An assessment of the methodologies of grassroots comics and body-mapping as methods of participatory communication within the Kalahari villages

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Declaration

Submitted in fulfilment / partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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I ............Min Kong............... , declare that

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Abstract

This study is an independent methodological study that is connected to the project of Rethinking Indigeneity being conducted by a team of CCMS researchers led by Prof. Keyan Tomaselli (Tomaselli 2012). Specifically, this study is interested in one ongoing strand of the wider project, that is, the application of grassroots comics and body-mapping methodologies as participatory communication methods in two Bushmen communities that are characterized by poverty and disempowerment (Dicks 2011; Dicks and Grant, 2014). Several grassroots comics and body-mapping workshops were conducted in the ‡Khomani Sanand Platfontein communities by CCMS researchers in June 2014. This study provides an assessment on this specific application of grassroots comics and body-mapping conducted with the ‡Khomani San. Specifically, this study reports how the CCMS researchers design, prepare, implement, facilitate, and evaluate the workshops. That is to say, this thesis deals with the methodology employed and not the content of the body maps and comics as they relate to larger community concerns. It is grounded in development communication theory, and discusses some of strengths and weaknesses of grassroots comics and body mapping as two subject-generated media, communication tools, and participatory methods. In order to assess the process of workshop activity I used participant observation, interviews and other qualitative research techniques.
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List of Acronyms

AIDS Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CCMS Centre for Culture, Media and Society
CPA Communal Property Association
CPAMC Communal Property Association Management Committee
DLA Department of Land Affairs
HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus
KTP Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park
NGO Non-Governmental Organization
SASI South African San Institute
UNESCO United Nations’ Educational Scientific and Culture Organization
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Chapter 1: Introduction

My study is an independent methodological study that is linked to a long-term project of Rethinking Indigeneity being conducted by a team of CCMS researchers led by Prof. Keyan Tomaselli (Tomaselli 2012). Over the past 21 years CCMS researchers (professors, post-doctoral students, PHD candidates, Masters and Honours students) have visited different Bushmen (San1) communities. They have conducted a variety of intensive research projects on indigeneity-related topics, ranging from identity, through media representation, semiotics, cultural tourism, through to development communication (Tomaselli 2012). My intersection with the overall project is via a continuing strand related to health education in the community. This began with the application of grassroots comics methodology applied to the construction of health messages (Dicks 2011) and has recently been expanded to include the related technique of body-mapping (Dicks and Grant, 2014). Specifically, my interest focuses on how the CCMS researchers use body-mapping and grassroots comics as two participatory communication methods in the ḌKhomani San community in the year 2014. This thesis deals with the methodology employed and not the content of the body maps and comics as these relate to larger community concerns.

This study is inspired by several visits to rural Bushmen communities with other CCMS fellows on fieldtrips. I am surprised at how the Bushmen’s lifestyles have changed as they have adapted to the contemporary South African milieu. On my initial visit this year to the !Xun and Khwe San community at Platfontein, in Kimberly, the first person I encountered was a Chinese woman, who was a store keeper and had been running a small shop there for 8 years. At that moment I realised that the Bushmen were not only the aboriginal people of South Africa— with a history of being disempowered and wealth of indigenous knowledge— but are also assimilating into modern society, both actively and passively.

While staying in the ḌKhomani San community, I was walking along a main road and searching for some cultural indicators, when a real ‘hunter’ with his open-air craft shop appeared in front of me. A lot of crafts were hung on a rope or simply displayed on the

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1 In my thesis, the terms of “Bushman” and “San” are used interchangeably, because they are both widely accepted by the community members. Bushman originates from the Dutch term “bossiesman” which meant ‘Bandit’ or ‘Outlaw’. San refers to a diverse group of aboriginal people inhabiting Southern Africa. They are also referred to as the ‘First People’.
ground. It was easy to identify typical Bushmen crafts, such as woodcarving, leather work, traditional musical instruments and jewellery made of horns, stones, and beads. This ‘hunter’ only wore a hat and a loin-cloth made from tanned skin. His hat was a symbol of the Bushmen hunting tradition. Behind his craft shop, there was a circled fence with a campfire at its centre. An old pot was on the fire and the ‘Bushman hunter’ was fashioning a necklace and using the fire to make a hole in a horn. His particular traditional dress distinguished him from other community members who wore western clothes, which established him as a more attractive proposition amongst many other crafters and this enhanced his business. As a smart businessman, he imposed the precondition that I must buy his products in order to get permission to take pictures of him.

I noticed that when I tried to “read” him he was also “reading” me as a rare tourist from an eastern country. This unexpected encounter made me rethink the Bushmen’s indigeneity against the background of community development. Many transitions in terms of Bushmen’s livelihoods, mind-set, and life style have taken place and are still continuing. Learning the social setting of the ‡Khomani is part of my study. It is in this particular context that grassroots comics and body-mapping workshops were conducted.

In my thesis, the terms of “Bushman” and “San” are used interchangeably, because they are both widely accepted by the community members themselves. For a considerable time the images of the ‡Khomani San have been portrayed and promulgated by researchers, media, and experts—or other visiting professionals visiting their locale for various purposes—whilst the indigenous voices are largely unheard. This results in many complaints being raised by the San people, emphasizing the fact that the ‡Khomani are still disempowered, despite their successful land claim and the many development projects that have taken place within this community. The CCMS workshop project introduces a participatory manner of development.

In this study, I define grassroots comics as a method of participatory communication, which are produced by community members and used for personal and community development (Packalen & Sharma 2007). While body-mapping is life-sized body image drawn on a piece of paper with personal information on it (Govender 2013). As subject-generated media, grassroots comics and body-mapping are communication tools and participatory methods that facilitate the users to identify their pressing issues, learn their social conditions, improve dialogue, and empower themselves. As a methodological study, this research assesses the
whole process of workshop activity, from which the nature and attributes of grassroots comics and body-mapping can be further discussed.

Briefly, body-mapping and grassroots comics focus on knowing oneself and one’s living environment separately but connectedly. Actually there are a large number of grassroots comics or body-mapping workshops that have already been done, especially in rural villages. My study focuses on a special community, a group of people, and their various instances of participatory communication. Thus, this offers a unique understanding of the application of the two methods among the Khomani community. Even though a single case study does have limitations, it still offers some useful information or ideas that could be applicable to other situations.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I review literature on methodological studies, development communication and participatory communication methods and techniques. I also discuss the two methods of body-mapping and grassroots comics with the aim of locating them within the wider discourse of indigeneity and participatory communication methods. Lastly, I provide a background to the ǂKhomani community that is the focus of this study.

Methodological studies

A methodological study is about a description or analysis of methods employed in particular research; it is about a body of principles, rules, and postulates of methods or procedures applied within the scope of a specific discipline. A methodological study can assess the design, implementation, sampling techniques, data collection and analysis of inquiry in a particular field. The ultimate goal of undertaking a methodological study is to improve existing research methods and contribute to solving different problems.

A study conducted by Martin et al (1997) assesses participatory research methods from three aspects: implementation, effectiveness, and institutional context. The aims of methodological studies vary. In some cases, methodological studies suggest new action. For example, after their assessment of participatory plant breeding (PPB), Ceccarelli et al (2001/2003) advocated for the comparison of breeders’ and farmers’ selection in research stations and farmers’ fields, identification of their separate selection criteria, and assessment of the feasibility of PPB implementation, in order to increase the probability of adoption of new varieties.

Some methodological studies attempt to identify and improve research instruments. One such study was by Leckman et al (1982) who studied the best estimate of lifetime psychiatric diagnoses in the field of mental health. Leckman et al (1982) challenged the way of making lifetime psychiatric diagnoses in a large family study of major affective disorders. Instead of using various sources of information from direct interviews, medical records, and family history data in a limited number of diagnostic categories, the study argues that interview data alone are adequate for making the best estimate diagnoses for most diagnostic categories. The study rethinks the instruments adopted and the data collected in a particular study in order to improve the accuracy of the estimate of lifetime psychiatric diagnoses.
From a media studies/ethnography perspective, Tomaselli *et al* (2008) put forward critiques on conventional research approaches, which complement the existing system of research methodology as a whole. Tomaselli *et al* (2008) provide a deep and critical exploration of ethnography. By recording their long-term series of field trips to four indigenous communities in South Africa, the researchers managed to introduce auto ethnography: another kind of academic writing and indigenous methodology. In addition to the research elements of ethnography, auto ethnography has a self-reflexive component. This contributed to a better understanding of the various and complex multi-cultural encounters. Their research is actually a methodological development in contemporary anthropology, making theoretical and practical meanings of auto ethnography.

From the available literature on methodological studies, it can be said that it is a necessary aspect of research. Methodological studies can generate new knowledge by assessing research methods adopted in certain contexts. My research aims to assess the application of the two participatory methods, namely, grassroots comics and body-mapping, as applied in the ‡Khomani community by the CCMS researchers. This will be achieved by asking several questions such as: why and how were the two methods chosen and applied in the ‡Khomani community? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the approaches as participatory communication methods? What are the challenges of using the two methods? What modifications might be made as the researchers apply the methods in the field? This study will answer these questions by presenting and analysing the process of grassroots comics and body-mapping applications, which could be divided into three phases: preparation; implementation; post evaluation-research. By doing so, this study gives methodological implications of grassroots comics and body-mapping.

**Participatory research and methods**

This section explores the field of participatory communication development. It presents literature pertinent to participatory research and participatory methods. As two research methods, grassroots comics and body-mapping take place in the scope of participatory communication. This section does not aim to give a systematic and comprehensive introduction to participatory communication or research, because it is complex and rich in content, but will present some existing debates on the two in order to reveal the essence of the two research methods. It will also reveal the principles and rules that grassroots comics and body-mapping follow.
Development at community level from a participatory view – a departure point of the CCMS research project

“You must always carry the question in your mind: ‘how does whatever you do contribute to the community’.” (Field notes, 13th June, 2014). During a casual conversation amongst some CCMS researchers these words were uttered by Prof. Keyan Tomaselli. However, this inadvertent phrase actually revealed one of the serious concerns of the CCMS researchers. Since the long-term research project of Rethinking Indigeneity entered its third phase in 2003, (“From observation to Development”), the research team members have been dedicating their efforts to providing help to their hosts, identifying community issues, and producing contextual information on these special communities’ conditions of existence (Tomaselli 2012). All of these directly or indirectly lead to community development.

Community development can be understood and measured using different aspects, such as the construction of community infrastructure, employment rate, income per capita, and local people’s literacy level, to mention a few. However, the essential meaning of development is about improving the lives of people (Remenyi 2004a). In the context of poor, rural villages, development implies “the enhancement of the potential of people to emancipate themselves” (Kingsbury 2008: 222). From this perspective, community development is supposed to start with caring about people. The idea of ‘giving people greater control over their own lives’ is referred to as ‘empowerment’ (Rappaport et al, 1984).

According to Korten (1989, cited in Page and Czuba 1999), people can never be empowered, they can only empower themselves. However, as the first people of South Africa, the Khomani community has a special cultural identity which makes the consideration of how they make sense of their traditions or their indigeneity in the sphere of development relevant. That is to say, the way the Bushmen understand “the self” plays an important role in their community development. The Freirean workshops and grassroots comics activities facilitated by the CCMS researchers explored this question and encouraged the Bushmen communities to transform their perceptions into action(Grant & Dicks 2014). Both grassroots comics and body-mapping require a high level of participation from the community members and interactive communication between the facilitators and participants. It is through this process that effective two-way communication is achieved as opposed to one-way dissemination of information. Grassroots comics and body-mapping are used as two media forms to facilitate
community participation in development. I thus define this workshop activity as participatory research and grassroots comics and body-mapping as two participatory methods.

**Theoretical traditions of participatory research**

CCMS’s body-mapping workshop is a Freirean workshop. It borrows the name from Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator and philosopher. Actually, the philosophy of participatory research can also be traced back to critical pedagogy advocated by Freire (Evans et al 2009; Glassman & Erdem 2014). Traditionally, teachers are the subjects who create knowledge while learners are the objects who accept that knowledge. Freire (1970) argues that education enabled learners, who are supposed to be the subjects rather than the objects, to actively participate in a conversational, interactive form to create knowledge, transfer knowledge that fulfills the final aim of the empowerment of the powerless and the liberation of the oppressed. Freire also posits that if social structure does not permit dialogue, then the structure must be changed. From this perspective, indigenous knowledge must be involved in the planning and implementation of community development projects. According to Grey et al (2000), there is another tradition of participatory research devised by the social psychologist Kurt Lewin known as ‘action research’. The process of action research is supposed to involve participation at each research stage; its aim is to foster individual, group and community changes or even social reconstruction.

**Participatory research in different fields—understanding participatory research through “cases”**

Participatory research has generated considerable interest in academia, especially in health research (Green et al 1995; Minkler & Wallerstein 2010; Jagosh et al 2012). In the field of medical sociology, Professor of Client Participation, Tineke Abma (2006), conducted a study in which patients with neuromuscular disease (NMD) were engaged to list top-priorities for scientific research so that researchers complement research agenda setting. During which process, methods of interviews, expert meetings, and focus groups were held to recognise research topics. This methodological exploration focused on the feasibility of a participatory methodology. Abma analysed the effects patients have on developing research designs, data gathering and analysis, and information dissemination. She argued for the usefulness of patients’ participation and made efforts to modify participatory methods leading to better treatment for patients. Another study worth considering is Andrew Dicks’s (2011) on how grassroots comics used as a participatory method affected and promoted health
communication in the Bushman community of the Khwe at Platfontien, outside Kimberley. Participatory methods have also been widely applied in other fields, such as forest ecology and management (Mendoza & Prabhu 2005), child education research (Hill 1997), and agricultural administration (Schreckenberg & Luttrell 2009). My study focuses on applications of participatory methods in an indigenous community.

**Principles of participatory research**

Participatory research is an alternative, distinct from the linear mode of conventional research. The key difference has to do with power: while in conventional research, the power is located in the researchers; in participatory research, the power shifts from the researchers to the researched (Cornwall & Jewkes 1995; Stanton 2014). In the context of indigenous communities, it is not only the research methods that should be community-centred, but also the research topics and priorities. What is more, participatory research redefines the relationship between the researchers and the participants. The new partner relationship, suggested by Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) as the“4Rs”, is about Respect, Relevance, Reciprocity, and Responsibility. Lastly, the main goal of participatory research is to generate action and social change through ‘democratizing’ methods (Abma 2006: 426). From this perspective, participatory research could even be traced back to the historical background of the 20th century and tied to anti-colonization, social justice movements, and the need for new research methodologies (Glassman & Erdem 2014). However, all three features are based on one principle, that is, participatory research involves people gaining an understanding of their situation, confidence, and ability to change that situation (White 2004).

**Participatory methods in indigenous communities**

For the purposes of this study, a participatory method is also referred to as a participatory technique or tool as applied in an indigenous community. Most participatory methods are developed from mainstream disciplines and dominant conventional research (Cornwall & Jewkes 1995). However, scholars adapt participatory methods to the exact context they are exposed to, as well as their specific research goals, which indicate a great flexibility of participatory methods.

This leads to the idea of indigenous methodologies. Indigenous methodologies can be an allied complement to participatory methods. Evans et al (2009: 894) define indigenous methodologies as “research by, and for, indigenous people, using techniques and methods
drawn from the traditions of those people”. In indigenous communities, participatory methods always incorporate the indigenous people, bringing their cultural knowledge into research activities. Here, indigenous knowledge refers to a wide spectrum of beliefs, values, conventions, life styles, traditional knowledge or common sense. Therefore, participatory methods make positive connections between the ‘outsiders’— researchers or the research itself— and the ‘insiders’— local people, who are beneficiaries of any research. Ultimately, indigenous knowledge, local people’s concerns and community issues should be revealed in research processes; all of these contribute to problem-solving and successful research outcomes (Servaes 1991).

Like any other methodology, participatory methods have been criticized on a number of fronts. For example, questions have been raised about the acceptable degree of participation, the necessary level of control from researchers, and how to access the effectiveness of the research methods. According to Grey et al (2000), participatory methods are context-sensitive and associated conflicts and multiple expectations within communities could weaken the effects of participatory methods and research. Cornwall and Jewkes (1995) assess the breadth and depth of ‘ownership’ and ‘participation’, which are identified by them as two important qualities of participatory methods. They assert that engagement of local people might be limited due to their interests, time constraints, and lack of knowledge. A lot of the so-called participatory research misses important ingredients and go “no further than contracting people into projects which are entirely scientist-led, designed and managed” (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995: 1669). What is more, sometimes the use of participatory methods could even cause unintended consequences for the participants. For example, participants may get hurt again when they are required to recall traumatic memory when drawing their body map. Therefore, it is important to predict and recognize the potential issues before the application of participatory methods.

**Two participatory communication methods — grassroots comics and body-mapping**

In this section, I define and explore grassroots comics and body-mapping as two participatory methods of development communication. I discuss their history, application and attributes. It can be said that participatory communication development provides the theoretical support for grassroots comics and body-mapping, and the two methods facilitate practice and
realization of the theory, during which process, the theory of participatory communication development gets tested and improved.

**A brief history of grassroots comics**

One cannot talk about “grassroots comics” without considering the broader subject of comics. This is because once the attributes of “comics” are understood we can gain further understanding of “grassroots comics”. It then becomes easy to acknowledge why grassroots comics are developed and applied by researchers in rural and poor villages to empower the participants. Therefore, this section starts by briefly discussing comics before getting into the specific discussion on grassroots comics.

While academic study on comics has grown consistently since comics were created in the form of comic strips in America in 1896– as a result of the development of mass media in the form of newspapers—the definition of comics is still a subject under debate and will continue to be for some time (McCloud 2006; Chute 2006; Anne & Christiansen 2000). It is worth pointing out that this section does not aim to introduce and/or summarize different definitions of comics, but rather to present and discuss some attributes of comics. Among these attributes are three measurable factors agreed upon by most comic researchers, namely, formal characteristics, content characteristics and the functional characteristics (Anne & Christiansen 2000).

Even though the “official history” of comics begins with the publication of American comic strips in the late 19th century, lots of ancient art forms or visual communications such as Maya sequential art and medieval Bayeux tapestry share the same qualities with modern comics. That is to say, modern comics could find their predecessors— the combinations of text and image— in pre-historical or other early cultures, such as the Classic Maya Period. Even in Egyptian and Mesopotamian reliefs, elements of modern comics can be found. As McCloud (1993:200) concludes, “there is an incredible wealth of ancient comics and some may yet hold the key to comics’ future”.

Basically, comics are a hybrid genre consisting of words and images. Meanwhile, wordless comics exist as well. Comics also make use of other symbolic devices such as “word balloons, zip ribbons, and even the panel frames which enclose scenes or segments of a narrative” (Varnum & Gibbons 2007: ix). According to these authors it is easier for the reader to
understand the narrative of the image due to its visual dimensional nature, rather than the printed words. Perceptual theorist Ann Marie Seward Barry (1997) argues that in comics, the language of images is prime and dominant while texts are secondary. Varnum and Gibbons (2007) support this idea by saying that images have taken on more power than words since the era of print media, because images are more direct, attractive, and seductive. Comics have been used for different purposes in different fields. For instance, some child education experts argue that comics are a valuable resource when it comes to improving children’s visual literacy; some sociologists try to discover the value of aesthetics of comics. However, Rana (1987: 1) posits that “a sophistication of perception developed only after a good deal of exposure to reading and pictorial materials” is required to understand images. This actually puts forward the necessity for visual perception or visual literacy for understanding comics.

**Visual literacy -- the ability to read and draw pictures**

The ‡Khomani are usually described as “illiterate” and are restricted by their formal education condition. The *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* defines literacy as being “able to read and write;” and literacy as “the state of being able to read and write”. Traditionally, literacy is the ability to use written language. But concepts change over time. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Sector 2014) defines literacy as the “ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate and compute, using printed and written materials associated with varying contexts. Literacy involves a continuum of learning, which enables “individuals to achieve their goals, to develop their knowledge and potential and to participate fully in their community and wider society”.

Basically, visual literacy is the ability and quality to recognize and interpret messages conveyed by visible actions or images (Ausburn & Ausburn 1978; Braden & Hortin 1981; Barry 1997). It includes not only the skilled use of visual logics to understand and communicate but also “a holistic integration of skilled verbal and visual reasoning, from an understanding of how the elements that compose meaning in images can be manipulated to distort reality, to the utilization of the visual in abstract thought”(Braden & Hortin 1981:6).

Not all people have the same visual literacy. In rural villages, traditional communication formats such as “initiation ceremonies, training through apprenticeship, instructional songs and dances, mythical stories, recitals of historical facts or religious commandments” are used to convey information, for entertainment, education and even development purposes (Boeren
These traditional media suit local conditions and can be easily understood by illiterates.

Meanwhile, printed media such as posters, leaflets, booklets, charts, newspapers or flip charts, are also important in people’s daily life. Comic books are popular and can be easily understood because they are rich in content, including stories, historical or official documentaries, and instruction guides which are closely related to and even reflect people’s lives and their social context. What is more, comic books present this content using sequences of pictures with simple text running below the pictures. Therefore, comic books are widely accepted by rural people as an entertaining, attractive and accessible media (Boeren 1994). Thierry Groensteen (1999) points out that comics could remind the reader of childhood. All these characteristics mentioned above make comics a good educational tool for the illiterate or semi-literates (Rana 1987). As Boeren argues,

Still pictures are excellent media for portraying situations and objects in detail, and for showing constructions and the internal structures of bodies and machines. In one single visual impression they can clarify things but cannot be explained easily by words. When put in sequential order, as in cartoons, filmstrips and flip charts, they can be used to tell stories and to illustrate the sequential steps in a process (1994: 129)

**Grassroots comics**

In the context of participatory communication, when one refers to “grassroots comics”, he or she refers to those comics that are generated by grassroots people in certain social situations for development purposes. Nowadays, grassroots comics have evolved and are used as a participatory qualitative research tool by development practitioners in poor rural communities.

The terminology of “grassroots comics” was initially put forward by Leif Packalen and Sharad Sharma (2007). Originally, grassroots comics were created and mostly used by local people or NGO activists as a campaigning tool for people’s organizations and movements. Thus far, grassroots comics have been studied in the field of participatory development at both theoretical and practical levels by scholars, NGO workers, and grassroots organizations. This method has been tested broadly in India, South Asian countries, in a few countries of Latin America and Europe, the Middle East and Africa, as a participatory communication
tool for development issues, such as health awareness, human rights, educational promotion, individual and community empowerment (Packalen and Sharma 2007; Dicks 2011). According to Packalen and Sharma (2007), grassroots comics can be easily done on a piece of paper. Messages can be easily formed and conveyed by community members. Grassroots comics “are made by socially active people themselves, rather than by campaign and art professionals. They are genuine voices which encourage local debate” (Packalen & Sharma, 2007: 11).

**Some “cases” of the use of grassroots comics**

Comics have been used as an empowerment tool even when they are not associated with “grassroots”. We can take Howard Sklar’s (2012) study on an intellectually disabled population as an example. Sklar (2012) integrates visions from autobiographical research, disability studies and narrative theory to prove that the format of comics’ storytelling created by the intellectually disabled could help them narrate their experiences and express themselves. Researchers encouraged disabled adolescents to draw pictures of stories in their lives on separate or linked panels, adding text where necessary. This method gave the participants a chance to think and present their lives, and involve themselves with others’ lives and the world. Comics’ storytelling allowed researchers to hear the “insiders’ view”, the voices of the disabled with cognitive impairment. This study presented the function of comics as an effective tool for interpersonal communication and empowerment.

Grassroots comics have also been used for promoting the literacy level of adolescents by Indian scholars in poor urban areas, specifically, school dropouts and street children (Seth et al 2012). Those adolescents suffer from problems of poverty, diseases, substance abuse, family conflicts and lack of literate skills and life skills. The departure point and intention of the scholars is to use grassroots comics through storytelling; story writing; story reading; story discussion; and advocacy on issues of concern to help those adolescents reflect and rethink of themselves and their community. The grassroots comics’ workshop starts with the assessment and identification of those adolescent participants. This process selects the participants who are not functionally literate but interested in making comics. An introduction was given to 34 participants and a peer educator was selected and trained to facilitate the workshop. Hence, the workshop worked as a peer-to-peer participatory method. These kinds of workshops were attended by the youth in their respective communities and
organizations. The wall posters that told the stories of the youth were exhibited and the audiences were asked to give their feedback.

**Why grassroots comics are needed?**

Rapport *et al* (1984: 3) define empowerment by its absence, as “powerlessness, real or imagined; learned helplessness; alienation; loss of a sense of control over one’s own life”. The two studies I referred to previously share some common features. By analysing their similarities I would like to demonstrate the way that grassroots comics work. Firstly, it can be seen that the research subjects are socially disadvantaged groups who are disempowered. The first case mainly reflects a congenital cause. This is a group of an intellectually-disabled population whose life stories are always conveyed through their parents or carers, and so their own voices remain unheard over a long period of time. The second study targets troubled youths as its subject. They have no healthy learning environment, lack self-confidence, and have unrealistic aspirations, low attention spans and poor life skills (Seth *et al*. 2012).

Secondly, the uses of comics in the two studies have had positive outcomes. Howard Sklar (2007) successfully made his subjects appreciate the role that comics’ storytelling plays in understanding one and the others. The process of building their own autobiography with comics is an effective way to increase their narrative ability. Meanwhile, the second case study also draws a conclusion that through grassroots comics, the youth, street children and drug addicts, have improved their life skills such as problem-solving, decision-making, critical thinking, and so forth (Seth *et al*. 2012). Therefore, it is reasonable to say grassroots comics are effective tools for empowering individuals. Finally, both studies adapted the forms of grassroots comics based on the needs of their research subjects and context. This indicates great possibilities of adaptability of this method.

**Grassroots comics, a context sensitive method**

Why must grassroots comics be understood and utilized in different forms according to the contexts involved and the specific research goals? This question could be answered using two frameworks, namely, participatory communication and empowerment. The two systems could fall under the umbrella of development communication and they intersect with each other. Some scholars view empowerment as a specific vantage point to elaborate participatory communication.
Participatory communication is “based on the one hand on participatory processes and on the other hand on media and interpersonal communication, which facilitates a dialogue among different stakeholders” (Bessette 2004: 9). Further, participatory communication focuses on the indigenous knowledge of the local communities and starts from the communities (Berrigan 1979 cited in Servaes 1996; Friedman 1992; Servaes 2013), that is to say, it is at the community level that the problems of living conditions are brought into consideration. As a method of participatory communication, grassroots comics, as the word “grassroots” indicates, are produced by community members and used for personal and community development (Packalen & Sharma 2007).

On the other hand, empowerment implies that many development competencies should be present or learned in a context of living life where development professionals or experts are not key actors (Rappaport 1984). The contents of grassroots comics vary because the source materials come directly from the participants’ daily lives. Due to different social settings, the process of making grassroots comics and the final outcomes could also vary. That is to say, the meanings carried by comics are determined by the social and cultural contexts of the communities. Different people from different social and cultural contexts would understand comics in different ways. Therefore, there are no universal rules for implementing grassroots comics and no one successful case could be easily stimulated and represent itself in another context. “We must look to diverse settings, people, strategies and tactics because the thing itself is diverse” (Rappaport 1984: 4). Therefore, grassroots comics play themselves out as adaptive for various communities.

**Body-mapping, starts from mapping**

Body-mapping is informed by the method of mapping (Govender 2013). Mapping is a kind of spatial representation extracting information (Chambers 2006; Govender 2013). Mapping is about “peoples, the land, water, the night sky, memories, the world of the ancestors, the life, the spirit world and the lives of those still to come”, meanwhile, “maps are a place where people can meet” (Crawhall 2003: 4).

Participatory mapping is made by local people or facilitated by outsiders on paper or on the ground conveying indigenous knowledge, which has been widespread in different communities, regions, and countries (Pain 2004; Chambers 2006; Narayanasamy 2009). Mapping and other spatial communication forms made by local people have even existed in
prehistoric times. The earliest one could be the wall paintings from Catal Huyuk in 6200BC (Chambers 2006). However, mapping facilitated by “educated” outsiders is as recent as the early 1990s (Chambers 2006: 3). Over a period of years, mapping processes have been adapted and applied to various participatory methods that include participatory mapping, such as “social mapping (people in communities)”, “intervention mapping”, “concept mapping (used to build understanding) and body-mapping” (Govender 2013: 58).

In 1996, in order to help the indigenous people reclaim their ancestral land and protect their land rights in the Southern Kalahari—with the help of anthropologists and mapmakers from Canada—the South African San Institute (SASI) worked with indigenous communities to draw maps which visualized the older generation’s experiences and activities on the land which is currently a national park (Crawhall 2003). The maps helped the indigenous people to prove they were the original occupiers of the territory. These were used by lawyers, governmental officials and the indigenous people for different purposes. For the indigenous people, maps facilitated cultural communication among themselves, passing down the experiences of the older generation to the younger generation. Actually, the maps convey very rich information on people’s lives from the past to the present, such as how ancestors navigated themselves in the desert without getting lost, traditional animal hunting skills, and farm management.

**What is body-mapping?**

Body-mapping makes use of art techniques like drawing and painting, to create life-size human body images on a large sheet of paper (Gastaldo et al 2012; Govender 2013). Body-mapping requires at least two participants, with one lying on the paper and the other drawing for him or her. One facilitator may also be needed. Otherwise, body-mapping could also be undertaken collectively by groups, in discussions with facilitator(s). ‘Facilitator’ refers to someone who is conducting the body-mapping workshop in a specific research.

Body-mapping is a process of tracing the outline of a person’s body and following the facilitator’s instructions step-by-step towards personal planning and social issues, using images, symbols, and words to represent and reflect one person’s body, identities, life stories and social context. As a visual methodology, body-mapping has been advanced and practiced by researchers in different fields, such as anatomy and physiology (Cornwall and Welbourn 2002), public health issues (Cornwall 1992; McGregor 2009) and psychotherapy.
(Crawford 2010). All these practices of body-mapping indicate its interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary usability and applicability. McGregor (2009) states that, as a participatory approach, body-mapping has been used internationally through research and activism, especially amongst participants who are illiterate. The research conducted by Andrea Cornwall in 1992 will be discussed in detail as an example.

According to Gastaldo et al (2012), body-mapping was first initiated in South Africa in 2002. It evolved from a project named Memory Box designed by Jonathan Morgan, a psychologist from the University of Cape Town. The Memory Box Project was a treatment that made use of storytelling for women living with HIV/AIDS in order to help them resist stigma and fear, and to mobilize them to “share their stories and lived experiences”, which showed the “power of a visual and mapping technique” (Govender 2013: 60). Jane Solomon (2007) later redesigned this technique and developed a body-mapping facilitation guide. In South Africa, body-mapping has been used mainly for HIV/AIDS research both as a therapy and a research tool. Two applications of body-mapping are discussed below.

**Some “cases” on body-mapping—workshop processes**

Cornwall (1992) uses body-mapping as a way to explore women’s perceptions on reproduction and their understanding of western medical knowledge of contraception in a rural area of southern Zimbabwe. In this study, the researcher facilitates a body-mapping workshop, which consists of a discussion session and a drawing session. The researcher discusses with each individual female participant, but then also divides participants into small groups according to age, in order to form groups for the purpose of focus group discussions. Every participant is asked to draw an individual map and each group is asked to draw a map together. These maps are descriptions of the process from conception to birth. After drawing, the participants are encouraged to discuss how to prevent conception. Therefore, the papers of body maps they produced show what knowledge the participant women had of their internal anatomy, specifically on organs of generation. Meanwhile, some accounts from their discussion show their acceptance and interpretation of the given information of contraception. Cornwall does not stress the educational function of body-mapping but strongly defines it as a communication tool which promotes the idea of open expression and provides an interactive bridge between indigenous knowledge and western scientific views.
The body-mapping workshop was designed and implemented in 2003 as an educational activity situated in the programme of “treatment literacy”. The programme was launched by the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), a social movement focusing on HIV/AIDS in South Africa. The products of the workshops are life-sized maps of HIV-positive people and their accompanying first-person accounts of illness. In this case, body-mapping works as an educational tool. Taking advantage of this tool, the HIV-positive individuals understand HIV/AIDS in terms of science, medicine and expertise.

Body-mapping is also an art and narrative therapy, acting as a treatment of psychological trauma. The participants empower themselves by narrating their life stories and how HIV affects their lives. For example, participants are told to mark internal organs affected by HIV-related illnesses; different symbols are used as metaphor to indicate their‘source of power’, ‘emotional pain’; one participant, named Nowethu, used dots to represent the HIV virus and drew dots surrounding her outlined body, signifying the virus moving everywhere in her blood, etc. (ASRU 2004 cited in McGregor 2009).

**Some concerns on conducting grassroots comics and body-mapping**

By discussing the cases above and demonstrating that grassroots comics and body-mapping have been successfully applied in participatory development communication, I aim to draw a picture of how researchers apply the two participatory methods and their considerations on their effectiveness. Three points are worth noting here.

First of all, the content of grassroots comics and body-mapping, are mirrors of the real social context. The application of grassroots comics in Njombe for a HIV/AIDS campaign, in Benin for children’s education, in Mozambique for training people in drawing comics (Dicks 2011) and the application of body-mapping in TAC, gives the two methods great social and political implication. They are the illustration of not only participants’ personal lives, but also the whole group, community and even social environment they are exposed to.

Secondly, the facilitation of grassroots comics and body-mapping matters. As two planned activities, the facilitators, the way the activities are designed, planned and facilitated will affect the results or even determine if the two methods are qualified enough to be called “participatory methods”. In order to explain the feasibility of the two methods, a brief body-
mapping facilitation guide is offered below, which is designed to explore the stories of undocumented workers:
Table 1: An example of a body-mapping facilitation guide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meeting 1: The Migration Exercise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to Body-mapping (5 minutes): Purpose; Introductions; Potential script or Questions to guide the exercise; Reminders or Special Considerations;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homework Activity 1 (5 minutes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting 2: The life of an Undocumented Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homework Activity 1 (5 minutes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting 3: Resilience and Coping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Exercise: Decorating/Finishing Off (Only if time permits): Purpose; Introductions; Potential script or Questions to guide the exercise; Reminders or Special Considerations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(see Gastaldo et al. 2012)

From this simplified outline of the body-mapping steps guide, it can be seen that body-mapping is context specific, or subject specific. As for grassroots comics, the facilitation guide also needs to be designed and adapted depending on the research context. All of these indicate that all the information gathered from the activities (of grassroots comics and body-mapping) is supposed to be participant generated, or in other words, subject-generated.
The third point that needs to be considered is the level of participation in grassroots comics and body-mapping, which could be reflected on the number of participants, the activity of their performance, and the interaction between facilitator(s) and participants etc. Beside these three points I have discussed, other considerations could be ethical issues, material and location preparation; the reliability of workshops etc. Taking these factors into consideration, my study will interpret how the CCMS researchers applied the two participatory methods of grassroots comics and body-mapping with their specific audience, the San Bushmen, in the Kalahari in June 2014.
Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents a rough progression of development communication paradigms. Three main theories of this progression consist of: modernization, dependency and participatory development communication. Some concepts, their origins, important protagonists, basic ideas, communication models, examples and critiques will be discussed in detail. I will locate the ‡Khomani community within the development communication sphere. By doing so, this chapter shows how my research fits into the existing theories. Meanwhile, it justifies my research problems and further validates my methodology.

Development Communication

Communication scholars posit that without communication there would be no human society; some writers also argue that communication is everything for development agendas (Casmir 1991). However, both communication and development are very ambiguous. There are no generally accepted definitions for them. On one hand, some universal elements could be found when defining communication. Communication could be described as ‘the exchange of information’, ‘the transmission of meaning’, or ‘the interaction among people’. Communication is about these things mentioned above, but more than the individual entities. In my research, I prefer to explore communication as a dynamic process towards particular goals encompassing complex cultural action and reaction.

The word ‘development’ also has diverse interpretations, depending on the context in which it is explained. For some, development means the process of decolonization (Staples and Sayward 2006); for others, development is the improvement of people’s living standard (Remenyi 2004a: 22); while for some, development indicates the re-organization of society (Jacobson & Servaes 1999; Weinstein 2010). Development is very concrete when it is reflected in applied fields, such as health communication, agriculture management or engineering. One fundamental observation is that development could be and should be achieved through different approaches.

The establishment of the Journal of Development Communication in 1990 marked development communication as a bona fide specialization within the field of communication studies (Shah, 2011: 6). However, the academic inquiry of development communication had started as the rise of modernization theory, and it underwent some significant changes and
emphasis following 1945, the end of the Second World War. Development communication is diverse and discursive so that it is not easy to summarize or frame the entire history of this field. However, for my research, it is necessary to look back to the progression of development communication and focus on some of its turning points at different stages.

Development communication strategies can generally be divided into two approaches. One is the diffusion approach, which is top-down mode (e.g., developed countries to underdeveloped countries; the powerful to the powerless; upper class to lower class; intellectual to illiterate); another one is the participatory mode, which is also labelled as bottom-up mode. Participatory approaches engage grassroots participants into the process of decision making and the implementation of development plans, at both individual and social levels (Jacobson & Servaes 1999; Melkote & Steeves 2001: 205-272). Briefly, participatory development communication highlights self-efficacy. These two modes will be discussed in different development communication stages.

**Modernization Theory in Development**

Modernization as a development approach started with the end of the Second World War, dominating development communication theory and practice at international levels from the late 1940s to the early 1960s. It was a production of the redesigned international relations after World War II, and the consequent western countries’ interference in underdeveloped countries politically, economically, and culturally (McKey 2004; Harrison 2003):

> Among the most powerful paradigms to originate after World War II, with enormous social, cultural, and economic consequences, was that of modernization. Modernization is based on liberal political theory and is therefore grounded in the grand project of ‘Enlightenment’, namely reasoning, rationality, objectivity, and other philosophical principles of Western science. Modernization approaches, including more recent neo-classical economic theories, extol scientific rationality and individualism. Economic growth via the Western model of adopting a capitalist economic system, building up formal infrastructure, and acquiring technologies is prioritized.” (Melkote & Steeves 2001: 71)
Europe’s economic and political systems were ravaged by the Second World War, which increased its risks of being influenced by internal and external communism. In order to build trade partnerships with Europe and create European market for its goods, the United States launched The Marshall Plan to aid and reconstruct Europe in 1948. The Marshall Plan invested more than US$12 billion in Europe, generating a large scale of industrialization and capital investment in the region. In 1949, the president of the United States, Harry Truman, initiated the Point Four Program for further world economic recovery by aiding developing countries. Point Four was based on the idea that poverty in the developing world would cause global stagnation. Remenyi (2004a) suggests that the US aid foreign policies reflect not only the American opinion, but also the common interests of America and its allies in Western Europe and the Pacific against the background of the Cold War.

Modernization became a world priority after 1945, the end of the Second World War. The next 30 years witnessed unprecedented progress in science and technology transfer at a global level. In this modernization theme, economic growth was the key solution to poverty elimination and the other issues were deemed less important than economic development (Remenyi 2004a; Remenyi 2004b). The development methods were industrialization and capital investment. In order to regulate the cross-country industrialization and capital investment, international institutions, notably the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and other UN development agencies were created. These institutions were actually “a new set of mechanisms to serve mutual interests by bringing capital from lending governments in developed economies to borrowing governments in developing economies” (Remenyi 2004a: 28).

In the modernization paradigm, indicators such as the level of industrialization, urbanization, gross domestic product, per capita income, per capita consumption, infrastructure construction, and population growth, assist development. A modernized society has higher levels of education, agriculture, and public health. Communication is arguably one of the subsystems driving the whole social system (Schramm 1964; McLuhan 1964). Science and technology have changed communication from traditional ways to modern ones, while the new communicating methods and attitudes stimulate development. In the sphere of modernization, traditional oral communication channels and books have been supplemented or replaced by the mass media of newspaper, radio, television, and the Internet. The mass media diffuse innovations, attitudes, certain ideas, opinions and behaviours, which are the
necessities for development. The ‘diffusion of innovations’ idea, which explains the way that new ideas and technology spread through groups of consumers, was originated and popularized by Everett Rogers (2010) in the early 1960s.

However, the essential driving force for modernization is behaviour change, which explains the connection between communication and development. Amongst behaviour change theories, Daniel Lerner (1958) proposed psychosocial theory about ‘mobile personality’. Addams et al. (2004: 426) speaks highly of Lerner’s work as “a landmark of the Cold War era that documented ways in which modern social life was seemingly displacing the ancient regime of tradition”.

According to Lerner (1958), ‘empathy’ is an inner mechanism that enables a person to see oneself in another’s situation and identify the new aspects of his environment. People who have higher levels of empathy would operate more efficiently in a changing world, therefore, are more likely to be modernized. Lerner notes that it is necessary to cultivate the individualist characteristic of empathy in developing and underdeveloped societies. Another individual-level explanation about the driving force for modernization is provided by Rogers. (Rogers and Svenning 1969) conducting research on peasants and farmers in several countries, including Colombia, India, and Nigeria. He reported that these peasants had less ambition, limited outlooks towards the world and their beliefs were more superstitious, fatalistic, and traditional. In order to modernize themselves, they ought to change their attitudes, beliefs, and traditional lifestyle. On the other hand, Lerner’s opinions that Islam is ‘defenseless’ against the western ‘rationalist and positivist spirit’ gets criticized for its religious bias, meanwhile Rogers’ idea has also been rethought as having a psychosocial bias (Melkote and Steeves 1991).

Building on Lerner’s research in the Middle East, Wilbur Schramm (1964) takes a closer look at the functions of mass media for modernizing practices. Schramm (1964) suggests that mass media in developing countries are supposed to function as a watchdog, policy maker, and teacher for change and modernization. This conclusion is drawn from his worldwide research conducted in Asia, Africa, America, Latin Countries and other Third World countries. Being considered as one of the founding fathers of mass communication, he suggests the importance of mass media as ‘the magic multipliers of development benefits’. In 1954 he proposed a basic communication model of a circle between the sender and receiver
highlighting the process of encoding and decoding the message, which was the beginning of Shannon-Weaver’s transmission model of communication.

There are also other communication theories generated during that period of time. For instance, the bullet theory of communication, introduced by Lasswell (1948) in the early 1940s, contends that mass communication could send messages directly and efficiently to its targeted audiences. The audiences would only passively receive the information or be affected by the mass media. This idea has changed in academic circles by acknowledging that the mass media are not absolutely persuasive with regard to mass audiences but are rather selectively influential. Lazarsfield et al (1948) criticized this idea on the basis of the two-step flow theory of communication discovered in 1944. This theory indicates that mass media functions in two steps: influence is passed from the mass media to opinion leaders, and then from the opinion leaders to the greater public. On mass communication, another theorist worth noting is Marshall McLuhan (1964) who proposes a series of famous concepts and gives further explanations on them, including 'the medium is the message', 'the global village', ‘hot and cold’ media.

**Critiques of modernization theory**

With reference to what I have discussed above, the communication approach in the domain of modernization tends to be a top-down, one-way message flow focusing on the message senders and ignoring the receivers. Therefore, the modernization paradigm implies a form of pro-source bias (Melkote & Steeves 2001). In its communication model, messages are sent from the top (the educated, social elite, experts, and so forth.), from this group of people who are more advantaged and qualified than the rest, who are relatively poor and powerless. On this point, Remenyi (2004a; 25) states:

> It is not an exaggeration to say that through at least the 1950s and 1960s, and probably well into the 1970s, development of poor countries was seen by a vast of majority of development professionals, policy makers and academics as synonymous with economic development. Almost no attention was given in the modernization- and investment-driven development strategies of those years to development as being about the improvement of people and their circumstances at household level.
That is to say, for the modernization theorists, science and technology are neutral and should be applied to transfer primitive and traditional societies to modern ones; however, this process is likely to cause exploitation for the indigenous, and fails to consider the people “it was intended to benefit in the name of science-based progress” (Shah 2011: 6). Besides, social behaviour change is easier to be affected by personal influence instead of mass communication. Mass communication is good at spreading new thoughts and practices, but whether to adopt these new thoughts and practices or not is the process of personal decision making, on where mass communication is far more likely to influence (Servaes 1991).

The modernization paradigm encountered serious critique, especially in the postcolonial world. The theory also gets a lot of criticism due to its inappropriate assumptions and predictions. For instance, it supposes that all the underdeveloped societies are fascinated with western lifestyle and want to join the association of leading countries. Walt Rostow (1953) and Lerner (1958) even assert that development could be represented by a unilinear model, which indicates that development in the Third World could automatically occur in a universal direction once certain social institutions are formed.

However, development programmes tend to be culturally intensive and contextually sensitive. The linear process from tradition to modernity might not occur in the underdeveloped world as it happens in the west. Western countries have established an mature system of social mechanisms dealing with social, cultural, economic issues in their development process while the Third World countries lack of “the higher differentiation of roles and institutions, the evolutionary universals, and other qualitative characteristics of industrial societies” (Melkote & Steeves 2001: 84). Therefore, modernization theory only provides the underdeveloped world an approach to simulate the west, but not grant them the capacity to make the change. A lot more critiques on modernization could be found in the next two paradigms: dependency and participatory development paradigm. Self-evidently, the failure of the practice of modernization in the underdeveloped world helps generate the other development theories and practices.

**The Dependency Paradigm**

Dependency is another foundational theory in development communication studies as a product of dissatisfaction with modernization paradigm, being popular from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. Refuting the idea that underdevelopment in Latin America is because of
insufficient capital investment from the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, dependency theory originates in Latin America by attributing the underdevelopment in Latin America to global capitalism, which can also be identified as a critique on modernization paradigm (Cardoso & Faletto 1979; Graaff & Venter 2001). The main argument of dependency theory is that the development of the core countries results in the underdevelopment of the peripheral countries, and moreover, the peripheral countries should struggle for self-reliance to gain economic and political development (Frank 1969; Harrison 2000). In terms of communication and culture perspective, ‘cultural imperialism’ is an important component of dependency (Boyd-Barrett 1977).

The dependency approach is of great historical and academic significance. Dependency provides a theoretical basis for the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) and the New International Economic Order (NIEO), paving a way for the nonaligned movement. Meanwhile, dependency formed “part of a general structure and Marxist reorientation in social science” (Servaes 1991: 57). Even though the initial thoughts of dependency emerged in Latin America, American spokesman Baran (1957) was the first to assert that development and underdevelopment are interrelated processes. The metropolitan power reproduces a series of economic and political structures throughout the world to maintain their vested interests and shapes a post-colonial world. The dependency paradigm is essentially a critique of colonial heritage and development in the Third World and is a theoretical response to decolonization (Remenyi 2004 a).

Even though Andre Gunder Frank (1969) popularizes dependency theory by using the terms of “metropolis” and “satellite” in his original work, “core” and “periphery” are more widely known. Dependency theory tries to interpret development issues in terms of relations between regions, central or core, and periphery regarding the world as a whole system, as later introduced by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) in his book of The Modern World System. Here, “core” refers to the first world countries with the United States at the centre while peripheral countries are the Third World countries; most of them are in Africa. Semi-peripheral countries could be South Korea, Singapore etc., which have their own influence in certain spheres. The two theories, dependency and world system, are linked with each other and are similar in explaining development and underdevelopment in the context of the world system. They both analyse development issues by seeing the world as a unit instead of individual countries (Graaff & Venter 2001).
Dependency theory analyses the principle of economics in the modernization paradigm and criticizes its vulnerabilities. Modernization strongly insists on a free market. In the free market, all countries should be able to utilize their own relative economic advantages joining in international trade and commerce. That is to say, every country is naturally competitive, at least in certain aspects. For instance, some countries are rich in natural resources while underdeveloped countries have cheaper workforce. Therefore, it is possible for any country to gain development as long as it is exposed to enough capitalism, because the poor countries will finally benefit from the increasing wealth of the rich.

However, the “free” market is not free at all. International exchange does not result from the willing engagement of the underdeveloped countries’; rather its rules are set and operated by countries in the developed world, which are more powerful economically, politically, militarily and culturally. These countries have inherent political power that enables them to manipulate world trade rules favourable to their own benefit (Emmanuel et al/1972 cited in McKay 2004: 56; Graaff & Venter 2001). What is more, Graaff & Venter (2001) state that developing countries actually have very limited relative advantages in labour-intensive industries, agriculture products, raw material and minerals which are at a low price in the international market. At the same time, developed countries provide more expensive sophisticated manufactured goods which are technology-intensive. Developed countries pay considerably less money to developing countries and underdeveloped countries, while the developing countries and underdeveloped countries cannot afford the products from the developed countries. Over time, this unbalanced trade leads the underdeveloped countries into debt and reinforces the income inequality. What is more, once the products from the poor countries are no longer needed, they are easily abandoned by the world market (McKay 2004).

An exploitative country-to-country relationship is therefore formulated between the core countries and peripheral countries. Gradually, capital would be transferred from the periphery to the core, which deepens the exploitation (Frank1969). The core countries actually employ “trickle-down” methods to satisfy their needs, which “gave rise to prosperity in these developed countries” and “resulted in the simultaneous impoverishment of the poorer regions” (Kingsbury 2012:13). Therefore, under the dominance of the core countries, economic growth is unparalleled, unequal, and unbalanced in the global system. The poor countries
would become more and more underdeveloped as they became involved into the global system.

**Cultural Imperialism**

The dominance from the core to the periphery could also be reflected in international communication. This is referred to as “cultural imperialism” by *dependistas*[^2]. The worldwide cultural imperialism can be seen as an inevitable consequence of the economic exploitation and political power from the first world countries, and vice versa, cultural imperialism enforces the practices of modernity with “the more obvious inequalities of economic and technological development” (Golding & Harris, 1997:51). Some other terms like “cultural dependency”, “cultural synchronization”, “ideological imperialism” and “media imperialism” are created and used to define the same notion of cultural imperialism.

However, cultural imperialism must be interpreted in relation to the rise of mass media. It is mass media that is developed by the first world countries which is describing and shaping the rest of the world by distributing one-way and top-down information, which is carried by or hidden in various media products. Schiller (1976) focuses on how underdeveloped countries are impacted by American mass media corporations accompanied by their ideological expansion. According to Boyd-Barrett (1977), international communication realises cultural imperialism via communication machineries, industrial organization, and certain values and media contents. Boyd-Barrett (1977: 117) defines media imperialism as “the process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any other country are singly or together subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of any other country or countries, without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected”. Galtung (1980) distinguishes that in cultural imperialism, developed countries exploit, penetrate, fragment, and marginalize the underdeveloped countries in order to promote their more advanced culture and enlarge their overall influences on the Third World. Hamelink (1983: 5) describes cultural imperialism as a persuasive communication between “the metropolitan country” and “the receiving countries”.

Cultural imperialism takes various forms. Some are direct and violent, like military actions and foreign policies while some are indirect and invisible, such as dumping of cultural

[^2]: ‘*dependistas*’ is a Spanish term that refers to the theorist who are in support of the theory of dependency.
products and missionary activities. The advanced cultural industries of the West make it possible to promote their Western culture to universal culture with the ignorance of minor or ‘less developed’ cultures and identities. Western ideas, values and beliefs which are concealed in cultural products and exported via the channels of their cultural industries, can ‘penetrate’ into other societies and ‘contaminate’ their original cultures. Once Western culture is generally accepted by mass audiences in the receiving countries, their internal social institutions, no matter whether material, spiritual or psychological ones, would be eventually altered. This process of ‘cultural transfusion’ takes place in the name of modernization. As to the manner in which cultural imperialism happens, Golding & Harris (1996: 51) give an excellent explanation:

Imperialism did not maintain its rule merely through suppression, but through the export and institutionalization of European ways of life, organizational structures, values, and interpersonal relations, language, and cultural products that often remained and continued to have impact even once the imperialists themselves had gone home. In short, imperialism was in itself a multi-faceted cultural process which laid the ground for the ready acceptance and adoption of mediated cultural products which came much, much later.

As has been noted previously, dependistas attribute underdevelopment in peripheral countries to the external exploitation and domination from the core countries. The way to change this situation and narrow the gap between the core and the peripheral, the rich and the poor, suggested by dependistas, is that the peripheral countries should resist Western imperialism and strive for self-reliance. In terms of communication, considering the fact that peripheral countries utilize mass media as their economic and/or ideological tool and label this kind of action as “freedom of speech” or “freedom of information”, dependistas argue that communication should be “regarded as a social commodity in the hands of, or at least controlled by, sovereign governments” (Servaes 1991; 61) to transform the inherent global one-way information flow to a real free and balanced transmission model of communication. This idea actually consists of the discussion on the New World Information and Communication Order (UNESCO 1980; Carlsson 2003).

This dependency theory applies not only in a communication aspect, but to gain self-reliance, peripheral countries have to struggle for political and economic independence in order to get more development resources and results. The generation of the New International Economic
Order (NIEO) is deeply affected by dependency theory. NIEO was proposed by some developing countries in the 1970s concerning a variety of international trade, finance and debt issues. Denying free market philosophy, NIEO believed in central planning and aimed to replace the Bretton Woods system by recon structuring the world’s economic system in favour of developing and Third World countries. In practice, many non-aligned countries enhanced state intervention in national affairs.

**Criticism of Dependency**

Even though dependency theory points out the unequal country-to-country relations and explains its causes, dependency itself still has some flaws. First of all, dependency theory overstates the external forces from the Western World while paying less attention to internal conflicts and subjective initiatives of the underdeveloped countries. Dependency theory has limitations in understanding development issues. What is more, like modernization theory, dependency also fails to provide effective mechanisms to facilitate empowerment of individuals in the underdeveloped society.

Some economic principles in dependency theory have also been criticized. Servaes (1991) indicates that dependency theory mistakes the transformation of the economic surplus from the periphery to the core as the most vital capital exploitation while ignoring the productivity of labour it supposes to be the central point in economic development. In perspective of the modes of production, pointed out by orthodox Marxists, dependency fails to differentiate capitalist modes of production from other pre-capitalist ones, like feudal modes. Dependency theory considers that exploitation is generated through the unequal trades between the periphery and the core. However, for Marx, it is an unequal production relationship between classes that generate exploitation. In other words, exploitation takes place through a mechanism of production not the market (Graaff & Venter 2001). Therefore, class relationship and social structure are supposed to be taken into consideration by *dependistas*.

During the period 1960 to 1980, different countries achieved different degrees of modernization. Since the 1960s, East Asia had experienced dramatic development due to their successful domestic economic reforms, such as privatization, structural adjustment, trade policies, political democratization and governmental inferences, all of which were dedicated to improve their economic efficiency. The Asian progression did challenge modernization and dependency theories. Globally, the practices of modernization in different
countries did not result in the same consequences, which included successful examples, like Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, South Korea, Botswana etc., and failed examples, such as Kenya, Zimbabwe, Argentina, and North Korea (Remenyi 2004a). Dependency theory later divides the failed ones as peripheral countries or semi-peripheral countries; however, it does not offer analysis on the variety of the modernization practices.

Another development—deeper understanding of development

Neither modernization nor dependency theories can explain all development phenomena, nor could they provide solutions to all the development issues (Jamieson 1991). One has to admit that development is affected by external and internal factors, which co-exist with each other. As the connections among countries are getting ever closer, the development situation of one country must be analysed by embedding it into a global background and identifying its global position.

After centuries of capitalism, country-to-country relationships become more complicated than ever before, no countries could dominate global development trends or control the other countries, as dependency theory suggests, whilst no countries could be completely self-reliant or isolated from the outside. The global economic crisis in the early 1970s started with a huge rise of the oil price, which manifested the reality of a world economy. Development communication scholars define this kind of international relation as ‘interdependence’. From the perspective of internal factors, different countries have different conditions. There is no universal development path for all countries. It is not realistic for the underdeveloped countries to be developed seeing the developed countries as a reference group and following their past road to modernization. Alternatively, each country must follow its own path and explore the most suitable way for development. This is actually the idea of multiplicity of social development, which is generated from the criticism of modernization and dependency theories (Servaes1991).

As opposed to modernization and dependency, multiplicity stresses that the development process should be generated through each unique social context, which differ from one society to another (Servaes 1996, 1999). As for self-reliance, underdeveloped countries do not necessarily resist the threatening and dominating Western powers, but “relies primarily on its own strengths and resources in terms of its members energies and its natural and cultural environment”, and self-reliance “needs to be exercised at the national and
international levels, but it acquires its full meaning only if rooted at the local level” (Servaes 1991:67).

For a long time, practitioners defined development in economic terms. Multiplicity starts expanding the concept of development by suggesting that development should be measured from multi-dimensions, including economic growth, social justice, human rights, cultural diversity and individual empowerment. Economic growth means part, not the whole task of development. Multiplicity highlights cultural dimension (Bandarin et al 2011; Boeren 1994; Servaes 1991). That is because people from the same culture tend to share the same or similar ideas, values, and certain patterns of behaviour (Boeren 1994:77-96). As for this point, many theorists try to reveal the deficiency of modernization and dependency theories by recognizing the vital role of culture and traditions in social mobilization and development. For example, Cabral (1974) points out that in Africa, culture should be a weapon used to fight for anti-colonial liberation and independence.

What is more, multiplicity, as another development paradigm, is more people-centred. It appeals to every inhabitant in the world to satisfy their basic needs for “expression, creativity, equality, and conviviality” (Servaes, 1991: 67). No matter how developed one state is, if voices of the individuals are still unheard, basic rights of the citizens unrecognized, it is not developed in the full sense of development. The participatory communication approach that I am going to discuss, is in the framework for multiplicity.

The theory of participatory communication development and its shortcomings

Both modernization and dependency paradigms accommodate the interests of the upper class in any society no matter whether in developed countries or in the Third World. The power of decision-making is never granted into the hands of the grassroots. That is because it is generally considered that the grassroots are not able to plan development projects and development is an exclusive task for social elites, like development specialists, professionals, and social leaders. It seems only these kinds of people master enough science, technologies, and knowledge to manage the others and make a change to the world. However, in the Third World, liberation and social movements have taken place, which means it is imperative that the needs of the oppressed sectors or grassroots in various societies are addressed (Wignaraja 1993).
Participatory development challenged the rigid concepts of modernization and dependency and provided a new path. As a critical approach and a rising academic discussion, even though participatory communication has not replaced the dominant paradigm, it at least provides new viewpoints and poses new questions which are ignored by ‘diffusionism’ studies, as favoured by Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm’s ‘modern communication’ (Waisbord 2008).

Participatory communication development was popularized since the early 1970s. In the participatory approach, development is interpreted alternately as social change. At first, this social change indicates liberation and emancipatory practices for social justice. Gradually, participation for social change is discussed in neutral tones since participation can be adopted by the general public. However, this idea was first proposed by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) and in *Education for Critical Consciousness* (1973). It is worthwhile to view several important points from him to better understand the stream of participatory communication and nowadays various development programs.

Working on adult literacy, Freire poses critical pedagogy, which is opposed to the banking system of education. The ‘educational banking’ concept supposes that the teacher knows everything and students know nothing. The education process is the process of transmitting and depositing knowledge. Freire considers that education is not likely to be neutral but incorporates power relations. Therefore, traditional education produces and reproduces oppression. Critical pedagogy redefines the relationship between the teachers and the students as mutual learning and reciprocal education. Students are no longer the passive receivers of knowledge, but actively participate in the process of education, during which process, their interests, curiosity, and critical thinking ability are noticed and improved. Essentially, critical pedagogy is concerned with humanization and finally functions as an instrument for the oppressed to pursue freedom.

However, as Freire has stated: “in its first stage the pedagogy must deal with the problem of the consciousness of the oppressed and the oppressor” (1970:31). Actually, the notion of conscientization is a fundamental aspect of Freire’s liberatory education and gradually it has been developed and expanded in various academic disciplines and applications. According to Freire, men are born into a world established by violence and oppression, which dictates the entire life of the oppressed and the oppressors. This pre-existing social environment restricts both the oppressed and the oppressors that they could not even perceive the existence of
violence and oppression. The oppressed simply depreciate themselves and unconsciously accept the exploitation from the powerful, who do not consider that the privilege of having so much more than others is dehumanization to others and themselves (Freire 1970).

According to Freire (1970), conscientization is a process of self-consciousness, or in other words, critical consciousness. This process in essence is for the individuals to notice, learn, question, reflect upon the historical and social conditions and contradictions they are exposed to and criticize the existing oppression and exploitation. Self-consciousness facilitates a deeper reflection and understanding of oneself, one’s living conditions and the whole world. What is more, real self-consciousness generates action against the social exploitative elements.

In a development programme, McPhail (2009:29) expands and explains the concept of conscientization as “the acknowledgement, awareness and handling of the inherent power differential and the possible disenfranchisement” between the development organizations and the native population and “critical consciousness is the active social and political involvement of the beneficiaries”. Thus the first and most important point is to let the beneficiaries realise they are actually the subjects of social change but not the objects. Therefore, one prerequisite of a participatory approach is that we must admit that in any social situation, subjugated people, or marginalized groups, have certain critical consciousness and the abilities to make a change. What is more, participatory approaches must involve these grassroots in development programmes and let them work as experts. In the final analysis, participatory approaches assume that they are an inherent ability of human being to create knowledge and participation is a basic human right that is not a patent exclusively belonging to authority (Kronenburg 1986; Diaza-Bordenave 1989).

From a global perspective, poverty reduction is still an urgent agenda for Third World development despite rising international aid over the years (Dutta 2011). Many international development organizations support the idea that Third World countries have to design their own development strategies rather than blindly rely on financial assistance from the outside. That is not to say development agencies have no functions in the Third World, but participation is playing a greater role in the development process. Not only in the Third World, marginalized people, disadvantaged groups, rural areas and other depressed sectors that exist commonly in the developing countries can also be found in developed countries. There is no doubt that the participatory approach is self-help, context-based and bottom-up
development, distinct from previously dominant paradigms. However, participatory approaches must be understood and applied at community levels. Peruzzo states that “the classical concept of community is characterized as having internal cohesion, common objectives and linkages among community members, etc.” and it can also mean a place where “collective action happens” (1996: 162). The nature of participatory development in regional or local communities is to involve individuals community members in decision making and the community development process. Participation can be realised at both national and international levels by all the people at all levels. However, the initial goal of participation efforts is to “facilitate conscientization of marginalized people globally of unequal social, political, and spatial structures in their societies”, through conscientization and action, they are able to “perceive their needs, identify constraints to addressing these needs, and plan to overcome problems” (Melkote & Steeves 2001: 339).

The need for information in community development is urgent. However, in participatory approaches, it is not a given that the bigger the media the better the communication. Participatory approaches search for the most suitable media and communication mode to facilitate dialogue among all the community members (Boeren1994: 174). The period from the 1950s to the 1970s witnessed a great development of mass media and growing information and communication technologies in the economy. This occurred in both developed and developing countries, and includes newspapers, televisions, broadcasts, the Internet, mobile phones and social networks. Due to media ownership and control, a one-way top-to-bottom information flow was created. However, this communication model did not achieve success in rural villages in the Third World, as could be expected. After all, they are technology-centred, expensive, and literate-required. Meanwhile the channels for development and social change were ignored from long time. Here, folk media or traditional media could refer to folk theatre, folk drum, storytelling, puppet, traditional songs and dances. Regardless, no matter how “big” media or “small” media are, their final aim is to communicate or further dialogue (Schramm 1977a).

In the community context, participation in communication means that media could be a development tool handled by individuals to get reliable information, give out their voices, and reflect their needs. What is more, participatory communication should serve information dissemination, knowledge sharing, action planning and enforcement. That is to say, this kind of communication is more user-centred rather than sender-based. In this way, the indigenous
people control the media as well as the media content. Participatory communication thus forms an interactive, two-way information flow, which improves their situation from being powerless to empowered. In underdeveloped countries, mass media is often transplanted from the West. Therefore, the “big” media might be detached from the actual social conditions when engaged with in the rural villages. However, participatory communication can “function through political, national, or class structures, or they can also be based upon secular, cultural, artistic, or folkloric channels” (Servaes 1991: 69).

Participatory approaches could also be regarded as a process of empowerment; meanwhile, empowerment can only be achieved with the participation of people. As Rappaport et al (1984: 4) state: “Empowerment may be the result of programs designed by professionals, but more likely will be found in those circumstances where there is either true collaboration among professionals and the supposed beneficiaries, or in settings and under conditions where professionals are not the key actors”. In this way, participatory communication enables the indigenous people to get access to information resources and development process. The meaning of participatory communication in my study is consistent with Bessette’s (2004: 9) definition:

Participatory development communication is a planned activity, based on the one hand on participatory processes, and on the other hand on media and interpersonal communication, which facilitates a dialogue among different stakeholders, around a common development problem or goal, with the objectives of developing and implementing a set of activities to contribute to its solution, or its realization, and which supports and accompanies this initiative.

That is to say, participation is an attitude towards personal and public life. It encourages the individuals to actively rethink themselves and the community they are living in. When defining their common issues and development problems within their situation, community members could dialogue and cooperate with each other and policy makers, and then they will be powerful enough to take action to solve problems and improve life.

However, the shortcomings of the theory of participatory communication development are frequently cited. One criticism is that participation is an idealistic approach lacking practicality (Servaes 1991). Some scholars think that participatory communication lacks a
theoretical foundation. In different context, participation is practiced and interpreted in different ways. Even though the highest level of participation aims to get each individual involved into the development process, in fact, it is impossible to ask for suggestions from every community member when making a public decision or it would be too time-consuming and will not be efficient. After all, members living in the same community might have different demands of interests. Another problem is, for someone to participate, he/she must reflect upon or understand that participation is very useful for him/her to change his/her standard of living. However, to get that kind of understand is not easy and it takes time and so people need to be helped to understand the need to participate. Therefore, participation is a form of ability to be cultivated, which means the efficacy of participatory communication might be fulfilled and evaluated after a long-term effort. Last but not least, culture can be an obstacle. When doing participatory research in rural villages or with indigenous people, the researchers who are from other cultural backgrounds and the community members might be practicing a cross-culture communication.

**Conclusion**

As I have discussed above, the three development approaches all have their advantages and disadvantages. They are the products of certain social situations and a global background. They appear and become popular at different historical stages, but that does not mean the latest one could thoroughly replaces the earlier one and then former does not exist at all. Rather, I would like to say they overlap and complement each other. The three theories achieve various outcomes when practiced in different places throughout the world. They are like the seeds of hope, which keep searching for suitable soil in which to be planted and blossom. No doubt, the flowers must be the people-centred development results. Finally, I want to quote some old words from a master in communication field. The words, that reveal the nature of communication, are old but are still of practical and immediate significance: “Only when communication can build itself into the social structure, is it going to show any real hope of extensive results. Only when media channels can mix with interpersonal and with organization in the village, are you going to have the kind of development you like” (Schramm 1977b: 3 cited in Melkote & Steeves 2001: 252).
Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter talks about various qualitative research methods and techniques, which were adopted in gathering and analysing data for my study. My study is centred on how the CCMS researchers applied grassroots comics and body-mapping workshops in the San community in the Kalahari in 2014 from the perspective of participatory communication. Based on this main objective, participant observation and other research methods, including formal and informal interviews, focus group discussion, and coding for themes are utilized in my field research to gain access to the workshop procedures and participants’ opinions on the workshops.

Furthermore, by adopting these research methods mentioned above, my study aims to provide a number of new insights into grassroots comics and body-mapping as well as a richer understanding by observing and interpreting their specific application in certain social and cultural context. What is more, it seems I have also helped in facilitating the workshops by doing soft and dispensable jobs that are not technical at all. From this perspective, I am actually recording and interpreting my personal experience as well while keeping these words in mind: “self-reflexivity has become central to understanding the impact of gender, sexuality, ethic group class, theoretical approach, etc. on observation and analysis” (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011: 111)

Field research — entering the ‡Khomani community

I try to explain my perception on the importance of “being there” as a researcher from another culture by mentioning the qualitative research style--field research, or ethnographic research here. Without the involvement with the ‡Khomani San people, I could not be able to draw a real picture of them in my mind in spite of having read literatures on them or watched a film about them. When the CCMS research team visited the community, I emotionally experienced the indigenous culture by myself for the very first time, to be specific, with my eyes, ears, hands, and even my body when I hugged a lot of new friends. Later in the visitation I was able to rationally analyse this meaningful cross-culture encounter from a theoretical and practical perspective. All of these experiences would contribute to my assessment of the grassroots comics and body-mapping workshops. Before presenting the specific methods and research techniques I have adopted in my study, it is necessary to highlight some principles of field research.
According to Neuman (2006), field research can be traced back to 1200s when European explorers and educated travellers set out to write diaries, journals, travelling records, which described exotic cultures and peoples. Meanwhile, academic field research originated from anthropology in the late nineteenth century in Britain. Bronislaw Malinoski, a British social anthropologist is the first researcher who lived with a group of people for a period of time, which accompanied his data collecting. In the 1920s, he developed this kind of fieldwork as a new method and posited that social researchers should directly observe and interact with native peoples.

Field research allows researchers to expose themselves into a natural setting in the social world, within this natural setting, researchers see, define, and create social meanings (Burgess 2002). For my study, field research actually gives me a direction or even philosophy rather than exact research methods. Being but one member of the CCMS team, I tried to integrate myself into the community amongst the members by learning their history, manners, chatting with girls, children, and farmers in order to experience ‘living’ in the community. During this process, I presented myself as an independent researcher. I went to every community member with my sincere, trustworthy, and unbiased attitude. After all, no one would give his inside perspectives to an absolute stranger. More importantly, I focused on observing how the CCMS researchers interact with the community members, from which, it is possible for me to understand this kind of relationship between the well-educated researchers from academia and the indigenous people and analyse how this relationship has been built via the long term research project. Certainly, all my research actions followed certain ethical principles that were listed in detail in my ethical clearance.

One point worth noting is that my field trip of “being” in the ‡Khomani community and living with the CCMS researchers and the San people had corrected my many false impressions on the Bushmen which were obtained from numerous literary works, movies, photographs, and other art forms. Before I arrived at the research site, the images of the Bushmen in my mind is actually represented and constructed by mass media. After entering the ‡Khomani community, I acknowledged the daily life of this indigenous group and reconstructed their images in my mind through my observation, interaction, and interpretation. ‘Seeing is believing’ is the first lesson I learned after reaching my research site. What is more, ‘being there’ is a foundation for conducting my research, which could be further explained in the words of Gans (1968: 314): “Once the field worker has gained entry, people tend to forget
he is there, and let down their guard, but he does not; however much he seems to participate, he is really there to observe and even to watch what happens when people let down their guard”.

The fieldwork while staying in Khomani community gave me a chance to step outside of my comfort zone and narrow cultural background on the one hand; on the other hand, such cultural encounters cannot be predicted or planned, because most of them happened spontaneously in very natural circumstances and contexts cannot repeat themselves once they are gone. It seemed like there was no way to prepare for it but the best way for me to prepare is by always carrying intentions and questions in mind. What is more, I kept sharpening my eyes and ears to catch valuable details. Meanwhile, only by interacting with people there, could I be able to describe plenty of cultural encounters and could translate these cultural meanings from their perspectives in spite of us speaking ‘Greek’ to each other. Besides, I sometimes fell into the confusion that I was just a tourist who was enjoying a fantastical cultural tour, but most of the time, I was clear that the people who was talking with me was the object of my observation.

**Participant observation**

**Starting participant observation and defining my role**

It is noted that participant observation roots in anthropology and has been developed into a methodology for approaching fieldwork and understanding social life (Fetterman, 2010; Denzin 2009; Merriam 2009). The “Chicago sociology” school had a great influence on ethnography, especially from the 1940s to 1960s when the Chicago school developed participant observation as a unique technique (Neuman 2006). But before that period, the Chicago School of Sociology focused on studying human social life by a variety of methods, like direct observation, informal conversation, which shared a lot of common aspects of anthropological research.

Neuman (2006) states that participant observation may have originated in Germany in 1890, which is informed from Paul Gohre’s study on factory life. He works in a factory like all other apprentices in the daytime while he takes detailed notes at night. This observation lasts for three months and generates a lot of influential works. In his study, Paul Gohre practices complete participation which is the” highest level of involvement” for observer’s when doing
their ethnographical research. Like Paul Gohre, the ethnographers actually “turn ordinary situations in which they are a member into research settings” (Spradley 1980: 61). This is what Adler (1987) defines as “membership roles in field research”.

Emerson et al (2001) define participatory observation like this: “establishing a place in some natural setting on a relatively long-term basis in order to investigate, experience, and represent the social life and social processes that occur in that setting- comprises one core activity in ethnographic fieldwork”. Additionally, participatory observation has to generate written accounts and descriptions on the social worlds in which the ethnographer immerse. Similarly, Schensul et al (1999: 91) state that participant observation is the starting point in ethnographical research. That is to say, participant observation indicates other methods and techniques in ethnographic fieldwork; what is more, participant observation is the way to practice ethnography. DeWalt and DeWalt (2011: 3) explain this point when they say: “It provides context for sampling, open-ended interviewing, construction of interview guides and questionnaires, and other more structured and more quantitative methods of data collection”.

In his reviewing on the Chicago school, Neuman (2006: 381) stated that this school developed participant observation as a distinct research method by proposing three basic principles of participant observation:

- Study people in their natural settings, or in situation.
- Study people by directly interacting with them
- Gain an understanding of the social world and make theoretical statements based on the members’ perspective.

When doing participant observation, Spradley (1980: 33-34) suggests three types of observation accompanying the whole ethnographic research: “descriptive observations”, “focused observations”, and “selective observations”; and these three types of observations deal with different ethnographic questions and shift from one to another according to the changes of observation scope. Usually, participant observation begins with descriptive observation.
Participant observation is the main method I used in my fieldwork for data gathering. In the words of Merriam (2009: 28), “Immersion in the site as a participant observer is the primary method of data collection”. I observed and took part in the CCMS workshop activities and other various cultural encounters. Actually, my observation had started since our vehicles reached at my camping site in Molopo lodge in the very late afternoon on 11th June 2014. The next three days, following the CCMS researchers, I visited SASI and Bushman Council offices. Additionally, I visited some ṠKhomani owned farms, and past and present tourism and development initiatives. By the way, the encounter with the Bushman crafter I mentioned in the introduction took place on one of those days when I was ‘strolling’ on a main road. I used the first three days of this period to ‘get ready for the workshops’. It seems I was a shadow of the CCMS researchers, attempting to record all the actions and movements of them, especially Dr. Julie Grant and Andrew Dicks, because they were busy contacting the key informants. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I did wide-focused descriptive observation and this actually lasted until the end days of my fieldwork.

This broad descriptive observation gave me an overview of the ṠKhomani community and involved myself to be part of this scene. Spradley (1980: 59-61) divides participation in terms of the level of ethnographer’s involvement as “nonparticipation”, “passive participation”,

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**Figure 1. Changes in the Scope of Observation (Spradley 1980: 34)**
“moderate participation”, “active participation” and “complete participation”. In my study, I define myself as an active participant observer. I made an effort to engage in numerous conversations between the researchers and the community members, especially when they speak Afrikaans. In such cases, it seemed as if there was no likelihood of me being able to understand or communicate with them. I took any chance to involve myself into these conversation situations by standing closely, listening carefully, and observing them. As a matter of fact, body language and subtle facial expressions conveyed a lot of valuable information to me. I maintained a positive attitude with the aim of gaining acceptance and familiarity from this community in order to join and observe what was going on as much as possible. As Adler (1987: 8) indicate, in this context, I was not a “detached outsider” when I contacted with the  § Khomani regularly and intimately, I was taking on “membership status”. As a result, the more I had learned about the cultural rules, San peoples’ behaviours, and community development situations, the more questions I was able to pose to my interviewees.

Participant observation in the workshops

The main task of the CCMS research team was to implement several workshop activities in the  § Khomani community. The participant observation on grassroots comics and body-mapping workshops provided very important data for my study. I arrived at each workshop venue earlier than the participants and started cleaning the ground, cutting papers, sorting tables and chairs according to the requirements of the workshop and ‘instructions’ from the workshop facilitators. I also got paper-based English and Afrikaans versions of the workshop facilitation guide before it was conducted. As the participants got into the workshop hall one after another, I began to ‘clean’ the outside venue. The workshop venues were conducted in halls of the  § Khomani and Platfontein communities. We kept the door of the places open, therefore, some interferences were unavoidable, such as the children who were playing around. After all the participants arrived, I had to check the surroundings to make sure the workshop could be run in a proper environment.

From the moment that all participants arrived until everyone was settled up by placing themselves in desired position or dividing themselves into several groups, I observed and wrote down everyone’s gender, age, behaviour and appearance. During the workshop, my observation followed every step given by the facilitator. There was an important point worth noting that all the workshops were carried out in the language of Afrikaans. In this scene, I felt I had become deaf lacking the power of hearing. However, I was familiar enough with
the workshop procedures to notice where exactly the workshops were heading. I also took use of every bit of time to randomly talk with the facilitator to be informed how everything was going. Meanwhile, the participants’ discussions, expressions, drawings, and even their silences were also put into the scope of my observation.

Very few of the participants could speak English but depending on their educational level, a small number of participants could recognize some of my English words and had simple conversations with me. It was those kinds of participants who later became my translators during the focus group discussions. Once they had finished drawing grassroots comics or body-mapping, I helped the facilitator to distribute the questionnaires to each participant and let them independently complete them, and then collected their feedbacks. When the whole workshop was done, I helped in the making and serving of lunch to all the participants.

During the whole workshop process, I was extremely cautious about the level of my participation, in other words, the level of involvement. Even though a great anxiety to talk with the facilitator and participants, I was more conscious of my own role in the workshop. I definitely had to make sure my participant observation would not end up being a disruption to the workshop. For instance, my random chatting with the participants must not distract them from drawing their comics or body maps.

While undertaking qualitative research, the roles of the researchers might differ from a complete participant researcher to roles “where observing is more important than participating” (Dicks 20011: 61). The level of involvement of the participant observer has been discussed in the beginning of this section. In my case, because of the language obstacles arising from English being my second language, I valued my active participation a lot and hold the opinion that’ no participation, no gain’. This is to say, the prerequisite that would enable me to understand and observe the workshop is that I was connected and exposed to it by my active participation. Just like what DeWalt and DeWalt (2011: 92) have said: “every observer observes a phenomenon from the place from which the observer observes” and “one only observes a phenomenon when it intersects with the observer”.

**Ethnographic record**

Here I want to add an emphasis on some techniques for making ethnographic records. My fieldtrip took place one month before I started writing this paper. It was impossible to rely on
my memory to recall what had happened during the whole fieldtrip. Making ethnographic records was one of the most important aspects of my participant observation. All kinds of field notes were the product and reflection of my fieldwork.

Before getting to the community, recording instruments had been fully prepared, including small notebooks, smart phones (used as cameras, voice recorder and video recorder), and laptops. It did not matter which tool I used; all the entries of events, conversations, and workshop activities were well dated and all my recordings were compiled in chronological order. I always kept the idea in mind that information should be recorded on the spot as much as possible even though some of it might not be very necessary. Different instruments worked in different ways for various purposes. A small notebook and smart phone were portable and they were my two most valuable instruments when it came to recording community events, natural sceneries, cultural encounters, participate and observe the workshops. They were convenient in recording accurate information and details, such as local names, participants’ names, exact times etc.

It was impossible for me to immediately write down any details due to time limits or other factors, so I would mark what was lost in my notes. After the workshops, I preferred to manage my handwriting by inputting them into my laptop as soon as possible, rather than leaving them in a mess. By doing so, I attempted to review what I had written and put it in proper order. There were two CCMS Honours students in our team who also helped facilitate the workshops. I regarded them as my “co-observers”. In spite of different research objectives, we three reminded each other and exchanged new findings every day. Sometimes we compared our records and discussed one activity from different aspects of observation. They helped me with checking my spellings, pointing out what was missing, correcting the wrong geographical names in my notes, which improved the accuracy and reliability of my field notes.

The different advantages of the two media of notebook and laptop were gradually obvious as I conducted more and more participant observations. I used my notebook to write down simple words and phrases. When I electronically recorded my notes and saved them on my laptop, I expanded the simple notes into longer phrases or even short articles. To be specific, I took use of small notebook or pieces of memory cards to write when, where, who and simple activity descriptions, which were very condensed. When expanding these accounts, I
analysed what, how, and why. The instant notes actually generated a lot of data and also a number of questions, which made up some of my later interviews.

In addition to written notes, a lot of audio recordings and a few video recordings were made for gathering data. Video recordings, as a multimedia application, could truly re-create the scene once I began analysing. However, I was not aiming to shoot a movie or documentary, video recording could be time consuming and it requires other electronic equipment. The most important point was the audio recording or video one in front of the workshop participants or interviewees could easily push me into ethical dilemma. Any electronic device might make people uncomfortable or even suspicious. Therefore, before holding up a voice recorder, it was a must that I had acquired the permission from all the people who were standing in front of me. Nevertheless, as an ethnographer, I was looking forward to observe numerous events in its natural setting.

All the field notes in different forms recorded not only my objective observations but also very personal thoughts and feelings in specific context, like my confusion, happiness, gratefulness and doubts. Here I want to highlight the importance of ethnographical records by citing these words: “Ethnography cannot, in practice, maintain a constant descriptive relationship to cultural phenomena. It can maintain such a relationship only to what is produced in field notes” (Clifford 1990: 68)

**Interviews**

Interviewing played an important role in my research methods and it generated a large quantity of data. I did many informal interviews with workshop participants and other community members, which can also be called unstructured interviews. Those conversations were reflected in my field notes. One semi-formal, or semi-structured focus group discussion was done with five female workshop participants. Three structured person-to-person interviews were conducted with three CCMS researchers separately. The focus group discussion and three key informants interviews were digitally recorded on my phone via its voice recording function and the transcripts were appended. Explaining why interview is important in field research, Patton (2002: 340-341) states:

> we interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe...we cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions. We cannot
observe behaviours that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have organize the world and meanings they attach to what goes on in the world… the purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person’s perspective.

Numerous informal conversations were conducted very naturally and the participants hardly noticed that they were actually interviewed. It was like two new friends discussing certain topics and exchanging ideas freely. Even though I did not lead these conversations or gave any pre-determined questions, as a matter of fact, in those random interviews, the participants were the side who played the leading roles rather than me, but I still had to guide my interviewees to treat my random questions seriously in order to get valid information. Otherwise, conversations would be rendered pointless. Usually at the beginning of the such conversations, I just put forward any question in my mind to “probe” my interviewees. As the conversation continued, I built more questions in response to their answers. I found their interests increased when we talked about their personal experiences, life stories, attitudes and their community situations. Since they noticed me as a person from the east, I also had great interests in getting to know them. We talked about closely related aspects of their daily life, which benefited my further writing to a large extent.

Only one focus group discussion was facilitated with five girls with the help from one of my CCMS fellows, Shanade Barnabas, who could speak Afrikaans. With permission from all the five participants, the focus group interview was recorded. At the beginning of the focus group, I introduced myself and my work regarding the ‡Khomani community and declared there would be no information used outside the scope of my study. Moreover, I made sure all the interviewees fully understood why and how the interview would be used for my research. Based on this, all the five girls agreed to be named in my thesis writing.

The questions in this focus group discussion were semi-structured, open-ended, and about the grassroots comics and body-mapping workshops. All five girls had taken part in workshops at least once. Before organizing the focus group interview, I had a brief list of questions and issues to be explored by them. Once the workshop activity was done and the CCMS researchers finished their questionnaire, I asked them to sit down with me in a comfortable place to conduct my interview. Because they still had clear memory of the recently finished workshop, it was easy to gain their feedback on it. Each question was in short sentences and
simple English; besides I was not guiding the discussion at all. However, I made sure that everyone got the chance to speak and was thanked for their contribution to the discussion. Their discussions on one issue or topic had generated other questions and even more positive discussions, during which process; they complemented the others’ idea and also debated with each other.

The last three structured key informative interviews were done after my fieldwork. There are no other people who know better about grassroots comics and body-mapping methods applied in the ǂKhomani community than the three CCMS researchers, who are the main workshop designers and facilitators: Dr. Julie Grant, Andrew Dicks and Shanade Barnabas. The interview questions were designed in highly structured manner in advance. The interviews were conducted orally and face-to-face in their chosen time and place. Due to their different work focuses and contents in and out of the community, my questions to each of them were different. There were still a lot of common questions covering some basic aspects of the workshop activities. The key informant interviews helped me grasp important data very quickly and effectively. That was because all the questions were designed surrounding my research objectives and my three interviewees were knowledgeable and professional in grassroots comics and body-mapping application. Each interview lasted for one hour and half approximately.

**Coding for themes and data analysis**

Coding is another technique used to classify, select, and organize data to obtain effective information for my data analysis when I was done with all the interviews. Actually, coding is also an organic part of my data analysis, which started from reviewing all the data in written form being saved in digital files. According to DeWalt and DeWalt (2011: 183), coding refers to “the development of categories that emerge from the data (emic) as a result of reviewing the data for inherent the concepts and patterns”. From my perspective, I regarded coding as a way to identify and describe some common events, opinions, and meanings occurred in the statements of my informants.

At first, the coding process familiarised me with my numerous pages of data, based on this, some redundant accounts were avoided for further data analysis. Redundant accounts referred to some information that could not answer my specific research questions directly or indirectly. After coding my entire data set, I began thematic descriptions on these codes.
According to Braun and Clarke (2006:82), “a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set”. At the same time, DeWalt and DeWalt (2011: 189) define theme as “an idea that characterizes and ties together materials from different people or people in different settings”.

For my research, the themes came from the original expressions within the data as well as my summaries of pieces of words or phrases. Some themes were plain, like “necessary materials for body-mapping workshop”, “location choice of grassroots comics workshop”; while some themes were abstracted or even theorised, for example “the level of the facilitator’s involvement”, “participatory nature of the workshops”.

Basically, there are two ways to do coding: manually or using computer software. I applied coding for themes manually by writing margin notes, drawing diagrammes, and more importantly, having all the codes in my mind. By doing so, the generated themes actually led me to go back and forth through the whole data set as a quick searching method. The main reason why I did not need a computer programme was that my data set was comparatively small. From the very beginning of my fieldwork until the end of all the interviews, I kept managing and limiting my data size. This helped me focus on certain research questions instead of taking too broad a scope. To be specific, there were a lot of ethnographic encounters I experienced in the Kalahari and plenty of events I had observed living in the community, but when I sorted out my field notes, I just selected the most typical ones which were closely related to my research topic.

From my own perspective, even though coding was not a central aspect of my research, it was an important mechanism for me to organize data. What is more, as a part of data analysis, it helped me to understand the recurring viewpoints from my informants. During the iterative coding process, I gradually captured significant points to make my arguments and developed insights under the surface of the texts.

Data interpretation must be unbiased (Merriam 2009), but I found it easier said than done. Several reasons are attributed to this. First of all, I came to the community with an identity as a member of the CCMS research team, but when I embarked on an analysis of the actions of other CCMS researchers, I needed to regard them as ‘subjects’ rather than ‘co-workers’, or ‘acquaintances’ or ‘friends’. Therefore, locating myself in an objective position in personal
relations is the first step. Secondly, all the description, interpretation, and analysis were essentially the representation and reproduction of original scenes that happened in my fieldtrip, which required high level of reliability, accuracy and objectivity. Unfortunately, sometimes I found that data were not adequate or my field notes were lost, I chose to consult my companions and asked them to confirm what we had experienced together. Subsequently I became more careful when dealing with this second-hand information. Last but not the least, I was open to discover and present contradictory research findings and make critical suggestions. For example, different interviewees may have provided differing or even contradictory explanations for the same phenomena from different perspectives. For myself, an objective attitude was required to report the variety and define reasonable opinions. The following chapters will present these research findings and data analysis in depth.

Chapter 5: Locating the ‡Khomani Community in Development Communication

Many efforts have been made to empower the ‡Khomani San and develop this community, especially after 1999 when the ‡Khomani San reclaimed their ancestral land under the Land Reform Policy introduced by the South African government. However, the past ten years did not witness the changes of poverty alleviation or living conditions improvement that happened within the community. Many factors contribute to the dilemma of development. This chapter gives an overview on this community from many aspects of development as observed in the field and existing literature. This chapter also outlines the background of the CCMS research, which introduces the specific setting for body-mapping and grassroots comics to be fully understood.
Figure 2. Map showing the location of Kgalagadi District and Upington city (Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kgalagadi_Transfrontier_Park)

Location and natural environment

The southern Kalahari covers the borders of three countries: Namibia, Botswana and South Africa. It consists of a piece of land in south-eastern Namibia, much of Botswana and parts of the Northern Cape of South Africa, possessing the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, a wildlife preserve and conservation area, as one of the most famous landmarks. Out of the whole Kalahari Desert of 930,000 km², the southern Kalahari covers the area of 124,000 km², and containing distinct landscapes.

The ‡Khomani community, under the administrative division of the Mier Local Municipality, is located in the southern Kalahari. This community has six declared farms: Miersouppan, Uitkoms, Scotty’s Fort, Erin, Andriesvale, and Witdraai (Grant 2014). The nearest and largest town, about 250 km south of the ‡Khomani is Upington where all usual shops, entertainments, and airport could be found. The place where I stayed is the Molopo Kalahari Lodge, which follows the name of the dry river Molopo River, across this lodge is a main road. Molopo Kalahari Lodge situates within the ‡Khomani community, where, the SASI
and Bushman Council offices, and community hall are all about 5 km away, which provides a great convenience of transport for my research.

Figure 3. Map showing the "Khomani community consisting of five farms (K. Dierkes published in Massyn et al 2010 cited in Grant 2011"
The Kalahari is not strictly a desert and still has a rainy season and ground cover. Various species of wild animals, vast savannah grasses interspersed with shrubs and trees make this place vigorous. This natural place is exceedingly fascinating and charming for tourists from abroad, presenting itself as an environment of acacia trees and grasses growing on vast red sand dunes, with the background of a clear blue sky.

![Image showing the natural environment of the Kalahari](image)

*Figure 4 Picture showing the natural environment of the ‡Khomani community in the Kalahari* (Min Kong 2014)

Additionally, many other luxury lodges and hotels which provide comfortable campsites, chalets, swimming pools, and high-grade local specialties are not hard to find in the Kalahari (Field notes, 11th June, 2014). Obviously, the unique natural Kalahari environment proves itself as a resource for the travel industry, attracting a lot of people seeking novelty. When talking about her personal feelings about being there, CCMS researcher Shanade Barnabas told me “the environment is so expansive, the sky is so big. It is so far away from the city and less polluted, sometimes, there is no cell phone reception. In the city, there are always people wanting something, the electronic stuff just distracts me. I feel I can breathe easily in the Kalahari” (Interview#3, 3th October, 2014)

However, experiencing the Kalahari as a tourist is totally different from living there as a resident, because survival in the desert is not easy at all. According to Grant (2011), people living in this place, like the ‡Khomani, have to adapt to the very arid and limited environment. In addition to Molopo River, the other three rivers in the southern Kalahari, from north to south, are Nossob River, Auob River, and the Kuruman. Due to very rare rainfall, the four rivers are all currently dry and not able to serve their functions (Grant 2011).
According to Tomas (2002), the Mier area, within which the ‡Khomani community could receive approximately 150 mm of rainfall each year, and most of it falls in the summer season, from November to April. From May to August, the weather is cool and dry, while the period of time between September and November has typically dry, hot and windy desert climate (Conversation with Julie Grant, 13th June, 2014; Grant 2011). Consequently, people living in this area mainly rely on groundwater, which is obtained by boreholes and pumps and reserved in dams or reservoirs. The fact is that the groundwater is over exploited, low in quality and can hardly satisfy human consumption (Grant 2011).

Living conditions that can be intuitively experienced in this community are: potable water is very salty, the wind is dusty, the sunshine is strong and temperatures are extreme. During the period of time that the CCMS team spent there, the heat topped to 35°C or above at daytime, while during the nights, temperatures could drop to zero and below (Field notes, 12th June, 2014). Lying in a tightly closed tent, swaddled in a sleeping bag with messy clothes and quilts; it is still hard for me to fall asleep. Explaining the extreme weather, Shanade said to me “In the Kalahari, as soon as the sun goes down, you feel the cold” (Field notes, 15th June, 2014). However,

Because when you are camping and you are living in a tent, and you are cold and on the ground, you also get an idea what it feels like to be that cold in that place. A lot of these people in the community don’t have proper housing, they don’t have proper beds, and they don’t have the comforts that we have, that we are used to, maybe here, in the city. So when you go and you “rough it”… it does definitely help you to be more acclimatized to the surroundings, and maybe get a little bit of a feeling of the things that the community have to deal with environmentally on a day to day basis (Shanade Barnabas, Interview#3, 3th, October, 2014).

The above description of the natural environment of the ‡Khomani community is part of my observation in this field and also the first step for me to know this community. By introducing its geographical position and characteristics, I would like to say the natural
environment limits the development of the ‡Khomani to a large extent (Grant 2011). Among the many development constraints, the natural environment is the most fundamental and unchangeable factor. Many other development obstacles and issues have been identified in relation to the ‡Khomani’s history, cultural identities, land claim, infrastructure construction and other aspects of social life.

**Where are the Bushmen? Why can’t I see them? – Bushmen identity and cultural diversity**

The extreme natural environment might not surprise me, but the way the Bushmen live their lives today was really beyond my expectation. It was not only me, but also Andrew Dicks, who grew up in South Africa, had always been carrying the idea that Bushmen were still living a primitive life until his first visit to the Kalahari in 2008. With great curiosity, I came to the Kalahari looking forward to see a group of people who are mostly hunter-gatherers as usually depicted by the mass media and advertised by numerous travel agencies. As my research in the ‡Khomani community proceeded, I realised the idea that the ‡Khomani San could still be living as hunters and gatherers was just in my head. As Andrew Dicks states, the fact is that no community members could go to a tree to pick berries or go hunting and then get back home to feed their families for one week (Andrew Dicks, Interview #1, 1st September, 2014). That is because food provided by the natural world is not available like it used to be. Actually, the hunting and gathering livelihood of the Bushmen have ended decades ago (Sylvain 2002). Andrew Dicks points this out by giving a vivid account: “This place looks more like the rural communities that I have outside the town that I grew up… even in Botswana, as far and isolated as those people were, they still had cell phones; they dressed with named brand clothing like Nike. Even though they may have been slightly a little bit more traditional, they are still equally as globalized, westernized” (Interview #4, 6th October, 2014).

By analysing the only legally binding definition provided by the International Labour Organization (ILO), Sylvain (2002) discusses ‘indigenous people’ from four aspects. The first one is ‘genealogical heritage’, which means the descent of indigenous people is from the population that occupies some certain geographical region and is able to continue. The second one is ‘marginalization’ which indicates that indigenous people remain their own social, cultural, political, and economic institutions, which are not the dominant sector of the
society. The third is ‘cultural attributes’, which means being culturally distinct. The last one is ‘self-identity’ which means how the indigenous people recognize themselves.

Being defined as the ‘First People’ in South Africa, a distinction among the Bushmen groups has formed leading to two groups, namely, the ‘traditional San’ and the ‘western San’ (Ellis 2004). Robbins (2001) states that the western San have a different livelihood strategy, such as cultural tourism and natural resources harvesting. This kind of people who are referred to as westernized and less traditional San are less likely to learn and maintain their Bushman heritage, such as making and selling crafts, and tracking wildlife; additionally, the stock farmers have more interest in developing the farms for livestock farming (Grant 2011).

This point has also been demonstrated by Andrew Dicks in my interview with him: “people hunt at a certain time during hunting season, but they really cannot survive on hunting…it is more that they are making money easier out of crafts and things that symbolized their hunting-gathering heritage… there are a lot of like rich tourist people coming through and passing…Here they were mostly tour guides, craft makers. They mingled a lot with tourists. They actually worked in the tourism industry” (Interview #4, 6th October, 2014). I encountered two middle-aged Bushmen who were hired and working in the KTP during my fieldtrip. Actually, it was them who found me first and greeted me. They told me they had never encountered eastern people travelling in the community or the park. From the conversation, I learned that they were actually knowledgeable about Asia and the outside world. They were not as innocent as I had imaged before (Field notes, 15th June, 2014).

Therefore, in spite of their isolated and marginalized situation, nowadays the ‡Khomani San are not suffering from an absolute information block; instead, they have various communication channels to learn about the outside world and be learned about by the outside as well. On the one hand, the constant media attention, research interests and tourism exploration grant the community members numerous chances of communication with outside people; political interference, development institutions and actors also give positive impact on the community. On the other hand, the local responses to the external actors are diverse. Robins (2001) even asserts that donor and NGO development discourses deepen intra-community conflicts by supporting the traditional leadership and cultivating modern or western ideas at the same time, which contributes to the division and conflict between the ‘traditional San’ and ‘modern San’.
Even though Ellis (2004) divides the ‡Khomani San into traditionalists and westerners, the community members share more similarities than distinctions, and most of them are in-between (Grant 2011). According to my observation, no ‡Khomani San really wears traditional clothes in daily life; a few craft makers and sellers dress in traditional clothes in order to attract tourists. Meanwhile, most of the ‡Khomani San’s life has no big difference from that of other rural villagers’ lives. Generally, teenagers attend school by school bus at daytime; only few individuals get employed and commute from home to their workplace and live on a salary; farmers work with their livestock, and since very few ‘western Bushmen’ can afford cars donkey carts become a main vehicle (Field notes, 12th June, 2014).

For a long time, the image of the ‡Khomani San has been reconstructed and represented by outside people, such as travel agencies, filmmakers, and museum curators. What is widely learned by the public is that the Kalahari Bushmen are the last surviving group of hunter-gathers living a primordial life in the world (Robins 2000). These Bushmen myths serve as important cultural and economic resources in commercial speculation. However, it seems many skilful business actions do not benefit the ‡Khomani too much, obviously, not the majority of the community members (Shanade Barnabas, Interview #3, 3rd October, 2014). That is because the media production like advertisements, documentaries, and films made by people from the dominant culture cater to the interest and cultural considerations of customers or the makers themselves, instead of the subject Bushmen. Moreover, the stereotyped images of Bushmen as hunter-gatherers cannot provide deep understandings on indigenous identity or culture, but only the myth of the Bushmen (Crawhall 2003).

Given the brief overview of the community, the hybridized character of the ‡Khomani San can be revealed. They are both ‘First People’ with indigenous identities and modern citizens incorporated into the global capitalist and state systems (Robbins 2001), which also demonstrates that cultural heritage and continuity are in the process of change. “ Cultures change all the time, through innovations and contacts with other cultures. Some aspects of culture are more subject to change than others. Those lying in the economic sphere and those that form part of material culture are usually the first to change” (Boeren 1994: 78) Thus, I would like to say that the current various livelihood strategies adopted by the ‡Khomani San constitute their cultural changes and reconstruct their self-identity. For example, while the traditionalist sub-group argues that they are more authentic San than the westerners and that some of the returned ancestral land should be utilized for reviving their traditional lifestyle,
the more modern §Khomani San are more likely to be educated and employed in regular jobs. The traditionalists live in informal shelters made of grass and iron. Many from both groups have interest in Bushman culture and try to retain their cultural heritage (Grant 2011).

From my observation and informal conversation with several individuals, I learned that the general §Khomani actually want to speak their own language and protect their cultural self-determination. Nevertheless, within the community very few jobs can be found. The other opportunity for the §Khomani San is to look outside. It is also difficult if they do not get educated and speak proper Afrikaans, which is the main language of that province (Shanade Barnabas, Interview #3, 3rd October, 2014). Nowadays, there are approximately 400 adults living on the §Khomani farms, but approximately 1500 §Khomani in total. They live throughout the Northern Cape (Email Correspondence with Julie Grant 17th October, 2014).

It is necessary to sketch out the different aspirations, lifestyles, values and personal beliefs existing in the community under the common term of §Khomani. All of these cultural factors must be taken into consideration when development strategies are being made for the community, as indicated by the theory of participatory communication development. This is because culture functions as a tool of constructing reality (Boeren 1994). As §Khomani San, they share ideals, customs and hunting and gathering traditions that differ them from the outside world. In his own words, one community adult said he wants to keep his ‘Bushman gene’ (Field notes, 15th June, 2014). However, the community is not a unified group of people but consists of various groups of people (traditionalists, westerners, and those in-between) with differing characteristics and cultural preferences, which will further affect the way they cope with life in this particular environment. Specifically, the differentiated groups of people have different perceptions on things and phenomena around them, and also deposit different knowledge and experiences, which are useful and necessary for their survival. The fact is the process through which the §Khomani San gradually acculturate themselves into modern life and the state system is accompanied by the breakdown in community cohesion, social solidarity and traditional continuity (Robins et al 2001; Grant & Dicks 2014). Its social transformation and culture change will continue to interrelate to each other.
Disempowerment and development dilemmas of the ḕKhomani community

Historical background of Bushmen in South Africa

In different historical periods, South African Bushmen have encountered genocide, colonialism, capitalism and apartheid (Robins 2000). The history deeply impacts on how the Bushmen are today. The current ancestors of the Bushmen San inhabit dispersedly the land that is known today as South Africa and Namibia (Grant 2014). Alien invasion took place by Khoekhoe herders who expanded their territories from the north into the ancestral Bushman land approximately 2500 years ago (Crawhall 2004). Consequently, the Bushmen lost high quality lands, which were occupied by the herders for increasing their livestock numbers. Since then, the Bushmen have suffered from land loss and competition. Eight hundred years ago, another group of livestock farmers, the Bantu-speaking people, joined the land competition between the Kohekohe and Bushmen. The Bushmen as hunter-gatherers again were forced to move into more marginal lands (Johnson 2004; Grant 2011).

In the 17th century, westerners began to invade and colonize the area that was inhabited by the Khoekhoe herders, Bantu-speaking people and Bushmen hunter-gatherers. From then on, the Bushmen kept disputing and conflicting not only with the other coloured competitors but also with the white settlers (Grant 2011). In the next three centuries, Dutch and British colonists successively established settlements in many provinces of South Africa for seizing natural resources and carrying out international trade (Boonzaier et al 1996). Under western colonization, a considerable amount of land was acquired, local institutions were subject to the ruling central government, and racial segregation was increased (Beck 2014) As a result, the indigenous Bushmen were the worst victims of persecution, prejudice and abuse (Boozzaier et al. 1996; Penn 1996). Such suffering lasted in the apartheid years, 1948 to 1973, and continued to the final white domination period from 1973 to 1994 (Beck 2012).

According to Dr. Julie Grant who is involved in long-term research on the ḕKhomani development experience, the historical treatment of the South African Bushmen has been worse than the black and coloured people. The black and colored peoples were never told their populations no longer existed as the Bushmen were when they were reclassified as Coloureds under the Population Registration Act of 1950. Thus, the South African Bushmen were more psychologically disempowered (Julie Grant, Interview#2, 8th September, 2014;
Grant and Dicks 2014). Nowadays, they are generally characterized by land dispossession, disempowerment, impoverishment, marginalization, loss of tradition and dependency (Robins 2001; Tomaselli 2005; Grant 2011). The ‡Khomani San is one of the Bushmen groups suffering from the above issues.

The ethnic referent ‘‡Khomani San’ has been attributed to Dorothea Bleek, an ethnographic worker. She came up with the term in 1911 when she divided the San into an eastern group, the N/n, and a western group, the ‡Khomani, according to their geographical region (Ellis 2004). The current ‡Khomani community was formed during the process of lodging the land claim against the park in the 1930s (Ellis 2004). In other words, the current ‡Khomani San are originally from various groups of San descendants (Grant 2011).

Before that, in 1865, a coloured community that was led by Captain Vilander relocated to land in the Northern Cape that had traditionally been occupied and used by the ancestors of the ‡Khomani (Grant 2011). In 1931, the Kalahari Gemsbok Park, which is incorporated into the KTP now, was proclaimed. The San suffered further from land dispossession because they were expelled from the park. What is more, their traditional foraging practices were threatened. From then until the 1970s the Bushmen were continually expelled from the Park, and they were dispersed to rural places in the Northern Cape (Ellis 2004). Additionally, under the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Bushmen were classified as coloured by the government at that time (Grant 2011).

**Land Claim and Resettlement of the ‡Khomani community**

In order to address poverty, inequality, and insecurity regarding land dispossession, the ANC government started land reform in 1994 (May et al. 2000; May 2000). Under this national background, the ‡Khomani San land claim was initiated by the Kruiper family. Then the Kruiper family decided to recruit other San descendants to join in the land claim. Therefore, multiple groups of San adopted the term ‘‡Khomani’ striving for repossessing their ancestral land in the park and surrounding areas, in terms of the national Land Reform Program (Ellis 2004).

With the help from Roger Chennells, a human right lawyer who helped found SASI, the ‡Khomani San submitted a land claim in 1995, which brought the ‡Khomani San into conflict with other stakeholders, such as the Mier community and the national park (Chennells 2001;
Bosch & Hirschfeld 2002). In 1999, the South African government awarded approximately 65,000 hectares of traditional territory in and around the Kalahari Gemsbok Park to the ‡Khomani San and this was marked as a significant victory in terms of the human rights of indigenous people. As the only case of a successful aboriginal land claim in South Africa, the ‡Khomani San got attention from media worldwide (Chennells 2002; Ellis 2004). However, one problem is that 25,000 hectares of the land was placed within the KTP, a transfrontier park, which was never intended to meet all the needs of the community. Moreover, there are limitations on land use. That is to say, limited area of the land can be used for hunting or farming by San groups (Ellis 2004). In 2001, the South African government settled the ‡Khomani San by providing them their land rights and recognizing their ownership over a large area of the KTP. As a result, the ‡Khomani San were awarded the right to conduct their cultural practices, like hunting, collecting, and cultural tourism ventures (Sylvain 2002; Robin 2002; Ellis 2004).

However, the successful land claim has not generated full benefits in the last 15 years. The ‡Khomani San are still facing complicated land issues. One significant issue is the land that was obtained is not managed and utilized properly. Many factors contribute to this situation. The internal one could be community divisions. There is no unifying system of leadership. The intra-community conflicts and lack of social cohesion have become a constraint for further development (SAHRC, 2004). This can be reflected by community members’ disputes over the land. To be specific, those people who have a ‘modern’ background want to use the land for farming and commercial reasons; the ‘traditionalists’ who are remaining part of their traditional lifestyle prefer to utilize the lands for hunting and gathering. At first, the farms of Erin, Witdraai and Miershopan were mainly used for traditional livelihoods, which took up 50 per cent of the whole ‡Khomani farmland. Due to complaints from the ‘westerners’, only Erin and Witdraai remained for traditional purposes in 2002 through community consensus (Chennells 2006 cited in Grant 2011). Thus, there is a lack of coherent decision making within the community.

However, some changes can be seen, “they have been westernized, modernized; they have been relying on these things, like income, going to a shop to buy food. They don’t absolutely live off the land” (Andrew Dicks, Interview #1, 1st September, 2014). Another internal factor is about the educational level of the community members. The majority of people in the ‡Khomani are actually ignorant of agriculture due to their low educational level. “A
management plan for such a big area is quite difficult so they need someone to show them how to do it and other long term help” (Julie Grant, Interview#2, 8th September, 2014). Overall, the ‡Khomani themselves generally lack skills, resources and motivations to benefit from the repossessed lands.

What is more, the non-functional local and provisional government and incapacity within the Communal Property Association Management Committee (CPAMC\(^3\)) must be pinpointed. The CPAMC should have taken a number of responsibilities on the general planning and management of the community lands and other communal assets. The Department of Land Affairs (DLA\(^4\)), Commission on Restitution of Land Rights and other parties involved in the land settlement and management process do not give enough support either (SAHRC 2004). When the land was handed over probably a management plan should have been drawn up; however, this was never done. Besides, there was no administrator or farm manager appointed to assist the implementation of formulated land policies. A land management plan was never ever drawn up due to lack of funding. One example is in 2008 when a farm manager was appointed; the Belgium government or Belgium NGO did not have money to continue to pay the manager. The manager therefore left after three months (Julie Grant, Interview#2, 8th September, 2014). The dry and crisp weather conditions in the Northern Cape are also a development constraint, as I have described before. “You can see the land is dry and even sandy, it is not easy to farm” (Andrew Dicks, Interview #1, 1st September, 2014)

Certainly, land is a very important production material and development resource. It should contribute to improving the circumstances of the ‡Khomani San, and reduce community poverty by providing food, creating employment, and increasing family income, as a basis for agriculture, animal husbandry, cultural tourism, and other commercial activities. That is to say, the land issue is actually related to and impacting the other aspects of development, regarding the whole community as one organic development system. However, the fact is the incoherent land resettlement and its ineffective management became prominent development constraints for the ‡Khomani San.

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\(^3\) The CPAMC is elected amongst the ‡Khomani San democratically based on its constitution, but its members are divided between the ‘original claimant’ group and those who have a ‘modern’ background. (SAHRC 2004)

\(^4\) As a very important government department for land administration, DLA has made a great contribution to the ‡Khomani San’s land restitution process.
Survival Situation of ‡Khomani San

The ‡Khomani San have received a considerable amount of state and donor aid since 1999 and they still perceive themselves as poor (Dyll 2009). Based on my own fieldtrip, I try to portray a real picture of the life the ‡Khomani San are living. Simply speaking, the ‡Khomani San face many challenges on a daily basis. Several factors threaten their survival in terms of insufficient basic services, education, and employment (SAHRC 2004; Grant 2011).

A very direct impression to me is that informal houses in the community are all very simple. Those houses are the original ones built by farmers before the land claim and they need to be repaired now. Some good quality houses are constructed using modern materials such as cement, bricks and corrugated iron sheets while some shelters are just simply made of grass (Field notes, 12th June, 2014). Therefore, a lot of people strive for formal housing. All roads around and inside the community are unsealed with seldom road signs. As a community dispersed on flat and arid lands, I do not think the ‡Khomani has real road patterns. A few shops present within the community sell very basic groceries like frozen meats, chips, sweets, fruits etc. These shops cannot function as a supermarket. Without proper recreation facilities, kids play on swings made of pieces of ropes tied to trees. (Field notes, 13th June, 2014).
From several random conversations with community members, it can be said that very large areas of the community have no access to electricity, running water and sanitation facilities. A lot of people walk for a long distance to fetch clean water every day, while in the community, the donkey cart becomes an effective form of transportation. The lack of infrastructure construction is a serious restriction for land use, hunting stability, and tourism improvement (Grant 2011). Historically, living a nomadic life, all the basic needs of the San people could be satisfied by nature. Nowadays, sufficient infrastructure for transportation, water, electricity, and sanitation are basic requirements for surviving. According to SAHRC (2004: 19), “There is dissatisfaction with the Local Council of Mier, in that water, sanitation, waste management and development in general have not yet been realised for the ‡Khomani San community”. Overall, the general living conditions of the ‡Khomani community are poor.

Basic education is available in the Mier Local Municipality. Six primary schools are run by the state and teach in Afrikaans while English is taught in secondary school (Grant 2011). The nearest primary school is Askham Primary School, which is also the one attended most by the ‡Khomani children. It is approximately 16 km away. The nearest secondary school is situated in Rietfontein and is about 60 km away from the ‡Khomani community. Children
rely on the school bus to travel from home to school and families do not have private transportation (SAHRC 2004; Grant 2011). According to Grant (2011), in spite of the availability of primary and secondary education to all the children in the Mier area, a lot of ŽKhomani children do not complete their basic education. This is because some ŽKhomani households fail to realise the importance of education while some of them cannot afford children’s boarding fees. Meanwhile, disadvantages of the present basic education include low education quality, insufficient children supervision, sexual abuse, harassment, and discrimination towards ŽKhomani children and parents (SAHRC 2004). Besides, ŽKhomani adults have rare access to further or higher education. No higher education institution has been established, that is to say, any ŽKhomani adult who wants to go to college or university must leave the Mier area for another city (Grant 2011). In fact, the ŽKhomani adults over the age of 40 are nearly all illiterate, and very few of them had even finished secondary school (Bradstock 2004 cited in Grant 2011). Overall, the general education level of the ŽKhomani community members is quite low and formal education is still in short supply.

One direct consequence of insufficient education is the lack of competitiveness for certain jobs, which means it is not easy for the ŽKhomani individuals to pursue for a well-paid job due to their low qualifications (Workshop Participants, Focus Group, 18th June, 2014). Nevertheless, one fact that must be admitted is that compared with the past, the present livelihood strategies have been diversified and more family income is generated in ŽKhomani. The development for the community does not only rely on land reform and management, but also other industries. Now more and more community members are involved in cultural tourism in different ways. Among these is making and selling crafts to people from the outside, a trade that has been popularized by many ŽKhomani people. Crafts are made of simple materials using manufacturing techniques, but they are appealing to customers or tourists who are seeking for cultural symbols. What is more, a large number of ŽKhomani people earn money by performing traditional dances at functions, providing traditional medical treatment to tourists, and working for local lodges (Field notes, 17th June, 2014). Grant (2011) states that many ŽKhomani assist researchers, commercial authors and media organizations, working with them as translators, story tellers and cultural knowledge consultants, thus gaining monetary and other forms of benefits to the community members. Besides, there are other ŽKhomani individuals working on farms, construction projects, or hired by the KTP. Actually, the community members strive to increase their income through various ways, but very few of them are permanently employed.
Development strategies in ‡Khomani and the participatory approach

The draft of the United Nations’ International Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People determines that indigenous peoples have the right to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs… indigenous people have the right to access adequate financial and technical assistance, from states and through international cooperation, to pursue freely their political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual development. (SAHRC 2004:11-12)

Development projects

With their indigenous identity, the San people of South Africa and other parts of Africa have received much attention from research institutions, NGOs, human rights organizations, national and international media. The ‡Khomani San, with historical dispossession and their successful land claim, have naturally gained a lot of interest from external parties. Actually, a large number of development agencies have worked in the ‡Khomani community, such as SASI, FARM Africa, IPACC, Open Africa, the Red Cross, as well as many government departments, for example the Department of
Land Affairs, the Department of Health, the Department of Environment and Tourism, the Department of Education, Housing, and Agriculture among others.(SAHRC 2004)

To a large extent, the above external development actors have contributed to the improvement of the ‡Khomani community, with many development projects being set up. For instance, following the proposal by the CPAMC, a ‡Khomani San Settlement and Development Strategy was generated with the assistance of the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights in 2004. This development strategy attempts to promote the socio-economic development of the ‡Khomani, focusing on encouraging every ‡Khomani individual to make inputs to realizing development objectives and activities with regard to their lands (SAHRC 2004). However, one point worth mentioning is that this development plan should have been made in 1999, but it was being postponed all the time due to incapacity of CPAMC and unhelpful local government or DLA.

Amongst all the NGOs, SASI was the main one working with the ‡Khomani community since it was established in 1996, but it have not worked in the community for a number of years. It was started to support the ‡Khomani San in the land claim at first, but continually, many other achievements was made by this organization. For a long period of time, SASI highlighted cultural tourism as a primary development strategy, which granted a large number of ‡Khomania chance to enter this industry (as discussed in the previous section). This idea was demonstrated by the many tourism projects, such as Sisen Crafts, Witdraai Bushcamp, the Tourists’ Information Centre, and official tour guiding (Grant 2011; Tomaselli 2012). Formed in 2000, Sisen Crafts project sold and retailed Bushman crafts made by the project members locally and in Cape Town via curio stores (Dyll 2009). It was closed by 2007 due to mismanagement of money. According to Grant (2011), the Bushcamp was established in 2008 on the farmland of Witdraai. It made profits from providing camping facilities to tourists. The Tourists’ Information Centre and official tour guiding provided helpful information and facilities to tourists, functioning as trip advisors. The !Xaus Lodge located in the KTP, was partly owned by the ‡Khomani community. Even though it was not an NGO, it still benefited the ‡Khomani by distributing its profits to the community and creating employment opportunities to qualified
‡Khomani. Tomaselli (2012) states that cultural tourism is a self-employment development strategy for indigenous people.

The necessity of participatory development and the absence of horizontal communication

Efforts have also been made by all levels of government and various departments to realise more ‡Khomani human rights and socio-economic development. However, there are many criticisms of this development mode based on the fact that the ‡Khomani are still confronted with poverty, disempowerment, and identity disintegration. Robins (2001) criticizes some donors and NGOs for having contradictory development goals and practices in relation to the construction of cultural authenticity and indigenous identity, which damage the community solidarity and viable livelihood strategies. SAHRC (2004:18) indicates that too much involvement of external development agencies also contributes to the lack of self-determining of the ‡Khomani; moreover, ‡Khomani should “function independently as a cohesive community, with the internal capacity to engage with external parties in a structured manner”.

The development strategies in the past time mainly focused on land reform and cultural tourism, which aim to transform the ‡Khomani community into a modern society. The biggest disadvantage of this development model is that policies are directly made and carried out by the government or development agencies, with very little or even no conversation with the community members (Dyll 2009) who should be the development subject, rather than the object. Regarding this idea, Grant (2011) argues that the community members generally lack confidence and self-worth; meanwhile, they rely on donor funding, which they view as permanent. That is to say, community members have not realised that they are responsible for community development. In terms of empowerment, the community members are not only experiencing economic disempowerment, but also ‘psychological disempowerment’ (Grant 2011:263). After all, development is not only about economic or material gains, but also incorporates the notion of freedom, self-empowerment and other aspects of human rights. The ‘psychological disempowerment’ of the ‡Khomani can
be demonstrated by their low participation in development projects and self-abandon. For instance, one community member who was employed by SASI dipped his fingers into funds for personal use and refused to attend committee meetings once he was found out (McLennan-Dodd & Barnabas 2012). Some social issues like sexual abuse, family violence, and drug and alcohol consumption manifest and a large number of ‡Khomani have no self-discipline and ambitions towards their life. Other examples are given below.

Grant (2011) states that even though the SASI provided necessary training to them for certain tourism projects, the community members struggle to learn and apply skills. As a consequence, they are unable to enter the tourism industry and all tourism projects have to be financially dependent on SASI. Besides, some community individuals who have appropriate skills refuse to be employed as local professionals in terms of land use and farming by development agencies, which demonstrates the lack of cooperation and communication between the ‡Khomani and other development actors. The community members consider the external parties as experienced development players but blindly despise themselves as inhabitants of the land with a long history. Development projects and programs could not be implemented or sustained without the capacity building of, and effective communication with ‡Khomani.

According to SAHRC (2004:26) “relationships between internal and external parties are undermined by poor communication”. The poor communication is attributed to many factors. On the one hand, the ‡Khomani lack enough awareness of the importance of mutual respect and communication between the broader community members and CPAMC and between the CPAMC and the local government, even though they are lawful landowners. On the other hand, many voices from the general community members are unheard. In the decision-making process and unidirectional information flow from the upper development professionals, researchers, and experts to the lower community members, the external development actors and internal parts do not even realise the exchange of information and knowledge, let alone playing equal roles. As SAHRC (2004:26) has analysed: “communication is hampered not only by the lack of infrastructure, but also by the absence of efforts to address prejudices, misconceptions and misunderstandings”.

Therefore, the methods and means of communication should be highlighted and improved in the process of development. Thus, the ideal is the community members are willing and able to take responsibilities and control the development process, taking advantage of external development professionals as facilitators and consultants (Melkote & Steeves 2001). That is to say, the ‡Khomani are not supposed to be development beneficiaries only, but also stakeholders; and the development for the ‡Khomani is not a process “being directed towards beneficiaries, but as a result of the involvement and effort of people”. Therefore, “participatory is an essential condition to this task and communication is the process that facilitates it”, which is termed “participatory development communication” (Bessette 2004: 17).

Participatory development communication is not a new idea in the ‡Khomani community. Considering the necessity of participation from the bottom, many development projects and programs try to empower indigenous voices. The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) incorporated participatory development in 2006 in order to sustain tourism development, encouraging community participation in the planning, development, implementation and management of tourism projects (Dyll 2009). The new tourism development strategy does not only focus on generating economic profits, but also gives consideration on cultural diversity, indigenous rights protection, and community capacity building. Grant (2011: 261) also states “NGOs report participation from community members to determine development interventions”. For instance, FARM Africa consults the community members on suitable land use plans; many SASI projects are formulated with inspirations from the community. And also, the Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Committee (IPACC) organizes theme workshops with engagement of external development professionals and local people, and the information generated from the workshops is used to benefit the community as what community members prefer. All of these are participatory development initiatives in the ‡Khomani community. What we can see is the communication between the community members and outside development actors tends to be mutual and equal.
CCMS research project of grassroots comics and body-mapping workshops

It is CCMS that introduced the participatory development approach to the ‡Khomani San. Since 2008, CCMS Masters candidate Andrew Dicks has continually visited the Bushmen community of Platfontein, located in the suburban area of Kimberly, Northern Cape. He has carried out plenty of grassroots comics workshops on the subject of health issues, gathering the Bushmen group of Khwe and some NGO workers in Platfontein taking part in the workshops. Dicks (2011) attempts to utilize the medium of comics to facilitate health communication within the Platfontein community, which is actually the initial inspiration of this CCMS workshop project of applying grassroots comics in the ‡Khomani community. Dr. Julie Grant then suggested that body-mapping can be combined with grassroots comics because they are linked as participatory methods.

The CCMS grassroots comics and body-mapping project offers alternative participatory methods that facilitate self-development and empowerment within the community, and for the community. This is self-evidenced by the CCMS work, which elicits ideas on future planning, problem solving and identification while exploring whether or not the participating individuals perceive such techniques as useful, enjoyable, replicable and sustainable. Given the particularity of their indigenous identity, cultural diversity, and the status quo, the less conventional development approach might be more suitable and appropriate for the ‡Khomani (Grant and Dicks 2014). This is based on the evolution of understanding of development: there is no universal development strategy, with such a process requiring historical backgrounds, cultural diversity and context sensitivity in relation to specific individuals, groups, and societies (Servaes1999; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; White 2004).

In September 2013, Prof. K.G.Tomaselli, Dr Julie Grant and Andrew Dicks, working with CCMS Honours students conducted a series of body-mapping and grassroots comics workshops within the ‡Khomani community aiming to assess whether or not the two participatory and creative research methods were effective and beneficial in practice (Dicks 2015;Dicks and Grant, 2014). My own research is grounded in this prior research. As a continuation, the CCMS researchers visited the ‡Khomani in June 2014, which trip I was a member of. This fieldtrip continued to practice body-
mapping and grassroots comics functioning as two participatory methods, subject-generated media, and data collection means, with many differences and adjustments from last year’s experiences. I focus on reporting the whole research process in terms of its workshop design, implementation and assessment through interviews and participant observation generated from my fieldtrip to the Kahalari. By so doing, I aim to reveal the participatory nature of body-mapping and grassroots comics and gain more methodological understandings on them, which contributes to the CCMS research project as well. The next two chapters will report my research findings and analysis.
Chapter 6: Description of Findings

Assess the Body-mapping and Grassroots Comics Workshops

This chapter of my data findings and analysis is mainly generated from my participant observation in my fieldtrip and interviews with three workshop facilitators. In this chapter, I report on how the CCMS researchers implemented two participatory methods in the ‡Khomani community and what findings I discovered from their practice. In order to make the analysis as clear as possible, I have divided the whole activity into three parts: preparation; implementation; and post-workshops. This division is not just about a chronological order, but rather from a logical perspective.

Workshop Preparation

As I discussed in the last chapter, workshops of grassroots comics and body-mapping conducted by CCMS researchers in three Bushmen communities: !Xun, Khwe, and ‡Khomani, garnered a lot of positive feedback from all the participants in the three locations, which indicates that both grassroots comics and body-mapping have potential to become useful, enjoyable, replicable, and sustainable communication tools for the participants (Grant & Dicks, 2014). In 2014, only two workshops were conducted in the ‡Khomani community, separately in Welkom and Andriesvale. The one held in Welkom incorporated six coloured people from another community and 13 ‡Khomani San. The other one held in Andriesvale gathered six participants. That is to say, there were 19 people in the workshops in total. The previous year’s two workshops in the ‡Khomani community were both on a smaller scale and had a low level of participation. All of these indicate that the first time participatory workshops in the ‡Khomani could be seen as a positive pilot (Julie Grant, Interview #4, 6th October, 2014). In order to further assess if the workshops could benefit more participants or not, further workshops should be done.

Workshop Contents Design

Basically, the 2014 workshop is similar to the previous year’s workshop without any dramatic changes. Workshops start with an ice-breaker talk. The facilitators gather all the participants, and all of them make a circle sitting on chairs. As the first and organic part of the workshop, the ice-breaking talk familiarizes participants with each other in a relaxed and interactive way. Participants introduce themselves and share personal experiences. The main
topics of this process are to discuss the positive and negative aspects of living in the ǂKhomani community. All of the participants have the opportunity to speak and express agreement or dispute. Following this process, the other two workshop facilitators make notes on large sheets of paper separately in Afrikaans and English. The generated records can be easily referred to by the participants depending on their needs in the time when they are creating body maps and comics.

The body-mapping workshop is termed a Freirean Workshop, which takes its name from Paulo Freire who argued that a critical consciousness must be cultivated in the education process (see Theoretical Framework). The Freirean Workshop still requires participants to create their own body maps (discussed in my Literature Review) following step-by-step guidance given by the facilitator. The Freirean Workshop was adapted from CCMS lecturer, Eliza Govender’s work that was used for CCMS students. Additionally, Dr. Govender adapted body-mapping from an original facilitation guide used as a therapeutic tool for a group of people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa, which was developed by Solomon and Morgan (Solomon 2007). Govender has facilitated numerous body-mapping workshops not only with CCMS students, but also with many young people living with HIV/AIDS in rural villages to explore their experiences (see Govender 2013). The 2014 Body-mapping workshop in the ǂKhomani community comprises seven parts: Introductory Activities; Power of the Heart; Power of the Mind; Power of your Feet; Power of your Hands; Power of your Mind, Heart, Feet, Hands; and Wrap. The seven steps generate a complete body map, which contains basic personal information like names, age, living place; personal timeline; and community timeline (see Body-mapping Facilitation Guide Appendix 2).

Participants are asked to draw an outline of their body at the start; use symbols (plants, animals, objects, or something else) to represent their powers, strengths and weaknesses, pleasure and pain, and even themselves; use symbols and words to express their memories and thoughts; and finally fulfill a personal and community development plan and timeline. Participants can also give up community development plan if they choose not do draw. The whole process must follow a step-by-step instruction given by the facilitator. The facilitator is responsible for reading and interpreting every step the participants take and ensure every participant understand what is going on and finish what they should do in time. The following photograph is a completed body map example.
Figure 7. A body map completed by participant in the workshop on 17th June 2014 (Min Kong 2014)

For the grassroots comics, Andrew Dicks was the main method designer and workshop facilitator. He adapted grassroots comics from Grassroots comics – a development communication perspective (Packalen & Sharma 2007) and did a considerable grassroots comics workshops in the Bushmen community of Khwe in Platfontein. The grassroots comics workshop starts with an introduction amongst all participants and a brief orientation on the grassroots comics concept given by the facilitator. All the participants are divided into subgroups of 4-5 and each group works as a team thereafter. Each group will discuss several themes, and choose one of those themes to make comics on. Then the facilitator demonstrates how to create a comic and teaches participants some basic drawing skills (such as drawing faces, body postures, objects, outdoors etc.). Each group works collectively to write down the story, design and draw comics, give the story heading and place necessary texts in the comics with A4 paper. Participants can ask for help if they come across any problems. Once the artwork is finished, each group shows their work to the facilitators and other group members to ensure the story is easy to understand. The final artworks are be photocopied while the researchers keep the original works. All the participants can bring back their artwork if they want. A sufficient number of copies are distributed in the community as wall posters. School notice boards, offices, trees, fences, old house walls and other public places are used as sites
to convey these messages to community members and get their feedback. Depending on the participants’ drawing speed, a grassroots comics’ workshop normally lasts for three hours approximately.

Figure 8. Comics: Ambulance service is too bad. In this comic, there is a man getting sick suddenly. His friend calls the ambulance and waits for help. However, ambulance is too late, so that he decides to send the patient to clinic by cab. (Min Kong 2014)

To what extent the body-mapping and grassroots comics are combined?

Both grassroots comics and body-mapping can be practiced in the form of a workshop. The workshop itself is actually a platform that can be engaged by a group of people for intensive discussion and activity concerning a common topic. Given numerous applications of grassroots comics and body-mapping in different fields for various purposes (discussed in my Literature review), the participatory nature of the two methods have been shown. “For participatory nature, the workshops involve them and get the individuals in the community to actually be creative and express themselves. So I definitely say it has aspects of participatory communication development” (Andrew Dicks, Interview#1, 1st September, 2014).
Meanwhile, Andrew Dicks also emphasised that both grassroots comics and body-mapping have elements of empowerment and development communication, even though they may not be able to be defined as successful empowering tools in the ‡Khomani community so far.

When the two methods are combined and practiced in one time and place for the same group of people, the people who utilize the two methods easily relate themselves to others and their community when they are devoting themselves to creating the images. Looking back to this year’s facilitation guides for the body-mapping and grassroots comics workshops, a lot of common points could be found. For instance, the body-mapping method drives participants to think of the power of their mind, heart, feet, and hands by imply and ask them to draw a Community Timeline:

- As in life, on this page you are surrounded by your community. As an individual, using your power, you can influence your community for good and bad: Start a Community Timeline, mark this year (2014) and represent in words and/or pictures the community today.
- Think of what you would like your community to be like in the future. What do you want the community to be like in: In 5 years? In 10 years? Write/draw this in your Community Timeline.
- In your Community Space write down 3 things that you will either start doing/stop doing that will assist your community to make it as you envision it in the future, (eg asking more questions, seeking advice and/or help from the friends/clinic/teachers/police/NGO etc)

(Retrieved from Body-mapping gFacilitation Guide Part 6)

For the grassroots comics method, before they start drawing comics, participants must determine the themes on which they would like to make their comics. This is to say, the comics comes from their real life. Significantly, it is important to make an interesting beginning to the comics by drawing images and placing texts to attract the comic’s readers to follow the story (see Grassroots Comics Guide). Therefore, the contents of body-mapping and grassroots comics are related to each other. They also have similar functions, such as guiding the participants to think about themselves and their living environment. “In the simplest terms, when people are actually sitting down together, body-mapping and grassroots
comics workshops are tools for people to think more about their lives and about their future goals in a structured way” (Shanade Barnabas, Interview #3, 3rd October, 2014).

**Considerations on workshop Design**

Body-mapping and grassroots comics are adapted according to the real need of the ‡Khomani community. What is more important, as the main methodologies the CCMS researchers adopted, body-mapping and grassroots comics have to support their research questions, such as: what the issues that the participants perceive/encounter within their respective community (or locality); what changes (if any) would participants like to see within their community; how do participants view/treat outsiders in their community; and whether participants perceive techniques being advanced in the workshop as relevant to daily life, and useful to consider in the broader community sense? The workshop design in the preparation stage was actually the production of the facilitation guide, during which process, several points had to be considered by the researchers at the outset of the whole research activity.

Certainly, the facilitation guides were for the facilitators going to conduct the workshop sessions in this context. In order to make sure the two workshop facilitation guides applied to the whole research idea, proper adaptations had been made. The original body-mapping workshop was designed for people living with HIV/AIDS (as discussed previously), therefore, there were a lot of instructions in those facilitation guides concerning human biology, public health and personal empowerment. Those workshops cultivated participants’ knowledge on HIV/AIDS and other health issues. The CCMS researchers, Dr. Julie Grant in regards to body-mapping workshop and Andrew Dicks regarding to grassroots comics workshop, modified those topics which were not within their research scope and added related workshop steps for both body-mapping and grassroots comics. Thus, the facilitation guides had to pose effective questions and generate discussions among participants themselves and relating to the ‡Khomani community.

Other points mentioned by Andrew Dicks are time constraints and language obstacles (Interview #1, 1st September, 2014; Grant and Dicks 2014). For instance, the grassroots comics were originally used by Packalen and Sharma (2007) in many rural villages, but they conducted workshops over four or five consecutive days. The CCMS research team condensed that four or five days’ work plan to one day because they did not have the luxury of time (Andrew Dicks, Interview #1, 1st September, 2014). When it came to language
barriers, what must be kept in mind that the workshop participants speak Afrikaans and few of them were able to speak English. While the two facilitators, Dicks and Barnabas, both spoke Afrikaans as a second language. It was necessary for the facilitators to be aware that participants speak different languages. The facilitator of grassroots comics workshops, Dicks, told me “I must let them understand what is going on and translate quickly and be able to explain verbally or physically” (Interview #1, 1st September, 2014). Therefore, the workshop design must anticipate some problems in order to be feasible.

However, in the real context, even though they had a guideline or a set of procedures, researchers or facilitators cannot plan for everything that happens and have to be flexible and open to change. Thanks to his substantial experience, Dicks explained this point by saying “you must be flexible to the needs of the participants, to what is happening on the ground, and depending on what is happening in the workshop. In my opinion, it is more about being flexible as much as possible as opposed to sticking in one particular guideline” (Interview #3, 6th October, 2014)

**Preparing For A Workshop (basic materials, time and venue selection and participants gathering)**

Basic materials to be used in the two kinds of workshops were purchased and well packed before arriving at the Kalahari by the researchers. Below is a list of materials and supplies needed for four workshops: two body-mapping and two grassroots comics.

- Large sized paper for body-mapping (rolls of paper)
- Scissors for cutting paper
- Glues, stapler and transparent adhesive tape
- Pencils and erasers for drawing comics
- A3 and A4 paper for drawing and photocopying comics
- Coloured inks and paintbrushes
- Crayons and markers
- Polystyrene cups and plates for serving lunch
- Food: bread, fruit, concentrated juice, hot dogs and sandwiches, etc.

Facilitators Barnabas and Grant both suggested that the body map could even be drawn on the ground if community members wanted to practice it in future as large sized paper is not available for them (Interview #2, 8th September, 2014; Interview #3, 3th October, 2014).
However, in the CCMS workshops, all the paper and materials the researchers used were of good quality. For the grassroots comics, the finished artworks were going to be photocopied and long-term preserved, which required high definition. For the body-mapping, paper used in the CCMS workshops were much broader and longer than a real life size, as this material was able to give participants a wide area to create in. Participants had no space constraints to write and draw any contents. Even though in future practice, participants could scale drawings down and draw on a smaller piece of paper to get an acceptable version of body map, in this workshop, the bigger version was more exciting. Stressing the importance of this material, facilitator Barnabas said: “the big piece of paper, it works better because then it is the physical body that they trace around and how the map goes it starts in the physical and it goes into meta-physical you can take it in to think about spirituality” (Interview #3, 3rd October, 2014).

The welcome workshop held in 2013 incorporated 13 ‡Khomani San and other participants from other communities, and the Andriesvale workshop gathered six participants. The low level of participation indicated that community members had difficulties in getting to the workshop. A lot of events attended by technical advisors and governmental officials occupied the community members’ time, which limited them in joining join the CCMS workshops (Grant, 2011). Additionally, the 2013 grassroots comics and body-mapping workshops were squeezed into a single day, which started in the early morning and ended in the evening, lasting nearly eight hours. According to feedback from the participants, the workshops were too long and tiring.

The researchers decided to hold workshops at Andriesvale where most of the community members live this year. Due to poor transportation in the ‡Khomani community, workshop location selection was very important. The reason that researchers selected community hall on Andriesvale as the workshop venue was because this place was comparatively convenient to transport all the workshop participants from place to place. Meanwhile, as it was a place for community public activities, the hall was equipped with plenty of tables and chairs, a small kitchen and water, which were basic necessities for the workshops. Learning from the lessons of 2013, the four 2014 workshops – comprising two grassroots comics and two body-mapping sessions – were held in four separate days and each workshop wasn’t longer than four hours, so that ‘workshop fatigue’ could be avoided.
The first three days after the research team arrived at the ‡Khomani community were spent on gathering workshop participants. Snowball sampling was employed by the researchers to gather people. Given the long working relationship with SASI and the ‡Khomani community, the CCMS research team is no stranger to the community members. In fact, the CCMS research team had built strong friendship with several key informants who function as a solid bridge between the CCMS researchers and other community members. Obviously this kind of co-operation and friendship was formed very gradually via a range of research activities conducted by CCMS over the past 20 years. Living in the ‡Khomani community, researcher Grant had day-to-day connections with her informants who were the initial samples of body-mapping and grassroots comics workshops. These people were identified as workshop participants and then assisted to find more potential participants. This is the reason that snowball sampling technique can be adopted.

Approximately 20 participants were expected for one workshop. Andrew Dicks told me that they excluded children who were too young and the elderly who would not participate due to ethical considerations, but there are no gender limits. Theoretically, in terms of its size, the workshop can be practiced with hundreds of people and operated repeatedly. However, time constraints and management had to be considered, so the number of participants for a single workshop had to be controlled. What is more, the motivation for participation was varied. There were some people really interested in the workshop activity while some others expected benefits out of the workshop, such as free lunch, meeting more people, and making friends (Andrew Dicks, Interview #1, 1st September, 2014). In fact, most of the workshop participants were teenagers and female. This was because girls were easily persuaded and more interested in this kind of activity (Shanade Barnabas, Interview #3, 3rd October, 2014), meanwhile, teenagers who attended school had a regular life, and being unemployed, made them available for workshops.

**Workshop Process**

This section mainly focuses on how CCMS researchers facilitated four workshops. The role of the facilitator, the relationship between the facilitators and participants, and the workshop activities are to be reported and discussed according to my observations on the behaviours of the researchers, and more importantly, from the accounts of the researchers themselves. By doing so, the workshop activities are described in an objective manner, the techniques of
facilitating workshops are revealed, and the participatory nature of body-mapping and grassroots comics methods can be further demonstrated.

**Building Partnerships**

Researcher Dicks facilitated the two grassroots comics workshops whilst Barnabas was the main facilitator of the body-mapping workshops, with the other researchers assisted them. All of the participants were from the ‡Khomani community, which ensured that the workshop could generate real detailed information on the current circumstances of the ‡Khomani, this research therefore, was more ‡Khomani centred. Besides, all the participants knew each other to different extents, which facilitated their team work in the workshop. Given the relationship of neighbourhoods and acquaintances amongst the participants, body-mapping and grassroots comics might be discussed frequently and the two workshops are highly likely to be represented further by them.

All of the workshops started with an introduction by the facilitator. The four workshops were attended by different groups of people, while some participants might have taken both body-mapping and grassroots comics. Thus, the facilitator had to give a self-introduction, describe the workshop contents and research aims to all the participants. Even though the research team is not absolutely strange to the community members, for the participants who had never taken part in this kind of workshops, either body-mapping or grassroots comics, this could have some completely unfamiliar concepts. It is understandable that some time needed to be taken to understand and adapt themselves to the workshop. This introduction, or opening statement, also helps to eliminate participants’ nervousness, shyness, and doubts.

Dicks told me he made great efforts to expound that he was not attempting to take away something or steal information from them but to benefit them (Interview#1, 1st September, 2014). However, when Dicks facilitated an ice-breaking talk, an awkward silence prevailed. When he asked them to talk about the positives and negatives in their community, each person was reluctant to talk until that time was over. Most of the participants were young girls; they may have felt shy to speak in front of a boys even though there was nothing personal (Interview#1, 1st September, 2014). Speculating this ineffective talk, Barnabas told me: “Sometimes one thing will work for one group, but the same you tried with another group, it just doesn’t work. We changed what we were doing to suit the group. It can be flexible to change the structure” (Interview #3, 3rd October, 2014). In other cases, the
ineffectiveness of communication between facilitator and participants was attributed to different levels of understanding and language barriers. Some participants who were faster at grasping the instructions or concepts wanted to help the rest of participants to understand the facilitator; additionally, when the facilitator forgot some Afrikaans words, participants actively helped the facilitator to explain in both Afrikaans and English. All of these indicated that the facilitators and participants overcame communication problems together and kept the workshop going through smoothly.

In the workshop process, facilitators and participants are actually co-workers, but they are playing different roles. To some extent, the participants are decision makers in the workshop in spite of the pre-designed facilitation guides, since the facilitators are always ready for changes which may occur at any time. The changes are clearly subject-centred while facilitators still lead the direction of the workshop, but the participants’ may decide to formulate a set of new questions. Given more space to bring changes to the workshop, participants are directly or potentially helping to co-develop the research methods together with the facilitators in the workshop process.

**Provide Technical Assistance with Self-Reflexivity**

At the beginning of the body-mapping workshop, facilitator Barnabas displayed an outline of a body traced on a large piece of paper, which was hanging on the wall, as a way of demonstrating how to create a body-mapping drawing. According to the facilitation guide, what Dicks should do was to draw samples on the board to give a step-by-step demonstration. These samples included facial expressions, stick figures, and objects etc., which were basic elements for constructing a comic strip. This was a drawing exercise session in the workshop, which ensured all the participants mastered a certain level of drawing ability. Body-mapping or grassroots comics never requires the drawers to be art professionals, rather, the whole idea behind drawing is how to carry information or a story across. That is to say, the two art-based tools entail the combination of visual representation and meaning production. Even though the participants can only draw a stickman, they must make sure the comics they created makes sense to the readers. In both workshops, the facilitators therefore, played the role of technical supporters. The way they demonstrated drawing pictures was very straightforward and concrete.
However, there were cases during the workshop that indicated participants did not understand instructions or questions and felt confused on what to do. In this situation, facilitators usually clarified this question and gave an example from their own life. To be specific, for the body map or comics, they created a character, called the person by a name, and made a story for that person. The story created by the facilitators was in regards to themselves, and sometimes concerned with what they knew about the community (Shanade Barnabas, Interview #3, 3rd October, 2014). This helped the participants to relate the example they were exposed to with their own experience, which eventually eased their difficulties of understanding and
following the instructions. The facilitators constructed knowledge during the teaching process by referring to themselves in this context. When this happened, facilitators are playing mixed roles: facilitator of the workshop as well as participating members in this research setting.

**Keeping the Workshop Constructive, Exciting, and Enjoyable with an Attitude of Equality**

As I have stated above, the body-mapping and grassroots comics workshops were very interactive and dialogical because of the partnership between the facilitators and participants as well as the co-operation among all participants. The body map required that two persons traced outlines of their body for each other at the first step, while the following steps can be completed individually, while the grassroots comics workshops were done in groups.

Even though facilitators could also draw their own body-mapping and comics as demonstrations, the facilitators are firstly and always researchers, which means they have to put research purposes at the forefront and keep a research lens throughout the workshop. Actually, the workshop facilitators are the most sensitive observers. For example, when Dicks were facilitating grassroots comics workshop, another two researchers Grant and Barnabas were busy observing and feeding in time comments to the facilitator, which improved and adapted the workshop as it happened. This is to say, only facilitators are able to take a closer look at the participants as they keep talking and interacting with them in such close proximity. This gives facilitators an irreplaceable opportunity to gain an in-depth understanding on how the participants respond to the workshop materials, instructions, and facilitation itself while the workshop is in progress. One technique before conducting the workshop is that facilitators do not bring any expectations on the upcoming workshop, and during the workshop, they are supposed to let everything happen naturally (Andrew Dicks, Interview#1, 1st September, 2014; Shanade Barnabas, Interview #3, 3rd October, 2014).

It is required for the facilitators to be unbiased, balanced, objective, and reliable. Dicks explains that he has never imposed his personal ideas on the participants. When dealing with the participants no matter in or out of the workshop, he has always tried to be a peer and a friend rather than a researcher or highly educated person (Interview#1, 1st September, 2014). This attitude of equality is significant in maintaining the effectiveness of the workshop.

With this basic attitude, the facilitator is responsible for keep the workshop constructive, exciting, and enjoyable as much as possible. To keep the workshop constructive is not
limiting the participants’ creative space or free discussion, but to help “bring everybody working at a similar pace, and make it more of a group thing, as opposed to people just sitting and reading an instruction and doing it by themselves” (Shanade Barnabas, Interview #3, 3th October, 2014) For example, in the body-mapping workshop, a series of questions asked were about the participant and his or her community. The facilitator therefore asked where the participants saw themselves in their community; what problems they noticed in the community; what they could do to address the problems, and so on. In this case, by posing a sequence of questions to participants, the facilitator took them through a number of things and different levels of ideas, which increased the participants’ attention and thoughts on themselves and their community.

*Figure 11. Participants are enjoying the body-mapping works*(Min Kong 2014)
Certainly, the instructions can be finished as a personal task, but because of the instructor, with everyone listening to the instructor and communicating with each other, the workshop becomes a group-oriented task. Therefore, facilitator should serve the function of having control of the process, being able to know when people uncomfortable about something, or to know when to take a direction. This might not be set out in the plan, but necessarily contribute to the workshop process. Facilitator Andrew Dicks explains this idea by saying: “As a researcher, you can’t say to people that we don’t allow you to do that, or you are not following our rules. The research itself is about understanding people, what their opinions, perceptions and concerns are” (Interview #1, 1st September, 2004).

In the process of body-mapping and grassroots comics workshops, there were a large number of indicators showing the participants enjoying the workshop, such as their actions of laughing, joking, sharing colours of crayons and pencils. The concentrations or confusions on their faces when they were thinking about what to write and what to draw were observable. After finished comics work, all group members were happy to sign their names with pride of their artwork and exchanged their work with other groups for peer review. “I think they are already excited to be there. Because something different, to some of them, it is something they have not done before, so they came in excited. I tried to keep it exciting, to keep their attention” (Shanade Barnabas, Interview #3, 3rd October, 2014). Therefore, the necessity of
workshop facilitator is elaborated as maintaining the workshop proceeding in a constructive, exciting and enjoyable way.

Actually, all body-mapping and grassroots comics workshops were completed based on the initial design. No any participants left the workshop earlier before finishing drawing, filling in questionnaires and joining group discussion while last year, a few participants left before doing questionnaire. Compared with last year, there was a dramatic increase of the number of participants for both body-mapping and grassroots comics workshops.

**Is a facilitator really necessary?**

There was positive feedback from the youth participants of the Platfontein workshops showing that they would like to be facilitators and they were confident in doing it for their community, which is revealed from interviews conducted by researcher Grant and Dick with the workshop participants in the year of 2013. This is one of the positive outcomes after many CCMS body-mapping and grassroots comics workshops conducted in the last three years (including Andrew Dicks’ research in 2011) in the Bushmen community of Platfontein. Similarly, for the ‡Khomani community, another potential intention from the CCMS researchers could be that the current workshop participants are willing and able to take the role of facilitators and conduct similar workshops in the context of their community further. This ideal is definitely based on the principle that a certain number of community members have experienced professional workshops. Only by experiencing the workshops can they be able to make changes to current guidelines and organize workshops according to their own needs. For example, a women themed body-mapping or grassroots comics workshop can be facilitated by local people, providing a forum of discussion on women’s safety, children’s education, family hygiene and other related issues. The community members are expected to run workshops independently and spontaneously without assistance from the CCMS researchers.

According to Dicks, the important thing is to cultivate community members’ awareness of the two tools which can be taken and used to enhance communication with each other, to define community problems and to try and address these issues collectively (Interview #1, 1st September 2014). In order to achieve this, having community members exposed to body-mapping and grassroots comics as much as possible is significant, no matter the workshop processes or products, since this accumulates community members’ knowledge and
experience of these two participatory methods. Dicks confirmed that it is also the main benefit CCMS researchers are going for, to further promote the effect of the workshop (Interview #1, 1st September, 2014).

**After the Workshop**

On the completion of body-mapping workshop, every participant was photographed alongside their body map in turn by Thomas Peirce, a photographer and research team member. Participants were encouraged to bring back their body maps and use them as source of information that could be referred to and adapted to their daily life. For the comics created and signed by collaborated group members, researchers photocopied comics from all groups and disseminated them to all participants. If comics were done on several pieces of papers, researchers put them together on a large paper for photocopies. These photocopies can be preserved and distributed by the participants.

![Photographer Thomas Peirce is taking picture for participant with his map](Min Kong 2014)

In order to get immediate feedback, questionnaires were disseminated to all participants after the workshop activity. The fact that the four workshops happened in four separate days meant all participants preferred to fill in their questionnaire after each event rather than leave earlier after at least three hours’ activity. The questionnaire was written in both English and Afrikaans, and participants could choose whichever language they would like to use. Most of the participants used Afrikaans to fill in the questionnaire, which indicated that they felt easier and more comfortable when reading and writing in their first language.
The questionnaire consisted of basic information, multiple-choice questions and other questions which pertained to their personal feelings and comments on the workshop activity of that day. The questionnaire was a good method for researchers to gather and confirm basic information, such as the participant’s full name, workshop date and workshop site, and so forth. Moreover, participants’ responses to the questions, such as “Did you enjoy today’s workshop?” “Do you think that the workshop was useful?” “How did you feel about the items you produced today?” revealed their perceptions over the course of the workshop from various aspects, which were the basis for further analysis, examinations and adaptations on the workshop (Grant and Dicks 2014). All the workshop productions, including participants’ created body maps and comics, the fulfilled questionnaires, and facilitation guidelines will be preserved as important research documents.

Summary

Achievements

Basically, the whole CCMS workshop activity was accomplished as planned. To a large extent, the application of body-mapping and grassroots comics fulfilled the original research questions proposed by the CCMS researchers. Several points on the achievements are summarized below.

Firstly, the partnership between the facilitators and participants is the key component in fulfilling the workshop activity. The successful completion of body-mapping and grassroots comics workshops on the one side reflects the strong partnership which has been built over a considerable number research visits, on the other side, it indicates the possibility of extending the partnership. This includes establishing collaboration with different kinds of community groups, community authorities, and NGOs working in this area. For this research specifically, the partnership in the workshops reflected two aspects: the facilitators have an open, equal, and reliable attitude meanwhile the participants are willing to partake and learn new things in this kind of relationship.

Secondly, the workshop products are created by the participants, with researchers facilitating as assistants. Participants indicated they had enjoyed the workshops and learned new skills from it (Focus Group, 18th June, 2014). In this process, participants play the leading roles. Their idea, behaviours, and final works prove that they do have a wealth of lived experiences
and knowledge, and body-mapping and grassroots comics provide a platform on which this can be freely expressed and discussed. Based on this, new experiences and knowledge are generated.

Lastly, the workshop products provided abundant data to be analysed, which fits the departure point of the CCMS research. Initially, this CCMS research attempts to include participants as co-producers of knowledge. The researchers employ body-mapping and grassroots comics methodologies to explore how the Bushmen in the ‡Khomani community construct their own images, identity, and issues facing them in their everyday lives. Prof Keyan G. Tomaselli stresses this point this way: “Participatory research allows our host to tell us their story rather than us shaping what they tell us through restrictive survey questionnaire research” (Conversation with K. G. Tomaselli, 30th September, 2014). The body maps reveal how the creators construct themselves. For example, one participant used the image of cactus as a symbol to represent his spirit and power. By analysing the body maps, some insights pertaining to participants’ characteristics, artistic talent, aspirations, plans and living circumstances can be obtained.

In the case of grassroots comics, participants did not feel it was a stressful or an embarrassing thing to place their community issues on the paper (Focus Group, 18th June, 2014). Even in the ice-breaking talk, they actively discuss the negative things that happened in this community. Actually, they focus more on negative things than positives, which shows that the community members are conscious of the circumstances under which they are living, and they actively identify their common issues and development dilemmas. For example, most of the participants in one workshop identified those issues, like insufficient infrastructure construction, funding shortage, traditions losing value and leadership weakness, etc. Those common issues are recognized and then visualized via comics in the workshop. A lot of participants expressed that people usually are separate and do not do things together, they might talk about issues with their neighbours; the workshops give them chances to sit down together and think over themselves and the community seriously.
**Unachieved**

The workshop is followed by an immediate questionnaire, which is also a useful method for gathering information to be further analysed. The questionnaire is a necessary method for workshop evaluation. However, this research is not completed with the finishing of the questionnaire. On the contrary, follow-up is required in order to verify and extend the previous work. Moreover, the evaluation of body-mapping and grassroots comics’ methods might be better achieved via further and longer-term research. For example, participants wrote on the questionnaire that they felt they were empowered in the workshop, but may not
mean they really are empowered. Workshop facilitator Grant stated she attempts to promote the workshop method as an empowerment strategy, so far, it can be said that the workshop empowers the participants on a very basic level (Interview #2, 8th September, 2014). Actually, it is very difficult to discern the extent to which the two participatory methods help and benefit community members on a daily basis, even though researchers Grant and Dicks conducted some follow-up interviews in 2014 with 2013 participants to identify the way how empowerment had happened.

Meanwhile, some technical defects do exist in the process of applying body-mapping and grassroots comics methods. First of all, this research is conducted on a very small sample size, that is to say, the workshops participants are not sufficiently representative. The CCMS researchers use a snowball sampling method to seek workshop participants, which contains factors of uncertainty. Take an example from the fieldtrip, one grassroots comics workshop was originally scheduled on June 14th, but no community members came to the community hall for workshop, even though some of them had confirmed they would take part in advance. The workshop was thus delayed until the next day. The reason why the determined young participants were absent from the workshop might be that they attended high school on that day. Additionally, the only school located in Askham is a bit far from their home and teenagers have to be transported by school bus. This example indicates that participant gathering is still a predictable obstacle, which also emphasises the importance of building a partnership with various community groups and being flexible.

Most of the workshop participants are young and female. It seems they are more available for workshop activities. But the CCMS workshop is not specifically tailored for select audiences, it is generally designed for members of the whole ‡Khomani community. However, the fact is a local community is not a unified group of people, and when we try to incorporate community members into research activities as co-researchers, it is necessary to consider this community as a group of individuals (Bessette 2004: 15). That is to say, different people with different age ranges, types of job, or ethnicities may share different characteristics, interests, or viewpoints. Grant observed that “Ideally, you want males, females, mixed age groups for the workshop, but realistically that is not the point you get; if you are here for longer, you might get there from groups” (Interview #2, 8th September, 2014)

If the researchers focus on assessing whether the workshop can empower people, it does not matter that the workshop participants are representative or not; if the workshop is used more
for entertainment, then it becomes important to make participants enjoy it; therefore, the necessity of keeping participants representative is decided by the workshop objectives (Julie Grant, Interview #2, 8th September, 2014). However, one fact is that different people with different living experiences and knowledge will give different viewpoints on the community’s positives and negatives. Therefore, getting various people involved is more likely to guarantee broader research results and have more voices heard. Besides, the young female participants are able to identify some community issues from their lived experiences, but they might not be able to generate solutions as what adults are capable to do.

The next unachieved item from my observation is about the distribution of comics. From the grassroots comics facilitation guide, the completed artworks of comics are expected to be made into wall posters or other strip forms in order to be easily distributed in the places where they can be read by many other people. Facilitator Dicks mentions that due to time constraints, our researchers did not select sites and post comics for the ǂKhomani; but when he did grassroots comics in the Platfontein community in 2011, the workshop participants chose exact places where they wanted to distribute their works and posted the finished comics papers on walls, trees and classrooms, with him observing the whole process (Interview #4, 6th October, 2014).

Generally speaking, the ǂKhomani community is vast and the community members live in a scattered and separate way. There are difficulties for the participants to select places and to walk around to distribute and display their works. Meanwhile, the researchers are not able to track all of the participants to learn if they deal with the comics appropriately. It goes back to the point I have mentioned above, the research is not finished with the drawing or the questionnaire. Rather, extended research needs to be done. Researchers also mentioned that it is hard to do follow-up interviews with all the participants of previous year’s workshops, as they worked with different groups of people in different workshops. It is a huge amount of work to visit everyone’s house to get feedback and more information on how often the participants repeat using body-mapping or grassroots comics workshop forms. Therefore, promotion and evaluation on the two participatory methods requires long term input.
Chapter 7: Interpretation of Findings

Deep understandings of body-mapping and grassroots comics

This chapter critically analyses the strengths and weaknesses of the two participatory methods, body-mapping and grassroots comics, in order to generalize their further practical implications from this case. This requires embedding the workshops within the social environment of the ‡Khomani community. Without an overall understanding of its context, body-mapping and grassroots comics could not be appropriately designed, applied, and assessed. Meanwhile, the two participatory methods are utilised to help facilitate a better understanding of participants’ concerns and expectations regarding the workshops, and the ‡Khomani community in terms of development communication.

“Central to participatory research is the maintenance of an ongoing relationship between social researchers and community representatives, in the interests of assisting the planning and implementation of transformation aimed at meeting community needs, alleviating problems and facilitating community development” (Kelly & van der Riet 2001). An important precondition for the workshop project is the long-term trust relationship between the CCMS researchers and the ‡Khomani community which has been built through numerous visits to the community for different researches. To some extent, this participatory research is achieved by the researchers and the researched. The CCMS researchers work in collaboration with community members to complete contextually sensitive research. The workshop participants actively shape their own representation and identity using the tools of body maps and comics. Dialogue and collaborative relationship is put in the most important position. Participation from community members is valued by the researchers.

Select the right medium

Effective communication is still missing in the development process of the ‡Khomani community, and also in people’s daily lives (as discussed in Chapter 5). For a long period of time, the indigenous voices were unheard by local departments, NGOs, and other development actors. This is attributed to lack of infrastructure and the general existence of prejudices, misunderstandings, and misconceptions as well (SAHRC 2004). The images portrayed by the travel agencies, and national and international media, mainly aims to cater to their consumers, rather than reflect the real life that Bushmen San are living, or what they
concerns they have or discuss. Crawhall (2003: 2) poses the question “how do indigenous voices and cultural systems become more widely available?”

Most of the ‡Khomani live in other places in the Northern Cape, outside of ‡Khomani community, for working or other reasons, who seldom go back to community. The 400 adults living on the ‡Khomani farms are very scattered. With intra-community conflicts, the community members actually do not get together and discuss things very often(Focus Group, 18th June 2014). Meanwhile, the historical and current disempowerment situation is demonstrated by the ‡Khomani’s lack of activeness, confidence, and ambition to self-determine their own future and the development program or strategy for the community (Grant 2011). The identification of the communication issues within the ‡Khomani community is followed by selecting the right communication tools for the community as facilities to empower community members and promote communication for development. The CCMS research project identifies and aims to satisfy the development needs of the community. In response to the community’s needs, CCMS researchers, Dr Julie Grant and Andrew Dicks chose body-mapping and grassroots comics as communication tools, and examined whether they were helpful, enjoyable, replicable, and sustainable.

Here, I use the expression of “communication tool” and define body-mapping and grassroots comics as two communication tools, which is consistent with the definition given by Bessette (2004). The expression of “communication tool” here is to stress the instrumental nature of these media: their purpose is “not to disseminate information, but rather to support the process of participatory communication”; and those communication tools are able to “support two-way communication” in achieving development objectives (Bessette 2004: 74).

It is reasonable to assert that body-mapping and comics can be seen as two suitable media for the ‡Khomani, because they have the potential to accommodate to the circumstances of the community. The most suitable media might not be the best media, but at least they can contribute most to solve given issues in a certain context. That is to say, some attributes of body-mapping and grassroots comics fit with many aspects of the ‡Khomani’s reality.

The ‡Khomani community has very limit access to newspapers, broadcast, television, and the Internet. Some people buy Gemsbok and Volksblaad, which are both local Upington newspapers available in local shops (Focus Group, 18th June, 2014). For most of the people, they cannot afford such a luxury. Approximately, there are eleven televisions in total in the
community, and these are run from generators as people do not have electricity. These televisions can only be used when people have money to buy fuel (Email Correspondence with Grant 23rd October, 2014). There is almost no Internet or broadcast available to the Khomani. The lack of media resources and a dissemination infrastructure are communication barriers, which demonstrates again that the Khomani are considerably marginalized in terms of economic development. Such material conditions in the community dictate the basis of media choice. In other words, not all kinds of media can perform well in the community. For example, people with low levels of education are not able to read newspapers or magazines in Afrikaans or English; televisions or Internet cannot function without the support of certain infrastructure; smart phones cannot be a communication tool or a new media if only very small percentage of population have them or are without phone signal coverage.

Distinct from mass media (newspapers, broadcast, television, and the Internet), body-mapping and grassroots comics can be utilized without dependence on infrastructure construction. What is more, even in the rural community of Khomani, people can still afford paper and pens. From the perspectives of availability and cost, body-mapping and grassroots comics are suitable for the Khomani conditions. However, the most essential difference between body-mapping and grassroots comics with mass media is that mass media are one-way communication channels whose products and messages conveyed are made by media owners. As communication tools, grassroots comics and body-mapping are subject-generated two-way channels of communication. Thus, mass media may be more powerful and effective to distribute information widely, but their audiences or consumers can only accept their contents. These forms of media “tend to look at the larger picture and pay most of its attention to political and business stories. The stories of the common man are featured less” (Packalen & Sharma 2007). More strengths and weaknesses of body-mapping and grassroots comics will be discussed below.

**Advantages as visual forms**

A certain level of visual literacy is required to draw and understand body maps and comics. As a matter of fact, the workshop participants were mostly teenagers, and they were taught how to draw in school. A few participants told me they had read comics on newspapers. Additionally, images are more attractive and easy to understand than texts (Focus Group 18th June 2014). The community members at the age of 40 or above are mostly functionally
illiterate. According to Grant (2011), FARM-Africa had provided the ‡Khomani training about computer literacy. However, participants reflected that they could not remember anything, and they only got trained theoretically but had no real chances to practice. Grant (2011:261) defines this problem as “inappropriate training techniques” and “unrealistic expectation” given by development professionals, failing to appreciate the needs of the community.

As Boeren (1994: 171) states “communication takes place more efficiently and effectively when the format and channel of communication are familiar to the receiver”. The ‡Khomani are exposed to visual languages, such as wallposters, booklets, flip charts, and comics strips. Body maps and comics mainly consist of images and very simple texts, which is within the experience and capacity of the ‡Khomani. Thus, these two media forms are easily recognized by the general community members and highly likely to be further utilized. Identified as visual art-based tools, body-mapping and grassroots comics are creative methods of expression and data collection when they are employed for development communication. That is because participants are expected to take part in drawing images, through which their ideas, thoughts, and stories are expressed; researchers must also participate in this process for gathering information. These visual tools facilitate participants’ or community’s expression, communication, entertainment and education.

Compared with written or oral forms of communication tools, the biggest advantage of visual ones is it is clear, straightforward, and interesting way of meaning creation, conveyance and distribution. Based on the literacy levels of the ‡Khomani, body-maps and comics are presented in visual language, which makes more sense to them then written material, such as books and newspapers. Besides, the produced material outputs of maps and comics can be preserved and disseminated by their makers or alternative readers, while oral forms of communication, like drum, songs and broadcast, take place instantly. Actually, participants reflected that they enjoyed drawing images during the workshops, and they felt their drawing techniques had been improved (Focus Group, 18th June, 2014). However, sometimes drawing ability can be a barrier for workshops. When it happens, immediate help from other participants and facilitators is expected. Dicks says this can be regarded as a weakness of body-mapping and grassroots comics. When participants notice that they are not able to draw, they might feel nervous or embarrassed even though not too much attention is paid on the quality of drawing (Interview #1, 1st September, 2014).
Communication in participatory and collaborative style

What the CCMS researchers are most concerned about is the level of participation from the community members. In fact, the disempowerment of the \( \ddagger \)Khomani is reflected in their passive responses to development programs and public affairs (discussed in Chapter 5). The CCMS researchers perceive their role as facilitating the process of participation and teaching empowerment strategies through workshops, rather than giving information and persuading participants to do or accept something. There are many indicators showing effective communication is achieved through participation and collaboration in the workshops.

Compared with last year, there has been a big increase in the number of workshop participants. According to the feedback from the most recent participants, they enjoyed and were willing to join this kind of workshop activity in future, which is a prerequisite to conducting workshops again this year. All participants not only attended the workshops, but also seriously and carefully completed each whole workshop activity, following the step-by-step facilitation guides given by the researchers. During this process, participants take full advantage to make concrete decisions personally or in a group. When participants work in groups, they distribute different tasks spontaneously to group members according to their own interests and specialties. For example, in one comics workshop, the literate person is required to focus only on story creation and writing. At the same time the other group members mainly consider how to visualize the story in comics based on the story plots, characters and backgrounds offered by the ‘script’. While some groups decide a theme story together, each group member works on one panel in one piece of paper, which means everyone has an equal task of drawing and adding text below or around the image. Finally all the pieces of pictures are gathered together and reworked if necessary to ensure a cohesive narrative. Elements of teamwork, leadership, and decision-making ability are required.

Participation and collaboration are demonstrated by people’s active attendance at the workshops firstly, and then their comprehension and abilities throughout the whole process of task completion. Many participants stated their communication skills were improved when they worked with other people and fulfilled their common tasks. The grassroots comics and body-mapping workshops provided them an opportunity to socialize and discuss issues together, which potentially fosters community cohesion and collective action when more people from different social groups are involved. What is more, in order to complete workshops, every participant has to contribute with consistent objectives and actions, being
provided with a large space to create. During this process, a dialogue and collaborative relationship is formed between the participants and the researchers, but most importantly, amongst the participants themselves, given the issue that people usually live scattered and do not want to talk with each other (Focus Group, 18th June, 2014).

In fact, interpersonal communication becomes popular in rural villages where mass media are not available. Based on the situation of the ‡Khomani, the establishment of personal relationships and dialogue is much more important in facilitating development than mass communication. That is because fundamental issues of many aspects of life can be raised in interpersonal communication while mass media are not able to reach their audience with development messages (Boeren 1994). Interpersonal communication enables people to discuss daily issues face to face, and “creates possibilities for direct feedback to measure the effect and impact of the communication, and it makes adaptation of the content and style of communication possible if and when this is required” (Boeren 1994: 201) This point is demonstrated in the workshops, especially in the starting part of ice-breaker talk. The ice-breaker talk is not only a simple introduction amongst all the participants, but also a deep conversation and communication about their daily life in the ‡Khomani community. Therefore, one obvious advantage of grassroots comics and body-mapping methods is that interpersonal communication can take place naturally in the process of workshops. Once people work in a participatory and collaborative way, interpersonal communication is can be improved.

**Subject - generated media: empowerment starts from self-consciousness**

Theoretically, body-mapping and grassroots comics as two participatory methods are essentially inspired by participatory communication, and based on the philosophy of conscientization proposed by Freire (discussed in my Literature Review). The mechanism of body-mapping and grassroots comics is to motivate their users or creators to critically think about development problems and solutions in relation to their own lives and the community, and then interpret or express these ideas in visual language. This process cultivates their self-consciousness, which can further generate actions to change their lives. Moreover, individual and community are fundamentally related, and individuals’ change can be a basis for collective change (Page and Czuba 1999).
The use of media for awareness-raising and empowerment of the people has been promoted by participatory development projects, most of which were supported by non-governmental organizations… media are used to stimulate community discussion and to express the views of the community. Self-management of the production process is propagated, and the media which suit this purpose best are drama, local radio and video, and a number of ‘little’ media. (Boeren 1994: 137)

An observable phenomenon was the change of the participants’ attitudes towards workshops. Usually, at the beginning of workshops, participants were more silent and reluctant to talk. As the workshop proceeds, participants became more engaged and more familiar with each other and spoke and drew more readily. This point was evidenced by the participants themselves. Participants stated that they felt they were more powerful and they learned a lot about themselves (Focus Group, 18th June, 2014). In the workshops, empowering participants is firstly to help them gain a sense of control and ownership of the ongoing activity without any pressure from external authorities. Free expression and debate are easily generated by participants when researchers or development practitioners are not considered as a type of authority. The workshops function as a forum of expression; participants reach to consensus or disagree with each other over their collective problems.

Another observable outcome is that the workshop participants as community members actually do not lack of life experiences and insights on their community. The outputs of body maps and comics convey rich information about the individual and the ‡Khomani community. The participants’ short-term and long-term plans and goals regarding themselves and the community can be found in their maps. The comics reveal the pressing issues realised and identified by the participants themselves. Once the comics are widely circulated, more debates arise within the community. The ‘first hand’ information of local viewpoints and needs generated by the community members can provide some directions for future research or development strategy. In this way, the participants are not beneficiaries of research or development interventions, but co-workers and co-researchers. The lists of positives and negatives about the ‡Khomani community are as follows. Some positive things are determined by the participants in the ice-breaker talk, such as the “Green Kalahari Project”, “low rate of crime occurring within the community”, and “Kalahari Desert Festival”;}
negative things identified are “loss of tradition”, “uninfluential leadership”, “no employment opportunities”, “ambulance service is very bad”, and so forth.

Meanwhile, it must be admitted some participants’ career planning is not realistic, for example, one wrote he planned to be a famous singer in the next five years on his body map. However, the more important idea behind the exact products of maps and comics is the inner communication and interpersonal communication process, through which, participants have dialogue or communicate with ‘the self’ and each other. From this perspective, workshops make efforts to cultivate awareness, motivation, understanding, and capacities, which facilitate participants to gain more control of their own life, in other words, to be empowered. The mechanism is that development actions can only take place after an individual’s consciousness is generated. In the words of Page and Czuba (1999), “we cannot give people power and we cannot make them ‘empowered’, we can provide the opportunities, resources, support that they need to become involved themselves”. The two participatory methods of body-mapping and grassroots comics do have elements of empowerment.

**Weaknesses and adaptability of body - mapping and grassroots comics**

Body-mapping and grassroots comics are two participatory communication tools, which facilitate empowerment with a development vision. The CCMS research highlights the role communication plays for development purposes. However, communication cannot provide an answer to every concrete issue that the participants face on a daily basis (Bessette 2004: 15), even though communication is a necessary and organic part in the development system.

What is more, CCMS researchers conducted body-mapping and grassroots comics workshops in the Khomani community only in the past two years, 2013 and 2014. The number of the workshops and participants involved in total is still limited. So far, comments or feedbacks from the participants are favourable. My research findings are generated by and only apply to this case, which cannot be generalized. Thus, it is too early to define body-mapping and grassroots comics are effective empowerment tools or development tools. Here is another weakness of the two methods: it requires long-term input and repetition using the two methods, comparing different outcomes, and continually testing the effectiveness of workshops. In reality, it is also difficult to visit the community frequently enough to track each participant and ascertain if they practice body-mapping or comics workshops or not, and
if they practice that by themselves. Follow up research is supposed to continue building the co-operative relationship with the ‡Khomani. That is to say, researchers’ social network in the community should be expanded and more connections should be made through individuals in order to facilitate further workshop activities (and attract more participants) and follow-up information gathering.

There is much literature about the use of body-mapping and grassroots comics in rural villages in different countries. These kinds of social settings have overlapped development dilemmas, such as marginalization, disempowerment, and poverty. However, the audiences of the two subject-generated media are not confined only to the indigenous people or disempowered ones. Instead, body-mapping and grassroots comics are widely applicable and adaptable according to varying communication objectives and subjects’ needs, even in developed societies.
Chapter 8: Conclusion

The understanding of development continues to evolve, which is reflected in academic debate and numerous development practices in different social settings. Development practitioners over the past decades in the ‡Khomani community have focused on transforming the community into a modern society, which follows modernization theory. With its complex formation history, the ‡Khomani San community gained a lot of attention as the first successful case of a land claim successfully pursued by an indigenous community. This marked significant progress in the protection of the human rights of indigenous people in South Africa. However, the land restitution has not generated a real development of the ‡Khomani community. Thus, efforts are being made to improve land reform and encourage the tourism industry. However, different levels of government, NGOs, and other external development agencies control these aspects of development. This is because development tradition suggests that community issues, recognition and decision making have to be done by those who have more political power, knowledge, and development experience. However, many such development projects and plans have failed or remain unfinished, and significantly, the general living conditions of the ‡Khomani’s have not really improved.

Grounded in the participatory communication theory, the two subject-generated media – of grassroots comics and body-mapping– are utilised separately for various communication purposes in different research fields worldwide. Based on many common qualities as participatory methods, the CCMS researchers began to combine them and use them collectively in the ‡Khomani community in the form of workshops since 2013. This has enabled the introduction of empowering techniques to the community members. Specifically, it is anticipated that the two methods would be adopted by community members as tools to identify issues, discuss solutions, think about life plans and improve their self-efficacy in longer term. As a member of the CCMS research team, I observed and participated in the process of conducting workshops and interviewed three of main researchers. This enabled me to understand the methodology and gain knowledge of grassroots comics and body-mapping.

Thus my study allowed me to understand how to design reasonable workshop guides, and the proper way that the researchers should facilitate workshops. It also guided me on how final assessments on workshop effectiveness could be made. In fact, the workshop design has to accommodate the context in which it is to be practised. A thorough preparation is done as much to reduce limitations inherent in implementation of the workshops. During the
workshop, the facilitator plays an important role in keeping it on track and provides ongoing management and access. That is to say, the interaction between the facilitator and the participants, and among participants, will determine whether the workshop is successful or not. After the workshop, follow-up research must be done to get the participants’ feedback.

There are many signs to support the idea that the use of grassroots comics and body-mapping in the Khomani community is beneficial to the community. The increased number of workshop participants, the active discussions among the participants, the interactive relationship between the participants and facilitators, and abundant positive feedback are such indicators. Based on this, my study reveals some advantages to grassroots comics and body-mapping as participatory methods, that is, they promote communication and empowerment for their users or participants, especially those who are functionally illiterate in the rural villages. However, the success of the workshop can be largely attributed to the skills of the facilitators or researchers. Thus it would be difficult to predict whether the community members would be able to use the two methods sustainably, repetitively, and adaptively, and more importantly, independently.

The combination of grassroots comics and body-mapping appear to be very creative and rational, and the two are linked as thematic methods. “They are very similar, they allow creative expressions and they are development methods” (Andrew Dicks, Interview#1, 1st September, 2014). What is more, grassroots comics and body-mapping have internal relationships when they are understood in terms of empowerment. Empowerment happens variously at individual, group, and community levels as a process, however, the achievement of empowerment must interconnect the individual actions and the communal ones (Page and Czuba 1999). Body-mapping and grassroots comics are cognitive tools. Body-mapping motivates its participants or creators to rethink themselves and future goals while grassroots comics are based on the participants’ understandings of their community. Essentially, body-mapping and grassroots comics focus on knowing oneself and one’s living environment separately but connectedly.
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Grassroots comics workshop: Step by step guide

Facilitator: Andrew Dicks

Adapted by Andrew Dicks from Packalen, L. and Sharma, S.

Step 1: Introducing the tutors and the participants to each other

Researcher introduces themselves then asks: Can you all please briefly introduce yourselves?

What expectations do you have? Do you have any particular concerns/worries about the workshop?

Asseblief stel jouself kortliks.

Watter verwagtinge het jy?

Het jy enige spesifieke probleme/ bekomrnisse oor die werkswinkel?

Step 2: Orientation to the Grassroots comics concept

Description: the tutors explain:

- comics are stories with a message
- grassroots comics are made by community members and not by art professionals
- grassroots comics express a genuine voice in the community!
- grassroots comics are made for photocopying
- Show samples from different groups (like the groups I have already worked with)
- Explain how different organisations have used grassroots comics in campaigning etc.
- *Strokiesprente is stories met a boodskap*
- *Voetsoovlak strokiesprente is gemaak deur lede van die gemeenskap en nie deur art professionele.*
- *Hulle druk n ware stem in die gemeenskap.*
- *Hulle is gemaak vir fotokopiering.*

**Step 3: Decide the theme**

Divide the group into subgroups of 4-5 participants and ask them to suggest 3 themes on which they would like to make their comics. Then each group chooses one of those themes.

*Verdeel in groepe en besluit oor watter tema wat jy wil uit te druk in jou komiese. Elke groep kies een tema.*

**Step 4: Explain the concepts of focus, message and target group**

**Description:** The tutors explain:

- A focus is necessary; otherwise the message becomes too general. A specific message is always more powerful than a broad one.
- The message should be clear: which change or result is desired?
- The message should have a defined target group

- *N’ Fokus is nodig, anders sal die boodskap raak te algemeen. N’Spesifieke boodskap is altyd sterker as a bree een.*
- *Die boodskap moet duidelik wees. Wat verandering of resulataat wil jy maak?*
- *Die boodskap moet n bepaalde teikengroep he.*

**Step 5: Choose focus, message and target groups**
Description: Each group is given the task of choosing a focus for their theme, spelling out the exact message and defining their target group. This should be written down. After doing this, each group presents their choices in a full session and everyone is allowed to comment.

Step 6: Propose storylines and characters

Each participant is given the assignment, i.e. to propose a story which carries the message to the earlier defined target group. The tutor explains: the story cannot be too complicated or have a lot of characters as the story must fit in to four panels.

A message with drama in it works better than a strictly educational one. The beginning must be interesting, so that the reader wants to know what happens in the end.

Each participant read out their story, and the participants and tutors comment.

Die storie kan nie te ingewikkeld wees nie, of te veel karakters he want die storie moet inpas by vier panele.

N Boodskap met drama in dit werk beter as n streng opvoedkundige een. Die begin moet interessant wees, sodat die leser wil wee twat gebeur in die einde.

Elke deelnemer moet hul storie lees om te bepaal of dit werk of nie.

Step 7: Break the story into four parts

Researcher explains: the story must be divided into four parts, one part for each panel. This means: Only one action/location per panel. Show how a story can be compacted by adding information in an explanatory box in the beginning.
After this, each person writes his/her story in four parts and shares with the group. Tutors go around giving individual advice to the participants.

Die storie moet verdeel word in vier dele, een deel vir elke paneel. Dit beteken: Slegs een aksie/plek per paneel.

’n Storie kan gekompakteer word duer die toevoeging van inligting in n verduidelikende boks in die begin.

Step 8: Drawing exercise 1 – Faces

Description: Set the stories aside and start drawing. Begin with a drawing exercise of facial expressions.

- Ask the participants to copy some of the faces from the drawing board and also invent new ones.
- Arrange the participants in pairs and ask them to draw each others’ facial expressions (no longer than 5 minutes).
- This is basically done to get them thinking about expression in their particular stories.

Kopier sommige van die gesigte van die tekenbord en ook uitvind nuwes.

Reel om julle in pare en trek mekaar se gesigsuitdrukings.

Step 9: Drawing exercise 2 – body postures

Description: Explain the stick figure method (draw some samples of stick figures on the board)

- copy some of the stick figures drawn by the researchers
- look around and notice how everyone is sitting differently.
Get them to think about body posture in their own stories

Kopier sommige van die stok styfers getrek deur die narvorsers.

Kyk rond en dien hoe alma anders sit. Dink oor houding van die liggaam in jou eie stories.

Step 10: Drawing exercise 3 – Objects

Researcher explains: Draw some object from the room or outdoors that you can think of: A chair, a table, a bag, a window, a tree etc.

Get them thinking about objects and describe to them that it is easier to use shapes when thinking about objects as all objects are made up of a combination of shapes, i.e. a table is made up of different sized rectangles etc.

Teken n paar voorwerpe van die kamer of buite wat jy kan dink: n stoel, n tafel, n sak, n venster, n boom ens.

Dit is makliker om vorms te gebruik wanneer jy die voorwerpe teken as al die voorwerpe bestaan uit n kombinasie van vorms, naamlik, n tafel is gemaak van verskillende grootte reghoekte ens.

Step 11: Drawing exercise 4 – Outdoors

Description: Ask the participants to go outside and draw: A building, trees, a vehicle, a landscape with a horizon. Get participants to think about perspective in their panels.

Gaan na buite en getrek: n gebou, bome, n voertuig, n landskap met n horizon ens.

Dink oor perspektief in jou panele.
Step 12: Foreground, background and horizon

Researcher explains: in comics the important things happen in the foreground. Background and horizon are secondary and only indicate environment. Show many examples (including the ones provided in the manual).

In strokiesprente, die belangrike dinge gebeur in die voorgrond. Agtergrond en horizon is sekondere en dui slegs omgewing.

Step 13: Readability

Description: Explain the concept of readability

- Texts should be easy to read. (straight lines, size 1cm, spacious balloons).
- Images should be big enough and not cluttered with details.
- The reading order should be logical, the picture is read first, then the texts.
- The amount of text should be minimized, as the medium is primarily visual.

- Tekste moet maklik wees om te lees. (regguit lyne, grootte 1cm, ruim ballonne)
- Prentjies moet groot genoeg wees en nie oorvol met besonderhede.
- Die lesing volgorde moet logies wees, die prentjie is die eerste lees, dan is die tekste.
- Die bedrag van die teks moet tot die minimum beperk word, as die medium is hoofsaaklik visuele.

Step 14: reading order

Researcher explains: comics are read from left to right (first criteria) and from up to down (second criteria). Show a panel with a question and an answer.

Strokiesprente gelees van links na regs, en uit tot af.
Step 15: How to write and place texts in comics

Description: explain to the participants:

- Avoid writing in the text what is clear from the picture (texts must always bring something new to the story).
- Size of the text is important, especially if the comics are later converted into strips (recommended size is 1cm)
- Guiding lines should be drawn first, and then the text should be penciled in.
- After this, the shapes of the speech balloon should be made
- Different types of texts should be shown: explanatory boxes, speech balloons, thought balloons, mechanical sound etc.
- It is best to have speech balloons in the upper part of the panel above the speaking characters.

- *Vermy skruif in die teks wat is duidelik uit die prentjie (tekste moet altyd bring iets nuuts na die storie).*
- *Grootte van die teks is belangrik, veral as die strokiesprente is later omskep in repies.*
- *Lei lyne moet eers getrek word, en dan die teks moet met potlood in word.*
- *Na hierdie, moet die vorms van die toespraak ballon gemaak word.*
- *Verskillende soorte tekste moet getoon word: verklarende bokse, toespraak ballonne, gedink ballone, meganiese klank, ens.*
- *Dit is die beeste om toespraak ballonne te he in die boonste deel van die panel bo die praat karakters.*

Step 16: visual effects for sound, movement etc.

Researcher explains: sound and movements can be represented by visual clues. Show sound, movement, pain, smell and other effects.

Explain also that these are not universal, that they are different from one culture to another, so they must portray what will be recognized by the intended audience.
**Step 17: Heading of the comic**

Researcher explains: the heading is important as it is the first thing that will be read. The heading should not reveal the point of the story – it will be a disappointment to the reader. The heading should be interesting so that the reader is interested to know what the story is about. The heading can be decorated with visual elements which have some relevance to the story.

**Step 18: The visual script**

Researcher explains: a visual script is necessary because it shows that all parts of the story are in the right place. The script is still open for changes and merely serves as a draft. This can be shown to tutors or participants for comments and suggestions.

Especially point out: the visual script is a sketch but the drawing does not have to be too elaborate. It will basically act as a rough storyboard for the comic.
Die visuele skrip is n skets, maar die tekening hoef nie te brei. Dit sal eintlik op te tree as n rowwe storielyn vir die komiese.

Step 19: The visual script is shown to the tutors

Description: Ask each participant to bring his/her visual script for checking. Go through the following:

- Is the story easy to understand correctly
- Is the heading OK?
- Is the reading order correct?
- Are there any writing errors in the text?
- Is the balance between images and texts OK?

- Is die verhaal maklik om reg te verstaan?
- Is die opskrif goed?
- Is die lesing volgorde reg?
- Is daar enige skryf foute in die teks?
- Is die balans tussen prente en tekste OK?

Step 20: Measurement and procedure of final artwork

Explain the measurements:

- Why A4? Two A4’s with the same grid make A3
- Position the A4’s correctly
- Paper should be of good quality
- Sketch lightly with pencil on the final artwork, because the pencil lines have to be erased anyway
- Ink with a thin line, then erase pencil lines
- Fill in solid black areas
- Explain cross-hatching, texture and fill-ins
- Hoekom A4? Twee A4 is met dieselfde rooster maak as A3.
- Plaas die A4 korrek.
- Liggies skets met potlood op die finale kunswerk, omdat die potlood lyne moet in elk geval uitgewis.
- Ink met n dun lyn, dan vee potlood lyne.
- Vul in soliede swart gebiede

**Step 21: Inking exercise**

Explain inking:

- Always in black; no colours or pencil (grayscale)
- Drawing textures, decorations
- Ask the participants to test their pens on the visual script

- Altyd in swart, geen potlood of kleure.
- Toets jou penne op die visuele skrip.

**Step 22: Actual artwork**

The participants redraw the sketch in full scale

Explain:

- The importance of guiding pencil lines for text
- The artwork should be lightly drawn with pencil
- The tutors can help, but not change the story or content
- Individual tutoring with inking and correction problems

**Step 23: Artwork copying**

All originals are now taken for copying and a sufficient number of copies is made. If A3 size is available, make the wallposter comics in that size, as it is more convenient to handle them.
Take the participants to see the photocopying procedure, if convenient. The experience of seeing one's own artwork being produced for distribution is rewarding.

**Step 24: Critique session**

All comics are pinned up on a wall and all participants should be allowed time to look at all of them.

The tutor comments on the comics, one by one:

- Is the message understood correctly?
- Is the balance between text and images OK?
- Are they readable?
- Does the comic attract attention from a distance?

- *Is die boodskap reg verstaan?*
- *Is die balans tussen teks en beelde OK?*
- *Is hulle leesbare?*
- *Maak die strokiesprent aandag trek van n afstand?*

After this the tutors can invite the other participants to give comments and also give the creator of the comic and opportunity to share his/her views.

**Step 25: Distribution 1 – On walls**

The wallposters are distributed in the community or put in places where they can be read by many people. However, it is very important to tell the participants not to put comics up on walls without permission form the owners.

School notice boards and offices are also good places where comics can be put up provided you get permission from the people in charge.
Trees and fences, ordinary house walls are options too

**Step 26: Distribution 2 – in print media (optional)**

The original artwork in the wallposter comics can be reduced – the original artwork of wallposer comics can be reduced in a photocopier, then cut out and rearranged in a strip form

**Step 27: Collect feedback**

Ask the participants to collect at least five opinions on the comics from local people. They should write down the main points. The workshop is brought in to full session, and each participant reports on the response from the local people. If you have many participants you can restrict each one to reading out only two opinions, one positive one negative (if possible).

**Step 28: Workshop review**

All participants are brought in to full session and asked to write down their impressions of the workshop:

- What was positive?
- What could be improved?

- Wat was positief?
- Wat kan verbeter?

Collect the opinions, and then let the participants give their views to the full session. Encourage constructive criticism.

If you plan to make a report, make sure you collect all addresses and ask general permission to use the workshop material in the report. The originals should be returned to
the participants, unless there is a special reason for not doing so. If you would like to use the workshop comics for promotional purposes later, now is a good time to ask permission from the participants.

**Step 29: Workshop Final Words**

In a full session, the participants should be thanked for their work and enthusiasm.

If there are plans for publication (exhibitions, compilations, websites, anthologies etc.) of the participants’ comics, explain them now.

Take a group photograph and declare the workshop ended.
Appendix 2: Body-mapping Facilitation Guide

Facilitated by Shanade Barnabas

Adapted by Julie Grant from Govender and Dyll-Myklebust

Eliza Govender and Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, adapted from J. Solomon and J. Morgan.

Part One – introductory activities

1. Choose a partner > draw with black kokis around each other’s bodies. NB: Lie in any position you choose but keep your heads from overlapping.
2. Write your name and where and when you were born on the cardboard – nice and big - outside of your body outlines
3. Choose a colour to represent you and paint around the outline of your bodies.

Part Two – Power of the Heart

4. When you are feeling down/ depressed or stressed at University, where on your body do you feel this anxiety? Mark this spot with a symbol.

5. In what part of your body does your strength lie to overcome times of anxiety and stress? Let’s call this your place of personal power. Mark this place.

6. Think about a symbol that you feel represents you. It should represent your strengths and your weakness, your pleasures and your pain. It could be a plant, an animal, an object, or something else, it could be abstract. Draw it onto your body map where you marked your place of personal power.

7. What are you passionate about in life? Write or draw this in your body- close to your heart. It can be a thing, an activity or an idea etc.

Part Three – Power of the Mind

8. Now focus on your mind. Your mind is like a museum, containing all sorts of memories, thoughts, critical thinking, interpretation and visual representations of stories that have happened in your life. When you think about your life—what are the defining moments that stand out for you? They may be positive or negative or both! Write down or draw this defining moment, include the approximate year if you can. This is the beginning of your Personal Timeline.
9. Think about your interaction with researchers. Draw a thought bubble and in it represent how working with researchers makes you feel? This representation can be a drawing/symbol or words.

10. Draw another thought bubble. Can you link what you are passionate about to aspects of your job/work or daily routine? Think of a symbol to represent this link and draw that in this think bubble. If you cannot think of a link, symbolize how this makes you feel (eg. a question mark).

Part Four – Power of your Feet

11. Taking a step into the future think about what your short and long term personal goals are (these can include your family), and mark these down: symbols or writing whichever you prefer (Personal Timeline.)
   - In 5 years?
   - In 10 years?

Part Five – Power of the Hands

12. A clock is ticking - you need to move forward in achieving these goals – in the symbol of a clock write down 3 things that you will either start doing/ stop doing that will assist you achieving your personal goals,(eg. visiting neighbours, asking more questions, seeking advice from the friends/clinic/teachers/police/NGO etc)

13. Do you think your goals will benefit anyone other than yourself- your family, the community? Write this down and why. If you would rather draw, this is also fine or you can verbally communicate “why” during the discussion.

Part Six – The Power of your Mind, Heart, Feet, Hands

14. As in life, on this page you are surrounded by your community. As an individual, using your power, you can influence your community for good and bad:

Start a Community Timeline, mark this year (2014) and represent in words and/or pictures the community today.

15. Think of what you would like your community to be like in future. What do you want the community to be like in:
   - In 5 years?
   - In 10 years?
Write or draw this in your Community Timeline.
16. In your Community Space write down 3 things that you will either start doing/stop doing that will assist your community to make it as you envision it in the future,(eg. visiting neighbours, asking more questions, seeking advice from the friends/clinic/teachers/police/NGO etc)

Part Seven – Wrap

17. Filling in space around bodies in whatever ways choose.

18. Share with the group your experiences and what you learnt from this process. (We can also discuss if people’s passions are evident in their goals and if this is important and/or beneficial)
Appendix 3: Interview I transcription

Date: 01-09-2014  Interviewee: Andrew Dicks  Interviewer: Min Kong

Interviewer: Have you ever applied other methodologies in the ‡Khomani community except for grassroots comics and body-mapping?

Andrew Dicks: Not me. No, I haven’t. I only have done the grassroots comics mostly and then the body-mapping like secondly, but I have not done any other.

Interviewer: So in the ‡Khomani community, I know you did body-mapping twice. How many grassroots comics?

Andrew Dicks: In different occasions, personally, I have been involved into two times of grassroots comics and two times of body-mappings. Like, I guess, few trips, but then obviously that entailed a bunch of workshops as you saw when you came with us. That is five or six workshops over the two years periods.

Interviewer: So that is last year and this year. I joined you in the second year. Ok, what is the departure point of doing this?

Andrew Dicks: For my Master’s, I did comics in the Platfontein community, and Julie, as you know, who we worked with, she decided this. Basically, Prof. Keyan asked us to come up with the research project for the Kalahari, as we are going every year, he wanted us to have more focuses that some students could do and see what work we do. So last year, in order to do that, he got me and Julie, to write a proposal about the project that we could potentially to in the community. That is why we came up with the idea of grassroots comics and body-mapping. Obviously, I got the idea of grassroots comics from having done my Master’s and I had experiences on that. Julie decided to bring the body-mapping because she thought the two might be linked as methods theme. They are very similar, they allow creative expressions and they are development methods. That is how we developed the idea to do this research in the first place.

Interviewer: How do you define grassroots comics and body-mapping? Do you think they are participatory methods, development tools, or empowerment tools?

Andrew Dicks: First of all, I am not going to say they are empowering tools. I just clarify these terms. I think they have elements of participatory communication, empowerment and development communication. They are aspects of those fields within this research. Also you need to understand, last year was more of pilot research studies, so we were basically testing whether these methods were reliable, useful for the community, and this year, what we did is to analyse it. So it is continuation from last year, to kind of see the long term benefits to the community of these workshops. For the ‡Khomani, I don’t want to say they are empowering, I would like to say that these workshops do have aspects of participatory communication and empowerment, but it takes a lot more research to be able to classify them as being successful tools. I think it does reveal a lot about what is going on in the community and also our sampling is based on our proposal sampling. So it is not like we got a complete sample of the community, we only got people attending who were able to attend. So there are still places in the community that can be researched to see whether these methods are useful or not. It is a
bit early to call it is good for the community cause a lot of development or participatory researches are depending on at least like three or four years of research. I think it is still on the early stages to see if it works for this or that. As you saw, some people won’t come so we did not have workshop that day. Then the next day we had twenty people. So the nature of doing these things in the community is very hard, and also hard to be able to classify it works or not. Sometimes it do work, sometimes it don’t work.

Interviewer: But at least you can classify the participatory nature of the methods.

Andrew Dicks: Yes, absolutely. For participatory nature, the workshops involve them and get the individuals in the community to actually be creative and express themselves. So I definitely say it has aspects of participatory communication development.

Interviewer: Ok. What do you know about the community culturally, politically?

Andrew Dicks: I will tell you what I know on a basic level. The ‡Khomani, as they turned, were given six farms as a part of the land claim in 1999. Now you have this group of people who have the same name. ‘‡Khomani’ was the name given to them when they did the land claim. Some of them came from Botswana Some maybe from the south. They are not all a part of the same ethnic group from back of that day. Yea, so that causes problems those days. Because now you have the whole bunch of people under the umbrella of ‡Khomani, but they are not actually all ‡Khomani. And they have the disputes over the land. Because they are given so much land unless these disputes on how people use the lands, like some of them want use them for farming and commercial reasons; some of them are just remaining their traditional life style and kind of wanting to hunt and gather. But they cannot really do these things because of many changes. They became modernized. So culturally, I will say there are a lot of disparate groups within the ‡Khomani. So different groups of people, I think sometimes there is a lack of coherent decision making. They don’t come to the community and discuss a lot of things and they are very scattered.

Interviewer: Why the land is so important?

Andrew Dicks: I think the reason why they want the land is because they are their ancestral land. This is where their ancestors grow up. So even though some of them are actually from the area, they are descendants from the area.

Interviewer: But now they leave the land wild and they did not take very good use of the land.

Andrew Dicks: Yea, this is the problem of land claims. This is where politics comes in. Now so this group of people, the ‡Khomani, put their claim on the land and they get the land, but now the problem is they do not know how to develop the land. It is not using in getting land when you don’t know how to farm that land, how to develop and use it that you can actually read benefit to create a living or income. So I think, um…I don’t want to say it in this way, but in my opinion, they focused on the end goal, but when they got the land, they did not know what to do with the land. They don’t know how to develop it or whatever, so the government provided them with the land, but no one was trained how to farm. Now you got these problems where people are basically just living on the land like rural farmers you know. They are not actually getting benefit from the land.
Interviewer: Did they build their house?

Andrew Dicks: There are a lot of house have been built, but a lot of are actual farm houses that were given to them, those houses are original houses built by farmers before the land claim. The house needs good keeping. In Northern Cape, it doesn’t rain much, it is dry, and so the land is not easy to farm. You can see the land is dry and even sandy; it is not easy to farm

Interviewer: Ok, are they the also the reason why the ‡Khomani community is given so much attention?

Andrew Dicks: Well, they are San, they are Bushmen descendants, for some reason, academics and the media are always interested in Bushmen people.

Interviewer: Do you know some other institutions or organizations working there, their projects, methods?

Andrew Dicks: To be honest, I actually don’t know of many, and not quite sure. I know that there are been people from Cape Town who had done research there. I know one guy, who just lived there, lived with them. There was also horticulture, so people who worked with plants, those agriculturalists. You saw Dean’s vegetable farm, which was group of students who came and showed them what to do and how to do. I am sure a lot more researchers have done that area that we don’t know about. There were also commercial merchants, you know, like Vodacom has come and shot advertisements and other people has come to take photos to use them as promotional materials. So there are a lot of commercial interests, academic interests, that sort of thing.

Interviewer: Do you think they are bothered by these outside people?

Andrew Dicks: I think, they say they are bothered than they really are. Because a lot of them rely on the outside people cause they are making and selling crafts. If the outside people do not come, then a lot of them could not make money. But some of them complain about outside people because they are taking away their knowledge. There are contradictions. But you can’t say that you don’t want outside people coming in or the western people come in and destroy everything when you actually rely on them to make income.

Interviewer: I feel the ‡Khomani San are much modernized.

Andrew Dicks: I always compare them to, like any rural community in city or something. Like, if you go outside Durban for half an hour, you go to rural community, and it will be the same. Because they all, they have been westernized, modernized, they have been relying on these things, like income, going to a shop to buy food. They don’t live off the land any more. As much as they try and say they would like to, there is not enough game in the area, wildlife, even though you get them, there are not food. Like I say, again, the land is not good, it is hard to farm. It’s not like the farm for their food. But on the other side, they are taught. Someone actually instructed them and taught them properly how to do these things like run a game farm, use machinery. But because they are also scattered and separate, and doing their own thing, so there is no cohesion. But I am not too sure how the farms are allocated. Basically, people hunt at a certain time during hunting season, but they really cannot survive on hunting...it is more that they are making money easier out of crafts and things that
symbolized their hunting-gathering heritage… there are a lot of like rich tourist people coming through and passing…Here they were mostly tour guides, craft makers. They mingled a lot with tourists. They actually worked in the tourism industry

Interviewer: Can you tell me how did you design the workshop?

Andrew Dicks: As far as the grassroots comics went, because I had quite a lot of extensive experience doing for my Masters, two to three years, I have done it a few times in Platfontein. I just adapt that method. That is based on a method from the authors … the guys who wrote the book. Mine was not exactly the same, because they do it four or five days, we don’t have the luxury time, what I did is I condensed the four or five days’ work plan to one day, and obviously further adapted that for our research in this year. The body-mapping, we basically adapted the template from Eliza Govender’s work in rural community, she does with university students and… I would like to say the stuff taken into consideration is you must always aware of they speak different language so that is with Afrikaans. I must let them understand what is going on and translate quickly and be able to explain verbally or physically.

Interviewer: How did the research team get access to the community?

Andrew Dicks: The negotiation and contact started with Rethinking Indigeneity, which is headed by Prof. Keyan. He has been doing around the Kalahari in different Bushmen communities for almost 20 years now. It was a part of the larger research project. The day that entered the ḤKhomani, you kind of go through the right channels so what we do to set up the working relationship with the ḤKhomani. We have working relationship with SASI which represents the Bushmen, so they are the gatekeeper basically. Because also now after the long term relationship we have with them, it is not a problem that we go and visit, as long as we let them know our research.

Interviewer: How do you understand the role of a facilitator in a workshop?

Andrew Dicks: I would like to say it is pretty hard to conduct workshops, because, once again, language obstacles is a factor, my explaining in English might not come across because a lot of these people do not speak English as the first language. So I have to switch between the two languages and explaining in Afrikaans is tuff. But generally the materials have been translated and we get the point of across so the participants get the idea of what is going on and what to do. I have never encountered the situation where they don’t understand. A facilitator gives freedom but not controlling. As a researcher, you can’t say to people that we don’t allow you to do that, or you are not following our rules. The research itself is about understanding people, what their opinions, perceptions and concerns are. But I want to say it is tuff because you have to go through three or four hours of steps or process with them. For the idea with the comics is pretty much that they go and create the process themselves. But you just explain to them kind of what the process is.

Interviewer: What interferences you might face during the workshop?

Andrew Dicks: Last year, we did the workshop the whole day, it was indeed tiring, and someone wants to go outside. Other there were other distractions. For example some people finished drawing but other did not; when the finished groups wrote the questionnaire, the unfinished ones can be disturbed.
Interviewer: What kind of participants did you expect? Did age and gender matter? Did you require the number of participants?

Andrew Dicks: Snowball sampling was employed. There are limits regarding the sample, but we do not search specifically by gender. For the number of participants, the target is 20, because if you have too big group it is a bit harder to manage. For the sake of methods, this method you could do hundreds of people but you would have to be over in certain time. It is easier to work with small groups.

Interviewer: Why do you think the workshop can be attractive to the community numbers?

Andrew Dicks: I think people came with different motivations: food; make friends; see more people free all around farms; be unemployed.

Interviewer: What is the main function of questionnaire?

Andrew Dicks: We can get quick feedback to evaluate the effectiveness of the workshop, but it is hard to trace them more to get further feedback.

Interview: Are the participant expected to bring their work back home?

Andrew Dicks: Yeah, they can show to their children and friends.

Interviewer: Can the participants’ level of visual literacy be an obstacle for them to understand or draw?

Andrew Dicks: We did get some scenarios like that when they don’t know the questions and they ask again, and we clarify the questions, and also there were people, so we did for the grassroots comics I split people for groups, and they work in groups producing comics; the whole idea behind the grassroots comics is you don’t need to be art professional as long as you have an idea of how you want to carry a story across. It is not detailed art… the focus is not really on the art or people having ability to draw, it is more about having ability to tell a problem.

Interviewer: Do you think what the strengths and weakness of grassroots comics as a participatory method?

Andrew Dicks: They are creative, they do incorporate the participants, and they get them to think about stuff to draw, create stories, that sort of thing, so that is the positive. I mean something that is creative is always more attractive than something that is boring that you don’t really feel like doing. They are pretty simple to do. They incorporate group instead of one and one individual, incorporate group work stuff, this makes them appealing. The fact is I guess you can take this skill from how to produce a story, how to draw body map, how to facilitate a community discussion. Because even participating a thing you know can give someone an idea that how to do the something themselves; and they are cheap and affordable; they give some sort of idea about what people thinking and feeling. Negatives I think some people even though you don’t have to draw detailed images or something, some people feel nervous about that, they feel intimidated. And in a group, I think if everyone is drawing, if you feel like you can’t draw, you feel embarrassed, even though I say the focus is not on the quality of the drawing; they feel difficult to get access to the materials. If they want to do it
again, it’s cheap and they can easily do it. I remembered a young person in Platfontein, what he said to me was comics stands up more, because they are attractive to them much. If you have a sign that just has words or a warning that what you must do, what you must not do… you listen to that sign if they have a picture or story.

Interviewer: Is this an advantage of this visual communication tool?

Andrew Dicks: The fact that comics are visual attracts people more than like especially that is something just gives a message. If I walk to a place and just see the posters that just have writing on it. I would be less likely to read if I walked… for comics, I read the story then I understand. I might read the both, but I just say pictures based on images attractive. And I am not saying that we doing the images because everyone is illiterate in the community, and they can’t read so maybe they can read images. It also takes a certain of thing visually literacy to be able to read pictures. I think the whole point behind the grassroots comics is picture is more accessible when discussing community either community issues or something in the community that people like. It is more accessible because people find images or stories more attractive than just plain writing. It also shows the purpose that people might be able to read images but they might not be able to read language. So they would like to see what is going on the picture and understand without having to read any words.

But I also feel that we get that point with this community not because of this research but we have been doing different kinds of research for so many years, I think they have been get a bit saturated with research.

Interviewer: Do you have the plan to do more workshops in the Khomani San community?

Andrew Dicks: That is the thing came still be taken. It is not like I needed for the research to continue, people just need the research material and the stuff we have written and published. Because anyone can take it on as long as what the method is, how do accurate the method, how to do the research. It doesn’t need to be done by one person. I think it obviously is beneficial if it is one a group of research consistent research keep doing over a period of time. Because then you can see changes, you can evaluate how it was this year compared to next year, because you have been there each year.

Interviewer: How to adapt the workshop according to the needs in real situation?

Andrew Dicks: The method can be adapted for anything for any meaning. But basically what we did was take a method that was intended for participatory communication and development, and applied to isolated rural communities. Here is the way you can potentially discuss your issues. Because in those places, there is not much things to do outside of that. The people’s life is all around those farms and area; I think it is a good measure of similar scenario where they are culturally diverse; they use the same clinic the same shop; so there would be things that overlap, that would be an indicator as to say this works in this situation, so because this situation is similar and there are overlapping elements. This might be beneficial, so if the comics or body map work in this scenario, then this can be an area could be applied. That is because there are quite similar overlapping qualities. Even though context is not the same, it never works in the same context; there are indicators that might work across different context.
Appendix 4: Interview II transcription

Date: 08-09-2014  Interviewee: Julie Grant  Interviewer: Min Kong

Interviewer: I know you did your PHD research in the DéKhomani San community, can you talk a bit about that?

Julie Grant: The reason why I put so much history in because it impacts on how the Bushmen are today is because the Bushmen history is worse than the colored people history. The black people and colored people were treated badly during the apartheid. Bushmen were essentially didn’t exist. The black people or the colored were never told your population doesn’t exist, but the Bushmen were. That is why I want to show that the Bushmen were more disempowered.

Interviewer: So far, have the community figured out how to use or allocate the land?

Julie Grant: They have not and that’s the problem because there is no administrator, there’s no function in communal property association management. The land was handed over and when the land was handed over probably a management plan should have been drawn up. This was never done.

Interviewer: What exactly should be done regarding land management?

Julie Grant: A management plan of the lands couldn’t be managed. What are the rules, who going to get to live, who gets the houses? Who doesn’t? Who gets to farm that land? How much land do they get to farm? What families get to farm these particular issues? That was never ever drawn up. That communal property association management committee came in but they were not capable of doing that.

Interviewer: What about the government?

Julie Grant: The administrator will never work for the department of rural development and land affairs. Over the years there has been management plans that was going to be drawn up but it never happened due to lack of funds. There was a farm manager comment, the government was meant to supply farm managers. There has been in the past Farm Africa work there for awhile and that was some plan taken place within the community, but they also need people to give support. In 2008 a farm manager was appointed and the idea was that the Belgium government or a Belgium NGO could never find out who paid this guy for 3 months and after that the government were going to pay him for 3 months. The government never paid so he left after 3 months. He would saw how the land was managed and run. There was no money.

Interviewer: What did the community members do for themselves?

Julie Grant: The general education level of people is quite low. The majority of people did not finish high school. A management plan for such a big issue are quite difficult so they need some and long term help. They need to be shown how to do it. In 2002 they nearly lost one of their farms because money had been borrowed against it. Money was released from another bank account to save the farm and at that point the government took the farms into
administration meaning the management company would no longer mange what the government would but the government never appointed an administrator.

Interviewer: What is the departure point to conduct the grassroots comics and body-mapping workshops?

Julie Grant: For me, the two methods can be used as an empowerment strategy.

Interviewer: How did you design the workshop facilitation guides?

Julie Grant: Well, Andrew did grassroots comics, and I modified the body-mapping workshop from Eliza’s work. Eliza adapted the facilitation guide from the original one.

Interviewer: I know you, Andrew and Shanade are the main facilitators of the workshops. How did you three allocate your works?

Julie Grant: We didn’t, it just happened naturally. We did not strictly say he do this, she do that. We work together depending on the situation.

Interviewer: Why did you choose the community hall as the workshop venue?

Julie Grant: For convenience. It is a lot of work to transport all the participants. We must fetch and sent a lot of people.

Interviewer: What you need to pay attention during the workshop?

Julie Grant: I think it is important to make it more enjoyable and fit the needs of the participants.

Interviewer: When you gather the participants, are you specifically expect certain kind of people to join? Or anyone can join?

Julie Grant: For me, I want to empower people, so it doesn’t matter whether they are male or female. Ideally, you want males, females, mix age groups, but you realise that is not the point you get, if you were there for longer, you could get there from groups.

Interviewer: Do you think what the function of questionnaire is?

Julie Grant: To assess the workshop on a basic level; you got recognized all the issues by using the questionnaire.

Interviewer: Have you interviewed or contacted last year’s workshop participants?

Julie Grant: We interviewed a few of them. We still try to follow up, but there are no exact addresses of them, so it is very hard and a lot of work to do.
Appendix 5: Interview III transcription

Date: 03-10-2014  Interviewee: Shanade Barnabas  Interviewer: Min Kong

Interviewer: Why did you join the body-mapping workshop? I knew it is not about your area of study.

Shanade Barnabas: I think how I did start was that I was present at the first body-mapping workshop. Andrew was facilitating. And then he, I think he was having a little bit difficulties, and then I started to help, and then he said why don’t you take over, and then he would do the second part, which was the comics which he was more comfortable with doing. So that is how it just kind happened naturally. This happened last year, the year before last time you went.

Interviewer: As a facilitator, what are your feelings when communicating to the participants? And what attitude do you think you should have towards them?

Shanade Barnabas: I tried to make it exciting. I think they are already excited to be there. Because something different to some of them, it is something they have not done before. So they came in excited. I tried to keep it exciting, to keep their attention. It is fun. It is fun to do facilitate, and also to participate, because I have also been in the body-mapping session as a participant here at the university. So I have seen its fun both ways: to be the participant and to be the facilitator.

Interviewer: How did you observer their actions and reactions in the workshop? I mean how did you know their feelings after you gave them instructions?

Shanade Barnabas: Yea, you can tell that they enjoy themselves when there is laughing, joking, and they sharing colors of the pans and pencils. You can see they are enjoying themselves as a group and also you can sometimes see the concentration on their faces when they thinking about what to write, what to draw, so they are having fun but they are also enjoying it on a deeper level. So I can just see these things. And also what they say to each other. Sometimes, you can tell.

Interviewer: When you are facing them at the first time, how did you introduce this workshop and yourself. Can you feel they are changing their attitudes as the workshop proceeds?

Shanade Barnabas: I think, I have been working in Platfontein since 2008, so even if I didn’t know them I think they might have seen me in the community. So I was not a new face, and also ‡Khomani, I haven’t been doing research there, but I have been going. So my face is familiar. So it was not the first time I think that many of them saw me. So maybe that helps that I am not too much of a stranger. So you know, and I try, well, it gets better as the days goes by their. Speaking Afrikaans helps. They also helped me sometimes when I don’t I can’t remember word, and then somebody in the group will help me to help the rest of the group. Or I will explain something, a few people will get it, then I ask did you understand, and you can see that there is confusion on some of the faces, and then somebody in the group, will help me to help them understand.

Interviewer: How did you make sure they understand what you said?
Shanade Barnabas: I think perhaps, I don’t know. I can only speculate what it is. I think it also just when it is maybe they can understand me better, or maybe they just grasp the concept, and then they will faster, not so much better, but faster at grasping the concept. They help their friends understand. I am not sure if I answered that question fully.

Interviewer: As you have described, how do you interact with the participants? Give some examples.

Shanade Barnabas: Oh, ok, I am just remembering part of your question was how do I introduce, and the introduction of the workshop and the introduction of myself go together. When I give a task to do, sometimes if they did not understand it, I would introduce it by giving example from my own life. So I made my own, we made a body map, an example body map we put it on the wall. And then I created the character for that person, and I call that person by a name, sometimes it would be the examples that I gave, was from my life, and other times. I created this new character, and then I would just make up a life story for this person. And sometimes a little bit of it was in relation to me, and a little bit of it was in relation to what I knew about that community, they could relate, I could relate to the character that I created, and then it was easy for them to go, “oh now i understand what you want me to do”.

Interviewer: Who designed the workshop facilitation guides, and after this practices, where do you think could be revised?

Shanade Barnabas: As far as I know, this particular, I don’t know where the original came from, but this particular one where Julie and Andrew I believe. I think it was adapted from something Eliza’s group has done. Guides can be different. I just took this guide, and I will give you an example. I took the guides, and I used it in my own home context. I created the whole body-mapping session for the youth at my church. So you can take it, and you can make it anything.

Interviewer: Oh, why did you do that?

Shanade Barnabas: Because I like the body-mapping idea, so I took it. It was the similar kind of question about the theme, but I themed it for you and your community, you and your church, and God. Yea, different themes, you just take that similar structure, and it works really well.

Interviewer: What are the functions of the body-mapping workshop?

Shanade Barnabas: The functions, I think, in the simplest term, when people are actually sitting down together, body-mapping and grassroots comics workshops are tools for people to think more about their lives and about their future goals in a structured way.

Interviewer: But the context is different, what are the basic materials does body-mapping workshop require? What if people cannot afford that papers or pens?

Shanade Barnabas: Yes, you can. It’s the same idea. You can even scale it down to that people are drawing in a small piece of paper. the big piece of paper, it works better because then it is the physical body that they trace around and how the map goes it starts in the physical and it goes into meta-physical you can take it in to think about spirituality. You can
take it into thinking about your mind, there are so many different... I know you can do it in a smaller version but there is something about that. The bigger version makes it more exciting... it makes it a life-size.

Interviewer: Must two people work together to finish drawing because they need their own body outline?

Shanade Barnabas: Well, all you need it’s a task for one person, because it is about you and your body. But you do need right in the beginning; you need somebody to trace it. That is all that you need the second person for. But it is a one person task, the rest of it.

Interviewer: what are the functions of facilitator?

Shanade Barnabas: The facilitator is necessary for obviously the questions, because it is a structure. It is so many different questions you ask them, and you taking them through different level of ideas. For example, you are taking them through an idea of you and your community, so you ask those questions about where do they see themselves in their community, what are the problems they see in the community. You take them through. You take them through number of things. I think without the instructor, they could not have... if everybody had a list sheet of the questions, they could do it that way. But the instructor helps to bring everybody working at the similar pace, and make it more of a group thing, as opposed to people just sitting and reading an instruction and doing it by themselves. It is both a personal task but because of the instructor, because of everybody listening to the instructor, it also becomes a group oriented task.

Interviewer: How do you think the power of the facilitator?

Shanade Barnabas: The workshop is a tool allowing these kinds of questions to be asked in a very structured way so that people can actually sit down and think these deep thoughts, instead of thinking a little bit, oh I don’t want to think about that now. I have to drive to... I have to go there. It’s a place where you sit down and now here is the person that asks you these questions and you have to actively bring them out into paper.

Interviewer: How do you find or gather the participants? And what other preparations you should do before conducting one workshop?

Shanade Barnabas: I think it was by word of mouth. So a few people were asked and then they said they would bring friends. Snowball sampling method.

Interviewer: I found most of the participants are teenagers and girls? Why? Do you think age and gender matter?

Shanade Barnabas: I think the more you work with the community, you realise that probably best not to go in with expectations. Things will happen in the field that you have not expected or you did not think or you just kind of go and let things happen as they happen. So I don’t really know, I think with regards to the paper that Julie and Andrew are in the process of writing. I am not sure.

Interviewer: So a facilitator is not with authority?
Shanade Barnabas: I know from just personal experiences, you go in having an idea for a larger kind of community, maybe for empowerment, or upliftment, but you never know who is gonna come, how many people there going to be.

Interviewer: Empowerment for individuals or the whole community?

Shanade Barnabas: Well, I think it would be for those who participated, and one would hope that they would be able to take what they learned to, and do something with it. So that it grows, for the rest of the communities. You can’t possibly going and help everybody.

Interviewer: So what are the differences between last year’s and this year’s workshops?

Shanade Barnabas: I think there are still some challenges that need to be ironed out in the process. You learned that along the way. Like if you go there, different range of people… last year, in the ‡Khomani group we had a small group. I know they were older. Last year, I think we did one in Andriesvale and we did one in Welkom. This year we didn’t go up to Welkom where the sand is very red. Basically last year was, I think I stand corrected on it. Last year, in Andriesvale, we have more people of a younger age range.

Interviewer: Why did you choose community hall as the venue?

Shanade Barnabas: What I know is that we did drive people to the hall, so it was not just people that were living close by that walked there, but we also brought them. Last year, they got enough of the sample in Welkom. A lot of the people from Welkom are not ‡Khomani, they did not fit the research but we did anyway.

Interviewer: What is the function of ice-break talk? How do you operate it?

Shanade Barnabas: For the ‡Khomani people, the people that came knew each other. So the ice breaker is for the people that don’t know each other a lot, and it helps to obviously break the ice. But when I think Andrew tried to do the ice breaker, it wasn’t working. I am just speculating, maybe it is because he is just a guy, and participants were female. This happened before the body-mapping workshop and ice-break is the small thing we do before the workshop. When he asked them to talk about the positives and negatives in their community and each person talks to another person about the positives and gets so many minutes to do that until when that amount of time is over. They start a new time slot where they talk about the negatives with the different set of people. It was not anything personal but I suppose if you going you don’t know this person and now they ask you to talk, you might feel a little bit shy. So sometimes one thing will work for one group, but the same you tried with another group, it just doesn’t work. We changed what we were doing to suit the group. It can be flexible to change the structure.

Interviewer: What do you do to the finished body-mapping papers?

Shanade Barnabas: I think we gave them choice whether they can keep it or take it. Very few of people said they will keep it, and the others said no, it’s fine, we could take it.

Interviewer: Did you do interviews on last years’ participants to get their feedbacks? How do you assess the effectiveness of body-mapping workshops?
Shanade Barnabas: I suppose it is a difficult thing to assess because it is about personal value. You know, how much it affected them. It’s very difficult to assess. What we can say is that we got positive feedback from them after immediately the workshops. Also that a lot of them said they enjoyed it that it was fun, it was something different, it was helpful to think about things like five year plan, ten year plan of their lives and also their communities. I am not in the questionnaire, just chatting with them and then some of the Platfontein youth said they would like to be facilitators, so they would like to take out role and be able to do it for their community. So this is positive. But it is a very difficult thing to pinpoint it, because you never know it could help somebody to think about their lives and communities. A few years late, whatever maybe though that started in the body-mapping, might grow into something positive for them or it could be just be not helpful. If they are stuck in maybe poverty or circle of poverty, alcohol abuse, you just don’t know.

Interviewer: What realistic meaning do you think the two participatory method have in the ḇKhomani community?

Shanade Barnabas: One of the key ideas for going into this project is this community is kind of almost stuck in the cycle of unemployment. There is people not finishing school, so then when they don’t finish school, it’s hard to get a job. There is lots of joblessness. There is lot of this negative stuff just kind of circulating in this community. Get people talking about and thinking about their urgency, you know, and their ideas, thoughts, and their hopes for the future.

Interviewer: What kind of job can they search in the community? I don’t think many.

Shanade Barnabas: In both of the communities, there is not a lot they can find inside the community. So they only other thing is to look outside. Then that is also difficult if you don’t speak Afrikaans properly, which is the language of that province of NC. Without proper schooling, it’s difficult to find jobs; some of them find jobs within this community, like SASI, the Company, or the park. It’s very limited.

Interviewer: What are good things you experienced in the ḇKhomani community?

Shanade Barnabas: The environment is so expansive, the sky is so big. It is so far away from the city and less polluted, sometimes, there is no cell phone reception. In the city, there are always people wanting something, the electronic stuff just distracts me. I feel I can breathe easily in the Kalahari.

Interviewer: Do you think do Bushmen still preserve their identity?

Shanade Barnabas: If they feel they are Bushmen, they can be identified as Bushmen. Wherever they go, they are Bushmen whatever they think is the marker of their identity. Identity is such a big idea, complex subject or issue, and it’s also a small idea, because it is a construct. It is what we make it. It’s nothing more of what you make it, or more of what I make it. Then we come into conflict, because your idea of identity is not the same as my idea of identity.
Appendix 6: Interview IV transcription

Date: 06-10-2014  Interviewee: Andrew Dicks  Interviewer: Min Kong

Interviewer: What are the attitudes of the participants towards the workshops?

Andrew Dicks: It varies, I think. We generally tried to, after the workshops; we tried to do questionnaire process. It is about how you experienced it, what do you think, was it beneficial, and was it practical. I think sometimes that process; people tell you what they want to be heard. I think they are also generally people who are honestly telling you that that were productive. The reason I say it varies, is I think some people, just for the sake of coming, some people come and they do experience this method, or this practical way of communicating or doing something. I feel they are nervous, cause if they have never done it before, they don’t know really know what to expect, so they are a bit shy, they are anxious and nervous, they are shy to speak to me, but when they are speaking to each other, they are quite open.

Interviewer: I think you actually experienced that in the ice-breaker talk.

Andrew Dicks: Yes, that is why ice-break talk is so important. Ice break is the first we tried to do. Instead of telling us what the problems are, they discuss with each other what the problems are, you know, in the circle of stuff. So I think that brings the attention, but I still think some people that are, basically there, just seemed being there, but there are some people there because they want to make a difference. Last year, when we did both workshops in one day, we did iced-break, then the body maps and then the grassroots comics. This year, when we did some of the workshops in two days, so we did the ice-break in the first day. The group of the second day was different, so we did ice-breaker again for the grassroots comics. But then sometimes, like that day when we did both in one day, we did ice-breaker and then we just discussed the things that they mentioned in the ice-breaker before the comics to get an idea of some of the issues they could make a story out of for the comics. If we do general chat, they would introduce themselves. For ice-breaker, they talked about things concerning what some of the issues you identify in your community. We asked what some of the problems are. You know, sometimes, the small groups are easy to talk to them, because there are so few people. Yea, so, they will tell us their names and then go through some of the positives and negatives about the community. We are of course always looking for that, but we would rather get participants to really think about these things.

Interviewer: Before conducting the workshops, do you have some expectations?

Andrew Dicks: I tried my best not to ever have any expectations. But I think we all bring a bit of subjective understanding to the table. So if I did have any expectations, it’s usually that… yea, there is gonna be a bit, like a bit of… some people don’t want to do this even though they are there to do this. I think it is very tuff for them sometimes to open up about problems with a complete stranger.

Interviewer: What ethical concerns do you have when conducting the workshops or other research in the community?
Andrew Dicks: Ethically, I mean, we have obviously got a very strong, and very big ethical, sort of, guideline for certain place, which is basically the proposal we do before we conduct the research, which kinds for any kinds of ethical issues. We obviously always avoid anything that sensitive or regarding like, you know, individual. So people can talk about things like AIDS, and alcohol abuse and sexual abuse, but we never make it a personal thing. We never asked any individual their personal problems if they have been… we kind of generally asked them to focus on broader issues and obviously we avoided like working with young people, because you know, there is a lot of ethical concerns involved with young people. So as far as we go to ethics, we do make sure we stick to our research proposal, which gives us ability to be able to do the research, because it is through the whole committee. If you want the details, you can go through the proposal. If people want to keep their identity or anonymous, then that is fine, that is up to you. We try not to make them uncomfortable anyway.

Interviewer: What are your interactions with the participants as a facilitator?

Andrew Dicks: Generally, I tried my hardest to communicate on the level of participants. I guess, by that, what I mean is that I try talk to them as like equals. I don’t have any spurious goal over them or anything. The stuff that we are dealing with doesn’t put me above them, like I can do this, you cannot do this. It is more about trying to create a forum we can all discuss, so they can be open about discussion. I try not to impose, like top-down, like authority, like I am imparting knowledge to you, you must listen to me. I know the process of teaching them how to use the comics and that sort of thing is me imparting knowledge, I think that is also kind of the whole reason behind the grassroots comics. It is not mean to be a skill that only you can do, the other people can’t do. You are actually showing them how to use a very simple process of drawing pictures to communicate. Yea, I try to keep it as fluent as possible. But at the same time I also find that often, because I am the other, because I am different… I never put myself as above these people, like I am the researcher. I am here to take information from you for me benefit you know. It’s like I am always trying to get an open discussion.

Interviewer: What are the functions do you think a facilitator should serve?

Andrew Dicks: In the context about our research, I think facilitator should serve the function of having control of the process, you know, being able to know when people uncomfortable about something, or to know when to take a direction. That might not be set out in the plan, but that might contribute to the research process. So for example, as people doing grassroots comics, and I have a whole plan but they grows the plan quicker than what I explain it. I guess being flexible, being more flexible to the needs of the participants. In my opinion, even though you have a guideline or a set of procedure that you do in the workshops, I guess it is flexible and open to change, depending on what is happening on the ground, and depending on what is happening in the workshop. You must be flexible to the needs of the participants, to what is happening on the ground, and depending on what is happening in the workshop. In my opinion, it is more about being flexible as much as possible as opposed to sticking in one particular guideline. So my opinion, it’s more about like being flexible as much as possible as opposed to sticking in one particular guideline. You can give them from that, because you also bring things like authority. If you stick to guideline and it is not working, you can’t impose that. You can’t say to people that we can’t do that; you are not following our rules. Like the reason I say you need to remain flexible, because you can’t account for what happens. As a research himself, this is about understanding these people and not actually
about… You are understanding about people, what their opinions, perceptions and concerns are, it’s not about forcing those things, it’s about naturally that information come up as naturally as possible.

Interviewer: Do you think a facilitator is necessary?

Andrew Dicks: I definitely think a facilitator is necessary. I don’t think it would be extremely hard for a layperson just get up there. It is definitely a beneficial that you having a plan and going in and that the facilitator understand the different faces of the research; but I don’t think it is crucial to stick to everything about that guideline unless it is working. Then again, we always try to suggest to communicating… if they wish to use these methods in future if they can, but that is based on the principle that now they have experienced the workshop so they understand it, and they can go forward to use it. I think if you have never been involved in the process or you don’t know how it actually goes, how to do it. I think it would be pretty difficult to facilitate one of those workshops.

Interviewer: In future, might they do it by themselves?

Andrew Dicks: Well, this is the ideal. This is the point we try to promote as well, that they don’t need us. Once they have, like, experienced this kind of forum, or this research, like when they discuss the issues when they get together, we try to promote an effect that they can do this in their own communities, they don’t need us to do it, and they can take these methods and use for themselves. They don’t need to stick to the same guidelines, they can make changes up to whatever, discuss maybe certain issues in the community, maybe all the women can get together and discuss like women safety, or children whatever, but the idea is they become aware of something they can use in their community to communicate with each other. This is the main benefit we try to go for.

Interviewer: I think you are actually saying about the benefits the participants can get form the workshops, what else?

Andrew Dicks: Yea, this is one benefit. The other benefit is that they notice, as a group, they become aware of what each other think about their community and their living space. Because often when we think about positive things about our community and negative things, we often keep them to ourselves; I think with this research, community members have a medium or a forum which to discuss their collective their opinions. So even if we are not there, that if they want to use these methods to discuss issues in their community, so that platform is there or that is available you know. So I think as far as benefits go, our main concern is they find a means to communicate with each other about the issues that they can address in their community.

Interviewer: In the grassroots comics, you divided them into groups. Can two people work together? What are the minimum number and maximum number of people in a group?

Andrew Dicks: One people can work alone and create one comic. It is not limited by you need. The reason why we separate them is because the time constrains. It is easier for them to work in groups and finish comic than do it on they own. You know, that will take a long time. So I would say there is no minimum other than one, but maximum, I would think you can’t have too many people doing one comic because you will have people coming up with idea; you have people drawing… if you have ten people joining in one comic group. I mean they
Andrew Dicks: A lot of them did. We photocopied and gave them copies because we keep the originals. So what we do is we take them. They have done on four pieces of paper so they don’t have a one big poster; we put them together on an A3 for the photocopies and give them as a finished product. The whole idea is you must give them as quickly as possible, because it doesn’t make sense if the whole idea behind the research is to create comics, to discuss, and to put it out to the community so that they can all be able to aware the same thing, and it doesn’t make sense to take the things away and keep it, because the whole point is creating posters and they can promote; so the turnaround should be as quickly as possible if you can so it at the same day, it’s cool. You know, the day off doing the workshop because you want to be able to give the people there, the comics, so that they can grow around the community. If they want to keep it up to the wall at home, that is fine. But if they want to use it to go and promote, it is fine.

Andrew Dicks: No, we didn’t. You know, it is difficult, when we do the group stuff, the body maps and things. When I did my research I spend a lot of time with one group, I got to know them very well, so I could go to visit these people at their houses on different days. When we do this, it is harder because 2134; it is harder to go everyone’s house and to go around with them putting up the posters, so I feel more about time constrains and availability. So we kind of try to promote these people, ok, you have got a copy of these things you can do what you want, like put it up or stuff, but it is up to them whether to use them or not. I can’t force them to do. For my research, I worked with a lot of NGO workers. They are ordinary people from the community. For the NGOs, they have more interests going out and promoting what they had done, because that is the work that they do naturally.

Andrew Dicks: For me, the most satisfying moment is when they either get excited about drawing out the story. You can see when, ok, once I came to explain the process and they have got their themes and they focus on, you can see when they sitting in the group and they just sitting and laughing, and having a good time and talking to each other. Sometimes the content that they are dealing with is very serious, like TB topics, or other serious topics, they didn’t see them as a negative task, and like that I have to do this. For me, it seems most successful when the people enjoyed themselves and then also when they see the final thing, and they show like a proud. They all sign their name; it is like they are proud they make that thing. You would not put your name on something you are not happy with.

Interviewer: When was your first Kalahari trip? What did you do there?
Andrew Dicks: It was 2008, but I was not doing any this kind of research. I went there as honors student, and I did not know what to research until I got there. I was focusing more on playing soccer in different communities. The second time, I started my master’s research.

Interviewer: So what is the most interesting thing you experienced in the Kalahari?

Andrew Dicks: Even coming from South Africa, I grew up with the idea that they were still Bushmen running around with hunting, so when I got to the community, I don’t believe that they are so modern. I was kind of shocked; I think you can see as a way of a bit disappointed. This place looks more like the rural communities that I have outside the town that I grew up. Even in Durban, you can find this kind of urban villages. It was so common to me, and I was like, it is kind of disappointing. However, there is more about their heritage, their history as people. I was interested in that. And even in Botswana, as far and isolated as those people were, they still had cell phone; they dressed with named brand clothing for e.g. Nike, even though they may have been slightly a little bit more traditional. They are still equally as globalized, westernized. Some people work and others have a crèche. Some people commute, they drive back and forth from the community and do work; and go back, they still used to be able to, they had a, kind of, these papers, like a grant to hunt at a certain time during hunting season...still growing on the hunting ground. They really cannot survival on hunting, they don’t really do that. Even though they portray the image that they are still hunters and gatherers, it is more that they are making money easier out of crafts and things that are symbolized their hunting-gathering heritage. In the ḖKhomani community, so there are a lot of like rich tourist people coming through and passing and you also got to remember that they were not there from the get go, the ḖKhomani have been there for thousands of years. Here they were mostly tour guides, craft makers. They mingled a lot with tourists. They actually worked in the tourism industry.

Interviewer: Last year, you did workshop in Welcome, why did not do it this year?

Andrew Dicks: Welcome is a small community and it’s made up of a lot of colored people from the Mier community and also a few of Bushmen from the ḖKhomani. This year, we didn’t, because last year when we did that, we realised that many Bushmen if they were there they were working or at the jobs in the KTP. We had so many Mier people last year, and this year, we tried to focus mostly on the ḖKhomani. We had already done enough research there.

Interviewer: Is there any Bushmen nowadays really rely only on traditional livelihood of hunting

Andrew Dicks: I think it’s gone and done. I mean, there are still some documentaries and other stuff that try argue that the fact that these people still live like that, but I think this are very tough, because not only other limits by national policies, like game and hunting. There is not that much open wild life. It is not the countries that governmental policies that affecting them from doing that, it is like very much the fact that it’s not available like used to be. You can’t go to a tree to pick berries or go hunting and get back then I feed my families a week. It is very different you know. I think a lot of external worldly pressures have been assimilated by the Bushmen; they have to assume kind of more modern way of life because of the pressures coming from the outside.