a power in itself – the budget had been a constraint anyway. The mamas repeated that they really did not know where Kwam would have been if it were not for Volkher and Claudia; they said nobody has ever helped Kwam like this. At the general meeting on 2 June there was a very long discussion among the mamas about the axing of the two members but in the end the mamas agreed that it was sad but they had to move on. When Ma Gora asked if Volkher wanted to say something he got up and reminded the mamas that the next day would be exactly one year since they ‘protested’ at MT; since then Kwam had done everything government required and on 14 May Kwam was congratulated by DSRAC for their achievement; but a week later Dr Mona came, the two mamas went and told lies and now the money was going to MT again. Volkher said if the mamas wanted it, he would fight for them because he was convinced that what happened was not right. All the mamas seemed to encourage him with unanimously exclaiming “Yes!” and others repeating “fight, fight!” Then Claudia spoke and she said to the mamas they had to decide who wanted to work with DSRAC and MT, and who wanted to work with Kwam; they were a voluntary organization and nobody could be forced to belong, but if they decided they had to be committed too. The mamas again reacted seemingly unanimously that they did not want anything to do with MT or for that matter with DSRAC; they definitely did not want Otto or Sue having any say about Kwam.

Walk-out

As usual before a NAF/DSRAC meeting the Kwam committee met to prepare for it. This time the mamas discussed whether they should toyi-toyi or sit-in if Dr Mona would again just decide as he pleased and ignore what Kwam wanted. But Volkher advised the committee that if Dr Mona would insist on his way they should just walk out of the meeting. It was another form of protest and in the circumstances perhaps even more effective than their usual mode of protest action. The mamas liked the idea and it was decided as Volkher had suggested.

The special meeting of 4 June started with Dr Mona first introducing himself and then asking everybody else to introduce themselves, as was the usual practice. There were 14 people present in total, of which five belonged to the Kwam contingent. The first of Kwam to introduce herself, a committee member, was so nervous that she seemed to have forgotten her name, and even Ma Moli who was next, introduced herself as chairlady of Kwam with a timid voice, unlike before. They seemed intimidated by Dr Mona but Ma Gora spoke boldly – she had told Volkher and Claudia before that she was not scared of him although she saw him as a typical dominating Xhosa male, like Otto, who ruled with intimidation (this was obviously lost on the white people). However, after all the others had introduced themselves Dr Mona said that there was no agenda for the meeting as the only topic to be discussed was the Kwam eMakana project. Then he went very far down ‘memory lane’ and rehashed the story from before the beginning of Kwam when Mrs Balindlela had been MEC and how they as a department wanted to help the poor and the previously disadvantaged people of Grahamstown East - he went on and on to retell the history of Kwam as if nobody in the room knew about it. Dr Mona then said he had been away for the last year or two but he has heard of some developments. However the money for Kwam was to be paid to Makana Tourism and if this was to change there were certain government procedures which needed to be followed. Then he explained how he had to report all of this to the next one above him and they to the next and so on until it reached the minister. The way he described it, it almost appeared as if Kwam would have to wait for the minister himself to approve of their development before government would recognize them! Dr Mona then said that this was the second meeting he was having with Kwam concerning the matter, and as he had explained at the first meeting on 21 May, Kwam had not met the requirements. He added that he had explained this already to Ma Gora at a shop before (in what he called an ‘informal meeting’). He concluded that he understood that there were some challenges and that was why they were there, because they wanted to help Kwam and this meeting was about finding a way to work together.

Volkher thought that this was rich, coming from the man who had caused the 'challenges', so when Dr Mona had at last finished his lengthy introduction and asked for comments, Volkher was the first to react. He questioned this 'first meeting' Dr Mona had referred to and said that Kwam did not know about it and the correct procedure such as notice and agenda were not followed. He claimed that this 'first meeting' was null and void. Dr Mona simply brushed Volkher's claim aside and said "I'm not concerned with the technicalities and I reject the proposal that the meeting is null and void". Then Dr Mona repeated that they were there to help Kwam. Ma Gora replied that telling her like that in a shop could not be seen as proper information sharing and she added that she was not given the opportunity to say anything at that 'first meeting', yet her name was dragged through the mud and false statements were made about her and Kwam. She asked "How is that helping Kwam?" But Dr Mona retorted threateningly that she has to be careful what she was saying and she should not accuse him; he repeated again that it was too late to change for that year. Volkher then argued that they had been going all along with Mr Chetty for almost a year by then and the only thing outstanding was the original certificate from the Department of Social Development. Kwam became a registered NPO on 24 February and everything from Kwam's side was on track: on the 14th of May when the NAF/DSRAC meeting in the same room congratulated and applauded Kwam, Mr Chetty announced that DSRAC would deal directly with Kwam. One week later everything changed, that was what had changed suddenly, not Kwam. But Dr Mona repeated that to date he had not received the right documents. Volkher got up and took the print-out Ma Gora got the week before from the DSD office in Grahamstown as a substitute for the certificate. As Volkher tried to hand it to Dr Mona he said, waving dismissively, that he did not want it, "I have that one, it's not good enough!" Volkher wondered how he got it, because they had not given that to anybody yet, and if he did have a copy, why did he ignore it? But Volkher left the copy next to Dr Mona on the table and returned to his seat while protesting along the way that Kwam could not be penalized if the DSD had misplaced their documents – DSD is another government department!

Next Ma Gora asked Dr Mona again about the 'first meeting' and who invited those two mamas, because they were not representing Kwam. Dr Mona said he did not invite them as he did not even know them! Yet, he had been the one who allowed them to speak and even the minutes reflected his involvement. Claudia then said that concerning Makana Tourism, Kwam had reached an agreement with them on 25 September 2014 already, whereby MT recognized that Kwam was independent and had their own booking office; and this agreement was approved by the MT board, so Otto and Sue could not decide things on their own. Dr Mona looked somewhat confused and said he knew nothing about that and when he waffled on again that Kwam had to understand that they wanted to help Kwam, but there were procedures and reports, Volkher looked at Ma Gora, Ma Moli and Claudia. They quietly reached agreement that the time had come and the Kwam contingent started to pack their things, stood up and left the room. Upon leaving Ma Gora said loudly in isiXhosa that she did not have time for lies. Volkher left last and on the threshold he turned around and announced back into room "I'm deeply disappointed", then he followed the rest of the Kwam contingent out.

Over coffee afterwards, they discussed what had happened and what the plans ahead were. Ma Gora seemed somewhat hysterical as every now and then she would burst out laughing loudly when she or someone else recalled a moment of the meeting or the reaction on the people's faces when they walked out. They were convinced that for a dominating person such as Dr Mona their walking out must have hit hard. Walking out on that meeting had the further consequence that Ma Gora and Maso suspended their participation with the Accommodation Committee and poor Rev Baxana was left alone. So the walk-out also paralyzed the working of this committee and the planned inspections were thwarted, and without inspections nobody outside of Kwam could establish a database of Kwam membership.

Again Volkher reflected on the consequences of his research and how their initial intervention had snowballed. Volkher saw the maltreatment by Dr Mona as a threat to his work, that which he and Claudia had put into the development of Kwam, as well as to the mamas. In the beginning he thought that if Kwam did not survive it would be a set-back for the members, but it would not necessarily affect him. Now it was different: Volkher's work and pride was being threatened besides Kwam. Volkher was proud of getting Kwam registered and now Dr Mona simply wanted to impose on Kwam and their independence. But Volkher would not allow that, no one should impose on Kwam.

Three Letters

Letter to the MT Board

Back home Volkher set to work on his weapons. He first sent an email to all the committee members of the MT Board which was a letter he had discussed with Ma Moli and Ma Gora, and prepared for the eventuality. The letter called for the immediate suspension of Sue and Otto and it set out how Kwam perceived MT's maltreatment (See letter in Appendix 14). Already when Volkher saw Otto the next day outside the municipality, while he was delivering by hand the letters to those whose email had failed, he looked very angry and did not greet back. Volkher thought 'if looks could kill', it was obvious Otto had received his copy of the letter.

About two weeks later, on Monday 20 June, Kwam received a letter from MT's attorneys in response to their request to suspend Sue and Otto (See letter in Appendix 15). The letter

stated that Kwam's request had been denied on the grounds that the "request is speculative, baseless and without factual foundation and is in fact slanderous and/or libelous." The lawyer carried on about the slander and libel and threatened to take legal action if members of Kwam or their 'friends' continued in that vein, and he stated they would use the letter Kwam had written as evidence of their *mala fides* in criminal proceedings. When Madira from LRC read the letter she said that the mere fact that they had gone to their lawyer and his excessive reaction to the letter Kwam had sent, was indicative of something fishy - for Mandira the letter revealed that they were trying to hide something. Very clearly MT, including their lawyer, again simply ignored the fact that Kwam was a registered NPO. The seriousness of the lawyer's reaction to Kwam's letter was also the final push to move Mandira and the LRC to engage with Kwam, as Volkher had hoped (although that was of course not his intention with the letter, but a welcome consequence). Kwam would henceforth have proper legal representation and Mandira's advice was not to respond to the lawyer's letter.

Letter to the Administrator

In the week after walking out on Dr Mona, a service provider appointed by the municipality, phoned Ma Gora concerning a booklet which the municipality had commissioned her to do for Kwam for Festival; she would take photos and it would include a map. She said she had asked MT for the data base of Kwam and they referred her to Ma Gora. Ma Gora said she would first have to speak with their lawyer as she did not know anything about it, and so Ma Gora spoke to Volkher and he suggested she talk it over with her committee. Later Ma Gora phoned Volkher and told him that they thought it was a good idea to promote Kwam, but how it came about was unacceptable. After all, any advertising should have been done with the approval of the mamas because they must feel comfortable with the way they were advertised and the information should be correct. When Ma Gora finally got hold of

Thembinkosi and asked him about the booklet, he pressured her to make an immediate decision. Soon they had an argument and part of it was again about her 'white friends'. Volkher advised Ma Gora to let him be, it was another of those attempts of 'doing things for Kwam', and he also pointed out that the booklet he and Claudia did the year before did not bring much business to Kwam, so this booklet would be equally useless. Kwam could have rather used help with their website and internet marketing.

This story encouraged Volkher to again appeal (for the fourth time) to the municipal administrator for a meeting (See letter in Appendix 16). This time Ms Yako responded that her secretary would arrange a date and that was how the Kwam delegation happened to be again at the municipal offices on 25 June. But it turned out that Ms Yako had to attend another meeting and the acting Municipal Manager, Mrs Riana Meiring conducted the meeting with Kwam. Volkher had a good impression of Mrs Meiring before and had thought of approaching her if Ms Yako had failed to respond again, and there she was. The only other people who came besides the Kwam delegation and Mrs Meiring were Thembinkosi and Ms Citwa. They were both very late and apologized that they had actually been at the NAF/DSRAC meeting, where Sue was as well, and had been "hijacked" to come to this meeting. After the walk-out Kwam did not attend the NAF/DSRAC meetings anymore, even if Mr Chetty wanted Kwam to participate, but it seemed that everybody knew that Kwam was meeting with the MM at the same time as the NAF/DSRAC meeting was going on, and they had to rearrange accordingly. As advised by Mandira they had settled to meet with DSRAC in the afternoon. Volkher was pleased that bit for bit Kwam was to be reckoned with as being independent, following their own agenda.

Fulfilling Volkher's estimation of Mrs Meiring she immediately accepted a copy of the print-out which stated that Kwam was a registered NPO and when Volkher commented that there were institutions which doubted that, she declared that as far as the municipality was

concerned they accept that Kwam was a registered NPO. Next they decided on four points as an agenda for their meeting: the billboard, the co-op story, the booklet/brochure and Makana Tourism. Claudia started by saying that the things the municipality wanted to do or did for Kwam was like giving someone a pair of shoes of the wrong size while that person actually needed a jacket. Mrs Meiring said that she understood Kwam's frustration and after the first three points were briefly discussed and compromises reached, they decided that the billboard and co-op issues had become water under the bridge. But Mrs Meiring made Thembinkosi note that whenever the municipality in the future would have a project involving Kwam they would consult with the Kwam committee first and Ma Gora would be the general contact person. When Mrs Meiring came to the MT point, she said that she was aware that the relationship between Kwam and MT was not good and as MT was not present they could not reach any solutions, and they left it at that.

It was a fruitful meeting and the mamas commented afterwards that they appreciated the way Mrs Meiring dealt with the issues and with them. Mrs Meiring did mention that she had been a social worker before and learned how to gauge people, not by what they were saying but by their non-verbal expressions; hence she constantly solicited a real positive reaction of understanding if a decision was reached by asking every so often during the meeting if everybody was still on point. On their way out Ma Moli commented that what she liked most about Mrs Meiring was that she asked them "what do you need?" instead of telling Kwam this was what they were to get. Mrs Meiring made the rules quite clear, so there would be no need any more to put up a fight with the municipality – as long as they played according to the rules too, something Volkher was not convinced would happen.

Letter to the MEC

The third letter Volkher dispatched within short succession after they had walked out of the meeting with Dr Mona was to the MEC of DSRAC, Dr Pemmy Majodina (See in Appendix 17). Volkher wrote in his capacity as Kwam's legal representative requesting the MEC's urgent intervention and he sketched in detail Kwam's development and the way Dr Mona interfered. When Mr Chetty sent an email requesting a meeting with Kwam on 25 June, and they settled to meet in the afternoon, the Kwam delegation thought it had been as a result of the letter to the MT Board, except for Ma Moli who told Volkher before the meeting that she had dreamt that the meeting was because of his letter to the MEC.

The Kwam delegation had grown to 10 heads strong with Mandira and her assistant Patricia from LRC and Maso from ADC – five Kwam committee members, five Kwam friends. They must have made quite a formidable appearance and surely DSRAC must have noticed that Kwam had increasingly more friends. Of the seven heads on the DSRAC side, Mr Chetty was the chairman and he introduced Adv Julian Kruger, DSRAC's legal representative, and he apologized for the absence of Dr Mona (who had to be elsewhere to receive an award concerning his PhD). Then he said that the meeting was called because of the letter Kwam had written to the MEC wherein they had made some very serious allegations. By this time Mandira and Patricia had luckily already read through the copy of the letter which Volkher had given to them just before the meeting was to start. Mr Chetty continued that it was a great concern for the MEC and they were mandated to find urgent solutions as this would be a big embarrassment for the department. Volkher thought this was great; they had hit a nerve, the MEC did indeed react, and it immediately added another dimension to the power game, and another advocate.

Adv Kruger rehashed at length how government and the distribution of funds worked. Volkher was quietly musing that they should limit lecturing these things to government officials only and not waste private citizen's time and money as they paid to be there, while the officials got paid for sitting there, and they obviously needed lecturing. However, Adv Kruger came forth with a "conciliatory approach" and when he referred to the allegations Kwam had made in the letter he said that instead of focusing on each of those, he would rather that they try and find solutions to the challenges as Festival was really only a few days away. He said that it was his job to ensure that everything which happened in the department was within the law, and then he explained the legal position of government vis-à-vis civil organizations and auditing requirements. He concluded that DSRAC had no experience of dealing with this kind of NPO, where usually they were guided by regulations. They had however, he claimed, agreements with certain entities and there were structures from before which needed to be taken into account. Still he confirmed that DSRAC was committed to support community development. When he had finally at long last finished and asked for our response it was Claudia who spoke first and she told how Kwam started with Mrs Balindlela and then after ten years stood up for themselves. Ma Gora continued about the process of registration and the understanding Kwam had built up with DSRAC, or then specifically with Mr Chetty. Volkher picked up from there and repeated that Kwam was congratulated in the same room on 14 May and then within that week following, before the next meeting, things suddenly changed when Dr Mona entered the scene.

Mr Chetty avoided any comments and rather let Adv Kruger speak who again went back to the procedural regulations. Maso, Volkher, Claudia and Ma Gora were reacting in turn and they all questioned why government then did not follow procedure, particularly when Mr Chetty said that everything was fine and then, without Kwam knowing or given any chance, things changed. Then Mr Chetty made an effort to explain that the budget was not for Kwam only but also to develop tourism in Grahamstown East generally. The Kwam contingent immediately protested that this was new because all along it had been called the

'Kwam Operations Budget'. But Mr Chetty said that it was because DSRAC had noticed that Kwam had excluded certain members. Volkher realized that this also expressed Otto and Dr Mona's plan which essentially involved splitting Kwam and creating a new Kwam. However, Claudia pointed out that Kwam was not exclusive and that as it was, Kwam was open to new members, their constitution provided for new members. But this was not of interest to the officials. Still holding the floor, Claudia then asked how they supposed it would work with the bookings if MT was involved with the bookings too, because Kwam had already some bookings and to have two booking offices would lead to a mess. All agreed that there should be only one booking office. It seemed to have been news for Adv Kruger that the Kwam booking office had been operational since September the year before, but it was agreed that the Kwam booking office would be the only booking office for Kwam guests.

Adv Kruger enquired further about the governing structure of Kwam, and again they explained everything concerning the status of Kwam as a registered NPO. When Adv Kruger looked puzzled Volkher handed him a copy of the print-out from the DSD confirming that Kwam was registered. In stark contrast to Dr Mona's reaction to the same document, Adv Kruger took it and he asked if he could keep it. Mandira then asked him if there were any regulations which required that Kwam needed the original certificate when the proof of registration lies with the allocation of a registration number and the advocate said he did not know, he was hoping she could help him! Mandira then made a very impressive 'speech' about the way she perceived the total frustration of Kwam as a fledgling independent organization. She suggested that they draw up a resolution with DSRAC, a legal framework, which would then guide their future relationship. Adv Kruger agreed but said that as DSRAC had no example of dealing with such a case they would have to use the system as it was until they have found a legal way to change it. Then Adv Kruger confirmed with Kwam that as far as they were concerned a legitimate expectation had been created that DSRAC would pay the money directly to Kwam. However, to do so was a problem and Claudia asked Mr Chetty if both he and Kwam were in error then, had they made a mistake, but he just shrugged. It seemed as if the discussion was going nowhere. Ms Citwa then suggested that

DSRAC, Kwam and MT should come together again as soon as possible to find a way to deal with Festival. Mr Chetty requested that Kwam prepare a Budget Proposal and send it to him. Adv Kruger confirmed that as far as he could see, Kwam was acting without *mala fides*, and he commented that he had been working with Mr Chetty on various projects and he thought that “he is a good man”. All agreed and from his side Adv Kruger thanked everyone. Mr Chetty repeated that they would come back early in the next week after consulting with their superiors. Afterwards Ma Gora said that she liked working with these men – “they are not like the dominating Xhosa males”.

Three PAIA requests

At a meeting with Mandira after the walk-out on Dr Mona, she also advised Kwam to request the documents which especially MT still held, in accordance with the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA) 2 of 2000. In terms of PAIA the Department of Justice (DoJ) would assist in obtaining information held by, for instance, a public office. Volkher suggested that they request information about the matters with the municipality and DSRAC too, so as to hit at all three of the ‘heads’ again. At that stage Volkher had no reply from Ms Yako yet and concerning DSRAC, Volkher wanted access to the contracts Dr Mona and Adv Kruger spoke of (if they existed). Because he had all the information for the requests at his fingertips, he completed and emailed the PAIA request forms to the DoJ, and Mandira would then follow up from the LRC’s side. Two weeks later, about mid June 2015, Ma Gora received three letters from the DoJ confirming receipt of each of the three requests and stating that the requests had been forwarded to the various information officers. The PAIA requests had been Volkher’s ‘double barrel’ approach, next to the letters he had dispatched before, and even if nothing materialized they contributed to the pressure each of the addressed had to deal with before and during Festival. By December 2015 nothing had transpired from this effort yet even if Volkher had reminded Mandira several times to follow up.

Festival 2015

So Volkher had hit simultaneously with his epistolary 'sword' twice at Otto, Sue, Thembinkosi and Dr Mona, with the three letters (to the MT Board, the municipal administrator and the MEC), and the PAIA requests to all three entities. Sue and Otto obviously controlled the board of MT and engaged their lawyer to 'scare' off Ma Gora, Volkher and Claudia. Thembinkosi was duly 'tamed' by his manager, Mrs Meiring, but Volkher had learned not to trust or to believe government people, and he guessed that Thembinkosi would not bother Ma Gora anymore; he would hide behind "the municipality does not have any money" when asked for anything. Volkher's letter to the MEC detailed Dr Mona's behavior and none of this was discussed with Adv Kruger as he wanted to establish Kwam's, or then Volkher's, bona fides and to find out if Kwam was prepared to work with Mr Chetty – thus leaving Dr Mona aside. Obviously what had happened between Dr Mona and MT concerning Kwam was unlawful; but DSRAC still had to decide whether they would 1) give Kwam what they promised, 2) give it to MT or 3) insist on a compromise. On the last Friday before Festival, at a well attended Kwam meeting for feedback and final preparations for Festival, the mamas made it very clear again, now at the third general meeting in a row, that they did not want anything to do with MT. Even if Volkher tried to suggest some way of co-operation, the mamas were seemingly unanimous and positive about cutting out MT completely. But this would be difficult to achieve with so little time left and indications were there already that Kwam would have to compromise (again).

Temporary Arrangement

On Monday 29 June at three in the afternoon the Kwam delegation arrived at the DSRAC offices as Ms Citwa had arranged for the feed-back meeting. Shortly after their arrival Ms Citwa came to them where they were waiting and 'apologized' that all three, Mr Chetty, Dr Mona and Adv Kruger could not come. Very annoyed, Volkher asked Ms Citwa how this was to proceed and she suggested postponing to the next day. Volkher protested that it cost all of them time and money to be there and they were not government officials who got paid to be there, "you could have told us before!" Just then Sue and Mr Jackson also arrived, followed by Mandira and Patricia from the LRC. Everybody there then agreed that without DSRAC Head Office no decisions could be made and the meeting would have to be postponed. At that moment the doors of the board room swung open and Mrs Nonkenke, senior manager from DSRAC Head Office, appeared and said that those three officials had apologized and briefed her to chair the meeting. By this time Kwam was nine heads strong as Maso also joined. Besides Sue and Mr Jackson from MT, and Otto who came late (as usual), on the DSRAC side were Mrs Nonkenke, Ms Citwa and Mr Stofile (a new appointee in the local DSRAC office).

Mrs Nonkenke opened the meeting and asked Mr Stofile to very briefly bring everybody up to speed on what was discussed the week before and where they stood now. Mr Stofile reported that Adv Kruger had, in the morning of the last Thursday, listened to MT's side of the story and in the afternoon at the meeting with Kwam, to their side. Then he summarized the main points of the latter meeting (curiously he did not do the same for the MT meeting):

“1) Serious concerns raised by Kwam concerning transparency, 2) MT must refrain from contacting individual Kwam members, 3) Only one booking office – the Kwam booking office, and 4) to find a way to make it work with the Budget arrangements.” Mandira then argued that this meeting would have no point, as they needed to have a legal framework to work within and before they have established that they would be going around in circles. Mrs Nonkenke apologized that she unfortunately did not have information on the legal aspects but insisted that they then at least use the opportunity to find what common ground they could as Festival was two days away. Mandira agreed and pointed out that the two main issues to focus on were the bookings and the budget. Soon it was re-confirmed that there would only be one booking office and that was the one of Kwam. Sue added that she was very happy if Kwam were to do the bookings. Otto then, as usual, had a long story to tell and at one stage seemed to attack DSRAC and it visibly irritated Mrs Nonkenke but she restrained herself. Claudia and Ma Gora commented later that they sensed tension between Sue and Otto, and Ma Gora repeated that she thought Sue was getting tired of Otto. However, at the meeting Mrs Nonkenke suggested that Kwam and MT come together and work out a budget. A heated debate erupted when Volkher said Sue was lying about working together and Mrs Nonkenke had to call for order several times and asked everybody to keep calm. She explained that she understood that the situation was strained and then she gave the standard government accountability lecture again. After thoroughly boring everybody Mrs Nonkenke concluded that they should refrain from accusing each other, and reminded them that time was running out before Festival. Then she said DSRAC was getting tired of this fighting in the crucial time shortly before Festival and they were considering if it was worth their while. And clearly as if to threaten Kwam, she added that DSRAC may well decide to stop the funding in future. Volkher thought they could stuff their funding; it had only been a burden for Kwam and had been abused by others; besides, the ‘fight’ this year was instigated by DSRAC (Dr Mona) themselves and now it was again Kwam’s fault! However, Mrs Nonkenke continued that “the project was initiated by Mama Nosimo Balindlela for the poorest of the poor”, adding that “of course there must be little bit of a standard”. When Volkher interjected that this was a contradiction, Mrs Nonkenke just giggled and then she continued that “we *force* the artists to stay with Kwam” and therefore, she argued, they expect a certain standard. She implied that these guests did not really want to stay with Kwam.

When it finally came back to the budget arrangements, Volkher pointed out that Kwam had sent a proposal to Mr Chetty on the Friday but Mrs Nonkenke said she had not received anything from Mr Chetty. As usual, Volkher came prepared and had a few copies of their proposal there which he handed to Sue and Mrs Nonkenke (again Kwam were the only ones delivering at a meeting). She said she knew MT had sent a Budget Proposal and asked them for it but Sue said she did not have a copy with her. Mr Stofile said he had a copy in his office and went to fetch it. Mrs Nonkenke asked Kwam if they had seen it, which they obviously had not, and she held and compared the two budget proposals. She concluded that the proposals could be reconciled, and suggested that only one person from MT and only one from Kwam come together to do the reconciliation because when there were too many people it would take too long. However, in the end it was decided that Sue, Ma Gora, Claudia and Mandira meet the next day at MT's offices to finalize the budget. Otto then asked for the Kwam database so that they could make sure who the hosts were. When Maso asked why MT needed the lists when Kwam was to do the bookings and allocate the guests accordingly, Otto retorted "are you stupid?!" Everybody expressed their shock at Otto's remark and Mrs Nonkenke repeated that they should all refrain from these types of comments "and stop behaving like children". Then she started to summarize everything they had decided so far and when she came to the structure of their co-operation Mandira interjected again that it was precisely for this reason why they were there, and it was clear now that without any legal base they were going around in circles. In the end Mrs Nonkenke settled that whatever arrangement was made the next day at MT, it would be a *temporary arrangement*, just for that Festival. After Festival everybody would report-back and the legal matters could be taken care of too. She thanked everyone and the meeting was declared over. Afterwards Mandira could scarcely contain her anger and she said to Volkher that now she could really understand their frustration, "this is typical: government officials are incompetent and then leave it to the people to sort the problems while they threaten to cut funding if the 'children' do not behave."

2015 Budget proposal

On Tuesday 30 June Ma Gora, Claudia, Mandira, and Sue met at MT to discuss the budget and Mr Brian Jackson also joined them 'to observe'. They agreed to work from the Kwam proposal and thus to split the budget roughly into R50 000 for taxis, cadets and MT and R100 000 for Kwam (which included that the mamas each get a R1000 starter pack). The Kwam booking office was to get the lion's share and money was set aside for marketing and contingencies (including website costs). They worked out the rest of the details and decided that Claudia would make it print-ready and email it to everybody later that day. Since there were no debates in settling the budget, they chatted about other matters too. Claudia told Sue that they had perceived a conspiracy between Dr Mona and MT to 'kill' Kwam or to 'recreate' Kwam and that was why they and Kwam had reacted the way they did; they had recently heard of the newly formed Makana Township Tourism Initiative (MTTI) which was obviously the 'new' Kwam as Otto and Dr Mona envisaged it. But Sue could or would not provide any further information other than saying she thought MTTI was a project for artists. However, Mandira undertook to push Adv Kruger for that legal framework and if he did not come up with something soon, she said she would draw one up. And if DSRAC still did not want to react, Kwam and MT would get together and agree on a legal framework which they, together, would present to DSRAC. Then DSRAC would have to concede, or at least one wishes so. Towards the end of the meeting Ms Citwa and Mr Stofile also came to MT's offices, just to update themselves as they were mandated to report-back and they repeated that "it also concerns the MEC".

Later that day Ma Gora received an SMS from Sue asking her if she had the minutes of their budget meeting in the morning as they urgently requested them at the NAF/DSRAC meeting

(Kwam still refused to attend these meetings). A short while later Mr Stofile phoned her to enquire again about the minutes; he said the Minister wanted those minutes and they needed them now. Nobody other than Mandira had made notes at the meeting (except for Claudia on the budget proposal, obviously), nobody would be able to create minutes, and neither was there an attendance register. The meeting was solely to sort the budget for this Festival as a temporary arrangement. Everybody at DSRAC had received the email with the proposed expenditures and Volkher said that should suffice - he was convinced the story with the minister was a bluff.

When Ma Gora, Ma Moli and a committee member had a meeting with the taxis to discuss their work plan, the taxis made a big fuss about the money, wolves as they were, and they claimed that they had sent a budget up to Sue. They were not satisfied with only R38 000 in total out of the budget and wanted to know what was to happen to the R112 000 part of the budget. Ma Gora explained that it was for Kwam bookings and MT administration, and reiterated that if they wanted to know anything about the money they had to ask Sue, she was dealing with their budget. In the end they did settle on a work plan and agreed that the guests would be picked up first at DSRAC and, after distribution to the various homes, taken to where ever they needed to go.

After Festival there were no negative reports about the taxis, and for that matter, neither about the cadets who were still the same people as the years before. This year again demonstrated that the system with the taxis was extremely wasteful and not at all market related. As there were only the 53 (DSRAC) guests for a few days which used the transport, the four taxi operators had no problem taxiing each on average 13 people, two or three times a day to and from the township. The taxis still received a flat rate regardless of costs or number of guests, while the mamas had no such guaranteed payment.

Starter Pack

The mamas had argued the year before for a starter pack of R1000 for each mama to be paid from left-over funds of the year before. At that stage Volkher did not know what was exactly meant by a starter pack, that it formerly had been a loan, and not a 'gift'. This was the second year round and Sue, who had been equally ignorant of the exact workings of the starter pack, also accepted it as a gift. However, as the gift was repeated Volkher guessed that it became institutionalized and if Kwam would get a budget the next year, a starter pack would automatically come in unquestioned. Then it becomes an old habit and they die hard, as with the taxis, which was simply not really working but it was a habit.

Ma Gora told Claudia that she was going to pay out the starter packs in cash inside the bank to each mama, and she did. Volkher and Claudia surmised that it was because of the enormous social capital she gained by this gesture – a cash 'gift' from her hand, personally and not electronically transferred like most of the other payments. The mamas knew that Ma Gora had fought for them to have it, by accepting it from her hand they also would have to submit to her patronage, especially the Otto loyalists.

Guests

At the budget meeting before Festival Sue had referred Ma Gora to a Catherine of the Department of Social Development about a booking for a group of about 20 people. When

Ma Gora phoned Catherine later the same day she replied that when she had phoned MT to enquire, Welekazi referred her to Entabeni and so she had already made the booking there. Welekazi seemed to actively divert guests away from Kwam even if Sue had referred them to Ma Gora.

On the second morning of Festival there was a short interview with the MEC, Dr Majodina, on a regional radio station (Algoa FM). Dr Majodina explained that DSRAC supported NAF with more than R3.5m. This money was used, amongst many other things, to pay for artists who came from all over the Eastern Cape to participate in the event, one of the five largest events of its kind in the world. She continued that the artists' accommodation was also paid and they were accommodated with the Kwam eMakana project. Soon the interview was over but the only project which she did mention by name was Kwam eMakana and that they supported the programme – however, that year DSRAC sent only 53 guests to Kwam. These guests were 40 people who attended Wordfest and 13 participants with the Jazzfest, which meant that without Kwam's 'private' guests it would have been much worse than the year before when there were 135 DSRAC guests. DSRAC's repetitive commitments to the project proved again to be empty words. However, a former committee member told Ma Gora that several higher DSRAC officials had stayed with Kwam mamas who were Otto loyalists. Ma Gora remembered that Mr Stofile had asked her the day before Festival if there were houses ready for the officials but he never returned to her and as the Kwam booking officer she had no knowledge of these bookings. When Ma Gora questioned Sue about this, she said she did not know anything about that, and it remained unclear how these bookings came about and how they were paid; the particular mamas who had hosted these officials did not tell either.

Volkher had hoped that they could fill Kwam up for the 2015 Festival and as he and Claudia were monitoring the enquiries before Festival it looked very promising. Volkher had also

contacted the Rhodes Conferencing Centre which at first committed to assist Kwam. But as the contact person of the centre also served on the board of MT, this connection suddenly went cold after the letter from MT's attorney (which stated Kwam and their friends were slanderous). The delays with the budget also meant that updates to the Kwam website were not possible before Festival but Ma Gora managed to secure quite a number of bookings which came in by phone, email and internet listings. Out of the 87 'private' guests Kwam could solicit without DSRAC, most were black South Africans, one couple was from a neighbouring country, and two couples were white Afrikaans speaking South Africans. Again the reports from the mamas confirmed that by far most guests were happy guests, and these guests were again different from their usual government guests or the parents of the students they had hosted during O-week. Interestingly Volkher and Claudia noticed from the enquiries that some guests were indeed attracted by the possibility of cultural exchange.

The day after Festival when Volkher phoned Ma Gora she said that she was satisfied that "it was a busy and good Festival" and that a Kwam mama who was an Otto loyalist had told her that "you have beaten Tourism – you have won!" They were waiting for some payments to be finalized but Ma Gora confirmed that there were no major hiccups and she felt good that they had succeeded in turning the 'nose dive' around. Even if there were barely more guests than the year before, the majority of the guests were 'private' and they would naturally expand in numbers through word of mouth and other ways, for the future Festivals and at other times of the year. Finally Volkher could settle down and write this thesis, but with intervals of kwamming again.

The Dragon within

When by September 2015 neither the MT nor NAF/DSRAC Evaluation meetings had taken place, the Kwam committee decided to call a Kwam meeting anyway on 11 September. The day before the Kwam meeting the committee met to prepare and a committee member commented that Ma Gora would need a bullet proof vest for the next day because there were some mamas out to 'attack' her. Ma Moli added she was worried that *tsotsis*,⁹² sent by Otto and/or some jealous mamas, would rob the Kwam bank card from Ma Gora and force the PIN out of her. Volkher and Claudia were very troubled by these revelations although they had anticipated that the Otto loyalists would cause trouble. They could have subdued the dragon for Festival but the invisible heads still freely spat poison and now even seemed to have become more blood-thirsty than before.

At the committee meeting they also decided to introduce a membership form to the mamas the next day so that besides getting a commitment (on paper) from the mamas, they could update the Kwam database and website accordingly. Volkher had prepared the form and he gave a copy to Ma Gora so that she could have it photocopied. Because some mamas seemed to be confused with the different constitutions, he also suggested that each mama gets a copy of the registered constitution with the membership form, and she could have them all photocopied at the same time. After the committee meeting Ma Gora went to the ADC to make the photocopies but as their machine was broken she went on to DSRAC's

⁹² A South African term for thugs.

offices and there she asked Rev Baxana if he could make some copies. He said that would be fine, but when they were at the photocopier machine and the reverend had just made three copies of the membership form, Ma Gora said she needed 40 copies of the forms and 40 copies of each page of the constitution. At first Rev Baxana protested but Ma Gora reminded him that DSRAC had always said their doors were open and if Kwam needed something they should just come and ask, now she was asking. He mumbled something and grudgingly made the rest of the copies while he explained to Ma Gora that he would have to think of something to say why so many copies of something were needed. Ma Gora said he could say they were for Kwam but that did not seem to be good enough, however, that was the reverend's problem. While they were waiting for the copies Rev Baxana also told Ma Gora that DSRAC was concerned that Kwam's standard was 'too low' but Ma Gora could not figure out what he meant. Volkher guessed that this was the next shift of the goal posts, the next reason why DSRAC could not do business with Kwam. Again, it was ironic that DSRAC claimed to be there for 'the poorest of the poor' and then to complain about the standard – even if it also epitomises the conceptual clash of poverty and commercial hospitality.

The Kwam evaluation meeting on 11 September started half an hour late and lasted three hours. Most of the time was taken up by some 'rebel' mamas (four Otto loyalists and one mama who had all along been undecided, now for Ma Gora, now against her) who seemed to use the opportunity to vent their personal grievances against Ma Gora. Even if Ma Moli had tabled an agenda which concerned besides the Festival evaluation, the introduction of the membership form, the rebel mamas started by questioning the guest allocations. A rebel mama first stated that she was a Christian and "in Jesus' name I speak the truth", and then blatantly lied that Ma Gora had told her another mama was full and therefore she *had* to take the guests. She bragged that she had received many guests, as if Ma Gora had specially favoured her, although she had received not more guests than most other mamas. When Ma Gora explained how she did the allocations and that some mamas did not want guests, they accused her of favouritism and objected to the booking office being at her house. It seemed as if a simple home booking office was not good enough for these mamas

as they suggested Kwam needed a 'proper office' in town (obviously ignoring the cost implications).

When Ma Gora eventually presented the membership forms a rebel mama objected and said that it was Volkher's idea just to have something to get them arrested! Some of the other rebel mamas then questioned Volkher and Claudia's involvement and Ma Gora explained that they only gave advice. Another rebel mama then said that the situation was the same as with the previous committee, that Ma Gora was doing everything by herself and excluded the committee. The three committee members present and Ma Gora denied this and they confirmed that they were working together. At one stage the argument got so heated that Volkher thought he just wanted to leave but he decided to stay calm and quiet. He realized he had to deal with 'the dragon within' now. If he would have left it would have been an instant victory for the rebels and he would have deserted Ma Gora and the committee. If he interfered he would have made it worse as these mamas were also attacking him, he had to stick out the 'fight'. Relentlessly a rebel mama continued and accused Ma Gora of dominating the committee members who she said were led around like fools. Other rebel mamas also questioned the capabilities of the committee members and then accused Ma Gora of mismanagement. When Ma Gora then asked one of the rebel mamas about the DSRAC officials who had stayed with several of them and that neither the committee nor she knew anything about it, the mamas kept quiet. After more debates about accountability and transparency, and as it was getting very late, Ma Moli announced that they would have another meeting the next week on Wednesday 16 September, where the bank statements and financial reports would be made available for the mamas to inspect. Ma Moli then closed the meeting. Afterwards the committee member reminded them that she had warned about the bullet proof vest Ma Gora would need!

The split in Kwam has become evident and as it had been looming, Volkher thought to himself that it was perhaps time to get rid of those who did not want to accept the change. At first all the mamas pushed Ma Gora to be chairlady for ten years, nobody wanted to do it, nor even serve on the committee, until July 2014 when the opportunistic ex-committee member had approached Ma Gora to be chairlady. Now that Ma Gora's position proved to come with power and money they turned against her (even if she was not chairlady anymore), they could not accept the authority of someone 'poorer' (even if she is better educated), but Ma Gora was fine as the 'puppet' front for the mamas vis-à-vis government for years. Volkher now also doubted all his previous observations of 'unanimous' decisions taken by the mamas and he asked Ma Gora about it. But Ma Gora confirmed that they had been unanimous at those occasions, these included voting Otto out and the 'mandate' the mamas had given Volkher to fight MT shortly before the last Festival. Ma Gora explained that she was used to the mamas doing that, they all agreed seemingly unanimous but later everyone would come with her own story, for instance, some of these rebel mamas now claimed to belong to both Kwam and MT! Ma Gora said that the mamas also did not listen when they had told them about the budget expenditures which had been presented to the mamas before Festival; now they were asking about the taxis and cadets where those payments were handled by MT and not Kwam. Ma Gora and Ma Moli commented that the rebel mamas seemed to be scared of Volkher and he replied that they needed to be scared if they thought they could just do as they (or Otto) pleased! Volkher realized that what was of utmost importance now was the legal framework on the one side and on the other, the membership forms which provided that each mama commits herself.

Before the follow-on meeting on 16 September, while they were waiting for more mamas to come, Ma Gora and Ma Moli told Volkher that they and the rest of the committee had in the meantime discussed that they as a committee needed to show that they were strong and that they would not accept that these rebel mamas could do as they wanted. Ma Gora said if they carry on like that again the committee would pack their things and walk out. Volkher advised them not to do that because this was their meeting, not Dr Mona's, and if they

wanted to show that they were strong they had to get the others to leave or Ma Moli should just summarily close the meeting and start praying. Volkher said that he thought the rebel mamas looked for a stage to pull off their show and it was wasting everybody's time, they should just shut the stage. The committee members agreed and again half an hour late, the meeting started.

The meeting the week before had been attended by 19 mamas and with the follow-on meeting there were 16 mamas, including the rebel group which was back in full force. After the usual hymn and prayer, Ma Moli started the meeting by telling the mamas that they had until the next Monday to return the membership forms to her otherwise they would not be listed on the website, and then she handed over to Ma Gora. Ma Gora told the mamas that they could not see the Kwam bank statements because they were confidential, but she had prepared a financial report which she then presented to the mamas. One of the rebel mamas demanded a copy of the report and she said everybody was supposed to get copies. Ma Gora said these were interim reports and if the mamas wanted financial statements they would have to wait for year-end when according to their constitution the financials were due, then they would receive copies too. Other rebel mamas then suggested that Ma Gora and the committee were trying to hide something by not revealing the bank statements. Ma Gora said individual mamas could have a look at the bank statements but they could not be copied and handed around. Then a rebel mama wanted to know how one of the mamas came to be on the committee. Volkher was again becoming annoyed and struggled to stay calm, he wondered why this mama had not updated herself if she had missed something as the committee had been the same since January. Patiently Ma Gora explained and added that whereas she received compensation for her work the rest of the committee decided not to claim any money. A Kwam mama then wanted to know from the rebel mamas why they demanded financial reports and bank statements when since 2004 they have never seen any – why now in 2015 they suddenly insist? A rebel mama shouted her response that the mama did not know what she was talking about and soon a number of mamas joined in the argument which at one stage again looked as if it could become

physical. Ma Moli then started shouting at the top of her voice that the meeting was closed. She had to repeat that a few times before the mamas settled down. Volkher then addressed the mamas and he stressed the importance of the membership form and very briefly explained the provisions of the constitution concerning the financials, year-end and committee members, and when he had finished, Ma Gora started singing a hymn and surprisingly a rebel mama led the closing prayer thereafter.

The trick with closing the meeting like that seemed to have worked but it also left things hanging. Afterwards Volkher asked Ma Moli what she thought the reason was why the rebel mamas were trying their utmost to find something wrong – it was not like there was really something wrong but they were out to find something – Ma Moli said: “it is because of the money. They see money.” It is not to say that the committee and Ma Gora made no mistakes but these had been rectified and as far as Volkher could ascertain, everything was in order. Ma Moli explained that these mamas thought (or at least argued) that R150 000 came to Kwam “just like that” and now it needed to be divided up, or at least that which was left over. They did not listen when the budget proposal was presented to them before Festival and that was why they were still asking about the taxis and cadets. Now they wanted accountability and transparency for the only reason that they wanted to establish how much was left for the taking. The rebel mamas did not see a future where Kwam as organization would need money to be able to carry on functioning. They wanted to go back to MT – a ‘proper office’ – they did not want to change, and it was each for herself doing her own thing. There was obviously no feeling for the collective with these mamas, at least not the collective as Volkher perceived it. Similarly, Stasja Koot (in Van Beek & Schmidt 2012: 163) reported about a development project in Tsintsabis, Botswana, where people “who want to gain financially from the project ... turn against the project because they do not get anything out of it on an individual basis.” The dragon within literally revealed a head when the opportunistic ex-committee member, now also ex-Kwam, had the guts to arrive at the last Kwam meeting (uninvited). She came into the hall very close to the end of the meeting and she had not witnessed the fight; it was during the time Volkher had spelled out how the

constitution worked. Afterwards the opportunistic ex-committee ex-Kwam member addressed the rebel mamas outside while Volkher and the committee were still inside the hall. One consequence of empowering the group was that the power relations within came into the foreground, and the dragon within was alive and well. The division had been there all along and there has been no reason to accentuate it until Ma Gora stood up. Ma Gora now effectively controlled the 'treasure' but the fact that she had worked for it and was still working for it seemed not to count – it is not what she did, it is what she got.

The months of August and September were usually quiet months in terms of visitors to Grahamstown (after Festival and before year-end events), but in 2015 these months were exceptionally quiet. With nothing happening either with Kwam or tourism, Volkher settled to continue with writing-up this thesis, while he kept reminding Mandira about the legal framework, the certificate from the DSD which she said she would extract and the PAIA requests which she said she would follow up on. Volkher and Claudia decided to move more to the background but they would provide advice when Ma Gora or other mamas ask them for it and they would occasionally contact Ma Gora to find out what was going on. Kwam's Rhodes University partner, AWCAS, also made contact at last and they promised to help with the updates of Kwam's website. Whereas Volkher had been a driving force against 'nothing happening', he resigned from this perceived duty because Kwam has to be completely independent – even from him and Claudia – and drive their own development. Volkher and Claudia would continue to monitor Kwam and to keep contact with Ma Gora, but they have disengaged from active intervention.

In the middle of October 2015 macro-politics took a turn for worse and three large protest actions simultaneously shook Grahamstown. Volkher had been rather optimistic about the prospects of developing a sustainable hospitality sector in Grahamstown East and contrary to his perception of Joza being a comparably 'safe' township, the protests shattered these

hopes. Along with a nationwide (at times violent) student protest which raged on about, *inter alia*, unacceptable raises in tuition fees for higher education, Rhodes University students and staff staged protests at the entrances to the university and the university closed down for a week. Then the taxi associations of Grahamstown staged a massive drive-by protest through town objecting to the deteriorating condition of the streets and omnipresent potholes. The third protest was sparked by a rumour that a foreign national had been involved in a series of murders and/or *muti*-murder.⁹³ Many foreign nationals (e.g. Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Somali, Pakistani and Chinese) own and operate small shops (called *Spaza* shops) in Joza and with the protest over 70 of these shops were looted and foreign school children were threatened in school by other children; over 200 foreigners were evacuated to a place of safety. Although the three protests were not related, one thing they all had in common was a deep-seated general unhappiness or dissatisfaction of the citizenry of South Africa at large. Xenophobic attacks have been going on for years but now they have reached Grahamstown - sparked by a rumour which the police maintained lacked any substance, yet it again proves the power of rumour. While a few months back Volkher considered Joza a fairly safe township and hence a better chance for Kwam to develop its potential as a tourist attraction, he cannot say the same anymore. Rhodes students have been advised to avoid Joza as "the situation remains volatile" and so this would also thwart the newly established partnership of Kwam and student community engagement groups of Rhodes. There remains very little anyone can do for Kwam when with so few people coming to Grahamstown anyway, even less would come now that it is viewed as unsafe. And then in mid November 2015 the whole world became an unsafe place which already badly affected international tourism.

In the meantime, and since the students could not make good anymore on their promise to help Kwam with updates to their website, Volkher and Claudia decided to at least overhaul the text and to save costs (for Kwam), they prepared the changes to the website in such a way that the webmaster had very little to do and charged only R500 (to see the result

⁹³ *Muti* are substances used in witchcraft; with *muti*-murders body parts (usually genitalia) were cut off to be used for *muti*.

please visit www.kwamemakana.co.za). On a prosaic radical reflexive note, this knight felt like signing off as Don Quixote – and it is not that the countess had not warned him that he may have been chasing windmills after all! However, as this has become a never ending story, also in mid November Sue sent out an urgent email calling for nominations to the Makana Tourism Board. Volkher and Claudia discussed this with Ma Gora and convinced and motivated her to sign-up, or rather, let Ma Moli as chairperson of Kwam nominate her for a position on the board. They pointed out that if Kwam were to be represented on the MT Board there could be huge benefits: Ma Gora would be able to rekindle the contacts with Rhodes and NAF (who also have representatives on the board) which went cold at the time when Kwam requested that Sue and Otto be removed from their offices before the last Festival; the rebel mamas who claimed to belong to both Kwam and MT would be muzzled and she would at least know what is going on, what Otto and Sue are up to. Ma Gora's nomination was accepted and she was invited to and attended the next MT Board meeting at the end of November. Otto who was still chairperson of MT completely ignored Ma Gora, neither greeting her nor welcoming her as new member nor granting her a chance to speak when she had put her hand up. Three days later Ma Gora received an email from Sue with a letter confirming her nomination as committee member of the MT Board *but* "on condition that Kwam eMakana allows a representative from Makana Tourism to be part of the Kwam eMakana Management Committee". Sue also expected fulfilment of this condition before 11 December 2015. When Volkher discussed this with Ma Gora she agreed that it reeked of Otto and Sue's tricks - same old story with confusion. No such condition of mutual representation exists in the MT constitution and Kwam's constitution clearly provides for who the committee members are and outsiders cannot be included willy-nilly, besides this condition rages against the principle of a voluntary organization. They questioned why this had not been discussed at the board meeting where Ma Gora was present and concluded that the other board members probably did not know anything about it. Ma Gora decided that she would ignore the letter. They suspect that Sue would, upon noncompliance, not invite Ma Gora to the next MT Board meeting but Ma Gora would find out about it and go anyway. Sue's letter was obviously an attempt at back paddling on Ma Gora's appointment but Volkher and Claudia mused that the old power struggle between Ma Gora and Otto has found a new home, the dragon was now within Makana Tourism, right over Sue's head!

10. Interlude

Comparison to Oceanic studies of homestays

In the course of his literature survey Volkher found quite a number of Oceanic studies of homestays and although homestay operations in for example Malaysia or Thailand are on a much bigger scale, they have great value for comparison. In an effort to share this knowledge Volkher and Claudia summarized what they could identify as important points from these studies and compiled a table to compare them with Kwam (the table follows below). They then presented the table to the Kwam committee and congratulated them for, as will be seen, there were quite a number of similarities both with the challenges and the success - and Kwam was in a generally better position than their Oceanic counterparts.

A national homestay project had been launched in Malaysia already in 1995 and there were over 3 000 homestays which were part of the project by 2012 (Pusiran & Xiao 2013; Abdullah and Said 2014: 110; Kumar et al. 2012: 21). Various sources confirm that people who offered homestays experienced improvements on both economic and social levels (Abdullah and Said 2014: 110).⁹⁴ The main problems with the national project seemed to stem from the fact that they were also top-down and homestay owners were excluded from decision making processes concerning the management and operations of the homestays, “the issue of governance is crucial to ensure the survival of the homestay programme” (Abdullah and Said 2014: 111). Thus, also in Malaysia, as with Kwam, there were ‘development agents’ or ‘middleman’ who saw to ‘fair’ guest distribution among the operators but favoured some over others and controlled funding which became exploited through corruption. Kumar et al. (2012: 22) seriously questioned the viability of the

⁹⁴ For instance, Abdullah and Said (2014: 110) noted that the number of tourists accommodated through the Malaysian government Homestay Program “from January-December 2013 is 350,954 where the total income generated from the programme is RM 21,570,949.20.”

homestay programme in stark contrast to many reports of success, as very few homestays have shown sustainability even after, or because of, long-term government support. Suriya and Gruen (2012: 1-4) classified homestays in Thailand as part of the 'core' tourism activities, and these homestays seemed to be reserved for the somewhat richer households who could afford the investment. They concluded that craft and souvenir production, although dependent on core tourism, could be a more accessible form of participation in tourism for the really poor.

Oceanic Homestays

Identity problem – Branding

Homestays are a national 'product' which makes it difficult to market as they don't have a specific brand⁹⁵

Lack of marketing

Broad based government tourism marketing is limited

Formalization and legal entity; The members must form an association to be able to deal with other parties and/or government as a legal person

Exploitation by third parties, 'middlemen'

Kwam eMakana

Kwam eMakana, even as government initiated project, had built its own identity for 10 years already, the name Kwam eMakana (Kwam) is well known and their brand is ekasi-style

Kwam had the same challenge before, and government marketing was next to nothing. But Kwam's website is live since September 2014, besides various listings with other websites, which has started to bear fruit, but more marketing can be done if there is money for it

Kwam has succeeded in becoming a registered NPO

Developers, custodians, service providers and project managers from outside are often more after the funding to secure their own income, but they are not interested in the real development and growth of the project; external steering and management hampers

⁹⁵ As a newer development 'kampungstays' could perhaps become a brand, comparable to ekasi-style.

Over-dependency on funding ⁹⁶ or mentorship	the healthy development of the project.
Misconception of homestays by officials and guests	Kwam must aim to develop to become fully independent, in the long run Kwam obviously needs paying guests much more than funding. Mentors must allow for learning by doing rather than telling the project members what to do
Low standard of accommodation, especially bathroom facilities	Mrs Balindlela already recognized that guests needed to be educated about ekasi homestays and so it seems with most other people. Homestays are not B&Bs or guest houses with dedicated guest facilities and staff. The mamas care for the guests like for family, they live with the guest. This is emotional labour on top of the service and because it is so borderline, misconceptions easily occur. Homestays are not officially recognized as business.
Lack of hosting experience	All Kwam homes have indoor flush toilets as minimum standard, but improvements of bathrooms must have priority. Ekasi-style involves a certain element of 'low standard' – but not when it comes to hospitality and with that the Kwam standard is high
Poor service and care for the guests	Most Kwam mamas have had a lot of training and courses, besides more than a decade experience; new members would have to be checked though
Over-commercialization; cultural degradation; modernization; westernization (e.g. both homestays and 'kampungstays' were increasingly offered in separate free standing buildings to increase guest	Most Kwam mamas deliver excellent service and take extra care of their guests; this also comes with their long experience. Kwam as umbrella organization will check their members, do inspections and deal with complaints This has more to do with foreign tourism and cultural exchange which do not feature in Grahamstown. This problem would also arise if guests are no longer looked after by the hostess herself, but by staff, then

⁹⁶ Abdullah and Said (2014: 113): "Though gradual withdrawal of state support is a pre-condition for greater self-reliance in the tourism industry and is necessary to uphold independent and progressive homestay operators".

privacy, in other words more like a B&B or guesthouse than a homestay in the strict sense)	there is no contact between hostess and guest. If the mama does not live in the same house as the guests (as even DSRAC requested) – what has become of the homestay then? Perhaps over-commercialization is that thing which kills the idea of a homestay because it would imply realizing the actual impossibility of commercializing the home entirely
Poor leadership	Power struggles were/are central, and there were/are internal problems. Leadership must come from within the project, and be elected by the members. Kwam now has a strong leadership but the mamas have shown incompetence when it concerns committee duties.
Power struggles	
Incompetence	
Lack of commitment and activity in the group	There was quite a bit of this too which was connected to the power struggles, and the former committee members showed a lack of commitment. It is necessary that the group works together and supports the leadership, passive members don't bring the project forward; the membership form is a step to confirm the mamas' commitment
Over ageing and no young members	There has been a problem with mamas getting too old but often the daughters stepped in. The project is now open for new and young members
Weak administration and book keeping	Transparency and accountability are very important (as seen with MT), books must be well kept at all times; problems with literacy need help; it's not a lack of willingness as such but rather inability; younger generation can assist; Rhodes student partners will assist
Unsafe method of payment	Guests should pay a deposit or even settle the full amount upfront; booking and payment need to be secured; at this stage it is cash and EFT; cancellation policies need to be developed; so far only very few problems with payments save for delays.

Competition (formal and informal sectors)

Grahamstown West accommodation and other accommodation establishments, formal and informal ones, are certainly competition; Kwam should get Entabeni to join them. If Kwam's target market are local black people their future competition is not going to be with white operators

11. Summary and Findings

While the story of Kwam continues this chapter concludes this thesis. Particularly suited to capture the dynamics of the various relationships (concerning power, groups, hosts-guests, the development industry, government, research and many more), as they developed in the afore going chapters, is, as noted, Bourdieu's (1989) conceptual structure of a totality of capital. The totality of capital is made up by the four strands of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. Although the categories overlap and are interdependent they nevertheless provide ascertainable reference points on which to 'hook' a holistic picture of the development processes and together they reveal the strategies and mechanisms which the role players used to acquire or maximise the various capitals and how it was lost again in some cases. Tallying the economic-, symbolic-, cultural-, and social capitals together they capture a totality of capital and simultaneously they provide a summary of the development story of Kwam up to the point of writing this. Considering the various capitals, it is important to keep in mind that the different capitals do overlap and therefore mentioning a capital under a particular heading does not exclude it from being applicable to another type of capital.

A Totality of Capital

Economic capital

As is clear from the account above, information concerning the financial management prior to 2014 is still withheld by Makana Tourism (MT), regardless of any of Volkher's attempts at accessing them.

Kwam never was a real poverty relief project in anything but name. The project did not involve the 'poorest of the poor' as home-ownership was an entry level requirement and later the minimum requirement of the indoor flushing toilet saw further marginalization of the poorer in the group - the 'poorest' of Kwam did not develop. Some reports suggested that initial government input for the project must have been between R1 – 1,5 million annually for the first three years, including the payments government made for guest accommodation. MT as custodian handled these funds which were more than double of MT's own annual turnover at the time, which was about R500 000. MT enjoyed enormous benefits for their small office by directing such a huge project, such as extra pay for the administration and the handling of over 50 homes and hundreds of guests – even if it was just for ten days in the year. It became clear by 2014 that MT had come to rely on an ever increasing part of the Kwam Operations Budget to cover their expenses, although the budget was supposed to be 'seed funding' for Kwam's development. While Kwam had no control over the expenditure of the R150 000 Operations Budget, in 2013 R71 000 of it landed with MT (Otto, Sue and Welekazi) and nothing with Kwam. Thus, the economic capital gained from the project seemed to be outweighed by the expense to keep the project afloat, both for government and the hosts; the budget had actually become a negative capital as it bound Kwam to government and hampered their development while the cash went elsewhere. As things turned around with Festival 2014 a total of R70 500 from the Operations Budget accrued to the Kwam mamas and their organization, and in 2015 R100 000 of the budget was directed to Kwam. For the future Volkher and Claudia are confident that Kwam, if managed properly, could survive without (so much) funding as booking fees and membership contributions could provide enough cover for the expenses. Kwam's partnership with Rhodes University would also cut their expenses for website upgrading, financial reporting and auditing (although the future of student activities in Joza remains uncertain).

The initial starter packs were obvious material benefits for the mamas and so was the R500 loan access to small credit, in its own way a form of economic capital gained by participating with the project. The later starter pack of R1000 had become a gift or grant and not a loan as a result of both Volkher's and Sue's ignorance about the nature of the starter pack, while the mamas maintained all along that they needed the starter pack to buy breakfast groceries for their famous English style breakfast (which costs considerably more than the traditional *maas* and *pap* breakfast). The mamas used the money they had earned from hosting during Festival mainly for home improvements and decorations, it was a supplementary income - no Kwam mama could depend, or even thought of depending, on Kwam for a regular income. Although some homestays reportedly earned huge amounts of over R20 000 per Festival before 2010, this was still extra cash which the hosts used to pay for things generally considered luxuries.

By the time Sue became director of MT in 2012 the 'nose dive' of Kwam had started and it accelerated towards 2014 for an all time low. Both the number of participating homestays and the number of guests rapidly declined, this can be clearly seen from the table below which Sue had presented at the NAF/DSRAC Evaluation meeting in August 2014:

Year	No. of homes	Bed nights ⁹⁷	No. of guests	Total income
2012	41	864	'tbc'	R257 875,00
2013	35	609	200	R186 174,00
2014	32 (34)	406	135	R119 606,50

Financially the Festival of 2014 had been the worst festival for the individual Kwam hosts ever. According to the table above average income had declined from R6 300 in 2012, to R5 300 in 2013 and R3 700 in 2014. Taking into account that these amounts reflect turn-

⁹⁷ 'Bed nights' is a term which reflects the sum of the number of guests multiplied by the number of nights guests spent.

over and not profit, it is obvious why Volkher had argued that the starter pack could at least compensate for some costs the mamas had by being prepared for DSRAC guests when only very few guests were actually hosted.

Although the total guest numbers stayed more or less the same for the Festivals of 2014 and 2015, in 2015 private guests far outnumbered government guests. The private guests Kwam hosted for both the Rhodes occasions of O-week and Graduation, and Festival 2015 were the beginning of a base of private guests which have a much better chance of expanding in numbers than the former 'forced' government guests – with the proviso of guest safety and security. In 2015 Kwam's business has extended significantly to other times of the year than just Festival. The marketing initiatives Volkher and Claudia had supported Kwam with, such as the website and listings, proved to work but they will need to be updated and more aggressive marketing is needed. Leaving macro-politics aside, Kwam's economic capital is now free to develop in a realistic market-related way. For the first time Kwam has directly received significant private economic support through Volkher and Claudia. Besides the laptop they had donated to Ma Gora (thus indirectly also to Kwam) they carried the costs of their intervention (driving, phoning, data bundles, printing etc.) and (of which it is impossible to calculate) the time they spent with all the interventions.

Although the extent of the booking office at Ma Gora's house was a laptop and the internet connection, which technically belonged to Kwam, she and her daughter also benefitted properly with the 2015 Festival. Most of the money (R57 000) budgeted in total for the booking office was to compensate for their work and Ma Gora had used some of the money to buy a new laptop for Kwam and she intended to buy a printer/copying machine. Ma Gora's personal capital significantly increased from being the uncompensated chairperson to become the first employee of Kwam. Of course, these improvements and benefits brought with them jealousy from those few who felt it happened either at their expense or

to their disadvantage, but the increasing number of private guests, also at other times of the year, demonstrated to most of the mamas that they were benefitting too.

Symbolic capital

Just as Kwam began with a significant amount of economic capital, and a decade later it was at an all time low, so Kwam enjoyed the benefits of powerful symbolic capital in the beginning but this also waned, particularly after Mrs Balindlela left in 2009. By 2014 there was little left beyond memories of the 'good old days'. Two years before Mrs Balindlela left, Kwam lost 'white capital' (which many blacks still value years after the advent of black majority rule) with the departure of Ms Tracey Mackie. Claudia was seen as a potential replacement of her in 2014 as two mamas on different occasions pleaded with Claudia to do so. Mr Makkink as an old white Afrikaner male had brought with him the legacy of apartheid, however, he had been a benign patron, a good 'boss', and the mamas could rely on him to look after their interests. In these circumstances the mamas submitted to what their custodian decided and when Mr Makkink retired they naturally had to assess their position with the new custodian, Sue, a white woman (who could not fill the void Tracey had left). Mr Makkink was/is a TV repairs man, not a host; his good intentions helped to sustain and save the project, especially from the usual corruption which has become a feature of development projects. Unfortunately 'rules' developed under Mr Makkink's patronage which contradicted the development of commercial hospitality, such as the rotation system, the booking allocations, and a standard rate across the board. Kwam's empowerment through their new white friends filled the gap left by former white friends, and although some people seemed to be thoroughly irritated by the white couple's involvement, Volkher shamelessly used his and Claudia's whiteness (and his legal qualification) when it seemed that it could help to move things for the benefit of Kwam.

Kwam had the advantage of a name and a brand from the time of their inception, and the name Kwam eMakana with the bright red logo was well known in Grahamstown during the time of this study. “Symbolic power is the power to make things with words” (Bourdieu 1989:23), but in the developing world there is a difference between the value of the spoken word and that of the written word.⁹⁸ No founding document of Kwam could be found and it seemed that for most of the first ten years of Kwam what was written was only concerned with the actual running (budget proposals, payment schedules etc.) of the project and not its symbolic value. And in the later years not even financial reports were kept. Kumoll (2010: 75) referred to Oceanic scholars who critiqued the power of the written word as Western colonialism “because, as Kame’eleihiwa argues, ‘We have evolved from a complex oral society and mistrust the power that the written words seems to wield’”. Acosta (2013: 122) similarly noted perceptions about the value of document production in the Pacific and Mosse (2005) referred the use of ‘politically correct language’ to cover-up some realities, which only contribute to a further mistrust in the written word. In the present case not only the Kwam mamas showed similar scepticism concerning the written word. Interestingly, in the West the oath seems to be the only remnant of an oral representation that implies having value as the ‘truth’, while the written word claims the value *suo moto*.

Kwam’s symbolic capital radically changed with the acceptance of their first constitution on 10 June 2014 – on a symbolic level it was the second most important event since Kwam’s inception ten years earlier. This time Volkher saw to the actual document, the constitution, as the physical proof of the existence of the organization. Whereas even National Arts

⁹⁸ Also, in the development context Olivier de Sardan (2005: 72) noted: “Thus the perception of African societies as ‘primitive’ and ‘backward’ is currently forbidden in public discourse, and no longer expressed in academic works, but it nevertheless continues to shape, implicitly, the conceptions of a number of development operators (locals and foreigners alike), even though their spoken words and their writings are at variance.”

Festival (NAF) and the Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC) officials still invoked the Kwam mantra (spoken words), the Kwam constitution and registration (written words) was not readily acknowledged, or it was even blatantly ignored. Similarly, most of the reports remained unread by officials who had required them. Very often it happened that the oral presentations, what was discussed at a meeting, differed from what was decided and the reports and minutes (written words) reflected yet another story. This seemed to have been the standard procedure of dealing with MT, however, Mr Chetty had also asked Kwam to put in writing their reports and ultimately their request to have the funds channelled directly to them. Even if they, or then Volkher, did as requested without failure, spoken words such as rumours seemed to have more value. For example, Dr Mona simply *told* Ma Gora in a shop that the money would go to MT, and later the minutes reflected that it had been an 'informal meeting'. Dr Mona only ever spoke, although he (and Adv Kruger) spoke about (written) contracts and agreements he never produced any document. Yet Dr Mona required to see the actual registration certificate of Kwam above all else, and whatever Kwam had to say, he dismissed as nonsense. On the other side rumours, gossip and lies were readily accepted, if not invited and encouraged. This proved both government's incompetence and reluctance to accept changes which were brought about privately. Kwam stood up for their capital and the symbolic gesture of them walking out on their main funder had far reaching effects. The three letters to higher authorities (to the MT Board, the administrator and the MEC) seemed to have an effect, however the results were further meetings and the usual cycle followed about what is spoken, decided, written and done in the end. To date nothing has materialized of the requests in terms of the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA).

Volkher had meticulously kept minutes of all the Kwam committee and general meetings, not only for his research purposes but also because Kwam would have to submit these minutes together with their financial reports early in 2016 to the director of NPOs if they want to maintain their registration. If the Department of Social Development (DSD) operates the same as DSRAC, he doubts if these reports would have any real value - who is going to

read all of these reports, and for what purpose? It seems as long as reports have been filed, and they could be filled with gibberish, the job is done – the written word content is not important. Throughout the story of Kwam we have seen the power of rumour and it is not surprising, taking into account that the majority of South Africans had, until fairly recently, a strong oral tradition and written words were reserved for the church and government. Nowadays, and especially with the internet and text messaging, the written word seems to be fast gaining ground, even with the older generation. In this way even rumours, which had before usually been oral, turn into written words and as with promises, they are as empty as the words themselves.

The Kwam mamas had grown used to the fact that there was always someone who oversaw their project – in the beginning it had been Mrs Balindlela and Tracey, then Mr Makkink and after him Otto and Sue took the lead. Thus Kwam could with relative ease install Volkher and Claudia as *tata* and *mama* of Kwam. Kwam was still very much dependant on ‘parenting’, or better, mentoring, from whatever quarter. It is a position Volkher and Claudia landed in by default, without realising that it had happened and what the extent of it was/is. There were other people who have made efforts at securing this position for themselves, obviously to earn money but also for the power. To be in charge of Kwam is a rather powerful position – the MEC, the Minister and even the president were said to know and ‘watch’ Kwam, for better or worse! Being independent as they are now, Kwam holds that power themselves, but that will not deter others from still wanting it.

Competition is a consequence of symbolic capital and there was/is palpable competition not only with Entabeni or Grahamstown West but also with an increasing number of ‘informal’ operators. In the past even Rhodes University was seen as competition, as Kwam mamas commented that Rhodes and DSRAC collaborated “while Kwam is on the backseat” or that “Rhodes took all the guests”. This probably had to do with the so-called “Rhodes Hotel”

which also offers accommodation during NAF in the Rhodes Residences when students are on vacation. The important capital to be gained from a website was only realized rather late for Kwam, but the website symbolizes the advances Kwam has made in the cyber realm and as a result their improved competitiveness in the real market for commercial hospitality. In contrast to this were the various failed attempts by the municipality and/or MT to promote Kwam of which the billboard debacle was the nadir. Undoubtedly things can only have value for people if they are engaged. With 'top down' projects, as the Oceanic studies of homestays also showed, it seems that the focus needs to shift from the empowerment of certain agents or officials, to the empowerment of the people, which implies a move away from government to private empowerment, if meaningful development is to ensue.

On a personal level, the mamas were wary of symbolic capital they might attract for a variety of reasons. This showed in their reluctance to serve on the committee on the one side, and jealousy about those who did, on the other. The former committee members were motivated by the prospects of more money whereas the current committee members seem to be committed to the cause and they whole heartedly support Ma Gora. This is mainly a split between those who are motivated by immediate returns and those who take the long view. Ma Moli, as the new chairperson has a more symbolic position than it had been with Ma Gora, who, although she symbolically stepped down, is still leading Kwam.

Cultural capital

Kwam's cultural capital, as reflected in their ekasi-style homes and hospitality, will remain largely underexposed as long as there is no proper tourist industry to latch onto – and the prospects of this ever happening in Grahamstown East are dwindling. While marketing ekasi-style certainly makes clear what Kwam offers, guests, particularly black South Africans

who are also identified as the target market, have Western commercial hospitality expectations and this could be problematic specifically in the homestay situation. It seems that with commercialization of hospitality traditional hospitality practices have become hybridized with Western commercial hospitality. It was also interesting to note a very small increase in guests to Kwam who indeed sought cultural exchange and of these the most seemed to be white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

The Kwam 10th anniversary celebration was the highlight on both cultural and social levels for Kwam. All the mamas wore their traditional outfits and sang traditional songs, although this was also hybridized with westernized influences such as the three course meal, the birthday cake and song. The traditional dress for Volkher and Claudia acculturated them as *tata* and *mama*. Thus, when later a former committee member vented her disapproval of the 'very expensive' clothes for Volkher and Claudia, it had also been an attempt to demean their acceptance in the group. On a personal level for Volkher and Claudia their engagement with Kwam obviously implied cultural exchange and Ma Gora even invited them to some of her family's traditional celebrations such as a funeral or the celebration when her son had 'returned from the bush' after his initiation as a man.

Social capital

The Kwam mamas, like many other women in the townships, participate in as many projects as interest them, including those related to the various churches they all belong to. It was in this spirit that the mamas interested in hospitality joined Kwam; it was another project to participate in and then to wait and see what benefit might accrue. The Kwam mamas also gained significant symbolic and social capital by belonging to yet another group, even if the

group had been fairly loose. For instance, those still on the database but not actively hosting guests continued to claim to be part of Kwam, to maintain their claim to this capital, by keeping their signboards up and attending meetings. Since the beginning when the mamas toyi-toyed at the MT office, the Kwam mamas only acted like a group when they were called to meetings. Until 2011 there were at least two Kwam meetings in a year, one before Festival and an evaluation meeting afterwards. Then there were the visits, interviews, surveys, studies by various people and groups over the years which, as noted, distinguished the Kwam mamas as a particular kind of guinea pig in the township. At these meetings the mamas were together as a group submitted to questionnaires, presentations and 'workshops', and one could speak of a form of *communitas* which the mamas experienced. Thus, the many more meetings, since May 2014 called by Kwam themselves (or then Ma Gora and the committee), contributed to a much stronger group sense amongst the mamas, of which, as said, the Kwam party was perhaps the epitome of a Kwam social gathering, and they even paid for it themselves. Although the group shrank over the years, the social capital of still belonging to Kwam was of all the capitals perhaps the strongest in 2014 to 2015. As an organization Kwam had befriended the Assumption Development Centre (ADC), Rhodes University Community Engagement (RUCE) and African Women's Chartered Accountant's Society (AWCAS), all of which have proved to further stimulate Kwam's social growth.

After the long time of ten years, the many meetings and presentations and the ever increasing tension with Otto, it seemed that there was stronger social cohesion than in the beginning, although the power struggle also threatened this. The power struggle between Ma Gora and Otto was central to the first decade of the story of Kwam, even if it was only visible in the repetitive outbursts at meetings. Obviously both were vying for the social capital of recognition by the group, but they had prioritized different economic capitals. Ma Gora, the chosen representative of the majority of mamas, focussed on ways to build the project and the mamas' business; she represented the original spirit with which Mrs Balindlela inspired the mamas back in 2004: she understood the mamas' expectations for

returns on their investment through attracting more guests, and for her a website had priority. Ma Gora's friendship with Volkher and Claudia restored her confidence to actively lead Kwam again; their 'campaign' during the interviews bolstered her social status as leader, and as the story progressed Ma Gora's social capital further developed, even if later she was not chairperson anymore. Otto's motivation had been to secure benefits from government funding which he could then control and be paid from, almost identical to what Escobar (1995: 49) described:

As the bikas ['development' in Nepal] apparatus becomes more important in terms of providing jobs and other means of social wealth and power, more and more people want a piece of the bika pie. Indeed, it is not so much to be a beneficiary of development programs people want – they know they do not get much out of these programs – but to become a salaried worker in the implementation of bikas.

Otto, as a dominating male, introduced a significant number of mamas to the project and enjoyed their loyalty which saw to a division among the mamas, contrary to the growing social cohesion. Two mamas, both former committee members, have been expelled from Kwam after their treacherous behaviour, but one of them seems to be still actively undermining the Kwam Ma Gora has built up with Volkher and Claudia's help. Thus the top-down initiation of Kwam had at first covered any divisions within the group and the moment Kwam was not entangled in this hierarchy anymore the division within came to the fore.

What made Kwam unique was that it was the first 'top-down' township-style homestay accommodation project attempted in South Africa. In Malaysia and Thailand, for instance, homestay schemes had been introduced by government on a much bigger scale already since 1995, as noted in the short survey of the previous chapter. Usually these types of projects or organizations are *community* initiated, as was even the case with Kwam rivals Entabeni or the GHG or, further afield in South Africa, community developed homestay projects such as those in Knysna, the Cape Flats or Soweto. Prior to Kwam's inception in 2004 there had been private attempts at 'township-stays' in Grahamstown East and three of the Kwam members had already operated a homestay/B&B of sorts before they joined

Kwam. But Kwam was a government initiative, like those mentioned in other countries, and this was no guarantee of success but rather the contrary: most 'top down' development projects fail amidst high expectations (Ferguson 1990: 8). Almost miraculously the Kwam project had been conceived, implemented and by 2014 had somehow endured for 10 years. It has been a relative success as we have seen, even if the last few years were disappointing for the Kwam mamas. This is in stark contrast to the Kwam eBizana project which was also initiated by Mrs Balindlela (in 2007) and appears to have never gotten off the ground,⁹⁹ contrary to Cook's (2008) description that it had been a successful repetition of Kwam. This second attempt at a 'top-down' township-style homestay accommodation project failed dismally. Because of the emerging nature of small commercial accommodation operations in African societies it certainly justifies government support to *assist* in developing this sector but as we have seen government has its own domineering way of dealing with development and like biased researchers they too tend to ignore the position and needs of the host in commercial hospitality.

Besides the material benefits of commercially hosting guests, the Kwam mamas also gained social capital in the form of *nexilitas* which the mamas experienced with their guests, and this is a very important motivator to do commercial hosting – particularly if it is a homestay. It is also noteworthy that most guests were happy guests, even if they had been 'forced' guests. Volkher and Claudia contributed to the various capitals of Kwam less in a direct economic way and more concerning the other capitals, though they sustained heavy costs, both material and immaterial. Yet the pride the mamas exhibited with the movie, photo montages, constitution, booklet, website and other interventions, evidence of the levels of symbolic, cultural and social capital Volkher and Claudia had contributed, was more than sufficient compensation.

⁹⁹ An article in the *Sunday Times* newspaper of 6 April 2014 on page 12 was headed "Welcome to Mbizana – a town so bad not even its mayor will live there; The poorest municipality in the Eastern Cape is said to be in an advanced state of collapse"

Conclusion

Reverting to convention for this conclusion, 'I' am back. With the multiple approaches I have engaged with, starting with the study of hosts 'at home' from the host's point of view, and becoming engaged with action and advocacy (in more than one sense), I believe that my reflexive account of our involvement with Kwam reflects what I understand radical reflexivity to be. And as the word radical means 'basic, new, pro-change and good', I conclude that this is a case of radical reflexivity in a radical sense. I have dealt with methodology extensively in Chapter 4 and therefore a few concluding remarks on this topic will suffice. I have shown that by using traditional approaches augmented with a multi-rationalities approach, I was able to get a basic ethnographic understanding of Kwam and much of this is reflected in chapters five and six above. Then Claudia and I were sucked into the power struggle maelstrom and we became social activists which shifted the investigation to become engaged anthropology. Applied anthropology implies a certain amount of reflexivity, and in this case much more than usual and this is evident from chapters seven, eight and nine, while at the same time it continues to contribute to an ethnographic understanding of Kwam. This reflexivity, together with the host's point of view which can theoretically only be reflected with the auto-ethnography of a host – and thus also implying radical reflexivity – drawing a distinction between auto-anthropology and anthropology at home became necessary. Anthropology at home upholds the traditional self-other dichotomy whereas it is collapsed with auto-anthropology which implies self-other merger. Anthropology at home is static while auto-anthropology is mobile: the self-other merger as understood with reflexivity can make research possible in circumstances where the traditional approaches cannot.

There were a number of factors which contributed to the workability of this investigation, but I have to highlight two which were especially important: Claudia's assistance and my applying the host's point of view. I reiterate my acknowledgement of Claudia's part in the story and the invaluable access I had to yet another point of view through our collaboration. It is obvious from the account what an integral part Claudia played and also what sacrifices she has made – without Claudia the development of Kwam and my investigation would have been entirely different. I confirm that as much as I tried to view things from the host's point of view, I was always a guest in the field. However, by applying the host's point of view I could identify with the struggle of my informants, not a struggle with guests as such but with asserting themselves as autonomous commercial hosts in their own homes. I understand what it means to be a commercial host or neo-innkeeper in Frontier Country and I am familiar with the 'language' of the hospitality industry. Given the circumstances, I could appreciate that individual homestays would have a very hard time growing and formalizing their 'business', but as a recognised collective they have power and leverage in the cut-throat tourism market in Grahamstown – as Ma Gora's recent ascension to the MT board proves. The nature of the Kwam homestay and the marginality of it as a business do not warrant government intervention and control beyond support funding, whereas these qualities make homestays particularly suitable to cope with the erratic visitors' calendar of Grahamstown. By becoming an independent organization Kwam gained control over their own businesses in line with other commercial home activities which are usually privately or community initiated. It seems that because homestays involve private homes, a group representing these accommodation providers should emerge from the community rather than being imposed. The intimacy and personal space of the home and the desire for autonomy lend themselves to this outcome. The transformation of a government-initiated poverty alleviation project into a privately owned collective, a women's empowerment project promoting homestays in the townships, became realizable because the point of view of those who were supposed to benefit from the project, the hosts, remained pivotal in the process of change.

The Kwam story is also an example of the power of education, or rather the powerlessness of those without education. This powerlessness links up with poverty but also with gender and generation – the mamas being female and having lived through apartheid were at a particular disadvantage. On those grounds, at least, Kwam is, in fact, a poverty alleviation project (and a women’s empowerment project), albeit in the educational and social, not necessarily the material sense. In this way I resolved my initial theoretical dilemma of poverty and commercial hospitality: as we have seen, the Kwam hosts are in a material position to host commercially and I have testified to the fact that the Kwam homestays, as they were during the time of this study, were not deprived. The Kwam mamas know how to host guests and they can hold that power, but reading and writing (and in a ‘foreign’ language) is a different power which actually has nothing to do with hosting and does not impede hospitality. Although the latest technological advances in turn again require a level of (computer) literacy that these women have never been taught. Hospitality is one of the most obvious ways around illiteracy when people wish to connect. Therefore the mamas’ fear or powerlessness was misplaced because they knew what they were doing and they were doing it well. They are real hosts – and except for their brand of *ekasi-style*, they were not much different from the commercial hosts on the other side of town whom I had studied in my MA.

The findings in my previous study which were confirmed and supplemented with this investigation include that

- it is of utmost importance to realize that the Frontier Country has no significant tourism to latch anything onto, least of all a hospitality development project; the development of a hospitality industry presupposes a strong tourism market otherwise it amounts to an obsession with the raising of standards for hosts (in the absence of guests)
- host-guest relationships in small owner managed commercial accommodation facilities or neo-inns, which definition now includes homestays, readily reflect

nexilitas (even with forced guests); this is particularly evident with commensality and return guests where it involves social bonding

- the nexilitas factor counters the unwarranted domination of the reciprocity principle (or what I have called the Mauss trap), especially in theories on hospitality.
- even in commercial hospitality the autonomy of the host is paramount – the Kwam mamas are also ‘queens of their castles’
- host autonomy and control of the hosting space indicate borderlines in hospitality; host propriety being the closest borderline between host and guest and with commercialization the space between host and guest expands and the borderline shifts
- a critical distinction between auto-anthropology and anthropology at home warrants recognition, and needs to be positioned with regards reflexivity and radical reflexivity

Infringements on the autonomy of the Kwam hosts occurred because the particular government structures were not competent or they did not understand the workings of hospitality, let alone a homestay. On top of the emerging nature of African commercial hospitality is the concern with African guests who have Western commercial hospitality expectations. Still, the vast majority of guests to Kwam homestays felt ‘at home’ but the availability of them was and is limited by the legacy of apartheid and the patchy distribution of tourism in South Africa, including youth exchanges. This study further demonstrated the way incompetent and corrupt government officials operate and the limited power of even educated people such as Claudia and myself in the fight against it. Many government officials suffer from acute incompetence, particularly of heeding the written word, while they seem to add value to rumour. The post-apartheid government of 2015 is arguably as distant from the people as before 1994 and many people do not understand democracy, or then, their democratic rights. It is not surprising therefore that so many people at the time of this study were taking to the streets out of frustration and protests have become frequent and often violent all over South Africa. Government claims *ad nauseam* to be there for the people, community engagement is the word *du jour*, South Africa has a fabulous constitution (written words) and by now there is a respectable body of supporting laws

(such as PAIA and PAJA; more written words). But on government level it is all about position and power while on grass-roots level things have changed very little since apartheid – people do not understand democracy because they have never really experienced it – and government with its power hungry pack of petty tyrants is not exactly a good example of how democracy works. So, regardless of race, it is back to strategies which have always been there for the poor/peasants/people to deal with frustration – ‘take what you can get’, protest and if all else fails, violence. Luckily in the case of Kwam it never came to violence although I was not alone with having violent fantasies at times.

Many South Africans, with their legacy of a strong oral tradition, place limited value on the written word while Government with its overblown administration strangles developing entrepreneurship with red tape (written words). The effort to get Kwam to be a registered NPO was within the capabilities of ordinary literate people, but as the Kwam members are grassroots entrepreneurs with only basic education, any more red tape will seriously hamper their progress. An entrepreneur turns plans into action on a largely spontaneous basis, and if every *ad hoc* decision has to be the subject of form-filling and reporting, it unnecessarily burdens the entrepreneur because his/her focus is wanting to be on production, quick and effective. The entrepreneur learns by achieving success and making mistakes, and the mistakes are then carefully avoided in future and so the business grows on its successes. As seen with development projects success (and failure) mean different things for Government: the amount of red tape, not its content, is what counts – red tape is the proof of successful governance. While every government body is supposed to show accountability and transparency, because this is the means by which public funds and information are ‘controlled’, it is meaningless when the written words remain unread and thus ignored and over-ridden and opportunities for corruption ensue. Instead of dealing with incompetence by for instance simplifying things the government administration in South Africa has been extended and new and more rules created which just exacerbates incompetence. The recent fiasco with new stricter visa regulations for foreign visitors by the Department Home Affairs caused a set-back to tourism to South Africa which is estimated to

have lost the industry billions. These regulations were withdrawn again due to the lack of co-ordination (incompetence exacerbated by red tape) in government, but the damage was done.

Development only really works when the intended beneficiaries control the way their development should happen and this is contradicted by the inherent top-down nature of government development projects on the one hand, and the incompetence of the developpees to take control of their project, on the other. The intervention of applied social science is one way to empower developpees which overrides these contradictions. Kwam would not have survived if it were not for our intervention but we did not intervene for any other reason than that motivated by what is sometimes dismissed as social work, action anthropology. We used and contributed whatever knowledge and skills (and material) we had, and we prioritized Kwam's capital gains – not for us, but for the (real) development of the project. This also links with the knowledge-power matrix and my wish is that what I have written here contributes to the quest of democratization of knowledge.

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of questions/keywords

The list of question or keywords was a guide during the interviews with the Kwam mamas in May 2014. The discussion around these points formed the basis for the table of the Kwam hosts' profiles (Appendix 2).

- *Intro: I'm doing research, hospitality, homestay, Kwam.
- * Relative or someone else helping with Kwam
- * Hostess' experience with Kwam and Guests – friends, return guests
- * Previous experience
- * Open for Festival only or guests at other times
- * Has Kwam helped?
- * Cooking – eating together (commensality)
- * What was best about being in Kwam?

Appendix 2: Table with Kwam hosts' profiles

The table below is a summary of the interviews I had with 38 Kwam mamas in May 2014. I also included information which I gathered with follow-up enquiries afterwards.

Kwam profiles 2014 Abbreviations: BF *became friends*; RG *return guests*; MT *Makana Tourism*

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
	Age	Relative involved or helping	Open	Commensality, meals	Return Guests, became friends, contact	Previous hospitality experience	Outside yard features	What Kwam means for host
1	51	daughter	All year	No; breakfast only	Kept contact	None; art and textiles	-	Made a difference
2	68	none	All year	sometimes	RG	St Andrews Boarding House	Plants	Not too much, would like to grow
3	69	daughter started; mother took over	Festival only	No	RG; kept contact	Waitress, cooker; seamstress	Lawn	Money for festival
4	48	niece	Mainly festival	No	“made a friendship”	None; teacher	kraal	Training helped a lot
5	58	none	Festival only	Sometimes	“created a friendship” RG	None	-	I’m happy
6	40	daughter-mother team	All year	Sometimes	Contact; uncertain about MT	None	Plants, pets, kraal	Disappointing lately
7	65	daughters	All year	Sometimes	RG	Catering	Plants, lawn, kraal	It’s not working; no guests
8	46	Daughter; employees	All year	Sometimes	RG; through MT	Catering and B&B (own)	Lawn, kraal	Gaining experience in hospitality
9	62	daughter	All year	No	RG: through MT	None; selling clothes & hats	kraal	Gaining experience; but not like before
10	72	none	All year	No	Referred guests	Worked in hotel for 13 years	Plants, pets	Disappointing; not like before
11	54	son	All year	No	BF	None	pets	Helped, money
12	74	daughter	All year	No	“keep friendship together”	Domestic worker; sales	Plants, lawn, kraal	Improve standard of home
13	76	Husband and daughter	Festival only	No; breakfast only	“best friends”	Sales	Kraal	Disappointing; not like before
14	62	Daughter, grandchildren	Festival only	No	-	None; worked in church	-	People
15	60	Son	All year	No; breakfast only	BF; “want to come back”	B&B (own)	Kraal	Improvements; making friends
16	43	Daughter-mother team	Mainly festival	No	BF; kept contact	None	-	Helped a lot
17	44	None	Festival only	No	“some became friends”	None	Lawn	Learned
18	49	Husband	All year	No	-	None	Lawn, kraal	Learned; enjoy having guests

19	53	Daughter, neighbours	Mainly festival	No	BF; uncertain about MT	Restaurant worker; teacher	Pets, kraal	Improve home; enjoy hosting guests
20	44	Cousin, friends	All year	No	BF;RG; "as family now"	Worker in white B&B	-	Benefits; like the people of Kwam
21	50	daughter	All year	No	-	None; sales	Lawn	Improvements
22	72	Mother-daughter team	All year	Sometimes	"like a friend"	Kitchen help/nanny to whites	Lawn	Like guests; money for upgrading
23	40	children	Mainly festival	Yes	-	None	Plants	Help to reach requirements
24	48	niece	All year	Sometimes	BF;RG; phone contact	B&B (own)	-	Knowledge; enjoy homestay
25	49	sister	Festival only	Yes	BF;RG; contact again	None; transport	Plants, pets, kraal	Helped; enjoy guests
26	70	none	Festival only	No; breakfast only	sometimes	None; sales	Plants, lawn	Improvements
27	54	daughter	Festival only	Sometimes	Wants, but not allowed MT	None; seamstress	-	Helped a lot
28	45	cousin	All year	No	Referred guests	None; selling clothes	Kraal	Experience about hospitality/guests
29	44	Mother died; daughter took over	Festival only	No; breakfast only	Not made friends	none	Lawn, kraal	Improvements
30	52	employee	All year	Sometimes	RG;"close friends"; exchange	None; sales	Kraal	Learn from guests; make friends
31	41	Sister	All year	No	RG;"create a friendship"	None	-	Motivation
32	60	None	Festival only	No	BF;RG	None	Lawn	Meeting people
33	71	Daughter	Festival only	Yes	Wants, but not allowed MT	None	Plants, lawn, kraal	Enjoy hosting; helped; development
34	86	Daughter, granddaughter	All year	Yes	-	None	Lawn	Money
35	68	Daughter	Festival only	No	"end up being friends"	None	Kraal	Like guests; happy
36	70	Daughter	Festival only	No	Made friends; uncertain MT	None; housewife	Plants, pets, kraal	Experience; helped
37	59	Sons, employees	Festival only	Yes	BF;RG	Catering	-	Little help; hope to grow
38	51	Sister, neighbours	Festival only	No	BF; "comes back every year"	Catering	Plants	Like guests; born caterer/host
39	46	Cousin's sister	All year	Sometimes	BF; RG; referred guests;	Catering	kraal	Experience; learn a lot

A. Age

I determined the ages from the identity numbers which were on the Makana Tourism Kwam Database lists and did not ask it during the interview. The average age of a Kwam mama in 2014 was 57 years old which means the average age was 47 when Kwam started, and 37 as South Africa became a democracy. As far as race goes, initially there had been two coloured homestays but only one is still a Kwam member; all other members are black isiXhosa speakers.

B. Relative involved or helping

As for relatives among the whole group there were two pairs of sisters, each having her own homestay, but otherwise the Kwam members are not related. One Kwam mama was the aunt of the MT Kwam Booking Officer. The question I asked the mamas was who helped them specifically with Kwam guests and in five cases there were male relatives helping, but the majority of Kwam mamas were assisted by their daughters and in four cases it was a mother-daughter team which means both were actively involved with Kwam. In one case where the elderly mother had passed away her daughter took over and is currently the member of Kwam. In another case the daughter started with Kwam but as she subsequently found employment, her mother took over. However, no formal taking over procedures existed at that time and these were the only 'new' members. In other cases of the death of the mother it was also the end of that household's membership as nobody took over or wanted to take over.

C. Open

This column reflects the answers to my question about the times the Kwam homestays are open for business. Sometimes a Kwam mama would offer this information when she told about her experience with Kwam in general, but otherwise I asked the Kwam mamas if they only operated during Festival or if they also hosted guests all year round. Some mamas were uncertain whether it was "allowed" by the Tourism Office to have other guests (see also column E). 20 mamas indicated that they were open for business all year round, 15 that they were open for Festival only and four that they operated mainly over Festival but had very occasional other guests. Concerning the latter two groups one also has to take into account that many of these mamas were under the impression that they 'can/are allowed' only to operate during Festival, they depended on Makana Tourism to 'authorize' guests and this usually happened for Festival only.

D. Commensality, meals

Most Kwam hostesses confirmed that they would not as a general rule share a meal with a guest; the majority of those who answered 'sometimes' added that it was when the guest so wished. 24 Kwam mamas said that they did not share meals with their guests, they serve and leave the guests to themselves; of these 5 offered breakfast only, which also limits opportunities to share meals. 10 mamas said that they would share or had shared meals with their guests but most added that they would only do so if the guest specifically asked them to join. Five Kwam hosts said that they usually did share meals with their guests. A few mamas referred to having a cup of tea or coffee with a guest (compototality).

E. Return Guests, became friends, contact

(Abbreviations: RG *return guests*; BF *became friends*; MT *Makana Tourism*)

I had asked the mamas if they had guests who came back and/or if guests have become their friends so that they would have contact afterwards again. Most mamas confirmed this to be the case but some were uncertain if this was "allowed" by Makana Tourism (as their booking office) and some referred potential return guests to MT to book. MT had a 'rotation system' whereby guests were to rotate and not always stay at the same homestay. Only one (no.29) stated outright that she had not made any friends, but since she took over from her mother who had died, her mother could well have made friends. Where there was no comment the question was left unanswered or I never came to ask the question (often because of the informal way I conducted the interviews; for example, a Kwam mama was complaining about not getting any guests and it was not conducive then to ask if she had made any friends with the guests.

F. Previous hospitality experience

The question I asked was if the Kwam mama had any experience with commercial hospitality before she joined Kwam. Most (25) of the Kwam mamas had no previous experience with commercial hospitality or related type jobs but all joined Kwam initially because besides the opportunity to make money, they were interested in hosting. 14 mamas had some previous experience related to hospitality, most of them in catering. Two Kwam mamas specifically referred to previous experience in 'white' establishments. Three mamas were already operating their own B&B/Homestay before Kwam started and joined to get an opportunity to grow their business. Five mamas did catering already before Kwam started, and those where I indicated 'catering' still operate a catering business which in at least one case is the Kwam hostess' main business. Except for those who did catering, in 2014 only five other mamas had another 'job', respectively: a pre-school teacher, an AIDS helper, own sewing business, a receptionist and doing 'buying and selling' (these are not listed).

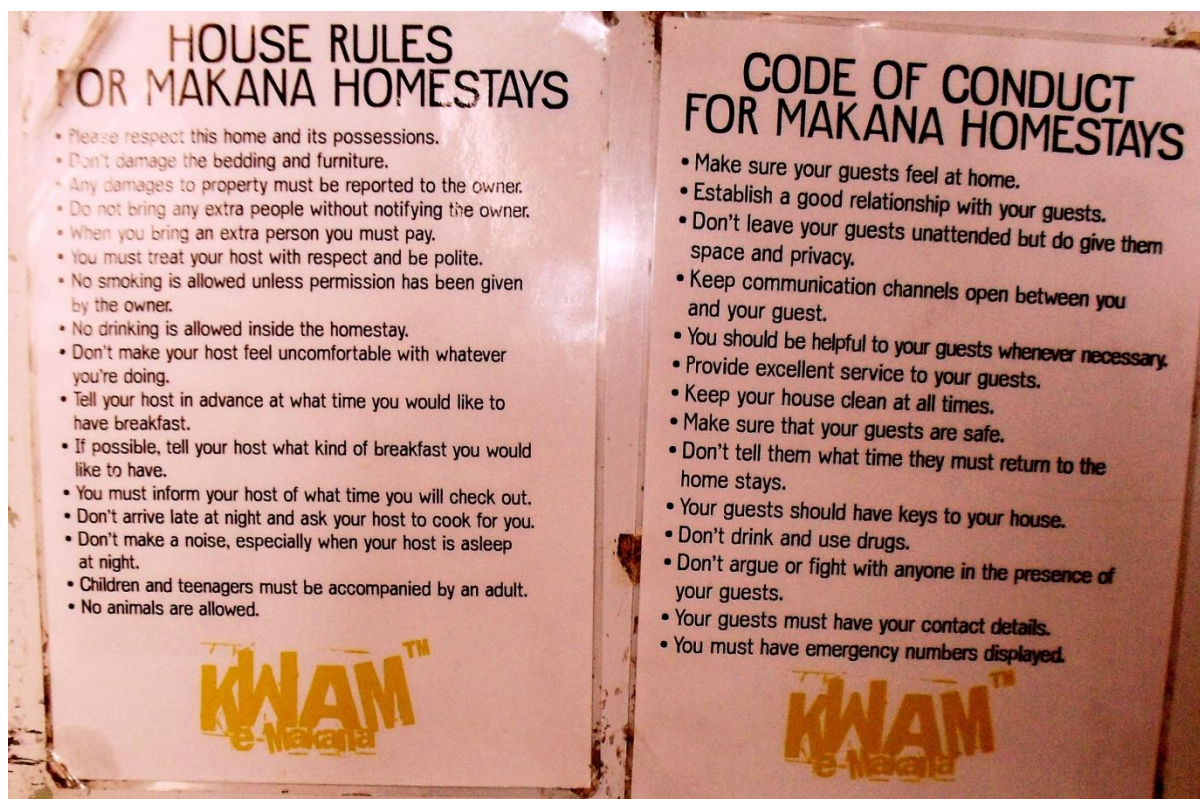
G. Outside yard features

These were observations of the visible features as we went about with the visits and I did not particularly scan the entire yard. At the homes where there is a '–' entry I did not notice any particular feature but usually the yard would be paved or covered with concrete slabs. I use 'Plants' instead of garden because only two houses would have a such a variety of plants (flowers and vegetables) and trees including fruit trees to constitute a garden the rest have some plants, often a singular little patch or 'bush' or some pot plants around. 'Lawn' is not to be seen as a manicured lawn but usually an area of the yard where the grass was generally kept short. The two houses with a 'garden' would also feature something close to a 'lawn'. We saw pets at five houses, these were usually dogs but we saw two cats and a tortoise kept as pets. At 17 houses we saw a 'kraal' or *ubuhlanthi*, but as a kraal can also be in the backyard (if there is one), which we often did not see, the actual number of kraals can be higher.

H. What Kwam means for host

My question here was what the mamas thought was the best thing about belonging to Kwam. For three mamas Kwam meant little more than a means to get to some money, these were also among the 'poorest'. 11 mamas felt that Kwam meant learning, training or gaining experience and nine others felt that they were enabled to improve their homes. Overall 16 mamas expressed outright that they had benefitted positively from hospitality, they liked and enjoyed guests and were happy about Kwam, whereas seven mamas expressed their disappointment or indifference about what Kwam meant for them, especially in the last few years before 2014.

Appendix 3: House rules, code of conduct and letter by Mrs Balindlela





**OFFICE OF THE PREMIER
PROVINCE OF THE EASTERN CAPE**

PRIVATE BAG X0047, BHISHO, 5605, SOUTH AFRICA



Township Experience

(An Eastern Cape Government Initiated Poverty Alleviation Project)

Warm Welcome to all Guests

I would personally like to extend a very warm welcome to all guests supporting KWAM eMakana. The success of the project depends not only on the commitment of the bed and breakfast owners; but also on the support of guests like you.

KWAM is in line with government's PGDP and enjoys the backing of every department. This project needs the support of each and every government employee and politician. To contribute to its sustainability, it needs guests to return.

Each year we have tried to improve the project. This year, each establishment is boldly sign-posted and there are more KWAM taxis. There is still a lot more to do, so please bear with the project team and the establishment owners. Logistically, it has been a mammoth task putting this together. I am certain that the project will one day be one of the most popular township experiences in South Africa. So please tell your colleagues, friends and family about it.

I thank you again for supporting this project, which is very close to my heart.

Enjoy your stay, enjoy the festival and please come back again when you next visit Grahamstown. Bless you all and travel home safely.

Nosimo Balindlela

Mrs Nosimo Balindlela
Eastern Cape Premier
23 June 2006

"We shall not abandon the poor"

Appendix 4: Ma Gora's report

09/04/2014

Kwam-Emakana Report for 2013 Festival

Last year J, Volker and Claudia were doing homes inspection. Some of mama's decided not to participate for 2013 festival because of they own personal issues.

During inspection Claudia photograph the homes so that mama's could see their progress and learn more experience from each other. In 2013 there were no guest, of course some home did get the guest. The guest were sleeping around the town, that means there is no more empowering or uplifting the unemployed. People do try to get the guest at their own, not always depending to Makana Tourism Office, but still they don't get.

In 2013 there were no guests reports coming to Makana Tourism office talking about Kwam. Everything was okay, and the standard of Kwam has improved. DSRC doesn't show his empowering to this project, instead becoming destroyed. But, as Kwam we won't allow that, please DSRC pick up Kwam, don't forget that this is the Government-Initiated Poverty alleviation project. The poverty would stop if you are doing like this, instead is growing up. So please put your hand in Kwam. Kwam is trying the best, there is no more criticism.

Thank You
BS Gora (Mrs)

Appendix 5: First Kwam constitution

CONSTITUTION OF THE KWAM eMAKANA HOMESTAY PROJECT

1. NAME

The name of the project is KWAM eMAKANA.

2. STATUS

KWAM eMAKANA is a voluntary, non-profit organization and has independent legal status to institute legal proceedings and enter into legal contracts in its own name.

3. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Having developed from a government initiated poverty alleviation project since 2004 KWAM eMAKANA now aims to:

3.1. empower woman who provide commercial hospitality in their homes to grow their businesses

3.2. continue to host government officials and guests during the annual National Arts Festival. For this purpose Makana Tourism remains the Booking Office. KWAM eMAKANA is funded from a budget granted by DSRAC. This Operations Budget will be dealt with by the Executive Committee of KWAM eMAKANA.

4. MEMBERSHIP

Homestays who are current members of KWAM eMAKANA and have signed this constitution will henceforth be the only members. A representative family member can sign on behalf of the home owner.

Possible new members will have to be voted in by the existing members at a General Meeting.

5. END OF MEMBERSHIP

Membership ends if a homestay wants to resign.

If a homestay is causing problems and these are not rectified to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee the particular homestay can be voted out at a General Meeting.

6. COMMITTEES

6.1. The chairperson, all committee members, representatives or liaison officers have to be active members of KWAM eMAKANA (as described under 4. MEMBERSHIP).

6.2. Committee members are elected by the members at a General Meeting.

6.3. The Executive Committee consist of Mrs B Gora as chairperson and liaison officer; and the elected committee members are Mrs, Mrs, Mrs

6.4. The Executive Committee will among themselves take care of general, administration and financial matters.

7. MEETINGS

The chairperson or a member of the Executive Committee can call meetings whenever necessary.

8. VOTING

One vote per homestay by show of hands.

9. CHANGES TO THE CONSTITUTION

This constitution shall remain in force as the founding document of KWAM eMAKANA and any changes to it have to be made with a two thirds majority vote of members in favour of the change.

10. MEMBERS

bound by this constitution as on Tuesday 10 June 2014 signed below:

NAME

HOMESTAY

SIGNATURE

Appendix 6: Memorandum of Agreements 10 June

Memorandum of agreements reached between Makana Tourism and Kwam eMakana on 10 June 2014 at the Makana Tourism Office, High Street, Grahamstown.

After having presented Ms Waugh with the Constitution of Kwam eMakana and having discussed the way forward of implementing this constitution, Ms Waugh agreed to co-operate with the following:

1. That the Executive Committee of Kwam eMakana henceforth be in full control of the affairs of Kwam eMakana including administering the Operations Budget granted to Kwam eMakana annually by DSRAC, agreements with taxis and cadets, marketing etc. And that the members of the Executive Committee of Kwam eMakana are the only representatives of Kwam eMakana, under the leadership of the chairlady, Mrs Gora. Ms Waugh also undertook to inform Mrs Gora of all upcoming relevant meetings (with bodies such as DSRAC, ECPTA or NAF) where a Kwam eMakana representative can have a seat.
2. On Friday 13 June 2014 to accompany the Kwam eMakana Executive Committee to Standard Bank to arrange that the nominated members of the Executive Committee of Kwam eMakana be the sole signatories of the Kwam eMakana account.
3. On Friday 13 June 2014 to hand over to Adv Von Lengeling all financial statements, documents, support documents and proofs of expenditure for Kwam eMakana for the years 2012 and 2013 for the purposes of an external audit; as the current books are being audited

the documents for this year will be made available to Adv Von Lengeling as soon as they return to the office of Makana Tourism.

4. That all Kwam eMakana listings with Nightsbridge be removed; that the username and password for the Kwam eMakana listings with Safarinow.com be handed to Dr Von Lengeling; the latter has then happened.

5. That Makana Tourism accepts the offer of a 10% booking commission payable to Makana Tourism by Kwam eMakana for every successful booking made by Makana Tourism for Kwam eMakana.

6. That all members of Kwam eMakana be individually listed with Makana Tourism as normal members; the payment of membership fees will be negotiated once the external audits are complete.

Present: Ms S Waugh (Director: Makana Tourism)

Mrs B Gora (Chairlady: Kwam eMakana)

Mrs (EXCO member: Kwam eMakana)

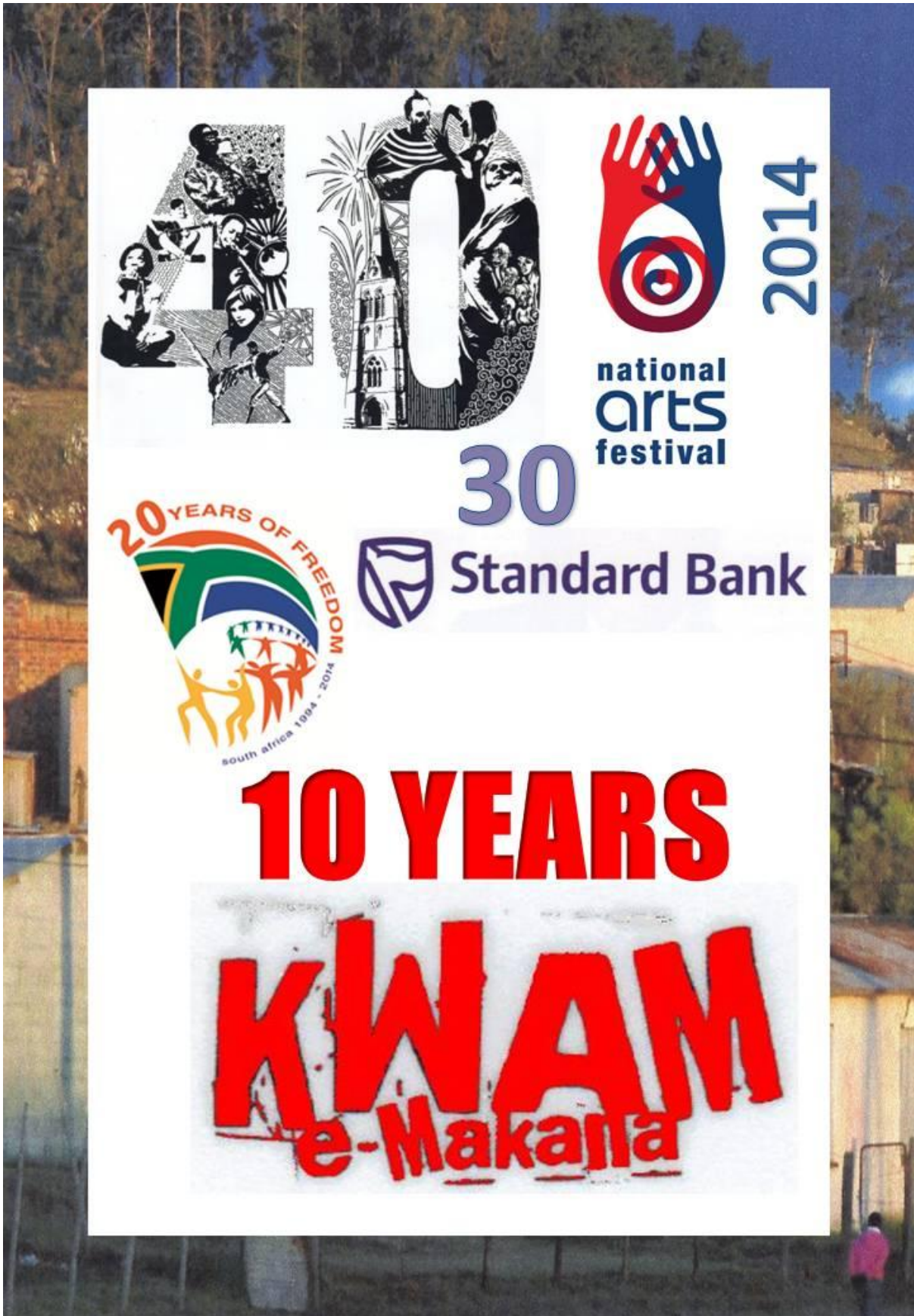
Mrs (EXCO member: Kwam eMakana)

Mrs (EXCO member: Kwam eMakana)

Adv V von Lengeling (Legal representative: Kwam eMakana)

Dr C von Lengeling (assistant)

Appendix 7: Booklet





KWAM
e-Makana

2014 is a year of
anniversaries:

the National Arts
Festival turns **40**,
Standard Bank
celebrates **30** years
of involvement with
the Festival, our
Democracy is **20**
years old and Kwam
eMakana stands for
10 years of ekasi-
style
accommodation!





In 2004
the Kwam e-Makana
Homestay Project was
started by former
Premier of the
Eastern Cape,



Mrs Nosimo Balindlela
as a government
initiated poverty
alleviation project and
also to repair the
imbalances of the
past. Kwam eMakana
has successfully
developed into a
project which aims to
empower women to
grow their
accommodation
businesses in their
homes.

Today, after ten years experience and many formal training courses in practically all fields of hospitality, 34 women proudly open their homes to visitors requiring accommodation in Grahamstown. Over the years every Kwam eMakana home has had the benefit of improving their facilities to ensure more guest comfort.

During the Festivals Kwam eMakana engages Grahamstown Taxi Associations to secure safe and efficient transport for guests. A few young people are also called in to be the friendly cadets who assist guests with transport and to find their whereabouts in Grahamstown and surrounds.

For local travellers it will feel just as at home and for international tourists Kwam





eMakana is a true cultural experience. Guests have the guarantee to be welcomed with the warmest hospitality, guests are invited to be part of the Kwam family yet guest privacy is highly respected. All together Kwam eMakana offers 108 rooms (19 with en suite bathroom), with 87 double beds and 75 single beds in total.

All homestays are in the neighbourhood of Tentyi, KwaTata, Joza location and Extensions and display their Kwam signage for easy recognition.

Please specify your needs when you make an inquiry, the hostesses will then suggest the most suitable homestay for you to make your homestay the best ever!

Contact
Kwam eMakana
Members

Email
ribogora@gmail.com
Call 0724480520

Bathabile B4B
0731994737
Bongwez B4B
0839802865
Ekhayeni
0824882434
Esibanye B4B
0825472635
Kwa Dabs
0765204940
Kwa Dunjwa
0712079481
Kwa Eleanor
0837674876
Kwa Feziwe
078 1898262
Kwa Florence
0782724014
Kwa Joy
0731781325
Kwa Kwayolo
0723112737
Kwa Kwesela
0780726145
Kwa Majoy
0762343055
Kwa Mbuyi
0735300059
Kwa Meza
0825885584





Kwa Moleli
0785577025
Kwa Ndesh
0733454989
Kwa Nelo
0731004071
Kwa Nolisten

0826609906
Kwa Noloyi
0724480520

Kwa Nomini
0728373021

Kwa Nomvuzo
0843264708

Kwa Nontsiki
0717521533

Kwa Nonyathi
0762933073

Kwa Nosidima
0835506472

Kwa Nosipho
0733105736

Kwa Nothando
0788653213

Kwa Nozuko
0728411078

Kwa Phila
0719294456

Kwa Rasana
0849696732

Kwa Sindi
0786936901

Kwa Tozama
0839485827

Kwa Wendy
0728885869

Singaphi
0789310243



THE KWAMTM
eMakana

Accommodation ekasi style



Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
SPORT, RECREATION,
ARTS & CULTURE



MAKANA
MUNICIPALITY | EASTERN CAPE
MASIPALA WASEMPUMAKOLONI
MUNISIPALITEIT | OOS-KAAP



Makana
tourism

Acknowledgements:

The members of Kwam eMakana hereby express their sincerest gratitude to the following:

Mama Nosimo Balindlela, MP

All the people from DSRAC, NAF, ECPTA and the Office of the Premier

Makana Municipality

Makana Tourism

Stambo

Vuyani

Otto

Traci Mackie

Susan Cook

Willem Makink

It is your hard work and support that has brought Kwam eMakana to be a strong 20 years old! Thank You!

Photography and design by Claudia and Volker von Lengeling

Homestays fading

By SIBONELO GAMNCA and MALIBONGWE DAYIMANI

The Executive Mayor of Makana Municipality, Zaxoxolo Peter, has asked Premier Phumulo Masualle to boost the fading Kwam eMakana Project.

Ten years ago, Grahamstown East residents were encouraged to register their homes as Bed and Breakfasts (B&Bs) to generate revenue by accommodating Festival goers. The aim was to increase tourism spend in disadvantaged areas and create a source of income for unemployed women.

The women-owned B&Bs were marketed to tourists, and especially to Festival visitors.

Over the past decade, however, the project has been marred by controversy and strikes by owners over payments.

Addressing the Premier during the opening of the National Arts Festival, Peter said "the Kwam eMakana project should receive the support that it used to get from your office".

"Nosimo Balindlela started this initiative," said Nokhanyo Moli, owner of the Singaphi homestay at Joza location. "We used to get food, blankets and sheets directly from her so that

we may host guests."

"We are unemployed women earning a living through this business," said Bulelwa Gora, Chair of the Kwam eMakana Women's Committee, "but it becomes difficult when we have to maintain our houses when there are no guests coming".

"There are 34 hosts this year. We have received a stipend of R1000 from the Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC) and we are ready to get guests," she said.

Each guesthouse must meet minimum requirements before being considered suitable to host guests.

"We have set up an accommodation committee that liaises with Kwam eMakana project leaders," said Manzi Vabaza, spokesperson at DSRAC.

"The committee checks the conditions of the houses and advises accordingly, particularly during the Festival."

The department budgets R150 000 to assist the project with transportation of guests, to ensure that breakfast is prepared and to pay stipends to the cadets.

"For a while, this project was my source of income," Moli said. "Things changed when

we were told we needed to be formally trained by the government on how to host guests."

She said business has become tough as homestays now have to compete with better facilities when people seek accommodation.

"Business decreased over the years as more people find accommodation in other places such as Rhodes."

Susan Waugh, director of Makana Tourism, said bookings are different every year.

"We struggle," said Moli. "We sometimes get two to three people to stay for a short while (but) people sometimes complain about the facilities in some of the homestays."

Homeowners say they have asked the government to provide maintenance for their homes, without success.

"We asked the municipality for tanks because we usually don't have clean water in the location. But as yet we have not received tanks," Moli said.

"We would have loved to honour this 10 year achievement in an honourable way," she said.

"Instead we wait in anticipation for the arrival of guests, though it seems unlikely that we will get them."



No guests have yet arrived at Singaphi homestay. Host Nokhanyo Moli waits patiently waiting in one of the guestrooms. Photo: Stephen Penney

MEC urges SETA to focus on EC Boost for crafters

“Homestays fading”

(Article by Sibonelo Gamnca and Malibongwe Dayimani in the Grocott’s Mail 4 July 2014: 5)

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[There is a photo next to the article with the caption “No guests have yet arrived at Singaphi homestay. Host Nokhanyo Moli waits patiently waiting in one of the guestrooms.” Photo: Stephen Penney]

Appendix 9: Second Kwam constitution

The Constitution of the Kwam eMakana Homestay Project

1. Name

1.1 The organisation hereby constituted will be called **Kwam eMakana Homestay Project**

1.2 Its shortened name will be **Kwam eMakana or Kwam** (hereinafter referred to as the organisation).

1.3 Body corporate

The organisation shall:

- *Exist in its own right, separately from its members, as a voluntary non-profit organization.
- *Continue to exist even when its membership changes and if there are different office bearers.
- *Be able to own property and other possessions.
- *Be able to sue and be sued in its own name.

2. Objectives

(a) The organisation's main objectives are to **support, promote and empower women who provide commercial hospitality in their homes and to enable them to grow their businesses.**

(b) The organisation's secondary objectives will be to **market and advertise Kwam and to administer bookings with Kwam including follow-up action where needed.**

3. Income and property

3.1 The organisation will keep a record of everything it owns.

3.2 The organisation may not give any of its money or property to its members or office bearers. The only time it can do this is when it pays for work that a member or office bearer has done for the organisation. The payment must be a reasonable amount for the work that has been done.

3.3 A member of the organisation can only get money back from the organisation for expenses that she or he has paid for or on behalf of the organisation with consent of the management committee.

3.4 Members or office bearers of the organisation do not have any rights over things that belong to the organisation.

4. Membership

4.1 All members of the Kwam eMakana Homestay Project as reflected in the constitution of 10 June 2014 will automatically be eligible for membership.

4.2 If a person wants to become a member of the organisation, she or he will have to ask the organisation's management committee. The management committee has the right to say no.

4.3 Candidate new members shall be required to pass a minimum standard inspection.

4.4 Members of the organisation must attend its annual general meetings. At the annual general meeting members exercise their right to determine the policy of the organisation.

4.5 Member's facilities will be inspected annually by at least two members of the management committee.

4.6 Membership fees are to be determined at a general meeting.

4.7 End of membership:

4.7.1. When the homeowner changes or dies membership ends and the new homeowner can apply to become a new member as above in 4.2. However, if the new homeowner is a member of the original household (e.g. daughter, son or sibling) the new member only has to inform the management committee concerning new contact and banking details.

4.7.2. Membership ends if a member wants to resign

4.7.3. The management committee can decide to end membership if after due investigation and process the member is found to be undesirable.

5. Management

The management committee may take on the power and authority that it believes it needs to be able to achieve the objectives that are stated in point 2 of this constitution. Its activities must abide by the law.

5.1 The management committee will manage the organisation. The management committee will be made up of not less than 4 members, being the chairperson, secretary, treasurer and committee members. They are the office bearers of the organisation.

5.2 Office bearers will serve for one year, but they can stand for re-election for another term in office after that. Depending on what kind of services they give to the organisation, they can stand for re-election into office again and again. This is so long as their services are needed and they are ready to give their services.

5.3 If a member of the management committee does not attend three management committee meetings in a row, without having applied for and obtaining leave of absence from the management committee, then the management committee will find a new member to take that person's place.

5.4 The management committee will meet at least once every two months. At least two members need to be at the meeting to make decisions that are allowed to be carried forward. This constitutes a quorum.

5.5 Minutes will be taken at every meeting to record the management committee's decisions. The minutes of each meeting will be given to management committee members at least two weeks before the next meeting. The minutes shall be confirmed as a true record of proceedings, by the next meeting of the management committee, and shall thereafter be signed by the chairperson.

5.6 The organisation has the right to form sub-committees. The decisions that sub-committees take must be given to the management committee. The management committee must decide whether to agree to them or not at its next meeting. This meeting should take place soon after the sub-committee's meeting; by agreeing to decisions the management committee ratifies them.

5.7 The chairperson, or two members of the management committee, can call a special meeting if they want to. But they must let the other management committee members know the date of the proposed meeting not less than 21 days before it is due to take place. They must also tell the other members of the committee which issues will be discussed at the meeting. If, however, one of the matters to be discussed is to appoint a new management committee member, then those calling the meeting must give the other committee members not less than 30 days notice.

5.8 The chairperson shall act as the chairperson of the management committee. If the chairperson does not attend a meeting, then members of the committee who are present choose which one of them will chair that meeting. This must be done before the meeting starts.

5.9 When necessary, the management committee will vote on issues. If the votes are equal on an issue, then the chairperson has either a second or a deciding vote.

5.10 Minutes of all meetings must be kept safely and always be on hand for members to consult.

6. Powers of the organisation

6.1 The management committee has the power and authority to raise funds or to invite and receive contributions.

6.2 The management committee has the power to buy, hire or exchange any property that it needs to achieve its objectives.

6.3 The management committee has the right to make by-laws for proper management, including procedure for application, approval and termination of membership.

6.4 The organisation will decide on the powers and functions of office bearers.

6.5 Members or office-bearers do not become liable for any of the obligations and liabilities of the organisation solely by virtue of their status as members or office bearers of the organisation.

6.6 The management committee will annually inspect all members' facilities and make recommendations.

6.7 All members of the organisation have to abide by decisions that are taken by the management committee.

7. Annual general meetings

The annual general meeting must be held once every year, towards the end of the organisation's financial year. Voting happens by show of hands – one vote per homestay.

The organisation will deal with the following business, amongst others, at its annual general meeting:

- Agree to the items to be discussed on the agenda.
- Write down who is there and who has sent apologies because they cannot attend.
- Read and confirm the previous meeting's minutes with matters arising.
- Chairperson's report.
- Treasurer's report.
- Changes to the constitution that members may want to make.
- Elect new office bearers.
- General.
- Close the meeting.

8. Finance

8.1 An accounting officer shall be appointed at a management committee meeting. His or her duty is to audit and check on the finances of the organisation.

8.2 The treasurer's job is to control the day to day finances of the organisation. The treasurer shall arrange for all funds to be put into a bank account in the name of the organisation. The treasurer must also keep proper records of all the finances.

8.3 Whenever funds are taken out of the bank account, the chairperson and at least one other member of the management committee must sign the withdrawal or cheque.

8.4 The financial year of the organisation ends on **31 August**.

8.5 The organisation's accounting records and reports must be ready and handed to the Director of Non profit Organisations within six months after the financial year end.

8.6 If the organisation has funds that can be invested, the funds may only be invested with registered financial institutions. These institutions are listed in Section 1 of the Financial Institutions (Investment of Funds) Act, 1984. Or the organisation can get securities that are listed on a licensed stock exchange as set out in the Stock Exchange Control Act, 1985. The organisation can go to different banks to seek advice on the best way to look after its funds.

9. Changes to the constitution

9.1 The constitution can be changed by a resolution. The resolution has to be agreed upon and passed by not less than two thirds of the members who are at the annual general meeting or special general meeting. Members must vote at this meeting to change the constitution.

9.2 Two thirds of the members shall be present at a meeting ("the quorum") before a decision to change the constitution is taken. Any annual general meeting may vote upon such a notion, if the details of the changes are set out in the notice referred to in point 7 above.

9.3 A written notice must go out not less than fourteen (14) days before the meeting at which the changes to the constitution are going to be proposed. The notice must indicate the proposed changes to the constitution that will be discussed at the meeting.

9.4 No amendments may be made which would have the effect of making the organisation cease to exist.

10. Dissolution/Winding-up

10.1 The organisation may close down if at least two-thirds of the members present and voting at a meeting convened for the purpose of considering such matter, are in favour of closing down.

10.2 When the organisation closes down it has to pay off all its debts. After doing this, if there is property or money left over it should not be paid or given to members of the organisation. It should be given in some way to another non profit organisation that has similar objectives. The organisation's general meeting can decide what organisation this should be.

This constitution was approved and accepted by all members of Kwam eMakana Homestay Project at a Special Meeting held on 8 September 2014 and signed by:

Chairperson

Secretary

Treasurer

Committee members

Appendix 10: Memorandum of 25 September 2014

Memorandum of Meeting: Kwam eMakana and Makana Tourism

Held at Makana Tourism Office, High Street, Grahamstown.

25 September 2014

Present: Ms Sue Waugh (Director Makana Tourism)

Mrs Buyiswa Gora (Chairlady Kwam eMakana)

Mrs (Committee Member Kwam eMakana)

Mrs (Committee Member Kwam eMakana)

Dr. Claudia von Lengeling (Friend of Kwam eMakana)

Adv. Volkher von Lengeling (Friend of Kwam eMakana)

Points discussed as per agenda (in italics):

1. *Website changes Makana Tourism website www.grahamstown.co.za*

It was agreed that Claudia will provide Sue with the required changes for the Kwam listing with the Makana Tourism website; Sue will effect the changes accordingly.

2. *Kwam's own website*

Kwam has its own website now and all references in the MT website and other advertising will refer to the Kwam website.

3. *Kwam has own booking office and MT is not allowed to take bookings, they must send the bookings to Kwam office*

It was confirmed that the Kwam Booking Office is the only booking office for Kwam guests and MT will not take any bookings for Kwam. MT will refer all enquiries for Kwam to the Kwam Booking Office (Buyiswa)

4. *Kwam is registered NPO*

Kwam has submitted its application (and supporting documents) for registration as a NPO with the Department of Social Development. Once the registration is complete

Theminkosi Sindane of Makana Municipality will be presented with the status of Kwam.

5. Kwam membership as one member with MT

Kwam is a single member of MT and will contribute the annual membership fee to MT, which is currently R480pa.

6. Balance in MT's account for Kwam to pay into Kwam's own account, closing of MT account for Kwam

Once the MT/Kwam books have returned from auditing a final reconciliation will be made of the Kwam account which MT controlled. The balance will be paid into Kwam's own account and the account under MT control will then be closed.

7. Archive material like financial/bank statements, pictures and more must become available for Kwam

The MT Board required this request to be in writing and it was agreed that this memorandum would serve that purpose. Buyiswa will receive all these items (or copies thereof) for Kwam's own references and safekeeping.

The meeting closed with various miscellaneous remarks about marketing possibilities for Kwam (e.g. Lilizela awards, grading).

Appendix 11: Police letter

Amapolisa Omzantsi Africa

South African Police Force			Suid Afrikaanse Polisiemag	
Private Bag	X 1 Grahamstown		Fax N°	(046) 603 9123

Reference	26/1/1	OFFICE OF THE CRIME INFORMATION COMMANDER GRAHAMSTOWN
Enquiries	Capt M Coetzer	
Tel. No	(046) 603 9154	
E-mail	GRAHAMSTOWNCIAC@saps.org.za	November 13, 2014

Mr Thembinkosi Sindane
Tourism and Cultural Portfolio committee
Makana Municipality
Grahamstown
6139

CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS ON BEHALF OF KWAM E-MAKANA

On Thursday 2014-11-13 I interviewed Ms Buyiswa Gora, the chairperson of kwam e-Makana in Grahamstown. She was accompanied by Adv Von Lengeling who has been assisting and advising the group.

Ms Gora indicated that they have established kwam e-Makana as a NPO and have complied with all the requirements linked to that. She gave me an overview of the history and establishment of kwam e-Makana and indicated the good working relationship they had with Makana Tourism during the past decade.

However, documents supplied to me by her reflected the group's concern over the way their business has been managed by Makana Tourism. Several questions were raised in terms of monies spent and other matters. It is clear that kwam e-Makana is very concerned about the possibility of mismanagement as well as aspects of fraudulent actions that may have taken place with the management of their business.

I have advised her to make use of the opportunity of assistance offered by your portfolio committee in order to obtain audited financial statements pertaining specifically to their project. These statements must clearly reflect monies received for kwam e-Makana and how these monies have been spent. It should also include documents which specify the way in which commission was paid as well as salaries.

If you can assist and clarify these matters, it may provide clarity and dispel these concerns with regard to mismanagement of funds and possible other fraudulent actions.

Kind regards



CAPTAIN

COMMANDER: CRIME INFORMATION OFFICER: GRAHAMSTOWN
[M. COETZER]

Appendix 12: Presentation to Tourism Portfolio Committee



HOMESTAY PROJECT

GRAHAMSTOWN

Presentation to the Tourism Portfolio Committee, Makana Municipality

17 November 2014

Kwam presented the state of the project and plans for the future of Kwam in various detailed reports to the NAF/DSRAC planning meetings before and after NAF 2014 (particularly the *Progress Report: Kwam eMakana 27-06-2014* and *Kwam's Plan of Action 2014/2015* August 2014). As part of the execution of these plans meetings were held with Ms Waugh of Makana Tourism on 25 September 2014 and Mr Sindane of the Municipality on 3 October 2014. Following is a summary of the content of these meetings.

1. State of the project

- a. Kwam became an NPO on 10 June 2014 and amended its constitution on 8 September 2014 to conform to the requirements for registration as NPO with the Department of Social Development; this application is being processed.
- b. The Kwam eMakana website www.kwamemakana.co.za went live on 9 September 2014.
- c. Kwam's 10th anniversary was celebrated on 12 September; the occasion was arranged and paid for by Kwam members' contributions.
- d. Safarinow listing is active and updated.

- e. SA-Venues listing is active and updated.
- f. Kwam is independent from Makana Tourism, it is now a member thereof and has its own booking office.

2. Programmes

- a. Advertising and marketing options are being investigated but largely depend on funding. Kwam is marketing ekasi-style homestay accommodation in Grahamstown, the target market is mainly local travelers. Kwam attracts guests to formerly disadvantaged areas.
- b. Once the NPO registration is complete, Kwam will approach DSRAC for continued funding, i.t.o. commitments made by several DSRAC officials at the NAF2014 Planning Meetings. Various BEE programs and schemes will be investigated, including those from the Department of Tourism, the Department of Trade and Industry and others.
- c. 2015 Festival Programme advert design to be submitted latest by January 2015 (as agreed with Mr Lankester of NAF).
- d. As Kwam booking officer, Mrs Gora is training how to secure bookings via the internet. A basic booking office with internet connection has been established but would require further funding to upgrade and to acquire necessary equipment. Mrs Gora is also training to do internet banking.

3. Challenges

The main challenge for Kwam is to attract as many guests as possible and this is why Kwam now places a strong focus on marketing. Everybody can help in asking as many people as possible to visit the Kwam website to strengthen traffic flow to it.

Challenges from the past still need resolution.

Kwam appreciates the offer by the municipality to help and following are some of the challenges with which the municipality can help:

- a. The urgent update of the Kwam listing with the Makana Tourism website as agreed on 25 September 2014.
- b. The resolution of the Kwam Billboard issue.
- c. Accountability for a service provider appointed by the municipality for Kwam i.t.o. RFQ 297/2013.

d. Finalizing the reconciliation of the Kwam account kept by Makana Tourism and to pay over to Kwam the remainder in that account, and close it.

e. Makana Tourism needs to present Kwam with all budgets, budget expenditures and payments, financial reports, bank statements and other such documents concerning Kwam since the year 2011. This has been requested several times and in thrice in writing.

None of the challenges listed above involve funding and as Kwam understands that the municipality struggles with funds at the moment, we would greatly appreciate the municipality's urgent support in resolving these matters.

However in regard to marketing and advertising Kwam still strongly depends on funding.

Chairlady: Mrs Gora

Committee Members: Mrs

Mrs

Appendix 13: Third Kwam constitution

The Constitution of the Kwam eMakana Homestay Project

14 January 2015

This document serves to formalize the government initiated poverty alleviation project which was founded in 2004 as Kwam eMakana by Mrs Nosimo Balindlela.

1. Name

1.1 The organisation hereby constituted will be called **Kwam eMakana Homestay Project**

1.2 Its shortened name will be **Kwam eMakana or Kwam** (hereinafter referred to as the organisation).

1.3 Body corporate

The organisation shall:

- *Exist in its own right, separately from its members, as a voluntary **non-profit** organization.
- *Continue to exist even when its membership changes and if there are different office bearers.
- *Be able to own property and other possessions.
- *Be able to sue and be sued in its own name.

2. Objectives

2.1 The organisation's main objective is to **collectively empower women** who provide homestays in their homes in the townships of Grahamstown. Although the focus is on **support, promotion and development** of the members' homestays, it is not limited to it and can extend to other women's empowerment initiatives collectively conducted under its name.

2.2 The organisation's secondary objectives will be to further develop as a special kind of Community Based Tourism (CBT) project to attract tourism to the townships through **expanding entrepreneurial skills** of its members. The organisation is responsible for the administration and promotion of the project for the benefit of its members *and* guests to the homestays, and to facilitate follow-up action

where needed. These objectives include development of internet access and availability for the project and exposure of the project on the internet.

3. Income and property

3.1 The organisation will keep a record of everything it owns.

3.2 The organisation may not give any of its money or property to its members or office bearers. The only time it can do this is when it pays for work that a member or office bearer has done for the organisation. The payment must be a reasonable amount for the work that has been done.

3.3 A member of the organisation can only get money back from the organisation for expenses that she or he has paid for or on behalf of the organisation with consent of the management committee.

3.4 Members or office bearers of the organisation do not have any rights over things that belong to the organisation.

4. Membership

4.1 Any township homeowner operating a homestay and who has accepted and is bound by this constitution may be a member of the organization.

4.2 If a person wants to become a new member of the organisation, she or he will have to ask the organisation's management committee. The management committee has the right to say no.

4.3 Candidate new members shall be required to pay a joining fee and pass a minimum standard inspection, the terms of these will be determined at a general meeting.

4.4 Member's facilities will be inspected annually by at least two members of the management committee.

4.5 Members of the organisation must attend its annual general meetings. At the annual general meeting members exercise their right to determine the policy of the organisation.

4.6 Members will contribute annual membership fees payable to the organization. The amount of membership fees will be determined at a general meeting.

4.7 End of membership:

4.7.1. When the homeowner changes or dies membership ends and the new homeowner can apply to become a new member as above in 4.3. However, if the new homeowner is a member of the original household (e.g. daughter, son or sibling) the new member only has to inform the management committee concerning new contact and banking details.

4.7.2. Membership ends if a member wants to resign

4.7.3. The management committee can decide to end membership if after due investigation and process the member is found to be undesirable.

5. Management

The management committee may take on the power and authority that it believes it needs to be able to achieve the objectives that are stated in point 2 of this constitution. Its activities must abide by the law.

5.1 The management committee will manage the organisation. The management committee will be made up of not less than 6 members, being the chairperson, deputy chairperson, secretary, treasurer and two committee members. They are the office bearers of the organisation.

5.2 Office bearers will serve for one year, but they can stand for re-election for another term in office after that. Depending on what kind of services they give to the organisation, they can stand for re-election into office again and again. This is so long as their services are needed and they are ready to give their services.

5.3 If a member of the management committee does not attend three management committee meetings in a row, without having applied for and obtaining leave of absence from the management committee, then the management committee will find a new member to take that person's place.

5.4 The management committee will meet at least once every two months. At least three members need to be at the meeting to make decisions that are allowed to be carried forward. This constitutes a quorum.

5.5 Minutes will be taken at every meeting to record the management committee's decisions. The minutes of each meeting will be given to management committee members at least two weeks before the next meeting. The minutes shall be confirmed as a true record of proceedings, by the next meeting of the management committee, and shall thereafter be signed by the chairperson.

5.6 The organisation has the right to form sub-committees. The decisions that sub-committees take must be given to the management committee. The management committee must decide whether to agree to them or not at its next meeting. This meeting should take place soon after the sub-committee's meeting; by agreeing to decisions the management committee ratifies them.

5.7 The chairperson, or two members of the management committee, can call a special meeting if they want to. But they must let the other management committee members know the date of the proposed meeting not less than 21 days before it is due to take place. They must also tell the other members of the committee which issues will be discussed at the meeting. If, however, one of the matters to be discussed is to appoint a new management committee member, then those calling the meeting must give the other committee members not less than 30 days notice.

5.8 The chairperson shall act as the chairperson of the management committee. If the chairperson does not attend a meeting, then members of the committee who are present choose which one of them will chair that meeting. This must be done before the meeting starts.

5.9 When necessary, the management committee will vote on issues. If the votes are equal on an issue, then the chairperson has either a second or a deciding vote.

5.10 Minutes of all meetings must be kept safely and always be on hand for members to consult.

6. Powers of the organisation

6.1 The management committee has the power and authority to raise funds or to invite and receive contributions.

6.2 The management committee has the power to buy, hire or exchange any property that it needs to achieve the objectives as stated in point 2 above.

6.3 The management committee has the power to appoint or employ persons to assist in achieving the objectives of the organisation; these include engaging service providers, legal advisors, consultants, mentors and project managers.

6.4 The management committee has the right to make by-laws for proper management, including procedure for application, approval and termination of membership.

6.5 The organisation will decide on the powers and functions of office bearers.

6.6 Members or office-bearers do not become liable for any of the obligations and liabilities of the organisation solely by virtue of their status as members or office bearers of the organisation.

6.7 The management committee will annually inspect all members' facilities and make recommendations.

6.8 All members of the organisation have to abide by decisions that are taken by the management committee.

7. General meetings

The **annual general meeting** must be held once every year, towards the end of the organisation's financial year. Voting happens by show of hands – one vote per homestay.

The organisation will deal with the following business, amongst others, at its annual general meeting:

- Agree to the items to be discussed on the agenda.
- Write down who is there and who has sent apologies because they cannot attend.
- Read and confirm the previous meeting's minutes with matters arising.

- Chairperson's report.
- Treasurer's report.
- Changes to the constitution that members may want to make.
- Elect new office bearers.
- General.
- Close the meeting.

Special general meetings can be called by the management committee to deal with issues as they arise.

8. Finance

8.1 An accounting officer shall be appointed at a management committee meeting. His or her duty is to audit and check on the finances of the organisation.

8.2 The treasurer's job is to control the day to day finances of the organisation. The treasurer shall arrange for all funds to be put into a bank account in the name of the organisation. The treasurer must also keep proper records of all the finances.

8.3 Whenever funds are taken out of the bank account, the chairperson and at least one other member of the management committee must approve the withdrawal or cheque.

8.4 The financial year of the organisation ends on **31 December**.

8.5 The organisation's accounting records and reports must be ready and handed to the Director of Non profit Organisations within six months after the financial year end.

8.6 If the organisation has funds that can be invested, the funds may only be invested with registered financial institutions. These institutions are listed in Section 1 of the Financial Institutions (Investment of Funds) Act, 1984. Or the organisation can get securities that are listed on a licensed stock exchange as set out in the Stock Exchange Control Act, 1985. The organisation can go to different banks to seek advice on the best way to look after its funds.

9. Changes to the constitution

9.1 The constitution can be changed by a resolution. The resolution has to be agreed upon and passed by not less than two thirds of the members who are at the annual general meeting or special general meeting. Members must vote at this meeting to change the constitution.

9.2 Two thirds of the members shall be present at a meeting (the quorum) before a decision to change the constitution is taken. Any annual general meeting may vote upon such a notion, if the details of the changes are set out in the notice referred to in point 7 above.

9.3 A written notice must go out not less than fourteen (14) days before the meeting at which the changes to the constitution are going to be proposed. The notice must indicate the proposed changes to the constitution that will be discussed at the meeting.

9.4 No amendments may be made which would have the effect of making the organisation cease to exist.

10. Dissolution/Winding-up

10.1 The organisation may close down if at least two-thirds of the members present and voting at a meeting convened for the purpose of considering such matter, are in favour of closing down.

10.2 When the organisation closes down it has to pay off all its debts. After doing this, if there is property or money left over it should not be paid or given to members of the organisation. It should be given in some way to another non profit organisation that has similar objectives. The organisation's general meeting can decide what organisation this should be.

This constitution was duly adopted to be the constitution of Kwam eMakana Homestay Project at a Special General Meeting held on 14 January 2015 in Joza and signed by:

Chairperson

Deputy Chairperson

Secretary

Treasurer

Committee members 1.

2.

Appendix 14: Letter to MT Board



HOMESTAY PROJECT

14 'D' Ncame Street Rhini

149-279 NPO

The Management Committee

1 June 2015

Makana Tourism

Request for the immediate suspension of the Chairperson and Director of Makana Tourism

Kwam eMakana is a paid up member of Makana Tourism (MT). Kwam is an independent NPO since 10 June 2014 and became a registered NPO (149-279) on 24 February 2015. Kwam's main funder is the Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC) with whom Kwam has built their own direct relationship since their independence. On 14 May 2015 DSRAC announced that the funds which they grant annually for the 'Kwam Operational Budget' would be deposited directly into Kwam's account. Behind Kwam's back Mr Ntshebe and Ms Waugh unlawfully interfered with the relationship of Kwam and their funder, a relationship which has absolutely nothing to do with MT – it is after all the 'Kwam Operational Budget'. These false and fraudulent representations had the consequence that DSRAC has indicated the funds will instead be deposited with Makana Tourism.


Besides being in breach of an agreement reached between Kwam and MT on 25 September 2014 stipulating that all Kwam bookings would henceforth be handled by Kwam and not MT, the interference is in contravention of several stipulations of the Constitution of Makana Tourism. Instead of supporting MT members as is envisioned in the 'Objects' of the constitution (section 3) Mr Ntshebe and Ms Waugh actively suppress the development of a community based tourism project. Both also disregard section 10 of the constitution concerning 'Financial Administration'. For almost a year now Kwam has been requesting in writing full financial reporting of the years since Ms Waugh took office, specifically

concerning the management of Kwam matters under her control. To date Kwam has had no access to this information and the only conclusions left to draw are that either there were no records or these are deliberately withheld to conceal mismanagement. These actions, refusals and failures are also in contravention of the Constitution of the country and other Acts such as PAJA and PAIA specifically dealing with openness, transparency and accountability of public offices, not to mention stipulations of the Tourism Act concerning the development of previously disadvantaged people.

In the light of the damage Kwam has suffered and still could suffer as a result of these two people's unlawful intervention and the serious consequences it would have for Makana Tourism as organization should Kwam resolve to criminal and/or civil legal action, we request that the Management Committee act as a matter of extreme urgency as these matters need resolution before the start of Festival 2015. This gross misconduct by the chairperson and the director warrants the immediate suspension from their posts. The extraordinary circumstances demand extraordinary action. It would go a far way to prevent further damage to Kwam and afford the opportunity after Festival to conduct a proper investigation as time now is too limited. As member of MT Kwam would then request full insight of the Management Committee's activities since 2012. For now we request a written confirmation from the Management Committee that Makana Tourism distances itself from any interference with the relationship Kwam has with DSRAC, guests and other people, including Kwam members.

We urgently await your response

Signed on behalf of Kwam eMakana


J Moli (Chairperson)

Appendix 15: MT's Lawyer's response



NEVILLE BORMAN & BOTHA

ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW
NOTARIES & CONVEYANCERS

P O Box 38
22 Hill Street
Docex 3
GRAHAMSTOWN, 6140
South Africa

TELEPHONE: (046) 622 7200
FAX: (046) 622 7885
FAX2EMAIL: (086) 614 9571
EMAIL ADDRESS: justin@nbandb.co.za
rene@nbandb.co.za

Our Ref: MR J POWERS/René/9/

Your Ref:

Attention : Mrs J Moli

22 June 2015

Kwam eMakana Homestays
Kwam Chairperson
14 "D" Ncame Street, Rhini

By email: kwamakana@gmail.com

Dear Madam

RE : MAKANA TOURISM : KWAM EMAKANA HOMESTAY PROJECT

We act on behalf of Makana Tourism of Grahamstown.

Your letter of 1 June 2015 has been handed to us for our attention and reply.

Your letter has been considered by the Board of Makana Tourism and you are hereby notified that your request is denied and no disciplinary action will be taken against either our client's Director or Chairperson, as your request is speculative, baseless and without factual foundation and is in fact slanderous and/or libellous.

We are instructed to further place on record that should any further slanderous and/or libellous accusations with no factual foundation (such as those in your letter of 1 June 2015) be levelled at Makana Tourism, and/or its staff and/or its members by the Kwam eMakana Committee, its members, "friends" or any other entity/person connected of/to the Kwam eMakana Project, then legal action will be taken against any such person or entity in the High Court in Grahamstown and an appropriate punitive costs order will be sought.

It is hereby recorded that Makana Tourism was the booking agent/organiser for 10 years for the Kwam eMakana Homestay Project. It is recorded that as the Kwam Committee wished to retain the functions previously conducted by Makana Tourism and conduct the said project by yourselves and for your own account, and our client agreed in and during January 2015 to such a handover to your Committee subject to approval of DRSAC (the principal funder of this project) and a letter to this effect was sent to your Committee by our offices dated 22 January 2015, which was necessary for a handover procedure to occur, which procedure was recorded therein.

In terms thereof, inter alia, Makana Tourism agreed to hand over to the Kwam Committee all the original files pertaining to the Kwam eMakana Project, together with the Kwam eMakana Project's Annual Financial Statements for the years 2011/2012 (2012), 2012/2013 (2013) and 2013/2014 (2014) up to the date when the Kwam Bookings' bank account was closed.

At a meeting held on 26 January 2015 to facilitate this handover process and at which DSRAC was present, as were members of your Committee, DSRAC made it quite clear that until such time as the Kwam eMakana Project was registered by your Committee as a Non-profit Organisation (NPO), there would be no handover of anything by Makana Tourism to your Committee. This was clearly understood by all present and those representing your Committee undertook to attend to this registration. To date there has been no proof provided by your Committee to DSRAC, or our client, that such registration has taken place and that your Committee has been provided with the necessary formal certificates of registration in this regard.

We will now address the concerns set out by you in your letter, but it should be noted that our failure to deal with any aspect thereof does not amount to our client's agreement with any such statements and our client reserves the right to deal fully with each and every allegation therein should the need arise in due course.

Our client has no knowledge of any registration by you as a NPO. We re-iterate that no formal certificates of registration in regard to the Kwam eMakana Project being registered as a Non-profit Organisation (NPO) have been made available by your Committee as yet. Your Committee has had more than ample time to attend to such registration and to provide such proof to DSRAC, which you have failed to do, despite having had numerous opportunities to do so, with the most recent being your meeting in the first week of June 2015 with DSRAC.

We invite you again that if such formal certificates of registration of Kwam eMakana Project being registered as a Non-profit Organisation (NPO) are available then they should be forwarded to us forthwith, as the handover process can then no doubt (subject to DSRAC's approval) take place

immediately and you can take control of the project and deal with DSRAC directly in relation thereto and our client will happily no longer be involved in the project.

Our client has no knowledge of any DSRAC announcement on 14 May 2015 that funds would be deposited into your account, as that has certainly not been conveyed to our client by DSRAC, as our client has not been instructed by DSRAC to attend to the handover your Committee. That handover and the new 2015 budget would happen simultaneously, but would not take place until proof was provided by your Committee to DSRAC that such NPO registration has taken place and that your Committee has indeed provided DSRAC with the necessary certificates in that regard. This was clearly understood by all present and those representing your Committee at the meeting of 26 January 2015. Our client's enquiries with DSRAC confirm that no such proof of registration as a NPO has been provided to them by you as yet.

DSRAC called a meeting for 28 May 2015 for all role-players in the Kwam eMakana Project, including yourselves in relation to the Kwam Operational Budget for the National Arts Festival 2015. This meeting took place, although we are given to understand that representatives of your Committee were present at the venue, but did not take part in the meeting for undisclosed reasons.

There was no unlawful interference by Makana Tourism, or Ms Waugh or Mr Ntshembe in this process whatsoever and certainly no breach of any Constitutional provisions of our client. Makana Tourism was there at that meeting by DSRAC invitation, bearing in mind that there are three primary parties that benefit from the Kwam eMakana Project for the National Arts Festival 2015, including yourselves, the cadets and the taxi industry.

It is correct that at that meeting and in the absence of proof by your Committee to DSRAC of the NPO registration, DSRAC instructed Makana Tourism to oversee the management of the distribution of funds for National Arts Festival 2015 activities to yourselves, the cadets and the taxi industry. Our client is acting on those instructions from DSRAC as requested.

There has been a complete accounting by our client to your committee in relation to the past three financial years at meetings on more than one occasion, including the debating of Kwam eMakana Project's Annual Financial Statements for the years 2011/2012, 2012/2013 and 2013/2014 up to the date when the Kwam Bookings' bank account was closed.

Despite our client's willingness to hand over to the Kwam Committee all the original files pertaining to the Kwam eMakana Project, this did not take place at the specific instruction of DSRAC for the reasons recorded above and you are well aware of this. This original documentation will be provided to you once such formal certificates of registration of Kwam eMakana Project being registered as a Non-profit

Organisation (NPO) are made available to DSRAC and subject to DSRAC's approval and specific instruction.

It is recorded that any criminal or legal proceedings initiated by you will be opposed and this letter will be made available to such Court/s as may deal with this matter as evidence of the *mala fide* and unlawful manner in which you are dealing with the matter. We confirm that our client has already provided a copy of your letter to DSRAC for their records and this letter to will be cc'd to DSRAC too.

Any damage suffered by you, which is in any event denied, is entirely of your own making and you have only yourselves to blame for the situation in which you find yourselves.

We further re-iterate that which was contained in our previous letter to you that should the Kwam Committee want a forensic audit done on the aforementioned Annual Financial Statements of the Kwam eMakana Project presented at the handover, then the cost for such audit will be borne by the Kwam eMakana Homestay Project only and not by Makana Tourism.

Be guided accordingly.

Yours faithfully



JUSTIN POWERS
NEVILLE BORMAN & BOTHA

Appendix 16: Letter to the Administrator

Letter to Ms Yako, Administrator Makana Municipality

A new issue

Dear Ms Yako

I have written to you thrice before concerning issues with Kwam eMakana. Sadly you have not found time in your busy schedule to accommodate a meeting with us and sadly the abuse of Kwam continues. In the light of a new issue which arose I appeal to you again to please meet with us urgently.

Last week a service provider contacted Kwam and announced that she has been awarded a tender to produce a booklet for Kwam for Festival. Besides the much exaggerated publicity value of such a booklet Kwam was never consulted about it. When Mrs Gora phoned on behalf of Kwam and asked of Mr Sindane to explain who approved of this he shouted at her. As is clear from our earlier correspondence to you, the matters with the billboard and Mr George are still unresolved and now this? What is going on?

Kwam is a registered NPO. Nobody, including government officials, can make decisions on behalf of Kwam unless approved by Kwam. If the municipality wants to help Kwam the obvious first step is to come to Kwam and ask them what it is they need. Useless gifts are a waste of public funds.

All we have asked for is openness, accountability and transparency and it is shocking how these basic rights are disregarded. If it concerns Kwam no solutions will be found without Kwam. We repeat our request at meeting with you in order to find solutions.

Yours sincerely

Adv Von Lengeling

Appendix 17: Letter to the MEC

Dear Dr Majodina

Request for urgent intervention: DSRAC/Kwam eMakana

The Kwam eMakana Homestay programme was started in 2004 as a government initiated poverty alleviation project. On 10 June Kwam 2014 became an independent NPO. Kwam held an AGM on 14 January 2015 where an amended constitution was adopted and the management committee consisting of six members elected in terms of the constitution. Since then the committee has remained unchanged. On 24 February 2015 Kwam became a registered NPO with the Department of Social Development (number 149-279 NPO).

Since independence Kwam attended and reported in their own right at the DSRAC/NAF planning meetings in 2014, but all the government officials at these meetings repetitively stated that for government to work directly with Kwam they had to be a registered entity. At a meeting with DSRAC on 26 January 2015 it was confirmed that Kwam had fulfilled all the requirements (e.g. reporting) save that Kwam was not registered yet. As mentioned above, Kwam became registered soon thereafter and DSRAC was duly informed. At the first DSRAC/NAF Planning meeting on 14 May 2015 Kwam was applauded for their achievement after the chairman, Mr Chetty, recalled the almost year long process with Kwam's development since their independence. Kwam was advised to provide their banking details as government could now deal with them directly. In other words, the annual Kwam Operations Budget would be paid via NAF directly to Kwam – and not to Makana Tourism as in the past; a letter confirming this was sent to Mr Chetty on 15 May.

Then, out of the blue as it were, before the DSRAC/NAF Planning meeting a week later on 21 May, Dr Mona met the Kwam treasurer, Mrs Gora, per chance in a shop and he told her that Kwam will not get the funding “as your structure is not right”; the funds will be paid to Makana Tourism. Although an authorized representative of Kwam, Mrs Gora was attending the meeting in her capacity as DSRAC Accommodation Sub-committee member, a position she has been elected to the week before. No notice was given to Kwam of a meeting or presentation of Kwam at the DSRAC/NAF meeting. However, at this meeting two ordinary Kwam members were invited to make presentations “regarding challenges at Kwam eMakana”(quoted from minutes); a special meeting was reserved for discussing this after the main meeting and besides most of the senior government officials invited to attend “other interested parties” (quoted from minutes)were also invited. Without Kwam knowing, these two Kwam members have been instigated and invited to make false representations which were nothing more than an unjustified personal attack on Mrs Gora at an unlawful public hearing. This was obviously an attempt to white-wash a decision which Dr Mona had already taken. Dr Mona made it clear that Mrs Gora would not have the opportunity to respond. Dr Mona then repeated at the meeting that the Kwam Operations Budget of R150 000 would be paid to Makana Tourism instead. On 28 May, at the next DSRAC/NAF meeting, Mr Chetty confirmed this arrangement and explained that the reasons were that Kwam has not presented a certificate of registration and that there was instability in the committee. We have tried to protest by email on 21 May already but as the server was down we handed Mr Chetty a printed copy of our protest only a

week later. We have requested written reasons why the legitimate expectation DSRAC has created over the last year is now suddenly wiped off the table. We have explained the problem with the certificate extensively and that Kwam cannot be penalized if the Department of Social Development fails to provide the certificate. Concerning the second reason, it is quite obvious a fabrication as the Kwam committee has remained stable since 14 January, as mentioned above.

To add insult to injury, Kwam was invited to a meeting with DSRAC, or then in particular with Dr Mona on 4 June. Dr Mona repeated the history of Kwam and DSRAC's commitment to help Kwam and then he stated that Kwam was not ready, there were procedures, Kwam can apply for next year. Without any attempt to listen to Kwam's side of the story or Kwam's protest concerning the unlawful meeting and false representations, Dr Mona simply rejected everything Kwam said or produced. So too, was Kwam's attempt at explaining the problem with the certificate, also rejected. How is this helping Kwam?

It is very clear that even before 21 May Dr Mona had made a decision which destroyed all the work and planning Kwam has done with DSRAC, or then particularly with Mr Chetty, over the last year. Without any consultation with Kwam or providing Kwam with any opportunity to truthfully represent themselves, Dr Mona solely relied on Makana Tourism to inform him about Kwam. Makana Tourism obviously failed to reveal to Dr Mona the agreement of 25 September they have with Kwam concerning the Kwam bookings. Kwam has their own booking office since September 2014 and if Makana Tourism were to do bookings too it would certainly result in duplication and confusion. Kwam is a member of Makana Tourism, not their toy. Makana Tourism failed to refer Dr Mona to Kwam if he wanted to know what was going on with Kwam. Not once has Dr Mona approached Kwam to enquire about anything and his decisions concerning Kwam are based purely on gossip and hearsay. Yet, all along Makana Tourism is an unregistered entity with qualified financial reports. Twice recently have Makana Tourism falsely pretended to be a registered NPO on their annual financial reports. To date Makana Tourism has failed to provide Kwam with financial reporting for the last three years of their administration of Kwam affairs – this after innumerable written requests of which the first formal request was more than a year ago. On a Kwam general meeting attended by more than two thirds of the Kwam members on 2 June 2015 the mamas unanimously decided that their affairs will not again be managed by Makana Tourism. After the abuse, maltreatment and mismanagement particularly by the former Kwam liaison officer - who is now the chairman of Makana Tourism - this sentiment is justified. Therefore even if DSRAC pays the Kwam Operational Budget to Makana Tourism, Kwam will not allow Makana Tourism to manage their affairs. Why would DSRAC insist on involving Makana Tourism against the explicit wishes of a registered NPO?

It seems as if some individuals refuse to accept that Kwam is a by government recognized entity and that the organization has a right to fair and reasonable treatment. Acts like PAIA and PAJA were designed to combat arbitrary administrative action and we have instituted requests accordingly. Kwam is an example of a grass-roots development project which has shown resilience in the midst of overwhelming obstacles for over ten years, and Kwam has reached the empowering point where the development of the project is in the hands of the people of project themselves. We simply cannot allow that such a precious development is slaughtered arbitrarily.

As time runs out before Festival we may have no choice but to litigate and therefore we request your intervention as a matter of extreme urgency.

Yours sincerely

Adv VHC von Lengeling

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