

**FRONTIER HEARTLAND: ANALYSING THE IMPACT OF  
FORESTRY AND TOURISM ON 'WHITE' IDENTITY IN  
MACLEAR**

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## **Abstract**

### **Title of Thesis: Frontier Heartland: Analysing the Impact of Forestry and Tourism on 'White' Identity in Maclear.**

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The North Eastern Cape in South Africa is part of a larger province that is in desperate need of job creation and economic development. In light of these needs, efforts have been made by members of the community and outside investors to generate new forms of income in the area. These economic developments emerged in the form of small-scale tourism initiatives and commercial forestry. The impact of these developments on the small community of Maclear differs in nature and is bringing about social change and influencing identity. In this thesis, I explore the effects of each of these developments on the local farming community, particularly the established white English-speaking farmers. For various important reasons, such as the changes to land use patterns occurring around them in terms of forestry and tourism initiatives, I chose to examine the situation of this minority.

In general discussions and portrayals of white farmers, it is hypothesized that whites living in small farming communities are resistant to change, politically stagnant and socially conservative. In this thesis I test this hypothesis and investigate what South Africans might see as the core, or whether there is a core of, white settler identity. The idea of 'frontiers' being heartlands was emphasized in Maclear as residents spoke about the pioneering efforts of their forefathers and discussed these efforts as the essence of their identity. Forestry is a contemporary 'frontier' encroaching on these white Settlers.

A dynamic concept of landscape is central to these identity construction efforts. In this thesis I explore, through different articulations of landscape, how residents, recent arrivals and investors attempt to embed their identity and resources in the community. I ask whether it is possible for members of the white community to produce an alternate and politically viable interpretation of landscape in post-apartheid South Africa. Can land and landscape offer them a sense of belonging and identity? What is their experience in view of the impositions of major investors who see land purely as an economic unit? The research does not explicitly investigate how 'new' black farmers and farming groups perceive and experience land and landscape. What is noted is the imagined passivity of black labourers on white-owned land. This thesis touches on issues important to democratic change and progress in South Africa. How will the new government deal with the thorny issue of land redistribution in the face of competing claims for land and identity? How will the various sections of the white community (in this case the farming community) negotiate their identity in the new South Africa? Also, what do 'frontier' towns like Maclear reveal about the nature of white identity in post-apartheid South Africa?

This thesis relies on gender and constructionist theories of landscape as developed by Appadurai (1996) to explain the dynamic nature of landscape in Maclear. It also explores and appraises the idea of 'frontier'. In the analysis of identity, I take into account that white settlers 'success' relies in part on the settlers ability to adapt to the 'frontier' and their ability to construct a new identity in their newfound 'homeland' (similar to Paul Gilroy's (1993) "double consciousness).

**Keywords: South Africa, Maclear, Farming, White Identity, Landscape and Tourism.**

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## *Chapter 1:*

### **INTRODUCTION**

The North Eastern Cape in South Africa is part of a larger province that is in desperate need of job creation and economic development. Maclear is part of the Elundini local municipality under the Ukhahlamba district municipality. The Ukhahlamba district is considered to be a comparatively poor district in terms of poverty measures such as the poverty gap (425 Million) and the number of people living in poverty is 78.6 percent ([www.ecdc.co.za/districts](http://www.ecdc.co.za/districts)). Approximately 39 percent of the population is below 15 years of age and more than half is below 20 “this is an indication of economic under development in this district” ([www.socdev.ecprov.gov.za](http://www.socdev.ecprov.gov.za))<sup>1</sup>.

In light of these problems, efforts have been made by members of the community and outside investors to generate new forms of income in the area<sup>2</sup>. In 2002, when I first visited Maclear, these economic developments had emerged in the form of small-scale tourism initiatives and commercial forestry. I discovered that these developments had various effects on the small community of Maclear, bringing about social change and influencing identity. Initially I wrote a proposal pertaining to Rock Art and its use by traditional healers but through a visit to Maclear (organized by one of the members of the anthropology department) there was a possibility of me doing my research in the area on primarily tourism. I agreed to visit the area in May 2000 to see what research opportunities it held. We stayed at a self-catering cottage about 20km from town near the Pot River and in our initial visit met with local tour operators to see if Maclear had a wide scope for research. The introduction of tourism and combined with the introduction of agroforestry was particularly interesting and so I proceeded with my

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix F for a profile on the Eastern Cape province highlighting similar problems.

<sup>2</sup> The unemployment rate is also higher than average, at 46.2 percent in 1996 and over 60 percent of the population was not economically active.



fieldwork initially looking at the concept of landscape and how it could apply to the Maclear and Ugie farming community in light of these attempts at providing economic growth to the north Eastern Cape area. In this thesis, I explore the effects of each of these developments on the local farming community, but focused particularly on the established white English-speaking farmers.

Firstly, the white farming community in South Africa has experienced significant political and economic change since the fall of the apartheid system. Secondly, since the first democratic elections in the country on 27 April 1994, there has been an alarming increase in the number of farm attacks (or at least the perception of an increase). In general discussions and portrayals of white farmers, there is a tendency to depict them as a section of South African society that is resistant to change, politically stagnant and socially backward.

I chose to do fieldwork in Maclear and Ugie to investigate the nature of a mostly white farming community in post-apartheid South Africa. I was also curious as to what South Africans might perceive as the core, or source of, white settler identity, because in this area, I discovered that residents placed great emphasis on the pioneering efforts of their forefathers and were keen to present themselves as a people who are capable of overcoming the most difficult odds.

As I show in the following chapters, the concept of landscape is central to the forming and shaping of identity and power in Maclear. It is through different articulations of landscape that residents, recent arrivals and investors attempt to embed their identity and resources in the community and subjective expressions of landscape emerge<sup>3</sup>. Specifically, the farmers I encountered see land and landscape as interconnected elements that offer them a sense of belonging and identity. This is not the case for major investors working for the agroforestry company. For them, land is purely an economic unit that requires 'appropriate' development in order to maximize profit.

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<sup>3</sup> This can result in both a strengthening of identities or a weakened expression of identity, because they can be competing for the same resources and landscapes linked to their identity.

In my research I did not investigate how 'new' black farmers and farming groups perceive land in Maclear and Ugie. However, it is patently evident that grossly uneven distribution of land forced many potential farmers in the black community into wage labour on white-owned farms and the area has potential for future researchers to explore the effects not only which agroforestry has had on their communities but also how they perceive the land and embed meaning into the landscape. Their situation is complex and extensive and so I felt it could not be dealt with in a meaningful way within this body of work.

Post-1994, the new political dispensation and new investors (from the forestry and tourism sectors) are challenging the long-held views of the Maclear farmers. Upon completing my fieldwork, it was apparent that as non-indigenes and not 'previously advantaged people', the white residents of Maclear were not perceived as a people who had any right to see the land of Maclear as their own. Major investors in the area also tended to dismiss their views or understanding of land or landscape.

Changes in Maclear lead one to ask questions about the nature of small white farming communities in South Africa. Are these places where people are resistant to modernity and political change? What do the experiences of people living in such communities tell us about the nature of multiculturalism in South Africa? How will the new democratic government negotiate the problem of preserving the rich cultural heritage of places like the North Eastern Cape and all its people without compromising its goal of democratic change? Of significant interest to me, is the question of what 'frontier' towns such as Maclear reveal about the nature of white identity in post-apartheid South Africa.

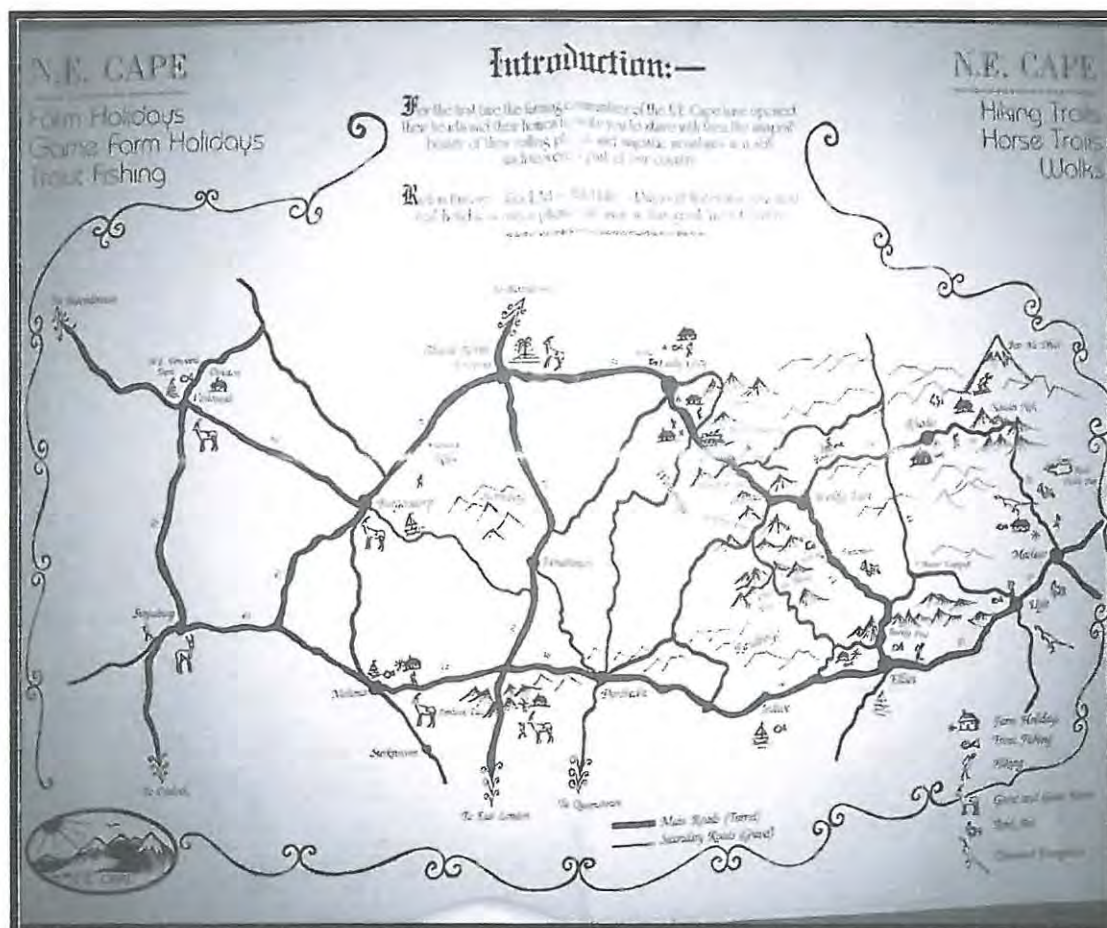


Figure 1.1. A tourism map of the North Eastern Cape (Source: A promotional brochure provided by a tour operator in the area). See Appendix A for a larger copy.

Initially I proposed to look at the towns of Maclear, Ugie and Elliot. However, during my fieldwork it became clear that it would not be possible to ‘spread myself so thin’ and so I have focussed mainly on the Maclear farmers<sup>4</sup> and residents, as this town was my base. In light of this a description of the area is necessary for the reader to get an idea as to what Maclear looks like on the ground, as well as my unit of study.

<sup>4</sup> Although not exclusively, as I did interview a few members of the Ugie community and those involved with tourism there, as well as the information provided by other researchers mentioned extends to Ugie and the surrounds of Maclear.



### 1.1. Maclear

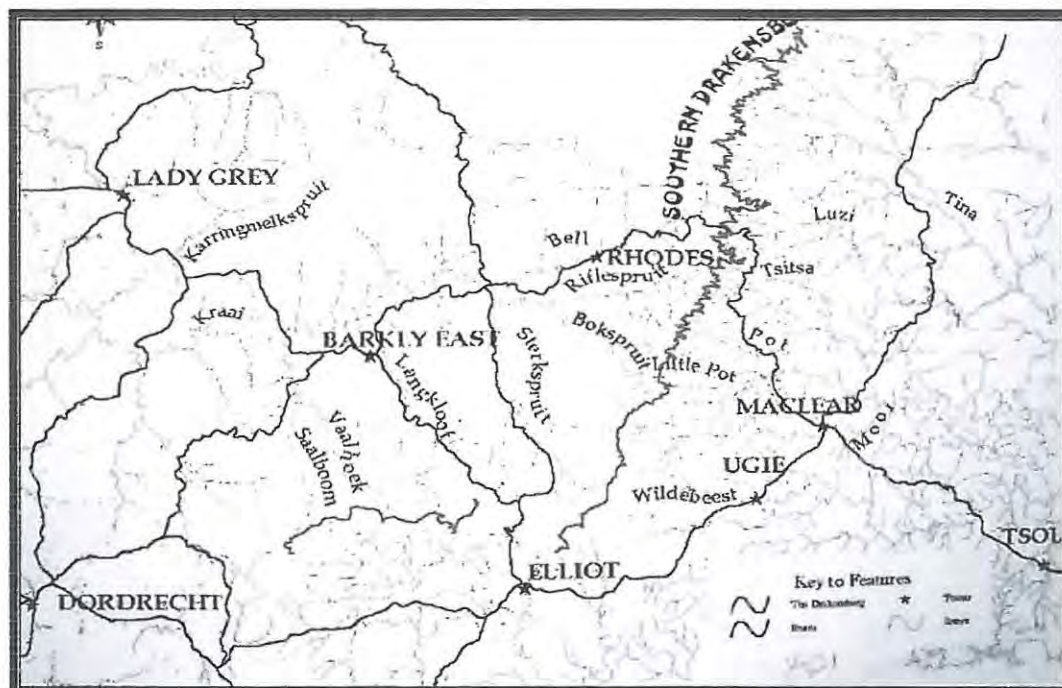


Figure 1.2. Simplified map of the Eastern Cape Highlands (Source: <http://www.fishingowl.co.za>)

The town was named after Sir Thomas Maclear, “the celebrated and popular Astronomer Royal at the Cape from 1834 to 1879” (Bulpin. 1980). Maclear was established in 1875 as the magisterial centre for the district originally known as the Gatberg from a uniquely shaped<sup>5</sup> mountain in the vicinity. In 1881 “the Maclear district received its present name, becoming an area of European settlement. Mount Fletcher was simultaneously detached from it as a district inhabited by African people. From then on Maclear became a prosperous farming area, notable for its cheese and dairy products” (*ibid.*). Since the 1980s when Bulpin’s book was published the farmers have in addition done well in maize, beef and potatoes. For example, *Modamin\** and *Minnehaha\** potatoes are sold throughout the Eastern Cape<sup>6</sup>. They have also diversified with some moving on to producing soya beans and subsidiary businesses are developing to follow market trends such as Minnehaha

<sup>5</sup> It has a hole through the middle, hence the name Gat (hole) berg (mountain).

<sup>6</sup> Farm names are in italics and the asterisks indicate that they are not pseudonyms.

spring water, bottled from the Minnehaha<sup>7</sup> waterfall on the farm of the same name. Tourism has also grown steadily in the area with guesthouses and 'Bed and Breakfast' enterprises being established on farms to provide additional income.

## 1.2. Demographics

Census information shows that the population, on which my study focuses, has slowly decreased in number from 1936 to 1980. The tabulation in Appendix B illustrates this contention. In 1936 the white population was at 2 946, in 1941 there was an increase of 1 121, then a drop from 1951 to 1980 (1951 - 2 496, 1960 - 2 341, 1970 - 1 835, 1980 - 1 684). This illustrates that despite the decrease in numbers to the area in 1989, 1994 and 1998 due to forestry buying up farms, there was a gradual decrease in their numbers in any case. In terms census information available after 1980, changes in the census outcomes and in the redefining of municipal boundaries do not make it easy to compare the population statistics but rather illustrates that the white population is a minority in the area.

The changes in how census material is collected and the kinds of statistical information made available means that in more recent census material there is a focus on local or district municipalities instead of towns. In 1985 the total population in Maclear was 16 430 ([www.nrf.co.za/sada1985](http://www.nrf.co.za/sada1985)). The total population in the Ukhahlamba district in 1995 was 341 339, see table below:

1995	Number of people	Percentage of population
Male	158 967	
Female	182 343	
Africans	321 265	94.1
Coloured	11 585	3.4
Indian	84	0.02
White	8 375	2.5
Total Population	341 339	

Figure 1.3. Population statistics for the Ukhahlamba District 1995. (Source: [www.socdev.ecprov.gov.za](http://www.socdev.ecprov.gov.za)).

<sup>7</sup> This farm seems to attract entrepreneurs, as it was one of only two farms in the area to apply, in the 1940s, for a licence to prospect for gold sorry to say none was found.



In the Elundini local municipality in 2001 the urban population stood at 27 093 and the rural population at 110 383. It has a low population density of 14 per square kilometre. The population is concentrated in the former Transkei areas of Sterkspruit and Mount Fletcher, giving an African population majority of 94 percent, the coloured population is 3 percent and the proportion of whites is approximately 3 percent ([www.ecdc.co.za/districts](http://www.ecdc.co.za/districts)).

The census information provided by the table in Appendix B and Table 1.3 above also show the relatively small numbers in rural areas and explains the reason why this community feels 'isolated'. As Panelli *et al.* (2004) explain the feeling of physical isolation can be associated with "a number of different factors including distance from local centres, poor roads and seasonal conditions" (448). The picture below shows the poor condition of the farm roads, the climate is extreme from hot and rainy in summer to very cold winters with frequent snowfalls making roads inaccessible at different times of year. I argue in the case of Maclear farmers this plays a role as access to hospitals and police stations and other services are problematic combined with the small number of farmers in the rural area also affects their sense of isolation and ultimately security.



Figure 1.4. An example of a farm road, large boulders and ridges are common.

### 1.3. Climatic Conditions

The area is known for its high rainfall, but is also well known for its extreme climatic changes as mentioned above. Indicated by the tables below are indicators of the average temperature, average rainfall and average number of rainy days.

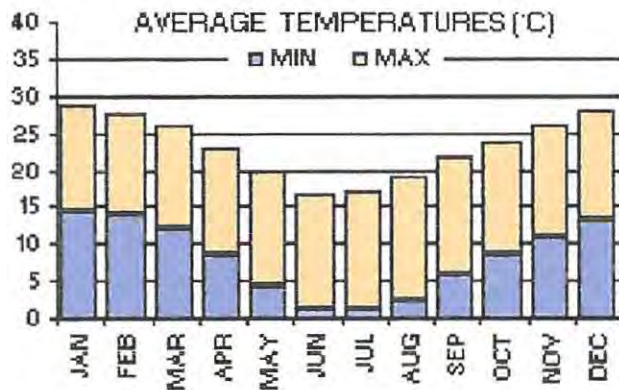
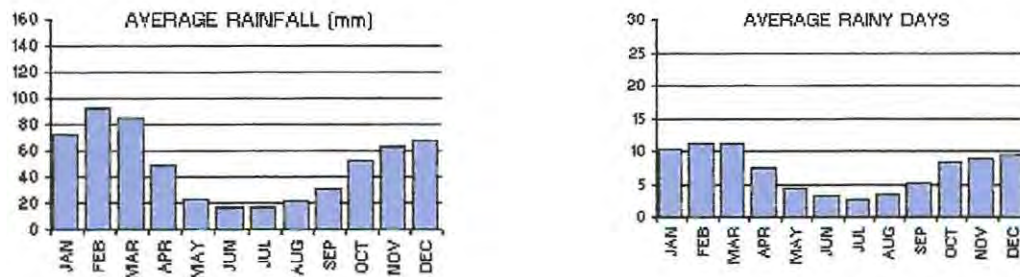


Figure 1.5. Average temperature (source: SA explorer travel atlas [www.saexplorer.co.za](http://www.saexplorer.co.za))



Figures 1.5.1. and 1.5.2. Average rainfall and average rainy days for Maclear (*ibid.*).

### 1.4. The Farming Community

The average farm in the area is between 2000 and 10 000 hectares with more mountainous farms in the upper ends of this scale, more land is then needed to produce crops or for adequate grazing. In most cases farmhouses are clustered together in valleys or along stretches of farm roads (on average 2 to 5km apart), they can be fairly isolated from town. Where there are groups of farmers along a private farm road there are often a few farmers from the same family and they socialise in some cases according to who they stay near. While I was staying in Maclear there was

a large amount of joking about this division and the groups of farmers. They would say “Ja, I know you guys from that side of town are lazy” or “So you don’t invite people from this side of town to your *braais*”.

There are approximately 40 white farming units left in the area, and of these only 18 are white English-speaking commercial farmers and so despite them being divided by living on other side of the town of Maclear there is a large amount of effort made in maintaining social contact with them. This is done either through the traditional *braai* or meeting in town at the Maclear country club, or local pubs. Meetings of the Farmers’ Association, Tourism Association and events planned by these groups also help these farmers to interact with each other. In the farming community they have the same interests and challenges that face them and so solidarity is maintained.



Figure 1.6. Maclear with farm boundaries and names<sup>8</sup> (Source: *Imperial Map of South Africa: Maclear compiled and lithographed by the Mapping section of the British Field Intelligence Department in 1900, this can be found in the Cory Library for Historical Research at Rhodes University*). See a larger version in Appendix C.

<sup>8</sup> Despite this map being commissioned in 1900 the farm boundaries and names are still in existence today.



Wider concerns within the district which affect the farming community are problems with food security as there is “insufficient land for people to farm because the area is mountainous, and that land is held by commercial farmers who are not willing to release the land, high agricultural input costs and high levels of unemployment”

([www.dplg.gov.za/html](http://www.dplg.gov.za/html))

### **1.5. Chapter Outline**

The thesis is structured in the following way:

Part One deals introduces the thesis’s focus and the first three chapters offer an introduction to Maclear and the surrounding areas preliminary information. More specifically Chapter Two reviews the literature and relevant theory, whilst Chapter Three deals with the practical aspects of studying whites in South Africa, focusing on my unit of study’s peculiarities.

Part Two focuses on identity construction among Maclear’s white farmers. Consisting of two parts, the first (Chapter Four) discusses what I consider to be the main contributors to these farmers’ concept of and the subjective expression of their landscape. This is done through a discussion of the geographical and historical origins of the white English speaking farmers, what contributed to the how the society looks today and how issues, mainly gender, play an important role in how they find meaning in their public and private spaces. Chapter Five introduces the changes and perceived threats to their identity and more importantly to their future in the area.

Part Three discusses the new economic development tools used in the area. The focus is on specific disadvantages and advantages experienced through the external introduction of commercial forestry (Chapter Six) and an alternative form of income generation for the area that has been introduced by the farmers, tourism (Chapter Seven). I use these two examples of forestry and tourism as affecting the farmers’ sense of belonging and expression of their attachment to and role in the land because one is male dominated and the other female dominated and have differing effects on the environment and landscapes.

## PART ONE: INTRODUCTORY SECTION

### *Chapter 2:* **NEW FRONTIERS** **Theoretical Orientations** **and Literature Review**

*The landscape is never inert, people engage with it, rework it, appropriate it and contest it. It is part of the way in which identities are created and disputed.*

Veronica Strang (1997:5)



*Figure 2.1. A view of farmlands on the Naude's Nek side of town*

After a few weeks in Maclear, I realised that Maclear farmers do not perceive and experience their farmland and landscape merely as economically valuable units. For them land has a spiritual, political and social value. They perceive the 'humanised' aspect of their territory and imbue the land with meaning. To this end, Maclear farmers do not just consider the importance of financially investing in their land as their main concern but also take care to emphasise the deeper, emotional aspects of land ownership and the impact of this on identity.



What drew my attention to the North Eastern Cape in particular and more specifically to Maclear were changes that had occurred since 1989, particularly to the physical landscape and the pressures and changes socially. The introduction of forestry in the area highlighted the differences in opinion of the forestry industry and agriculture, both seeming to use the land to yield a profit. It was apparent to me that the relationship between the paper company and the farmer was complex, and perhaps was a force in strengthening the farmer's expression of his attachment to the land.

This was evident even in the first interviews when Margaret Purdon spoke of the long term stay on some farms, three or more generations, and how through the introduction of forestry fewer and fewer farmers are still there continuing to do as their forefathers did, and how scathingly Henry Smith referred to the pine trees planted by the North East Cape Forest company as "the green cancer". Many more of the farmers I spoke to contrasted themselves directly to the paper company. They accused the initial buyers of deceiving those that sold. It seemed that in the farmers' view afforestation had made negative contributions to the area environmentally, not to mention aesthetically. I was interested in finding out how extensively the agro forestry company was perceived in this way, and also how it had perhaps encouraged the farmers themselves to strengthen their ties to the land. Do they have such strong ties to the land, and if so, then why did some choose to sell and leave? What was keeping these few remaining farmers from packing up and moving on?

In addition to socio-economic changes in the form of forestry initiatives, the farmers themselves introduced small-scale eco-based tourism into the dynamic. The latter initiative relies on an appealing or attractive landscape and thus the agro forestry company could threaten the small-scale tour operator. In South Africa sustainable development and its relationship with tourism (keeping the balance between offering an attraction without contributing to its destruction whilst generating capital) is a popular way of developing areas, particularly those with little infrastructure or other opportunities. I hypothesised that this reluctance of some farmers to leave and the development of tourism as an additional means of surviving economically in the area displayed an attachment to the landscape. Why is it that even through economically tough times these farmers have stayed? Was it possible, then, that there was a greater

significance to the farm than merely capital accumulation? And could 'western'<sup>1</sup>, although rural, white farmers have an understanding of the world and their place in it, which is reliant on a deeper connection with land or even with specific stretches of land? In much of the literature there seemed to be a constant emphasis on the divide between indigene and colonialist, western and indigenous. Indigenous and western are not seen as co-existing, mutual systems but rather as the one versus the other. In my research I was attempting to follow the school of thought that not only indigenous peoples can have a more spiritual understanding of their landscape and that a sense of belonging exists in Maclear farmers that is tied to the landscapes in which they live. Doing so would mean acknowledging that over time the categories of indigenous peoples and non-indigenes have undergone changes, and that whites have become more Africanised and blacks more Europeanised through colonial and/or cultural contact.

In Maclear, farms are passed down from generation to generation and family histories are etched into the land in contemporary memory. These are in the form of the older generations buried on the farm, historical and architectural changes to the landscape, and even in the layout of the farm itself. Many of the district's residents perceive the disappearance of their physical and cultural boundaries as the ultimate threat to 'loss of their heartland' and identity. This, I propose, could be due to their long-term stay on the land and how this has contributed to their identity construction and created a particular attachment to the land.

### 2.1. Identity in Crisis?

Kobena Mercer says "identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty" (1990:4). In Maclear, the white residents express their strong sense of belonging to the area. Through stories of the past, efforts to bolster collective memory and impositions on 'their' landscapes, they have managed to foster

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'western' is used not because they see themselves as European or western but because there still exists a division in other groups' perception of the antecedents of settlers and the feeling that these farmers have to emphasise that they are localised (as much as other groups).

a sense of solidarity and evoke emotive responses to their surroundings. Nadia Lovell (1998:1-2) argues that these strategies are important for the establishment of belonging. I agree with her definition of belonging and what signifies belonging to a particular locality or place. Lovell says that belonging is expressed through “oral histories, narratives of origin as belonging, the faculty of certain objects, myths, religions, and ritual performances, or setting up of shrines or museums and exhibitions” (*ibid.*). Evidence of these kinds of signifiers (which will be discussed in more detail as the thesis progresses) was seemingly apparent among Maclear farmers. In addition and most importantly “belonging is also fundamentally defined through a sense of experience, a phenomenology of locality which serves to create, mould and reflect perceived ideas surrounding place...Yet belonging, with its pragmatic connotations and potential for tying people to place and social relationships, also evokes emotions, sentiments of longing to be in a particular location, be it real or fictive. Rootedness and rootlessness evoke conditions of existence which tend to stress the emotional gravity of place” (*ibid.*).

The view of belonging as an element that evokes ‘rootedness’ is further elaborated on by Cohen (1982:21) in his statement that:

Belonging implies very much more than merely having been born in a place. It suggests that one is an integral piece of a marvellously complicated fabric that constitutes the community; that one is a recipient of its proudly distinctive and consciously preserved culture – a repository of its traditions and values, a performer of its hallowed skills, an expert in its idioms and idiosyncrasies. The depth of such belonging is revealed in the forms of social organisation and association in the community so that when a person is identified as belonging to a particular kinship group or neighbourhood he becomes, at the same time, a recognisable member of the community as a whole and its cultural panoply.

In other words, ‘belonging’ discourse is an outward manifestation of local perceptions of identity.

The white farmers of Maclear have a strong link to their historical past and stress their role as pioneers in the area. In many instances they use the stories of the past not just to indicate things that have happened, but also justification for being there, as social collateral – whose ancestors got there first? Who was involved in the construction of important landmarks? Whose history or genealogy is faithfully recorded in the local

archives? Some farmers associate themselves with those aspects of the past that are most useful for class mobility. Specifically, stories indicating deep and documented history offer the storytellers a chance to lay claim to 'authentic' roots or to middle class as opposed to lower class identity. This argument is highlighted in Chapter Four where I explore to what extent these people are rooted there, trace their claim that they had lived there for generations by way of an example and explore whether the attachment is to the area or a specific tract of land (a farm).

In the Eastern Cape Province, therefore, such stories of the past provide the evidence for class status and character; and tell outsiders or strangers who is entitled to have power and secure rights to land. Lesser events or areas are given historical significance and explanations offered for matters beyond their control. Cohen (1982:3) is helpful in explaining what happens in frontier towns like Maclear, "people become aware of their culture when they stand at its boundaries. Such boundaries are not 'natural' phenomena: they are relational, they may be contrived and their very existence is called into being partly by the purpose for which one group distinguishes itself from another. But all this is to say that one's culture is at the forefront of consciousness and social process." Boundaries are where identity is continually challenged, and for Maclear farmers that boundary is shifting as the 'core' becomes smaller.

Barth (2000) agrees with Cohen with regard to the significance of boundaries and boundary maintenance. In Maclear what is of particular interest is the change of the boundaries, which forces the farmers to define themselves. Firstly it was through moving into the area and acting as a barrier between the Ama-Xhosa and colonial settlements, and then between 'white' South Africa and the Native Reserves of Bantustans (Transkei) and a self-governing state (Lesotho). Under apartheid it was perhaps easier to build solidarity, across language (Afrikaans-English) barriers, or maintain boundaries, but even then, identities were neither fixed nor unchanging. Now I contend that it is the divide between the forestry company and the farmers' initiatives that affects boundary maintenance in this community.



The introduction of agro forestry into the area has led to the white community becoming smaller, especially the Afrikaans farmers.<sup>2</sup> The white farming community is close-knit but an English-Afrikaans divide still exists. However in the early 1990s there also emerged a divide between forester and farmer. Distinguishing insiders and outsiders is done in a number of ways, an example of which follows: Under apartheid, the remoteness and exclusivity of the community encouraged the use of familial terms across nuclear family units. This is not unique but common across small communities in the Eastern Cape. Use of terms such as 'Aunty' and 'Uncle' are common amongst closely related but non-kin, and symbolise a kinship-type bond that exists within the close-knit community. The use of such terms may emphasise the solidarity that exists within the community, but it also makes it difficult to distinguish between who is blood-related to whom. None of the younger members of the community address the older members as 'Mr' or 'Mrs' and so adults who have grown up in this environment continue to use the fictive kin terms until their late twenties (in most cases)<sup>3</sup> and then first names are used instead.

Kinship ties are strong in the area and this is not surprising in a remote area which private landowners have inhabited since the mid to late 1800s. Many of the present generations of farmers can trace their association with this area through to the earliest white settlers. The McFarlanes\* have been in the area for 130 years and the Sephtons\*<sup>4</sup> can be traced back to nearby Barkley East in the early 1830s<sup>5</sup>. There are often links between families through marriage and different branches of the same family may farm a few farms in the area but the original family farm is usually what most regard as 'home'.

Even though there are class distinctions, language differences and even geographical distances between the individual members of the white farming communities of Maclear and Ugie, common challenges in the form of new economic developments

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<sup>2</sup> It is rumoured that land bank loans were more readily granted to Afrikaans farmers and so as a result they held the majority of these kinds of loans.

<sup>3</sup> Distance in age means that members older than their late twenties may continue to call elderly members of the community 'Aunty' or 'Uncle'. The most common reason for switching to first names is because it is requested by the individual being addressed as 'Aunty' or 'Uncle'.

<sup>4</sup> The asterisks indicate that these are not pseudonyms (see Chapter 3 concerning confidentiality).

<sup>5</sup> These are just two examples.



and the ever-present threat of farm attacks or even farm invasion<sup>6</sup>, and other developments such as tourism and forestry, hold them together. Differences in opinion exist at an intergenerational level and these are discussed in Chapter Five. More specifically there have been changes in attitude in terms of labour relations, farming techniques and environmental concerns, which have shaped a new view of the land among some farmers. At the same time these attitudes are informed by holding on to past memories of how they came to the area and the 'struggle' that accompanied their settling there.

Gender identities are also interesting in terms of the fact that Maclear remains a very patriarchal community, in which although some strong-willed older females do exist, women are represented by, and given their identity through, a male figure. For example, women are introduced as 'David's wife Claire' or 'Jonathan's daughter Melanie' (this was not in one instance but consistently),<sup>7</sup> men represent the women in public spaces, in restaurants the men would ask me what I would like and order for me; and in terms of socialising it was easier when there was a man accompanying me.<sup>8</sup>

In the course of my research it became apparent that the white farmers in Maclear use their identity strategically to legitimate their presence in the area in the face of changes to their environment and community. However, they do not readily recognise the claims made by other groups to the land, particularly in cases where land is to be redistributed to black farmers. In the case of such claims there is a focus on their long-term stay in the area and not the colonial and apartheid history where dispossession happened on a large scale. Through their stories of the past, their representations of landscape and the moulding of class and gender relations, the Maclear farmers invoke their identity as a people who belong in the area.

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<sup>6</sup> It makes no difference, whether these threats are real or imagined, for the farmers living in this area such threats are a possibility, one that they feel the need to prepare themselves for.

<sup>7</sup> I acknowledge that this may have been due to the experience that women saw me to some extent as competition, so this type of introduction may have been designed to inform me as to who was not available. Further observations however lead me to the conclusion that this was a common introduction used on everyone.

<sup>8</sup> Interestingly whoever you are represented by it is assumed speaks for you and your opinions are on a par. Although there is a large amount of control there is also consent and in most cases these types of representations are seen by those in the community as being polite rather than domineering.

### 2.1.1. Frontier and Identity

In the previous paragraph I highlighted history as an important factor in the Maclear farmers' perception of themselves and their place in the landscape. Their history involves the concept of 'frontier', and this in turn contributes to my treatment of landscape as an interactive space. Early studies of frontiers describe them as "meeting point[s] between savagery and civilization" (Turner 1920<sup>9</sup> in Forbes 1968:203). They are also described as "areas ... which had not yet been fully transformed into a stable and completely 'civilized' form of society" (*ibid.*).

In the past thirty years this view of frontiers has been abandoned. As Lightfoot and Martinez (1995:471) argue in their opening paragraph, "most traditional studies of frontiers have tended to perceive group boundaries as a dichotomous relationship between colonial and indigenous populations." This understanding portrayed cultural groups as static and homogeneous. Lightfoot and Martinez also offer a substantive critique of these early arguments, stating that such limited views of frontiers encourage "insular models of culture change that treat frontiers as passive recipients of core innovations" and foster a "colonialist perspective of core-periphery relations". What they offer instead is an interpretation of frontiers as "socially charged places" that consist of "cross-cutting social networks" (*ibid.*).

I agree with their statement that the view of the frontier as fringe, outer boundary or margin is problematic. In South Africa, groups have not moved into sparsely populated areas, in fact, as Lightfoot and Martinez suggest, one group's homeland became another's frontier. What is of importance when looking at someone like Turner's (1920) understanding of frontier is not his contention that the perspective of the 'frontier' played a major role in the shaping of the American political character, but that the frontier is a natural force in cultural transformation. I contend, as do other

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<sup>9</sup> He most cogently articulated this idea in "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," which he first delivered to a gathering of historians in 1893 Chicago. The paper was incorporated into the volume "Frontier in American History" published in 1920.

anthropologists, that the 'frontier' actually inhibits cultural change and leads the incomers to strengthen their difference from others. "In anthropology, Bohannan and Plog (1967) gave the term "frontier" a nearly metaphorical cast by applying it to any interaction across cultural boundaries. But in most anthropological usages, the frontier is a geographical region with sociological characteristics" (Kopytoff 1987:9). Both definitions are appropriate for the purposes of this thesis as the 'frontier' is no longer a 'geographical region' but other changes which are perceived as threats to their continued stay in the area. Settlers to the area were initially sent into the Eastern Cape interior to act as a barrier and therefore they were the frontier. Living on the frontier within the South African context meant exposure to the threat of violence and a continued need to take a stand to secure the area settled in<sup>10</sup>. Although the earlier challenges passed, new threats continue to foster the feeling that they are still settlers on the frontier.

Of significance in the understanding of the effect of this frontier perception is the wealth of anthropological literature on boundary maintenance and its importance for sustaining identity (Barth 1969, Cohen 1986, Eriksen 1998, Roosens 1989, Hutchinson and Smith 1996). Discussions abound on the processes involved in testing and defending the ethnic boundary. Distinctions are made between those residing within the boundary and those lying outside of it. There is often the assumption (see Cohen 1974) that those within the boundary share common norms, beliefs and values. In other words, there exists a generally homogeneous cultural group that can and will defend itself against those resisting the frontier. In the case of British settlers in South Africa, Lester (1998:529) argues that two aspects of their identity motivated such defence: "their new-found status as aggressive capitalists, and their collective anxiety as colonists in an insecure frontier space".

In this thesis, I offer a more nuanced view of Maclear residents and their frontier. I highlight the porosity of the frontier, its imagination and articulation, as well as how residents have attempted to appropriate the frontier so as to create a heartland for themselves. To this end, I present a more heterogeneous and less confident settler

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<sup>10</sup> To a certain extent the descendants of these brave frontiersmen (and women) see their forefathers as defenders and promoters of the aspirations of the colonising group and its government, and thus feel that these 'defenders' are owed a certain amount of respect and consequent rewards for their efforts.

identity<sup>11</sup>, a view that is complemented by my more dynamic perspective on landscape.

Since the 1970s the idea of landscape as something abstracted from human affairs has been brought into serious question. Specifically, landscape is no longer perceived as an inert backdrop for human activity, but is now treated as a complex, interactive and dynamic part of human existence that sheds light on identity and a sense of belonging, and articulates ideas of space and place. In the following section I reflect on this concept of landscape in the theoretical framing of my study. I argue that landscape is an integral element in the shaping of identity in Maclear and that it serves to reveal the evolution of cultural processes in the North Eastern Cape including, as Lester (1998:515) so capably argues, “a ‘grounded’ empirical study of the ways in which subjectivity interacts with location”.

## **2.2. Origins of the Concept of Landscape**

‘Landscape’ was originally used as a term in reference to Western art, specifically paintings of the English countryside. Thomas (1984:2) says that what were termed landscapes were “those that reflected the likeness of paintings of the European countryside”. Early theorising on landscape (Stilgoe 1982 and Jackson 1984) focused on its territorial aspects and “overlooked the fact that it was not just a territorial unit” (Olwig and Hastrup 1996:631). From this perspective, “identity is unrelated to geographic location...land is a stage for human activities, rather than a medium of organisation, and the available roles could be performed interchangeably in any similar economic or social situation” (Thomas 1984:280).

This view of landscape has been abandoned and been replaced with a view that emphasises its interactivity and dynamism especially in the formation of identity. As early as 1990, for example, Duncan and Agnew (1990:3) attempted to “convince not only fellow cultural geographers but also scholars in other fields that, as persuasive and surprising disingenuous cultural production, landscape is a signifying system of

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<sup>11</sup> An identity that is probably deeply influenced by recent political transformation, or at least challenged by new political nuances.



great but unappreciated social and political importance". A decade later, in her critical historiography of the concept of landscape, Diane Harris (2000:434) argues that, "landscape analysis has started to appear with increasing frequency in the works of scholars who define themselves as art, architectural, and environmental historians, or literary critics, anthropologists, archaeologists and scholars of material culture". She goes on to state that landscapes are now 'post-modernised', in other words, theorists are now keen to "unmask the pretended neutrality of physical space" (*ibid.*). In post-apartheid South Africa no one would argue that our landscapes are 'neutral physical spaces'. Indeed, from the time that Sol Plaatje (a scholar who wrote about the dispossession of black South Africans in the early 1900s) published his work – and perhaps even before – South Africans have been deeply aware of the depth of meaning the land presents to its people and the consequences of the violent reconstruction of their spatial surroundings.

In anthropological literature, the concept of landscape has long been associated with indigenous peoples. Before the 1990s, the association was explained as "a sequence of cosmological myths which accounts for the creation of the cosmos and provides the key to [their] notion of landscape" (Arhem 1998:87). In this thesis, I question this limited, Cartesian view of the landscape and employ Hirsch and O'Hanlon (1995) and Harris's (2000) poststructuralist interpretation of landscape.

My primary hypothesis then, is that landscapes consist of social, cultural and sensory processes of spatial appropriation and that landscape is not just a territorial unit, not even for 'settlers' who, as Tim Keegan (1986:61-2) argues, "carried with them an ideology conducive to the development of productive capitalism...an ideology of accumulation and dispossession that was a new force in colonial society". In the following ethnographic chapters I test my hypothesis and argue that if one focuses on the "economic aspects of their social identity" (Lester 1998:516) or interprets settlers' subjective views of landscape in territorial and economic terms, then one will overlook the fact that settlers also interact with landscapes in cultural, emotive or sensorial ways. Through my discussion on identity construction, forestry and tourism I hope to move towards demonstrating that Maclear farmers *do* interact with their immediate environment and 'use' it to engender ways of thinking about others and

themselves (Harris 2000:440). It then follows that for Maclear residents landscape is as Harris (2000) argues, a critical agent in the formation of all culture *and* identity.

It is useful to unravel (this is done in greater detail at a later stage) Harris's statement further by comparing non-indigenes (Maclear residents) with 'indigenes'. Unlike indigenous<sup>12</sup> peoples, Maclear farmers may not have cosmological myths but they have stories of the past rooted in the landscape that surrounds them. They are deeply involved in what Lester (1998:515) calls "acts of landscape representation, the textual generation of collective memory and the practice of communally binding, quotidian, gendered routines". For example, the practice of naming places helps them to associate a meaning to a particular place or geographical feature and evokes memories of past events or people (there were waterfalls and pools named after their grandparents or parents, such as Betty's pool, and in terms of events there was Bridal falls or skinny dip pool, to mention a few examples to illustrate what I mean). Maclear farmers rely on interpretations of their landscape to trace their histories, claim their identities and to order and categorise themselves. Although indigenes are not the focus of this thesis the concepts of landscape, which theorists such as Harris (2000) and Hirsh and O'Hanlon (1995) assume belong more comfortably in indigenes' cosmology than western, are applied to Maclear farmers.

The situation in Maclear is not fixed or unchanging. Developments outside the district, new arrivals and political change are continually impacting on residents' social responses. Even though residents still band together to construct solidarity so as to 'defend' themselves against possible reprisals from outsiders, 'progressives' and the largely black population around them, there remains a relative (and necessary) flexibility in their approach to their social world. For instance, while there is the enduring fear of blacks attacking one's farm or divulging one's innermost secrets, one relies on those same people to obtain information about a neighbour's farm, to look after one's children and to care for one's land. There is a prevailing attitude that blacks are an amorphous mass but I attribute this to the limited interaction on a social level that white farmers have with them, and argue that the introduction of tourism

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<sup>12</sup> Even this concept is problematic – who are South Africa's indigenes? For example Coloureds now portray themselves as San descendents.



initiatives which will be open to black elites may help to alleviate this 'clumping together'. The exposure to these elites will form new relationships or modes of interaction with blacks who fulfill roles other than that of farm labourer, domestic or the poverty-stricken masses on their borders.

### **2.2.1. Landscape in the Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Worlds**

Recently, landscape has received much the same treatment as the body in Anthropology. Initially, anthropologists were interested to show (or simply compared) how Western and non-Western societies understand landscape.<sup>13</sup> For many researchers, Western society's understanding is chiefly an objective, visually oriented one, articulated through painting, map-making, theatre and poetry. Assuming a hegemonic Western point of view, landscape involves a particular way of seeing that is ideologically influenced rather than sensing the landscape. Cosgrove and Daniels say "the whole notion of landscape propagates a visual ideology masking the social forms and relations of production, relations of exploitation and alienation but also advocates the advantages or virtues of landscape as a concept or image" (1994:24).

According to Humphrey (1995:135), in the non-Western world, it is not static contemplation of the landscape that is important, but human interaction in it. This differentiation is, however, misleading. In the case of the white settlers in the North Eastern Cape there are social and historical factors that shape these communities and their views of their surroundings. Their experience of landscape does not easily fit either the Western or non-Western categories proposed by Humphrey (1995). Michael Hertzfeld (1996:714) makes a perceptive remark in terms of the binary opposition of indigenes and non-indigenes. He states that "displacing genuinely colonialist arrogance by an equally monopolistic nativism may be historically interesting and perhaps even politically understandable, but it risks reproducing the

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<sup>13</sup> In doing so they assumed there was no common ground or interaction/cultural flows between west and the 'rest'.

very discourse it seeks to destroy, an irony already noted by some African intellectuals in the post-colonialist context.”

### 2.2.2. Distinguishing between Landscape, Place and ‘Heartland’

The anthropological (and sociological) literature overwhelmingly agrees that “Landscapes are created by people through their experience and engagement with the world around them. They may be close-grained, worked-up, lived-in places, or they may be distant and half fantasised” (Strang 1997:5). The notion of ‘place’, dependent upon a dynamic interpretation of landscape, is also important to my theoretical discussion of life in Maclear.

According to Tilley (1994) place is fundamental to the establishment of personal and group identity, both internally and externally. Heartlands are not just spaces; they are *places* to be found in particular landscapes associated with strong emotive affiliations. Places are constituted of locales, which are created and known through common experiences, symbols and meanings. Locales may offer a distinct quality of being inside, or part of, a place. All places have metonymic qualities and different densities of meaning to their inhabitants. A sense of attachment is derived from the stability of meaning to their inhabitants.

This was apparent in Maclear in that the naming and identification of particular topographical features are crucial for the establishment and maintenance of residents’ identity. With the process of naming and the mythological associations, places become invested with meaning and significance. In South Africa the naming of a place is recognised as significantly contributing to the expression of belonging and identity. In the ‘new’ South Africa, changes in names – from street names to airports – reflect other histories that were undermined or ignored by the apartheid government, and invoke new identities and histories in the political landscape.

Landscape, unlike place, reminds us of our position in the scheme of nature, but also our position in society. In Maclear, farms dotting the landscape are indications of past

generations and their occupation of the land. These symbols are in the form of burial sites, specific changes to the built and natural environment and favoured places by which past individuals are remembered. For the Maclear farmer these all evoke memories and stories of their settlement on the land, and because the land is involved in all of their daily activities it has come to represent a facet of their identity.

Following on is an observation by Lovell is relevant to: "Augé's (1995) functional-structuralist explanation as to why people develop affinities for particular locales or places" Lovell explains, "man is able to worship stories because they provide a sounding board for his own thought about himself and about the world. Material objects are 'good to think', *à la* Levi-Strauss, because man is constantly involved in making sense of the world, and classifying its features. Thinking about the world thus not only makes it more intelligible, but provides a means of control over one's environment" (1998:71).

To me, this view of places seems cold and instrumentalist, or assumes rational thinking on the part of the farmers. It does not explain why the farmers stay in Maclear despite difficult odds, nor does it explain why they go to such great lengths to retain and pass on stories that sometimes have no real utilitarian value. It also does not explain why they persist in staying in the area given their vulnerability to outside 'invaders', the unpredictable nature of farming<sup>14</sup>, and the sense of being on the margins; residents still exert a great amount of energy attempting to achieve a measure of control over their lives and futures which translates in trying to maintain control of land in the area.

Thus the landscape is not something neutral or inert. It is a symbolic form that encourages both a rational and an emotional response. It is a series of signs relating to the ancestral past on which people draw in everyday experience and through which they live. It also projects them into the future and is something of deep personal value to pass onto their children and grandchildren. The extent to which this is true for the farmers in Maclear is less so than, for example, Australian Aborigines whose

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<sup>14</sup> By this I mean there is a high degree of unpredictability in farming, such as erratic climatic changes, security issues and loss of crops or livestock.

relationship with the landscape is (now) globally acknowledged to be complex and deep, connecting them with the origins of the land. Tilley writes, for example, that “Aboriginal landscape is one replete with highly elaborate totemic geography linking together place and people. Formed in Dreamtime, the landscape provides an ancestral map for human activity” (1994:38). Stanner (1965:215) agrees and adds that “the grounding basis of Aboriginal mythology and enduring proof of its correctness was evidence of design in the world in the sense of pattern, shape, form and structure, which was proof of intent”, and that this design was evident in the landscape itself.

### 2.2.3. Space

There is some complementary terminology that is vital to the understanding of landscape: ‘space’, ‘time’ and ‘place’. As a concept, ‘space’ has moved from a more scientific or abstract orientation to a more humanised or ‘meaning-loaded’ concept. New Geography and Archaeology “consider space as an abstract dimension or container in which human activities take place” (Tilley 1994:2). Previously event and space were conceptually and physically separated and therefore only contingently related. This arose from the objective measurement of space. Space was seen as neutral and universal and able to be objectively plotted on maps. It was de-centred from agency and consequently it was perceived as neutral, and in that way allowed for the creation of a unitary background in which cross-cultural study could be conducted.

The alternative is that space is a medium and not a container, “space does not and cannot exist apart from the events and social activities within, space is socially produced...different societies, groups and individuals act out their lives in different spaces, there is no space but spaces...these ‘spaces’ are social productions – always centred in human agency and amenable to reproduction or change” (Tilley 1994:6). Space, in other words, is meaningfully constituted in relation to human agency and activity. Social scientists have come to understand landscape as something that is socially produced and therefore constantly altering and being altered by human interaction with it. This change in thought has been encouraged by the changes in

thinking provided by post-modernist theories. Some argue that space becomes place when meaning is imposed on it.

Socially produced space combines the cognitive, the physical and the emotional. Space is not uniform and always the same – it is “contextually constituted” (Tilley 1994:8). Furthermore, space, Tilley argues, has no “substantial essence in itself, but only has a relational significance, created through relations between peoples and places...spaces are intimately related to the formation of biographies and social relationships” (*ibid.*). Thus the notion of space is undoubtedly complex. Conversely, there is (from the discussion offered in Hirsch and O’Hanlon (1995)) no consensus on the definition of landscape.

#### 2.2.4. Sacred Sites

A Cartesian view of group relations and landscape is not useful in a socially and politically diverse country such as South Africa. The question of political (and land) reparations is a vitally important one that needs to be addressed with great care. Unfortunately the present literature (cited in this chapter) shows that contemporary theorists concerning themselves with land and landscape perceive major differences between *indigenous* and *non-indigenous* interpretations of landscape.

Similar dichotomies can be seen in Tilley’s (1994) comparison of pre-industrialised space and industrialised space. Gray raises the issue that many environmentalists are concerned with the relationship between humans and nature, and exclude spiritual aspects of landscape, as they argue that indigenous and non-indigenous people do not structure the cosmos in the same way. He says that among many environmentalists, indigenous “knowledge is both material and spiritual and human beings are frequently not separated from what non-indigenous people would see as the ‘natural world’” (1991:66). Strang adopts a more nuanced view of indigenous/non-indigenous interaction with the land. She argues that “human environmental interactions are largely an expression of cultural values; that, acting upon each other, maintain a coherent pattern of value; and that in articulation with a range of universal human



imperatives and ecological pressures, this pattern of value creates a particular ‘mode’ of interaction with the environment” (1997:6).

One of the ways in which indigenous groups may strive to protect and ensure their rights of access to land is through identification, ownership and access rights through attaching the significance of the site to individuals and the community and for a continued relationship between the living and the dead (Carmichael *et al.* 1998:9-10). Western or industrialised societies generally battle to understand notions of indigenous sacredness due to the secularisation of Western culture in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and that not only demarcated land is sacred to indigenous peoples, as land is seen as providing for the self-preservation and regeneration of their culture (Carmichael *et al.* 1998 and Tilley 1994). Essentially land is also sacred because it provides sustenance and shelter – however, sacredness in a Western sense is confined to areas of religious activity such as church buildings and graveyards.

In the case of the Maclear farmers they position some of these Western sacred spaces into the landscape, i.e. by burying precedents on the farm and demarcating the area. This holds with the Western view that sacred space is bound. However, there is a new trend by the white farmers to use features in the environment to serve as memorials to those that have passed away, for example naming river pools after members whose memory is associated with these features of the landscape. A recent trend is for members of the farming community to be buried in town, as the future of their occupation on the farms is uncertain, especially in Maclear, due to the encroachment of Mondi and the increase of land claims<sup>15</sup>.

Indigenous groups protect their sacred sites by limiting access to those with appropriate social status. Strangers entering sacred sites who do not respect the relevant traditions could directly jeopardise the sacred nature of the site. The landscape and its accompanying notions of sacredness create a moral and social order that serves to structure individual and group behaviour.

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<sup>15</sup> Which suggests they do not perceive burial sites as grounds for their claim of rights to land, and in my observations it seems to be just a realistic approach to the changes around them.

In a similar fashion the Maclear farmers limit access to some of their rock art sites, to the extent that they keep the location undisclosed to outsiders. One might extend the parallels between indigenous and non-indigenous treatment of sacred sites by pointing out (perhaps rather bravely) that this serves to preserve the sanctity of the area and protect the site from 'physical' damage; and (parallel to indigenous taboo prescriptions on purity/pollution) to keep it as pristine as possible so that it retains its value as an archaeological (read: ritual) site for those wealthy guided tourists (socially approved members) who want to see the area. In highlighting this possible similarity I do not wish to undermine the fact that there are different motives at play. The farmers' motives are probably very different to those who claim sacred connections<sup>16</sup> to them.

As with indigenous sacred sites, limiting access is not always easy, as once a few visitors have seen the site, they would know its location, but usually it is a difficult journey to the site and it would be hard to get there undetected. The beliefs inspiring the protection of sacred sites might be different but the intentions appear remarkably similar. Both are 'tied' as a group to the landscape taking on the external features of the land as part of their personality. People are categorised by and find expression in a manner that is closely tied up with the landscape and its features. They identify with places to which they maintain an intimate personal connection. Identity (both personal and group) and history are closely tied to the land.

### **2.2.5. Maclear Residents' Views and Experiences of Landscape**

In the case of the Maclear farmers, they do not have the same stories of origin in their landscape. My contention is, however, that they do see how the past generations have shaped the land. An argument can be made for them – that they, too, like the Australian Aborigines, are in the process of becoming emotionally bound to the land and the design inherent in its ordering. In this way the farmers of the North Eastern Cape can argue that they too have an emotional and symbolic attachment to the land.

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<sup>16</sup> These connections include a recognition of a supernatural presence or a conduit to the spirit world which is another important defining characteristic.

Certain geographical features are markers of the generations of farmers before them or can hold a symbolic meaning that is tied to the past.

Another important aspect is the importance of the home 'territory' or historical home especially for those families that have been in the area for a long time. Farmers in Maclear argue that for them, Africa is their homeland. In other words, they see the rootedness of their families and identities in this land<sup>17</sup>. Attachment to a particular piece of land is fundamental for them. The landscape is an important reference system in which individual consciousness of the world and social identities are based. If they see their landscape in this way, then emotional ties with the land are obviously related to economic dependencies, but also to the legacy of those generations who worked to build up the farming community and who shaped the land into the agricultural area it is today. Landscape is a way of remembering past generations and a means of establishing continuity in the present.

However, the historical involvement of their ancestors in the violent conquest of South Africa does not (currently) legitimise their claims to the land in symbolic or actual terms. The present government of South Africa is in the unenviable position of having to decide how it will accommodate the conflicting histories and claims of people on the land. How will the government uphold one history without denying another<sup>18</sup>? Cynics might argue that it is the history of the powerful that prevails. From this perspective, unless Maclear farmers aggressively promote their heritage and history through economic (tourism) or political means, their 'homeland' and identity will disappear.

### **2.3. The Introduction of Forestry and Tourism**

The introduction of forestry has also given rise to definite opinions about how Maclear farmers think the land should be used and viewpoints on issues of access and

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<sup>17</sup> This claim means that although they acknowledge they have European roots, their emphasis on their stories of origin is often to illustrate that they have been here for a long period of time rather than on where they came from, however it does simultaneously highlight their European ancestry.

<sup>18</sup> In the current political climate in South Africa there is a need to uphold democracy, build a nation and reduce interracial conflict, to mention only a few concerns, so competing stories is only one aspect of the problem of recognising other histories rather than ignoring or adapting them.

rights to land. Their opinions appear to be motivated by resistance to change, but more so by the fact that they feel it is a *threat* to their 'heartland', which I discuss in the following chapters as a profoundly masculine space. The Maclear farmer has already altered the landscape to suit his needs but the introduction of forestry (which they seem to see as an equally masculine, aggressive conquest) has evoked a strong reaction to the changes in the landscape as it is non-personalised (as it is a corporation)<sup>19</sup>. Tourism appears to be seen as less of a threat to the status quo, even though over time it too will have an effect not only on the environment but also on the Rock Art. The reason for tourism to be seen as less of a threat is possibly because it is being controlled by and is directly benefiting the farmers and local entrepreneurs, along with the fact that the consequences of ecotourism sometimes can only be measured over a long period of time.

Tourism is a new global economic force heavily influenced by dynamic conceptualisations of landscape. Manipulations of the landscape enable locals (and hired 'experts') to mediate 'host; and 'guest' experiences of tourism and, in some cases, to temper the invasive nature of tourism. In recent years, anthropologists have argued that tourism is a major force shaping human relations in contemporary society. They have also asked important questions about the changing and manipulated landscapes where tourists preside.

In my research, I encountered both the changing landscape of Maclear (with the influence of forestry corporations such as Mondi) and manipulated or voluntarily changed landscapes where landowners had developed their physical resources to encourage tourism. The dynamism of the Maclear landscape impacted on the identity of its residents and indicated the mutable nature of identity formation in the area. In the post-apartheid period one might suspect that old forms of categorisation and values in Maclear may linger, that people's identities are slow to change or that adaptation to the new political dispensation is difficult. Indeed, change is slow and difficult. However, in Maclear, people seem concerned with the crafting of new

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<sup>19</sup> Private landowners the world over are threatened (and being consumed) by profit driven, depersonalised and unsympathetic corporations who do not (by their structure) allow for meaningful attachments to land or sociality with local residents. They have the economic and political clout to undermine private concerns and take them over.

identities and this change is more apparent or palpable. The response to tourism is not only influenced by economic imperatives but is also closely tied to issues of representation (Mowforth and Munt, 1998:1). This offers Maclear residents a means of representing their world to others and to themselves in a new and modified form. As identity is an evolving entity, impinged on and altered by a number of external and internal forces, tourism has become one of these forces that interact with identity.

One major aspect at play in the tourism industry is the fact that, although it is an industry based on capital gains, it encourages a manipulation of local identities and the creation of spaces and places, which have cultural or social significance. In the process, internal competition for these resources can lead to conflict between locals – not because of the monetary value that they represent but because of the cultural significance of these places. MacCannell (1976) helps us to further understand the interactions of tourism and identity. He argues that the cultural significance of tourism cannot be ignored. It is often religiously constructed, may be lopsided and has ambivalent representations (*ibid.*).

Tourism development is also generally characterised by economic inequalities, as certain sectors of the population benefit whilst others do not. Fleischer and Felsenstein (2000:1007-1008) have stated “every reason for promoting tourism as a rural growth tool has a counter-reason for opposing this strategy”. In South Africa there are foreign investors, which may mean that the local communities might not feel the benefits economically, and although tourism creates employment, we see in the case of small-scale tourism initiatives like those in Maclear and Ugie, that there is a small number of jobs and only a select few<sup>20</sup> benefiting directly from tourism in the area.

Moving one’s focus from the hosts to the guests – there are also different types of tourists seeking ‘temporary’ identities. There are ‘explorers’ or ‘travellers’<sup>21</sup> likely to

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<sup>20</sup> This fits in with their concept of landscape: they experience not too many ‘waves/ripples’ affecting them while maintaining economic benefits for themselves, agro forestry on the other hand is seen as being at odds with their concept of landscape and as purely money oriented at the expense of the environment.

<sup>21</sup> The explorer arranges his trip alone and tries to get off the beaten track yet still wants comfort and reliability in accommodation and means of transport. The drifter ventures furthest away from the beaten track and his/her customary ways of life in his/her home country.



be seen in developing countries, where accommodation costs may be low and facilities perceived as 'adequate' for the budget tourist. There are also culture seekers, sex tourists and mass tourists. Maclear is attracting both tourists and 'travellers'<sup>22</sup>. "Tourists and travellers [are] persons with different expectations regarding modes of pleasure" (Jacobsen 2000:285). In Maclear new forms of tourism (heritage and eco-tourism) are flourishing and are allowing residents to salvage/promote identity and/or occupy themselves without having to invest large sums of money.

The active portrayal of Maclear as the last 'real' frontier and heartland of the North Eastern Cape is in line with the promotion of other African destinations as authentic (African) places of leisure. Thus while there is river rafting on the Zambezi, or bungi jumping at Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe, Maclear tourists and travellers have the opportunity to encounter authentic rock art, pristine rivers for fly fishing or the rustic life of 'cowboys' on a South African frontier. My main argument is that in Maclear, the landscape (like the identity) of the residents is continuously constructed and represented for 'consumption', either by the locals or new arrivals in the town. There is no overt description of tourism in heritage terms and I suspect that the residents of Maclear might find it difficult to articulate their past and identity in 'heritage' terms. This is primarily because "the marketing of the country's collective history is however underpinned by principles of redress, access, equity and nation building" (DACST 1998:68), and white residents of Maclear are not seen as a people in need of redress.

#### **2.4. Conclusion**

For a true democracy to prevail, South Africa's new political dispensation should engage with competing claims on land in the country. For obvious reasons this is not a politically uncomplicated goal to achieve. In this literature review and theoretical

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<sup>22</sup> "Research on this topic... distinguishes between tourists and travellers as persons with different expectations regarding modes of pleasure" (Jacobsen 2000: 285). Their ways of interacting with what they experience is different (Favero 2000). It is important to note that the new and original types of tourism are emerging not only because of the change in the attitudes of tourists.

orientation, I suggest that one begins by critically appraising political terms such as 'landscape'. I agree with the view that landscape has been positioned, first, as a framing convention which informs the way the anthropologist brings his or her study into 'view' (i.e. from an objective standpoint) – the landscape of a particular people. Secondly, it has been used to refer to meaning imposed by local people to their cultural and physical surroundings (i.e. how a particular landscape 'looks' to its inhabitants). The "black box of landscape requires 'opening' and its contents brought into view" (Hirsch & O'Hanlon 1998:1).

There is the landscape that we see and then there is the landscape which is produced through local practice and which we attempt to understand through ethnographic description, interpretation and experience. Land is not a neutral entity – it is culturally relative and totally humanised – which leads to highly complex notions of its understanding, which appear to differ from group to group. Despite these differences certain aspects are similar – such as its fundamentality to the enactment of culture and therefore the group history in it<sup>23</sup>. Tilley (1994:24) sums this up nicely:

People and environment are constitutive components of the same world – it is unhelpful to think of it in terms of the binary nature/culture distinction. Perceptions of the world and the constitution of what is important or unimportant to people doesn't work in terms of a 'blank environment slate' on which perception and cognition sets to work but in terms of the historicity of lived experiences in that world...rather than simply providing a backdrop for human action the Natural Landscape is a cognised form of redolent with place names, associations and memories that serve to humanise and enculture landscape, linking together topographical features...with patterns of human intentionality. Significant locations become crystallised out of the environment through the production and recognition of meanings in particular places through events that have taken place.

In Maclear white farmers' landscape is tied to their identity in this way, and so the changes which come about in the landscape create challenges to their sense of belonging if it is in conflict with their perception of how it should be used and what should take place in the landscape. Equally changes have strengthened their attachment to the land not through conflicting land-use patterns, such as forestry, but rather through interacting with and in the environment and landscape through their

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<sup>23</sup> There are important ontological characteristics of the relationship between inhabited space and social being-in-the-world (Tilley 1994).

tourism initiatives. This is an important development in connecting the farmer's wives with the land.

*Chapter 3:*

**STUDYING WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA**

**Research Methods**

When I first arrived in Maclear the fat stock sale was scheduled for that day, and a *braai*<sup>1</sup> was organised for after the Maclear Farmers' association meeting. I was accompanying Margaret and was slowly but surely introduced to the members of the farming community that were present. Shortly after that there was a tennis round robin held to raise money for the cost of a big screen television set which had been installed in the bar area of the country club. Margaret had to be away for a few days and so I was "looked after" at this event by Patricia Morgan<sup>2</sup> and Margaret's brother-in-law Jonathan Purdon<sup>3</sup>. One of the younger farmers, Elliot Palmer<sup>4</sup>, pointed out who was who and introduced me to those present. In my first encounter there were a lot of questions surrounding my presence as at the fat stock sale it was made clear that I was doing research in the area and that I was not a tourist.

In conducting fieldwork in the North Eastern Cape I used a variety of data collection techniques and data sources. In this section I will discuss the methods used and also briefly include their applicability and limitations within the context of my study. The initial research proposal submitted indicated that to achieve my research objectives, I would use "structured, survey-type questionnaires; semi-structured interviews (initiated with the use of the snowball technique) and participant observation". With

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<sup>1</sup> Barbeque

<sup>2</sup> Patricia Morgan is Jonathan Purdon's mother-in-law and lives on Jonathan and Mary Purdon's farm *The Meadows* in her own newly built cottage.

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan (late forties) is the youngest of the three Purdon brothers, he farms on *The Meadows* which is close to *Rockland* and *Rocklands* farms. The former was his eldest brother's farm and is now run by his nephew, David Purdon, as of six years ago and the latter belonged to his brother Neal and is now run by Neal's widow Margaret Purdon (one with an s, one without). The Purdon clan are farmers in Maclear and in Barkley East.

<sup>4</sup> A local farmer's son, in his mid-twenties, who sells agricultural chemicals. He stays at home on their farm *Linksvew* and hopes to take over the family farm from his father one day.



regard to tourist activities, I aimed to participate in local tourist initiatives such as rock art tours, hiking excursions and fishing competitions.

I initially attempted to use the structured survey-type questionnaire method to *meet* possible informants on the different farms. I felt that if I presented myself as a 'real' researcher<sup>5</sup>, community members would take me more seriously. During my first short visit in May 2001, which was designed to assess Maclear as a potential research site, it was revealed that farmers in the area were familiar with qualitative data collection methods<sup>6</sup>. In light of this I thought initially they would be more responsive if I shifted slowly from a quantitative method to a qualitative approach. I soon discovered that the snowball technique advocated by Russell Bernard (1995:97), whereby initial contacts help to identify other potential interviewees, was a much more effective way of accessing informants. As Russell Bernard argues, it is a useful technique "in studies of social networks...[and] in studies of small, bounded, or difficult-to-find populations, like members of elite groups" (*ibid.*). This approach also helped me to avoid social suicide – it was a more cautious approach but one that won me the confidence of Maclear residents.

Apart from using the snowball sampling technique, I conducted 43 semi-structured interviews in a series of 'informal' environments: pubs, farmyards, homes and at outdoor *braais*. The formal interview technique did not fit the surroundings that the interviews were conducted in and so the semi-structured interview technique proved valuable. It helped participants to relax, feel empowered and free to speak about their concerns and feelings. Participant observation was used throughout my time in Maclear, although sometimes the line between fieldwork and 'real' life became blurred. As I participated in a variety of activities – from fly-fishing to herding cows – I wondered to what extent I was focusing on the business of doing research. Kirsten Hastrup's paper on doing research in Iceland in Frederick Jackson's (1987) book *Anthropology at Home* raise the same issues, as in her title *Fieldwork among friends* reflects.

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<sup>5</sup> A more formal quantitative approach.

<sup>6</sup> Because other research had been conducted in the area, and the quantitative approach was used by these researchers as they dealt with the natural sciences.

During my stay in Maclear I became very aware of the local community's attitudes towards researchers and they were particularly unfamiliar with the social sciences and its applicability to them<sup>7</sup>. Another factor, which affected the way in which farmers responded to me, was the fact that I was not doing research among those who were less powerful than me. I felt that my motivations and questions were constantly being scrutinised. This was communicated in their constant questions about, in particular, my 'political orientation' and the 'real' focus and purpose of the study<sup>8</sup> (despite my explanations of its purpose). In most cases the farmers tried to steer me in a particular direction, expressing concern that the information they had given was some how not valid, while concurrently maintaining control over my access to information.

Existing social structures also impacted on my position in the community and my ability to collect qualitative data. Surveys became impractical as a method of accessing information. It became evident that socialising (without my notebook<sup>9</sup>) and general participant observation were more productive research methods. In some cases the environment was conducive to the formal interview technique but this was rare<sup>10</sup>, therefore an informal research technique was applied which also allowed more time, free-flow of discussion on relevant topics and enabled the informant to reflect on their reality during the process. This coupled with participant observation thus became the most useful means of collecting data.

### 3.1. Sampling Techniques in Detail

"Probability samples are representative of larger populations, and they increase external validity in any study. The general rule is this: use representative, probability

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<sup>7</sup> As mentioned above this is because research had been conducted in the area, and because the farmers themselves had studied natural science degrees in most cases where they had tertiary education.

<sup>8</sup> These concerns were about me scrutinising their labour relations or dealing with issues of land appropriation, my impression was that they felt defensive.

<sup>9</sup> Working without my notebook was problematic as I had to rely on memory alone. Writing notes at a later stage meant that the essence of the interview remained but some of the detail was lost.

<sup>10</sup> Particularly in the case of interviewing of North East Cape Forests management, the formal interview technique was expected and worked well.

sampling whenever you can and use non-probability methods as a last resort” (Russell Bernard 1995:73). In the search for informants in the Maclear and Ugie districts the snowball technique was the main sampling technique used.

An initial contact was made through a lecturer (Penny Bernard\*) in the Rhodes University department of Anthropology. Her family had been on holiday in the Maclear area and stayed with Margaret Purdon. Margaret became a key informant as she was involved in farming and tourism and was an important (and respected) member of the community. Margaret had also hosted other researchers (although in different fields of study) and so was particularly helpful and interested in my needs as a researcher. The forestry company North East Cape Forests are aware of the opinions the farmers have of them and unfortunately once I was associated with the farming community it was perceived that “I sided with them”, limiting the amount of information they were willing to give me. I discuss this disadvantage in greater detail further in my discussion on ‘Challenges to Access’ in this chapter.

Despite this unfortunate consequence, in order to access informants in a small close-knit community, such as the farming community in Maclear, it was necessary to use this networking technique as trying to collect information on my own<sup>11</sup> would have made my fieldwork infinitely more difficult and progress would have been slower. This sampling technique was effective because “[in] snowball sampling you locate one or more key informants and ask them to name others who would be likely candidates for your research project. If you are dealing with a relatively small population of people who are likely to be in contact with each other, then snowball sampling is an effective way to build up an exhaustive sampling frame” (Russell Bernard 1995:97).

Initially my research proposal extended my area of focus across Elliot, Ugie and Maclear. I wanted to get a more holistic picture of the changing white identity in the North Eastern Cape. During my stay it became clear that this was impractical

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<sup>11</sup> In fieldwork conducted later when more individuals were familiar with me it was slightly easier to access possible informants directly but attempts to do so were not always successful, especially with the farmers.

because of the travelling distances between these three towns and because although they are relatively close, they are not one community and seldom socialise together.<sup>12</sup>

According to Stewart (1998:35-36) “random sampling [might] promote both objectivity and generalizability...but it is quite infeasible, and ill-advised, in most participative contexts.” To this end, I did not make much use of random sampling, as the aim of my research was to investigate interdependencies between, and the experiences of, the farmers in the North Eastern Cape. I did however, interview some members of the wider community and used the information gathered to verify or to supplement that which was gained from the main interviewees.

In narrowing down my field of enquiry geographically – from the North Eastern Cape to specifically the Maclear region – and then concentrating on white English-speaking farmers in that region, I brought greater focus to my unit of study. Due to the small number of white English-speaking farmers in the area (approximately 40) it also fulfilled a practical role, in that informants were not so large in number that it would be impractical for one individual to effectively gain access to a reasonably representative sample of this unit. Anthropologists tend to support the idea of ‘scaling down’ so as to obtain richly qualitative data. This, however, presents its own challenges, particularly in terms of sampling – “Anthropologists frequently study rather small samples of individuals [and this therefore] should lead them to be all the more careful about sample selection” (Pelto and Pelto 1978:137-138). Recent reflections on world or multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1998) suggest that while obtaining a holistic perspective is important, it is not altogether easy to achieve and may, in the pursuit of ‘breadth’, jeopardise the ‘depth’ of a study.

As mentioned above, a survey-type sampling method was originally proposed as a technique of accessing informants, but in practice it did not elicit the desired response in those approached. Despite this, an element of survey sampling technique *was* used once information about individuals in the community had been gathered.

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<sup>12</sup> The exceptions are the annual Elliot Agricultural Show or Farmer’s Days, where issues relevant to farmers from these three areas are discussed and a wider spectrum of the community is invited. These events are aimed at increasing knowledge and exchanging information and are held at different farms in different areas to make these meetings accessible to farmers from different districts.



Components of quota sampling, judgement or purposive (Russell Bernard 1995:95-96) and cluster sampling techniques were used. These various methods were used to accommodate the fact that I was staying on one side of town, along the road to Rhodes through Naude's Nek.

To obtain a more 'complete' picture of the community, I had to make an effort to access those living in other areas around Maclear (along the Tsolo and Mount Fletcher roads). I made use of judgement sampling where "[one] decide[s] the purpose [one] want[s] an informant (or community) to serve and... go out to find one" (*ibid.*:95). Judgement sampling has problems of its own in that it raises the question of bias. Anthropologists such as those who contributed to Clifford and Marcus's *Writing Culture* admit that anthropologists are often subjective and biased in their endeavours. Specifically, it is evident that in every version of 'other' created, there is also the construction of the 'self' (Clifford and Marcus 1986:23-24). Clifford goes on to argue that this happens through "Cultural *poesis* – and politics – the constant reconstitution of selves and others through specific exclusions, conventions and discursive practices" (*ibid.*). He also states "the writing and reading of ethnography are over-determined by forces ultimately beyond the control of either an author or an interpretative community"<sup>13</sup> (*ibid.*:25). With regard to my research in Maclear, I was profoundly aware of the political stigmatisation of white farmers in South Africa and the sensitivity of issues relating to land; and concerned that (1) I would find it extremely difficult to critically reflect on the community and (2) as an English-speaking South African, I would either be overly critical or 'give in' and portray the Maclear community in an entirely positive light.

### 3.2. Interview Techniques

In view of the problems with the collection of survey-type information, there was an attempt to collect data that could be comparative by using formal interview techniques. This method also proved difficult. The interviewing context was not

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<sup>13</sup> This encourages anthropologists into "recognizing that their representations are fundamentally the products of asymmetrical power relations" (James *et al.* 1997:1).

fixed and the farming lifestyle is sometimes reactive<sup>14</sup> and thus interviews could be stopped at any point or were not granted because of the farmer's time constraints. Anthropologists are deeply aware of the time it takes to gather rich ethnographic data. In my case I spent much time conducting a series of informal, semi-structured interviews over a long period of time (3 years) to gather the information I needed.

The 'stop-start' aspect of my semi-structured interviews was not counter-productive. As Flick (1998:76) argues, in general, in semi-structured interviews "the interview subjects' viewpoints are more likely to be expressed in a relatively openly designed interview situation than in a standardised interview or questionnaire." This is the object of qualitative techniques and, in my research, those who were interviewed in this fashion appeared more relaxed and the interview did not come across as an interrogation. In addition, I rarely 'directed' the interview, which allowed the collection of additional useful information but adversely on some occasions the interviewees digressed from the topic and I left interviews without obtaining all the information I had hoped for. In some instances, I was forced to continuously lead the interviewee back to the relevant topics. In my experience, many of those who I interviewed were not familiar with the less structured interview and often expressed a concern that they were not giving me enough of the "right kind of information" despite my specific questioning.

The technique applied in creating focused semi-structured interviews was to apply the following pattern "[u]nstructured questions are asked first, and increased structuring is introduced" (Flick 1998:76). In all but a few cases the interview was conducted in a space that was familiar to the interviewee – such as their home, office or in the lands of their farm. This was due to practical circumstances and the opportunity to observe informants in their 'natural environment', thereby gaining information independent of the interview method.

The length of semi-structured interviews conducted ranged from an hour-and-a-half to a maximum of four hours. In all cases notes were taken during or directly after the

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<sup>14</sup> On a farm it is difficult to predict when the farmer will be needed. Unforeseen problems are common and often require immediate attention.

interview and permission was hardly ever granted for a tape recorder to be used. In cases where a tape recorder was permitted it affected interviews because of the awareness the informant had of being recorded. In some cases I was asked not to note an opinion expressed that was particularly sensitive to the informant, essentially asking to 'go off the record'. This was rare but was mainly with regard to questions asked about North East Cape Forests. Other topics that rendered a similar response were financial information about a farm, relationships with farm workers (especially in terms of labour disputes) and opinions on land claims and redistribution.

### 3.3. Participant Observation

Participant observation was carried out mainly in instances where there were social gatherings in town or on a farm. These included (mentioning only a few):

Farming activities:

- 1) Long stay<sup>15</sup> on host farms and (whenever possible) involvement in everyday farming activities which mainly involved following the farmer around the farm and helping with certain tasks, such as herding sheep and cattle, handling of stock during dipping and branding, transporting stock to town for sale<sup>16</sup>, supervising harvesting of smaller crops such as cabbages, being present during milking and the general routine of a working farm.
- 2) Farmers' Association meetings and the social events that followed. In one instance I was involved in the male activities, such as the meetings, and then in a subsequent visit I participated in the female activities, such as helping in the kitchen.
- 3) Other events such as the Elliot Agricultural Show, stock sales, the Spring Dance and the Elliot Show Dance, Farmer's Day events hosted on farms in the area, and birthday, Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

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<sup>15</sup> During the first period of fieldwork (two and a half months) I stayed with Margaret Purdon at *Rocklands* Farm. During the second (just under two months) I stayed with David and Claire Purdon on *Rockland* (no s') Farm and during the third (two months) I stayed with Robert Timm at *Mount Wellington* Farm. During other short visits I stayed with Marie and Henry Smith (at *Oakleigh* Farm) and again with Robert Timm and David and Claire Purdon.

<sup>16</sup> Sheep sold in town and in some cases cattle sold to the local abattoir.

Tourism activities:

- 1) Seeing sites of particular significance, including rock art paintings and dinosaur footprints.
- 2) Helping prepare food for guests and fulfilling some host duties.
- 3) Attending rock art meetings and Steering Committee meetings.
- 4) Participating in the Pajero fly-fishing competition together with several local Maclear women.

Other Activities:

- 1) General social gatherings, for example, weekly steak evenings at the Maclear Golf/Country Club.

### 3.4. Other Data Collection Sources

For the triangulation of data it was necessary to rely on alternative sources of information. The Internet has become an essential tool in collecting data and supplementing the theoretical concerns of any research. A key factor to understanding the history of the society and the formation of the local identity was the use of historical documents where available. The Maclear magistrate's office has an historical record which holds census information<sup>17</sup>, newspaper clippings mentioning Maclear, meteorological information, a record of the Justice of the Peace for each farming area, and a copy of the history of the area written by a previous Magistrate, A.L. Johnson (1932). Other historical documents include birth and marriage records from the Rhodes University Cory Library for Historical Research and letters written by past members of the farming community provided by their families. Relevant newspaper articles from the *Barkley East Reporter*, *Eastern Province Herald*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Sunday Times*, *Citizen*, *Sowetan* and the *Weekend Post* were used for historical information and current events in the area.

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<sup>17</sup> Not kept up to date



### 3.5. Challenges to Access

In my research, not only was I focusing on a small, relatively isolated farming community, I was also doing research among a group generally perceived as elite. In their introductory paragraph Shore and Nugent (2002) state “the anthropological study of elites has gained increasing prominence with the shift of the anthropological gaze toward issues of power, prestige and status in the societies of anthropologists themselves.” However, “elites [pose] particular theoretical and methodological challenges for anthropology” (Shore and Nugent 2002:1), they challenge the traditional form and focus of anthropological research, which is usually concerned with research among the less powerful, the exotic and the non-white. Evident in my research, these aspects presented many difficulties, one of which was the fact of doing research in a community where the ‘common-place’ is common (McAllister 1997:19).

I quickly discovered that Maclear farmers are not the weaker members of society. They determine how much access to their space and lives they will allow. I soon found out that those whose lives I wanted to research are knowledgeable about what quantitative research involves and so introduced the problem of dealing with informants who are educated. They were keen to protect their status, name and authority in the community and tried to give me the ‘right’ information or information that would make them ‘look good’. Getting beyond those boundaries was not always possible.

Weather patterns and bad conditions of farm roads also hampered some of my attempts to interview farmers. On one occasion I got stuck in the mud on a farm road 5 kilometres outside town. I had arranged an interview but while making my way there the vehicle I was driving slid across the road, in a particularly muddy section. My attempts to get free resulted in the vehicle moving further across the road eventually leaving it only metres from the edge of a drop. I was forced to give up my attempts at moving forward and as there was no cellphone reception I waited for someone to pass by and offer a helping hand. It had taken me a month to get the

farmer to agree to see me on his farm, and because of this unforeseen problem the interview was cancelled.

When dealing with North East Cape Forests, I was granted only one formal interview with management and although I was given permission to access information that I wanted, when it came to actually getting that material in my hands bureaucracy took over with the result that Mondi's perspective was represented in a limited way. The experience was made more difficult by my association with the farming community. During my fieldwork I stayed with farmers in their homes, which gave the impression to the forestry company that I automatically sympathised with the farming community and shared their opinions, as mentioned earlier in the chapter. This is another problematic aspect of doing anthropological studies at home as one is not readily identified as separate from one's informants.

I also found that, as Shore and Nugent (2002:72) argue, "Anthropological studies of elites are typically constrained by the fact that research depends on some version of consent (implicit or explicit). While we are generally able to practice research on others on the basis of a complex, but still quite overt, socio-political asymmetry, the study of elites is awkward and requires a different strategy since they are by definition under less obligation to consent to be studied."

Varying interview locales, difficulties with 'elites' and the initial conservativeness of informants meant that my short informal interviews were often "characterised by a total lack of structure and control" (Russell Bernard 1995:209). Additionally I rarely carried a notebook in situations where it was out of place, for example when in the lands with the farmer, and was therefore forced to rely on memory.

Most of the farmers interviewed had a preconceived idea of what methods are used in research, based on their own experiences with visiting researchers in other fields of study. These previous researchers were usually working in the fields of zoology, botany and archaeology rather than in the social sciences. As a consequence there was not only the problem of informants wanting to give me the 'right' information, as

mentioned earlier in the chapter, but that they were also unsure of the purpose of some questions that seemed to them as of no particular 'academic' value<sup>18</sup> or interest.

The few members of the community who knew what anthropology was were unsure of how it applied to them, as they were mainly aware of past anthropological studies involving Bantu-speaking peoples, isolated groups or the 'other'. This may not be an unjustified judgement on the part of the community, as South African anthropology has historically (and even currently, in the academic environment) been concerned primarily with studies of the Bantu-speaking or indigenous people<sup>19</sup>. These expectations were eventually overcome through farmers becoming more comfortable with my presence and by beginning my line of questioning with topics that they deemed were possibly within the academic realm, such as forestry and tourism. Ways of 'testing me' were to ask my opinion of land redistribution and the situation at that time (2001) in Zimbabwe where 'farm invasions' were increasing in number<sup>20</sup>.

### 3.6. Additional Problems

In addition to problems of 'access', I was doing fieldwork in a community similar to my own home environment. Superficially, it was difficult to continually perceive my research persona in a familiar context. I 'belonged' in this landscape and so I was expected to already know and understand the society. In such a context, questions were sometimes regarded as pointless because interviewees thought I should have already known the answers. They were also 'put off' by one of their own possibly judging or scrutinising them.

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<sup>18</sup> This is due not only to a lack of understanding of the pursuits undertaken within anthropology but because of the problem of preconceived ideas about research (discussed in previous footnotes). In addition those who understood what anthropology is still do not see themselves as being a valid unit of study, especially not for someone who should know being, in their minds, from a similar community in the same province.

<sup>19</sup> An extensive look at the history of anthropology in South Africa is provided in David Hammond-Tooke in *Imperfect Interpreters* (1997) which looks at the phenomenon of South African anthropology involving "Bantu-ology".

<sup>20</sup> Again this reflects a very real anxiety they have for researchers who they might perceive as not acting in their interests.

“The primary justification for participant observation is that the researcher undergoes an experience of culture-shock which illuminates both his knowledge of that particular society, and his intuitive knowledge of his own” (Pina-Cabral and Campbell 1992:8). This element of culture-shock was called into question in the case of embarking on research ‘at home’ or within societies that resemble one’s own because it is deemed essential to gaining critical insight in the use of participant observation. However, a compromise in academic debate as to the usefulness of this method has been reached because it “would be practically impossible [for a researcher] to discard his social identity. He is a ‘stranger’ – that is, a man whose markers of social identity correspond to social units which are not represented locally – but he is not an ‘alien’ – that is, a man whose markers of social identity are not recognisable to the natives” (Pina-Cabral and Campbell 1992:5). In my situation, although I am originally from a small town in the Eastern Cape, I do not come from the Maclear area and am not of what they might term ‘farming stock’, so there is space for me to ask questions and to explore aspects of their society and community of which I genuinely have little or no knowledge. I am also not recognised as a ‘local’ by Maclear locals.

The challenges that arise in conducting anthropology at home<sup>21</sup> and the possible loss of ‘culture-shock’ as an essential experience in anthropological enquiry is also addressed by Douglass (1992:129):

Now, in the case of Europe, the anthropologist is more likely than not to arrive in the field conversant in the relevant language... and will be surrounded by a variety of influences that are so familiar as to be commonplace. Like his study population he is a consumer of the available media... [and] will enjoy a large measure of comfort and sense of orientation. Rather than reverting to the infantile state as part of the study process he may instead only revisit adolescence. In this there is the danger of missing the sense of wonderment and discovery characteristic of childhood. The problem is, of course, exacerbated when the investigator targets his own culture or even his natal community.

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<sup>21</sup> “There are many meanings to the expression “anthropology at home”, the most obvious of which refers to the kind of inquiry developed in the study of one’s own society, where ‘others’ are both ourselves and those relatively different from us, whom we see as part of the same collectively” (Peirano 1998:123).



This excerpt clearly illustrates the problems concerning participant observation as a method used in studies done at home and the importance of the 'child-like phase' in the traditional use of participant observation, and its applicability in studies on cultures that are isolated and relatively unknown to the researcher. The researcher is then moved from the 'child-like phase' to being seen as an adolescent, or even as a member of the community. In Maclear, I underwent alternative experiences of 'childhood'. These became apparent in the community's expectations of me as a young and single woman.

### 3. 6.1. The Role of the Researcher and the Effect of Gender

The researcher's role can at various stages of fieldwork remain in a kind of liminal state, where the anthropologist is both an outsider (researcher) and an insider (community member). However "depending on the culture of the fieldworker (his or her gender, social ties and projects), the roles into which the stranger is tentatively fitted can range from spy to adoptive child or both as they change over time" (Warren and Hackney 2000:20).

In my experiences in Maclear there were advantages and disadvantages of being a young, single woman in the field. As Warren and Hackney point out, "Themes in the literature on gendered fieldwork are built on earlier themes in the literature on fieldwork in general: the idea of ethnography as a series of reflexive and overlapping stages of *entrée*, process, and analysis... Gender both frames these stages and poses specific concerns, amongst the most salient of which are the place of body, sexuality, and sexual identity among and between researchers and respondents" (2000:3).

Indeed, my experience would have been very different if I were an older, married woman. I agree with Warren and Hackney (2000) that there is an assumption that women have access to female issues and spaces to a larger extent, for example I attended tea parties where there were only females present<sup>22</sup>, helped with

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<sup>22</sup> "Gender also frequently serves to define appropriate and inappropriate behaviours. Within this web of appropriate and inappropriate, accessible and inaccessible, we may also locate ourselves along a

preparation of food (which is seen as a female task) and there was an effort to include me in the activities in which the farmers' wives take part in as a group<sup>23</sup>.

Despite these challenges to the researcher doing anthropology at home, participant observation is a rich source of information and data. To address the misgivings such as those expressed by Douglass (1992), other methods are used in conjunction with participant observation.

It is also important to include in this discussion the changes in anthropological theory and discourse. The "metaphor of translation to describe ethnographic work has exhausted its usefulness. The ethnographer's principle task is not to make a particular foreign culture understandable to 'us'. Anthropology must abandon this use of the first person plural, which implies that they all share the same culture" (Pina-Cabral and Campbell 1992:6). In the case of Maclear and the North Eastern Cape there are particular realities that are interpreted in unique ways which, to varying degrees, 'locals' understand. While participant observation is still useful, one must realise that it can only reveal certain aspects of the lived reality.

### 3.6.2. Issues of Confidentiality

I conducted my research in Maclear, and so most of my informants are from Maclear and surrounds which, as described in Chapter One, is a small town and a small farming community. I initially thought I would not replace real names with pseudonyms as in such a small town any descriptors would give away who I was referring to. On closer consideration it has become necessary for ethical reasons and because some of the information is of a personal nature. Pseudonyms have been used in most cases not only for peoples' first names, surnames and nicknames, but also for

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continuum of invisible to hypervisible... the role taken in fieldwork is subsumed by a more interactive process in which respondents assign the fieldworker to what they see as his or her proper place in the social order" (Warren and Hackney 2000:11-12).

<sup>23</sup> For example, walks and hikes that the women took while their husbands were busy with farming activities. Often these were to map out new hiking routes for tourism ventures and exploring caves close to the homestead in the hopes of finding more readily accessible rock art paintings to add to the tourism attractions in the area.

names of farms, establishments and tourism initiatives. In instances where pseudonyms have not been used an asterisk is used to indicate this. In Chapter 4 I used the Sephton family as only one example of a typical family history and so used real names throughout and so in this section I deemed it unnecessary to place asterisks throughout as it would distract the reader.

### 3.7. Conclusion

Observation of, and participation in, social interaction is not always simple, as participation in particular assumes acceptance at some level by the group. Ideally, “participant observation involves establishing rapport in a new community; learning to act so that people go about their business as usual when you show up; and removing yourself every day from cultural immersion so you can intellectualise what you’ve learned, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly” (Russell Bernard 1995:137). Keeping in mind that:

“the ‘literariness’ of anthropology – especially ethnography – is much more than a matter of good writing or distinctive style. Literary processes such as metaphors, figuration, narrative – affect the ways cultural phenomena are registered, from the first jotted ‘observations’, to completed book, to the ways these configurations ‘make sense’ in determined acts of reading... A work is deemed evocative or artfully composed in addition to being factual; expressive, rhetorical functions are conceived as decorative or merely as ways to present an objective analysis or description more effectively. Thus the facts of the matter may be kept separate, at least in principle, from their means of communication. But the literary or rhetorical dimensions of ethnography can no longer be so easily compartmentalised. They are active at every level of cultural science” (Clifford and Marcus 1986:4).

Making the leap from participant observation to writing up thus proved to be an enormous challenge for me. Participant observation is the easy part, but how does one convey the vast and deep complexity of lived social worlds without losing their particular essence and unique meanings? How does one document the personal, physical and emotional experience of fieldwork close to home without losing one’s integrity or objectivity? Thus I spent a few years working up the courage to transpose that world onto paper – and realised that despite careful sampling, socialising and interviewing, one can never truly articulate the complete detail of life and identity in the field.



## **PART TWO: IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION**

### ***Chapter 4:***

#### **HISTORY AND GENDER**

#### **Landscape as Subjective Expression**

*Life must be lived amidst that which was made before. Every landscape is an accumulation. The past endures*  
(Meining 1979: 44).

#### **4.1. Introduction: Landscape as Subjective Expression**

In her book, *Uncommon Ground*, Veronica Strang offers a deeper understanding of the cultural values that underpin human-environment relationships. Her book is based in settler country in Australia and she compares two different groups – the Aboriginal people and the white cattle farmers in Far North Queensland. My hypothesis is consistent with her main argument, which is that the human environmental relationship is culturally constructed (and significant) irrespective of whether one is indigenous or not. For her, landscape is a product of subjective creation: “Emu lagoon is only one place, but it is also many places – all the different places people make of it. Though they move through the same world, people see, understand, experience and value quite different things” (Strang 1997:4). A close look at Maclear farmers’ opinions of land and landscape shows they are informed not only by their settler history but also by additional factors (past and present) namely:

- 1) Land use and economic modes
- 2) Spatial organisation
- 3) Language, knowledge and methods of socialisation
- 4) Oral and visual representation
- 5) Cosmological beliefs and law. Religion and cross-cultural sharing



In my search for an anthropological definition of landscape certain elements emerged as significant to a holistic definition of the term. These are decidedly inclined to residents' subjective expressions, and they include: residents' emotive and symbolic relation to landscape, landscape as an ordering and categorising entity, the importance of landscape to the generation of collective memory and the involvement of landscape in communal, daily practices.

Thus in the following chapter<sup>1</sup>, I focus on a culturalist view of landscape, which "sees landscape as a highly specific, symbolic and cognitive ordering, of space... which offers far more potential (for) understanding" (Tilley 1994:26). However, one should be mindful of the fact that, "people and the environment are constitutive components of the same world, and it is unhelpful to think of it in terms of the binary nature/culture distinction" (*ibid.*). From this point of view, landscape is therefore both a medium for, and an outcome of, action.

In this chapter I introduce a discussion of two main influences on the white-English speaking farmers' subjective expression of landscape, their history and how gender<sup>2</sup> can influence their concept of landscape. I use the Sephton family as an example of a settler family, because firstly their family history is well-documented not only through oral history passed down by family members but because it could be confirmed by other sources. The Sephton family is also a well-known and well-established family in the area who have been farming for generations. My discussion then focuses on the 'struggle' of the settlers and the challenges of living in a frontier town to show that the 'macho' or very masculine identity has been developed through the events that took place around them in terms of the Wars of Dispossession but closer to home in the story of the murder of the Magistrate Hamilton Hope which ultimately led to the siege of Maclear<sup>3</sup>.

South Africa is unique in terms of settler societies as it no longer has strong ties to Britain and land was acquired aggressively not for settlement alone but for political

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<sup>1</sup> And throughout the thesis.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed through communal and daily practices as mentioned above.

<sup>3</sup> This discussion pertains to the generation of collective memory.

control over the country (Lilley.1999;Wolfe 1999 )<sup>4</sup>. Those that controlled grazing rights and could maintain the frontiers could acquire greater resources and ultimately wealth. White settlers<sup>5</sup> are essentially not seen as a community that ‘legitimately’ belongs in Africa. White South Africans are “significantly the minority numerically” and they held “long-term sociopolitical and economic control of the nation...it is clear from the archaeological literature that this fact has had a profound bearing on how settlers and indigenes saw and see themselves, each other and their nation-state” (Lilley. 1999:3).

In the postcolonial context, those in power may even refer to them as temporary visitors or expatriates as opposed to indigenous or even autochthonous (first settlers) people. It is more difficult for the Whites to argue that they belong in Africa and to express the fact that they belong because of their association with colonization, ‘settlement’ and perceived non-Africanisation. The irony then is that although they themselves focus on their settlement in the area it is not to illustrate that they are from elsewhere (which is a by product) but rather that they struggled to settle in the area, underwent hardships and in spite of this stayed and made a home. The poem *White African* illustrates this crisis in white identity in a slightly romanticized but real way:

#### *White African*

...but what is home? I hear them say.  
 This never was yours anyway.  
 You have no birthright to this place,  
 Descendents from another race.  
 An immigrant? A pioneer?  
 You are no longer welcome here.  
 From history to present date I have no grounds for dispensation,  
 I know no home nor nation.  
 For just one moment in a night

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<sup>4</sup> The literature on settler societies is extensive but are describing societies which are characterised by two features (neither of which is sufficient in itself) “First they formed in extensive territories where the colonists overwhelmingly dominate the colonized numerically as well as politically and economically. Secondly, they must still be part of what remains of an empire, by which I mean their Head of State must be the Head of State of a metropolitan power. These critical features mean that for present purposes, the only “settler societies” left at the eve of the new millennium are Australia, Canada and New Zealand” (Lilley 1999). In this way the literature surrounding settler societies do not directly apply to my thesis. However I am arguing that despite South Africa no longer being a settler society it is expressing on the same level a connection to the land and the same problems of trying to gain recognition of their native status not because of their continued connection to Britain but because of long term stay and a change in white identity.

<sup>5</sup> Especially as they are neither the majority in population nor the dominant culture.

*I am complete, my soul takes flight.  
 For just one moment... then it's gone  
 And once again I am undone.  
 Never complete, never whole  
 White skin and an African soul.  
 (Unknown Author)*

The long-term stay of these farmers and constant interaction with and in the land has created a community that strongly identifies themselves as belonging in Maclear. Inheritance patterns maintain the family farm ideal and there are specific tracks of land which hold a family's history<sup>6</sup> and create a bond which is greater than just maintaining a livelihood.

In the second half of the chapter I describe the community in general then focus particularly on gender issues and how women interact with the landscape within this largely patriarchal society. I include a discussion on engendered landscapes as forestry has not only changed the landscape.

## **4.2. Historical Background**

### **4.2.1. The Maclear Account**

Little is known about the histories of Maclear and Ugie in the Eastern Cape but these towns, according to the limited information available, came about in much the same fashion as any small town of the area: trekboers, settlers, pioneers and frontier men moved into the area and settled (not unlike John William Sephton). In Jane Fraser's<sup>7</sup> account of the history of the 'villages' of Rhodes and Maclear, she maintains that in their histories "there are the Bushmen and the Bantu tribes. There are the 1820 settlers and other pioneers trekking into the unknown, founding villages and transforming wild country into cultivated farms" (1). The 'wild' country they moved into was in most cases already occupied, many settlers were used as pawns in a political struggle for land between the Nguni, the British and the Dutch.

<sup>6</sup> Generates a collective memory.

<sup>7</sup> Jane Fraser is originally from Rhodes and set out to tell the story of Maclear and Rhodes in her unpublished work "The Tale of Two Villages".

The first Europeans to settle in South Africa were the Portuguese (mainly as traders), then “increasingly in the later 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, they were challenged by others: by France, which was recovering from a long period of weakness and from its own religious civil wars, and bidding to become Europe’s dominant power; by the Dutch, who had successfully broken away from Spanish overrule; and by England, which was certainly not a major role player in intra-European conflicts, but was increasingly powerful at sea” (Howe. 2002:63). A large portion of the Dutch and English expansions were funded by private merchant companies, the original settlers who moved into the Maclear district were from 1820 English settler stock or moved up when there was a call for settlers to act as buffers against the unstable frontiers. How the settlers were manoeuvred<sup>8</sup> is best illustrated how the settlers in Rev M.T.R. Smit’s<sup>9</sup> book on the Ugie and Maclear area and it conveys one version of the history on the acquisition of land within the area.

In 1882...the Government was urged to fill the vacant land with Europeans to counterbalance the large Bantu population and to counteract rebellious tendencies. Farmers from the Cape Midlands, mostly descendants of the 1820 settlers, hearing the abundance of water in East Griqualand while other parts were parched and barren, moved thither and settled among the Griquas on land purchased from the latter or allotted by the Government on the quit-rent system. The land had the appearance of fertility, but its yield was seldom up to expectation. Many farmers were disappointed and soon left again, but large numbers remained, determined to stay and fight the elements and the savages (40).

This quote raises two important elements about the differing focus of European (for lack of a better description) descendants and (what Smit terms) the ‘large Bantu population’ in their recollection of the history of that time. Smit pays little attention to the vast histories, but rather focuses on the British colonist’s experience and lumps other groups together. In a paper presented by Andre du Toit (2005) he highlights the role of ‘Difaqane’ in the understanding of South African political violence from the Colonial period, most significantly the use of it to support a certain version of history, a version which is supported by Smit, who I chose to use as a text as he spent many years in the area and so had not only an understanding of the white residences but also their history.

<sup>8</sup> In the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and before.

<sup>9</sup> The founder of the children’s home/orphanage in Ugie.



In a general history of (political) violence in South Africa the phenomenon which has retrospectively come to be known as the *Mfecane* (Xhosa, conventionally rendered as “the crushing”) or *Difaqane* (Sotho, usually translated as “the scattering”) would have to figure prominently. Though the former estimates of the extent and nature of the fatalities involved – a million or two fatalities, according to Theal, with whole regions depopulated and the destruction of some thirty “distinct tribes”<sup>10</sup> – have now been exposed as tendentious speculations, and even if archaeologists have shown that pre-colonial history had long been one of strife and turmoil<sup>11</sup>, it is clear that the decade of the 1820s produced a qualitative escalation in violence and population movements throughout the interior of Southern Africa... In terms of this narrative the *Mfecane* had been an extraordinary sequence of intense and sustained political violence which temporarily depopulated whole regions and displaced or scattered entire communities – thus fortuitously opening large areas of the interior for colonial settlement just as the “Great Trek” of the 1830s was about to get under way. (13)

I use this long quote to adequately illustrate the popular contention (by European settlers) that ‘pioneers’ moved into vast *empty* spaces. As Du Toit rightly points out, this narrative<sup>12</sup> “sustained the claims of the ruling white minority to a right of settlement in the heartland of South Africa” (2005:13).

The purpose of this seeming divergence from the history of the area is to illustrate that a ‘history’ can be partially flawed, as it is a particular memory or account of a time period and the authors of these accounts write within a context, influenced by wider popular political thought and the dominant agendas of the government of the time. Refer to Appendix D for an account of the movement in and out of the area of the Griqua and other groups between 1830s until the mid-1860s when the first Europeans settled there, as described by Saunders and Southey (2000) who are contemporary historians. This account shows that they were not moving into vast open spaces but into land that others had previously occupied.

<sup>10</sup> G.M. Theal, *History of South Africa 1794-1828 (Vol. 3.)*. London: Scwann Sonnenschein. (1903), 303, 389; also John Omer-Cooper, *Zulu Aftermath*, 4 etc; cf. Julian Cobbing, “The Case against the Mfecane”, (1984), 4

<sup>11</sup> Martin Hall, *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings and Traders: The People of Southern Africa 200-1860*. Cape Town: David Philip (1987), 129ff; Neil Parsons, “Prelude to Difaqane in the Interior of Southern Africa, c.1600– c.1822”, in: Hamilton (ed), *Mfecane Aftermath*, 323-349

<sup>12</sup> Du Toit notes that “this *macro-narrative* is a much later and retrospective construction”: those involved at the time did not have a general overview such as this but it was rather developed during the 20<sup>th</sup> century and therefore current historians have challenged its existence as an actual phenomena (2005:13-14).

The second important aspect of the sentiments expressed by Smit appear at the end of the quotation, the statement “determined to stay and fight the elements and the savages” shows the long history of the farmers in the area viewing their settlement and continued stay as a struggle, a defensive enclave. This sentiment I suspect is not a new viewpoint and is directly influenced by the previous discussion and the general history of the larger Eastern Cape area, such as the Nine Wars of Dispossession<sup>13</sup> which were particularly violent times and often were about maintaining or extending boundaries of the Cape’s eastern frontiers. Smit’s book, which is undated but was probably published in the 1940s or 1950s, was only cementing an already common view of the past and the white settlers. I base this conclusion on the fact that others who have written histories of the area, such as Jane Fraser<sup>14</sup> and Magistrate A.L. Johnson<sup>15</sup> (1932), express a similar viewpoint. It was also present in a short account written by Alfred William Sephton (an ascendant of current Maclear farming families) of Wartrail in Barkley East which included a short history of the area<sup>16</sup>. My chapter relies heavily on these four texts for its information as all the authors were from Maclear or surrounds, or had spent a large amount of time in the area. So they provide a historical record of white settler’s perspectives of their claims to the land.

The Eastern Cape region is usually associated with the term ‘frontier’, as there were major conflicts between the Nguni people and the whites. Frontiers were “where different societies encountered one another and attempted to resolve their conflicting interests... As white trekboers began to move inland from the Cape at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, for example, frontiers opened in which many different forms of conflict and co-operation existed” (Saunders and Southey 2000:106). Crucial to the discussion of the term frontier are the so called ‘Frontier Wars’<sup>17</sup>. According to Saunders and Southey (2000) the Frontier Wars of the Eastern Cape region have been

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<sup>13</sup> “A settler society was typically expected to exercise and defend the development of an exclusivist colonial polity in which indigenous people would be initially marginalized after a process of legal and material dispossession” (Veracini. 2005).

<sup>14</sup> Her work, entitled ‘The Tale of Two Villages’, was donated to the Cory Library in 1997.

<sup>15</sup> Johnson’s work was titled ‘Historical Record of Maclear’, and is at present available in the Magistrate’s office in Maclear.

<sup>16</sup> This text is written in the style of a letter but the original is still in the possession of his descendants, leading me to believe that he intended this as a record for the family.

<sup>17</sup> Also known as The Kaffir Wars (Smit, A.W. Sephton, *Barkley East Reporter* 1914) or the Wars of Dispossession (Davenport and Saunders 2000)

viewed differently by various scholars<sup>18</sup> over time, a synopsis of their argument follows:

- 1) Procolonists – viewed as a clash between heroic Christian whites and hostile, barbaric blacks to whom they were bringing order and civilization
- 2) Liberal historians – white frontiersmen, through their disregard for black society and land on the frontier, developed racist attitudes, which took root during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in the Boer republic (the Orange Free State and South African Republic) and were carried into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when segregationists and apartheid policies developed<sup>19</sup>. There is also speculation by psychological experts that white frontier settlers lost touch with civilization and thus evolved racist attitudes that their society carried forward into the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.
- 3) Recent scholars – challenged the notion of conflict and racism as essential features of southern African frontier communities. These were co-operative forms of interaction as well as conflict. They argue that the least colour and race conscious interaction between different societies occurred on the frontier, and the origins of white racism should be sought elsewhere. They argue rather that 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century racism was the product of industrial and mineral revolutions.

“One consensus is that the internal cleavages, changing alliances, peaceful interchanges and complex forms of interaction all occurred in addition to, and parallel with, conflict and warfare” (Saunders and Southey 2000:107). Saunders and Southey add that “although in some ways frontier life undoubtedly strengthened white racist attitudes, the precise influence of frontiers in shaping white racism remains elusive” (*ibid.*). In terms of the Maclear farmer the conflict, warfare and challenges faced as a frontier town are still affecting their current identity.

The farmers of Maclear emphasise the white settlers’ struggle for land and the conflicts surrounding their settlement in the area when looking at the history of the areas of Maclear and Ugie. This emphasis contributes to their perception of themselves as the “mountain men of Maclear” or the “wild cowboys of Maclear”. Fostered through time are the perceptions of hardship and the stories of the pioneers of the past struggling to make a ‘better life’, such as the one of John William Sephton (the first Sephton to move to the area). There was conflict and loss and the early settlers were mostly fighting for survival against the elements and as well as those they encountered. The struggles experienced were not only in the form of Maclear being close to real frontiers (racial and physical), the Lesotho border and the former

<sup>18</sup> Similar to my previous discussion on the different perceptions coloured by the concept of Difaqane.

<sup>19</sup> Race Attitudes in South Africa I. D. MacCrone (1937).

Transkei homeland border or due to them being surrounded by violent clashes in the past, but also because many of the British settlers were inexperienced in South African conditions and therefore ill-prepared, making their settlement all the more difficult. Noel Mostert points out in his book *Frontiers* that many of those who left Britain for South Africa did so believing that they were leaving a troubled land “saving themselves from a future more threatening than the unknown. The year that they went, 1819, was in Britain the year when revolution was feared but never came” (1992:522). Essentially unknowingly these settlers left an uncertain/insecure future for another.

The English-speaking farmers, when asked about their history, focused on firstly when they arrived and whether they were 1820 settlers; secondly on stories such as those of Hope which will be discussed in this chapter; and to a lesser extent their more immediate history such as stories of their grandfathers or great-grandfathers<sup>20</sup>. The purpose of the introduction of the history of the area is to explain why they have thought, and still think, that they are on the frontier, struggling and facing challenges by standing firm. There is a conspicuous lack of Bantu, Nguni or Black histories (depending on when they were written) in this chapter because there is a conspicuous lack of focus on those experiences and histories by the Maclear farmers because, among other reasons, they do not identify with them<sup>21</sup>. The history or particular experience of the Afrikaans-speaking farmer is also not explored in any detail for the same reason.

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<sup>20</sup> These are usually in the form of oral histories passed from grandparents or parents to their children, and in most instances are descriptions of experiences of someone they knew which describes a personality trait or the general circumstances of a time; or are based on their own childhood memories of their parent or grandparent. These are difficult, to almost impossible, to substantiate with written records or triangulation of data. These stories are however not expected to be substantiated by hard facts, and are used more to illustrate how life used to be from one individual's perspective. For this reason, I will not be focusing largely on these stories, as the relevance of the history of these people is to show that they have shared experiences and histories in the past as a group that influences how they see themselves today.

<sup>21</sup> I did not interview black residents on their history in the area. It is a bit much to assume that the white farmers could speak for them. The difficulty was the risk of being seen as having “crossed sides”, as is mentioned in my research methods chapter, if I had interviewed the black residents in any detail there would have been suspicion as to my agenda.



### 4.3. Life Before the 1820 Settlers

Maclear and Ugie are situated in an area that was once known as 'Nomansland', then later as Griqualand East. According to Smit in his book the first to occupy this area were the Bantu, more specifically the AmaXhosa, the AmaMpondo and the Pandomisi. The last were the Pandomisi, who first settled at Dedesi and were later discovered further down the river. The reason cited by Rev. Smit as to why they left this area was to seek a milder climate, but as mentioned earlier in the chapter in all areas of South African history there is more than one version of any particular history and political motivations for movements in and out of the area have to be taken into account.

One view of the territorial changes which took place in the nineteenth century holds that they led to a fair and rational distribution of the land, the black chiefdoms holding what was traditionally theirs, the white settlers moving into areas which, through previously used by Khoisan and Bantu-speaking people, had been left empty...such a view has little historical basis, and that outright competition for land – an increasingly scarce commodity – best explains South Africa's nineteenth-century frontiers. (Davenport and Saunders 2000:129).

People's perception of the landscape changes over time and is influenced by events that occurred in it. The farmers' antecedents may not have been directly involved, but this violent general history affected their identity formation especially since they still consider themselves to be on a frontier.

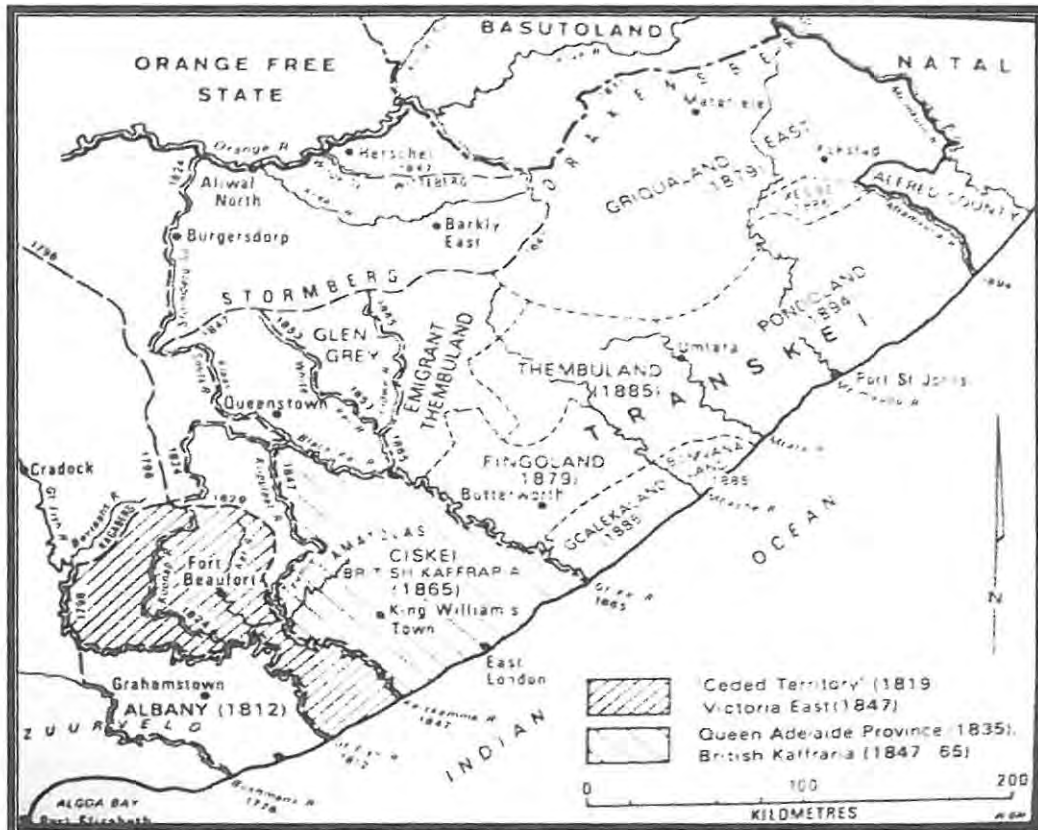


Figure 4.1: *The Cape eastern frontier, 1778-1894* (Source: Davenport & Saunders 2000:133)

#### 4.4. Arrival of the 1820 Settlers

The eastern frontier of the Cape Colony continued to expand, from Ensign Friedrich Beutler's explorations of the Eastern Cape coast in 1752 until 1779 when the first War of Dispossession occurred. This expansion was mainly due to demands in grazing and in all nine wars were waged by the colonial administrations against the AmaXhosa in attempts to dispossess them of land and livestock and to settle colonists there.

A significant development in the expansion of the Eastern Cape borders occurred with the landing of approximately 4 000 settlers in Algoa Bay in 1820 (Mostert 1992:518). This was a well-documented event and so provides 'proof' of long-term stay for some Maclear farmers and other settler descendants. This is supplemented with family trees

and, in rare cases, other documentation such as the family's original quit-rent deed issued by the Queen Victoria. In past political environments the need to justify the current occupation of 'their' land was not as important as it is today<sup>22</sup>. The current white population who have private ownership of large tracts of land somehow believe if they continue to highlight their long-term stay, this may affect the outcome of whether they are entitled to their land in terms of the law and in terms of public opinion. This to some extent seems contradictory, if they indeed are the descendants of the 'first' white settlers then they are surely directly linked to those that 'took'<sup>23</sup> the land from those that are making land claims today and in that sense it may seem to the other side to be a greater justification for them to feel obligated to return the land rather than a justification for their continued stay. This provides a possible explanation as to why these farmers are not using their settler history as their primary political platform for their continued stay on their land, and the weight it holds to claim long-term stay. These claims are usually most valuable only amongst themselves or in reaction to the introduction of a multinational corporation, such as the Mondi Paper Company, to the area.

I am using the case study of the Sephton family not to expand on the possible uses of their claims but as an illustration of the kind of history they emphasise amongst themselves. The Sephtons are a particularly good case study because a fair amount is known about their family and they are a prominent farming family, not only in the Maclear district (four farming families) but also in the nearby Barkley East district.

#### 4.5. 1820 Settler Descendants

It was evident in situations where I met people for the first time, that a large amount of emphasis was placed on lineage and placing an individual within their framework of settler origins. I encountered this at the fat stock sale, one of the first events I attended.

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<sup>22</sup> In Australia a similar development of settler nationalism it has a corresponding affect though of which "the central argument is that settler nationalism is driven to give some account of, and to come to terms with, the dispossession of the indigenous. Indigenous [in Australia] claims to land and other indigenous rights in the present undermine, threaten or complicate settler associations with the land" (Moran. 2002:1013).

<sup>23</sup> I have placed this phrase in inverted commas because there are so many descriptive phrases that could be inserted in its place depending on who might be describing this occurrence.

After the sale an evening meal was dished up by a few of the farmers' wives: each person collected a plate of food from the kitchen, no fussy or 'fancy' requests were expected. The men settled in at a few tables while each of their wives fetched their food. The seating was not set but most of the women paired off and ate together, and the men on the other side of the room discussed the 'business of farming'. Whilst sitting at a large table I was obviously asked many questions about my visit but what seemed to be of the most interest was my surname. The oldest woman<sup>24</sup> in the room, who at that stage was still the town librarian, enquired about my surname. "Mmm Griffin, I don't think I know any Griffins." Very clearly this was not a good thing. She continued to inform me of the family names which were long-standing in the Maclear area, with greater emphasis on the McFarlanes, McFarlane being her maiden name.

At a later stage I was staying with one of the Sephton families and was again asked by Harry Purdon about my surname, charitably asking if perhaps I was related to the Griffins of Mooi River who are farmers in KwaZulu Natal<sup>25</sup>. When this received a negative reply there were more enquiries into my lineage<sup>26</sup>, and then the jump to 1820 – "So your family came to South Africa as Settlers": he was clearly pleased that he found a link. He promptly went to a shelf on their small bookcase in the lounge we were sitting in, and produced a book listing all the Settler parties and surnames. Initially I thought this was an exercise purely to verify<sup>27</sup> that I was indeed of Settler stock: although that was a small part of the reason, the main reason was to inform me that their antecedent was a leader of a Settler party, a role which indicated their importance in association with the arrival of the 1820 Settlers. It was evident that genealogical claims to a settler history was a source of social prestige in this area.

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<sup>24</sup> A great aunt to many of those in the area and in attendance, affectionately known by all in the community as Aunt Norma. It was extremely common for older members of the community to be called Aunty or Uncle followed by their first name so this was not a specific reference to her relationship to some of the community.

<sup>25</sup> This reference to the Griffins in Mooi River happened frequently when I was introduced to members of the farming community.

<sup>26</sup> Along the lines of "where are your parents from... and your grandparents?" Only later there were enquiries into what my parents did for a living and other demographics.

<sup>27</sup> The only proof I needed to assert that I was indeed from 1820 stock was having the same surname as one of the Settlers.



#### 4.6. An Example of a Settler Family – The Sephtons

The subject of this memoir was a man of sterling worth, and of simple faith. He was one who eschewed evil, and abhorred anything approaching to meanness. As a pioneer the country owed him a debt of gratitude. When only a lad of 15 years old he joined Major Warden's expedition when the British forces invaded Basutoland. All his life was spent on the fringe of civilization, and he took an active part in all the Kaffir wars, since the year 1850. Although well over 60 years of age at the time, he joined the local forces during the last great war. He was well acquainted with the greater portion of South Africa, and was thoroughly conversant with all the native languages, and spoke the Korrana and the Bushman languages fluently. In his early days he entered the Government service as interpreter, and was attached to the Magistrate's court in Bloemfontein during the sovereignty. He accompanied Mr Stewart, the Magistrate, when they travelled all over Griqualand West, passing over that part of the country where Kimberley diamond mines are now situated. Next he is a grantee living on the border of Queenstown district, after the subjugation of the natives. Then again this intrepid colonist is exploring the wild country down along the Orange River beyond Hope Town, crossing the river at the islands and travelling through the Southern portion of Waterboer's country. In early 1867 he came into the Barkley East district as a pioneer, made his home at Glengyle and became one of the leading farmers here. He was beloved and respected by men of all nationalities and of all creeds. He was given to hospitality, and no way-farer ever arrived at his home without receiving a hearty welcome; and no native left his place hungry.

(Excerpt from J.W. Sephton's obituary, which appeared in the *Barkley East Reporter* 10 January 1914, eight days after his death, a copy of which was given to me by his descendants who currently live in the Maclear and Barkley East districts)

Hezekiah and Jane Sephton came to South Africa from the county of Sussex in England in the same way as these 4 000 or so immigrants from all over Britain did (A.W. Sephton). Hezekiah, again like many of the immigrants, was a craftsman, more specifically a carpenter, and apparently a man of stature as he was the leader of the largest Settler party, with the help of Richard Gush. Their four children – Hezekiah, Thomas, Jane and William – accompanied Hezekiah and Jane on the ship *Aurora*. Thomas Sephton, born 1801, was also trained as a carpenter but made his way in South Africa as a Wesleyan missionary and travelled north to the Vaal river in the early 1830s. "Soon after his arrival a severe epidemic of small pox destroyed most of the natives at the Station, with those who remained a Northward trek was undertaken, for a short while they rested at what is now Bloemfontein and then moved towards Basutoland where a grant of land was obtained from Mosesh and a new Station established at Tabanchu, it was from here that relief was sent to the Boer lager at Fet river after a Zululand raid, Thomas Sephton died at Impokani 1846" (A.W. Sephton). It is reported that Thomas Sephton was "one of the missionaries who brought the

Barolong people from Old Platberg to Thaba N'chu to escape being slaughtered by the raiding impis of the savage Matabele" (*Barkley East Reporter* 1914).

The majority of 1820 Settlers sailed to South Africa to improve their prospects. According to Mostert "their initial survival in this strange land required them all to learn far more from the Boers and the indigenes than they could offer in return... Disillusionment came with their first sight of South Africa. Their ships called at the Cape... [And] the immigrants were refused permission to land. The understandable fear was that, once they had a better knowledge from the locals of the dangerous nature of the country where they were to be planted, few would wish to re-embark... Few, if any, of them had any real understanding of the significance of their intended role as a human barrier against Xhosa encroachment upon the frontier<sup>28</sup>... [and] Most were ignorant of agriculture, their intended occupation, even those who came from the rural districts of Britain were wholly ignorant of the climate, the seasons and nature of the country which they were suppose to start cultivating... It took three months for the Boer wagons to deliver all the settlers from the temporary camp at Algoa Bay to their various sites. By the end of July 1820 the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony had become a wholly altered place" (1992:522-534).

Although Thomas Sephton moved out of the Albany district because of his work as a missionary, other groups of people were migrating for different reasons in the 1830s. In 1834, for example, movement by groups of armed Boer farmers out of the Cape Colony was beginning to mark the start of what is known in South African history as the Great Trek.

The Great Trek cut a swath through the San-occupied regions of the interior, isolating those of the northern Cape from those base of operations who remained in the Drakensburg mountains to the east... The Drakensburg San retained greater independence for a time, raiding farms in Natal frequently between 1845 and 1872 along the whole length of the range from Witzieshoek in the north to No-Man's-Land in the south" (Davenport and Saunders 2000:131).

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<sup>28</sup> Once they had arrived it was revealed that these settlers were required to act as a civilian defence force against those whose land they were going to settle on. These settlers were mainly allocated land in the Zuurveld (Albany district), next to the Fish River (Davenport and Saunders 2000:129-193).

The widely accepted reasons for the Great Trek are regarded as political, economic and social. Boer farmers migrated to escape the authority of the British Colonial government of the Cape, whom they perceived as politically unsympathetic to their needs. Policy decisions taken in London meant that the Boer farmers were no longer allowed to expand their farms and grazing areas at the expense of the indigenous population with impunity. Ordinance 50 of 1828 granted Khoikhoi and Coloureds, the traditional servants and slaves of the Boer farmers, not only the freedom to seek work, but also to own land.

The 1820 settlers also felt pressure to move due to conflict with the neighbouring Xhosa at the same period:

Xhosa warriors drove off an estimated 250 000 head of cattle and sheep, and burned over 450 homesteads. Traders and several farmers in the main path of the invasion were killed, but missionaries were spared... The War led to further exodus from Albany. Instead of returning to their devastated farms, many large landowners chose to make a fresh start further from the frontier... The psychological effects of the war were more important, however, than its demographic effects. The Xhosa invasion united the Albany settlers as no other experience had done: it gave them a unity that was reinforced by subsequent policies and polemics. It can be argued that the Sixth Frontier War<sup>29</sup> crystallized a settler identity which already existed in a concentrated fluid state. The traumatic experiences of war, added to their other pioneering trials, baptized the settlers into a frontier tradition (Butler 1991:101).

Towards the end of 1835 the trekking groups moved north and east of the Cape Colony and in violent encounters and drawn-out battles seized the land of the people they encountered. By 1843 the entrenchment of merino sheep farming, which had been introduced in 1786, in the eastern regions of the Cape Colony had a distinct effect on the socio-economic conditions in the area and affected the political arena, as Merino farmers were intent upon gaining access to more grazing land. This drive for expansion held another threat of violent expansion which affected the Griqua group called the "*Bergenaars*" and threatened Moshweshwe's<sup>30</sup> kingdom.

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<sup>29</sup> Also known as the Sixth War of Dispossession.

<sup>30</sup> Also spelt in some texts as Moshesh or Moshoeshoe.

#### 4.6.1 The Sephtons Play a Role

Thomas's eldest son John William, described in his obituary as "the grand old man of the Barkley East district" was born in Grahamstown on 31 January 1835<sup>31</sup>. According to Alfred William Sephton<sup>32</sup> (John William's eldest son), his father spent most of his youth in Impokani and "after his father's death he left to make his way in life at the age of thirteen years with little education and less capital the prospect was not bright but fortune favoured him when two middle aged men from London<sup>33</sup> called at the Station<sup>34</sup> in quest of an interpreter and guide, the presiding Minister told them that he could provide them with just what they required and the shy boy was introduced to Governor Donald Grant<sup>35</sup> and his secretary, Stewart, who were taking over the Free State on behalf of the British Government, a test of the boy's ability showed that his English was not of the best, Afrikaans fair, Native languages excellent as he fared forth with the two strangers into the pathless he discovered that they were oblivious of the laws of the veld-craft and relied on him for guidance and advice" (A.W. Sephton). This description of Hezekiah Sephton's grandson seems a far cry from the description provided in Mostert's book of the ill-prepared settlers. A.W. Sephton's account continues to describe his father as a rugged pioneer travelling the country fearlessly, which shows the development of this more 'rugged' identity that the Maclear men associate themselves with today.

Mr Stewart, apparently noticing the lack of education in J. W. Sephton, he had him "installed in his office and set him at copying letters which resulted in an almost copper plate style. He found the life congenial and would, if the Government had continued, have risen in the service. The duties of the Administrator took him to the remotest parts of the State holding courts amongst the numerous scattered tribes in the North-West, to the youthful interpreter these wanderings always on horseback were joy rides full of adventure which remained clear in his mind to the end of his life" (A.W. Sephton).

<sup>31</sup> Records differ on his year of birth. His obituary has his date of birth as 31 January 1835. An article in *The Friend* Bloemfontein Friday 23 September 1949 (by Roberts) estimates his year of birth as 1830, whilst according to his son A.W. Sephton his date of birth was closer to 1833.

<sup>32</sup> I use long quotations to show not only to show the family's history but the way it was conveyed by them.

<sup>33</sup> In about 1848

<sup>34</sup> Thaba 'Nchu Mission Station (Roberts 1949).

<sup>35</sup> Administrator of the Suzerainty (Roberts 1949). See Appendix E for article.



“With the establishment of villages and trade there arose a demand for transport from the Cape and having two wagons and teams he [J.W. Sephton] took to the Transport road. In the meantime, through representations made by his brother-in-law Rev Richard Giddy, a farm near Cathcart was given to him. This supplied a much needed base from which to carry on transport riding and the acquiring of breeding stock. In 1860 he gave up transport riding and at Aliwal North married Susan Halse Poultney daughter of James Poultney the 1820 settler. After an unsuccessful attempt to sheep farm at Cathcart we next find him in the Stormberg” (A.W. Sephton). According to Roberts he and his wife established<sup>36</sup> themselves at “Glengyle, New England, Barkley East, from which a veritable tribe of Sephtons has since spread” (Roberts 1949)<sup>37</sup>. Once they had settled in the areas conflicts over land continued, the following is an example of such conflict.

#### 4.7. Hamilton Hope and the Siege of Maclear

In 1874 the British Colonial Government offered to extend its ‘protection’ in the Transkei to amaMpondo territory and, as a result, Mhlonthlo was persuaded to accept the appointment of Hamilton Hope as resident magistrate for his district. A second magistrate, Alexander Welsh, was posted with Chief Mditswa, an elderly kinsman of Mhlonthlo, whose village was on the Xokonxa River. Hope established his magisterial seat near St Augustine’s, on a site known locally as Tsolo<sup>38</sup> (Johnson 1932).

One particular story, noted above, is of Hope, the magistrate of Qumbu, and his two comrades, Henman and Warren. Under the pretence of joining the British in a police action against the Basotho at Matatiele, Chief Mhlonthlo of the Mpondomise lured Hope and his staff to Sulenkama Mission where, on Saturday 23 October 1880, they were killed. The only person to be spared was Alfred Davis, son of Mhlonthlo's missionary at Shawbury, who was allowed to leave unscathed. Hope was on his way

<sup>36</sup> In the summer of 1867 (A.W. Sephton).

<sup>37</sup> See attached incomplete Sephton ‘family tree’ Appendix F.

<sup>38</sup> The name is of isiXhosa origin and describes a number of sharply pointed hills found in the region.

to meet Magistrate Thompson at Chevy Chase for a meeting. Mhlonthlo had travelled many a time with Hope and he had even supplied him with arms.

The chief had enjoyed the hospitality of the Magistrate just the night before the murder. His army was camped on the opposite side of the road. The meeting between Hope and Mhlonthlo was a friendly one, and it was intended for them to talk about their trip to Chevy Chase. After breakfast the next morning, the Magistrate agreed to attend a "native war dance", allegedly prepared by Mhlonthlo in his honour.

Mhlonthlo and his warriors, now armed with 100 rifles captured from Hope, advanced towards Maclear. News of the killings reached Tsolo later that day, and before riding off to Umtata for reinforcements, Welsh advised all concerned to fall back upon his residency at Mditshwa where, he felt, they would be safe. The next day the party, which included the mission staff and the family of the local trader, were escorted by Chief Mditshwa to his village where they took over the local jail, a small but substantial stone structure. Later in the day their number was augmented by the arrival of further refugees. Eventually their number included thirty-five men, women and children of all races.

Despite repeated assurances of their safety from Mditshwa, they remained penned in until the Saturday when a rescue party escorted them to Umtata<sup>39</sup>. At the end of hostilities Mditshwa was banished to Robben Island, while the magisterial seat, still known as Tsolo, was moved to a site near his village. In September 1894 the administration of West Pondoland was transferred to Griqualand East.

"The village Ugie and its surroundings were the scenes of appalling tragedies in the early days" (Smit:23). The Trans-Keian rebellions of 1880:

... threw the whole annexation question back into the melting pot. These rebellions were a delayed consequence of Sprigg's disarmament legislation and of the imposition of magisterial rule at the expense of chiefly power, and they were ignited from the Sotho rising of the same year... Revolt broke out in the Matatiele region, and the spread of the Mpondomise of Qumba (whose magistrate, Hamilton Hope, was murdered), and into large areas of Thembuland and Emigrant Thembuland. The Cape lost control over nearly all of the trans-Kei, and the whites of Umtata, Kokstad

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<sup>39</sup> Now spelt Mthatha.

and other sentries went into laager. With the assistance of Bhaca and Mfengu troops, however, the Cape forces were able to put the rebellions down, without having to call on British forces, early in 1881 (Davenport and Saunders 2000:146).

Mhlonthlo returned to Qumbu to capture the arms intended for the garrisons at Mooi River, Ugie and Mount Fletcher, but he did not manage to get them and so tried to meet Thompson alone. "Thompson was careful, and Mhlonthlo failed in his intention of killing another Magistrate. He then made a desperate attack on the little garrison at Chevy Chase from all sides. But he was repelled until Chief Zibi came to the relief of the besieged man. Thompson reached Maclear safely, and could once more help to organize the defence against the oncoming foe" (Smit:43).

Early in October 1880, Thompson had sent an urgent telegram to the government at Cape Town to expeditiously dispatch arms and ammunition with two hundred Europeans, as their position was precarious. Answering a call from the Mooi River Residency, Captain Mullenbeck volunteered from Barkley East with a small body of men and arrived at the residency towards the end of October 1880. The murder of Hope and his companions was a signal for a general rebellion, for which the Government in the Cape and the settlers in the area were ill prepared. The news of the murder was brought to Maclear on 26 October 1880 (Smit:45)

Responsible men in these areas made efforts to warn traders on lonely outlying stations of their dangerous positions, and the approach of the enemy. Women walked many kilometres with their children to places of safety, carrying their babies and what few possessions they could take with them. Unarmed young men from the rebelling tribes would try to stop the escape of traders and their wives (Fraser; Johnson. 1932). A story which, although sad, is not devoid of humour, is told of a man who "hurried to Maclear with his wife and adopted daughter. He had been stripped of his clothing, and robbed of everything except his bowler hat, which retained its position on his cranium very peculiarly. His wife had supplied his deficiency by some of her garments. When they met Richard Allen on the road, coming to warn them, their relief was so great that the man relaxed his hold on his scanty attire and stood there without even the proverbial fig leaf. Forgetting everything but his hat, he made a slight bow and carefully removed his head-gear. Under it he had concealed a

considerable amount of money in a clever way” (Smit:44). The warning given to these traders and their families saved many lives.

#### 4.8. History’s Role Today

The Saga of the Cape eastern frontier was a story of rivalry, conflict and peaceful contact which lasted from the earliest encounters between the southern Nguni in the eighteenth century... nine wars were fought between 1778 and 1878. Far more than any other frontier, it [the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony] was one on which policies were thought out and deliberately applied. The blockhouse system and the military village; the buffer strip, the frontier of no outlets and the trading pass; the trade fair, mission station, hospital and school; the spoor law, the treaty system, the government agent, the magistrate – all these were tried in various combinations, in a bid to maintain order and peaceful coexistence at the meeting point of two disparate but competing cultures... On the black side of the frontier, as on the white, power was not monolithic but divided (Davenport and Saunders 2000:132).

The reason for the forefathers of white farmers settling in the area also displays the amount of conflict or turmoil that they would have had to face as their defining role in eyes of the government, to be a buffer and help secure a section of land. Although the situation today is vastly different this perception has remained. The idea of the struggling farmer whose position is not secure is still present in the minds of those living there today. Despite their association with the 1820 settlers the Maclear farmers’ attachment to the land has changed and developed over time, and so in turn has their identity. They have changed from being British settlers to more rugged men creating their own particular way of looking at (and understanding) their world. Dominy (1995:358), in a paper on non-native identity in New Zealand, states that:

The anthropology of postcolonialism has tended to neglect or homogenize the varied expressions of cultural and national identity of British settler descendants. Against the backdrop of research with white settler descendants who farm large Crown pastoral lease properties in the South Island high country of New Zealand, [I analyze] how high country runholders speak about and symbolically construct belonging and suggest that the high country landscape is a central metaphor in the conceptual systems of its inhabitants, providing them with a way of thinking about their cultural distinctiveness within the arena of contestations in the meanings of cultural identities.

The “threats” that exist for farmers today may be vastly different, and although economically they are more secure of their position in the agricultural sector, this was

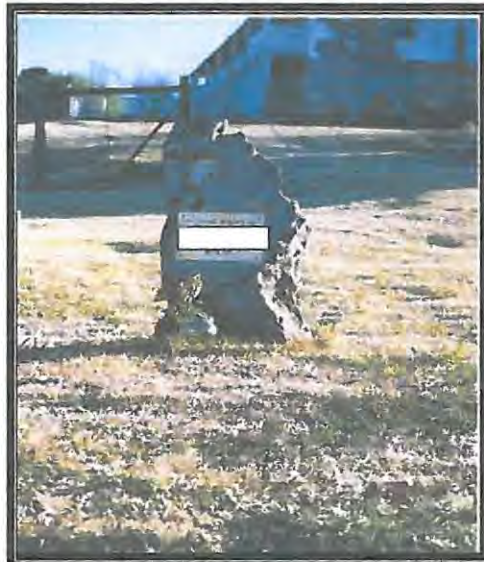


through agricultural failures made by their ancestors and learning from these; they continue to foster the image that farm life is not easy. The new “threats” are now capitalist, such as Mondi, and instead of embracing change (as those of the past moving into new frontiers had to do) they are wary of it. Forestry is a real challenge because it is another male-dominated land use pattern which competes with their established male-dominated land pattern use, farming. Tourism is not seen as threatening because it is to the farmers’ benefit and opens up ways for women to connect with the land, and does not compete with farming itself. History is emphasised in both the family farm enterprise and tourism although they do appear in very different forms.

#### **4.9. Making a Place**

When speaking to the older generations they constantly refer to their time on the farm, especially those who are now retired and living in town. To them, that was the ‘golden age’ and their stories keep the history of the family farms alive. There are constant referrals to changes that have been made, ones they themselves made and things their predecessors put into the landscape that are a constant reminder of their presence. Memories of places, trees, streams and other aspects of the landscape are relived when they come back to the farm and they share these with the younger generation, which gives the new generation a sense that this is where they belong. River pools are the most commonly named features of the landscape named after past relatives, but there are also graveyards or burial sites on the farm and other markers to indicate the previous generations’ presence on the land. At Christmas in 2003 one of the farming families invited me to their gathering on Christmas day, a group of almost 50 relatives came together on the original family farm. While sitting in a large group outside under a large oak tree, the sisters who had moved off of the farm (now in their sixties) told of how their father laid the paving and how one of their forebears had planted the large oak shading us and enquired about the roses planted by their great-grandmother. While the current farmers (their brother and their nephew) spoke of their memories and their contributions and the current happenings on the farm. The gathering also demonstrated that extended family and older family members are still valued.

Margaret Purdon has reflected a change in the approach to the landscape and meaning being embedded in the land. She buried her late husband in a carefully chosen favoured place of his and is in the process of erecting an epitaph as a symbol of his presence. In many cases the tradition of being buried on the family farm is no longer practised. When asked about the change it is said that it is due in part to the uncertainty of whether they will still be on the farm in the future and the fear of not being able to access the graves. An attachment to the land is still expressed through the scattering of ashes on the farm in a particular place special to the deceased or through using sandstone, a natural feature of the area, as a tombstone as is the case of Joyce Purdon<sup>40</sup>.



*Figure 4.2. Sandstone gravestone of Joyce Purdon, using elements of their surroundings in new ways.*

The introduction of European settlers to the area in the late 1800s was one fraught with problems of their own and explanations on how to farm in the area were printed in the *Barkley East Reporter*, an example of which is the “Notice to Farmers” published on 15 December 1888. The article was written because of the high number of stock losses: 1 500 out of 7 000 were stolen or died of starvation. The article was written to address the latter problem by explaining the differences in farming between Europe and South Africa:

<sup>40</sup> Joyce Purdon was a Barkley East farmer’s wife who was murdered in 1999.

For three or four months every year there is nothing on the veldt for the stock, or what is little better than nothing, dry innutritious stubble; therefore both cattle and sheep gradually get weak and poor, and by September thousands of them have died the cruellest deaths. This should arouse pity of all, for the poor brute's feelings resemble our own... In England on all grazing farms large fields are left for this purpose and in Scotland farmers grow large quantities of clover and rye grass which they store away in winter... From grass burning time to November the hay would attain its best and be fit to cut. The farmers having a slack time then (between wool-season and corn harvest) would have a splendid opportunity for harvesting hay. Labour is cheap too. Climate would favour hay-making. Having food to deal out to stock in the barren winter months of the year the cattle and sheep would be saved from dying and the offspring would be stronger and more numerous. We hope that before long some of our more enterprising farmers will study the question and set to work. Their example would stimulate others to do the same and it would add to all concerned another very effectual means of success.

Today the established white farmers of Maclear have learnt from their forebears mistakes and remedies and overcome these initial problems. They have adjusted to their environment so successfully that the gross annual income of some of the commercial farms is in excess of R2 million. However stock theft still remains an ever present problem, especially for sheep farmers.

#### **4.10. Gender**

##### **4.10.1. Marriage, Gender Issues and the Complexities of Roles**

Since the mid 1970s, gender has become a topic of central importance to anthropology. From Ardener (1972) to Weiner (1988) anthropologists have challenged the male bias in ethnography and in research itself. Early studies on gender focused on the global subjugation of women. Subsequently the focus shifted to the social construction of differences between women and men (see Strathern 1980 and Moore 1988). In the works of both Strathern and Moore, questions were asked about the cultural categorizations of women and the deployment of gender as a "symbolic construct" (see Rapport and Overing 2003:144). Close analysis of the social construction of gender is vital for a deeper understanding of the gender dynamics in Maclear. The question that I kept asking is how do these views of gender influence everyday practice? And what are the local physical, social and symbolic factors

contributing to the crafting of those particular gender identities? Are the women in Maclear devalued (Ortner and Whitehead 1981) because of their reproductive capacities? Or are we viewing their position and situation from a largely (biased) Western, liberal feminist (see Mohanty 1979) point of view?

In Maclear, different roles are assigned to each of the sexes and certain behaviour is deemed acceptable or undesirable in accordance with the societal expectations. Women are typically seen as caregivers and are in charge of the private sphere while men are the providers and protectors and are involved with the public sphere<sup>41</sup>.

In general, it is men who attend the meetings of the farmers' association and the buying groups. Their wives are expected to join them in town after the meeting is over. There are however, some exceptions to this rule. While I was in Maclear, only two women regularly attended the Maclear Farmers' Association meetings and one woman was a member of the Maclear Farmers Group (MFG), a buying group established to compete with the local co-operative in town. This indicates the predominantly male involvement in agricultural endeavours. The MFG allows only 21 members at any time. This is an exclusive group and when a space becomes available (which is seldom) several candidates are evaluated and members are accepted on the approval of existing members and the chairman.

I accompanied David Purdon, Matthew Tarr and Margaret Purdon to a number of these meetings. At the Maclear Farmers' Group meeting (which I attended with David Purdon), I was the only woman in attendance as Margaret was away in KwaZulu Natal. When we arrived at the Maclear Country Club, where the meetings are held, we sat in the bar area with other members waiting at which point Matthew Tarr joined us. I knew Matthew as he lived on the same side of town as Margaret and David, about 5 kilometres away. I asked David if he could check with the chairman if it was

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<sup>41</sup> An example is that of a young farmer's girlfriend who when she stayed with him for a holiday she expected to take on the domestic responsibilities that had previously been taken care of by his mother. During this time Nina was asked advice on how the kitchen should be organized (it was being remodeled), how to deal with the garden maid and domestic worker, both of whom only spoke Xhosa. It was assumed that Nina knew how to fulfill this role without difficulties. When she offered to help with the more physical chores around the farm she was only allowed to when the young farmer's parents were away and there was a need for an extra "hand" to take fertilizer or chemicals to the lands or find stock close to the farmhouse.



still fine that I sat in on their meeting. Patrick McGregor was the Chairman at the time and he introduced me to the group of about 15 farmers as Matthew's second wife and jokingly warned me that if I tell anything to the press they would have to kill me. The joke did not go unheeded and it revealed (at a very early stage in my fieldwork) that for women to be heard in Maclear they need a male proxy or male representative. I quickly learned that it is also difficult for a woman to be 'taken seriously' in this environment.

The major exception to this rule is Margaret Purdon. The only female member of MFG, Margaret was allowed to essentially take over her late husband's membership. Margaret's two brothers-in-law are also members, as are the Timms (three cousins), the Porters (two brothers and a cousin), the Tarrs (three brothers) and the McGreggors (two brothers). There was an application by Patricia Ryan, which was unsuccessful as she has no kinship ties in the group, which indicates that there are not only gender constraints but also a hierarchy entrenched in society based on familial connections or those made through long term stay. Problems ensued for Patricia Ryan due to the fact that she and her husband are fairly new to the area and because she dominates the farming enterprise and so is not subscribing to the stereotypical gender role. Margaret is also in charge of the farming but it was seen at the time of her acceptance into the buyers' group as a role that was forced on her by external forces (the death of her husband) and therefore not actively chosen by her.

A male representative can be advantageous in certain contexts. During my stay I had visited one of the local hotels a number of times with a group of the younger bachelor farmers, married farmers and their wives as I was invited out to dinner in town on a Friday evening. Afterwards I thought I would stop in at the hotel for a drink and was interested in seeing a bit of Maclear on my own, as at that stage I was relatively new to the area. It was early in the evening so there were only a few people in the pub itself. After sitting at the bar for a little while I started a conversation with a farmer and his daughter. Once they left to go home there were only a few young farmers left drinking. One of the farmers, "Boetie"<sup>42</sup>, I knew because he was one of Margaret's

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<sup>42</sup> A nickname.

neighbours<sup>43</sup>. This particular group of Afrikaans farmers were well known for their ‘antics’ in the bar. In one incident the barman Mark<sup>44</sup> refused to serve them another brandy and coke, as it was closing time, and had a gun pulled on him. They were known as the Maclear ‘cowboys’<sup>45</sup>. On the particular evening when I was there I had finished my drink and was about to leave when “Boetie” approached me and he asked if he could buy me a drink. I politely refused saying I had to be off home. In order to leave however I had to get past where he was sitting, which proved to be difficult. When I tried to make my exit he continued to insist I stay for another drink. When I attempted to get past him, moving quickly through a gap I had found, he caught me and threw me over his shoulder and dropped me down on the bar counter. Under such ‘insistence’ I had the drink offered, and was then permitted to leave. The following week I again bumped into “Boetie” as I was leaving the Maclear Country Club and was stopped by him, again offering to buy me a drink, but in this instance I was out with a group of young English-speaking farmers who told him to leave me alone and thereafter I was not ‘bothered’ again.

#### 4.10.1.1. Keeping the Sexes Separate

From a young age children are given different tasks, the girls help their mother with domestic chores while the boys are given more of the farming tasks. During adolescence young women are allowed to act as ‘tomboys’ but there is an expectation that they will grow out of that ‘phase’ and become young ladies. In early adulthood there are an increasing number of farmers who send their daughters to university, although this is a fairly recent phenomenon. Those attending university or who show an interest in furthering their education had been to boarding school. This reflects that the changes in wider society are filtering back to Maclear, especially in terms of gender relations. Young women are now encouraged to follow career paths and marriage is not the only means of acquiring freedom from their parental household. However, at the time of my research, marriage was still an important measure of how

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<sup>43</sup> Funnily enough.

<sup>44</sup> It needs to be said that Mark is black serving at that stage only white clientele (as the previous owner, there until 2001, did not allow blacks into the Royal Hotel bar). Mark did not respond but served them another round of drinks, but this performance was not repeated once black customers were allowed to frequent the Royal Hotel bar.

<sup>45</sup> Self-ascribed name.

successful a woman is. Young men are increasingly being sent to agricultural college or to university usually to read towards a Bachelor of Science degree in agriculture.

One of the younger women who showed an interest in the largely 'male' pursuit of farming is Mary McGregor. Mary is about 24 years old and is passionate about farming. She studied at Saarsveld, an agricultural college in George, and after graduation she went to work on farms in the United Kingdom. Mary is very knowledgeable about farming techniques and when she visits Maclear over the holidays does a lot of the farm work. Her younger brother is currently studying at Cedara, an agricultural college in Pietermaritzburg, and it is expected that the farm will one day be passed on to him and not to Mary. Her position in society is further complicated by the fact that most of the younger farmers regard her as one of the men. The ultimate reason therefore cannot be put down to one factor, but gender stereotypes seem to be the strongest reason for this judgment of Mary. Robert Timm had a *braai* one Sunday at his house and all the women were expected to help in the kitchen except for Mary who talked with the farmers about how their crops were doing. They discussed what methods were used, and although I was interested in the conversation I was called away by the other women present to make a decision about what salads should be served and how the potatoes should be done. There was no attempt to call Mary for this task, even though all the other women at the *braai* including myself were present. No reference was made to her sexual orientation due to her keen interest in farming but there is sympathy for her extended by the younger farmers in her 'search' for a husband. It is implied that none of them see her as a potential wife not only due to her interest in farming but because she may attempt to "take over" that aspect on marriage. Due to this she may be judged more harshly, others may dress in shorts but if she does it is seen as being more 'butch' and associated with being less feminine. Physically she is very strong, she has short hair and shows a large amount of interest in farming (which is predominantly a male domain). Mary is also very knowledgeable about what would typically be seen as male topics, such as fertilizers, chemicals, dairy farming and so on and not the more feminine topics such as cooking, gardening and more domestically oriented interests.

During my stay I 'shadowed' both the farmer and the farmers' wife to get a sense of the division of tasks. Towards the end of my fieldwork I was asked to help with some light tasks and more domestic oriented chores typically fulfilled by farmers wives when I asked if I could help to carry grain bags or if I could learn to drive a tractor, the farmer I was staying with laughed at me. So I asked "Don't your sisters or your mother know how to drive a tractor?" he replied "There was no point in teaching them, women don't drive tractors". When I raised the issue with a young farmer his response was "teaching a girl to the drive a tractor is a waste, she's never going to have to work the lands".

#### 4.10.1.2. Behaving and Getting Married

In terms of social awareness, representations of relationships between members of the opposite sex are expressed in subtle gestures or actions that in wider South African society would not have the same meaning. A man giving his coat to a woman, if there is not an existing established link between the two, is considered an act of expressing ownership. Plainly put, it is his coat therefore his 'woman'.

However, it is interesting to note that the perceived shortage of women does not encourage territorial behaviour in courtship rituals. An unmarried farmer will court a woman and it will be acceptable for another to court the same woman. There are however repercussions for 'sharing', it can compromise the woman's potential for marriage, as she can be seen as spoilt goods. In recent years, the shortage of women in the area has encouraged farmers to 'import' wives<sup>46</sup>. These 'new' women<sup>47</sup> are pure and pristine because of no known past history (particularly sexual) which correlates to the Christian ideal that you should marry a virgin.

Men perceive themselves as the protectors of women's fidelity i.e. fathers and brothers protect sisters, daughters and wives. Farming is perceived as harsh and

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<sup>46</sup> Wives have come from Cape Town, the Northern Province, East London, Grahamstown and Natal. This trend is a long standing one, Sally Purdon one of the oldest farmers' wives I spoke to (almost 80) for example was from East London which continues today as the youngest farmers' wife was from Natal.

<sup>47</sup> These women are usually visitors to the area or meet the younger farmers at university or during their time away from home.



associated with masculinity (Pini 2005) and because of past ideal or real histories of struggle (symbolized in the conquering of the 'frontier', the struggle against the harsh elements and documented in literature on pioneers), the symbolic masculine qualities of strength, stamina and incursion are treated as the preserve of men. Conversely obedience, fidelity and submission are valued in women and when this is not maintained it is seen as undermining male authority. In Maclear, women's characters are often called into question over issues of fidelity and the perceived or potential lack of fidelity can lead to a woman being shunned.

Margaret Purdon was farming alone for an extended period of time, entering an essentially male territory. Most of her interaction involving farming was with male farmers, and initially mostly advice and business concerns were discussed with her brothers-in-law but due to the expansion of her enterprise and changes in opportunities and needs, new ties were formed with neighbouring farmers. In one case a neighbouring farmer's wife accused her of having an affair with her husband because of the continued contact between the two brought about by common farming business concerns, and consequently Margaret had to put an end to the proposed business co-operation between the two farms.

In this case the farmer's wife confronted Margaret directly. In public she was hostile to her and in social situations she subtly communicated to others that there was a problem between them, such as not greeting her in return. However in the case of suspected infidelity the main method of dealing with such an issue is normally the use of gossip and rumour. It is an indirect way of destroying a woman's reputation, no matter whether the accusation is true or not. The veracity of the suspicions is often not dealt with, thereby effectively making the perceived threatening woman an outsider in social circles. So it can also be used as a tool for other personal motivations and is not easily resolved because of the secretive nature of gossip and rumours. Due to the small size of their social circle they will still socialize in the same places but those that are not seen in a favourable light were usually indicated to me through subtle gestures, for instance shaking of the head and then later an explanation for the gesture. Gossiping is taken seriously, in one instance Elliot Palmer, a young farmer, was

severely reprimanded in public, by Claire Purdon<sup>48</sup> for spreading a rumour. There are however a few positive functions of gossip.

In a small town like Maclear, gossip forms an additional and important part of social life and kin relations. In his functionalist treatment of gossip, Max Gluckman (1963) sees this act as something that is a culturally determined and a socially sanctioned fact. As Rapport and Overing (2003:153) note, for Gluckman, "gossip helps maintain group unity, morality and history. For the essence of gossip is a constant (if informal and indirect) communal evaluation and reaffirmation of behaviour by assessment against common, traditional expectations." The Transactionalist approach of Robert Paine (1967) is also useful for an understanding of networks, communication and kinship in Maclear. Specifically, Paine argues that we should see gossip as a tool that individuals use to advance their own interests. A less instrumentalist approach is advocated in the symbolic-interactionist view of gossip and this approach is also useful for an understanding of social relations and communication in Maclear. I found that gossip does help to maintain a certain degree of group unity and that on several occasions, although gossip was a means for advancing one's interests, it did ultimately serve to recreate the everyday world.

Marriage is mostly exogamous and most of the farmer's wives in the area are not originally from close-kin networks or Maclear. Divorce and remarriage are not common but are accepted as permissible in society. The young bachelors in the community claim that there are no 'available' marriageable women in Maclear. There are several reasons for this perception. The area is fairly isolated and those children of farmers close in age grew up together and so regard each other more as brother and sister than potential spouses. In my observations there is not a shortage of women but many are deemed as being "undesirable" candidates for marriage. Past behaviour, gossip or even merely being deemed to be of a different social class or from a different cultural background (because they speak Afrikaans) are grounds for seeing certain women as undesirable.

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<sup>48</sup> Claire is older than Elliot and so was permitted to do so without major repercussions for herself (these were also minimised because her husband agreed with her actions).

#### 4.10.2. Other Gender Role Considerations

Domestic workers and farm labourers also take over a number of activities that would be reserved for a husband or a wife in the absence of one or the other. Margaret Purdon relied heavily on her foreman Siphon for help in farming and fixing things around the house before she got remarried, and she continues to rely on Siphon and his wife Jane to keep the farm running in her absence.<sup>49</sup> In some cases neighbouring farmers would jokingly refer to Siphon as “Baas Siphon” because he has a Driver’s licence and drives Margaret’s bakkie and car to town. In the past he would also fetch her children from school when they attended school in town and more recently to collect ‘supplies’ in town<sup>50</sup>. As Margaret is away a lot Jane phones Margaret at least once a week to keep Margaret up to date with what is happening on the farm, Margaret in turn gives Jane instructions based on the information and leaves the general running of the farm up to Siphon until her regular return visits to the farm.

In the case of young bachelors living alone a domestic worker will tend to the house, cleaning and cooking meals: duties which will later be supervised or carried out by their future wives. If the young bachelor has been living alone in the house for a long period of time, the presence of a possible wife, in the form of a female visitor,<sup>51</sup> can be met with aggression from the established domestic worker (although this is not always the case, there can also be a welcoming response). This aggression is mainly expressed because the domestic worker is left in the house, while the young farmer is busy in the lands, to perform her duties thus carving out a routine for herself. The presence of the female visitor threatens to disrupt this already set routine and freedom. In most cases the bachelor’s domestic worker will not be outright rude, for fear of losing her position, but she will be generally unresponsive to any requests made and unfriendly when the farmer is not present. In some instances the domestic worker adopts the attitude of the farmer’s mother (see the discussion of intergenerational

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<sup>49</sup> Margaret now travels between her second husband’s farm in KwaZulu Natal and Woodcliffe in Maclear. During her two daughters’ long holiday periods she moves back to Woodcliffe temporarily because she feels that it is still their home.

<sup>50</sup> Most farm labourers do not travel in the front seat of a car or bakkie of a farmer and for him to be given the responsibility to drive the farm’s vehicle is something the other farmers notice.

<sup>51</sup> Whether this is the nature of the relationship is irrelevant.

conflicts between mother and daughter-in-law below) and this protective behaviour might also offer an explanation for the aggression seen.

### 4.10.3. Intergenerational Concerns

This section is an attempted at illustrating how control is exercised over changes to the land within the farming unit. When a young couple moves onto the farm with the husband's parents, there is often an initial power struggle. The new wife tries to create a living space for herself and her husband, the son, attempts to establish his independence. The son may wish to implement 'new' farming practices that are currently popular in broader society. At the time of my research, practices that include environmental and social responsibility were highly favoured by younger farmers. Attempts to establish independence may "spark off" disagreements between father and son. These power struggles reflect the importance of traditions and their maintenance, evident in popular sayings like – "we have always done things this way and not like that"<sup>52</sup>.

I focus on 'conflicts' between different generations of women because the women's domain is the farmhouse<sup>53</sup> (built by the first settlers and so stands as a symbol in itself of their forefathers human interaction in the land) and the garden surrounding the house (where past women have add their own style and in so doing sometimes a rosebush is not just a rosebush but symbolises a person). In terms of changes the younger farmer want to exert these are more closely connected to environmental issues and changing farming techniques but not necessarily changes which will alter the landscape or get rid of symbols within (at least not in any drastic way).

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<sup>52</sup> This reflects the resistance to change in all areas of their lives.

<sup>53</sup> A young farmers wife could not tear down the existing house and build a new one that might suit their needs. The interiors are also seldom changed but this kind of change is 'allowed'.





*Figure 4.3. Examples of the interior and exterior of farmhouses. The left-hand photograph is of a house which belongs to Robert Timm and is made of sandstone. The right-hand side photograph depicts the inside of the rooms in David and Claire Purdon's home: the use of stone appears again, this time in the fireplace.*

With regard to the situation of a new wife, the mother-in-law has routines set in place within the household and she has particular ways of performing certain domestic chores. These differ in different households and are passed down from each mother-in-law to each daughter-in-law. These serve to maintain the restrictions that they themselves felt bound to follow and perpetuate the same constraints. A particularly interesting space for this power struggle is in the garden. A garden reflects an individual's own style and in each case of young wives in the area who I encountered they felt a need to change this particular space to suit their individual personality. In each case they experienced a similar kind of resistance, by the established women (especially mother-in-laws) in the family. Certain plants, flowers and trees were not allowed to be moved because they had been planted by past occupants (family members) of the farm, and were symbolic of that person's presence on the land. This illustrates the phenomenon that the same constraints that were imposed on the mother-in-law on her arrival are imposed on the daughter-in-law.

Walking with Claire Purdon around her garden she talked about how she would like to change the garden "Whoever was here before really like conifers and they are terrible. I really wish I could move them" then as we move along the garden she asked me if I know some of the plant species, as we get to the corner of the garden she points to a rosebush "I want to move that rosebush. It's a hundred years or so old but

I'm too scared to move it just now I kill it and I'll be in such trouble. David's mother told me I can't move it". I had the sense that although this was important to the family, to keep the garden as it was, it was very frustrating for the new wife who is settling into the area.

This is a reflection of the wider control and a broader resistance to change, but more importantly it is about maintaining identity and ensuring historical memory of past occupants who they can claim a connection with. Further restrictions are imposed by the weather on what will grow in the conditions particular to their farm and dependent on the types of soil, light and temperatures, which differ slightly from farm to farm. Once a young wife's mother-in-law has moved out, the maintenance of the previous traditions is continued by the domestic worker who has been instructed on the "right" procedures for each aspect of the housework. However she may be compelled to change the routine or approach in the way the new wife would like.

The young wives take time to learn different aspects of life in Maclear and use the older women in the community as sources of knowledge about gardening (and social expectations), the best places to buy certain necessities, what grows well in the vegetable patch and handling interaction with the staff. In the younger generation, none of the new wives are from farming stock and so are often unsure of what life they are marrying into<sup>54</sup>. In the case of Ivyann Tarr and Claire Purdon they were both career-oriented women in their respective professions as a dietician and a radiologist. They had earning power and were relatively independent. Ivyann continued to work after she married Matthew Tarr and this involved a large amount of travelling and staying away from home. Matthew persuaded her to not continue with her career because of the absence from home. In more in-depth conversations with Ivyann and other women in the area another reason was brought to light: that Ivyann at one stage was earning more than Matthew, who felt threatened by his wife's independence. Claire enquired about working at the Maclear Hospital but the cost to travel to town each day outweighed the salary she would receive and at one time they only had one motor vehicle which made it impossible as her husband David needed to use it for the

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<sup>54</sup> Hence they are probably more malleable to do what is expected in their new environment.



farming. Claire and Ivyann's situations also differ in that David's parents moved into town and so Claire has more responsibilities and chores on the farm, such as gardening (including tending the vegetable patch), organising morning and afternoon tea<sup>55</sup>, paying the staff, running a small shop out of their kitchen, instructing the domestic workers in their daily chores and similar tasks.



*Figure 4.4. A typical vegetable patch*

Margaret's success also influenced her position in society, initially when her first husband died she was protected and helped because she was perceived as being in a vulnerable position and a weaker member of society. Once she made a success of her tourism initiative and farming enterprise her position shifted from being a weaker member of society needing support to then posing a threat to the male farmers around her.

There are, as I have mentioned above, differences between the older and the younger generation but surprisingly their opinions in general remain unchanged across generations in respect to gender issues, political issues and their sense of belonging in the area. The younger generation have also become attached to the land, like their parents. Those farmers that didn't sell are now passing their family farms on to their sons who are determined to stay in the area and continue their family traditions. This determination is not only because a large number of those who remained on their farms are successful and the farm is a source of income, but also because many of

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<sup>55</sup> David, her husband, returns for tea at least once a day. Depending on time constraints and the day's activities tea would be served around about 10 in the morning and 3.30 in the afternoon.

them cannot conceive of doing anything else but farm. There are others who have travelled overseas (David Purdon to the United Kingdom; Christopher Tarr to the Far East; Elliot Palmer to Australia) or studied (David Moore and Matthew Tarr at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal; David Purdon at Cedara; Christopher Tarr at University of Port Elizabeth) and who decided to return home to the family farm, despite the changes and challenges they face.

#### 4.10.4. Gender and Landscape

The roles given to women involve taking care of the domestic chores, food production close to the house, tending the garden and in a few cases the administrative work, such as bookkeeping and record-keeping. In Maclear women are involved in keeping the past alive in their domains. “Feminist critiques of agriculture have revealed how women are marginalized from decision making roles... Shiva (1999), and feminist geographers and others have shown how gendered space plays a role in marginalizing women from access to power and knowledge in a variety of contexts, including agriculture” (Trauger, 2004:209). In light of this contention Tourism provides an opportunity for women to participate with income-generating work, which relies on their domestic skills, but by its nature allows them to interact with nature<sup>56</sup> and some historical or natural features in the landscape deemed important to tourists (and to them) without conflicting with the roles played by men and their agricultural pursuits. Daphne Spain (1992) argues “that gender segregation characterising social institutions is reinforced by spatial segregation... by limiting women’s access to space, patriarchal communities can deny women access to knowledge. Some of the most clearly gendered spaces are those characterised by the distinction between public and private space” (Trauger, 2004:296).

Women through tourism can enjoy public spaces where they are just as visible as the farmers, whilst not completely, such as in Trauger (2004) article, disrupting the social scripts dictating appropriate ‘farm woman’ behaviour. The changes in interests in agriculture (as in the case of Mary McGreggor) and the unique success of a farm run

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<sup>56</sup> Moving essentially out of the private sphere into the public one.



by a farmerwife<sup>57</sup> (such as Margret Purdon) are in turn also slowly changing the roles women could play in the masculine pursuit of agriculture and within a farming unit. Women can create their own connection to the land, which extends past continuing the family history, maintenance of the family structure and the farmhouse surrounds<sup>58</sup>.

#### 4.11. Conclusions

This chapter is designed to introduce some, not all of the dynamics of identity construction in the Maclear farming community today, the more masculine focus on the history of the area and how it shaped the 'macho' pioneering identity which remains in small forms today and the gender roles within society which compliments the male roles involved in farming. Both men and women manage to forge an identities for themselves, which are connected and embedded in the land. The introduction of forestry changes the landscape and is a male-dominated alternative form of agriculture one which that does not have a history in the area, and is not familial based in nature. Whereas tourism still involves the farmers and farmers' wives, creating a continued link with the land. It is also reliant on the continued preservation of the scenic beauty available in the area and as a result does not seek to alter the look of the land. Tourism in the area is also small scale and as operators the farmers still maintain control over how they represent themselves, which attractions they market and ultimately the number and type of visitors. In the next chapter I discuss other changes affecting the Maclear farmers, ones not under their control, and explore briefly their relationships with other groups interested in the use of the land and their continued stay.

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<sup>57</sup> Complimented by her tourism initiatives.

<sup>58</sup> Embedded with symbols of past relatives interaction with the land.

## *Chapter 5:*

### **FARMING AND CHALLENGES**

#### **Farm life and Perceived Threats to Land and Identity**

##### **5.1. Introduction**

In South Africa high value is now placed on democracy and the notion that all South Africans are equal, however addressing the inequalities of the past is a slow process and in a multicultural state power lies not only in political control but also economic control. The apartheid system relied on the establishment of boundaries between the 'white' and 'black' populations and it brought about major class disparities in its creation of a black working class. In 2004, the South African president referred to continued economic division in South African society, arguing that South Africa still consists of two worlds, namely the predominately white elite and black underclass. In an insightful chapter, the anthropologist John Sharp (1988:111), states that perceiving South Africa as two worlds in one country "implies a certain relationship between the regions and segments of the population thus designated".

In Maclear, class and racial divisions still exist. Change is slow and economic and political inequalities between 'white' and 'black' persist. Maclear is fairly insular and gender segregation, social division between Afrikaans and English speaking people and black and white communities are apparent and indicate some limited engagement with the 'outside' world. In recent years however, forestry and tourism have increased this community's exposure to other cultural and social milieus. The introduction of these two major social and economic forces has exerted various changes not only to the economic and social situation but also to the landscape. These individuals continue to experience identity crises in the new millennium because what offered them a unitary identity (apartheid's emphasis on the homogeneity<sup>1</sup> or sameness<sup>2</sup> of white people), is falling apart and the fact of their multiple

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<sup>1</sup> In terms of homogeneity it could be argued that the apartheid government did so along colour lines, in that skin colour gave whites privileges and access to resources and opportunities (finances, land and jobs) whilst concurrently maintaining some heterogeneity in the emphasis on differences between say Greeks, Afrikaners, English, Portuguese etc. I am in this statement focussing on the former occurrence.

identities is now apparent. At the same time their identity is being impacted by broader economic and political changes in South Africa. They are not immune to or isolated from these changes. They have to engage with corporate globalization<sup>3</sup> and changing values.<sup>4</sup>

Both forestry and tourism (to a lesser extent) have brought new technology and new livelihoods to Maclear. Some have been helpful and increase convenience, but bring with them changes. For example Eskom (electricity supplier) was only introduced to some of the farming areas as recently as fifteen years ago<sup>5</sup>. For the broader population, community members perceive the new telecommunication as a measure of progress that has not necessarily transformed them socially or politically.

For the wealthier (and generally 'white') inhabitants of Maclear, wider local, national and international concerns and influences filter through via the Internet and access to cellular phones because although geographically 'isolated', these individuals are no longer 'cut off' from the rest of South Africa. Improvement in infrastructure, such as roads, has also made travel and contact with neighbours, members of the community and wider society easier. As a result, more liberal views have entered the society and in some instances, created greater social awareness.

Since 1994, residents of Maclear especially the white farming community feel challenged by the new democratic government's interests in redistribution of resources, particularly the redistribution of farmland. For them, this presents challenges not only for their economic survival but also for the survival of their identity. Doing research in Maclear, I found that the long-term experience of colonization and apartheid created conflicting identities, which is encapsulated in the poem '*White African*'.

The farmers of Maclear identify themselves as a part of wider South African society but also as a distinctive category within South African society. Specifically, they acknowledge their settler heritage and the part their ancestors played in establishing frontier communities in the

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<sup>2</sup> Common class classification

<sup>3</sup> in the form of the commercial forestry company.

<sup>4</sup> Such as environmental conservation, women's liberation, affirmative action.

<sup>5</sup> This made television and Internet accessible. Although they had contact with the outside world this broadened their access to information. Television signals in some areas is only available with a satellite dish.

Cape Province. They argue that this history produces a particular experience of belonging, one torn between the past and the ambiguities of the present. In the following chapter factors influencing identity construction will be discussed, providing a description of particularly the Maclear farming community through ethnographic examples.

## 5.2. Inheriting and Settling

Robin Fox commented that “kinship is to anthropology what logic is to philosophy or the nude is to art.” (1967:10) In the farming community in Maclear one finds that kinship reveals a great deal of social structure and organization, but that the idiom of kinship does not frame all of the residents’ relationships or activities. Nevertheless, the residents are largely patriarchal and this informs many of their social actions. As the following paragraphs show, Maclear families make use of sharing and pooling of resources to structure the domestic group and achieve intra-familial solidarity (Rapport and Overing 2003:225). Although there are changes motivated by wider political agendas that need to address past inequalities and altering land use patterns such as agroforestry, continuity has been an important element of the farmer’s life this is reflected in the tradition of keeping farms in the family. Connections are made for male and female descendents<sup>6</sup> in different ways through the inherence patterns described below. This is reinforced by the roles each gender plays in the continuation of farming practices and maintaining the farmhouse. There are differences in male and female relationships or ties with the farm.

There are also elements of kinship and social structure in Maclear that resonate with similarly isolated communities found particularly in Australia and other parts of ‘British Africa’. As this ethnography shows, kinship is not just about the political uses of solidarity in a precarious social world, it is also about achieving an “affective life” (Rapport and Overing 2003:227) and structuring identity.

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<sup>6</sup> Both are connected to the land. Margaret Purdon’s success in farming help to change the persisting view that men are the farmer and women are the farmer’s wives. It is starting to open up the possibility of women inheriting the farm. The community is slow to change so there still exist objections, such as Margaret’s intention to leave the family farm to her daughters as she feel it is theirs to claim. Tourism has also developed a new way for women to create new connections to the land, on which is not challenging the gender stereotypes that exist.



In Maclear agricultural enterprises are considered a male domain and inheritance of the farm is usually given to the eldest son. In the case of younger sons interested in farming, where possible the land is divided or a co-operative between the two brothers is established through the buying of neighbouring farmland<sup>7</sup>. Where there is more than one son and the younger sons are *not* interested in farming their inheritance, there may be an 'imaginary sale'. The son working the farm pays his siblings either one lump sum or over an extended period of time or as and when they may need financial support.

Daughters are given a similar type of monetary inheritance. The responsibility of the eldest son to his siblings is waived only when it is not economically sensible to do so. In the case of a married sister there is an expectation that her husband would then serve as provider but the eldest son's responsibility does not fall away entirely and there are instances where the farm still offers support to affines who are no longer living on the farm, an example of which is in some cases sons and/or daughters are given cattle which is that they can decide to sell when money is needed and this maintains their link to the farm.

Due to increasing economic constraints changes have occurred on these farms. Those who do not inherit the farm cannot expect long-term financial support. The farm will then only provide for those living in the house, at school or studying at university. In the case where there are no sons the problem of the inheritance of the property exists and attempts would be made to solve the problem by giving the property to a daughter if her husband is a farmer. Failing this the farm may be passed to another male relative or as a last resort sold. An example is in the case of the McGreggor brothers who farm together. Between the two families there is only one son and in this case the farm is operating as one economic unit. It is thus expected that the farm will be given to the only son. If this occurs, the expectation is that he will provide for the other four women if and when they need financial assistance.

The farm may in most instances also support the farmer's parents and grandparents if still living, a large number of whom live in town or move to holiday houses at coastal destinations on the Eastern Cape coast. In recent times, economic pressures have altered the household

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<sup>7</sup> These methods of compensating for more than one son creates groups of the family or cluster in areas. The Tarrs, the Timms, the McGreggors and the Purdons are examples of this 'clustering'. It serves to keep famial bonds and the continuation of values such as remaining a close knit family and rely on each other, a kind of reciprocity. These kinship ties are an important survival strategy.

structure from an extended and stem family structure to the more modern nuclear family household, although stem family<sup>8</sup> households do still exist. The living arrangements range from separate houses for parents and child, to one dwelling housing the two families. In the case of one house on the farm property the expectation is that the parents will stay for a short while and then move into town to retire.

The farming community is mostly virilocal, with the wife moving to her husband's household. Technological and social changes create the impression that there is no longer a need to create a community environment on the farm. This and other changes in the structure of their households is a result of pressure by wider changes in society, economic concerns and increased technological advances. It is easier to travel, keep in touch through telephone and e-mail to maintain family bonds with extended family. However, as I show in this chapter, community remains important to the residents of Maclear as it is through community that identity is maintained. This finding is similar to that of discussed by Pat McAllister (1997) in his essay "Ritual and Social Practice" where changes in homestead size and composition, occurred among the Shixini residents, which were "linked in turn to changes in social practice...[and ultimately] a sense of community replaced kinship as a major organizing principle" (306).

The family farm works as a stable base, their stories of origin and their histories and acts as a connection to not only the land but to family and 'home'. Inheriting means that the farm stays in the family, as mentioned above creating continuity. The practice of inheriting contributes to the idea that there is nowhere else they belong, making any threats which jeopardise their stay on the land to be taken seriously as their land is essentially connected to their identity. A negative aspect is that inheriting creates pressures for the male members of the family to farm and it becomes a familial duty as opposed to a choice and so are "at the mercy of tradition". Even for those who do not choose the farming life it gives them a sense of belonging. As Christopher Tarr, a young farmer working the family farm with his father, expressed "I know I'm entitled to be a farmer on this farm, it is my birthright".

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<sup>8</sup> A stem family is "a family formed when only one child (usually a son) remains resident with his/her parents and the others set up new households. The child who remains normally becomes the sole heir to family property" (Schwimmer, 1995).

### 5.3. Challenges to Livelihoods

#### 5.3.1. New Arrivals

Emerging black farmers are generally not desired as neighbours by the established commercial farmers who claim that they do not manage their properties properly or that they manage them in a manner that is harmful to those surrounding them. The claims are made that their cattle carry diseases, fences are not mended and firebreaks are not always maintained. However there has been an effort made by some individuals and institutions to encourage emerging farmers. In 2001 eight emerging farmers became card-carrying members of the Maclear Farmers' Association and a reduced membership fee was offered<sup>9</sup> in the hopes of developing a multiracial association.

The biggest problem for emerging farmers is the lack of funds. The Land Bank does offer loans but maintaining a viable farming enterprise is extremely costly<sup>10</sup>. In a discussion with James Tambo, an emerging farmer and craftsman, he expressed the need for the emerging farmers to form their own association with the aim of attracting government support to fund their initiatives.

Attempts have been made by the established farmers to provide knowledge of the farming conditions in the area and modern farming methods used to emerging farmers. The inclusion of emerging farmers to the association was expected to encourage growth and to help those who are still in the learning stage of managing their own farming enterprise. Both sides have experienced frustration. Those that offer help say that the emerging farmers who they visit waste their time, equipment is not on site for demonstrations or calibration, and it costs the farmer money to travel out to see them<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> In 2001 the standard rate was R400 and the rate introduced for emerging farmers was R150.

<sup>10</sup> Especially start up costs. Equipment in the hands of established farmers has been bought over time and implements and equipment could be bought by farmers and then passed on to their sons. More co-operative relationships exist between established farmers and are especially strong when there exists a familial bond exists.

<sup>11</sup> This was not a frequent occurrence, where a farmer would travel long distances to offer help, but their experience informs the attitudes of the other farmers and ultimately effects their willingness to offer assistance.

During an informal discussion (with mainly the younger generation) at a *braai*, the topic of emerging farmers arose. The opinions of those present ranged from them wanting to help but feeling that their time was being wasted, to feeling that the concerns of emerging farmers were not their responsibility. Interestingly one of the younger farmers said that, “they should know how to plant and grow maize, they have been doing it for hundreds of years and if they don’t have the equipment then why don’t they just go back to the traditional ways of planting and harvesting” and in response another responded “besides most of them worked on farms their whole lives they know what they should do,” these comments imply that emerging farmers should be able to farm on their own without their support or help from them.

### 5.3.2. Feeling Insecure

Since 1997 there has been a growing concern about ‘farm attacks’ and with the intensifying of the land disputes, invasions and appropriation in Zimbabwe, South African farmers fear the same will happen to them. In the Maclear Farmers’ Association Meeting held on 23 July 2001 a short talk was given by a local police detective discussing the murder of a local farmers wife which occurred in January of that year. At that stage the case was still under investigation, but in February 2003 three men were sentenced to life sentences and an additional 117 years in prison for the murder and robbery at the Viljoen’s farm *Blomplaas*. Mrs Viljoen’s R-4 rifle and 250 rounds of ammunition were found in the possession of those accused. The police and farmers disagree on the motive for the attack.

Cornelius Viljoen is a member of the right wing group the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB). Those who are close to the farmer claim the attack was politically motivated but the police maintain that it was robbery. The police reported that there was a large sum of money in the house and this was the main reason for the attack. A farmer<sup>12</sup> who arrived on the scene shortly after the attack argues that if the motivation was robbery then why were other valuables such as the television set and video machine not taken? It could have been that it was difficult to carry heavy items such as these through the surrounding farms without the culprits drawing attention to themselves, and money is more difficult to trace.

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<sup>12</sup> I spoke to him after the Maclear Farmers’ Association.



I argue that it is easier for the farmers to believe that there was a particular logical line of cause and effect, both for those with right wing political mindsets and for other farmers in the area. If they believed that these were random acts of violence instead there is the accompanying reality that they might not be able to do anything to prevent themselves from becoming a target.

Another prior attack in area involved one of the accused in the Viljoen murder. An Elliot farming couple, May and Ian Leach, were murdered on their farm. Ian Leach, and his wife, May, were shot dead on their farm *Woodlands*, about 12km from Elliot. Firearms and a *bakkie*<sup>13</sup> was stolen and then later recovered by the police. The attack was reported in the media and this is one account offered by the SABC News website:

“The bodies of the couple were found this morning when farmworkers alerted a neighbour... at 6am this morning. When [he] got to the farm, [he] discovered three-year-old toddler locked up alone in a bedroom with the family dog, in the farmhouse containing the bodies of her murdered grandparents. She was taken to [the neighbours ‘] early yesterday, where she awaited the arrival of family members. While a police moratorium on statistics is still in place, a list compiled by Elliot farming community members show that 15 farmers have been murdered in the Elliot, Ugie and Maclear districts over the past decade. Selby Vorster\*, the Elliot Farmers Association chairperson, said they were “devastated” by the attack. “We just don’t know what to do any more”.

“...[The then] Eastern Province Agricultural Union president, felt that until the government brought the security situation on farms under control, the relentless killing of innocent people would continue. He said it was clear the government was not fulfilling its constitutional obligations in terms of upholding the laws of the country. AgriSA<sup>14</sup> made an urgent appeal to Steve Tshwete, Safety and Security minister, to speed up the process of implementing proposals put forward by organised agriculture to address farm attacks. The Safety and Security MEC [for the Eastern Cape], expressed his shock at the “brutality of the attack”, adding that the presence of the child showed the “callousness of criminals which are roaming around”. He commended police for their swift action and said farmers and business owners were particularly vulnerable to crime” (SABC News 26 March 2001).

In early 2002 a 63-year-old Maclear farmer Mr. Martinus Muller was assaulted on his farm. He was badly beaten by three attackers who demanded money and made off with R80 and firearms. The following description of the incident appeared in the *Eastern Province Herald*:

“Mr. [Muller] was walking to his cattle kraal with [Jan] around 4.45pm when he saw the men on his premises. They said they wanted to speak to one of his workers. Mr. [Muller] had

<sup>13</sup> 4x4 vehicle or a light truck.

<sup>14</sup> The national farmers association

just finished milking the cows when he “saw out of the corner of my eye one of them coming up behind me”. The thug grabbed Mr. [Muller] around the neck. Another also grabbed him, while the third kicked his legs from under him. “When I looked up I saw one of them was pointing a pistol at me. They then tied my hands with barbed wire,” he said. One also held a knife against his throat. “They took my son and me to the house about 100 metres away from the kraal and demanded money,” Mr. [Muller] said. “As we entered the house, they locked the front door and cut the telephone lines.” Mr. [Muller] said he told them he didn’t have any money in the safe, but they made him tell them where the keys were. The thugs then opened the safe and snatched two rifles and a 9mm pistol. They again demanded money and then savagely assaulted him. They searched his pockets and took about R80 from his back pocket. “One of them then grabbed [Jan] and threw him onto the floor.” He said his son had been “very brave” and did not cry at all during the incident. Mr. [Muller] finally managed to escape through a back door. He hid behind some trees, while trying to untie himself. He then heard gunshots and feared his son had been shot. However, [Jan] then ran out of the house. It later emerged the thugs had fired five shots as they fled. “Luckily I had a CB radio and sent out a mayday to my neighbours 35km away. They sent the police,” he said. Mr. [Muller] was treated in hospital for lacerations to his head and forearms and discharged. His son was not injured. Police are investigating the incident” (11 January 2002).

Because of such attacks farmers have taken a more proactive stand. In May 2002, they gathered to discuss the vulnerability of their families and property at a talk on rural protection. Those present at this meeting agreed that these attacks can be prevented. The main topics discussed included how to avoid a farm attack and how to defuse attacks before any harm is done. Avoidance is promoted through being aware of your farm environment and what are termed battle indicators. Much of the terminology and methods are based on military strategy which gives a perception that farmers are fighting a war. There are categories of battle indicators or signs of an imminent attack, general indicators and then indicators that are evident in different time periods before an attack (from 6-8 weeks to within minutes).

In light of attacks in the area, plus extensive media coverage, farmers who take a proactive approach have found themselves in trouble with the law due to their reactions to situations that they perceive as threatening, and some have been taken to jail and court in cases where they have drawn their firearms. An example of this was Robert Timm. As a protective measure and a means of controlling access to their Mount Wellington Farm on the Tsolo road, Timm prohibited the entry of taxis to his premises. Leaving milking one evening Timm saw a taxi with about ten occupants parked outside his farmhouse. When he approached the vehicle and told them that they were trespassing and should leave, the driver became argumentative. Feeling threatened and unsure of the purpose of their presence, Timm drew his 9mm pistol

and the taxi then left. Following this incident, the taxi driver filed a complaint at the local police station and Timm was arrested, although charges were later withdrawn.

Other 'preventative' measures that are taken are to evaluate staff, include replacing 'troublemakers'. The farmer will actively look for faults in these workers as an excuse to get rid of those whom he thinks are troublemakers. Farmers fear that those who work for them are potential informers who can help orchestrate farm attacks. These attacks are seen by the farmers as well organized and premeditated, not random acts of violence or crimes of opportunity.

Their fears of labourers becoming informants (intentionally or unintentionally) are well-founded. Farm labourers and other staff on the farm are aware (to varying degrees) of the farmer's routines and have access to the farmer's land and homestead. Successful farming relies on established routine. Routine is seen as dangerous because it is easy to predict the farmers location at certain times of day because at these times they are in one place and yet for example dairy farmers have to milk their cows twice a day, sheep farmers collect their stock and release them at the same times of day, and mealtimes when the farmer will be at the house are at set times. The "farm watch"<sup>15</sup> signs posted on main roads and private dirt roads are a constant reminder of security issues in the area

#### **5.4. The Importance of Farm Management**

Among the farmers interviewed, there was continuous emphasis on farm management and how a successful and productive farm depends on good management. This was mentioned not only in the terms of making comparisons between one farmer and another but was also stressed in farm community activities, such as the Fat Stock Sale, the Elliot Show and farmers' days held on local farms.

I attended a farmers' day on a farm near Indwe.<sup>16</sup> The main purpose of the day was to promote the Simmentaler breed of cattle and there was also a series of talks from veterinarians and

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<sup>15</sup> In each area farmers formed groups designed to provide support and help in a situation where a farm is attacked.

<sup>16</sup> Not far from Elliot.

chemical company representatives. This occasion offers new information for farmers on how to control ticks which carry diseases, to assess the breed of cattle they are currently using and to exchange information with other local farmers who are experiencing similar difficulties because of similar environmental conditions. About 60 people attended, mostly farmers and their wives.

In particular the management and treatment of staff differs slightly from one farmer to another and between father and son. Jaco Neethling doesn't use heavy machinery to do a large amount of the work involved in planting and harvesting his main crop, potatoes. This means that there is a large amount of labour needed and therefore much needed employment opportunities are created, particularly for local black women. This is an interesting dynamic because Neethling has an old South African flag with an AWB pin displayed in his lounge which reflects a belief in a more right wing ideology and yet he considers wider concerns of generating employment for the poorer sectors such as the local black population. However he still reflects a separatist view, maintaining the differences between 'black' and 'white' in his private space, and he continues to have a paternalistic attitude towards his black workers.

In general, Maclear farmers adopt a top-down approach to farm management. The farmer is a masculine authority figure who rarely delegates work (at least overtly), or involves farm labourers in wider decisions about farming. Farm workers are often given instructions to do a job and there is no discussion of the tasks. Worker initiative is not rewarded but rather deemed 'dangerous'. Farm labourers are not encouraged to think for themselves. This maintains the stereotypical idea that staff members are not intelligent or capable of working on their own, but rather need constant supervision.

In the course of fieldwork, it became clear that paternalism<sup>17</sup> persisted on these farms, a fact that is reflected in the continued referral to the farm labourers as boys and domestic workers as girls. Such names emphasize an infantile view of the black workers and entrench the idea that they should be subservient.

There are some exceptions to this norm. In the case of Margaret Purdon, her 'assistant', Siphon, runs the farm in her absence and she involves him in a large number of important decisions regarding the management of the farm. However, Margaret holds ultimate power in this

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<sup>17</sup>And racism to some extent



relationship, as she still makes the final decisions. The most essential role that farm labourers fulfill in the farming enterprise, in all of the above cases, is that they keep the farmers informed about livestock and possible problems. In other words, farmers expect their labourers to be good informers but only in their favour.

### 5.5. Social Interaction

Inclusion and exclusion of members in a social group are complex and important social processes that assist in identity construction within the farming community. There is division between English and Afrikaans-speaking farmers, between farmers and labourers, men and women, old and young. Despite divisions, however, there is a strong emphasis on the need for solidarity. There is also consensus as to what constitutes appropriate or inappropriate behaviour.

The history of the area influences the image that the farmers have of themselves as “mountain men” or “cowboys”. During my experiences in the field I found that these images of Maclear being the Wild West and retaining this element of frontier country was fostered mainly by the Afrikaner farmers, especially those involved in tourism.

Pieter van der Merwe (an Afrikaans farmer) offers horseback riding as a main attraction and what is unique to these tourist initiatives are his emphasis on a ‘Wild West’ image. These ‘hosts’ are famous for having ridden their horses into the public bar at the Royal Hotel. The same group involved in promoting this Wild West<sup>18</sup> identity are sometimes criticised by the other local farmers as being backward: “They ride around on their horses in their khaki with their shotguns like they have never moved on from the 1820s.” These mainly Afrikaans speaking farmers are equally critical and call those who drive around in their utility vehicles “*Bakkie Boers*”, implying that they are lazy and disconnected from the land.

Due to the dwindling numbers of farmers in the area these two groups now socialize in the same spaces. In the face of external threats to the landscape, livelihood and way of life, unification is seen as important. Internal divisions are increasingly blurred as farmers band together to achieve their ‘common’ goals. They see themselves as having common goals but

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<sup>18</sup> Which implies they are out of the jurisdiction of official control and judicial processes, giving them freedom to do as they please.

they each have differing aspirations. Some see forestry as a positive force bringing new life or new people into Maclear. Others might want to explore ecotourism while some will prefer old styles of farming. However in times of difficulty, for example drought and farm attacks, they might see themselves as sharing the same goals and aspirations.

### 5.7. Conclusions

Farmers identify themselves with the South African farmer identity foremost, then more specifically they categorise themselves according to their long-term stay on the land (in many cases their connection with 1820 settlers). They further categorise themselves according to the date of arrival to the area and language differences. The South African 'farmer' identity and solidarity is strengthened by their shared histories, experiences of similar problems and everyday activities. In Maclear, the term settler is a misnomer, as to be settled implies that these people are unquestionably established. Yet they feel that, although they have changed their landscape, and their sense of belonging is intimately linked to the land even though in the minds of others they are more closely linked to Europe than Africa.

The English-speaking farmers are a hybrid of old working class English life (pubs, brawling, gender conservativeness) and new middle class practices (committees and teas). Viewed differently, they too are part of the postcolonial world and live a 'postcolonial' existence. The postcolony does not only contain those previously disenfranchised people of colour, it also contains the 'elite' or those who have benefited from past inequalities. In the next chapter I argue that the situation for the residents of Maclear is beginning to change.

The instabilities and insecurities experienced by their forefathers appears to be coming back to haunt them. In Vincent Crapanzano's much maligned ethnography of Franschoek (in the Western Cape Province), the author noted how the white settlers in that town were 'waiting', anxious about the repercussions of apartheid. In Maclear, those changes are beginning to take place. Big business, tourism and the opening up of the Mount Fletcher road are bringing new people and new ideas to the town. Residents in Maclear are responding to these changes in interesting ways and in most cases reinforces their attachment to the land.

In Dominy's paper *White Settler Assertions of Native Status* she explores the connection between landscape and settler culture, what is particularly applicable to Maclear is a evolving sense of belonging similar to her description of New Zealand settlers assertion of their sense of belonging in the face of threats to the land and when their land is at stake, "while noting that the explicit voicing of an affinity and identification with the land comes at a time when lessees perceive themselves to be potentially displaced and threatened with loss" (Dominy, 1995:380). In Maclear this is not only in the form of the question of land redistribution bringing into question their stay on the land and security risks, but in the form of the introduction of Agroforestry to the area. Economic and social changes in the last two decades has come in the form of the introduction of NECF and tourism, both involved in the use of the land in which the farmers' identity is embedded. These issues impact on the white farmer identity in both negative and positive ways, most notably their response to new developments reflects their general attitudes and claims of attachment to the land. These challenge and/or reinforces their connection to the land or their articulation of their sense of belonging, and in both ways their identity is strengthened (Barth 2000).

## PART THREE: NEW DEVELOPMENTS

### *Chapter 6:*

#### INTRODUCTION TO FORESTRY IN MACLEAR

*It was a classic confrontation. Atop a hill a few kilometres away waited the gleaming white turbo jet which had brought the sophisticated and suave city slickers, fresh from their ankle-deep-wall-to-wall carpeted suites in some Johannesburg skyscraper. Outside the Maclear golf club building where they now all gathered stood the dusty pick-up trucks, land rovers and modest sedans of the earthly aristocrats whose land the money moguls had come to take*

Rob Nuttall (1989:6)



*Figure 6.1. Agroforestry along the Naude's Nek road*

#### **6.1. The Forestry Industry: A General Introduction**

The timber industry began developing in South Africa around 1875. As settlements grew, timber became a scarce resource and the colonial government became concerned about the rate at which indigenous forests were being destroyed. In Maclear, farmers also recognised the need for timber production, such that in 1889 in



*The Barkley East Reporter*<sup>1</sup> there is mention of the minutes of a Maclear Farmers' Association meeting held on 4 January:

It was resolved that Government be approached with the view to establishment of a Government plantation on the Maclear commonage, as this Association considers it more particularly adapted for the purpose of tree-growing than any other district in the colony and that facilities exist in the shape of excessive commonage attached to Maclear for fixing up a most suitable site and avoid putting Government to any expense to purchase the necessary ground (*The Barkley East Reporter*, 20 January 1889).

In the next Maclear Farmers' Association meeting held on 1 February 1889 the minutes show the matter was again discussed.

With reference to the proposed establishment of a nursery and plantation on Maclear commonage a letter from the Under-Secretary for agriculture refusing the application was read, when the secretary was directed to reply thereto calling the attention of Government to the fact that since their application in 1887 the Government had recognized the claims of Barkley East, and requesting the government to permit out what steps should be taken to get the required government plantation and nursery in this district, such a one being urgently needed on account of the great scarcity of timber in the district (*The Barkley East Reporter*, 17 February 1889).

Reflected in the articles above is the farmers' attitude, highlighting the differing opinions towards forestry from then to today. In this instance where a forestry plantation's establishment meant direct benefits for those in the district, farmers were supportive of that type of development. It must however be noted that the area identified by them was not farm lands but rather the commonage, thereby keeping forestry on the outskirts and thus posing potentially different problems.

In 1994 the commercial forestry industry in South Africa produced around 16 million cubic metres of timber per year and the annual value of the sector production was between R5 – R6 billion with half of that being export (Gandar and Forester 1994:1). Comparatively, "South Africa presently has a commercial plantation estate of approximately 1.5 million hectares or 1.2 percent of the total land area. Despite its relatively small size, South Africa currently produces 2.8 million tons of pulp or 1.63

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<sup>1</sup> *The Barkley East Reporter* was established as a local newspaper in 1888. When it first came out the name was *The Barkley East Reporter and De Afrikaner Vriend*. A large number of the initial articles were in English and Afrikaans. The name changed in late 1888 to *The Barkley East Reporter and General Advertiser*. Today the newspaper caters to the Barkley East community and little is written about the Maclear or Ugie districts.

percent of global supply, 2.1 million tons of paper or 0.76 percent of global supply, and 1.3 million cubic metres of sawn timber or 0.3 percent of world supply. The forest and forest products industry employs over 200 000 people, of which about half work in production forestry and half in wood processing industries. In the period 1980-2000 round wood productions increased from 12 million cubic metres to almost 19 million cubic metres with an expansion in afforested area by 30 percent over the same period. In terms of South Africa's GDP, the forestry and associated processing industries<sup>2</sup> generate 4.5 percent of the country's GDP" (Bethlehem and Dlomo 2003:3). The industry may have begun as a way of meeting timber needs without compromising indigenous forests, but it is now an important contributor to our economy and a creator of employment.

Statistics show that the timber sector supports extensive secondary and tertiary industries, providing employment not only in primary production such as planting, growing and harvesting but also in secondary production in the form of pulp and saw mills. There are over 240 wood-processing factories which create employment ([www.dwaf.gov.za/forestry](http://www.dwaf.gov.za/forestry)). The Eastern Cape Province offered potential for new forestry because of its need for other viable industry for economic growth and improvement of its existing infrastructure. "Successive strategic forestry development plans pin-pointed the north-eastern Cape as suitable for forestry" (Forsyth *et al.* 1997). The area is considered well-watered with an annual rainfall from 600 to 1 200mm, which was essential in obtaining an afforestation permit.

Forestry has been identified by government as being one of the most promising economic forces for growth in the Eastern Cape. The province "has both large areas of suitable land and an abundance of water" ([www.dwaf.gov.za/forestry](http://www.dwaf.gov.za/forestry)). Large areas in the former homelands show signs of overgrazing which results in soil erosion. According to Gandar and Forester (1994) commercial forestry can be used to rehabilitate this land, which is no longer suitable for other land uses.

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<sup>2</sup> However these are very polluting to both air and water and have negative effects on local and downstream communities.

Commercial timber is one of many dry land crops in South Africa, hence the need to establish it in “high rainfall areas of the upper parts of the catchments where it has the potential to intercept and use runoff before it reaches other downstream users” (*ibid.*). The Afforestation Permit System (APS) was introduced in 1972 due to the concern for water supplies and to control the expansion of afforestation. It has been recognised that forestry does not have a negative impact on total water resources. In comparison to other ‘crops’ it is an effective user of water and therefore water usage is not considered an *a priori* reason for the refusal of afforestation permits. Gandar and Forester support this view, stating, “It requires no water supply infrastructure. It takes only what it needs and wastes nothing” (1994:4). However it has been shown in subsequent studies done by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry that forestry does have an impact on runoff reduction. Farmers’ impressions are that forestry is a large water user and therefore has a largely negative impact for them as competitors for resources.

The second Strategic Forestry Development Plan (van der Zel 1989) determined that the timber industry “has the potential to construct 21 new timber processing plants and create 150 000 new jobs by 2020”. To achieve this goal there would be a need to plant 35 000 new hectares each year. The areas with the “greatest potentially afforestable area were the catchments of the Umzimvubu and Bashee Rivers. An estimated 240 000 hectares, mostly in the former Transkei, were identified as suitable for forestry development...as a consequence of this plan it was decided, by a consortium of Mondi paper, Anglo American and De Beers, to establish a large-scale forestry operation in the North-Eastern Cape. North East Cape Forests (NECF) thus came into being as a division of Mondi Forests” (Forsyth *et al.* 1997:1). The North East Cape Forestry’s past, present and future role in the area is a controversial one and the promise of employment is largely seasonal.

#### **6.1.1. General Introduction to Agroforestry in the North Eastern Cape**

The history of commercial forestry “is rooted in the fact that we have a very small area of natural forests. Current estimates of the extent of South Africa’s closed canopy indigenous forests are approximately 500 000 hectares or only 0.3 [per cent]

of the total surface area of 122 million hectares” (Bethlehem and Dlomo 2003:2). Mondi first showed an interest in tracts of land in Maclear and Ugie stretching as far as Elliot in 1988 and 1989 for afforestation, and an official opening of the North East Cape Forests was held on 5 April 1990. Mondi is the NECF major shareholder at 67 per cent and locals usually refer to the NECF as Mondi. Mondi Forests itself is a division of Mondi Limited within the following structure:

<b>ANGLO AMERICAN PLC</b>		
<b>ANGLO FOREST PRODUCTS</b>		
<b>MONDI INTERNATIONAL</b>		
<b>MONDI LIMITED</b>	<b>MONDI PAK</b>	<b>MONDI EUROPE</b>

Mondi began by buying 66 farms<sup>3</sup> and its intention was to plant 64 000 hectares by 1996 (*South African Forestry Journal* 1989:28). The area was historically mixed farming, however, there was a need to boost economic development in the area that was not dependent on farming alone. Land-use patterns were to be converted from extensive grazing, dry land agriculture and some irrigated crops<sup>4</sup>, to afforestation. These changes to the landscape, coupled with the fact that forestry was a new practice in the area, generated concerns, especially from the farmers, about the effects forestry would have on the area.

The objectives of this chapter are to explore the issues surrounding the wider impacts of this afforestation and how it impacts on the Maclear farmers’ identity. In particular I focus on the farming community’s interactions with, and perceptions of, NECF. The first section of the chapter offers a general introduction to commercial forestry to highlight possible general problems that were experienced by the forestry development in the North Eastern Cape focusing on issues surrounding the introduction of forestry to the North Eastern Cape. The second section of the chapter is an evaluation of negative and positive impacts it has had and includes the opinions

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix G for a map of afforested land from Forsythe *et al.* 1997.

<sup>4</sup> Specialising in potatoes, grain and livestock.



of the farmers themselves. This serves to illustrate the current relationship between the agroforestry company and the farmers.

The chapter concludes with a short discussion of the future of NECF in the area, and includes an assessment of the forestry development in this area as a mechanism for development and more importantly, economic growth: this is informed by the environmental, social and economic consequences discussed in detail throughout the chapter. The NECF's introduction to the area and its continued presence is interesting not in terms of the facts alone, but in terms of the farmers and the local community's perception of this large agroforestry project and how it has affected their lives. In terms of landscape agroforestry has altered the landscape significantly and changed the structure and composition of the farming community.

### **6.1.2. The Introduction of Forestry to the North Eastern Cape**

Since NECF's establishment in Maclear and Ugie, the agroforestry company and the farmers have seemed to be on opposite sides of the spectrum. This is illustrated perfectly by an article by Rob Nuttall that appeared in the *Daily Dispatch* (8 July 1989), an excerpt of which appears at the beginning of the chapter. It highlights, in a slightly satirical but descriptive way, the distinct differences between this large company and the 'small- town folk'. In the article Nuttall, the business editor of the *Daily Dispatch*, not only provides a description which 'sets the scene', but also gives us some insight into the initial differences which may have coloured subsequent relationships and the farmers' perceptions at that time – that to some extent still remain today. The opinion was, and still is, strong – that Mondi and the farmers of the north Eastern Cape come from two different worlds, whose values are very different and these are now emphasised because of their mutual interest in the natural resources in the North Eastern Cape. At the first meeting between Mondi management and the residents in the district, concerns were raised<sup>5</sup> that continue to

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<sup>5</sup> These included jackal, employment of foreign labour and environmental issues i.e. water usage.

affect the interaction between the company and farmers, and, in some instances, fuel a continuous lack of co-operation in some areas.

As already noted the North Eastern Cape is historically an isolated agricultural district, dependent on rangeland stock farming using winter pastures, maize and potato crops and dairy activities. In the late 1980s and 1990s farming in the areas was beset by economic and security problems arising from drought, runaway fires, crime and stock theft. There are fairly successful farming enterprises but the area is not as rich and fertile as the natural surroundings may indicate. The soils are often shallow and prone to erosion; the climate is unpredictable and often extreme. In addition to these possible drawbacks, the area is far from markets, a feature that can influence the success of an enterprise. Due to these factors the land prices in this district were relatively low. Mondi and the Industrial Development Corporation<sup>6</sup> bought farms in 1989, 1994 and 1998. In 1989, 70 per cent of the sellers were unsuccessful farmers or who were in financial difficulty, while 30 per cent were farmers who wanted to farm elsewhere, for example in the Western Cape (Owen Hunt<sup>7</sup>). Those who were in financial trouble or relatively new to the area were approached with a reasonable price, and they sold their land<sup>8</sup>.

The claim made by some of those still farming in the area is that at the time when there were economic and security troubles in 1989, a number of farmers in the Elliot and Maclear districts were approached by a couple of land speculators who claimed they wanted to buy up land for cattle production. It soon became apparent that the actual buyer was NECF. The farmers found this upsetting because those prospecting for land for cattle production can buy land at a much lower price than land intended for timber production. They felt deceived by the massive multinational. This rumour could not be substantiated, because those who sold were no longer in the area to ask, and NECF was familiar with this commonly told story and so pre-empted any line of

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<sup>6</sup> Another shareholder in NECF.

<sup>7</sup> A manager at NECF who was essentially responsible for managing Mondi moving into the area. He has worked for Mondi for 30 years and moved to the area in October 1989. He currently resides in Maclear and works in the head office at Wildebees, outside Ugie. He was one of those who supported the introduction of forestry in the area and the planning of the project and has consequently been with NECF from their start in the area in 1991.

<sup>8</sup> Interview 4 June 2002

questioning relating to the rumour. Furthermore, it was difficult for me to get access to NECF and Mondi management because of my association with the farming community (this in itself reaffirms the tense relationship between the two groups). The second misgiving farmers had was that the agroforestry company intended to convert a large number of farms to pine and eucalyptus forests, and these, in the farmers' opinions, are plants in need of high volumes of water. This would have a negative impact on water runoff and, in addition, frequent droughts significantly change the landscape. Thirdly, timber production involves a form of land use that is unfamiliar to farmers and essentially would change the 'feel of the land'.<sup>9</sup>

When asked about the initial misunderstanding as to who was purchasing the farms it is claimed by NECF management that if there indeed existed a misconception as to who was buying the land, the fault lay with the estate agent who acted as the middleman for their initial transactions. However NECF denies that this misunderstanding occurred and "the rumours about Mondi in some way being dishonest were fuelled by the situation the farmers were in and the temptation of getting almost double or triple the usual asking price. Mondi never forced anyone to sell, but even so, many argued that it was just too good an offer to turn down, it was like dangling a carrot in front of a donkey"<sup>10</sup>.

Those currently farming in the area continue to view the agroforestry company's actions in a negative light – farmers neighbouring the company's property claim that NECF was at that time taking advantage of the farmers' position and that many of the sellers felt pressurised to sell, especially those with Landbou<sup>11</sup> loans that were primarily granted to Afrikaner farmers. Some were in serious debt and the consortium establishing the NECF was offering between R800 - R1 000 per hectare when under normal circumstances the land prices were between R300 - R400 per hectare. In 1994 and 1998 properties came available that were bordering NECF farms

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<sup>9</sup> A number of farmers were negative about the plantations. As mentioned in a previous chapter Henry Smith, for example, described it as "The Green Cancer" and he felt that it changed the area from a magnificently scenic place to one now dotted with patches of green, which changed the atmosphere of the place.

<sup>10</sup> Owen Hunt. Interview 4 June 2002.

<sup>11</sup> Landbou loans are Land bank loans, which were and are granted by the government to subsidise farming. In the past the Afrikaans farmers were said to be granted these loans more easily than English-speaking farmers.

and so they were of interest to the agroforestry company for expansion. The situation arose again for those farmers who were struggling financially with Land Bank loans and/or large Co-op and Maclear Farmers' Group<sup>12</sup> accounts to settle their debts<sup>13</sup> by selling their farms to NECF. Farmers do not deny that it was 'willing buyer, willing seller', but still felt that there was little choice given the incentives. The negative attitudes remain because of current problems but, as Margaret Purdon explained "when Mondi<sup>14</sup> bought those farms like that, that way, it laid the foundation for our relationship with them. I mean, we can't trust them. We get on well with some of the Mondi management, foresters like Simon and Paul they try to help where they can". In some cases though they feel frustration at seemingly inconsistent and unreliable personnel.

Kathleen Simkins has a strong attachment to the land but was one of the later sellers (1998), and so cannot give confirmation of the rumours of the investors misrepresenting themselves in those initial sales, but she was one of those that had to make the difficult choice to sell. Kathleen is in her late seventies and her late husband's family had farmed in this area for generations. I would visit her occasionally or help her in the cemetery, which she was helping to maintain as she firmly believes the dead should not be forgotten: "it would be such a shame to just leave it with the stones collapsing and the writing all faded. Did you see there are some Bensons here?" and she turned around from where we sat, on the marble base of gravestones, and pointed up the hill.

She offered to take me out to the farm where she lived and farmed after her husband's death as she wanted to show me the farm house. NECF was using it as a residence for one of their employees so it still remained intact. I asked if NECF allowed her access to the farm, "what are they going to do?" she replied. The farm is situated about 15 minutes outside Ugie and as soon as we reached the turn off she began to point out

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<sup>12</sup> MFG is a buyers' group consisting of 21 members (maximum), which was formed to compete with the local co-operative (co-op). A co-op is a supplier of fertilisers, chemicals and general equipment needed for farming.

<sup>13</sup> Farming debt is common, in South Africa in 2002 total farming debt amounted to R31 billion ([www.statssa.gov.za](http://www.statssa.gov.za)).

<sup>14</sup> Farmers refer to the agroforestry company as Mondi as they are a shareholder but there have been talks that Mondi has been taking steps towards selling its interest in NECF. This was never confirmed but was a common 'rumour' amongst farmers throughout my fieldwork.



significant places for her: “we used to go swimming there” or “what a mess they’ve made of that”, stopping periodically to get a better look at some part of the land. Once we were at the house, we asked the current occupant if we might look around and she showed me their old dairy about 50m from the house (now a *rondavel*), the old outhouse (now a shed), and pointed out all the changes that had occurred. Once we were back on the road she said “it makes me so sad, we lived there for so long, my children grew up there but there isn’t anyone left to look after it, so it has to leave the Benson family. I just got too old”. We went back to her house in town for afternoon tea. Her domestic worker brought out the tea and Kathleen spoke to her in Xhosa very loudly. Then she turned to me to explain, “that’s Jane, she’s been with me for years, she’s my companion but she is so deaf now I have to shout”. She then took out a photo album and showed me pictures of when they lived on the farm, at the end she showed me the day she auctioned all her equipment and furniture (each piece with a story) – “it was the saddest day of my life” and she put the album back on the shelf. Even in situations that were amicable there is still an intense sense of regret and sadness surrounding the buying of farms.

The NECF’s introduction to the area was fraught with problems of its own that only became apparent later. When assessing if any area is a viable option to start planting timber there are certain criteria to consider. The most important is the assessment of the land, in terms of the quality and possible yield of the land (Gandar and Forester 1994). At the time of my interview with NECF manager Owen Hunt, the NECF owned 90 000 hectares but only 40 percent of that was planted. This situation, he explained, was created by the fact that estate agents were sent to buy the land, and the environmental assessment (land and water) was done through them. The prediction was that there would be 75 per cent planting, which was later revised to 68 per cent, nevertheless Mondi was encouraged to invest. Only now are the real statistics emerging and the discrepancy is attributed to the unpredictable nature of the environment in the area. The soils were tested and there were variability studies done but ultimately those who did the assessment were not experienced enough<sup>15</sup> in the

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<sup>15</sup> This was the opinion of the employees from NECF that I spoke to about the small percentage of agroforestry planted. This was also reflected in interviews with some farmers who have had issues with the forestry in the area, or are neighbours to plantations.

area's particular climatic conditions or were eager to present a particular view of the land to make sure the sale went through, so as to gain a large profit.



*Figure 6.2. NECF's head office near Ugie*

## 6.2. The Impact of Forestry on the North Eastern Cape

In the past, commercial forestry was usually undertaken on land which was unsuitable for other types of agricultural activities, aiming to produce the positive outcomes of generating employment in rural areas while concurrently increasing revenue in this type of development. There was a complementary relationship between commercial forestry and agriculture. In the last thirty years expansion in the industry has occurred with increasing demand worldwide for paper goods, thereby intensifying the timber-growing practice. This expansion has led to a conflict between timber growers and other land use activities, preventing smooth integration into the rural environments and resulting in a more controversial relationship (Gandar and Forester 1994:2).

Conservationists<sup>16</sup>, also interested in influencing the landscape for the 'better', are concerned with the loss of grassland habitats which they see as important ecosystems supporting threatened flora and fauna species. The current (eco-oriented) tourism industry is dependent on this type of scenery, and tourism operators argue that the

<sup>16</sup> In terms of conservation and tourism there is a desire for a particular type of 'untouched' landscape but in any cases where people have established themselves in the landscape there an effect and so the question arises are there such landscapes that are 'untouched'. My contention that Maclear farmers have a concept of landscape and are attached to it means that 'neutral' space has had human interaction within it and meaning therefore embedded in it and so changes from space to a place and this is indicated by changes within the land.

introduction of forestry reduces the niche market and attraction of the landscape. Visitors to the area that I spoke to had in most cases a different opinion, as many indicated that the pines are aesthetically pleasing, in their use of descriptors such as “it’s a pretty sea of green”, “it reminds me of Christmas, it adds some colour in winter” and “there are just rows and rows of them – it is a really amazing sight”. The Maclear farmer sees his identity as being connected with the land, and so with a change in the landscape, especially one which is so visible, so visibly, easily translates into a threat to their attachment to the land and therefore colours their viewpoint.

At the first meeting between Mondi and the residents of Maclear, Ugie and Elliot, the questions raised concerned jackals, forest fires, the thought that the forest would create a green desert, job creation, and the possibility of the introduction of foreign labour.<sup>17</sup> Today these are still concerns for the local farmers despite Mondi’s attempts to deal with these problems. Rural communities blame afforestation for dry riverbeds downstream, especially if their experience is that the river flowed in droughts prior to the planting of timber. These concerns are discussed below.

### **6.3. Main Areas for Concern**

#### **6.3.1 Impacts on Flora and Fauna Species**

##### **6.3.1.1 Pest Control**

Herbicides are used prior to planting and for weed control. Insecticides are used to control “pine woolly aphid and red and black ants” (Gandar and Forester 1994:12). “As the timber industry uses similar pesticides to agriculture – any constraints in this regard must be applied to both sectors” (*ibid.*:13).

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<sup>17</sup> In 1989 there were concerns that Taiwanese planters would be employed, today the perceived threat is Lesotho nationals harvesting the timber. The black residents in the area have the same concern, but not only in terms of NECF’s employment practices but also farmers employing labourers who are not locals. Nozulu Soyizwapi raised this issue in his interview with a local leader, who said: “Our neighbouring farmers are disadvantageous to us. They recruit from far away from Hershel, Sterkspruit and KwaZulu Natal, or recruit where construction is based. Instead we are enemies who live by conflicts and contradictions”.

Rodents can do a large amount of damage to trees, especially young pines. Poisons which contain mainly anticoagulants can affect an entire food chain, creating a greater problem as the natural predators, which are smaller in number, are killed off. Thus the policy in large companies is not to use this type of pest control. The preferred methods are to use traps and encourage natural predators – for example, to attract birds of prey, perches can be erected and bait used to attract the rodents. This is the method used by the NECF and “poles, used as raptor perches, dot the veld and encourage the predators of vlei rats and striped field mice and mainly Jackal buzzard to catch rats which are a menace to young trees” (Fulmer December 2003).

Rumours emerged during my stay in the area in 2001 that NECF was breeding snakes to deal with the rodent problem, as there was an increase in snake numbers observed by some members of the black community downstream<sup>18</sup> and some farmers such as Ronnie Porter lost cattle in the summer season in 2002 due to snake bites. It was raised as an issue in a discussion between Penny and one of her assistant researchers working in the Tsolo area, Nozulu Soyizwapi. In his field notes Nozulu Soyizwapi makes mention of this issue in an interview with *Mother X*, “except in the case with the livestock we have another problem. There is the problem of increased big snakes which have bitten children of the age of ten. One has his leg cut but no death at present. Unfamiliar big snakes increased.” During an informal discussion with Simon Jones, the forester at the Killarney plantation, in 2002, I mentioned these concerns and he replied tongue-in-cheek “I’m so busy breeding jackal I don’t have time to breed snakes.”

The white farmers’ misgivings about the NECF and its negative effects focus on the increase in number of a particular species, and they attribute this increase to the introduction of forestry to the area. Jackal has always been a problem for sheep farmers. There is mention of it in *The Barkley East Reporter* as early as 1889 after an incident involving the poisoning of a neighbouring farmer’s dog:

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<sup>18</sup> Penny Bernard brought this rumour to my attention.



“Mr Hawkes admitted laying poison at night around his camp or enclosure in which his sheep and goats slept, but swears that he himself went early that morning and removed all that he could find... The reason he lays poison about is that he is continually having sheep and goats killed by jackal” (13 April 1889).

The methods used today differ and although the sheep farmers attempt to use a variety of deterrents, such as flashing lights and loud noises near their night pens, jackals are still a huge nuisance. “The problem is that they get used to the lights and then you try something else, then they get used to that. Sometimes Jonathan stays in the kraal with his sheep trying to catch them in the act and shoot at them to keep them away, but you can’t do that every night.” (Christopher Tarr)

In the initial meeting, mentioned by Nuttall in his article, the concern was raised that the forestry development would increase jackal numbers by providing them with hiding places, and if rat numbers were to increase in an area with afforestation this would supply the jackal with a greater food supply resulting in an increase in their numbers. It is in the best interests of NECF to keep rodent numbers down due to the damage they can do to their trees, which is left to the plantation managers to control. In keeping rodent numbers down they would not be contributing to the increase in any predatory species in this manner, i.e. snake species and jackals. It should be kept in mind that plantation managers have a large area that they are responsible for, making a task such as this infinitely more difficult. The complaint of jackal numbers increasing or that forestry somehow encourages jackal numbers has been a longstanding one. Farmers still taunt foresters if they happen to be socialising. It has become a longstanding local ‘joke’ used to continue to highlight perceived problems and to set boundaries, by reminding the few NECF foresters and managers which ‘side’ they are on.

The forests themselves may not be a direct contributor to the ‘increase’ in jackal numbers but rather the secondary impacts of the decrease in the number of farmers in the area. David Purdon, a sheep farmer in the Maclear district, offers an additional explanation: that jackal have increased in number because in the past “they were

actively hunted by farmers<sup>19</sup> and they were more spread out. There is however an increase in rat numbers, which creates an overspill, but you must remember there are now only a handful of sheep farmers and so less sheep to go after and so there is a concentration of attacks on those left<sup>20</sup>. Farmers in the area acknowledge that there has been a jackal problem in the past but according to them it has been intensified by the presence of commercial forestry in the area. The threat is perceived as greater because of the smaller number of sheep farmers struggling to make a profit, which is dependent on ensuring minimal wastage.

Due to the increase in the number of attacks from jackal there the need has arisen to 'kraal' the sheep at night. This means that their grazing has been cut from 24 hours to 8 hours, which results in a reduced yield. Kraaling<sup>21</sup> sheep can also spread diseases quicker, especially worms, and it reduces the efficient use of staff, as they have to move sheep in and out (while I was staying with David and Claire Purdon this took, on average, up to two hours a day).

The discussion on rats and jackal highlight firstly that there is the farmers' perception and then there is the agroforestry companies. Secondly these seemingly small threats are symbolic of boundary maintenance, the establishment and maintenance of the frontier and how agroforestry is encroaching in their livelihoods. It sustains the perception that the forestry company is a threat to their identity due to the fact that they not only changed the look and feel of the land but contribute to the problems which farmers must deal with and try to control. In the discussion above there is evidence that the problem of jackal especially has been long-standing one. Changes in their circumstances described by David Purdon (i.e. smaller number of farmers) means the repercussions of these are intensified and the threat is seen as stemming from the introduction of forestry.

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<sup>19</sup> Bruce Tarr, a farmer in the same valley, used hunting dogs as a method of dealing with jackal but NECF complained.

<sup>20</sup> Interview 5 June 2002

<sup>21</sup> Pronounced "crawling", meaning to keep the sheep in a small enclosure or camp, in most cases situated close to the homestead

### 6.3.1.2 Biodiversity and Mondi's Contribution to addressing Environmental Issues

Apart from jackal, rats and snakes, commercial forests tend to be devoid of any animals and complementary plants or shrubs<sup>22</sup> because of the close proximity of the trees when planted to make full utilization of an area. The concept of a 'green desert' is often used to describe this phenomenon. A greater concern is that the way the trees are planted upsets the ecosystem and jeopardises bio-diversity. In addition it essentially changes the landscape into a large sea of deep green that can change the feel of a place and, in *local opinion*, jeopardises some of the aesthetic beauty – a sentiment echoed by environmental columnist Guy Rogers in an article on the work being done by the NECF: "It's a high wild world of stark beauty and it seemed to me a great pity that forestry and its vast, sterile phalanxes had to be there at all" (Rogers 1999). The scenic beauty of the area is largely due to its rock formations, gorges and rolling hills. The plantations obscure the view of most of these features.

In the initial meeting with Mondi, there was a presentation of brochures, a video, and question time. With them they brought a conservationist, "who told them that Mondi's 66 000 hectares of forests, to be planted over a 20-year period, would enhance the environment and can be no threat to the animal and birdlife of the region" (Nuttall 1989:6). As a large company in the forestry industry Mondi has shown commitment to the practice of sustainable forest management. They have Forest Stewardship Council certification (backed by the World Wildlife Fund) and ISO 14001 certification, two leading international certification schemes ([www.mondiforests.co.za](http://www.mondiforests.co.za)), which cite "key international factors that strongly influence demand for forest products are sustainability and the stewardship of biodiversity within the forestry operation from where the products are sourced. Customers now expect a high standard of environmental management, and will reject products that have been produced in a manner not environmentally, sociologically or

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<sup>22</sup> Trees are planted close together, which does not allow sunlight to reach these plants and shrubs. In addition, control measures used for weeds in the form of herbicides kill other plants. The fauna has less food and so their numbers lower as the food source decreases.



economically acceptable...to reassure the customer, third party certification schemes have sprung into existence” (*ibid.*).

The NECF has a FSC<sup>23</sup> certification, which was granted in 2002 after some small corrective measures. NECF, in terms of purely financial gains, has not been successful for Mondi but it has been a good example of how seriously Mondi takes environmental issues. Mondi has put a large amount of money and time into wetland rehabilitation and identifying Natural Heritage Sites.

For instance, Mondi has a wetlands project<sup>24</sup> (the Mondi Wetlands Project (MWP) previously called the Rennies Wetland Project),<sup>25</sup> and in 2001 it committed itself to “fund the project with R5.5 million over five years. The Mondi Wetlands Project is actively assessing the condition of wetlands in South Africa, rehabilitating those that are degraded, and providing training in wetland conservation” (Forest Management Reports 2003:5). There are three main wetlands in the Ugie/Maclear area: “KuNtombizinzi Vlei, which is 10 square kilometres in size, Gatberg Vlei (19 square km), and the Little Pot Vlei (13 square km)” (Lindley 1999).



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<sup>23</sup> FSC stands for Forestry Stewardship Council.

<sup>24</sup> Some cynics argue this was merely a clever move by the agroforestry company, and particularly Mondi, to shut up most of its critics, who were largely people interested or involved in wetland issues.

<sup>25</sup> Initially the Rennies Travel Company provided sponsorship and Mondi took over that role in April 2001.





Figure 6.3. The interior (previous page) and exterior (below) of the Khulanathi<sup>26</sup> Centre on NECF property

Mondi also offers environmental education, an example of which was a Wetlands Course, held on 5 September 2001 at the Khulanathi Education Centre on NECF property just outside Ugie. The course was run by the national training co-ordinator of the MWP, Damien Walters\*. The participants were Working for Water contractors from Ugie, NECF foresters and three conservation students from KwaZulu Natal and myself. Mr Walters works for the Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa (WESSA). He explained that MWP's wider aims are to:

- develop public awareness of the importance of wetlands through the media
- lobby key decision-makers to dedicate more resources to wetland conservation
- train students, extension staff and wetland managers to better manage, utilise and rehabilitate wetlands
- encourage the management of wetlands by communities
- assist in the rehabilitation of wetlands by giving specialist technological and ecological planning advice
- identify research areas and help that research to be done.

The importance of wetlands lies in the fact that, at our current rate of supply and demand, South Africa's water resources will be fully utilised by 2030. Wetlands help to manage water, and continued destruction of wetlands will result in increased flooding, less reliable water supplies and less pure water (*ibid.*) and "Mondi is one of the first large forestry companies to have a Wetland Policy" ([www.mondiforests.co.za](http://www.mondiforests.co.za)).

<sup>26</sup> Khulanathi roughly translated as 'growing together'.

Mondi has also named six Natural Heritage Sites, including the picturesque Prentjiesberg near Ugie. Mondi Forests monitor these Natural Heritage Sites annually as part of Mondi's Biodiversity Programme. "The environmental manager audited all Natural Heritage Sites and...generally the environmental condition of the sites is good. However, the seeming lack of government support for the National Heritage Programme and the fact that no other sites have been registered since 2001 is a cause for concern" (*ibid.*). Mondi has in addition shown concern for biodiversity and the environment by playing a supportive role in the Working for Water group. Many of the courses offered by WESSA are offered to the Working for Water employees so that when they are in the field they may be able to identify areas that are in need of rehabilitation.

"In the preliminary environmental impact assessment that was conducted in the late 1980s the farms purchased by NECF, apart from some grysbuck and grey rhebuck, were devoid of game" ([www.mondiforests.co.za](http://www.mondiforests.co.za)). Before NECF's introduction to the area there was a shortage in the number of antelope, attributed to past hunting and hunting-dog activities in the area<sup>27</sup>. Present farmers claim that the previous generation enjoyed the sport that led to the indiscriminate killing of a large number of the smaller antelope.

It needs to be noted that there has been a shift from one generation to the next in their opinions as to what are environmentally and socially acceptable practices, this was highlighted by some younger farmers in interviews. The previous generations are criticised, although never openly, for their past management of the veld and surrounding environments. This is due to a wider change in attitude to the environment whilst keeping in mind that many of the young English-speaking farmers attended either the University of KwaZulu Natal or Cedara, an agricultural college also situated in KwaZulu Natal. Institutions such as these have also changed over time with regard to conservation in agriculture, at least in comparison to when some of their fathers studied.

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<sup>27</sup> The problem however is not only with game numbers but with the destruction by the company of rare high altitude grasslands that are extremely biodiverse, containing medicinal plants and wide range of animals, insects and birds.



NECF reintroduced a number of antelope species such as blesbuck, reedbuck and black wildebeest, as well as Zebra, to the Prentjiesberg Nature Reserve outside Ugie<sup>28</sup>. In October 2002 the number of blesbuck and zebra were 170 and 40 respectively. In mid-October of that year 64 blesbuck were captured, 14 of these were sent to Killarney Estate and 7 to Funeray and the rest were sold to local farmers<sup>29</sup>. Animals hunted or captured on NECF property in 2002 numbered 82 blesbuck and 7 zebra<sup>30</sup>. ([www.mondiforests.co.za](http://www.mondiforests.co.za)).

On 28 July 2001 I joined a large group of local farmers in the annual crane census. The census includes a large number of bird groups, not only cranes, and is used by environmental groups to assess populations in various areas around the country. There were a number of sightings of a variety of birdlife in farming lands but none listed were sited in the NECF area we were assigned<sup>31</sup>.

Once we entered the NECF property there were just rows and rows of trees. Only two birds of prey were seen, much to the group's disappointment, and the feeling was expressed that it was a waste of time to even bother looking on NECF property. As we travelled deeper into the plantations there were unplanted areas, where ruins of old farmhouses were, and the women spoke about who had occupied the land previously

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<sup>28</sup> NECF claim they used local rock art to determine which species to re-introduce. Some of these animals were captured from Mondi's existing operations in KwaZulu Natal. Mondi controls the population numbers, while utilising its multiple resource utilisation (MRU) through the allowance of hunting and live capture on its properties. "Hunting of game animals and birds may be permitted on properties that are owned or managed by Mondi Forests whenever adequate resource exists: hunting will in all cases be in accordance with National or Provincial legislation and in a controlled, humane and respectful manner, ethically and safely. Dogs may only be used in the hunting of game birds" ([www.mondiforests.co.za](http://www.mondiforests.co.za)). A procedure is in place which the environmental managers have to follow (in combination with Estate staff and Provincial Conservation Authorities) and written approval is necessary from the regional manager for utilization of resources in this manner. The NECF area manager is responsible for signing any required written permission to hunt. A large amount of control in these situations is exercised and a record of the details of each hunt maintains this control. It also provides some additional income. They are very strict about access, locals are not allowed to collect medicinal plants or hunt (Nozulu Soyizwapi's findings concur).

<sup>29</sup> Information supplied by Simon Jones.

<sup>30</sup> The seven zebra were sold to a local farmer near Elliot.

<sup>31</sup> I was assigned to a group of farmer's wives, and we covered a smaller section than the one assigned to men, through sections of NECF land with better roads. According to the group of five women, during the census they never see birdlife past the NECF gates. The North Eastern Cape holds 10 per cent of South Africa's crane population and Edward Devine has been working in the area since 1999 educating and increasing awareness amongst locals as to the importance of the cranes in the area.

and how much things had changed. During the trip they talked about the changes which have taken place around them, mostly these were expressed as regrettable changes.

The NECF has a large responsibility as it has the total known population of wattled cranes in the district on their landholdings. Two breeding pairs are on the Gatberg Vlei while another pair has been sighted in the Rush Valley Pan in the Eland's Heights Estate. Agrochemicals are a large threat to these endangered birds and local awareness of this threat is fostered by the initiative "The Whately North/East Cape Crane Project" of which Edward Devine was the chief researcher. He has been crucial in the identification of breeding cranes in the area.

Working with an Eastern Cape nature conservation employee, Philip Mdoko, Devine educated local farmers and farm workers on the value of preserving these birds. The threat from local farmers comes in the form of viewing the cranes as pests, as cranes are known to damage certain crops. In Devine's initial research he asked local farmers if they could tell him when they spotted these birds. The response of the Afrikaans farmers, I was told, was a candid one "As ons hulle sien, skiet ons hulle". Roughly translated this means "if we see them we shoot them". A large amount of progress has been made where local farmers have shared the responsibility of looking after established crane nests<sup>32</sup> (David Purdon is one of those involved). The NECF have been working in conjunction with Devine in this regard, reaffirming their interest in biodiversity and stimulating a similar interest by farmers. In this way the agroforestry company has indirectly encouraged change in some farmers through exposure to different approaches to environmental issues.

Another example of just such a change was through Patricia Morgan and Mary Purdon's interest in having flappers<sup>33</sup> installed on Eskom lines, working with Smallie in 2001 they played an integral part in their installation. Patricia wrote several letters to Eskom about the problem and when little action was taken on their part she

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<sup>32</sup> Largely due to Edward Devine's work in the area.

<sup>33</sup> Flappers are small circular disks which move in the wind and reflect light, warning birds away from the power lines.



motivated them to action through a threat of going to the press about the preventable deaths of our national bird (the blue crane)<sup>34</sup> and their lack of response to the problem. When I spoke to Patricia about the matter she was extremely passionate about helping to conserve these birds and monitored the situation carefully. Eskom did place flappers on the electric lines where cranes were known to nest or where large numbers of birds were found dead under the power lines. The first batch of flappers were poorly designed and proved ineffective, with the result that Patricia continued to inform Eskom of the problems and corrective measures were put in place after consulting with Devine about the correct flappers.

The previous paragraphs show that Mondi is working hard to bring about sustainable environmental management to the district. However, their changes are not entirely beneficial to the area and some farmers do not agree with their initiatives. I would argue that the sheer scale and power of Mondi is also worrying for the farmers. They see NECF's managers as a direct threat to their identity and 'way of life' in the district. Like them, the agroforestry company uses (what they see as) aggressive tactics in the acquisition and transformation of landscape, and therefore efforts on Mondi's part to address biodiversity are not seen as real solutions to changes that the agroforestry company implemented itself but rather clever tactics to justify the transformation of the landscape. Farming is historically the land use pattern for the area and so is widely accepted, and not so harshly scrutinised. The community itself has and is involved in farming of a particular kind, that of the family owned farm which serves as the nucleus for the family enhancing their feelings of solidarity and effects their transmission of values. Some of the families have been in the area for a long period of time, as is illustrated in Chapter Four, this extended period of stay has not only intensified their attachment to the land but in the face of new developments such as agroforestry, it gives them a sense of having 'more rights to the land they currently occupy'.

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<sup>34</sup> In the area there are wattled and blue crane species.

### 6.3.2. Forestry and Fire Risks

It is the duty of a landowner to burn firebreaks in areas that are known for veldfires. The North Eastern Cape might be lush and green in summer but during the winter months the grasslands become dry and brittle. "Every owner on whose land a veldfire may start or burn or from whose land it may spread must prepare and maintain a firebreak on his or her side of the boundary between his or her land and any adjoining land" (National Veld and Forest Fire Act 101 of 1998 12:1). During my stay there were a number of fires, the most serious of which started on an emerging farmer's land. Mary Purdon phoned all the neighbouring farmers for assistance in fighting the fire. I was staying on a farm nearby, alone, and so it was my responsibility to alert the all farm labourers I could find to go and help fight the fire. The neighbouring farmers and their labourers did what they could but the fire destroyed the farmer's home, and an elderly relative got caught in the blaze. It spread so quickly that she was encircled in flames and burnt to death. The farmers in the area have experience in fighting fires as the area is prone to veldfires and they mobilise themselves quickly, but even so loss of life and property do occur.

Farmers in the area are of the opinion that NECF is a good neighbour because they take care of their boundaries i.e. fixing fences and burning firebreaks. Henry Smith, a local farmer, goes further to say that NECF has increased awareness of fire hazards in the area.



*Figure 6.4. NECF Workers burning firebreaks*

It is in the NECF and Mondi's best interests to guard against fire. Pine is highly flammable and a fire can destroy large areas, as it is difficult to control once it has started.

Christopher Tarr is a young farmer and was one of very few farmers to see agroforestry's introduction to the area as an opportunity. He began growing timber in order to make some extra income. Two years ago his trees were almost ready for harvesting but were burnt out completely. This was of great concern as it was millions of rands worth of damage. He held NECF liable as the fire started on their side of the boundary. This year he received a payout rumoured to be R3 million. It was a long process and he feels that his venture could have been more lucrative if the fire hadn't occurred but was glad that they could prove NECF liable.

Between 1998 and 2002 the total number of fires that occurred on NECF property numbered 55. Hectares burnt was recorded at an average of 10.26 ha/fire with the highest number of ha/fire burnt in 2002 ([www.firestop.co.za/fire\\_statistics.htm](http://www.firestop.co.za/fire_statistics.htm)). There were a number of cases of arson in 2002, which is nothing new for Mondi. In the KwaZulu Natal Midlands 79.1 per cent of burnt planted and felled pine was due to arson (*ibid.*). Disputes regarding retrenchment or even restricted access to NECF property have been cited, by farmers and other members of the community interviewed, as reasons for the incidents of arson on NECF property<sup>35</sup>.

NECF does offer help to fight fires, especially in instances where the fire is on an adjoining property. During an informal interview with Simon Jones<sup>36</sup>, he said that NECF tries to be a good neighbour but in some instances farmers are unreasonable. In the past he has lent out equipment or sent men out to fight fires using the equipment supplied by NECF. In some cases the equipment lent out comes back broken or is stolen. In the case of theft this is usually perpetrated while everyone gathers to fight a fire. "Beaters get pinched off of the bakkie, and they become

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<sup>35</sup> In Mpumalanga they experienced similar problems in 2005.

<sup>36</sup> December 2003



expensive to replace if you keep having them stolen”<sup>37</sup> (*ibid.*). A beater has a broomstick handle with a flat wide rectangular rubber end, used to ‘beat’ out fires. The alternative method used to ‘beat’ out a fire is to break off large branches of nearby bushes, which is a lot less effective. Beaters are usually longer which is useful in avoiding loss of visibility due to the smoke, which can be very thick close to a fire. Each one can cost up to R45. “The perception by some is that Mondi can afford the loss of a few beaters” (*ibid.*). Fulmer however complains that he is limited in terms of his budget – he has to justify his losses and ultimately he is held accountable. Working for NECF and not originating from the area, Fulmer, although accepted by the younger farmers, is still an outsider and although he wants acceptance he also has responsibilities to NECF and ultimately Mondi. These incidents of minor theft and destruction of property (for example, padlocks are broken to gain access to an NECF property), may seem like a small price for a major timber company to pay. However, as illustrated through Fulmer’s experiences it causes a number of problems for the relationship between the forester and the farmer on the ground level.

The introduction of NECF has also increased the public liability risks, especially in terms of fires. This poses a large risk for farmers surrounding NECF property which is planted. Previously it was only grasslands, now if held liable the costs could reach millions of rands. The law states “(1) If a person who brings civil proceedings proves that he or she suffered loss from a veldfire which – (a) the defendant caused; or (b) only started on or spread from land owned by the defendant, the defendant is presumed to have been negligent in relation to the veldfire until the contrary is proved” (National Veld and Forest Fire Act 101 of 1998. 34:1).

Fire poses a real physical threat to the farming unit, and an increase in the dangers and damages that fire brings again intensifies the perception that they must ‘defend’ themselves against this threat. The theory on ‘frontiers’ shows that the farmers have had to defend themselves against common enemies in the past and so it is easy to see

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<sup>37</sup> James Tambo expressed the same situation had occurred to him but he did not say whether the farmers or their workers had taken them. James works for ‘Working for Water’, which also receives a small amount of support from Mondi, and is an emerging farmer.



that forestry resurrects (or provides a continuation) of boundary maintenance, physically and symbolically.

### 6.3.3 Employment Issues

During the initial stages of planting, NECF promised a large number of jobs and delivered the same, however these follow the cyclical pattern of the trees' growth. While the trees are growing, employment opportunities dwindle and many 'cutbacks' or retrenchments occur, followed by a sudden boom again when harvesting has to be done. The initial employment opportunities brought a large number of foresters to the area. They changed many features of the towns, for example a bar in Ugie was called 'Foresters Inn' as it was a popular drinking place for the foresters, with the farming community mainly keeping to the country club.

Initially there was a great amount of tension between the foresters and the farmers. It was very difficult for them not to see each other as belonging on different sides of the fence, and good relationships between the two were few and far between. Arguments between the two would range from access to areas, fire burning, jackals and the upkeep of fences, to the infrastructure. Most of those foresters who initially came were not welcomed and were made to feel like outsiders who represented something undesirable. Fights often broke out, especially between the younger farmers and foresters. Even to date arguments ensue between locals and foresters. Earlier this year a disagreement between a Ugie farmer and Simon Jones broke out in a local bar. With little local support Simon was found by one of the younger Maclear farmers on the pavement outside suffering from concussion.

The promise of employment draws people to an area, even though it may already have a large number of unemployed members. This generates an influx of people who are not all guaranteed employment. Once there is no sign of employment, the exit from a certain area may not be as quick as the influx. There is also a perception by the local community that the outsiders<sup>38</sup>, who came into the area looking for work, once idle,

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<sup>38</sup> Primarily black labour force

are threats to stability of the community and are usually thought to steal and cause trouble.

Initially NECF did create a large number of opportunities for skilled and especially unskilled labour. Agroforestry's huge draw card was that it was going to create employment for the local community and thereby improve their quality of life and alleviate the poverty experienced by those in the area. The sale of farm land to NECF meant that farm labourers had to move from these farms. A small number were employed by NECF and stayed on the plantations, however, the housing structure was vastly different to what can be seen on a typical farm. From my observations, farmers employ a number of workers that can range from 3 to 60 depending on the season, the scale of farm activities or type of farming. Farmers often employ farm labourers' wives or female relatives as domestic workers, gardeners, dairymaids or nannies. "On average a farm can support up to 24 families directly or indirectly (about 118 persons)" (Swart 2002).

David Purdon highlighted the repercussions in broader terms: "there may have been up to fifteen families where there is now one forester. Workers who had lived on those farms would have had their own stock and were essentially uprooted"<sup>39</sup>. In his opinion NECF didn't employ many farm workers. "Some of the shepherds are older men, sixty years old plus. They put out salt licks<sup>40</sup>, walk around checking on sheep on mountain farms. These men would not be employed by Mondi"<sup>41</sup> (*ibid.*). In Nozulu Soyizwapi's interview with a local leader from Gqaqala the predicament the ex-farm workers are in was raised, the farm-workers who were evicted are called *amalose* or 'The Lost':

The lost (evicted) old born and bred farm workers began to start a new life. They had to seek for work, for places to hide their heads<sup>42</sup>, for places to settle with their families and their belongings. The chief, his assistants and the communities began to find a solution of how to allow these evicted farm-workers to settle... The evicted people had more hatred against the farmers. They began to adapt themselves to the

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<sup>39</sup> Interview 5 June 2002

<sup>40</sup> Licks provide minerals necessary for stock to keep their condition, especially during the winter months.

<sup>41</sup> The locals refer to North East Cape Forests (NECF) as Mondi. They use the two terms interchangeably.

<sup>42</sup> Indicating shame over losing their job and place.

way of living outside the farms. They made friendships and informed people close, of the life on the farms and the whole situation of the farm environment.

In my interview with James Tambo<sup>43</sup> he raised similar issues concerning the movement of farm workers off the farms. James explains that many of the farm labourers were “suppliers to the homelands”, by which he meant they provide small amounts of money to keep those still in the former homelands in food. In his opinion NECF also did not “take over so many farm labourers”. Farm labourers then moved to town and an increase in unemployment led to an increase in crime. There also resulted a “conflict at the borders” he says “because food got scarce” (*ibid.*). He highlighted that the community has needs e.g. at funerals there needs to be a slaughter for the visitors and they no longer had stock of their own to slaughter.

There was a disruption in the lifestyle of the local community; those labourers that were attracted to NECF, he says, were initially paid R40.00, which was cut down to R22.50 per day. The possibility of a doubling in salary attracted farm labourers although there was not always housing available, especially not for families, as would be the case for those working on a farm. Those staying on farms may receive smaller wages but they would also have rations, accommodation and other extras not included in the salary. NECF does not provide the same structure and benefits. In cases where the NECF plantations are far away from town, too far to travel daily, a NECF worker would live with the farm labourers. An example James Tambo gave was of young men who moved in with unmarried women. Subsequently conditions have improved for some farm labourers in light of changes in labour law concerning minimum wages and those who did move regretted their decision which consequently led to more instability<sup>44</sup>.

Farmers who lost labourers were reluctant to re-employ them after they lost their jobs at NECF (because of retrenchment). This was due to the fact that farmers in the area have reduced their activities and so in any case had fewer jobs to offer. James Tambo argues that the lack of jobs has increased crime and the number of shacks in the

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<sup>43</sup> Interview 2 August 2001

<sup>44</sup> Interview 2 August 2001.

location<sup>45</sup>. Conflicts also arose over the use of the municipal commonage because previously those in the location, who moved from farms with stock, leased the commonage for grazing lands. Trees are now planted on the commonage, as a greater profit was to be made from this.

In discussions with Margaret Purdon it seems that one factor which contributed to NECF's taking over of the commonage was that grazing was occurring without the municipality receiving payment. The leasing of the land to NECF, however, meant that those in the township had no grazing so had to sell their sheep and cattle. "Some others brought cattle into Mondi's trees and so Mondi got the cattle impounded. Some members of the township were so angry they set fires. There is so much conflict" (*ibid.*). In the interview James explained how the fires are set: "they take a candle and then pile up dry grass around it and then just walk away because it takes a while to start the fire" (*ibid.*).

In very few cases did the farmers allow ex-farm labourers to keep stock on their farms and lease grazing to them. NECF does lease grazing<sup>46</sup> to some farmers – this is an arrangement between the plantation forester, NECF management and the farmer. The perception, however, is that when these arrangements are made white farmers are favoured. Most of those in the township who might need grazing for their cattle have little or no income and without money no one will lease grazing land to them.

These sentiments and complaints are echoed in interviews conducted by a number of field researchers working on Penny Benard's project<sup>47</sup> researching the effects NECF has had on the local black residents (mostly ex-farm workers were interviewed). From David Wopula's interview notes:

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<sup>45</sup> However this increase in shacks could also be a consequence of the new democratic era and the view that "we can live and move as we please" and no longer influenced so much by 'push' and 'pull' factors.

<sup>46</sup> Small strips of unplanted section which are on the borders of NECF property.

<sup>47</sup> Nozulu Soyiwapi was a field assistant on Penny Benard's 'Knowledge Nature and Resource Rights' project. He gathered data in the traditional administrative areas of the former Transkei that border Ugie and Maclear districts. His interviews were conducted mainly in Gqaqala, Umnga, Balase and Mbedlana administrative areas. The interviews with former farmworkers were done in townships of Maclear and Ugie by David Wopula and Zibu Ndikinda. A total of 26 were interviewed.



Mondi contradicts with us in many things. Mondi has never consulted us but he just bought the mealie fields. He bought farms from urban areas down to rural areas, destroying all the benefits we were used to get from the previous farmers who ran away because of politics [in the] mid 80's and 90's.

*Mother X*

David Wopula and Zibu Ndikinda, another researcher conducting fieldwork in 2003 as part of Penny Bernard's project in the area, interviewed a total of twenty-six people from Ugie and Maclear, and found the same problems of unemployment and social upheaval.

Apart from the sellers buying agreement, Mondi brought problems to the local people. People who were working in the farms lost their jobs. Again they also lost their place of origin because some of them were born in the farms. People were moved to the township. They were not allowed to rear animals e.g. pigs. The agreement to move people to the township was not made between Mondi and the people either with farmers and people. The removal was forceful.

*A Ugie Councillor*

There was a problem which started in 2001. The problem was caused by Mondi's denial to fulfil his promises. According to [*Respondent A*] Mondi took the farms. He promised to build the houses for the people. The promises were made before Mondi took the farms. Before Mondi took the farms many people were working. But when he took over people lost their jobs. Again people were forced by Mondi to vacate the farm with no notice. They were not supplied with money to build new homes. Few of the workers were given old corrugated iron from the farm buildings. They used their little money to build shacks and some of them were forced to pay rent to the township owners. No benefits were given to them by the farmer neither by Mondi.

*Respondent A*

The reality was, and is, that employment opportunities boom in times when large numbers are needed to plant or harvest, but during the growing period<sup>48</sup> there is little needed in terms of manpower. Other forms of employment also follow seasonal patterns, but the seasonality is a shorter time period, such as in the case of tourism. Those who moved to the area in the hope of employment as well as those who moved off the farms were retrenched when the 'growing season' started. There was large-scale retrenchment, and the hiring of contractors began. In Ugie the retrenchment has

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<sup>48</sup> The growing period is between 3 – 7 or more years.

created a negative attitude, in the local community and amongst neighbouring communities in the former Transkei, especially toward NECF<sup>49</sup>.

In an interview with a black police sergeant who spoke on behalf of those who held a march against the agroforestry company on 27 July 2001, he said, "People are angry because of suffering." In the interview he stated that "promises were made of jobs, a school to be built and bursaries for tertiary education for their children and an opening of a plant at Ugie to process the timber"<sup>50</sup>. The claim made by the protestors was that NECF did the contrary – instead, there was 100 per cent retrenchment and an influx into the township. In most cases all the members of the family were unemployed and, of those, a large number were illiterate. The sergeant expressed clearly that they felt that there was racial discrimination because there were still white people working for NECF. "But there are still white people working there – so what is this 100 per cent retrenchment?" (*ibid.*). He also claimed that even though they outsourced the work all the contractors are white and they employ black subcontractors merely as 'window dressing'.

According to Sergeant Swartbooi "in the black community there is a feeling that something that raised their standard of living is deteriorating" (*ibid.*). The march was organised when community structures<sup>51</sup> decided to intervene. Meetings were held and it led to the preparation of the march. This interview was conducted on 5 August – a meeting had been set up for the previous day but the sergeant was reluctant to discuss any details of the meeting and would not allow access to the list of demands the marchers presented to the NECF. A large amount of suspicion on the marchers' part meant I had to explain my presence in the area, what my field of study was and which institution I was affiliated with, and supply a telephone number of a senior member of my department to verify that I was who I said I was. Swartbooi explained that he was concerned about jeopardising their position. The issue was resolved quietly<sup>52</sup> and in an interview later with a NECF manager, when I mentioned the incident, he claimed it

<sup>49</sup> Where the larger population growth in the township was experienced.

<sup>50</sup> Sgt. Swartbooi. Interview 5 August 2001.

<sup>51</sup> COSATU and ex-NECF employees

<sup>52</sup> Sgt Swartbooi refused a second interview after the issue had been resolved between NECF management and the marchers.

was all a misunderstanding and left it at that. Subsequent attempts on my part to access<sup>53</sup> the petition were denied by both parties. The problem arose because although there were large benefits initially, it resulted in frustration because people were unaware that the benefits were not long-term and that employment is seasonal. The largely poor black local population's perception is that farmers welcome the introduction of forestry (this is reflected in the statements above) and adversely affects the already tense relationship between these two groups.

During my stay in Maclear I spoke to two of the local farmers' wives who worked for NECF: Marie Smith was in an administrative position and Ruth Porter worked at the Khulanathi Education Centre. Marie Smith was the secretary for the Killarney Estate forester, at that time Paul Miller and now Simon Jones. It offered an extra income and was situated only 2 kilometres from the Jenkins's farm, Rocky Bush. Marie worked with the forester at Killarney for five years and was retrenched in 2000<sup>54</sup>. The nature of their farming is small-scale and so Marie and her husband Henry supplement the income of the farm by running a bed and breakfast, and Henry is a skilled carpenter who operates a kitchen cabinet business. Marie was lucky to find an administrative position at the local 'Cash 'n Carry' store in Maclear after she was retrenched. In Marie's case, other than the minor inconvenience of having to travel an additional 18 kilometres to get to town for work, the downsizing at NECF has not had a largely negative impact.

Ruth Porter was employed as an environmental education teacher<sup>55</sup> at the Khulanathi centre set up by NECF – initially aimed at environmental education for scholars, particularly those from previously disadvantaged schools. From mid-2001 Ruth was no longer employed at NECF because of what was described as 'financial constraints'. The R5 per pupil per day for accommodation and guided tours was, according to NECF management, unsustainable. Having access to a large amount of

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<sup>53</sup> Penny Bernard, a lecturer and researcher in the Anthropology department, contacted me while I was in the field. She had spoken to a Working for Water researcher in the Ugie area who had informed her of the march and mentioned he had a copy of the petition. Since I was there and she felt it was relevant to my fieldwork and hers, she advised me to see him and request to look at the petition to be handed to NECF (see the letter sent to the Premier of the Eastern Cape's office in the Appendices).

<sup>54</sup> Interview 5 June 2002.

<sup>55</sup> Ruth Porter is a Bachelor of Science graduate from Rhodes University, majoring in Zoology, and is also qualifying to become a recognised guide.

NECF property during her time of employment Ruth felt that NECF was not truly committed to dealing with environmental and community affairs. NECF management was disinterested in the efforts being made at the Khulanathi Education Centre.

A normal attitude of the local farmers to any claims that the agroforestry company makes concerning their commitment to environmental issues, is suspicion<sup>56</sup>. I would argue that they see agroforestry company's representatives as outsiders coming to claim their hard-won land. They are of the opinion that agroforestry is essentially an environmentally unsound practice and any effort to seem environmentally conscious is an attempt to "get the environmentalists off their back". This is reflected by the pattern of planting that has occurred in areas that are not easily accessible by the general public<sup>57</sup>. NECF are seen as inconsistent – promising a lot but ultimately delivering little, such as in the case of retrenchment and the closing of what, in many locals' opinion, was an environmental education programme that was contributing positively to the local communities.

#### 6.3.4. Consequences of the Sale of Farms

The buying-out of a large number of farms meant that the number of farmers decreased. This is reflected in the large decrease in the membership of farmer organisations. Foresters did not replace these numbers as one forester can look after a large number of farms that would previously have been individually owned. This means that the already small community is made smaller by NECF's presence. This in turn has the effect of helping create greater cohesion amongst those left in the area but at the same time can lead to some farmers being relatively isolated. The two are

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<sup>56</sup> The major reason being that they are the principle destroyers of biodiversity through the planting of extensive monocultures on richly diverse grassland and water catchment areas. Thus most people are cynical about their public portrayal that they are the 'protectors of the environment' and see them as hypocrites.

<sup>57</sup> The feeling is that the limits to which they are allowed to plant in a wetland or river by law are frequently ignored. These are that no trees may be planted within a minimum distance of 30 metres from the edge of any watercourse, stream, or river, or within 50 metres of any vlei, wetland or spring. Furthermore they are legally responsible for clearing aliens from riparian zones and for maintaining these zones in an 'alien' free state. In areas out of reach from public scrutiny these limits are frequently ignored.



interrelated as the former is due to the fact that a greater effort needs to be made to avoid the latter. One local farmer sums up the impact this restricting has had on them:

Because the community became smaller they became closer. Other changes have been that the school has become smaller, and because the town was larger the sports clubs were larger, nowadays the tennis club and golf club are battling. There is less business in town because even though the location has grown they are largely unemployed. Previously there were maybe 15 families where there is now one forester. One forester does not spend as much as a family. There were also larger families on farms – they could support more people. Farmers employed families and it offered a stable, healthy living environment. It could also support ‘charitable cases’ – these being retired or semi-retired members of families<sup>58</sup>.

The NECF employees who have moved into the district often belong to a different social and cultural milieu and because they know their presence is resented they keep to themselves. One of the positive aspects, according to the younger English-speaking farmers, is that it changed the ratio of Afrikaans to English population as predominantly English-speaking foresters came to the area<sup>59</sup>. This created further divisions in an already small community but also changed the way the English-speaking farmers saw themselves as a unique section of the white English-speaking South Africans. Although they had the commonality of language with the foresters they did not have the same background and history of settling in the area.

In reducing the size of the farming community it was deemed unnecessary to have two co-operatives, and so the co-op now in existence has a monopoly. To combat this, some of the farmers try to buy together in bulk. One of these groups is the Maclear Farmers’ Group (MFG), but this can still be costly as transportation companies do not give discounts for larger quantities. There is also less agricultural produce and so they cannot attract buyers to come to them, as sales are usually so small. The smaller sales also don’t tend to get good prices because they are not as competitive as big sales. The membership to the MFG, as discussed in Chapter Four, is exclusive and created a sense of cohesion for the English-speaking farmers as they

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<sup>58</sup> David Purdon. Interview 5 June 2002

<sup>59</sup> Membership of the Dutch Reformed Church in both Maclear and Ugie has declined drastically in last 10 years. This is a reflection of a decline in the number of local white farmers and the closure of the Dutch Reformed orphanage in Ugie. This also supports the contention that most of the farmers who sold were Afrikaans-speaking farmers.

grouped themselves together to meet a common aim, ensuring their survival and stay on the land and maintained a level of control/power over their changed circumstances.

During fieldwork conducted in 2001 I attended a Maclear Farmers' Association Meeting on 23 July. The fat stock sale held on 19 July was not very well supported and a decision was needed on whether to disassemble or to maintain the stock pens. Dale Timm led the discussion on the history of the pens, the potential sale of the land where the pens are, the removal of any metal poles and fences that remain<sup>60</sup> and to whom the land should be sold. Due to the lack of support for the sale and the general and continued state of disrepair of the pens, it was agreed that the Fat Stock Sale held on 19 July would be the last of its kind held in their stock pens. Dale tried to encourage the younger men to participate, laying some of the blame on their lack of participation but also highlighting that everyone needs to become involved in farming activities such as these for them to be successful in the area because of the smaller number of farmers or for them to survive.

The white farmers argue that when land comes up for sale NECF have a large number of resources available to them and can essentially outbid anyone else for so-called 'good farms'. This creates a problem for farmers who wish to expand their businesses. In the case of Eric Porter, the problem created by this involves inheritance and the lack of available adjoining land as NECF virtually surrounds him. He has four sons and although not all of them have shown an interest in farming, at least two of his sons are currently working on the farm with him. To solve disputes between brothers over inheritance in the past, it would be preferable for another farm to have been bought and incorporated into the main farm so that when having to divide the land up for inheritance purposes each child could receive a workable and profitable piece of land.

In the case of emerging farmers they find themselves in the position where there is no land left for them to purchase, this was already a problem due to many mountainous farms in the area unsuitable for farming (as highlighted in Chapter One). James

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<sup>60</sup> In the past it was noted that these gates and fence poles had been stolen and used for squatter structures or firewood.

Tambo says that it is difficult enough for a black individual to buy a farm. There have been cases where groups have bought farmland to work together<sup>61</sup>. These sales usually involve land that is not wanted by other farmers in the area. James explains the emerging farmers' situation: "Mondi bought all the farms open to buy and there is no real land available in Maclear because of this. To buy in places like Elliot is too risky for us because there is less quality in the soil and there it is drier so crops need irrigation. We don't have equipment or money for that"<sup>62</sup>.

Although there have been a large number of negative aspects according to the white farmers in the area, their attitude is that in some ways that NECF has helped secure their land. Farms on the previous homeland borders that were sold to NECF act now as buffers from the former Transkei, which many farmers argue is where some stock thieves come from<sup>63</sup>. This is not a new idea in farming circles but rather carried over from when the Transkei was a former homeland. Farmers further south, for example in the Fish River regions bordering the former Ciskei, used to argue that people would cross the border, steal cattle and take them back with them and because it was an independent homeland they could not go across and retrieve them. I have not seen evidence of this myself but in discussions with farmers in the Eastern Cape in general this is a common description. There is evidence of this in past records in *The Barkley East Reporter*, one entry of "Notes From Maclear" in January 1889:

Some little time back one of Inspector Rayner's men was over here looking for 120 sheep that had been stolen from two Riflespruit farmers but I think he might as well have been looking for a needle in a haystack. Although I have often been told that Mr Rayner and his men are rather smart at catching sheep stealers but I believe it

<sup>61</sup> Pieter van der Merwe sold a farm in the Maclear district to a group of 20 emerging black farmers in 2002.

<sup>62</sup> Interview 2 August 2001.

<sup>63</sup> It is interesting to note that the perception of a black resident is that "The farmers who did not sell their farms made friendships with the new owners, like Mondli. Segregation policy became fresh. People began to be denied access to farms. Farmers like [he gives names of three] and others began to take cattle from the neighbouring administrative areas, to the police stock camp, and sell and buy themselves. They sold the cattle on auction, buy them and sell them to their neighbouring community members... The traditional authority community members noticed this and did likewise. The stock theft rate increased" (*Local leader Y* interviewed by Nozulu Soyizwapi). Another informant of Soyizwapi expands this problem "Here we have our neighbours [white farmers] who take our stock from their farms [that have trespassed] and put them into police stock camps and charge us R50.00 per head. Sometimes we do not get our stock equal to the number they took. When we are making a follow up to that situation, we do not get true information" (*Respondent H*).

will take all the smartness possessed by both officer and men to catch these stock thieves, if the stock is stolen close upon the border of our district, for the simple reason that the natives are allowed to squat on almost any farm they like in this district without a pass, and if you happen to ask them for one they quietly turn round and inform you that it is their country, and what do they require a pass for. Now in the face of the above I would like to know what is to prevent one or more of those passless gentlemen from taking a quieter day to themselves close to the border of the two districts and just after dusk whip into the Barkley district, take as many sheep as they think fit from the first farmer's stock they come across and with the assistance of their squatting friends who reside just this side of the border of the Barkley district where can they not be the next morning? If they so choose they can be on the other side of the Tsitsa, enjoying fat mutton where perhaps not one policeman in fifty would think of looking for the stolen stock.

*(Barkley East Reporter 5 January 1889).*

In terms of security the NECF has, again, both negative and positive aspects. As discussed above, NECF land is viewed as a buffer against the former Transkei, which many farmers argue is where some of the stock thieves come from. However the disadvantage again is isolation as there may no longer be someone on the neighbouring farm, which threatens personal security.

#### **6.2.5. Access to North East Cape Forests Land**

Access to NECF land is negotiable and maybe not as flexible as when a farmer was there. If foresters change one has to make a new arrangement with the incoming one. Permission needs to be granted to enter NECF property and most of the gates to access roads into NECF plantations are padlocked. During the dry winter months (fire season) guards are posted between the trees to guard against arsonists and for early detection of fires. Anyone found on NECF property without permission can be arrested as there is no legitimate reason, in NECF's opinion, for them to be there. Some farmers have been allowed access, and also those working in the tourism industry, such as Rock Art guides.

Angela Lane worked as a rock art guide in the area until 2000. She has since left the area because her boyfriend Scott Lane, a forester, was transferred to another NECF plantation in KwaZulu Natal and she found that the tourism industry was not large enough to continue generating an income. The sites listed on the rock art tours she provided were mainly on NECF property. Horse trails are also run through NECF



property but not during fire season. The same arrangements are not afforded for, say, herbalists collecting plants or farm labourers wanting access to NECF property.

### 6.3. Additional Areas of Concern

#### 6.3.1. Water-related impacts



*Figure 6.5. Plantations alongside the Tsolo Road*

One of the key concerns for government departments, environmental interest groups and farmers is water usage and how commercial forestry will affect the water supply and river levels. It is also the most comprehensively researched impact of forestry. Timber is one of many crops produced under dry land conditions, but in 1915 farmers began to complain about the decrease in runoff from afforested areas. These subsided as timber was of great importance during World War I and World War II and so their complaints only re-emerged in the 1950s. The farmers' concerns intensified due to the drought experienced in the 1960s and a committee was formed to deal with these complaints. Eventually in 1972 the Afforestation Permit System came into being in order to address the need to conserve water supplies.

Afforestation is, by current measures, seen as an efficient user of water, but there is insufficient knowledge collected concerning the impact of afforestation on runoff and inadequate control of its expansion prior to 1972<sup>64</sup>. Essentially no past records exist

<sup>64</sup> "Criteria adopted for allocating a permit were based on the level of understanding of the impact of Afforestation on runoff at the time...it only took into account the anticipated reductions of 0 per cent, 5 per cent or 10 per cent of the mean annual runoff (MAR) from primary catchments attributable to

that can be used to assess or evaluate the impact of afforestation over extensive time periods. Consequentially forestry is perceived by many as being environmentally unsound and a user of large amounts of water<sup>65</sup>. Contributing to this impression is the fact that in drier times forestry will draw its full water needs from rainfall and any saturated zones near perennial streams, and this is what many deem as using an unfair portion of available water. In this system the commercial forests often have first option on a catchment's water resources and continue to grow during drier times.

Forestry, according to Gandar and Forester, can affect runoff in two ways: “the consumption of water by commercial tree species reduces the total volume of water that drains from the catchment area” and “impact on the low flow regimes of rivers, particularly in the dry seasons or periods of drought – it is on these low flows on which so many rural communities depend totally” (1994:6). Different tree species and planting regimes can determine the extent of the effect on runoff. In the case of the NECF they have planted mostly pine. Some eucalyptus was planted but it was decided that they would not continue to plant eucalyptus because it was not growing well and because of concerns over water usage as “eucalyptus has a higher water demand [and] thus reduces steam flow more significantly than other commercial tree species” (*ibid.*).

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afforestation planted after 1972 – predating 1972 the impact was ignored by the APS” (Gandar and Forester 1994:4).

<sup>65</sup> The contradiction is that government has realized the negative impact that alien vegetation has on water and has thus embarked on the multimillion Rand sponsored ‘Working for Water’ campaign, whilst at the same time allowing massive expansion of alien tree planting through afforestation. Forsyth *et al.* (1997) noted that there would be marked reductions in steamflow in some areas, from 18-31 percent over a ten year period (this catchment surrounding Ugie flows into the Wildebees river on which many of the sacred pools are located downstream – pgs 58 and 71). In some areas the streamflow reduction could be as substantial as 18.5 million cubic metres a year (pg 58). This is a significant reduction which could lead to cessation of streamflow during the dry season in drought years. The heaviest plantations are situated over the catchment area of the Umzimvubu. This includes the very important Gatberg Wetland that was nominated to be placed on the global RAMSAR wetland protection list. RAMSAR is a “Convention on Wetlands: an intergovernmental treaty which provides the framework for national action and international cooperation for the conservation and wise use of wetlands and their resources. It was adopted in the Iranian city of Ramsar in 1971 and came into force in 1975, and it is the only global environmental treaty that deals with a particular ecosystem. The Convention's member countries cover all geographic regions of the planet” ([http://www.ramsar.org/key\\_brochure\\_2004\\_e.htm](http://www.ramsar.org/key_brochure_2004_e.htm)).

The effect forestry has on ground water is seen as minimal by some but in this instance there are other negative effects (see footnote 64). Downstream users will feel the worst effects, and the downstream users are those in the Transkei. For a detailed account of the impact of forestry on the hydrology in the area, see research conducted for the Water Research Commission in 1997 on "*The hydrological implications of afforestation in the North-Eastern Cape*" (Forsyth *et al.*): the focus was on the effect that commercial trees have on downstream users and the total water yield.

The farmers interviewed did not highlight water resources as being their main concern. This is because the area is one of high rainfall and the greatest effects are estimated to be seen only in 2010 when most of the trees will reach maturity and consequently will have higher water needs. In times of drought or a year with lower rainfall it might become a higher priority to the farmers as there will be greater competition for water between these two water users. The second reason is that agriculture itself is a large water user and the timber industry's response to concerns raised in terms of water usage is "it is often a more profitable land and water use activity than agriculture, including many irrigated crops" (Gandar and Forester 1994:2). Those interested in afforestation have to undergo a process of applying for a permit to grow timber in an area, and constraints are imposed – ones that the timber industry argues are not applied to agriculture.

In conclusion, measures have been taken to ensure commercial forestry water usage is within sustainable levels as set by the law at the time of development. Currently there is a greater understanding of runoff reduction, and further research by the Water Research Council (1997) in the North Eastern Cape indicates,

Should all trees within a catchment mature in the same year then the impact will peak in that year. By distributing the age classes across the length of the rotation peak impact on the yield may be reduced by 56 percent. Depending on the measures used this could mean that a further 56 percent of afforestation may be acceptable to the decision making authority (Forsyth *et al.* 1997:121).

In the North Eastern Cape, peak (maximum) impact of all current and planned afforestation (i.e. some 60 000 hectares) within the 10 quaternary catchments varies from 2 to 18 percent of Mean Annual Rainfall (MAR). The total impact of afforestation at the level of tertiary catchments is 5 percent of MAR, at the secondary

catchments about 1 percent, and less than 0.5 percent at the level of primary catchments. “Consequences at the regional scale do not therefore seem to be of especial significance, which is in line with the original contention that this was a well-watered region which could afford to support a viable forestry industry” (Forsyth *et al.* 1997:121). From the baseline study conducted by the researchers which took place when there were major afforestation activities, the result was that in terms of water quality “the rivers are particularly sound” (*ibid.*).

Water quality is usually affected during road construction, the preparation of a site for planting (which may include the use of herbicides and pesticides) and tree felling in the harvesting stage. The effects of pesticides and herbicides are not easily attributable purely to the commercial forestry activities, as some chemicals used by the timber company are used in agricultural activities. In the case of water-related effects, researchers can measure changes in runoff, water yield and quality but the cause of possible shortages or poor quality are in some cases inseparable, especially when no comparative measures exist to measure the effects of, for example, farming on the catchments prior to the introduction of the NECF. Consequently it would be difficult for farmers in the area to argue that there has been a largely negative impact in terms of water-related issues.

A greater impact on water resources will be felt however if the proposed expansion of agroforestry by the Department of Forestry and Water Affairs goes through. The project proposes to plant an initial 30 000 hectares and then once the project has gained momentum an additional 150 000 hectares will be under afforestation (Cull 2006:4). In Chapter One figures 1.5.1 and 1.5.2. show that this is a well-watered area, as claimed by the government, but this does not mean that the water resources will remain as abundant as the project reaches fruition. As this is a relatively new development measures must be put into place not only to minimize the effect of agroforestry on water resources but correct management must be in place to maximize the employment opportunities. The discussion on this area earlier in the chapter highlights the complex problems brought about by the seasonality of employment in the forestry industry and the dissatisfaction of the local black residents as expressed in



interviews need to be taken into account if the creation of 200 000 jobs (*ibid.*) is aimed at genuinely improving their quality of life.

### 6.3.2. Soil-related Problems

Establishing a plantation involves a large amount of preparation of the land and a need to build up the infrastructure necessary to efficiently manage a plantation. Road building is necessary and minor roads are created. These are used by heavy vehicles in the plantations establishment phase, for emergency fire access and during harvesting. NECF planted pine, and newer pine plantations need little maintenance. As a result these minor roads are generally of a poor quality leading to poor drainage, poor surface compaction and, as a result, increased sediment.

### 6.4. Conclusions and the Future of Forestry in the Area

South Africa's, the Eastern Cape particularly, the largest problem is that of unemployment<sup>66</sup>. Looking purely at the figures, forestry is a large employer and a large contributor to our economy. It is favoured by governmental departments as an economic development mechanism (see Crull 2006:4). In truth (as mentioned earlier in the chapter) forestry in areas such as the North Eastern Cape provided – and will provide in the future – employment, but it is sporadic and without the support of a secondary industry, such as a sawmill, in the area it is not an adequate solution for ‘upliftment’ of the local rural communities.

Over the last several years it has become clear that sustainability stands on three legs – ecological, social and economic. This has been recognised in concepts such as the notion of ‘sustainable livelihoods’ that has gained currency among a number of development agencies in recent years (Bethlehem and Dlomo 2003:1). What NECF's presence has improved is environmental awareness. Ironically powered by a large multinational that threatens the environment, there are opportunities to use the financial disappointment of NECF as an example of Mondi's environmental conscience. According to Gandar and Forester (1994:13) “Timber cultivation can be

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<sup>66</sup> See Chapter One and Appendix F for statistical support for the claim.

a good rehabilitator of degraded land, and one that produces revenue at the same time... Yields are less – partly because of the reduced growing potential of the soil and partly because degraded land is in areas where the rainfall is insufficient for afforestation.” Despite attitudes that forestry is essentially environmentally damaging, large forestry companies have a greater responsibility to conserving the environment due to the public’s demands and scrutiny of their methods.

Situated between farmlands, and buying land previously owned by farmers, gives the agroforestry company the opportunity to compare itself to its neighbours, thereby strengthening its position as a ‘better’ option as there is a “propensity in the timber industry to compare itself with dry land agriculture in terms of profitability, and social and environmental impact (compared to sugar and maize rather than indigenous woodlands)” (Nuttall 1989). The relationship that exists between the farmer and NECF currently is influenced by their present experiences and farmers’ ideas of control and identity in the area. As the quotation from Rob Nuttall suggests, farmers see foresters and the managers of the agroforestry company in a suspicious light. They see them as ‘invaders’ coming to ruin their ‘pristine’, ‘stark’ landscapes and their long-held friendships. They are concerned that Mondi’s financial clout will lure their friends and co-workers away from what has been a place where there is a reasonable level of social solidarity, the kind of solidarity that has been historically necessary for survival on the ‘frontier’.

Not highlighted in this chapter is the constant frustration felt by farmers due to changes in the NECF due to lack of confirmation of this by NECF management. Many of the farmers in the area have been neighbours for a long period of time and have created enduring bonds of friendship with each other. In the case of NECF there have been a number of changes not only in foresters but also in NECF’s management. Once an arrangement is made with a forester there is no certainty that arrangement will stay in place if he is replaced. For example, since the early 1990s the forester at the Killarney Estate outside Maclear has changed three times – from Paul Miller to Scott Lane to Simon Jones. In a community where change was gradual these constant changes increase the negative light in which they are viewed in the area.

What the agroforestry company represents to the North Eastern Cape farmer and black community alike is a deep sense of mistrust, because of a very shaky start where promises were made and never made good on in their opinion. An uncertain present standing in the community, accentuated by constant changes in management and the foresters that the farmer deals with, combined with a disappointing future in terms of their estimated yield, strengthens the misgivings the local community has about NECF. The quality of the trees is not good enough for paper produced by Mondi and so it must either find a sawmill to make timber products or build one itself. Any problems NECF initially faced have grown alongside the growth of the trees.

Those farmers who were of farming stock of three generations or more were reluctant to sell and ultimately had to put up with these changes and what to them felt like a direct threat to their land and identity, and this naturally brought out their general resistance to change. Disagreements between NECF and the local community are largely due to the fact that commercial forestry is relatively new to the area, its failure to meet local expectations of employment and the negative attitude towards the future prospects of the company. Amalie Niland of the *East Cape Herald* says it best: "Folk in the North Eastern Cape could be forgiven for becoming a little dubious about the Mondi Papers' development scheme in the region since it was launched a decade ago. Despite moving on to a 32 000 hectare piece of land in the Maclear-Ugie area as long ago as 1989, it appears nothing has happened since then. It became something of a mystery that for years featured prominently in conversation in the small farming community. Theories abounded, but the truth turned out to be a lot simpler" (28 July 2001). Employment opportunities will become available again when harvesting begins in 2005, and it is estimated that about 800 people will be employed again in the next five to seven years (*ibid.*). NECF has hopefully learnt from its previous experiences of the frustration and disappointment of expectations it has brought to the local communities of Maclear and Ugie.

*Chapter 7:*

**TOURISM AND IDENTITY IN MACLEAR**  
**More than just Jam Money?**



*Figure 7.1. A scenic dam which is a popular fly-fishing spot on a farm in the area*

### **7.1. Introduction**

In the North Eastern Cape, recent development has taken place in two relatively new ways, affecting natural resources and people's responses to change and perceptions of the landscape in the area in different ways. The first major change was initiated by Anglo-American's Mondi Paper Company, which was buying farms and establishing North East Cape Forests (NECF) as noted in the previous chapter. The second, but by no means less significant, change has arisen through individually promoted small-scale tourism. Each of these changes impacts on the environment, the social and economic distribution of resources, the perceptions of the landscape and the community networks relations.

In the following chapter, I focus on tourism in the North Eastern Cape and particularly the Maclear area, to elaborate on the advantages and disadvantages of the existing tourism



initiatives, some of which are contributed to by agroforestry in the area. A discussion of the tourists, attractions and hosts follows, and in the latter part of the chapter I make use of three case studies to illustrate the various types of tourism activities and operations that are being offered<sup>1</sup>. Tourism is one area where women can participate and it directly relates to how they perceive and construct the landscape<sup>2</sup>. I also reflect on the growing ecotourism industry in Maclear and explain why residents perceive this form of change as less of a threat to their identity and community. I argue that residents perceive tourism as a means of representation which they can control. Furthermore, tourism lends itself (as discussed in the previous chapter) to unequal social and racial relations and these need to be examined. Landowners in the district are generally white and it is they who 'own' the ecotourism landmarks. They also generally control access to these areas and are able to choose who they wish to socialise with. This means that tourism in Maclear does not radically challenge existing (historical) social relations in the area. A question of course is "Will this change as more upwardly-mobile black South Africans visit the area in search of the same unspoilt, stress-free locations?"

Andrew Todd, a large-scale commercial farmer and key player in the area's tourism industry, enquired towards the end of my fieldwork what I had found out about farming, forestry and tourism in the area. I replied, tongue-in-cheek, "Tourism doesn't count, forestry is bad and well, farming is farming," to which he responded, "That's exactly it."

Farmers are the main participants in tourism in the North East Cape and in this area the tourism industry is generally oriented towards nature-based tourism. 'Natural'<sup>3</sup> attractions are used to draw tourists to the area. Tourism promoters take advantage of Maclear's apparent 'wildness' to market the area as an ecotourism destination. In her analysis of ecotourism in the Caribbean, Pattullo describes this form of tourism as "travelling to a relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural area with the specific objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery with its wild plants and animals as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas" (Pattullo 1996:118). Koch (1997:219) widens this definition by stating that ecotourism is the "purposeful travel to natural areas in order to gain understanding of the culture and natural history of the environment. It implies that care

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<sup>1</sup> The three case studies offered – Merryweather Cottage, Rocklands and Fishman's Haven – were chosen because of the difference in structure and what they offer as attractions.

<sup>2</sup> This directly relates to the subjective expression of landscape in Chapter Four.

<sup>3</sup> The reason for inverted commas is that those in the tourism industry heavily control one of their main attractions – trout fishing. Dams and rivers are stocked with trout to maintain tourism.

is taken not to alter the integrity of the ecosystem and that economic opportunities are provided which make the conservation of natural resources attractive to local people.”<sup>4</sup>

In my research, I found that tourism was an important means for Maclear residents to meet outsiders, to alter their identity and embrace change and enrich their perspectives of the landscape. Recent anthropological studies have focussed on the construction of the tourist landscape (Escobar 1999) and the tourist gaze (Ryan, Hughes and Chirgwin 2000). In short, anthropologists interested in tourism have often looked at the effect on guests rather than hosts. Through this study I offer an alternative and important focus on hosts. What strategies are they employing to encourage tourism? What do forms of social interaction offer to Maclear residents and why have they responded to it in the way that they have? In the following paragraphs I explore the emergence of ecotourism, a major form of tourism in the Maclear district. Tourism alters the Maclear residents’ external perception of their community and identity through exposure to visitors from other cultural and social backgrounds.

The main attractions marketed in Maclear are trout fishing, hiking trails and the unique rock art found in the Southern Drakensberg<sup>5</sup>. Despite Maclear being well known for its scenic beauty, one of the main problems facing the growth of tourism in the area is the distance from major city centres like Johannesburg, Bloemfontein and East London. For example, Maclear, which is most commonly reached by car<sup>6</sup>, is at least a five to six hour drive from these centres<sup>7</sup>.

## 7.2. Eco-tourism in South Africa

According to Sindiga (2000:1), in Africa tourists are not only important for their effects on diversity and entrepreneurship. The “endemic economic stagnation and poverty” calls for

<sup>4</sup> This is clearly not always possible and is dependent on the tour operators’ management of, and attitude to, their attractions.

<sup>5</sup> Additional activities offered are visits to the dinosaur foot prints, fossils, bird-watching, nature walks, cross-country motorcycling, hunting (offered by Mondi) and the natural scenic beauty in the form of sandstone mountains and wide green valleys and mountains.

<sup>6</sup> There are no national bus companies which service the area and the closest airport is in Mthatha. Although there is an airfield any travel by air would have to be through private transport.

<sup>7</sup> These concerns are not necessarily for the length of the drive but the proximity to amenities such as emergency hospital care.

new strategies. African governments are focusing on tourism's potential contribution to development, both at the macro level (in terms of assessments of the broader contributions of trans-national companies or foreign investors) and micro levels such as the local level experiences of such investments. Sindiga (2000:3) argues:

Development is not merely a rise in per capita incomes. It subsumes reduction of poverty and greater equity to progress in education, health and nutrition, and to protection of the environment... Only environmental protection through effective resource management strategies can assure sustainable development. Tourism in the context of African development must contribute towards poverty alleviation and the continent's overall economic progress.

South Africa, a country of 48 million people, is relatively new to the tourism industry and can therefore take advantage of the experiences and research done in other, more established, holiday destinations. In entering the tourism industry, South Africa has to adapt itself to providing tourism that has high profits and little need for major changes in infrastructure, or high costs for government. These needs are in theory fulfilled by new or alternative forms of tourism which came into being as a reaction to the problems encountered by mass tourism. "Increasingly it is argued that the growth of tourism offers a means for Third World countries<sup>8</sup> to escape 'underdevelopment', and that new forms of tourism allow for this transition to be achieved sustainably and equitably" (Mowforth and Munt 1998).

Around 1992 a favourable focus fell on South Africa<sup>9</sup> with the decline and subsequent demise of apartheid and the promising outlook promoted after 1994. Ecotourism had already been on the rise since the 1980s. The interest in what became known as ecotourism, otherwise described as responsible, alternative, caring or green tourism, grew (Pattullo 1996:118). South Africa has a large amount to offer in terms of nature-based tourism in the forms of private game farms, national parks, picturesque landscapes and an unspoilt image, which is essential for this kind of tourism.

The problems that challenge South Africa currently concern sustainable development, which in the context of tourism is "tourism which is developed and maintained in an area

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<sup>8</sup> Governments are key players in the promotion of tourism in third world countries. James Elliot explains, "Governments are involved in the industry, because it requires political stability, security and a legal and financial framework. The government can also assist by monitoring and maintaining public interest... Tourism can provide even in economic and social decline" (1997).

<sup>9</sup> In 1992 a referendum was held and the results showed the possibility of social reform in South African society which came to fruition in 1994.

(community, environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well-being...of other activities and processes” (Wall.1996: 44). Sustainable development within forestry does not have the same agenda.

Despite a slow start, South Africa seems set to be one of the most popular destinations in the world, as the following quotes demonstrate. “Tourism figures in South Africa increased by 8.1 percent in the first two months of 2003, compared with the same period in 2002” (*Sowetan* 30 April 2003) and in 2002 “6.4 million tourists visited South Africa, making it the fastest growing tourist destination in the world” (Yeld 2003). “This is a dream that has come true and credit should go to every South African. The experience that the tourists got when they came to South Africa from locals of all walks of life was the biggest factor in the growth of tourism. The rest of the world has experienced a drop in every tourist destination. “South Africa bucked the trend, defying gravity,” Valli Moosa said” (Schmidt 2003). The focus of tourism in South Africa is on the need for foreign exchange and foreign investment.

Currently in Maclear only a small percentage of tourists are foreign, and so there is a greater reliance on domestic tourism, but the potential exists for the area to market themselves to foreigners<sup>10</sup>. A greater reliance on the foreign tourism market however is more fickle and relying too heavily on foreign investment could lead to problems foreseen in the tourism industry by Wahab and Pilgrim, they warn that “Overdependence on the growth of tourism is seen as a danger because of its sensitivity and susceptibility to external forces beyond its control. Making tourism sustainable means putting the environment first and encouraging ‘new tourism’, or the packaging and marketing of non-standardised leisure services, alongside mass tourism” (1997:6). In the current small-scale initiatives a large amount of control can be exerted, a fact that could change if their tourist numbers increase.

The disadvantages of eco-tourism expressed by Koch (1997:221) do apply, as he notes that “unlike cattle farming or agriculture, ecotourism can involve a long turn-around time between initial investment and the production of tangible benefits. In situations where the rural

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<sup>10</sup> These tourists are mainly from within South Africa due to the fact that it is as the Sunday Times (26 April 2000) feature *Rediscovering South Africa* describes it “off-the-beaten-track”, and is not along national routes. See the Appendices for an Internet copy of the article.



communities depend on farming for their day-to-day survival, for example, people simply cannot afford to wait a couple of years before they start reaping the benefits from ecotourism.” This is probably the reason why tourism in this area is still only operating on a small scale, as farmers continue with agriculture or cattle farming, and use the natural environment as a means of creating additional income.<sup>11</sup> This type of tourism is favoured, as “ecotravel is a subjectively healthier kind of tourism that attracts ‘desirable’<sup>12</sup> visitors. Since eco-travellers are often more tolerant of rustic, basic facilities and infrastructure, tourism inflow can be increased without major expenditure. In some cases ecotourism can support the capital improvements over the long term, starting with just a trickle of undemanding tourists who prefer small-scale accommodations...” (McLaren 1998:91)<sup>13</sup>.

Criticisms of ecotourism are emerging as this industry grows. “Internationally, tourism has grown at an average rate of 4.3 [per cent] per year during the last decade... while the nature-based segment has grown between 10 [per cent] and 30 [per cent] per year during the same period” (Nyaupane *et al.* 2004:541). In Font and Harris’s article on the applicability of stewardship certification in tourism, they indicate that “increasing demand for sustainable tourism and ecotourism products has come hand in hand with greenwashing criticisms and attempts to overcome these” (Font & Harris 2004:986) and so tourism initiatives are facing a scrutiny not dissimilar to agroforestry. Where in both cases the ‘consumer’ is concerned not only with a good ‘product’ but with the environmental impacts of providing such a product.

Despite criticism of this nature tourism it has positive outcomes as it is a large contributor to the economy, not only for South Africa but also the world. “In terms of global capital investments in infrastructure, facilities, equipment, and generating employment, tourism is a giant industry – one of the world’s largest industries. In 1994 it accounted for some \$3.4 trillion gross national product – 6 percent of the world total, 204 million jobs – 1 in 9 workers, 10.7 percent of global capital investment, 11 percent of worldwide consumer spending and 11.7 percent of indirect corporate taxes” (McIntosh *et al.* 1994:4). Today it is estimated that “one out of 16 people in the world works in tourism” (Sindiga 2000:3). These are important advantages for a Third World country such as South Africa, where there is a need to

<sup>11</sup> Those in the area are involved in agricultural cultivation of potatoes, maize and cabbages; livestock husbandry (cattle and sheep) is also favoured, while some farmers focus on dairy production.

<sup>12</sup> My emphasis.

<sup>13</sup> In the Maclear area there are often specialist clients, such as rock art researchers or enthusiasts, fishermen and hikers. There are also off-road biking courses and mountain bike trails, which appeal to a specific type of adventure tourist.

strengthen the economy and create employment opportunities, within a country which has the natural resources to accommodate current tourism trends.

Recent changes in tourism trends can also be attributed to the concerns of meeting criteria of ecological and sustainable development. “Parallel to the emergence of a large and diverse literature concerned with the concept of sustainable development (SD), many studies have highlighted tourism-ecology interactions and, in particular, the negative impact of mass tourism on natural and built environments” (Collins 1999:98). Di Castri and Balaji (2002: 271), offer a wider definition of sustainable tourism. They see it as a goal to be achieved “through the cultural attachment and the commitment of local populations dynamically conserving their diverse identities, together with diversities of tourists, species, ecosystems and landscapes, economic products and uses of tourism itself, from seasonal to permanent durations.”

From this point of view, contemporary tourism has to address wider concerns, such as the consideration of tourism’s effects on cultural heritage and “traditional elements, activities and [the] dynamics of each local community. Recognition of these local factors and support for the identity, culture and interests of the local community must at all times play a central role in the formulation of tourism strategies, particularly in developing countries” (*Charter for Sustainable Tourism* 1995).

Other equally important changes have encouraged the shift to nature-based tourism. Most of the world’s populations now live in urban areas and these are not always places where one can relax. What one finds is that there is a new ‘triple-S,’ considered the current target for tourism sustainability. Rather than the infamous sun, sea and sex, the new trilogy is *safety, security and space*. Living in mostly cramped spaces, urban dwellers are encouraged to search for open spaces, but also to come to terms with the risks and ‘inherent’<sup>14</sup> instability in contemporary society (Di Castri and Balaji 2002:270).

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<sup>14</sup> During the Cold War, tourists felt ‘safe’ travelling to areas that their countries were allies with. In the post-Cold War situation, and particularly the post-September 11 world, safety (particularly the safety of Westerners) is no longer guaranteed. Fluctuations in currency values and increasing crime are also factors influencing ‘stability’. In terms of Maclear tourism, stability (particularly for domestic tourists) may be negatively influenced by stories of farm attacks. This has had little effect so far because Maclear is not known as an area high in incidents of this nature. If these small-scale initiatives were to be placed in the context of Zimbabwe, however, there may be a decrease in overall tourist numbers, particularly for guesthouses and bed and breakfasts situated on farms as they were the main targets of violent attacks. Indirect consequences to tourism destinations

Even though there is a move towards the new 'triple-S' there are those who take the dislocation of self from the ordinary, to the extraordinary (Rojek and Urry 1997; Urry 1990), to the extreme. These individuals participate in adventure tourism, in which there are other risks to one's health or life.

The most widely-documented case studies (of tourism in general but not necessarily ecotourism in particular) are those that deal with established or well-known tourist destinations, generally found in developed countries. Conscious of the economic benefits of environmental management, countries with built-up environments are now seeking to emphasise the 'wild' or 'untamed' aspects of their countryside. The interest in ecotourism can also be explained in terms of the Western (hegemonic) interest in 'pure' or 'wholesome ways of living'. Decades of environmental destruction, indiscriminate use of poisons and preservatives, stressful and polluting environments have increased global warming, reduced soil fertility and unleashed previously 'contained' diseases. The interest in environmental management can also be explained in political terms. Environmentalism emerged after decades of political instability (the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Cold War), that on several occasions brought the world to the brink of annihilation. The Reagan era was one of unbridled capitalism that heralded the degradation of many environmentally rich nations. In the post-Reagan era, the traditional sun, sea, sex and sand tourism found in the Caribbean and Spain, for example, is slowly being replaced by attractions that indicate the preservation of bio- and cultural diversity. The 'unspoilt' or non-industrialised is valued, even idealised.

Tourists in the North Eastern Cape are from major metropolises (from the upper and middle class strata) and 'developed' countries as they are the ones with more money available to spend on leisure activities and therefore can afford these 'visits'. They are also those who do not have these idealised, 'unspoilt' locations in their immediate environment and may have a longer experience of dividing work from leisure. There is growing awareness (particularly among the travelling middle-classes) of the negative social and environmental consequences of mass tourism.

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are usually seen when tourist numbers increase significantly and can range from damage to the environment to damage to lifestyles. For example, an increase in visitors to the Kango Caves contributes to the site's deterioration.



New-found patterns of consumption and articulation of style are finding expression in the trend for more individual excursions (as opposed to mass tours). As the tourist's home lifestyle, age or social circumstances change, there is a corresponding change in the type of tourism sought. Desforges notes that "for many of them [tourists] the decision to shift their consumption practices towards long-haul trips was closely linked to questions they were articulating about identity and lifestyle at various fateful moments" (Desforges 2000:943). So in South Africa one finds a range of culturally and socially interesting forms of tourism<sup>15</sup> as more people beyond and within the country's borders come to sample what it has to offer.

Small-scale initiatives like those undertaken by farmers in the North Eastern Cape attract a small percentage of foreign tourists with mainly domestic tourism occurring, keeping the number of visitors relatively stable. Tourism in the area generates income to supplement a large number of farming enterprises. It also allows women to become earners in the family unit, creates employment opportunities and moves them from being in the home to out in the land.

### 7.3. Introduction to Tourism in the Maclear/Ugie Area



*Figure 7.2. An example of a Bed and Breakfast/Guesthouse*

In Maclear and Ugie the tourism initiatives are small in scale and control over tourist attractions remains in the hands of the locals rather than in the hands of foreign or domestic

<sup>15</sup> For example, 'pink' safaris, for the homosexually-oriented tourist, or 'surgical' safaris for those in search of reconstructive surgery in a peaceful and anonymous environment.



investors. “Many communities encourage the development of tourism as a means to improve the quality of life for residents. The main focus of development activities usually lies in the economic benefits the industry can bring to the community in the form of tax revenues, jobs and additional sources of income. However, researchers who have examined resident reactions have found that the most serious effects involve not only economic value to the community but also changes to the quality of life from a social perspective” (Jurowski & Gursoy 2004:297).

Maclear and Ugie are relatively new to the tourism industry, as previously visitors to the area were usually family friends, and attitudes differ in terms of acknowledging the economic value of the area’s natural assets and archaeologically significant areas. This is illustrated by the following example: during the summer months, David Purdon has a family (no relation) from town who camps in their caravan next the river bank on his property. He never charges them because he says they’ve been doing it for years, whereas just up the road Margaret Purdon (his aunt) is charging a minimum of R100<sup>16</sup> per person per night for a stay at Rocklands. In terms of archaeological resources opinions have also changed. For example, on Henry Smith’s farm there is an important archaeological site which he limits access to by locking the entrance (gate). The previous landowner, who left the farm as he was too elderly to continue staying there, felt that this site belonged to everyone and so did not restrict access to it. Once Henry Smith had moved onto the property there was an incident where a group of individuals who had been coming to *braai* at this area regularly became “rowdy and out of control” and some damage was done to the site. After this access was limited to those visiting their cottage or to those who have Henry Smith’s permission. During the interview it was clear that it was not only this incident that prompted this action but the increasing value for tourism that these kinds of sites hold.

Between landowners there are tourism cooperatives and the area is dotted with ‘Bed and Breakfast’ establishments, backpacker places and lodges. On offer are types of alternative tourism, in the form of rural tourism and ecotourism. The tourism in this area relies on attractions such as its rock art paintings and the environment. Principle attractions are their rivers, and fly-fishing for trout is done along the banks of most of the rivers in the area, i.e.

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<sup>16</sup> Rates differ for persons sharing, whether the stay is fully catered, staying in the house or in the cottage but a starting rate is roughly R100. Not included is guiding for hikers and those who wish to see the impressive rock art painting situated a distance from the farmhouse.

The Little Pot, the Big Pot, the Wildebees and the Mooi River. Sections of these rivers flow through the farmlands and Mondi property, providing both with opportunities to be involved in tourism. Other attractions include the San rock art caves (of which there are many), hiking and horseback trails, and the general scenic beauty, such as the sandstone formations and mountain ranges.

#### 7.4. Selling Maclear

The image often sold by some in the Maclear area is that it is 'real' frontier country or like the Wild West – a landscape that is harsh and filled with rough, tough and 'macho' mountain men'. This was evident in a feature on the town in an episode of the "Going Nowhere Slowly" travel programme<sup>17</sup>, broadcast on the South African national television channel SABC 3. One of the attractions in the area is horse-back riding but what was 'on offer' in Maclear showed this unique 'wild west' image, the cast and tour operators rode their horses into a local hotel. The show represented only a portion of those involved in tourism in the area and most of the other tourism ventures rely purely on natural resources and attractions rather than any cultural or social aspects particular to Maclear. Although Rock Art reflects aspects of culture these aspects are not pertaining to white farmers.

The Eastern Cape Highlands are well known for their trout fishing waters and one advantage the area has is that there are fishing waters in close proximity, both above and below the escarpment – Rhodes<sup>18</sup>, Barkley East and Lady Grey above, and Maclear, Ugie and Elliot below. In times when Barkley East or Rhodes is suffering a periodic drought and the rivers in those areas are low, there may be abundant fishing in Maclear, Ugie and Elliot because of their higher rainfall.

In 1991 a group of farmers, hoteliers and tour guides joined forces in Barkley East to promote fly-fishing in the area. The organisation they formed, the Wild Trout Association, is now

<sup>17</sup> The programme features three young travellers backpacking across Southern African and is very informal in nature, designed to give South African domestic tourists an idea of what our tourist market has to offer on a shoestring budget. It focuses largely on the features of each place visited as opposed to promoting specific enterprises.

<sup>18</sup> A large number of the tourists are drawn to Rhodes and the surrounding area by the Tiffendell Ski Resort which was the only ski resort in Southern Africa (until Afri-ski opened in Lesotho in 2004). The resort is aimed at the upper and middle class domestic tourist which is reflected in their inflated prices but remains low enough to be an alternative to overseas skiing holidays.

based in the town of Rhodes. The members of the Wild Trout Association are from the Eastern Cape Highlands, which includes Ugie, Maclear, Dordrecht, Rhodes and Barkley East. The formation of this association has provided farmers who own those riparian zones with waters abundant with trout and therefore with a source of income – in the form of rod fees – from their rivers and dams. Affiliate members provide guiding and accommodation in the area. One of the main functions of the Wild Trout Association is to provide marketing and is concerned with sustainability and responsible fishing. Elliot Palmer, a member of this association, explains that the preferred method of fishing is on a catch-and-release basis, which reflects this concern. He explained there is however an exception – permit holders who land trophy-size fish may remove them for mounting. In addition you may fish by fly only, and only with recognised equipment, which illustrates that there is a high level of control involved over this attraction.

In selling Maclear to eco-tourists, great emphasis is placed on its ‘natural wonders’ but the ‘colonists’ have had an effect on this ‘wild’ landscape as the following tourism promotion demonstrates: “The waters of the Eastern Cape Highlands were first stocked with rainbow trout from the Jonkershoek and Pirie Hatcheries in the mid-1920s. These fish then bred prolifically in the wild as they still do today and within a decade, Sydney Hey fished for them and subsequently waxed lyrical about his experiences in his classic book “Rapture of the River”” (<http://www.fishingowl.co.za>). Stocking in a limited manner, particularly of still waters, continued from the Pirie Hatchery until the 1970s.

By the 1980s, fish were obtained from as far afield as Grahamstown, where the Department of Ichthyology and Fisheries Science of Rhodes University (DIFS) had established a hatchery (*ibid*). During the 1980s, local hatcheries were established by Guy Porter on his farm Sunshine and shortly afterwards another hatchery was set up in the Barkley East district on Hope farm. These hatcheries supply the limited stocking needs of the area, and supply trout to places as far away as Queenstown. Stocking of rivers is planned and managed in consultation with the DIFS.

A large amount of money is spent on stocking the dams in the area. A little triploid (a fish that cannot carry eggs) costs a farmer about 42 cents. Responsible management of these tourist attractions ensures their continuation and the survival of this type of “nature-based” tourism, but at the same time it calls into question their authenticity as ‘untouched’ sites, and



some might argue that it then does not follow eco-tourism conventions<sup>19</sup>. Other measures are taken though to ensure its continued success such as fishing regulations prohibit fishing without a licence. Fishing is a seasonal sport, and in Maclear the fishing season opens 1 September and closes on 1 June of the following year. This was amended in 1942 from the original act in 1919, which stated the season was open from 1 September to 31 May in the following year (Magistrates Historical Records) to ensure that the numbers remain stable, and because of fire hazards during the winter months. Hence trout fishing alone cannot provide year round tourism visits.

The Wild Trout Association was formed in part because of the arrival of North East Cape Forests (NECF). Before the arrival of forestry the waters were owned by numerous farmers but because of issues pertaining to access<sup>20</sup>, and, more importantly, fire hazards, the association became the NECF's fishing management partner. Looking at the individual investments into fly-fishing reflects that residents are taking ecotourism seriously and the fact that at least 70 percent of visitors are attracted to the area by fly-fishing shows that the tourists are also expressing interest and thereby encouraging these small-scale tourism initiatives to put measures into place to continue securing the income this form of tourism generates. More than this, it appeared (through my research) that through putting together the association, remaining in contact with Grahamstown (through DIFS) and adding triploids to the rivers, residents of Maclear (particularly men) attempted to retain control of their changing landscape and their solidarity with other English-speakers in settler towns beyond Maclear.

### 7.5. Involving Women

Elwin Love<sup>21</sup>, a member of the association from Maclear, came up with the idea of a fly-fishing competition specifically for women. The community and the NECF supported the idea. NECF owns vast tracts of land in the region and allows fly-fishing on its waters at certain times of the year. The first of what is now know as the Pajero Ladies Fly-fishing

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<sup>19</sup> Introduced trout can arguably be described as being alien to the rivers and have the potential to be damaging to the local fish species.

<sup>20</sup> During the same time the new Water Act came into being, which makes water in rivers a national or state resource that cannot be privately owned. Only the property that borders it can be, so landowners can control access.

<sup>21</sup> Elwin Love died in 1998. The trophy in the competition is dedicated to him for his love of the sport and his work to introduce fly-fishing to another market in the form of the Pajero Ladies Fly-Fishing Competition.



festival was held in 1998, also known as the Pajero Ladies Fly-fishing competition. The event was advertised in local fly-fishing magazines and there was a large response from women all over the country.

In 2002 I participated in the Pajero Ladies Fly-fishing competition in the area, which was held from 21 – 23 September. During the festival, river and rod fees are waived for the rivers and dams used. The entrance fee was a 'reasonable' R450 per competitor. Included is dinner for the two nights, plus expert guiding and talks on fly-fishing. Local residents offer their skills as guides on waters in their respective areas. Each dam or river has at least two guides, and in 2002 Springbok fly-fisher Mark Yelland was invited and he offered tips and coaching at the many fishing spots.



*Figure 7.3. Two farmers wives and myself at the Pajero Ladies Fly-fishing competition 2002*

In 2002, 38 women<sup>22</sup> took part and were divided into small groups, depending on the site to be fished. The number of participants was almost double the 2001 figure, showing an increasing interest not only in fly-fishing, but also in the area. Men are also allowed to participate but are not eligible for prizes. The objectives of the competition include introducing new fly-fishing enthusiasts to the sport whilst still accommodating those who are more skilled and for everyone to have a good time. According to a promotional website it is a social and scenic attraction: “Do you know what entices fly-fishers, especially the fairer sex,

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<sup>22</sup> Mostly from the area but there were some participants from as far afield as Johannesburg and Pretoria.

to participate in a fly-fishing festival in Ugie? The answer is simple; camaraderie, fun, heavenly outdoors and meeting the wonderful people of the North Eastern Cape. These women arrive each year to savour the crystal-clear air, rivers and excellent fishing, no matter what the cost” ([www.evolv.co.za](http://www.evolv.co.za)). Through observations and speaking to the ladies from the area that attended it was not only an opportunity to learn how to fly-fish but also to socialise with women from the area, especially the farmers wives who might not see or meet these women under other circumstances.

During the prize evening there was a lucky draw and everyone was entitled to a prize whether the day’s fishing was successful or not, and each prize was worth at least R500. The sponsorship for this event was vast: Daimler Chrysler, Ronnie Motors, Basil Manning Agencies, The Fly Shop, Senqu, Adventure Hardware, Bells’ Whisky, Cobb, Purglass, Innox, Ecco Tec, Shorten Motors, Tiffendell, Walkabouts, Dave Levine, Easy Gold, and Gatineau<sup>23</sup>. A large number of the prizes were for weekends for two at a guesthouse or ‘Bed and Breakfast’ in the area.

The main organiser is a trout enthusiast and farmer from Ugie, and the events were held at the Ugie Sports/Country Club and along waters mainly outside Ugie. The festival, he feels, not only serves to encourage an interest in the sport but, in accommodating a variety of people during this time period, increases exposure to what the North Eastern Cape has to offer in terms of tourist attractions and a boost in revenue for the local tourism venture owners. As mentioned above this was reflected in the prizes. This strategy encourages tourists attracted by the festival to return and experience other attractions.

On the second day, everyone had markedly improved in their casting and fly-fishing skills and so there was more time to concentrate on the different scenery and the young farmers’ wives discussed how they enjoyed spending time outdoors and were glad to be participating in an activity that they can do with their husbands (as most of the Maclear men interviewed had an interest in fly-fishing and had started fly-fishing at a young age, an activity they generally shared with their fathers). They felt it could help them to feel more integrated into the Maclear lifestyle. They also were happy to participate in an event that their husbands were not part of,

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<sup>23</sup> Most of the prizes reflected the ‘desired’ tourist because the market the sponsors were aiming their products at were the upper class or relatively wealthy, and those that were not from the area were usually successful business women.



as one of the ladies expressed “it’s so nice to do things with just us girls, away from the house. Sometimes I get bored and it would be nice to have a hobby where I can spend some time outdoors” and as she points to the scene in front of us “I mean look at that, it’s beautiful” referring to the sun setting on the dam<sup>24</sup>.

This was not the only time when farmers’ wives expressed an interest in doing more to involve themselves in the landscape. When Margaret Purdon goes in search of new trails and Rock Art sites she invites her neighbouring farmers’ wives to join her, and in some instances where a particular woman has expressed an interest in seeing the Rock Art sites on her property she invites them to accompany her when she takes tourists to see the site. During my stay I participated in these types of excursions.

One of those times we were invited by John Tambo to look at a site which was found by the owner of the land, another emerging farmer in the area. John Tambo knew of Margaret’s interest in Rock Art and was hoping she could tell him if the site was of any interest. The ladies I accompanied were mainly those involved in tourism in the area, and female relatives. The climb to the site was a sharp incline and slightly strenuous for me but I could see that these outings were common occurrences for the group, and was told so after making a comment quietly to one member that I was being beaten even by ladies over 60 who easing their way to the site way ahead of me. During the walk there were discussions about the scenery and the flora around them and a keen interest in what they were about to see. Once we were in the cave there was a large amount of emphasis placed on not disturbing the site (such as no touching the walls, soft footfalls as to not kick up too much dust from the cave floor). The site itself was not well preserved with lots of damage from shepherds *kraaling* sheep in the cave, in addition it was quite open and so subject to wear from the elements therefore the site had no serious tourism potential but these women were still interested in seeing and appreciating the Rock Art and the walk/hike. On other occasions there was a similar interest in familiarising themselves with the landscape and not just focusing on the economic gains or tourism potential.

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<sup>24</sup> See Figure 7.1.

## 7.6. Enticing the Academics

Rock art in the area attracts not only tourists but academics interested in its study. Tour operators' enthusiasm encourages these visitors to explore these unique features of the North Eastern Cape. The influence of archaeologists who have worked in the area, such as Geoff Blundell<sup>25</sup>, Sven Ouzman<sup>26</sup> and David Lewis-Williams, heavily influence the interpretations given by local rock art guides such as Margaret Purdon<sup>27</sup> whilst on site. It is important to note again that rock art, like the rivers flowing in the district of Maclear, is not exempt from constructing an 'authentic' attraction. Academics and experts are enticed to the area not only because they contribute to knowledge on a variety of natural resources in the area in their studies, but also because they contribute to the social status of the hosts.

Academics contribute to an increased awareness of the importance of maintaining the integrity of the sites. They highlight the increasing significance of cultural tourism and heritage tourism<sup>28</sup> and the increasing concern of South African society to preserve sites which reflect our diverse past. Lewis-Williams (2000:118) notes the 'transformative' influence of the European perspective on the interpretation of that past in the following statement: "When Europeans first encountered rock art of the San people, or Bushmen, in southern Africa some 350 years ago, they considered it primitive and crude, like the people who made it. They were just 'Bushman paintings', two-dimensional accounts of hunting and fighting and daily life"<sup>29</sup>. Current Rock Art research focuses not only on who painted the sites but more specifically what they mean. Tour operators' and guides' interaction with Rock Art researchers is purely in the form of gaining knowledge about the interpretation of the art rather than focussing on the archaeological evidence it 'displays' of prior people inhabiting the area.

Furthermore, in literature, produced for example by the Tourism Board of the Eastern Cape, Rock Art sites are not portrayed as socially charged spaces where access is controlled by

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<sup>25</sup> From the Wits Rock Art Research Institute.

<sup>26</sup> From the Bloemfontein Museum.

<sup>27</sup> Margaret in particular encourages these researchers to visit her sites in order to add to the "authenticity" of the paintings, whilst gaining knowledge about the period during which they were painted and their symbolism. My position as an academic and a former archaeology student at Wits University influenced her behaviour when we visited sights. Instead of informing me about the site, as she did when I accompanied her with other tourists, she was interested in my interpretation of the site.

<sup>28</sup> These bring a certain caché and sense of social 'evolution' to places like Maclear.

<sup>29</sup> However this stereotypical interpretation of rock art is at odds with Zeppal and Hall's argument that heritage tourism (of which rock art is a part), is "based on nostalgia for the past and the desire to experience diverse cultural landscapes and forms" (1991:49).



'socially approved' agents (e.g. white landowners, San descendants and traditional healers), but simply as politically uncomplicated areas that need to be preserved. Thus Hilton-Barber (2001) says that a "tension exists today between opening up rock art sites and safeguarding them from damage and desecration" – this tension is exacerbated in situation where Rock Art is being used as a tourist attraction. Measures have been put in place to help protect these sites, such as the Natural Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999) which 'protects' all archaeological and rock art sites and notes that it is an offence to damage rock art and other archaeological artefacts, punishable by two years imprisonment and a R1 million fine but proper management of these sites by tour operators, who have them on their property, is key. Farmers in general are largely hesitant to announce new sites – on one hand it attracts tourism but on the other may lead to damage.

One of the most important rock art finds in the North Eastern Cape was the Storm Shelter site, discovered in the southern Drakensberg in 1992, which is claimed by archaeologists to be "probably the most important find since the first two decades of the twentieth century. The images at the site open up possibilities for more detailed understanding of San religious experience and the history of the area" (Blundell & Lewis-Williams 2001:43). A new interest in finding similar sites in the North Eastern Cape since 1996 has revealed an additional 50 rock art sites. Tourism has had a positive effect on the discovery of these rock art sites as they are deemed to be representations of an 'authentic'<sup>30</sup> and (currently) politically valued past. In the view of tour operators, the authenticity of these sites is established through academics' evaluation of the sites. Very little attention is given to indigenous evaluation of such sites. In South Africa, most rock art sites no longer 'belong' to the San, as they are found mostly on privately owned and state owned land and are popular with tourists in search of authenticity<sup>31</sup>.

In any discussion regarding what has been described as national treasures, a concern must be raised as to whether there are any ethical issues in selling essentially someone else's cultural

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<sup>30</sup> "Definitions of authenticity have been challenged by post-structuralist readings... Conventionally, its definitions invoke such terms as accurate, genuine, real, true, or actual..." Cohen (1979). And "conceptualised authenticity within a true/false personal continuum of perception ranging from complete truth or authentic, through various stages of partial authenticity, to complete falsehood" (*ibid.*). Indeed, according to Cohen (1984: 383), authenticity had to be regarded as dynamically ephemeral or "emergent" since collective views could change their position along this true/false continuum over time (Waitt 2000:843). My use of authenticity is in the conventional sense.

<sup>31</sup> Ironically.

artefact, albeit only for visual consumption<sup>32</sup>. Problems also exist in terms of representing the San culture in such a way as to cater to the expectations of tourists to the area. This will not be dealt with in this chapter but is a relevant concern in light of Frans Prins's assertion that there are still 'secret' San<sup>33</sup> currently living in the Drakensburg region of South Africa (Conference Paper AASA Unisa, 2001; 50/50<sup>34</sup> SABC 2 broadcast 3 October 2004).



*Figure 7.4. Rock Art site in the area*

As I mentioned before, there have been a number of rock art researchers in the area who have helped to verify the authenticity of the Rock Art by producing site reports and academic papers. The development of Rock Art as a tourist attraction has had positive repercussions for rock art researchers. Farmers who have Rock Art sites on their property are now willing to invite researchers to look at the paintings on their farms as it endorses their tourist attraction and generally enhances the position of the farmer in the community. Blundell and Lewis-Williams (2001:43) state that there are some "15 000 sites...now on record [though by no means fully recorded and studied] and, possibly, another 15 000 await discovery".

<sup>32</sup> Especially since that visual consumption can lead to the deterioration of the sites.

<sup>33</sup> Claims have been made that descendants of the San that lived in the area hid themselves amongst other Nguni groups in order to survive. According to Frans Prins and Penny Bernard there are direct San descendents living on farms in Ugie/Maclear region and neighbouring Transkei.

<sup>34</sup> A programme discussing environmental issues, including cultural aspects of our environment, in a wide variety of contexts, broadcast in a mix of Afrikaans and English mediums hence the name 50/50.

### 7.7. Controlling Access

In the past private landowners have sometimes been reluctant to reveal the location of rock art painting sites. The reason in some cases was to maintain the site's condition by avoiding an increase in the number of people wanting to see the sites unaccompanied. Recently there have been a number of cases where traditional healers and other spiritual groups have expressed an interest in performing rituals in caves with 'powerful' rock art<sup>35</sup>. For farmers who have an increased paranoia about security, especially in light of the perceived increase in farm murders, controlling access to rock art is of the utmost importance.

However, not everyone is barred from the sites. As argued in the previous paragraphs, researchers/academics are often invited to view and evaluate Maclear's rock art. The reason often given is that rock art researchers are no more willing to disclose its whereabouts than the farmers. Furthermore, the fact that rock art tourism has the potential of catering for an elite set of tourists, and consequently increase tourism revenue, means that local farmers or other private landowners such as Mondi now see rock art as a commodity, the potential value of which needs to be protected.

Control of access to the sites is not only motivated by its potential monetary value. In some of the sites visited there was a variety of evidence of damage caused by graffiti<sup>36</sup> and stock.

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<sup>35</sup> The Bushman of the Abatwa, as the Nguni call them, are regarded as having powerful knowledge of medicines for healing and rain-making, and having detailed knowledge of accessing the spirit world. The substances (including haematite and eland's blood) that are regarded as having magical potency that can be added to medicines.

<sup>36</sup> Names are scratched into the stone near and on top of rock art paintings.





*Figure 7.5. Graffiti damage can be seen on many Rock Art sites*

Sheep or goats are occasionally penned in the caves where there is rock art and damage occurs when these animals scratch themselves. Oils, especially from the sheep's wool, are rubbed onto the rock face, which results in a black oily residue masking the paintings underneath. Photographers have also been known to wet paintings to enhance their colours. The Linton Panel<sup>37</sup> was removed from Linton farm in the Maclear area in its entirety in 1917 and is now on display in the South African Museum in Cape Town (Smith 2002).

In my interviews with local farmers, I was told that rock art researchers have increased local knowledge of, not only the interpretation<sup>38</sup> and significance of these rock art sites, but also what steps need to be taken to preserve the sites to sustain the tourism industry in this area. I was also informed that it is unfortunate that those who are interested in the rock art are usually those who contribute to its deterioration<sup>39</sup>, and in some cases misguided management or conservation of these sites due to a lack of knowledge can be harmful. Permission to obtain access to the sites was usually granted to 'responsible visitors'. These were people which one

<sup>37</sup> The painting was brought to the museum in 1918 with the intention of saving what was described as "a magnificent example of San Rock Art" from vandals and natural weathering. Museum officials were determined to save this panel and today it is one of the best-preserved rock art pieces. The figure featured in South African national coat of arms is from the Linton Panel, reflecting the importance of these symbols of the past. This removal of panels is now frowned upon.

<sup>38</sup> However, skewed by the researcher's own hypotheses, based on their orientation to a particular theory.

<sup>39</sup> Such as tourists visiting the site.



farmer said, “move carefully into sites so as not to generate dust, never touch, nor wet the rock art as it damages the sites and do not take any archaeological artefacts away with them when they leave”.

In the case of sandstone shelters with rock art panels, such as those seen in the North Eastern Cape, they “weather gradually as a result of localised physical and chemical processes... Mobilization of salts is the single most damaging agent in sandstone weathering,” (Loubser. 1993:5). Loubser also highlights the effect of visitors to the site: “People-pressure in painted shelters accelerates weathering drastically, and it is well known that the paintings in many painted shelters that have been opened to the public have disappeared within a year. Accidental touching of painted motifs and brushing against the rock causes considerable damage, especially if a site is visited on a regular basis” (*ibid.*:6).

### **7.8. Organising the Residents**

On 1 September 2001 I attended a rock art steering committee meeting held at the Barkley East Golf Club. Members include those interested in marketing rock art tourism in the area and in generating a greater understanding of the rock art paintings and etchings in the area by sharing knowledge and ideas. Tourism venture operators make up the majority of members and the steering committee is a key player in opening up sites and offering a more complex experience to those visiting the area purely to view the paintings. Carryn Meikle from a nearby town and Margaret Purdon from Maclear have, through this committee, set up a rock art ‘package’ between their two enterprises. Tours range from 1-10 days or more, moving between the two districts. Offered in the package is an explanation of who the creators of the paintings were and the variety of complex interpretations offered. The tours are flexible and can be re-arranged to suit the needs of each client. A guide is compulsory and there is a maximum of 8 people to one guide at a rate of about R650 per day per guide<sup>40</sup>. Hikes of this nature appeal to those interested in rock art, who are fairly fit and have a love for the outdoors as some of the paintings are almost inaccessible or involve arduous walks or climbs<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> Accommodation is an additional cost.

<sup>41</sup> Limiting the expansion of their tourist enterprise to a wider audience, one example is elderly foreign tourists travelling through tour companies.

During the rock art steering committee meeting,<sup>42</sup> the main topics of discussion were as follows:

1. Plans to promote the area including ideas about a future Rock Art Festival with a conference, presentations and other possible attempts to encourage international interest.
2. The possibility of obtaining 'farm packs' from Geoff Blundell, and the training of guides. It was suggested that landowners with rock art need to be contacted and asked if they wish to have their farm labourers trained as guides. Staff members could then take people to the sites when the landowners may not be available. It was suggested that they gather a list of names of those interested. The training would have to occur at each of their own sites, meaning that it would be a long process, but the overriding aim was to help prevent the deterioration of rock art sites in the area contributed to by unaccompanied visits.
3. A new Rock Art Committee has been formed in the Amatola region. The areas included in this new region are Dordrecht, Queenstown, Cathcart and Molteno.
4. Presentation boards were suggested, which entails putting up information boards and working with Sven Ouzman from the Bloemfontein museum for site development so that sites can be seen by experts and assessed. In terms of site management it was suggested that sites be fenced off due to damage caused by cattle and sheep, but guidance was needed in terms of how to correctly implement this type of management.
5. Educating local communities, especially school children, was also suggested because of the success that Ruth Porter experienced at the Khulanathi Education centre when she worked for NECF as an environmental educator. Representatives from each town were asked to submit the number of school children in the area they represent to see if it is viable to run education projects. Any academics who are studying rock art will be approached to give some time to the community in which they are staying or studying by offering to give talks or guide training. The committee felt that researchers gain knowledge from the area and so the area should in turn benefit from their presence.

In terms of rock art tourism, discussions vary from protection of the sites and the prevention of further deterioration, to advertising and marketing this attraction. The main solutions to avoiding damage to rock art sites is to provide guiding, which affords a larger profit to be made by those that have rock art on their property. Some landowners do not want their paintings advertised, but rock art can be visited if visitors are guided by someone from the area. However, in most cases the farmers do not want 'just anyone' going to their sites, due to

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<sup>42</sup> Members are mainly farmers' wives or women due to the fact that the farmers' wives are mostly involved in the tourism ventures and because of the constraints of farmers' time.

their need to safeguard their 'territory'. The key overarching problem is one which is very commonly experienced by the most popular tourist destinations, even those that are practising so called ecotourism, which is creating a balance between tourist demands and environmental carrying capacity and having selective tourism clients. The more interest generated in viewing rock art sites and development of this kind of tourism, the greater the impact on the condition of the sites. Mentioned in the Rock Art Steering Committee meeting was the disappointment felt by academics when visiting sites that are open to the public because of the deterioration of the sites over time.



*Figure 7.6. Rock art site in the area*

Other attractions available to the tourist other than the two most popular discussed above include birding, 4x4 trails, mountain biking, rock pools, flora (wild flowers) and fauna, horse riding, indigenous forests and dinosaur footprints.

### **7.9. Finding the Tourists**

In Maclear, the tourism industry in general is varied and the types of tourists who wish to experience new and alternative forms of tourism have different expectations and motivations for their visit.

In the case of bed and breakfasts or guesthouses on farms, tourists in Maclear are generally aware that they are in someone's home. During my fieldwork in Maclear I stayed in six



different places for various lengths of time. The first three were on farms in guesthouses and cottages and the latter three were in private homes not involved in tourism. The experience was different in each. What stayed the same was the sharing of common ideas and concepts, such as environmental issues concerning the natural surroundings, which in turn has an influence on both guest and host. During my stay at Rocklands, because of the length of stay (two and a half months), there was a change of role from being a guest myself to being perceived by other tourists as a host. The length of stay in any area effects changes in hosts' attitudes to your role within their society, which are then perceived by other visitors to the area<sup>43</sup>.

Travelling from a 'home' with a similar cultural milieu means that often there are assumptions that guests are aware what is acceptable and expected of them by the host. In the case of the Maclear and Ugie areas most visitors are South African and the distinction between the host and guest is that of 'country' versus 'city' rather than a vast cultural difference and although farmers may be considered a subculture, they are still part of our mainstream culture.

Tour operators also have to create a balance between the tourists' expectations of the area and what they experience during their stay. Most tourists comment on the bad roads<sup>44</sup> and the distance from major city centres and in some cases distance of the guesthouses from town itself. These seemingly negative factors can add to the charm and give it a 'rustic' feel appreciated or tolerated by the visitors from cities. They create the impression of one getting 'away' from it all. These problems are only tolerated if the visitor is comfortable with the risks, for example getting stuck in the mud could be thrilling to some while others see it an irritation that they are not prepared to accommodate.

Margaret Purdon highlighted the problems involved in meeting the requests of some tourists. "Some of the people I have are easy but others are a lot of work. You know, it's cooking all day, guiding them up the mountain and always being upbeat. Most people don't mind if I just serve salad and toasted sandwiches but when they are paying a little extra to be fully catered

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<sup>43</sup> As discussed in my research methods section.

<sup>44</sup> Some areas can only be accessed by high clearance vehicles and 4x4s, this automatically limits the kind of tourists who can go there.



for, they expect five star meals and Jane [her domestic] and me do all the cooking. Jane is a star and she can practically cook anything nowadays.”

For example, once, when a large Swedish group arrived, they requested that their stay be fully catered with very specific requests. Margaret said, “some of the guests are fussy and it makes my work that much harder. The shops in town often don’t stock anything slightly exotic. Most things that are easy to find in bigger cities like nice sauces, spices and such like. The frozen foods especially can be very expensive, for instance, it’s nice to have calamari and some seafood but to get it here is costly. So going to the trouble of being prepared for all kinds of needs is difficult, but in the end the money is really good and having foreign visitors can give tourism in the area a boost.” This quote reinforces my earlier discussion in Chapter Four on gendered landscapes and the role women play in tourism, it demands the skills of a ‘good hostess’ and most male farmers would struggle with the tourists’ demands.

Margaret Purdon would make sure she found out before hand what her guests (those who made bookings) expectations were and what activities she should organise accordingly and accommodate them as much as possible this was not only in the case of foreign tourists but also local tourists. I found however where there were groups who may offer her tourism company some prestige or boost she would make an extra effort, such as in the case of the visiting Swedish documentary makers above and when a famous Rock Art researcher made a visit to the area, and in another instance when a freelance journalist for an outdoor leisure magazine stayed. The recognition sort after in this kind of behaviour is not to gain an elevated status within the local farming community but amongst tourists and other academics.



Figure 7.7. One of the main marketing tools for these small scale tourism initiatives is the use of brochures

The tourists travelling to the Maclear and Ugie areas are as follows: families, businessmen getting away from the stress of work, fishermen, academics, naturalists, friends of those who live in the area, rock art enthusiasts and those just passing through. The variety in the type of tourists to the area means that at different times of year, different efforts are made to attract and keep tourists in the area.

During my study in a guesthouse there were mostly day visitors to the Rock Art sites and visitors who preferred the self-catering cottage accommodation. In informal discussions with visitors to the area, I learned that they chose Maclear or Ugie because of recommendations from friends, family, work colleagues or those with similar interests such as fly-fishing clubs. Word of mouth is the most successful marketer for the area, which motivates the tour operators to continue satisfying visitors. It also ensures that the same 'type' of tourist visits the area<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> While I was staying there and in my observations of other similar initiatives tourist were all upper or (upper) middle class whites.

## 7.10. Crafting the Landscape

Maclear is mainly a farming community and so it is unsurprising that those involved in tourism are mainly farmers and their wives or daughters. There are a number of bed and breakfasts in the town, but they mostly accommodate those who are passing through the town when it is not their final destination. Hotels are also mostly used by travelling businessmen, such as sales representatives. The main concentration of visitors is to those farms which lie a little off the beaten track and offer some specific attraction that the area is known for.



*Figure 7.8. The Maclear district is known for its scenic beauty*

In the following section I look at three examples of some of the kinds of establishments and the structures of these tourism initiatives. Despite the fact that women are mainly involved in the running of the tourism ventures they are not the only ones who make the ventures successful.

### 7.10.1. Rocklands

Margaret Purdon owns a cattle farm nestled in a valley that is at the tip of the Southern Drakensberg situated 20 kilometres outside of Maclear. Rocklands is the original Purdon family farm in Maclear. She and her husband built a small cottage on their property in 1993<sup>46</sup> after seeing the interest generated in their area's rock art paintings and the potential in the beauty of the natural landscape and freshwater rivers.

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<sup>46</sup> They took out a loan from the Chamber of Commerce, formerly known as the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC).



There were already perfect sites that would offer the visitor a variety of activities to participate in for varying durations. It created a great opportunity for Margaret to be involved to a greater extent in contributing to the income the farm could generate. Shortly after it was built Margaret's husband became ill and the need for extra income became crucial<sup>47</sup>. After the completion of the cottage there was a decline in visitors to farms because of a large number of attacks on farms and so they leased the cottage to foresters working for North East Cape Forests. This offered a more stable income for a period of time until a decrease in the number of foresters in the area led to her using it as accommodation for tourists. In addition to being able to accommodate people in a separate self-catering cottage, Margaret accommodates people in her own house and provides a bed and breakfast trade, as well as the more popular fully catered stay.

In this area it is common to combine availability of a self-catering cottage, a guesthouse and a bed and breakfast, while not having to make major changes in infrastructure. Flexibility is an important factor in the success of the small-scale tourism venture because of unpredictable shifts in the needs of the tourist. The farming unit therefore becomes the consistent provider of income and helps to maintain the tourism initiative.

Margaret remarried in December 2001, before this she was farming and running a successful tourism venture on her own. The success of Rocklands can in part be attributed to the staff in Margaret's employ. Many of the farmers in the area would not rely heavily on a black 'manager', as they would be unwilling to relinquish control, whereas in Margaret's case she considers Siphon to be her right hand man and jokes that without him the farm would not survive. Before her marriage to Keith Stewart, a farmer from another district, Siphon filled the role of farm manager and 'man of the farm', although he did not hold financial power or autonomous control over the farm. Tasks that Margaret was unable to do were taken on by Siphon. The next person in the hierarchy is Jane who Margaret jokingly labels as her 'chief cook and bottle washer'. Jane sees to the running of the house and many of the duties needed to keep the guest house running. Both Siphon and Jane were born on neighbouring farms and have been working on Rocklands farm for most of their lives. With these two main employees relieving the pressure, Margaret manages to travel to KwaZulu Natal to see her

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<sup>47</sup> Graeme passed away in 1998.



children at boarding school there, farm successfully and run one of the most successful tourism ventures in the area. It is the collaboration between all those on the farm that helps to keep it running at a sustainable level. Margaret continuously invests in her tourism venture by doing guiding courses, which not only help her increase her knowledge of the flora and fauna in the area but also justify her very high guiding fees. Some of Margaret's success can be attributed to the scope of attractions she has to offer and the variety of marketing tools she utilises. The farmhouse is situated close to the rivers and lies in a valley surrounded with sandstone, making it very aesthetically pleasing.

During summer the mountains surrounding the house are green and lush with lots of waterfalls and swimming holes while in winter the tops are snow-capped, making this particular area picturesque all year round.



*Figure 7.9. Some of the winter scenic beauty on offer to tourists*

The trails are mainly utilised during the summer because of the severe weather conditions experienced in winter. During this slow time Margaret repairs the markers for the trails and any other aspects of the trail and caves that need attending to. There are two rock art sites that are not as difficult to get to – only a kilometre's walk from the cottage – and so even if the weather conditions are not ideal it is not a difficult walk and can still be visited in the winter months. Summer is her busiest period with the trails open and the fishing waters available and flowing again. In terms of marketing Rocklands, Margaret has invited journalists to write articles, has displays at stalls at tourism shows such as Indaba, uses the Internet and brochures

to increase tourists' access to information about her venture, and advertises in local travel magazines.

### 7.11.2. Merryweather Cottage

Marie and Harry Smith are originally from Cape Town and settled 18 km from Maclear on Bushy Hill farm twelve years ago. They had been coming to Maclear on holiday and Henry was particularly attracted to the fly-fishing available in local rivers and dams. Their familiarity in the area and amongst locals meant that their move was a smooth one. Henry had 30 head of cattle in 2002 but has recently sold 20 of those; the farm is basically a subsistence farm with some fowls and geese. They also offer a self-catering self-contained three bedroom cottage, as well as a bed and breakfast with full catering provided by Marie and Henry themselves. As a sideline, Henry also continues his woodworking business from a shed on the farm. Marie and Henry had a very successful furniture and woodwork company in the Cape.

Their decision to move to the area was influenced by the high crime rates associated with city living and because they wished to retire. Unfortunately, retirement is costly and can lead to boredom in those that have worked all their lives, so Henry's woodwork and the cottage both keep them occupied and provide extra income. In addition to this, Marie works for a cash and carry in Maclear in an administrative position. Besides making or rebuilding kitchen cabinets for the local farmers, Henry does a variety of work for Mondi and has a contract maintaining and seeing to the upkeep of the NECF buildings. The attractions offered by Merryweather cottage include fishing and dinosaur "footprints" on the Pot River. Their involvement in the tourism industry is relatively new, advertising mainly through word of mouth and brochures, but although their cottage does offer more than enough in the way of comfort they have very few guests. Margaret sometimes has a large amount of bookings and collaborates with Merryweather cottage. Most of their visitors are attributed to chance. Their farm is situated on the same road used to get to Naude's Nek and is an alternative route to Rhodes – the other is through Barkley East. In the rainy season the road can become hazardous and many a car has become firmly stuck. Merryweather cottage is also closer to the road than most guesthouses and so those who are lost or stuck find their way to Bushy Hills farm. Visitors to Merryweather cottage have included a variety of different tourists such as family friends,

foreign tourists from Hawaii and Belgium, but mainly fishermen from in and around South Africa.



*Figure 7.10. An Example of a Self-Catering Cottage*

Bushy Hills's main attraction is the dinosaur footprints along one bank of the Little Pot River which runs through their property. These were first reported to the authorities in the 1960s, but it was not until 1987 that scientists looked at the footprints in detail. It was confirmed that they were fossilised tracks of two different dinosaurs, one four-legged and a smaller two-legged. The tracks are preserved in what geologists refer to as the 'Stormberg Group' – a sequence of ancient rock layers lying one on top of the other. An interesting feature of these dinosaur footprints is that they are preserved in rocks of the Molteno Formation – the lowest member of the Stormberg Group. This would place the tracks among the earliest evidence of dinosaurs in South Africa and the dinosaurs that made them would have lived 200 million years ago<sup>48</sup>. "The tracks were formed when the dinosaur walked across a damp, mud-draped surface along the banks of the floodplain of a large ancient river which flowed here long before the Pot River. The mud was left behind by subsiding waters from a flood which had spilled over the banks, and as the mud dried out, it cracked to form the fossilised mud-cracks still clearly visible on the ancient surface together with the tracks" (brochure sponsored by Spilco Hotel Group).

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<sup>48</sup> Information provided by the brochure sponsored by Spilco Hotel Group.

### 7.10.3. Fishman's Haven

Andrew and Megan Todd live on the Embling<sup>49</sup> family farm about 10 km outside Ugie. Andrew has been in the area since 1989, and his wife is originally from the Ugie area. Andrew farms together with his brother-in-law Anthony Embling. Andrew bought the neighbouring farm and now this and the original farm are joined and act as one economic unit. Potato crops generate the main income for the farm – Andrew estimates this makes up 70-80 per cent of their earnings. The other sources of income are a beef herd (20 percent) and soya beans and maize (5-10 percent) it is typical that the farming unit provides the largest percentage of the income. There was in Andrew Todd's interview no mention of their involvement in the tourism industry, in the form of cottages for accommodation and a dam for trout fishing. Andrew explained the absence: "Anthony's hobby is fly-fishing. Irrigation was needed so we built a dam and stocked it with trout, but it doesn't really make any real income"<sup>50</sup>. The Fishman's Haven cottage was originally the farm manager's cottage and it really just covers the costs of a hobby.

In the case of Andrew Todd, he is a large-scale commercial farmer, with three young children at school in Ugie. Visiting the farm, it is obvious that they are farming on a large scale. They employ a large number of farm labourers. On the property are a number of large hangar-like sheds and the house is larger than the other two case studies discussed earlier. The layout is also vastly different, with a separate driveway/entrance for the Fishman's Haven cottage, and security is of a greater concern. The farmhouse itself is surrounded by a high wall and has a high electric gate. The explanation given was security concerns due to their proximity to the former Transkei. They employ a secretary, a daughter of a neighbouring farmer, to deal with the administrative work for the farming business. Most of the bookings and arrangements for tourists' visits are done through her. Andrew says their main attraction is the fly-fishing but they have a number of visitors who are 'just passing through'. Andrew emphasises marketing as key to any success in tourism. He explained "the area has attractions but it is up to the

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<sup>49</sup> Embling is Megan's maiden name. Andrew and Megan's brother, Anthony Embling, farm mainly potatoes together.

<sup>50</sup> Interview on 5 September 2001.



individual to promote the area and the industry". A large number of their visitors are attracted to Fishman's Haven because of their large signpost in town offering accommodation. Fishman's Haven is not a bed and breakfast trade but is a self-catering cottage. Andrew explains that in cases where there are tour buses or large numbers of people, they do adapt to their needs and employ someone to cater for them, but it is too costly to employ someone permanently.

There is a large amount of potential for tourism in the area but, as Andrew explained, most of those people involved in tourism ventures work on a part-time basis because of the lack of time available. Interestingly, Andrew refers to money earned from the cottage as 'jam money'<sup>51</sup>, and he admits that the most successful tourism venture in the area is Rocklands and that Margaret is probably the only one making money out of her tourism venture. Typically when these 'part-time' tourism ventures are set up the wife is more involved than the husband but Andrew admits that Megan is so busy with their children and helping out with other aspects of the farming business that it leaves little time for either of them to become more involved in tourism. In 2001 Andrew resigned from a position on the Tourism Association as he said that he could not devote enough time to that duty and suggested that they appoint a new representative for that function. In the past, he has been a key player in promoting the area – an example of which is his involvement in the organisation of the Pajero Ladies Fly-fishing festival, held every year in September. Andrew Todd finds that the tourist industry is seasonal, and dams in the rainy seasons are difficult to fly-fish in. The dam water becomes murky and there is a large amount of run-off from the lands when rains are heavy. Unfortunately public holidays such as Christmas and New Year are during the rainy season, making the conditions for fishing unfavourable. Emphasising the problems associated with trying to provide an all year round attraction.

These three examples of tourism initiatives in the area not only highlights the role of women in tourism but also the fact that tourism is reliant on the different attractions that already exist on their respective farms limiting farmers involvement. Only those who have attractions on their farm will 'reap' the monetary benefits and will be exposed to a variety of people. In this way only some individuals are able to supplement their agricultural pursuits and strengthen

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<sup>51</sup> "Jam money" is a reference to money which can be used for extras and allows them to afford more than just the necessities. This description of earnings made from tourism initiatives was also voiced by Margaret, even though she is considered the most successful tourism venture operator.

their economic situation creating a divide between those purely involved in farming and those involved in both farming and tourism. In addition to this tourism is competitive and for some, like Maragret Purdon tourism is a fairly lucrative venture as opposed to just providing “jam money”.

### 7.11. Conclusion

The tour operators in the area are mainly farmers who have working farms that take precedence over the running of these small-scale tourism ventures. On average, 80 percent, if not more, of their income is from commercial crop farming or animal husbandry. They are therefore busy managing the farm and little time is left to devote to their tourism ventures. Some try to combat this problem of time by involving their wives. For instance, the wife will run the bed and breakfast, but she also has other tasks which take precedence, such as helping in the farm business (usually in the form of bookkeeping) and being the caregiver to their children. At the time of my research, it was evident that tourism is beginning to form a fundamental part of the residents' identity in Maclear. Tour operators control access to their farms, the stories that are told about their land, the naming of places and social interactions within them. They have, as Lester (1998:515) argues, made use of tourism in their “acts of landscape representation”. This in turn allows them to maintain a particular corporate identity – one founded on farming and their pioneering history discussed in Chapter Four. They allow certain individuals into this social world (academics/researchers, wealthy foreign tourists and friends) who help to constitute their identity.

During a Maclear/Ugie Tourism Association AGM held on 15 August 2001, which I attended concerns were raised about the lack of funding the association suffers from. It mainly relies on membership fees, however, their membership is small. The municipality had been approached but unfortunately did not have funds to help the association. Provincial government resources are available but only for particular things, such as sponsorship for a brochure on the area and to make a stall available at travel shows.

My observation, during the meeting, was that the largest concern for members of the association was that of marketing themselves effectively, whilst keeping the ‘right type of tourist’ coming to the area. These are usually tourists who the hosts view as having the same social and cultural milieu as them or those who are more affluent. The development of the

Mount Fletcher road being tarred will increase the number of tourists to the area and so will bring more tourists, the type of tourist to the area may change from those of the same cultural and social milieus to those from different backgrounds and not to mention black affluent members of South African society. The increase of tourist from these different backgrounds will effect those exposed to the visitors, tour operators, and change their perceptions of wider South Africa and how they see themselves – essentially affecting their identity.

Marketing through flyers, travel shows, magazines and the Internet involves input of time and money – both of which are scarce. There is still a large amount of competition between members even though there are situations where they contribute to each others' ventures by sending clients to those who offer the attractions or activities the tourists want to participate in. The biggest concern in marketing themselves is the need for an unbiased 'advertiser', someone who can handle the information aspect of the tourism offered in the area without favouritism.

Wynne's Place<sup>52</sup> was a general coffee shop where the association met and where information was made available mostly in the form of brochures and pamphlets spread out on an entrance table, and also by asking Wynne herself. Wynne was a soft spoken Afrikaans woman in her mid-30s who found it difficult to accommodate everyone's demands. One operator (not originally from the area and no longer involved in tourism in the area) tried to corner the market by using Wynne as a promoter for his venture. This was met with a large amount of objection and resulted in antagonism between him and the others involved in tourism. The members of the tourism association are encouraged to promote themselves and the surrounding areas but an overarching premise in all dealings should be one of co-operation. Any attempts to cut other operators out is seen as hostile, with the result that no endorsement of the offending party's venture will occur until eventually those that are perceived as hostile or undesirable are socially isolated and squeezed out of the market and have to leave.

Most of the farmers in the area have hardly any opinion regarding tourism in the area because the ventures are small-scale and the number of visitors annually is low and this is not perceived as invasive. The type of tourism practised in the area has essentially been developed to suit the tour operators' needs and fits into the perception that farmers have about

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<sup>52</sup> This is no longer operating as Wynne moved away.

alternative uses for their natural resources. This correlates with their views as to what preserving the environment and cultural heritage means in practice. NECF also involves itself in the tourism industry by offering hunting, hiking and accommodation. For example unguided hiking in the Prentjiesburg only operates between October and April every year, because of the dangers of allowing people onto NECF property during the fire season, which is from May to September. The NECF has a large number of rivers and fishable waters, and other than during fire season they work in co-operation with tour operators in the area, allowing access to sections of their property for horseback riding, motor rally driving (the clover shape track runs through NECF property and farm lands) and fly-fishing.

The impact of tourism on the area at the current rate does not exceed its carrying capacity. "The interpretation of carrying capacity is premised on the centrality of ecological considerations. Other types of carrying capacity concepts relate to psychological, physical and social constraints" (Collins 1999:101). Construction on the road between Mount Fletcher and Maclear will provide a link to Durban and an improvement of the road. Current tour operators are optimistic that this will increase the number of visitors to Maclear. The current operators and interested locals do not, however, agree on the positive nature of this development. The most characteristic feature of tourism in the area is that it is small-scale and controlled. The positive effects of generating an income could come at the sacrifice of the very attractions they depend on, and could cause a disruption in the town's life. There is a reluctance on the part of the tour operators to open up the tourism in the area and attract greater numbers, as they realise this would mean relinquishing control of their resources and possibly contributing to negative changes in the environment and community, but, as a secondary result, places such as Rhodes and Barkley East enjoy popularity and are generally better known, and (besides skiing at Tiffendell outside Rhodes) they offer the same attractions and types of accommodation. The popularity of Rhodes and Barkley East is also linked to the absence of forestry in the area, which gives it an unspoilt charm.

Tourism in the area (because of its small scale for one reason) is not providing a large amount of employment and upliftment to the local communities and as can be seen from the descriptions in the chapter there is little mention of the involvement of black residents in tourism, farm labourers and local black people are virtually invisible (and largely excluded from any tourism enterprise. The culture of the Xhosa and Sotho speakers has not been used as a drawcard to attract those tourists interested in culture. There is instead a reliance on the



paintings done by the San, who as I discussed before are largely seen as no longer existing. It needs to be mentioned that there is a need to create employment and bring about upliftment in the area, the poorer sectors of the community must be involved and tourism must not only benefit a privileged few.

## Chapter 8: CONCLUSIONS



*Figure 8.1. The Southern Tip of the Drakensburg with the snowcapped Highberg in the background*

In a fascinating account of Australia's "ecology of diversity" (Mühlhäusler 1992), Smolicz (1997:171) argues that Australia can be perceived as a "laboratory for multiculturalism, because of the way it has 'managed' its internal pluralism". Smolicz ends his paper on a rather optimistic note, arguing that, "...as a whole, Australia's recognition of the creative force of cultural interaction within a framework of shared beliefs has enabled it to develop beyond a 'migrant country' to become a laboratory for a multicultural nation." (*ibid*:183). South Africa is between these two polity forms. It is still a migrant country because of the vast numbers of people (currently, mostly African) coming to South Africa in search of a better life. It is also in the process of becoming a multicultural nation with an emphasis on integration rather than segregation. As in the case of the one community discussed in this thesis, this process is neither easy nor linear. Other important developments influence processes of integration. In Maclear, forestry, tourism and residents' long-held acts of landscape representations affect and complicate processes of change.

Woolacott argues that, “whiteness can be read as the assertion of privilege, power and historically specific, gender and class-related identity in a racially hierarchical social system.” (Woolacott 1997:1027). In this thesis, I have argued that this is so for Maclear’s white residents. However, there is more to their identity than the assertion of privilege and power. As I assert in this conclusion, their identity is also continually constructed, challenged by external social forces, inspired by symbols and elements often used by those traditionally perceived as unempowered. They too develop emotive attachments to land and landscapes, and produce ‘fictions’ to be used in narrating their identity. In this final discussion, I argue for the extension of the term postcolonial to white identity in South Africa and Maclear.

### 8.1. Groups and Categories

Because of the need for economic development in the wider Eastern Cape Province, recent arrivals to the Maclear area have provided an interesting challenge to the established residents. The farming community had initially come into the area because of the government’s need for political stability and security on its frontiers. During colonization:

People were encouraged to see themselves as faceless Zulu or Tswana or Sotho or Xhosa [with no consideration of indigenous forms of social categorization or awareness of subjective identities.]...class...gender...generation [and] personal circumstances...the distinctive experience of colonialism is being made to feel, and then to recognize one’s self, as a ‘native’...the contradiction at the core of the colonial encounter. In South Africa, the state spoke, in a promissory voice, of making modern citizens – autonomous, named, right-bearing members of the body politic – out of ‘natives’ whom it persisted, at the same time, in treating as unmarked ethnic subjects. (Comaroff 2003:53).

In the case of the settlers “it was the 1820 settlers and their descendants who first conquered the land and the people of the Eastern Cape” (Lester 1998:516) these settlers’ “new-found status as aggressive capitalists, and their collective anxiety as colonists in an insecure frontier space, were two sides of the same coin, and settler identity was experienced primarily as a response to the latter” (*ibid.*:529). The result of these settlers

occupying a marginal space was the construction of a corporate identity as a means to help create communal security (*ibid.*). Thus this collective identity similarly underplayed these groups' class, gender and personal circumstances. In an attempt to create a sense of settler identity there was a sense of "erasure of difference" (*ibid.*: 517).

In present day Maclear challenges to their community similarly evoke the need and desire for solidarity. This 'need' and 'desire' is also historically informed, "settlers were remarkably consistent in defining themselves against the same shared threats...the flexibility of this identity, and the capacity to reconcile difference, itself enhanced its utility and sustainability" (*ibid.*:517). Under colonial rule great efforts were made to emphasise the homogeneity of 'white' identity. In the post-colonial state, this support is no longer available. Changes in South African society can no longer be ignored and the assumption of a unified front is no longer credible. It is in this fluid and borderless context that Maclear farmers are struggling to maintain their control over their environment and their identity.

## **8.2. Individual versus Group Rights in the Post-Apartheid State**

In post-apartheid South Africa, the government has put much emphasis on the achievement of peaceful integration. The Constitution of South Africa also upholds individual as well as group rights. In Richard Wilson's discussion of rights in post-apartheid South Africa, he notes that, "Individual human rights [have] emerged as the main alternative to the apartheid model of differential citizenship and group rights" (Wilson 2002:211). However, this approach does not help to resolve the issue of cultural rights in South Africa. What is the state's real position on cultural rights? Do some groups have more right of access than others? In Maclear, farmers have over a long period of time imprinted their identity and histories onto the landscape. Maclear holds their memories and histories as well as the shattered histories and memories of the indigenous people living in the area.

The indigenous South African concept of *ubuntu* is an informal (but no less important) attempt to bring about national reconciliation and unification through the search for



justice instead of revenge (Wilson 2002:216-17). But there are many forms of revenge. In South Africa “the political use of culture has not gone away within the state discourse, even after the ravages of apartheid social engineering” (*ibid.*230). As Werbner and Modood (1997) note in their perceptive analysis of memory in the postcolony, the erasing of inscribed landscapes, the renaming of emotive spaces, and the rewriting of history are ways of changing our remembrances of the past. The taking away of symbols and spaces that assist the evocation of memories is also, unfortunately, a form of revenge.

### 8.3. But Change is Here

The white South African farmer identity is not static but constantly shifting. Differences within the group do exist and on closer inspection there *are* divisions between residents, especially the Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking groups. The Afrikaans-speaking farmers have crafted a ‘Wild West’ image for themselves, and still view the area as frontier country, rough rugged terrain where cowboys roam. What used to be a laughable identity is now one that is proving lucrative. The increase in tourism in the area (particularly outsiders’ search for the wild and untamed country) has encouraged many a young farmer to cultivate this image and identity.

Their behaviour outside the tourists’ gaze however differs little: braai-ing outside the Royal Hotel on the back of a bakkie, shooting holes in the ceiling of the Royal Hotel and riding their horses inside the public bar. The English-speaking farmers generally think of this kind of behaviour as backwards, as is reflected in their criticism of the Afrikaans farmers. They prefer to rely on the 1820 settler image of pioneers, who came into a relatively uninhabited land. Despite these differences each has created an attachment to the land that they currently occupy and it is embedded with social meaning.

In response to the timber industry being introduced to the area they attempt to put up a unified front and the criticisms of this development are generally expressed as common problems, which farmers face. This solidarity in identity is also intensified by the decrease in number of farmers and is due to the buying up of farms in the area.

Similarly the increase of land claims and governmental interests in land redistribution encourages the presentation of this unified front against a common 'threat'. These two aspects affect their social responses, seeing the increase of commercial plantations and the emerging black farmers, as meaning the loss of farming land for them or the sale of their family farms on which they rely heavily for their sense of belonging. Over time the 'frontier' heartland concept has developed and in order for this to exist there have to be those of a 'common identity' who must live in the heartland to maintain their stronghold over the land. The threat tourism has on this 'frontier' heartland is seen as less problematic because the farmers remain in control of the marketing and growth of this industry in the area. More importantly, they also 'control' the acts of landscape/tourist place representation.

Control is further maintained in the discouragement of outsider tour operators. The current tour operators control the marketing of the area as a whole through their tourism association and they control access to tourist attractions, which are primarily on private properties. The marketing strategies they devise and employ are aimed to encourage what they perceive as the 'right' type of tourist. This 'right' type of tourist includes academics and some tour operators encourage these academics to look at her rock art sites in order to give their tourist attractions a greater status, as well as establishing and enhancing the status of the tour operator. This reflects a need to cater for the more discerning tourist, who may have knowledge of their own of these sites.

#### **8.4. New Interests**

It should be mentioned that although the increase in tourists from different social and cultural milieus has an effect on those offering the tourist attractions, this is slow due to the amount of control these tour operators exercise and their lack of focus on their own cultural uniqueness. Tourism has multiple consequences as, it does not only affect the hosts and their identity, but Rock Art offers monetary profit and some farmers have a newfound interest (ironically) in the protection of indigenous knowledge (as well-preserved Rock Art offers monetary rewards).

In using rock art as an attraction, I called into question the ethical considerations for its use in generating income, and although I did not discuss this aspect specifically, there is a large amount of scope for this type of discussion which cannot be taken up here. This is echoed in Jonker's paper on *Social Identities in South Africa*, with particular reference to the representations of San people. In that paper, "exploration of indigenous "folklore" or culture has been one of the concerns of legal reform in post colonial African states... the issue is the use of "traditional" cultural expressions in contexts outside of their customary use, and by persons who do not belong to the original communities. This use is generally for monetary gain; typical problems are that the original communities have not had any say in their use to which the expressions and derivatives of them have been put, or that compensation for their use has not been paid" (2003: 201).

Still the view exists that these cultural expressions have become part of world heritage and should be available to all (*ibid*:204) and although in South Africa there is a shift to greater concern for protecting authenticity and ownership, the problem of "how these images are being reproduced and how their appropriation in these various contexts" still remains and "is affecting perceptions about the art and its creators" (Dowson. 1996: 315).

### **8.5. Changed Politics and Shifted Identities**

During apartheid whiteness was often portrayed as homogeneous and hegemonic. Although the major divisions were between black and white, much emphasis was placed on non-whites pursuing whiteness and the solidarity, community and homogeneity which the white race was meant to represent. To achieve this 'colonial fiction' (Comaroff 2003), the apartheid state needed cohesion between English and Afrikaans groups so there would not be a weakness in their regime. In this thesis I argue that this "clumping" together of whites as a solid entity is challenged by the realities of the Maclear community.

In the past, whites as the 'elites' in the Apartheid era had little to prove in their claims over areas of land and challenges to their identity and history were minimal – at least in public. In South Africa's current political climate there is no longer the untouchable white authority, and even though a large amount of economic power still resides amongst the white population, there is an increasing need for white South Africans to justify their current place in society due to wider needs for addressing inequality. The farming community in Maclear, although resistant to change, is seeing changes in their environment due to economic changes and opportunities that have arisen, and in turn has seen changes socially.

To some extent they realise that change is happening around them and that they can no longer live in isolation. More importantly the changes happening around them have brought into light how they came to be on the land and their history. There are also no longer governmental borders or divisions in society which 'protect' them. As modernity and globalisation has now reached and penetrated their frontier and changes to their landscape in the form of people and land pattern it has affected their identity despite the fact that they have had long term stay on the land and continue to stay on their family farms.

In terms of the introduction of forestry, the attachment to landscape and these family farms has intensified, through the course of farms being sold and signifiers of past generations – for example farmhouses, gardens, and graveyards on farms – being destroyed or altered for the paper company's needs and an already existing connection to the land have strengthened through increased number of problems they have to face. The farmers essentially have had to increase their efforts to protect places of significance to them. Agroforestation has provided a new form of appropriation of the land use and it affects not only how they view the past (asserting their long term stay and connection to the first settlers in the area) and how they feel they can maintain a future in the area in light of present problems introduced by agroforestation (such as fire risks, the limited availability of land for expansion of current farms or for emerging farmers to establish themselves, and finally the problems of employment experienced by ex-farm workers and



local black residents). It seems to me that the introduction of forestry has created a current contestation of land, resulting in strengthened resistance by the farmers<sup>1</sup>.

Criticism of an environmental nature of the paper company are harsh because of increased awareness of the farmer of the need to be environmentally conscious in order to create a sustainable livelihood but it also creates a sense of 'us' and 'them' divide between the farming community and the NECF. Mondi has however made a number of concerted efforts to address environmental issues, and has the support and money to make the changes necessary to improve areas which are unplanted on their property. Farmers continue to be harsh in their judgment despite their farming practices being (in some cases equally as) environmentally harmful, this is due to the fact that they do not perceive their farming enterprises as just means of generating income and feel that because they are present and connected with the land that they adapt their methods as far as they can to accommodate environmental needs. The proposed expansion of agroforestry in the area as discussion in Chapter Six will just intensify the farmers' resistance and the problems they have to deal with in their current situation.

Tourism has helped to involve women and intensify engendered interpretation of their role in the formation of identity and landscape, but it has also created a divide. Only those involved in tourism are gaining material benefits<sup>2</sup>, improving their status and will encounter new relationships with the seeming amorphous mass that blacks are perceived as in the form of black elites coming to the area. At the moment tourism is in the form of eco-tourism and is largely small and under their control, when tourism in the area increases the affects of tourism will be easily to gauge. Currently it does give those farmers with resources on their farm an opportunity to give an alternative means of economic development in the area, one premised on sustaining these natural and Rock Art resources and whilst it does challenge (in a small way) the dominant male identity it is still maintained and controlled by the Maclear farmers.

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<sup>1</sup> Unifying the community against a common 'enemy' and ultimately shifting their identities to a strengthened attachment to the land and how they see themselves in the landscape. .

<sup>2</sup> Which is need because the more pressure there is on the farmers the more income is needed to sustain the family farm type enterprise.

Shortly before I left Maclear, it was evident that the farmers then expressed the largely negative settler identity in a more positive light as they viewed their ancestors as pioneers. However, they still find it difficult to rely on these wider settler histories as a justification for their presence on the land currently. Embedded in these histories are past inequalities and conflicts over land and the fact that they moved into the frontier and were not merely bordering it. What has occurred over time from their settlement into the area and present day is the adaptation of this frontier country into their *heartland*. Changes have necessitated adaptations and they can no longer strongly associate themselves with a colonial European identity, but with a less stable and constantly changing South African identity. The homogenous white identity is starting to be challenged and through the effects of tourism and forestry it is clear that 'borders' are more fluid and that the static and unchanging perception of farming communities is no longer an appropriate way of viewing farmers. In South Africa identities are evolving, and this is no less true for the white English-speaking farmers of Maclear than for other groups struggling with their post-colonial identity.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is part of work-in-progress on narratives of political violence in South Africa which in turn is part of a larger project on democracy and violence as discourse (undertaken in collaboration with David Apter). The larger project involves the theorisation of democracy and violence with reference to the master narrative of democratic inclusion in the South African context including the re-reading of particular narratives of political violence in South Africa history. (Du Toit. 2005).



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## Appendix B

### Census information 1936 to 1980 (provided by the Maclear Magistrates Historical Record)

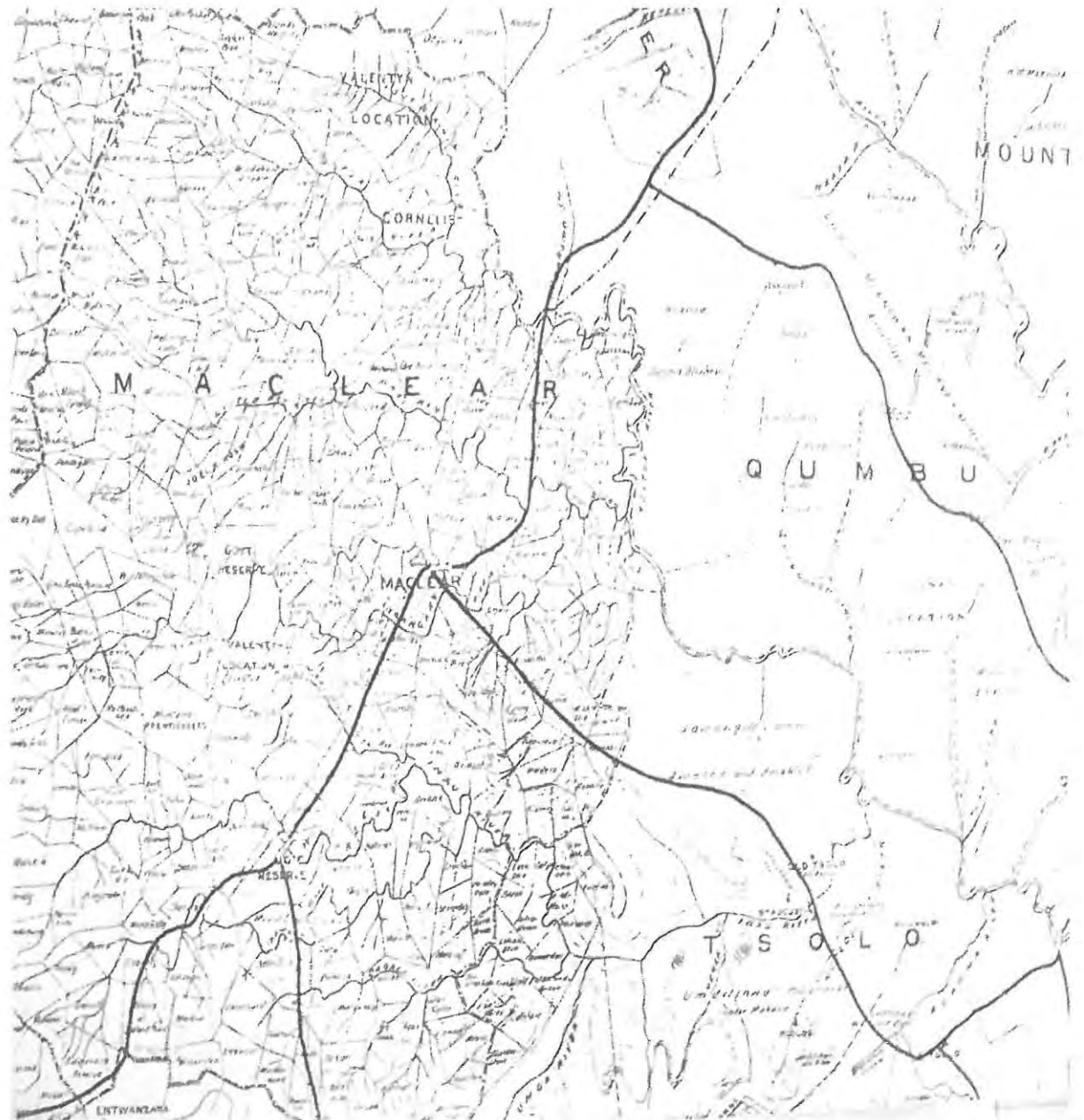
	EUROPEAN	NATIVES	COLOURED	TOTAL
<b>1936</b>				
TOTAL				
Males	1517	4305	270	6092
Females	1429	4718	284	6431
Total	2946	9023	554	12523
TOWNSHIP ONLY				
Males	371	533	53	957
Females	364	348	62	774
Total	735	881	115	1731
UGIE TOWNSHIP ONLY				
Males	372	105	69	546
Females	345	106	66	517
Total	717	211	135	1063
<b>1941</b>				
MACLEAR				
Males	380			
Females	396			
UGIE				
Males	376			
Females	328			
DISTRICT				
Males	643			
Females	545			
GRAND TOTAL				
Males	1399			
Females	2668			
	4067			
<b>1946</b>				
URBAN MACLEAR	774	1212	169	2155
URBAN UGIE	635	886	176	1697
RURAL AREA	1083	8086	112	9281
Total	2492	10184	457	13133
<b>1951</b>				
URBAN MACLEAR	766	1332	247	2345
URBAN UGIE	769	904	171	1844
RURAL AREA	961	8317	90	9368
Total	2496	10553	508	13557

<b>1960</b>					
URBAN MACLEAR	819	2362	369		3550
URBAN UGIE	714	1449	261		2424
RURAL AREA	808	9898	119		10825
Total	2341	13709	749		16799
<b>1970</b>				ASIATICS	
URBAN MACLEAR	507	2400	139		3046
URBAN UGIE	589	1727	263		2579
RURAL AREA	739	11000	275	3	12017
Total	1835	15127	677	3	17642
<b>1980</b>					
URBAN MACLEAR	568	2923	327		3818
URBAN UGIE	552	1775	255		2582
RURAL AREA	564	10417	61		11042
Total	1684	15115	1515		17442



## Appendix C

Imperial Map of Maclear from 1900 (Source: Imperial Map of South Africa: Maclear compiled and lithographed by the Mapping section of the British Field Intelligence Department in 1900, this can be found in the Cory Library for Historical Research at Rhodes University). Enlarged version of Figure 1.6.



## Appendix D

### Land Issues: The Struggle for Nomansland

In the 1830s other political developments had occurred and more movement into Nomansland and the surrounds led to the first settlers reaching Maclear and Ugie to establish an agricultural sector and create another 'buffer'. In 1844 Sir Peregrine Maitland became Governor of the Cape Colony. His first action was to withdraw the treaty system introduced by Stockenström in 1836. In its place he introduced his own treaty system, which gave farmers the right to follow up on allegedly stolen cattle and to demand equivalent compensation if they could not find the cattle. In an agreement between the Governor of the Cape, Maitland, and the Mpondomise chief, Faku, Nomansland was included in Faku's territory<sup>1</sup> by mistake. Under the Maitland treaty, Faku was compelled to make good on any cattle lost through raids, some of which were conducted by the Bushmen. Faku "complained that the upper country, along the mountain, had been forced upon him; and, rather than he be held responsible for the misdeeds of the Bushmen, he asked the Cape Government to take possession. Although he afterwards retracted this, it was generally admitted that the clause giving him authority over the land along the mountains could no longer be of any effect" (Smit 20).

In 1847 Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Harry Smith was appointed Governor of the Cape and where he embarked on aggressive expansionist politics. Smith met with the Griqua chief Adam Kok III and quashed the land tenure system that Maitland had negotiated in 1846. The new agreement was slanted to advantage the British Crown and the white farmers in the region and Smith demanded that all rent accrued from white tenant farmers on Griqua land north of the Riet River be paid to the Crown.<sup>2</sup> Smith also ordered that white farmers be allowed to settle on Griqua land south of the Riet River, which Maitland had forbidden.

After the proclamation of the Orange River sovereignty in 1848, however, Kok was stripped of jurisdiction outside the reserve itself. The inhabitants of Griquatown and

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<sup>1</sup> Faku was the paramount chief of the whole country between Umtata and the Umzimkulu, and from the Drakensberg to the sea.

<sup>2</sup> Maitland had demanded half the rental in his agreement with the Griqua.

surrounding country in addition experienced considerable economic hardship as a result of cattle disease, declining resources of game, and drought during the 1840s and 1850s.

In 1854 another Boer republic called the Bloemfontein Convention was established. The Convention document declared that no alliance with black political entities except Adam Kok of the Griqua was permitted. Furthermore Kok would be forced to abrogate his treaty with the British. The Convention made no mention of the boundaries of the new state, and together with forcing Kok to abrogate his right to land in East Griqualand, this led to more conflict in the region. The establishment of the republican Orange Free State marks the beginning of the disintegration of East Griqualand in 1854; the Griqua had depended on the presence of the British in that region for their right to hold land<sup>3</sup>.

Sir George Grey regarded Nomansland a waste, and after the Free State and Bantu war thought was given to locating some of the “restless” tribes in the area<sup>4</sup>. Moshweshwe moved over the Drakensberg and established himself at the headwaters of the Umzimvubu. “The claim of cession by Faku, put forward by Moshweshwe, was never recognized by the British Government. Sir George Grey then proposed to remove Adam Kok from the district of Philippolis in the Free State to Nomansland. Apparently Faku made no objection to the land being appropriated provided that he was relieved of all responsibility. “Nomansland (subsequently named Griqualand East) was annexed after earlier confusion which had resulted from competition for the territory between Nehemiah Moshweshwe, who had moved into the Matatiele district in 1859, and the Philippolis Griqua, who had moved into the Kokstad region<sup>5</sup> with the permission of Sir George Grey soon afterwards” (Davenport and Saunders 2000:145).

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<sup>3</sup> Saunders and Davenport (2000)

<sup>4</sup> After the Basotho War in 1858.

<sup>5</sup> An initial group of 100 pioneers led by Adam Kok moved via Dordrecht into Nomansland early in 1859. They reached Gatberg, the present District of Maclear. It was seen as a favourable area because the “land was green and attractive, and abounding with game” (Smit4). In 1861, the Griqua decided to sell their remaining farms to the Free State, and some 2 000 people moved across the Drakensburg, suffering privations en route to Nomansland on the eastern side of the mountain range, which became known as Griqualand East. During this time the group was split and some of the Griqua headed across the Drakensberg and reached Phillipolis, while some trekked to Nomansland and formed a camp at Handklip. Those that continued to Phillipolis in 1862 started moving slowly over the Drakensburg in a year of terrible drought. They lost great numbers of stock and endured hardships to reach their new home. “Eventually in their extremity they asked to be governed by the British and their land was annexed to the Cape Colony” (Smit.9).

In 1861 Sir Phillip Wodehouse settled the Griqua in Nomansland with the aim of establishing a power under British prestige that would be suitably civilized to set a “good example” to the Bantu, and powerful enough to maintain order and cease tribal wars. However this was a complete failure. A few “Europeans” had settled here by 1864.

In August 1873 Mr Joseph Millerd Orpen was sent to annex the country called St John’s Territory, which included Nomansland, as a measure to prevent further bloodshed. “When he found unrest and tribal wars in progress...he managed to pacify warring chiefs and order was restored” (Smit 18). Kokstad was founded as the main settlement, but in the early 1870s the east Griqua people began to lose their farms to whites, a process that accelerated after Cape officials moved into Kokstad in 1874, and after Kok’s death in 1875. A rebellion in 1878 against the Cape administration was quickly suppressed, and the territory was formally incorporated into the Cape the following year. The area became known as East Griqualand on 25 December 1878<sup>6</sup>.

(Based on Davenport and Saunders (2000) Chapter 7, White and Black: The Struggle for Land)

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<sup>6</sup> The demoralised and impoverished Griqua of East Griqualand never recovered their cohesion as a community, nor their independence. By the end of the century, only a few Griqua retained any claim to land and the great majority were landless and impoverished.



THE FRIEND, BLOEMFONTEIN, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1949

FROM THE FREE STATE'S PAST.

## In the Days of the British Suzerainty

I AM indebted for the following reminiscences of just a hundred years ago in the Free State to 84-year-old "Uncle" Al Sephton, of Wartrall, Barkly East, in his account of the life of his father, John William Sephton. The latter was the third generation from Hezekiah Sephton, leader of the largest (the Salem) party of the 1820 British Settlers to South Africa.

About 1848 two very raw Britishers, Donald Grant—Administrator of the Suzerainty—and his portly secretary Stewart, arrived at Thaba Nchu Mission Station, and requested Rev. Richard Giddy's assistance in securing a reliable guide and interpreter for Dutch and Native languages.

The then 18-year-old John William Sephton was suggested and put through certain tests. His English was found to be not perfect, but his knowledge of the Native languages good and his veld-craft excellent, so he was appointed.

Whenever on trek Sephton acted as guide and guard, and was responsible for all the provisioning and the finding of accommodation.

### Startling Experience

On the very first occasion—their journey to Bloemfontein, where Major Warden and his little occupation force had established themselves—the three had a startling experience. After a halt they were preparing for a new start, when quite near by a lion roared. Grant's and Sephton's horses were ready saddled and the leapt into the saddles and galloped off. When after a while the slower Stewart

joined them it was found that his saddle girth was dangling unfastened. In spite of his large proportions he had, under the stress of circumstance, actually managed to get into the saddle without the use of the stirrup.

When, in 1854, the British abandoned their Suzerainty, Grant called a number of meetings of residents and burghers, in an endeavour to establish some body to take over the responsibility of the country's government. The British withdrawal was bitterly resented, and was considered by many a deliberate exposure of the people of this part to extermination by the Natives.

### Pres. Hoffman

Only a small section was found to support Grant's proposed republican form of government, and consented to his suggestion that "krippel" Hoffman be requested to accept the presidency. Grant's intention was good, as Hoffman's friendly relations with Moshesh were calculated to contribute to peace. Incidentally, this friendship was later responsible for his resignation after only a year of service.

It fell to Sephton's lot, as one of his last duties under the Suzerainty, to carry the decision of a meeting of Burghers, to unsuspecting Hoffman, stating he had been chosen to head the infant republic. His farm was at Jammersdrift on the Caledon River, and on reaching there Sephton was kindly received by Mrs Hoffman and was given something to eat and his horse provided for.

He then walked to the lands where the man he sought was leading water. On receiving the

document, the old man scanned it briefly, and as it was in English, he handed it back to Sephton to read and translate.

### In English

The two men returned to the homestead. When, on the following day, no action had yet been taken by Hoffman, Sephton intimated there was need for immediate action as the matter was urgent and required a written acknowledgement and reply to the document delivered. To this the president-to-be replied, "Ek is nie goed in Engels. Sê maar ek kom." This use of English on that occasion is of interest, indicating the leading part played in it by Grant.

Seven years later Sephton with his wife, Susan Poultny, established himself at Glengyle in New England, Barkly East, from which a veritable tribe of Sephtons has since spread.

E. NOEL ROBERTS.

# NOMISOL

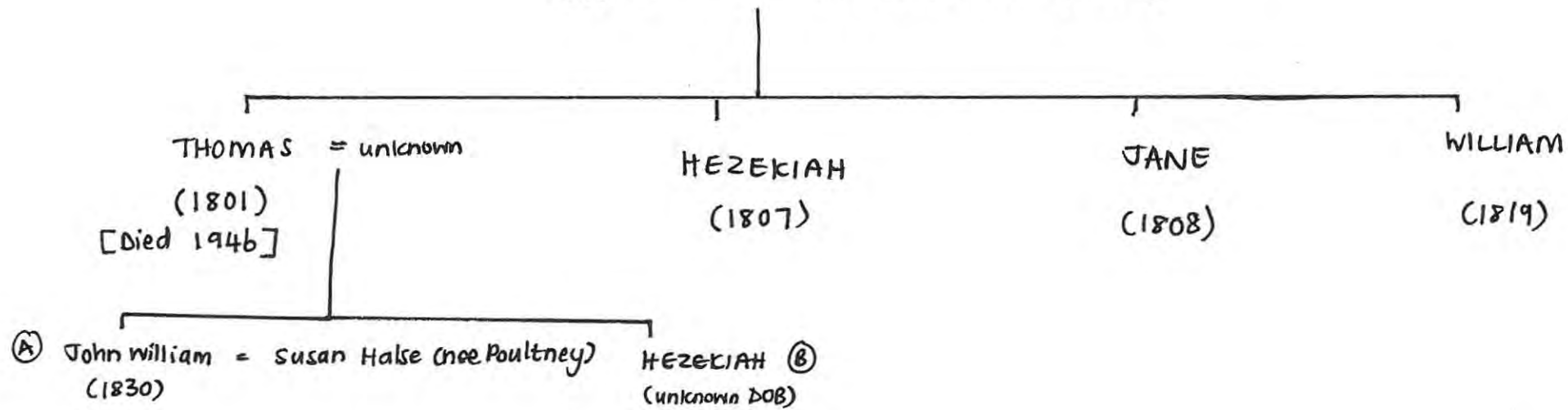
a hundred and one uses!

PROTECTS  
IN MANY WAYS . . .



1820 Settlers (Arrived from the ship AURORA)

JANE = HEZEKIAH (1776)



APPENDIX F : Incomplete SEPHTON family Tree

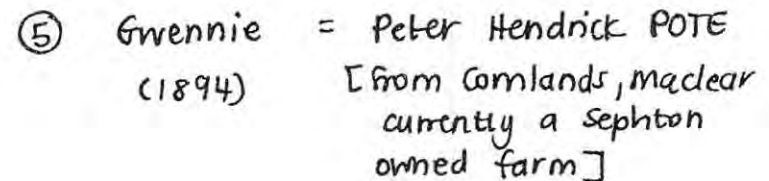
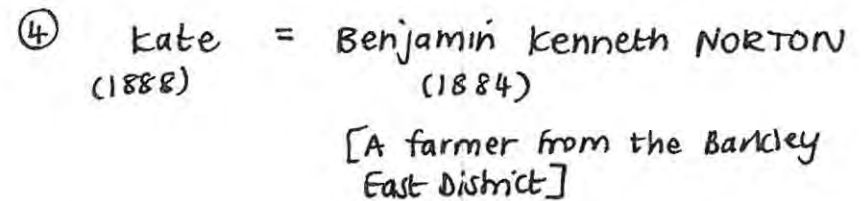
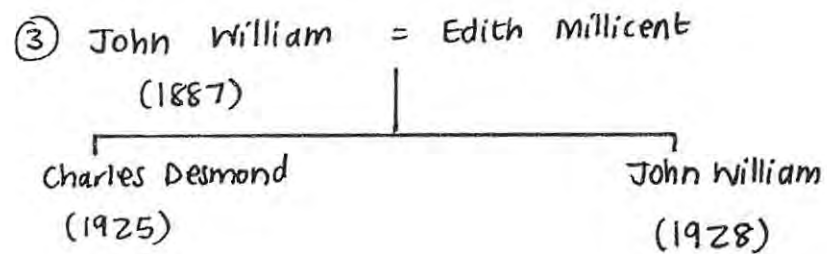
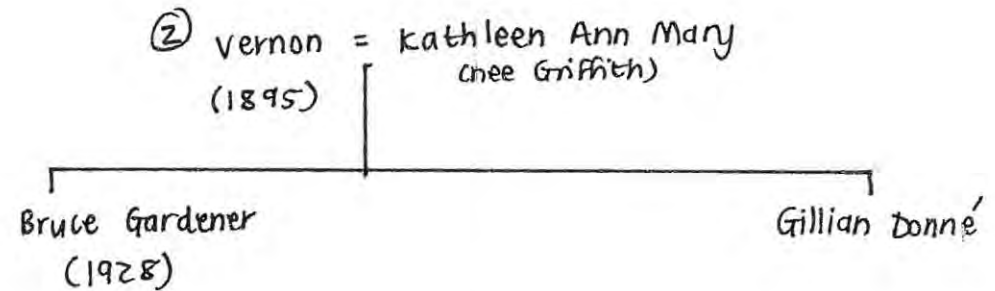
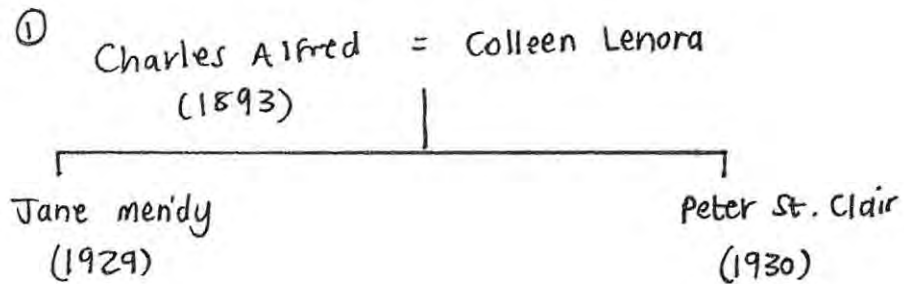
Ⓐ JOHN WILLIAM = SUSAN HALSE (nee POULTNEY)

Alfred William = Sarah Elizabeth  
(1861) (nee GUSH)  
? ?

Charles Arthur = Wilhemmd Dinah  
Augustus (nee DICKS)  
(1864) (1865)

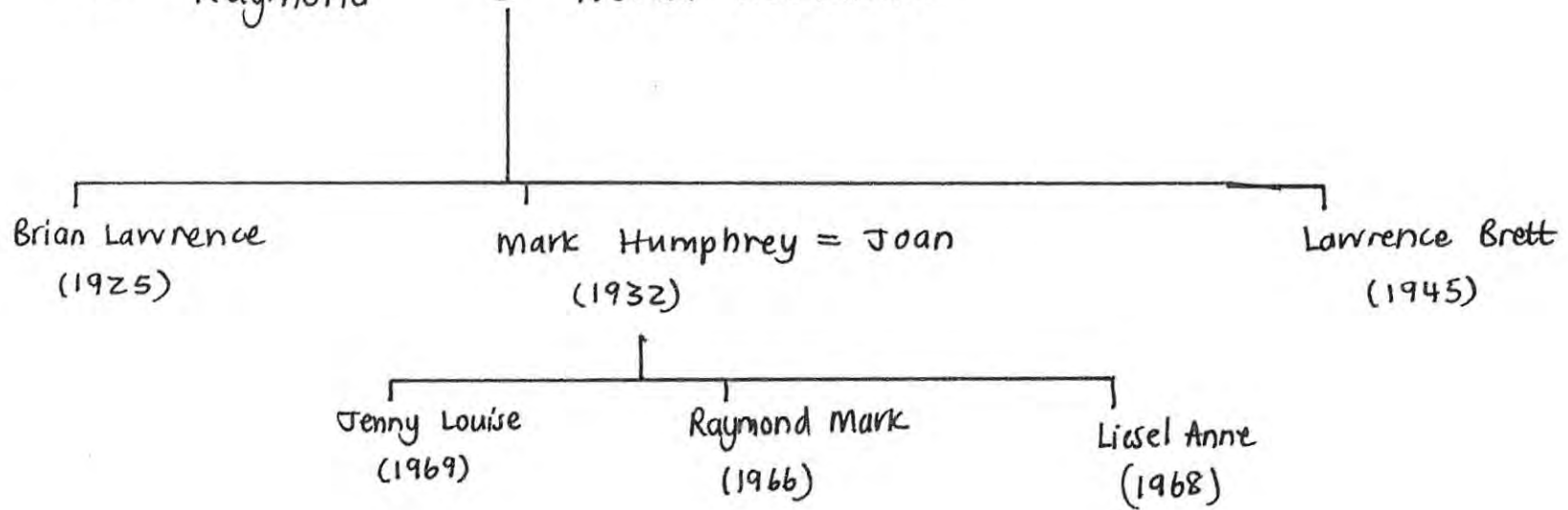
Ⓝ John William (1887)   Ⓞ Kate (1888)   Charles Raymond (1892)   Ⓟ Gwenrie (1894)   Ⓠ Raymond (1896)   Stanley (1899)

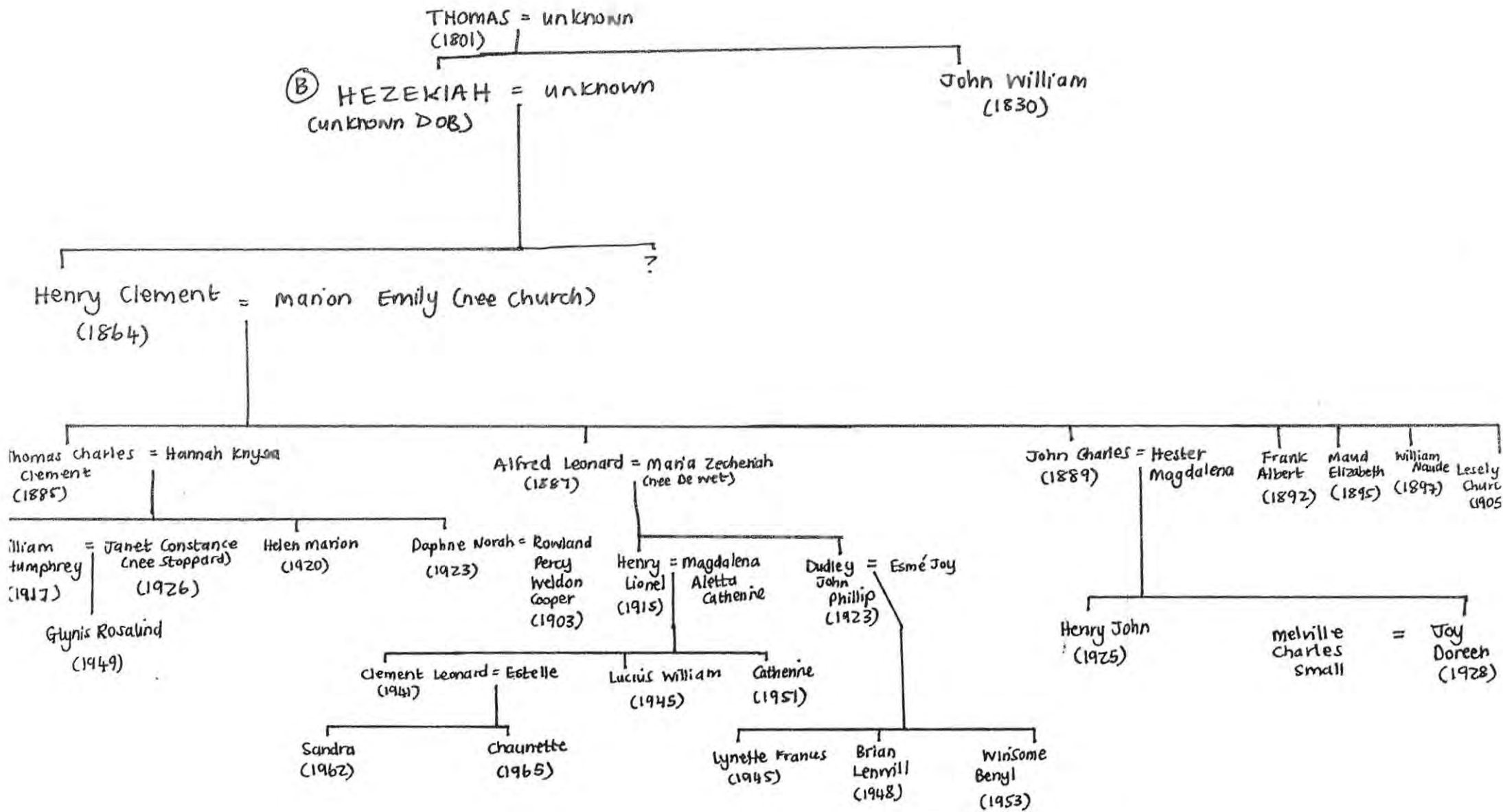
William Victor (1890)   Ⓛ Charles Alfred (1893)   Roger (1891)   Ⓜ Vernon (1895)   Bertram Gush (1899)



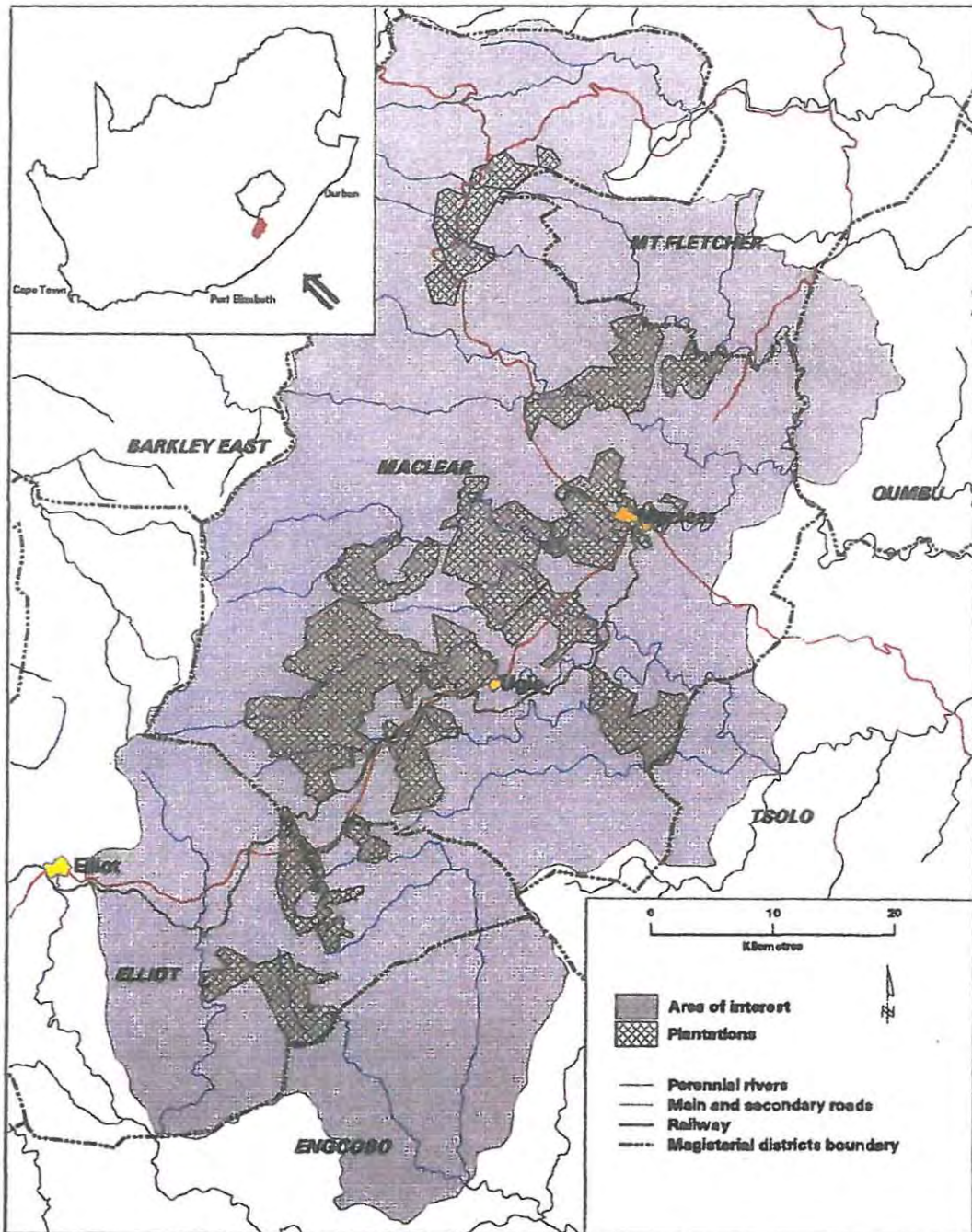


⑥ Raymond = Norah Hortensie





## Appendix G



Locality Map (Source: Forsyth *et al.* 1997 page 4 figure 1.1.)



# Maclear



## On Board

Stephen Haw, Janet Heard, Celean Jacobson and Richard Shorey

## Daily Diary

It doesn't get much better than this. [more >>>](#)

**Vicinity:** Maclear, south of Lesotho and northwest of Umtata in the Eastern Cape



## G-Spot of the day

The awesome view on the top of a plateau in Gunsmoke Valley after a gruelling three-hour pony trek through the rocky mountain in the undiscovered Blue Sky country in Maclear.

## Sweat of the day

A killer 10km journey on horseback with cowboy Casper Scheppel (see character of the day) and his much milder mate Donovan Love to look for rock art among the farms along the Drakensberg escarpment.

## End of the day

A sore butt.

## Character of the day

If Casper Scheppel had his way the clock would be turned back in SA and the Eastern Cape highlands would be turned into the Wild West of yesteryear. Feeling more than a little threatened at the pace of political change around the former frontier town that has been his home since birth 31 years ago, Scheppel never leaves his bachelor boy house farmhouse without his .9mm in his holster. He spends most of his time riding cowboy-style around his stunning cattle ranch, catching trout, shooting or making white mischief. "I've killed a thousand things, from dove to blesbok," said Scheppel, who for a few kicks has formed the "Gunsmoke Gang" with a group of like-minded boys in town. They ride around with cowboy hats and billy cans and drink up a storm in the local Royal Hotel at night. Out to shock, the boys are known to ride into the pub on horseback, and in case you doubt them, they have the photos to prove it!

## Quote of the day

"Maclear is like a pretty woman who has picked up bad habits," said die-hard far right-wing farmer Casper Scheppel, trying to describe how tough it is to farm cattle around the frontier town of Maclear.

## Meal of the day

Farm wonder woman Phyll Sephton, who runs Woodcliff Cottage, proved that she is as good in the kitchen as she is herding cattle and planting potatoes when she served up a wholesome meal around the dining room table of her family home. Beef potjiekos, salad and cauliflower cheese. She ended off with a melt-in-the-mouth apple crumble which I would have sworn was bought in Woolworths, except the nearest one is more than a day's ride from Maclear.

**Pictures:** Richard Shorey



26 April 2000

archive



**SIGN OF THE DAY:**  
Non-U

## Beast of the day

Lucky we were in the saddle when a sneaky and much-feared Berg adder slithered across our path. "If I had seen that, I definitely would have shot it," said our restless guide, Casper Scheppel, who incidentally missed the snake as he had tired of our slow city pace and galloped off into the foothills ahead.



Roadside attraction

## Farm of the day

Called "Mini Ha-Ha" after the babbling brook that streams down the Drakensberg mountains.

