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Traditional Custodians, Sacred Heritage Sites and Tourism Development: A Case Study ofthe Phiphidi Falls in the Limpopo Province of South Africa

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Traditional Custodians, Sacred Heritage Sites and Tourism Development: A Case Study ofthe Phiphidi Falls in the Limpopo Province of South Africa.

MSc Research Dissertation

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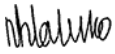


WITS
UNIVERSITY

Masters Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters in Archaeology at the University of the Witwatersrand in 2023

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters of Science, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. This work has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any university.



_____

Candidate signature

ABSTRACT

The way in which intangible heritage should be preserved is a debatable subject, and the question about who should have authority over what happens at sites associated with spiritual values is often a contentious issue. While local communities frequently hold traditional custodianship of the sites, they usually do not have any legal custody. When tourism developments are suggested in impoverished rural communities, whose basic rights could be met by allowing tourism developments to happen, conflicts frequently arise. Traditional custodians tend to want to keep their places of worship sacred while tourism developers would rather promote such sites as touristic products and potential source of income for the community. Fractions can occur within the communities as well. This project investigated community attitudes towards cultural heritage in Limpopo, using the case of Phiphidi Waterfalls, a site earmarked for tourism development, to analyse traditional management systems and to develop a framework for the effective management and preservation of sacred sites. Comparative studies were used to analyse traditional management systems in southern Africa. The main objective is to attain sustainable preservation of intangible heritage without any conflicts between traditional custodians and tourism authorities, and so this project contributes to the larger debate about who should have authority over sacred sites.

Key words: Intangible heritage, traditional custodianship, cultural tourism, Development, Phiphidi waterfalls.

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL), CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE PROTOCOL NUMBER: H21

Dedication

In memory of my grandmother
Mamiala Risimati Mabasa
1932 - 2022

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Thembiwe Russell for seeing great potential in this research. It has been such an honour to be supervised by you, thank you for constantly checking up on not just my academic progress but my wellbeing. Your willingness to make things better gave me the urge to keep going, to see this dissertation to the end.

To the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture and the Science Faculty Bursaries, your financial support is appreciated.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment
NEMA	National Environmental Management Act
NMMZ	National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe
TDFF	Tshivhase Development Foundation Fund
TEK	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
TLM	Thulamela Local Municipality
UNESCO	United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Cultural heritage is one of the most important tourism resources in the world, and heritage tourism is one of the most salient form of tourism today" (Timothy 2014:30). Heritage tourism as a target for domestic and foreign tourists is considered a significant source of increasing economic revenue for states, regions and localities. Many countries are trying to attract tourists on the basis of selling and interpreting their cultural heritage, and this approach has become the key of all visions in local, regional or even national development and tourism strategies (Aulet & Vidal 2018: 241). Across the world, the promotion of heritage through tourism development has included places not traditionally open for public visitation such as sacred sites. These are specific places and their associated landscapes holding cultural and spiritual significance to certain communities because the communities regard them as part of their cosmological environment, a place they respect because of its ability to connect them with their ancestors and the spirit world (Sheridan 2008; Jopela 2011). Amongst such natural locations could be forests, mountains, rivers, sacred pools, as well as man-made features like rock art sites and dry-stone structures. Spiritual areas like these are subjected to taboos. These range of rules and regulations determine peoples' behaviour in relation to the sacred space, and imply a set of beliefs often in relation to spirits and ancestors. As Jopela (2017: 12) states, "The use of these heritage assets (cultural or natural) is governed by customary rules that are enforced by traditional custodians".

Bitušíková (2021:82) demonstrates that, "The insertion of tourism as an activity in sacred spaces can generate transformations in their territorial and environmental reality, as well as leaving a mark on the sociocultural characteristics that make them what they are". In fact, according to Aulet & Vidal (2018: 242), tourism development frequently creates new tensions, between a sites' use for tourism and the maintenance of the local community's "sacralised" notion of such a place. This is probably one of the main negative consequences and impacts on local social and cultural developments and generally on the sustainable development of any tourism destination. Tourism development of religious or sacred sites often goes hand in hand with the commodification and over-commercialisation of heritage (Aulet & Vidal 2018; Chirikure *et al.* 2021). Therefore, it is important to question the impacts of any tourism development initiative around sacred sites in order to find appropriate strategies for the sustainable use and conservation of this heritage.

1.1. Aim and objectives

This dissertation aims to analyse the impact of tourism development on the nature and roleof the traditional custodians of sacred sites/landscapes in Limpopo, focusing on the case of Phiphidi waterfalls and other surrounding sites in the Dzwaini (Soutpansberg) mountain range. In particular:

1. To establish community attitudes and practices towards sacred heritage sites in Limpopo in order to explore how these practices influence the conservation of Phiphidi Falls.
2. To document the prevailing traditional custodianship system at Phiphidi Waterfalls and other surrounding sites in the Dzwaini mountain range.
3. To investigate the impact of tourism developments on spirituality of traditional custodians of Phiphidi Waterfalls and other surrounding sites in the Dzwaini mountain range.
4. To propose a framework that can be used by the developers at Phiphidi for effective management of sacred sites.

1.2. Rationale

Due to the growing popularity of heritage tourism in the last decades the issues that face the convergence between heritage and tourism have given rise to an extensive literature concerned mainly with the management of heritage tourism destinations, including issues of conservation, interpretation and visitor management as well as trying to understand the heritage tourist (e.g. Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; López-Guzmán et al. 2011; Borges 2011; Alvarez& Yüksel 2016). The impact of tourism development around sacred sites remains an understudied topic. By studying the tourism developments around the Phiphidi Waterfalls and other surrounding sites in the Dzwaini mountain range, this research will expand our understanding of the multi-layered socioeconomic and cultural impacts of heritage tourism initiatives on the significance of sacred sites in South Africa.

This dissertation also intends to contribute towards sustainable preservation of intangible values in heritage places. The framework that will be suggested as part of this dissertation was used to make recommendations that might be used at other heritage places that want to develop tourism and infrastructure within the country and abroad. The results of this study determined and helped with developing a new framework to reduce the conflicts that have happened

and continue to happen in sites that are imbued with sacred values but that also have great potential to be developed through cultural tourism to improve the standard of living for the members of the community.

I, Nhlaluko Mabehle was born to Ketlani Lizzy Chauke who is the 5th daughter of Mamaila Risimati and Enock Nden'eza. When I was born, my whole family resided in a village named Nkavele which is now under the Collins Chabane Local Municipality with Tsonga people, butat certain times of the year, my family would go to a village named Tswinga to visit *mashubini*(old ruins) in Thohoyandou. My grandmother spoke more of tshiVenda and we had more of Venda people as our extended family than we did Tsonga people in the village that we residedin. My grandmother did not often speak about this place until she got ill and ultimately passed on in May 2022. My grandfather on the other side used to gather all his grandchildren during school holidays and he explained to us the importance of knowing where we come from so that even when he was not here we would be aware of who we really are.

My grandparents met when they were both young and lived around Thohoyandou, they got married and started having children. Unfortunately, they were forcibly removed from their homeland and they settled in the village that we grew up in. They always mention that their worst fear would be disconnecting from their ancestors because they did not have much access to the graves of their parents. They were unable to communicate with their parents and they only went back years later when they had settled in the new area, where they were introducedto Christianity. My grandfather was very fond of the church, he taught all his grandchildren that the way of life is through Christ and yet he still held on to the practices that he was supposed to perform at the graves of his ancestors, but that he was prevented from doing, because they were not even in the area of his forefathers anymore.

His village was 18km away from Phiphidi Waterfalls, although my grandparents never went to the waterfalls they told me a lot of stories about the mysteries of Phiphidi waterfalls. The spoke highly of the healing power that is in Phiphidi and how it overflowed to other communities as well. My grandmother told me about how hurt she was with the forced removals because she lost touch with who she was, she lost touch with those who were supposed to guide her through her life journey and would hate to see things not done properly for other places as she has gone through the loss of sense of place and it changed her life completely. With all of this, I decided to study the implications of tourism development especially in a place that was close to my

Grandparents and considered sacred to try and see what went wrong and how it can be mitigated to help other communities. The objectives of this study fit into the context of the stories of my grandparents and ultimately our identity. Investigating community attitudes enabled the researcher to gather information about the sacred spaces and effective management ways of conservation which will be studied further in a different dissertation when provided with the opportunity.

1.3. Field of Study

The Phiphidi Waterfalls are found at the foothills of the Soutpansberg mountain range (Dzwaini) in the Limpopo province (Fig. 1). Following the definition provided by the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, the Phiphidi waterfalls and other surrounding sites in the Dzwaini mountain range can be defined as an associative cultural landscape that reflect powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations with natural elements rather than material cultural evidence, which may be minor or even absent (UNESCO 2021:83). Phiphidi Waterfalls is part of the Thulamela Local Municipality (TLM) where TshiVenda is the most spoken language (Fig. 2).

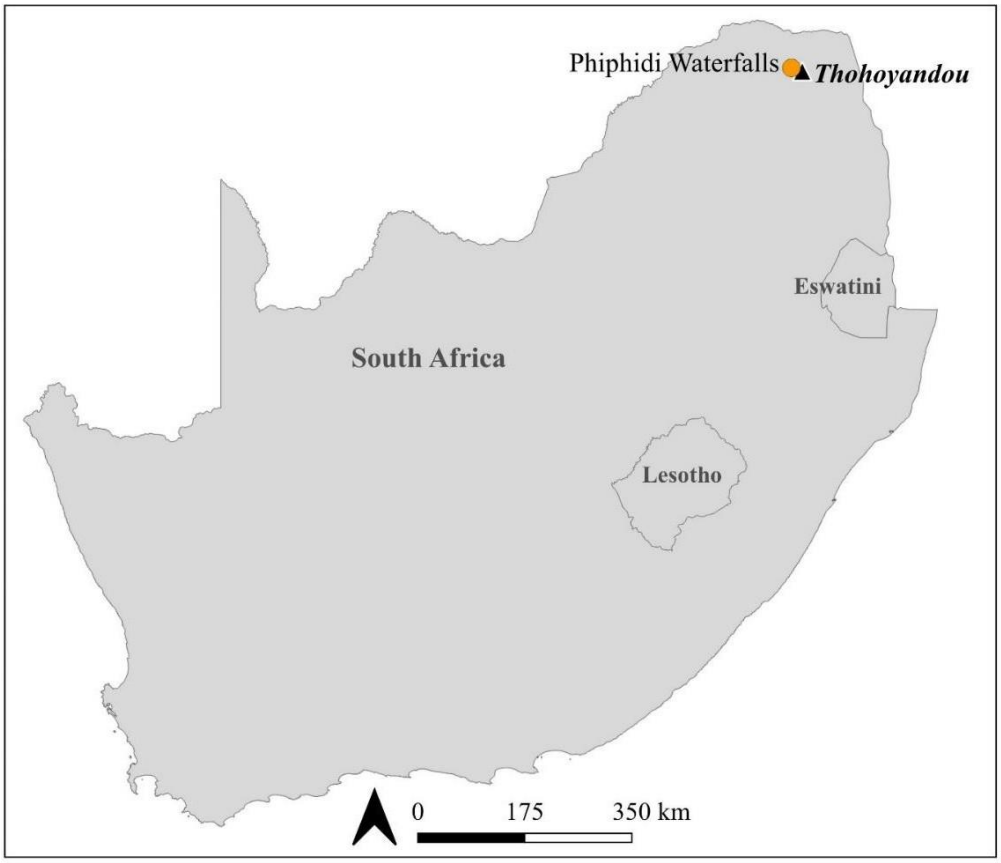


Figure 1: Location of Phiphidi Waterfalls in relation to South Africa

1.4. History of Vhavenda people

The language spoken by the Venda people is known as Tshivenda and it is very similar to Shona, a Bantu language spoken by the majority of population in Zimbabwe. According to Loubser (1989) the Venda people emerged as a fusion between the Shona people from Zimbabwe and the Sotho people from South Africa. The vhaVenda people acknowledge and embrace their natural habitat, they consider most caves, forests, mountains and water bodies as sacred. Water sources hold the most value as the ancestors of vhaVenda people are believed to reside in most of them. Because of their sacredness, access to these sacred sites is usually exclusive to the clans that are supposed to take care of them. For example, *Thathe Vondo* is a sacred tropical forest that has an area where access is exclusive to the custodian clan because spirits are believed to be associated with the burial grounds there. The latter is true for Phiphidi Waterfalls, which were previously exclusive to the Ramunangi clan who are well known as the *Vhadau* of the *Vhangona* people as they are the accepted clans by the other vhaVenda communities. The custodians feel they were chosen by the creator (*Nwali*) to be responsible for everything that exists within the sacred site (Sinthumele *et al.* 2021). They are very dependent on their natural habitat for their lives, they use indigenous plants for materials, medicinal purposes and food. The natural environment is a very important aspect to them because it is linked to their values and norms, so they conserve the habitat themselves.

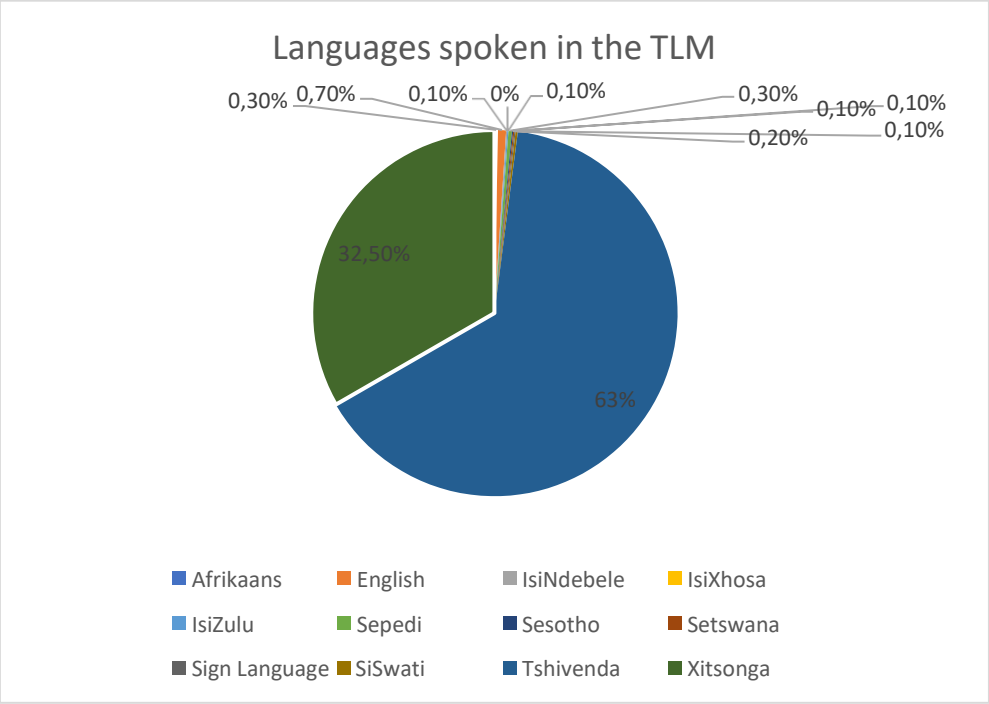


Figure 2: Languages spoken in Thulamela Local municipality

The traditional systems that are used for the conservation of the natural habitat are enforced by their chiefs and the headmen of the community (Mabogo 2012). They still practice and respect the rituals and traditions that were passed down to them by their ancestors, they are also regarded as one of the most traditional people in the country with many myths and customs.

1.5. The community and custodianship of Phiphidi Waterfalls

The Phiphidi Waterfalls are found within the area that is occupied by vhaVenda people, known for their living traditions and strong cultural identity in South Africa (Musahane 2016). The area around the waterfalls, the trees and the lakes are all sacred, the most sacred being the rock that rests on top of the waterfall that is known as *Lanwadzongolo,* and the pool below, *Guvhukuvhu* (Ratiba 2013; Pikirayi & Magoma 2021) (Fig. 3). Venda is relativelyisolated and different from the rest of the country, making the culture and traditions of the area well preserved because of its geographic location. Phiphidi Waterfalls are located close to other sacred lands which were also protected and taken care of by the vhaVenda people. These sacred lands include Lake Fundudzi and the Thathe Vonda sacred forest. The river, waterfalls and the surrounding forest are all regarded as sacred.

The Tavatsindi people of the Ramunangi clan have traditional custodianship of the Phiphidi waterfalls because the waterfalls is home to the spirits of their ancestors (Pikirayi & Magoma 2021). However, the Ramunangi clan's custody is not legally recognized, and this hinders their ability to protect their sacred land from any form of development, especially tourism (Ratiba 2015).

Traditional laws, rituals and rules are said to govern the behaviour at Phiphidi waterfalls, and these laws are enforced by clan leaders. Access to some parts of the sacred land has been exclusively reserved for the Ramunangi clan. The Ramunangi clan has been acknowledged as the traditional custodians of the Phiphidi waterfalls by the other Venda communities and members of the Phiphidi community. Members of the Ramunangi clan are also responsible for performing rituals such as the *Thevula* that brings good harvest and rain into the area. The Ramunangi clan custodianship is only acknowledged by other Venda communities and not by any legal heritage authorities or legislation (Ratiba 2015).

Interviews for this study were conducted in an area chosen for its proximity to the Waterfalls (Fig. 4)



Figure 3: Phiphidi Waterfall, Lanwadzongolo (https://vendatribe.co.za/phiphidi-waterfalls/)

Tourism at Phiphidi Waterfalls

Tourism developments around Phiphidi started during the Apartheid era in South Africa mostly promoted by the Venda Development Corporation under the ruling of Tshivhase (Pikirayi & Magoma 2021). For the construction of roads, picnic convenient areas and bathrooms, trees that are considered sacred had to be cleared by cutting them down. Space was also made at the riverbank at the *Mutsinduni* River to plant Ceylon tea in 1973, this was authorised by Chief Tshivhase with the hope that it will generate enough money for an empire. The developments that were constructed from that time and those that were created in 2010 are however not in frequent use, it is said that the area is not being used frequently as people just visit for a day, normally on Saturdays and when there are events. The failure of usage may be an outcome of the lack of proper communication and working together between the government structures (authorities) tourism developers and the community of Phiphidi (Mawere *et al*. 2021).

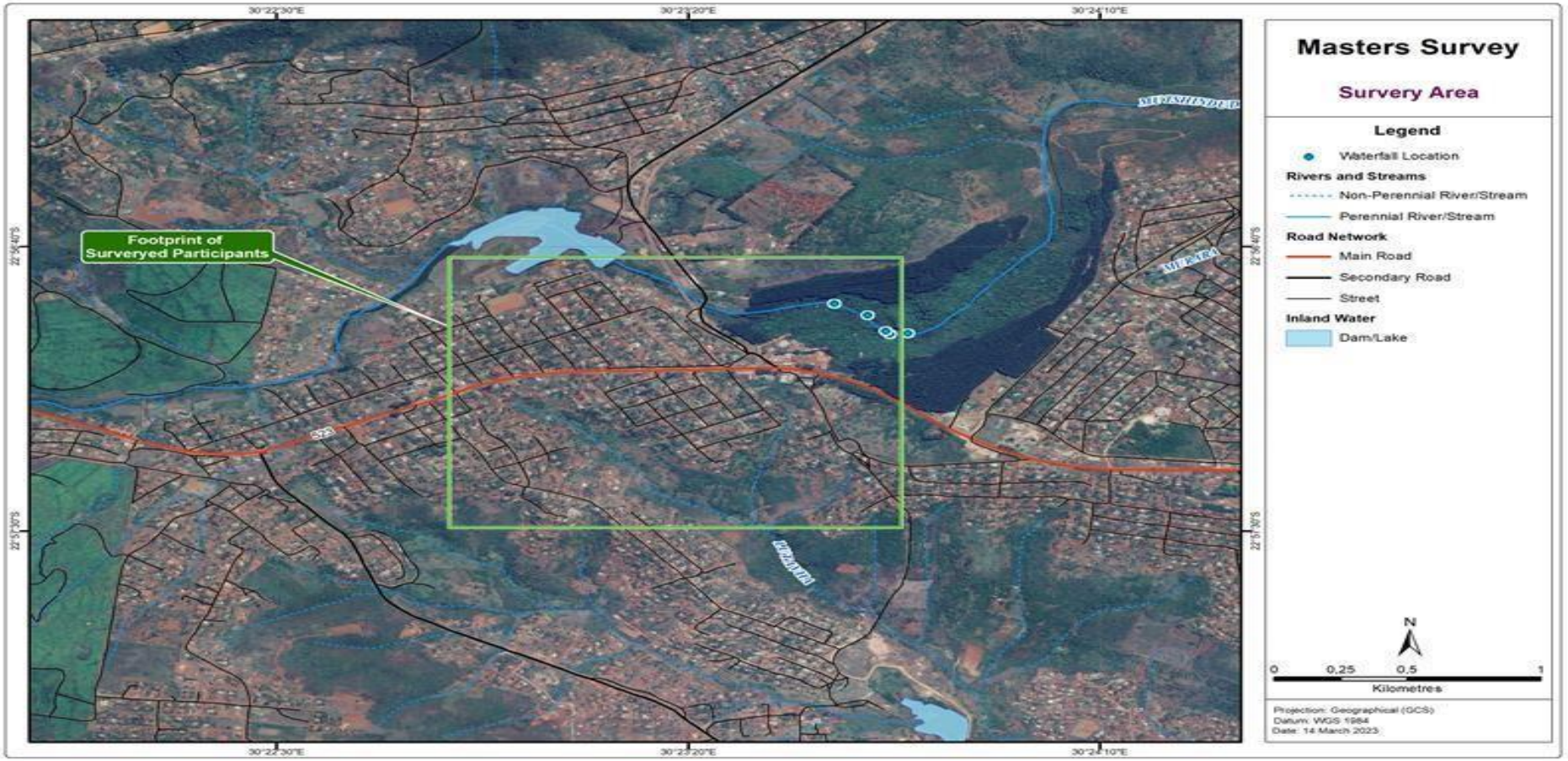


Figure 4: Map of Phiphidi, footprint of surveyed area.

CHAPTER 2: TRADITIONAL CUSTODIANS AND HERITAGE TOURISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1. Local communities and heritage

In Africa, Archaeology is still largely practiced in a manner which was inherited from the colonial past. Although there have been some changes, there has been only a few efficient changes through time (Schmidt 2009). Archaeological objects are identified mainly by archaeologists and can be removed from sites to exhibitions. Heritage value is given to archaeological objects that are associated with the landscapes of the communities along with their narratives. Heritage may remain stagnant until activated by cultural performance (Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016). Local communities play an important role in defining intangible cultural heritage - the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage - as they are part of the cultural landscape, 'The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage' (UNESCO 2003:2). Intangible heritage is different from the material archaeological objects, in that it encompasses the place that they are found in and the value to the people who live within the community who are mainly affected spiritually by heritage tourism, especially in sacred places.

The conservation of heritage is not only limited to the government and heritage experts, but also to local communities who have a particular interest in the heritage. The traditional custodianship of heritage places by local communities must be understood and respected enough to be included as part of the management and tourism plans that will preserve the heritage of the community (Ndoro *et al.* 2017). Local communities give meaning to archaeological objects making it heritage, which they want to pass down to the future generations, as the heritage is an inheritance from their ancestors. Local communities benefit immensely with heritage conservation that there is no need for them to compete with developers with ulterior motives (Chirikure *et al*. 2010; Chirikure 2013). They gain identity through religious values that they adhere to, they practise their religion, maintain it and leave an inheritance for their children.

In most cases where local communities are engaged in archaeology, they are involved in the form of outreach programmes and educating the public about heritage, which do not last for a long time. When the perspectives of local communities are acquired by the researcher, they are being engaged for a long time. Their voice stays valid, they have power over how their narratives about their heritage is told and it is kept for a long time (Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016). Developers also use the same strategy to engage local communities, making them benefit economically and not considering their religious values.

2.2. Traditional custodianship of heritage sites

Traditional custodianship refers to "all mechanisms and actions guided by customs and belief systems, carried out by local communities, aiming for the continuous use and preservation of the place, its values, and its surrounding environment, including the preservation of its symbolic and cosmological significance" (Jopela 2010:9). Koenane (2018) argues that despite the people's efforts to redefine traditional custodianship systems the government has not done enough to clarify the roles of these traditional systems. These systems have been acknowledged on paper (i.e. the constitution is the supreme law of any country and by now practicing what is acknowledged in the constitution is breaking the law. The problem is the supremacy of the roman Dutch law over customary law on which traditional custodianship is based on.) but they are not actively practised in many places. Rural areas can affirm to that the local government has failed them because of issues such as corruption and poor service delivery. The management of natural resources has been seen as a method to develop rural communities, this started because the government assumed that rural communities who depend on natural resources are now overusing them and this has a negative effect on the habitat. The government proposed their own systems and policies to govern how these resources can be used in a more sustainable way (Fabricius *et al.* 2001) without consulting the local communities.

The United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is trying to bring together traditional knowledge from members of the community associated with landscapes and their living heritage and science in order to solve the preservation challenge. The World Heritage Convention that is used to protect natural and cultural heritage seeks for sites that have outstanding value for them to be recognized as World Heritage Sites and to be protected. But who defines this outstanding value, the members of the community who are

associated with the sacred sites or the panel that discusses which sites should be classified of outstanding value? It may not have any much value for the people who make the decisions but for the communities it has significant value, they are connected to the sites and they make sacrifices to the ancestors at these sacred sites. This is why the value of sites should be determined by the members of the community and they should determine how living heritage is preserved (Rossler 2003).

Making sacred sites accessible to tourists has its own consequences, it creates a dual use of the site. Religious spaces are now used as money generating places for the community, as proposed by the government, and used as a worshipping place for traditional practitioners. This creates a complicated way to preserve and manage sacred sites. Traditional practitioners may have to alter the way that they worship because they may have to perform rituals in the presence of tourists. Some tourists may not even understand what they are doing and could feel uneasy with sacrifices being performed at the places that they are visiting. They may have conflicting views on how the sites should be preserved with the members of the community who feel the need to make sacrifices on the sites and this may cause conflict over the area (Olsen 2006). When traditional systems are taken into consideration by the government, local communities manage heritage efficiently using their own methods.

In Kenya, the conservation of sacred forests has been done through traditional custodianship systems that are upheld by values and norms that define the local community. The spiritual significance of a sacred site is given by the community that is associated with the site (Borona 2014). The sites are spaces that are used by the communities to communicate their needs to their ancestors. Local communities protect sacred sites through Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), which is the knowledge that is acquired by careful observation of the natural habitat and the relationship that they have with the environment. This method can be adopted for other sacred sites in Africa and beyond, this way it involves the local communities and the government by using the government's resources to fund the needs of the communities. There has been clear conflict between government officials and local communities pertaining to managing and preserving heritage especially in sacred sites (Nasser 2003), this conflict can be resolved by sufficient communication between all the stakeholders involved and the members of the communities will not only be said to be involved but they can be actively involved in everything that happens with their sacred sites in this suggested framework (Waligo *et al*. 2013).

Engaging the local community when planning heritage management is crucial for the preservation of heritage. Amongst other economic benefits, the approach used is bottom up, prioritizing the needs and values of the local communities first during tourism developments (Macamo & Sætersdal 2004). Mozambique is a developing country and poverty is an issue that cannot be avoided, tourism is used as a way to help people improve their lifestyle while preserving their history and living heritage, this is cultural tourism. The issues with preservation are known by the community members as they have been using "traditional systems" as defined by modern scholars, the community can also hold suitable solutions for these problems because the sites have certain values associated with the local communities with the help of tourism developers to achieve a common goal of preservation. Some scholars even go to the extent of referring to local communities as living heritage guardians of sites. To ensure continuity through sustainable tourism, children must be taught from a young age about preserving their heritage by engaging them in museum visits, guided tours through living heritage and through education.

South Africa is home to many rock art sites, most of these were made by San hunter gatherers in shelters (Deacon 2002). In an effort to protect the rock art, rock art shelters were usually barricaded by putting fences around them to protect them from being damaged and vandalized by local community members by heritage authorities, in this attempt to keep vandals out the barricade also kept tourists from visiting the sites because they were not aesthetic enough for them and the people who wanted to damage the art still stole the fence used to barricade the art to use in their communities. The meaning of San rock art can only be fully understood by San people. It is important to consult with all stakeholders about art and heritage found in communities, the meaning of the art and heritage cannot be assumed when there are people who live relatively close to these sites and have knowledge about their past (Taruringa & Ndoro 2003; Pwiti *et al*. 2007). Failure to involve and engage with the local community at Domboshava led to the destruction of a rock art panel in the shelter by smearing oil paint on it. This shelter was created as a public rock art site by the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), but the local community did not approve of the management ways of the rock art at the site (Pwiti & Mvenge 1996). The site is not just an aesthetic destination for them, they also perform ceremonies in the shelter where the art is, the NMMZ also closed a hole that brought in bees that stung tourists without consulting the local communities and it was disclosed that the hole was important for communication between the people and the ancestors during the rainmaking ceremony (Ndoro 2004; Smith 2015). This would have been avoided

had there been an effort to collaborate with the local community from the start and in the long run, so it is crucial to engage with the local communities about everything that happens to the sites.

In a meeting held in South Africa to discuss a regional management plan for rock art in Southern Africa, a strategy to manage rock art sites was developed and it showed public education, site conservation and the management of information as the most important components for effective management. They also agreed to include the government department in charge of heritage in the strategy to commit to conserving rock art (Deacon 1997). There is a clear exclusion of community members in this strategy, but the government is called in to create a partnership to make sure that rock art is conserved. This exclusion may have been intentional, yet the members of the community are usually descendants of the makers of the rock art, they reside closer to these rock art sites and they hold important oral history about the sites. In Archaeology, artefacts are just objects when they do not have any associated meaning, so involving community members is an important step in any archaeological site development.

The government of South Africa is usually held accountable for the loss of lifestyle, land, a sense of belonging and a connection with people they buried (ancestors) in these spaces by descendant communities who were forcibly removed from their land of origin by the apartheid government, the compensation is usually just monetary. The government claims that by giving descendent communities money to compensate for their loss they will have given them back what had always belonged to these communities, they even go as far as using the descendant communities' native languages when naming the developments/projects to make them feel empowered. But is this enough for the people who are by now old and have forgotten their traditions and have adapted to new ways in new environments where they were forced to adapt (Meskell 2012)? For instance, the Kruger National Park was previously inhabited by black, Tsonga people and they were forcibly removed to build a sanctuary for wildlife, black Tsonga people were used as labourers while the graves of their ancestors were being intentionally destroyed for monetary gain for white settlers. Not only were descendant communities robbed of their land and heritage, they are still fighting to get recognition and ownership of their land, they have to pay access fees to perform rituals at the graves of their ancestors in the land that they once inhabited (Meskell & Masuku van Damme 2008).

Similarly, in the present day Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site, Venda occupants were forcibly removed from their land and it was occupied by Afrikaners. During

the early years of research of the area, only the Afrikaners were called in for interviews about the history of Mapungubwe and the first descendants were not approached (King 2011). The artefacts that were collected during this research were taken to the University of Pretoria and they are still stored there, the university refuses to take the artefacts to Mapungubwe (King 2011). These objects include human remains, this is very sensitive as the descendants usually need a connection with their ancestors but they may experience an unrest as their ancestors are not at peace (King 2011; CALS 2014). All they need is mutual recognition and respect from all the people who are involved in this from the scholars, current occupants of the area, members of the community and the government. Traditional management systems of sacred sites by local communities do not deny the government or scholars to take part in the preservation of their sites. What they usually require from all the stakeholders is to recognise them as the custodians of the site, they need them to give them the rights to perform their rituals in these locations with privacy and with respect for their ancestors. They have allowed developers to alter their sites in order to benefit not only the rural communities but the developers too, this may be an advantage for everyone only when it is utilized right to benefit all the stakeholders equally.

2.3. Safeguarding Intangible Heritage

Heritage is intangible expressions, ways of knowing and seeing that inform and give meaning to the material world (Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016). As outlined in the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, this category of heritage is manifested in the domains of (i) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (ii) social practices, rituals and festive events; (iii) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; (iv) traditional craftsmanship. The intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (UNESCO 2003: 3). Local communities are more concerned with the preservation of intangible heritage for the future generation, to keep the connection between them and their ancestors than making the heritage and sacred places tourist attractions for monetary value.

Traditional management systems were in place before the colonial period, they were enforced

by belief, cultural and religious systems to ensure the survival of sacred lands (Arjjumend & Beaulieu-Boon 2018). Many African countries have always had traditional management systems to help them maintain and ensure the survival of cultural sites. The idea that preservation of heritage was only introduced with colonialism should be disputed (Ndlovu 2009). African people in particular have always taken care of intangible heritage and sacred sites (Ndlovu 2009: 61). Rock art sites are an example of this; rock art sites were used as places to communicate with ancestors, and some of these areas were used as places to perform rituals such as rainmaking. These sites had to be protected by the people who perform rituals, as this is for their own good (Taruvinga & Ndoro 2003; Bwasiri 2011).

An example of an effective traditional management system is in Mozambique, in the province of Manica where a traditional structure is in charge of managing a sacred site known as Chinhamampere (Jopela 2010). Chinhamampere is a hill on the foothill of Serra Vumba, it lies within other rock art sites and the local community is actively involved in its preservation through ritual practices that benefit them (Jopela 2010). The site is a San rock art site surrounded by woodland which forms part of the sacred site and can be used for traditional ceremonies as they believe that ancestral spirits exist in the earth and in water in Manica, this is the case in many other African countries (Jopela 2010). Chinhamampere is important for the local community because the traditional structure (chiefs and spiritual mediums) perform rituals that save the communities from danger and gives them good harvest, rain and good health. The rain making ceremony takes place right before the rainy season, every household in the community contributes something for this rite, the traditional structure heads to the hill to perform the ritual while the villagers wait at the chief's house (Jopela 2010). The spiritual medium performs the rain making ceremony at the hill, in this case a woman is responsible for this. She goes into a trance and communicates with the ancestors where she asks for good health, good harvest and rain at the perfect timing for the community. The art, drawn by the ancestors of the people who perform the rituals is well taken care of by the people who benefit from what happens at the site by connecting the people who live now and the people who once lived in the same area (Jopela 2011, 2016).

Chinhamapere is not only an example of an effective traditional management system, it also shows just how much sacred lands are important for the people who live close to them, people who have a history with them and can relate to them. The consequences of not performing the rituals include harm to their community, this is why the chiefs and the mediums take it upon

themselves to ensure the survival of the sacred sites and the local communities by asking for good health, good harvest and rain from their ancestors.

2.4. Heritage and Sustainable Tourism in South Africa

Before the World Heritage listing in 2001, less than 3000 people visited the Tsodilo Hills in Botswana annually (Ndoro 2015). After the listing, the visitor numbers increased to 10,000 per year between 2001 and 2005, representing approximately a 40% growth per annum (Ndoro 2015). Between 2005 and 2014, visitor numbers fluctuated between 10,000 and 12,000 visitors per year (more than half were foreigners (Ndoro 2015). Apart from infrastructural development, the life of local community members, who sell crafts and other tourist "related products like tour guiding to visitors has changed, as seen in the building of more substantial houses" (Ndoro 2016: 400). Crafts are part of material culture that are being made and sold to tourists during their visits to heritage sites. This is an opportunity for the local members of the community to generate income to provide for their families, however, the values that were associated with crafts and their production are deteriorating. The crafts in this community include baskets, necklaces and bracelets, their production was done by indigenous people who had skills and had the indigenous knowledge of the values associated with them. There has been a shift in the production of these crafts and this has influenced how they are perceived, the crafts were previously used during events and ceremonies for young brides so the rightful skills and knowledge were needed as done by indigenous people in the community (Keitumetse & Nthoi 2009). When people in the community saw an economic opportunity from the production of these crafts, they learnt to make these crafts to benefit themselves, economic value became greater than cultural heritage values. All these changes occurred as an impact of giving the site a World Heritage status, the ways of learning skills changed from indigenous people to learning to make profit reducing the cultural value, this will eventually change the way of life for the host community losing their culture and values (Keitumetse & Nthoi 2009).

Heritage is being sold as a way for improvised communities to develop economically in a country where the government has failed to provide services (Meskell 2012). However, looking closer into this matter there has been more negative impacts than positive ones in these communities (Chirikure *et al*. 2010; Marschall 2010). In spite the fact that there has been some economic growth in certain sites, there are not much indirect effects as a result of tourism and there has not been any significant change in the livelihood of host communities (Ndoro 2016: 407). The projects are said to create jobs and present opportunities for members of the

community but they hardly transpire in real life. As Marschall (2012) describes it, in the case of South Africa, but resonating with most of the African context, heritage officials report that funding applications tend to vastly overstate the tourism potential of heritage sites and completely outrageous figures about anticipated arrivals are sometimes publicized in the media. “Understandably, desperate communities who know little about the requirements for successful tourist attractions are easily swayed to support memorials and heritage projects that raise the spectre of opportunities and an escape from poverty” (Marschall 2012: 199).

“South Africa’s natural and cultural heritage is clearly one of the most appealing and rapidly growing tourist attractions in the world, (which) makes this sector, an area to which government, entrepreneurs and communities are currently giving serious consideration” (Binns & Nel 2002).

Whilst this can be viewed as a useful and beneficial aspect, it is problematic when entrepreneurs engage in this on their own, as they focus mainly on the profits that will be made at the expense of the intangible aspects of the heritage and community benefits. It usually leads to negligence and inadequate consideration of the local communities' views, values, and beliefs and practices because the main goal is making profit.

In rural areas, where there are many challenges in terms of developments of healthcare, sanitation, education, and most basic human rights, tourism is seen as a way to eradicate all these problems at once with the potential economic upliftment that it might bring. It creates economic opportunities that may lead to success in the future and alleviate poverty in the rural areas (Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016). In the plans of tourism developments, how communities will be engaged is usually exaggerated in order to get permission from the right authorities for development to continue. This becomes one sided, giving more benefits to the developers while manipulating the community for its engagement.

A biocultural approach is proposed when studying heritage on a South African site, it looks at the relationship between nature and culture. This approach also considers the beliefs, values and practices of the local people. This approach allows the local people to manage their own heritage and maintain practices or traditions that look after the environment (Cocks *et al*. 2018). This approach should be suggested first when working on heritage sites in South Africa, if the community does not want to be included, the heritage can still be protected in other ways, and

the legislation can take over. In most African countries, the management of cultural heritage has been made to suit the economic and social needs of the communities within which the sites are found. This is a way of preserving the cultural heritage and empowering the community with their own heritage (Eboremeire 2009). The developers benefit way more than the local communities, the plans may be designed to suit and benefit the communities but this is questionable when communities are still asking for their opinions to matter when these sites are being developed for tourists.

Heritage tourism is commodifying heritage as a means to preserve it, this is most successful when there is great balance between sustaining the heritage and actively engaging local communities of where the sites are located from when the tourism strategies are being designed. This has positive impacts for all the involved stakeholders, (i.e. all the tourism policies will be seen through over a long time, everything will be equally shared amongst members, the meaning of heritage will be interpreted correctly by engaged local communities, they will welcome the visitors and tourism developers properly and there will be social capital) (Chirikure *et al.* 2010). Community involvement is challenging, to minimise this local communities need to be engaged from the start when strategies are being designed. This encourages decisions to be made by all the stakeholders as a collective so they can be followed through encouraging a good atmosphere in developing tourism in the area. The factors that determine the willingness to participate are heritage values, knowing and understanding will aid in what happens to/in a site. Heritage values give the people identity, a connection that they have to the site and a symbolic meaning to the people who have been in the community (bequest values). Heritage values can also cause people to not want to participate, they hold on to the sites that have significant meaning to them so they would not do anything to potentially harm them. Tourism often creates a conflict between protecting sites with empirical value for local communities where they can be displaced and commodifying them to bring in social capital, the stakeholders involved must be willing to collaborate to minimize the damage of developing a site through tourism (Fouseki & Dragouni 2018).

Tourism is an experience for people who do not live within the destination and an experience for people who live in the destination (host communities), this is because it is sold as a product to both groups. The question then is who is the seller, who gets to decide which story is told to get the attention of those who are paying for an experience and why them? Heritage is usually in contested spaces, where host communities just want recognition, respect for their sites and

peace while on the other hand the developers are commodifying the space to gain profit. The way in which sites are then presented to the world and to tourists is a representation of those in power and the elite, usually this group consists of politicians and business people (in this case developers) (Boswell and O'kane 2011). They decide what story is sold to the broader public to generate profit from heritage, they rewrite and may distort history as the focus shifts from preservation of heritage for descendants or host communities into generating money and "benefiting the local community". But who does heritage belong to, is it not for the people who are connected to it, are their stories supposed to be forgotten because they do not serve the interests of the politicians? Heritage consists of memories of the past, if it is going to be sold to people as a commodity the full story has to be told because it has shaped the way things are in present time, even those in power should not choose what people get to remember and what those who never knew get to know through heritage that has been distorted to make those in power look good.

CHAPTER 3: LEGISLATION REGARDING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1. Legal framework for heritage protection

There has been some change in the way which heritage is managed in South Africa, following the promulgation of the National Heritage Resources Act (No 25 of 1999). It was within the context of the European colonization of the African continent that the use and safekeeping of heritage places became based on legal instruments (heritage legislation) that converted places of cultural significance (i.e., sites) and objects into the property of the colonial authority (Ndoro & Pwiti 2005). Notwithstanding the different forms of colonialism, heritage in these legal instruments was generally defined as buildings and objects (i.e., antiquities, ancient monuments and relics) from the past (Ndoro *et al.* 2008: 25). A common feature of this pioneering protective legislation across Africa is that it did not necessarily preserve the diverse African cultural heritage but rather protected a few sites that served the interests of the colonial agenda. Management of heritage in the colonial past in South Africa was only interested in what the colonial minds viewed as important and to constitute what they defined as heritage without paying attention to what the local communities were interested in and considered as heritage (Jopela 2017:107).

'During the 1990s, the formal heritage management paradigm in southern Africa began to shift from the 'monumentalist approach' that focused only on the protection of tangible heritage to a 'holistic conservation approach' (Jopela 2011: 108). 'Currently, the management of cultural heritage is broadly conceived as the 'processes, informed by public policy and heritage legislation, that manage and protect indigenous (meaning native communities) cultural heritage, and in so doing, construct and define relations between archaeologists, indigenous interests and governments' (Smith 2004: 9). The legal protection of archaeological sites through heritage legislation appears as one of the strongest management mechanisms for the conservation of heritage places. Management of archaeological sites imbued with sacred values has led to a conflict between local communities and heritage management institutions across the region (Taruvinga & Ndoro 2003).

Preservation in colonial Africa was done in a manner which considered the elite, who preserved

the heritage of the colonised which they saw fit and those they were interested in (Chirikure *et al*. 2010). Community participation is not just about engaging the community in the processes of preserving heritage, but also about giving them power in all aspects of heritage, including research and management. This can be also done in an economic way that gives back into the community. Including the community in heritage management has brought out the emotional aspect of heritage (Cocks *et al*. 2018). This means that the people who are part of the community will want to preserve their heritage because they have a deep connection to the sites. The concept of cultural landscapes recognizes and acknowledges historical heritage and artefacts, this led to the recognition of spiritual and religious values that are linked to certain landscapes. Cultural landscapes recognize the connection that exists between the local community, cultural heritage and the natural environment. A major dilemma however, is that the post-colonial legislation is rooted in the colonial one and the approach used is top down, which continues to be problematic for sacred sites and landscapes. The local community needs to be actively involved in projects, their opinion about heritage management must be taken into consideration. But legislation is still seen as most effective in heritage management by experts (Ndlovu 2011).

Many sites in Africa are discovered during the development of infrastructure. This has led to the need of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) to attain conservation or sustainability within developments (Eboremeire 2009). In South Africa today, there are laws that govern the protection of the environmental and cultural heritage. These are National Environmental Management Act (NEMA), No. 107 of 1998, and the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA), No 25 of 1999, respectively. There is a need for an EIA before any construction project begins as per NEMA. As part of an Environmental Impact Assessment a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) is performed by the qualified personnel to identify and predict any consequences of developments on heritage. If there is possible damage to the heritage resources a Phase 1 Heritage Impact Assessment or an Archaeological Impact Assessment may be requested (Ndlovu 2011).

Apart from the formal written heritage protection laws, there are also customary laws that have been passed to generations orally, which are used in managing and preserving heritage (Eboremeire 2009). These unwritten constitutions have caused conflicts with western ways of managing heritage. These western ways have been brought into the country by colonial systems that do not often take into consideration the interests of the community (Eboremeire 2009).

However, formal cultural legislation is not always effective, the reasons include shortage of staff, lack of funds and less support from the community, amongst other reasons. Enforcing the law and getting the community to engage can be challenging (Ndlovu 2011). All the suggested ways to protect sacred sites have consequences, the communities' approach does not always work and the tourist developers do not usually engage the community at an equal level. A better approach can be used is when developments are done sustainably to ensure that the future generation can build their connection with the ancestors through teachings of their parents.

The Maloti Drakensberg Park is located between Lesotho and South Africa, it was declared a World Heritage property partly because of its rock art, which was painted by Bushmen depicting their spiritual life. The legislation does not consider the social history of the site adequately and this has implications on the management of the site. The descendants of the artists (Bushmen) moved from their places and married with Bantu speakers, because of this the government assumed that they had gone extinct and took ownership of their heritage, making it belong to every citizen in South Africa. The inscription of the Maloti Drakensberg as a World Heritage Site meant that the way it had to be preserved had to adhere to international standards following its status. Its status had positive impacts for the neighbouring communities especially financially, they are not "descendants" yet they had more to gain from inhibiting the land close to protected sites. The Duma clan still practice Bushmen ways of life as they identify as descendants of Bushmen and they acknowledge the spiritual values attached to the art and not just aesthetic values which is more valued by the neighbouring communities (Nlovu 2009). The Duma clan still practice rituals at the Rock art sites, however they are denied access private access so they have to perform their duties of the ritual in the presence of tourists (Ndlovu 2009(. This may have been avoided if the rightful descendants had been consulted, but it is usually assumed that the descendants will be found in neighbouring communities who may want to benefit financially as they have no spiritual values attached to the rock art sites (Ndlovu 2016).

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODS

Heritage has been theorised as a range of social processes and experiences through which people invest things, places and practices with values and sentiment, and claim them in collective ownership or guardianship, to affirm continuity and identity (Filippuci 2009:320). For this reason, ethnography and more broadly qualitative methods have become key approaches in heritage research in recent years (Jopela 2011). These methodologies are used to aid in the documentation and analysis of perceptions, attitudes and motivations of heritage users and practitioners (Sørensen & Carman 2009; Jopela 2011). In this study, I will adopt these methodological approaches to investigate community attitudes and practices towards cultural heritage in Phiphidi Waterfalls area, in order to explore how these practices influence the use and conservation of sacred spaces in the landscape.

4.1. Qualitative research

A qualitative approach captures the full experience of human, this includes their emotions, behaviour and their beliefs. Using this approach allows for an inclusivity of family systems and cultural experiences unlike multivariate models (Castro *et al.* 2010). In depth interviews are best suited for collecting data on a more personal level, capturing their history, perspectives and their experiences. In depth interviews seek to find what happened, the manner in which it happened and why it happened in a more personal approach. A more comfortable environment is created for the participant as compared to them filling out surveys with less understanding of the project (Boyce & Neale 2006). This way they are able to bring out more information about the topic, their perspective and how they would like it to change (Boyce & Neale 2006).

When motivating for tourism development in most areas, social development is said to be an outcome that will benefit members of the community, with the main goal being to alleviate poverty especially in rural areas by providing basic needs. However, there are still disagreements between government institutions and members of the rural communities even after tourism developments because the promised social development does not become evident in the communities. For this reason, it may be useful to consider using a people centred approach when faced with issues of social development and other related issues (Asphalter 2006). This approach is suitable in the context of cultural heritage in sacred places. Within the same community, people may ascribe different meanings to the same

cultural heritage.

A people centered approach allows the participants to answer thequestions that they are being asked freely with no limitations, they are allowed to be comfortable and with this they engage more with the researcher as they understand that the interview is personal and their perspectives and attitudes are individualistic. When conductingthe interviews with elders of the community, the duration of the interviews were set to an hour,however the participants had more information to share with the researcher even outside the scope of the questions about Phiphidi Waterfalls and instead of dismissing them, they were taken into considerations because they may reflect indirect impacts of the development of the sacred area.

4.2. Defining communities

When engaging with the community for developments purposes, it is important to identify the right stakeholders (Dunham *et al.* 2006). Identifying stakeholders is a process that takes time and engagements with many members of the community. The different identified members have different intentions, behavioural patterns, concern and expectations of the developments on the sacred site and how it should be preserved and conserved. In business terms, stakeholders were previously defined as any entity that would cause operations to not succeed, communities were classified as this entity amongst others. The intention of engaging them was not for the benefit of the community but for the success of the operations. This, in South Africa could happen because there were no proper legislations and regulations to control the developments process. The National Heritage Resources Act was only developed in 1999 to protect and regulate the management of cultural heritage. Before this the developers were not mandated by law to do any social consultations before developments or projects. Engaging with the communities is necessary because it helps the developer build a relationship with the community, understand their expectations and by so doing mitigate potential conflict in the lifecycle of the project.

Only a few participants knew about the project to developthe Phiphidi Waterfalls before the construction activities began. When looking at the map clusters of the homes' of the participants, the people live in close proximity with the development site at Phiphidi Waterfalls, yet they were not consulted. The remaining elders got to know about the project after it started.

With all this, engaging stakeholders builds a relationship with communities and this has a greater potential to reduce conflicts between the communities and tourism developers. However, these conflicts are reduced by applying the right methods to identify the stakeholders and by using the most suitable definition of community. In basic terms, the community can be defined as a group of people who exist in the same area as a development and may have common interests or traits. Although this definition is acceptable for a rural community such as Phiphidi, it is ambiguous and could be problematic when dealing with a wider range of stakeholders and so, for the purpose of this study, communities will be defined into three categories namely: community of place, community of practise and community of interest (Dunhum *et al.* 2006). This is used to help identify the stakeholders that were most suitable for the study, not excluding other people who reside in the community. The time was very limited for the research, in depth interviews take a long time, and for this reason only the stakeholders within the three categories could be interviewed. The communities will be discussed further below.

4.2.1. Community of Place

Geographical location and proximity to proposed areas of development is central to this category. This is usually the dictionary definition of community, these people that are usually impacted, directly or indirectly by the activities of the developments. The developers may identify them and engage them about what their expectations are with regards to the development. The developers may also try to build a continuous relationship with the community of place for any future developments. In communities like Phiphidi, where traditions are still followed and the chieftaincy is still followed, when developers propose developments, then the way into the community is through the *musanda* (chief) and the royal family.

No activity happens in the community without the approval of the chief because of the traditional system that is used. This can either make is easier or harder for the developers. If they build a good relationship with the chief they can have easy access to the community of place, but if they struggle to build a good relationship with the chief they may be denied access into the community of place and the development might even been prevented. In the case of Phiphidi, when the tourism developers proposed the development, engagements were made with the chief and the royal family. This information was disclosed to me in interview by a participant, who is currently the manager of Phiphidi Waterfalls and a close relative to the late

Chief Jerry Tshivhase.

The developers felt that the consultations that they had with the chief and the royal family were adequate for them to start with the activities of the project. But the chief and royal family had not spoken to the wider community about the proposed development. So this is a case where the stakeholders were not identified sufficiently and it had consequences in the community. Whilst, traditionally, the chief and the royal family may represent and lead the communities, this does not mean that they can speak for the community without consulting with them. The developers needed to take the responsibility of trying to engage with the community of place themselves, even though they may need to ask permission to engage with the community from the chief, they do need to engage with them as stakeholders. The community of place approach tends to look out for the people within the community, they want to make decisions that will benefit them and improve their lives. They are based on the social development that could potentially happen because of the tourism development and want to explore more of how that could happen while they also still ensure that their cultural heritage is preserved for the sake of history as they may have connections to the sacred site and for their future generations. In this study, during the in-depth interviews with the participants identified as community of place, it was evident through social development issues that they had expectations for the development to improve their livelihoods, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2.2. Community of Practice

Community of practise is deeply rooted in identity where a group of people have a common commitment and goal (Hoadley 2012). They form part of the broader community yet still have their own different set of values and goals on a particular shared interest. The interest is commonly associated with living heritage and in most cases, these are families and or clans who have practised certain activities together with a common outcome. In the case of Phiphidi Waterfalls, the residents of the area and the community of place and interest acknowledge that the Ramunangi clan are the traditional custodians of *Govhukuvhu*, they know and acknowledge that the Ramunangi clan has been performing traditional rituals at the waterfalls for as long as the elders can remember. A participant even said that the only people who could go to the waterfalls are members of the Ramunangi clan when they were young. They recall times when the mornings would be misty and that it almost seemed like a mythical forest. The community of place could hear sounds from afar and no one would dare even go closer except for the

Ramunangi in the past. This makes the Ramunangi clan the community of practice, only they had access to the waterfalls and they were the only clan that could perform traditional rituals at the waterfalls. Although not legally recognised, the Ramunangi clan hold traditional custodianship of the land and the stakeholder engagement process should have prioritised consultation with this clan. This, however, was not the case, and the Ramunangi clan currently resides in another community, further from the waterfalls, as a result of disputes that resulted from the development of the waterfalls that expanded in 2010.

4.2.3. Community of interest

Community of interest includes a wide range of people including researchers, tourists, non-profit organizations and advocacy groups who have a common interest in the site (Dunhum 2006). They are not usually required as part of the decision making process, however their influence over the community can determine how development happens in the area. In the case of Phiphidi, *Dzomo la Mupo* (Voices of the Earth), the Gaia Foundation, worked together to submit an application to the court to ask that the developments that were already taking place stop. This was approved in July 2010 by Judge Mann in the South African High Court. In February 2011 the court once again ordered that the development stops at Phiphidi Waterfalls, yet the development work continued and the court case is still underway in 2023. What the organizations achieved in this process was to draw a constitution on a local level to govern future developments at areas that need to be protected at a local scale. The community groups are helpful and useful not only for publicizing information that needs for more attention but for finding possible resolution to conserve and preserve cultural heritage (as was shown in the Mapungubwe mining saga in recent years (CALS 2014). Several attempts have been made to communicate with the community of interests with no luck. As community has been defined for this study, the following section will discuss the process of identifying the participants.

4.3. Sampling and sample size

4.3.1. Purposive sampling and snowballing methods

Purposive sampling allows the researcher to choose participants with specific qualities (Sørensen & Carman 2009). For this project, the use of this technique helped acquire information about traditional custodianship, sacred heritage and tourism development in

Phiphidi Waterfalls. This information was acquired from elders who have stayed in the area for a long time, specifically those who have an interest and or a connection to the sacred lands. After categorising the community into three parts, the potential participants were selected based on the category they relate to. The members of the community were identified and classified into different categories before they were interviewed as purposive sampling was considered for the purpose of this study.

The community of place are the people who are aware of the issues of Phiphidi waterfalls because of their proximity and geographical location in relation to the waterfalls. The community of practice was already identified through research, this is the Ramunangi clan that is acknowledged by members of community of place as the traditional custodians of *Govhukuvhu*. Lastly, the community of interest was identified through previous research as well as they publicized information regarding the waterfalls. The participants were identified by the help of the local guards at the waterfalls, and using snowballing techniques, more participants were identified and they also identified more participants who form part of the categories of community.

The sample size was 20 elders of the community, the intention was to interview ten males and ten females, however, the resulting sample contained 14 female participants and 6 were male. This happened because the majority of the men that I approached, asked for some incentives to participate, the plea was always declined and they also refused to continue and this led to the interview being cancelled as incentives would affect the quality of this research. The first area that I wanted to visit was the chief's home to respect the chieftaincy system of the community and to let the traditional authority know that there would be people in the community conducting interviews. However, due to politics of the area it was brought to my attention that the community had no chief at the time of the interviews .Some said there is a chief, but that he just resides in Pretoria and is not actively involved in matters of the community. This left us with no other choice but to consult with the people who are employed at the Waterfalls. To our advantage, the current manager of Phiphidi waterfalls welcomed us and told us that she is now the acting chief of the community and she grants us permission to conduct interviews in the community.

Another technique that was used is snowballing sampling, which is a referral from one person to the next, it is more effective when dealing with sensitive issues (Streeton *et al*. 2004). The

type of snowballing technique used is linear, where the participant identifies another potential participant who also identifies a potential participant and it continues in that manner (Etikan *et al.* 2016). Participants referred to people who share the same perspectives and values with them and the information ends up being the same with most of the communities sharing similar perspectives. The results may be bias due to a small sample size who may have shared perceptions in the community (Showkat & Parveen 2017). This technique was useful as the elders of the community who have been in the area may know each other and the history and background of the waterfalls. More data was collected from many different people who live in the same community and had similar perspectives about the sacred land, asking the participant to identify the next potential participants was useful as the potential participants also held similar background knowledge about the waterfalls and yet offered different perspectives.

4.4. In depth interviews

The tourism developers who expanded the lodge at Phiphidi Waterfalls in 2010 were also interviewed for this study. This was to get their perspective on sacred, intangible heritage, to understand if they had planned to engage the community and how they went about trying to engage with stakeholders. I also wanted to find out if they were aware of the community's views and opinions of the sacred land before they started the work there and whether they were aware of the traditional custodians and if they involved them in the process of development.

The current situation with the members of the community was investigated to find out if the developments has impacted their ways of doing business whether in a positive or negative way and if they managed to have a relationship with the community of Phiphidi. The sponsors of the development were asked to be interviewed in depth to investigate what their perspectives are regarding traditional custodianship and developments on sacred places with intangible heritage, they humbly requested the interview stating that the people who were employed at the time were not there anymore and they did not have any information that would be beneficial regarding the waterfalls.

Local communities are usually the traditional custodians of heritage sites such as graves, initiation schools, shrines and sacred sites. They have been preserving cultural heritage, tangible and intangible over the years using traditional methods. While the traditional custodians hold values associated with sacred sites and wish to keep them pristine,

opportunities for developments arise that could potentially solve social development issues in the community. To investigate the community's attitudes, values, experiences and opinions on developments, I conducted in depth interviews with members of the community (community of place, community of interest and community of practice) and the developers.

These interviews were conducted to achieve an understanding of the experiences, attitudes, values, and the opinions of the potential participants with regards to traditional custodianship, the sacred land (Phiphidi Waterfalls) and the development of tourism in the area. The questions were designed to answer the research questions, interviewees were given a chance to speak freely to answer the main question. Ten main questions were designed specifically to know the attitude, values, opinions and experiences of the potential participants. They were interviewed about how the development happened in 2010, and how the development could have been done in a manner that would suit the community and the developers (See Appendix 1 and 2 for the Interview Questions).

The estimated time to conduct these interviews was two months, however the interviews took three months because they usually took longer than I had anticipated, this was often to do with participants changing their minds during the interviews and withdrawing from the process and also the difficulty of finding the developers for interview. The interviews were in-person interviews, this is because technology may have been difficult with elders and it was done to create a comfortable space for the researcher and the participants, to also allow for snowballing techniques in the community where members of the community know each other. However, as the interviews took place in 2022, which was during the Covid-19 pandemic. All of the interviews had to be done in line with the regulations of the country following the Covid-19 pandemic. Most elders are vaccinated in South Africa, but surgical masks were worn and hands were sanitized during the interviews and everyone who was part of the interviews practiced social distancing and were inducted briefly to ensure that all Covid-19 regulations were adhered to.

After the potential participants were identified, I gave them a background of the research and asked permission from them to be interviewed. The interviews were conducted in *tshiVenda* with the help of a translator, a language the elders speak and understand. Verbal consents were acquired before interviews as per the guidelines of the University of the Witwatersrand Ethics Committee. The translator was not from Phiphidi, has no relation with anyone from Phiphidi

or the sacred waterfalls so there is no conflict of interest with the researcher. To investigate more of these perceptions, the case of Phiphidi will be compared to other cases in other areas in trying to create a framework for the effective management of intangible heritage.

4.5. Comparative studies

Other case studies in southern Africa will be presented in this study through literature reviews to see if there are any traditional management systems that are currently in place, whether they are working effectively and how the community is responding to these systems. Previous studies have been done in the region about indigenous knowledge for conservation (Boonzaaier 2010; Mathibela *et al.* 2015; Sinthumele & Mashau 2020). Other case studies have been analysed in this chapter to create a framework that will be effective for sustainable tourism.

4.6. Ethics

These interviews were conducted in an acceptable manner as per the guideline received from ethics training workshops that I attended before the study commenced. I was granted ethical clearance by the University of the Witwatersrand Human Research Ethics Committee (non-medical) (Certificate number: H21/10/18) (Appendix 4).

As described, permission for interview was requested from all the potential participants once the research was explained to them. In cases that they did not agree to participate, they were not persuaded in any way. No incentives were given to any of the participants, this was done to obtain the most genuine and true information with no influence or for monetary gain. No names of participants are given in this study without their consent. The interviews were conducted with elders and the researcher was cautious about how they may have blurred memories, when they grow older and indigenous knowledge may be lost forever if they pass away without recording and documenting them (Owiny *et al.* 2014).

The information was collected by having in-depth interviews with20 elders. This information was recorded through note-taking, and after the interview, it was translated from *TshiVenda* into English to make the research accessible to a broader audience (Appendix 3). The data collected from the elders in the form of in depth interviews was digitized. The research was classed as having some risk, but relatively low at ‘minimal risk’, this risk was due to the fact that the topic of ancestors and traditional custodianship may be sensitive. During the interviews and the search for participants, some participants indicated that they could not

engage in this research because they did not want to get into trouble, the researcher understood and did not encourage or pry for more information as it could put themin danger, as they indicated, so they were allowed to be, and more participants were searched for through a referral from the ones who could not participate.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

5.1. Approach

Phiphidi waterfalls is remote and isolated from the rest of the country, this makes the culture limited to the people of the community who reside in the vicinity of the waterfalls. As much as outsiders can get access to their culture, they will never experience it in the way that the members of the community do. The people of Phiphidi have had protests in the past as they were standing up for their rights as the traditional custodians of the site when the developments were going on, the majority of the people who are shown in Fig.5 are elderly women. It was not easy to identify all these women but one was identified through snowballing techniques, she showed the other women who also fit the criteria for inclusion in this study and more participants who were not in this picture were identified as well. Snow-balling techniques were used for the identification of the participants along with purposive sampling. Purposive sampling was used to look for *Dzomo La Mupo* (Voice of the Earth) committee, who have been standing up against the destruction of sacred forests in the Vhembe District of the Limpopo province, several attempts were made to speak to them with no luck until the submission of the research.

The developers of Phiphidi are identified as the Tshivhase Development Foundation Trust, this company and the surname Tshivhase carries a lot of weight amongst the Venda people, the way in which they are approached had to be done carefully as there are some disputes over land ownership between them and the Ramunangi clan. A call was made to them asking for permission to interview a representative who would be willing to answer questions regarding the development of Phiphidi Waterfall after identifying the manager of the waterfalls as one of the developers. Using a representative was seen as a safer option for me as the Director of the company was not available for interview. They identified a person who would be interview on their behalf. No pictures or audio recordings were made during the interviews because the interviewee feared that the information given during interview could be used against them. The interview was conducted at the waterfalls at the gate. The interviewee mentioned that they would speak to represent the Trust that developed the waterfalls and the royal family, who are the Tshivhase *Musanda* (chief).

Additionally, I tried to get an interview with the Minister of Rural Development but this was refused with no reasons stated. The department also said they cannot speak on behalf of developments that they were not a part of as the employees of that time were changed from the time that the developments happened.



Figure 5: Dzumo la Mupo members protesting against the development of the falls outside the entrance to Phiphidi Waterfalls in 2010. (http://earthlorefoundation.org/justice/legal-action/)

In order to understand community members' perceptions regarding the developments at the waterfalls, I conducted interviews with some elderly members of the community. The elders were chosen by snowballing techniques and purposive sampling, where the first interview was conducted at the waterfalls and the participant then referred me to another potential participant who would be interested in giving information about the history of the waterfall, the current conservation status and how they feel about it as part of the community. The participants' names will not be disclosed in line with the Protection of Personal Information (POPI) Act and to protect the identities of the participants since this is a sensitive issue that has had implications on other members of the community. The questions were designed to achieve the objectives as stated in Chapter 2 including: (i) understanding the current socio-economic and cultural context at the waterfalls; (ii) investigating community's attitudes towards cultural heritage; and (iii) analysing the impact of tourism development on sacred sites and in the community.

These three objectives will help to achieve the fourth one, which is to propose a framework for the effective management of sacred sites in Limpopo within the context of tourism and

infrastructure development. All the questions in the interviews have been carefully worded to get an answer from the participants without making them feel uncomfortable and without guiding the responses. The interview questions for the community elders and the tourism developers can be found on the Appendix 1 and 2. The interviews were in-depth, and they went in different directions because participants have their own perception, some follow-up questions were asked during the interview for clarity, these were not set as they depended on how the participant answered the questions. One interview was conducted at the waterfall, the participant was a man who has been employed by the chief and the royal family at the waterfall from the time that the developments were made. Some participants chose to stop the interviews because there were controversial issues that they did not want to be involved in and these will be mentioned in this chapter. The participants were allowed to withdraw from the interviews, the information that they had already given was discarded and will not be referred to as they requested not to partake in the interviews anymore. This showed how sensitive and serious the issues of the waterfalls are, the threats and how they affect community members to the point of not wanting to engage in anything that is connected to the waterfalls.

5.2. Field observations

Phiphidi village is 13km away from Thohoyandou, a town which has undergone radical transformation in the past ten years. The town falls under the Vhembe District and has a population of nearly 70 000 people with 95% of the people being Venda (StatsSA 2011). Phiphidi village is rich in plantations of bananas, oranges, nartjies and avocadoes. The forests in the community are dense in trees that are usually covered in mist during the winter months. The community itself is separated by a main road leading into other rural places, on the south side is where the royal family resides as shown by a board written “Musanda phiphidi” (Fig. 6).



Figure 6: Image of board showing the side the royal family of the community of Phiphidi resides (Photograph: Mabehle 2021).

The boards that show the location of the house of the chief are very common in Venda communities, this is an indication that the system used to rule communities is chieftaincy and it is acknowledged, respected and appreciated by many Venda communities. Further down the road, there is a marketplace on both sides of the main road which looks more like the village centre. At the corner there are street vendors selling vegetables, fruits, sugarcanes and grilled chicken along with pap to the people who are working on the projects that are next to the road, slightly above the waterfalls entrance. This part of the village is busy, with taxis hooting and many cars driving from both directions stopping to buy the supplies on the sides of the roads. There is a tavern at the centre with people drinking alcohol, this was noticed daily when the interviews were conducted with the elders of the community and the developers.

To the north side of the village is a forest that is dense with tall trees and a stream, *Mutshiduni,* flowing below, which passes through the waterfalls. This side of the community is very calm and there are less movements or activities happening (Fig. 7).



Figure 7: An image of the dense forest that surrounds the waterfall (Photograph: Mabehle 2021).

This side of the village contains natural scenery such as trees and streams towards the entrance of the waterfalls. The entrance has a board with rules on it as to appropriate behaviour to keep the waterfalls clean (Fig. 8). There are no guided tours offered at Phiphidi waterfalls, it was said that there is no one employed as a tour guide.



Figure 8: Phiphidi Waterfall Notice board.

There is an admin block, a security house and a hall on the other side, the infrastructure looks old and unkept, the buildings look like they have not been used to their full capacity (Fig. 9). The busy place is the tiny admin block that has a lot of documents and a tiny bathroom which is also of old structures that are not being taken proper care of.



Figure 9: Conference hall, access was denied inside because the building is not being used (Photograph: Mabehle 2021).

In terms of interview technique, the first question was asked to create a setting for the next questions, because every participant was aware of the developments that had happened in the year 2010, some participants did not remember the year at which this happened, but they knew that there were developments that were made at the waterfalls (Appendix 2). Some participants made reference to events that had occurred at the same time as the development, rather than the exact year. For example, they referred to the term of the then president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, and the FIFA World Cup that took place in South Africa in 2010. Most members of the community know that a lodge was built near the waterfalls, a fence was also erected to barricade the area that is now identified as Phiphidi Waterfalls, but known to the community as *Govhukuvhu*. One participant explained in detailed that the Tshivhase Development Foundation Fund built a lodge, restaurant, laundry room, conference hall, chalets, picnic site, admin block, guard room and rooms for accommodation, the community members indicated that they learned about the project when the developments had begun at the waterfalls (Fig.

10).



Figure 10: Roundavel at the entrance of the waterfalls hiking trial (Mabehle 2021)

With the 2010 development, the members of the community were now looking forward to new opportunities in terms of jobs and empowerment for the community as it would now be known for the rare waterfalls in Limpopo, the waterfalls would become a place that they would took pride in. They were amazed to know that it started as a project but it would be a business which was going to generate income not only for the moment that the developments were made but even after they were completed. The community had expectations when they saw the developments being made, they were looking forward to visible changes in their community. The members of the community had no knowledge of the developments before they started, they knew during the construction of the above mentioned infrastructure.

There are five waterfalls at the site (Figs 11-15).



Figure 11: Waterfall 1(Mabehle 2021)



Figure 12: Waterfall 2 (Mabehle 2021)



Figure 14: Waterfall 3 (Mabehle 2021)



Figure 13: Waterfall 4 (Mabehle 2021)



Figure 15: Waterfall 5 (Mabehle 2021)

Some community members noticed the developments and they expressed their concerns, the concerns were raised with the chief of the community and they were completely ignored. The concerns were about the land being sacred as there were *zwiphoni* (ancestors) and *zwidzhimu* (gods) that reside in the waterfalls and the forest that surround the area. Despite the initial excitement of some community members with the development of the first park in the area, a number of concerns rose especially when the developments were built over time from even before 2010.

Other concerns were that the members of the local community were now expected to pay an entrance fee to visit the waterfalls, they believed that they should not be treated as tourists because the heritage that was being commercialised actually belonged to their communities. The Ramunangi clan, who are the acknowledged traditional custodians in the community was very upset with the tourism developers (Tshivhase Development Foundation Fund and the royal family) because the *Govhukuvhu* (waterfalls and the forest) are sacred places and the Ramunangi clan is the gate keeper, entrusted to decide on who qualifies to enter these spaces that is imbued with a lot of intangible and living heritage. The infrastructural developments made the place accessible to every person from everywhere, this suited the developers but was clearly at odds with the community and clan's beliefs, given the sacred values associated to this landscape. This had impacts on the livelihoods on the Ramunangi clan in the community and they still face the consequences today.

5.3. Results of the interviews and discussion

5.3.1. Impact of tourism developments on spiritual practices

Developing *Govhukuvhu* (known to outsiders as Phiphidi Waterfalls) has had an impact on the spiritual life of the Ramunangi clan, the known and acknowledged traditional custodians of the waterfalls. The Ramunangi clan know that the waterfalls are sacred, this is known and acknowledged by the local community, although it is denied by the manager of the waterfalls. The clan has been responsible for tending to the ancestors who they believe are in the waterfalls for as long as they can remember. A participant (Interview 5, Appendix 1), who is from the clan states that he has been going there since he was a young boy and he watched the elderly perform rituals for the ancestors in the waterfalls when they were still in the bush with no buffer to mark the waterfalls, he states that no one from outside the clan would go and get any closer to the waterfalls, only their clan could get close to them. He grew and became responsible for tending the waterfalls as the elders who used to perform the rituals passed on leaving him with the responsibility. In recalling how he first knew of the proposed development at the waterfalls, he said that to his surprise, he was told by people that there were constructions taking place at the waterfalls, as if it was not enough that it was already a picnic site, they were building a lodge that would give people access to the waterfalls not only throughout the day, but in the evenings too. The clan was already worried about the future of the waterfalls and their spirituality as each time they visited the waterfalls they found that the place was not being taken care of properly. They instantly knew that the construction of the lodge was going to cause more problems for them, what happened next was unprecedented. The Ramunangi clan saw the developments as they were already happening, they had no prior knowledge of the constructions that were going to happen. As soon as they knew they decided to approach the 'developers' (Tshivhase Development Foundation Fund and the royal family) about it, they then discovered that the developments were authorized by the chief of the community. Although an Archaeological Impact Assessment was conducted in 2005, it excluded the components of intangible heritage and it is outdated for the project that happened in 2010.

In many rural communities in Venda, the system that rules the village or community is chieftaincy. The chief in a community is in charge of making decisions especially when it comes to land, the chief (mostly men) owns the land and sells it to members of the community to build their houses. This makes ownership very complicated for the waterfalls at Phiphidi, the traditional custodians of the waterfalls are the Ramunangi clan but the system that is used

to rule the community states that the chief owns the land, including the land that the Ramunangi are custodians of. The chief authorized the construction of the lodge amongst other constructions because he had the power to (Interview 10, Appendix 3). However, the Ramunangi clan was upset because of this and they decided to confront the royal family about it, their concerns were not addressed. Community members stated that there was war between the two families and the Ramunangi clan was then banned from the waterfalls, the community and the burial site of the community by the chief. The Ramunangi clan was unsettled with the decision of the chief and they decided to take this matter to court, they asked the court to intervene but all this was in vain as the construction of the lodge continued in 2010 and this will be discussed later in this chapter. The Ramunangi clan had no access to the waterfalls anymore and they suffered the consequences, their family started to dissolve, members moved to different places around Venda to avoid conflict. Some started going to worship in other sacred places and some just let it go, they could not handle the conflict between themselves and the royal family because of the affiliation that the chief has with all the other Venda chiefs and the Tshivhase clan as a whole.

The Ramunangi clan saw the decline of rainfall over the years and they believe that this is because of the developments that have been done at the waterfalls, there has also been a reduced harvest and people in the community are noticing it too. There has been a drastic increase in the number of people who have disappeared/drowned in the waterfalls, the only way that they have returned as corpses is when the Ramunangi clan are called in to perform a ritual asking the ancestors to let go of the people, the royal family does not actively participate in this ritual. The Ramunangi clan suggest that all misfortunes that have been happening in the community are the consequences of actions by some community members that disregard their culture and beliefs by developing the sacred area. Their greatest concern is how generational succession will not be achieved because of the negligence of the royal family. A participant from the Ramunangi clan chose not to speak about these things when they started because ancestral things are just as sacred, this became spoken about because they needed help to claim their rights of ownership of the waterfalls (Interview 5, Appendix 3).

5.3.2. Those who were remorseful.

Communities are usually unified by the same interests, they build relationships amongst each other, they are affected by the similar things and they help each other through. In the

community of Phiphidi, traditions are still followed. This is evident among the community elders and in the households that interviews were conducted in. For example, snuff, a traditional tobacco usually inhaled by females through their noses is still made traditionally by grinding tobacco leaves on traditional materials and is used during rituals in which people communicate with their ancestors. Maize is still grinded using the same method which takes a long time, but the community still prefer the traditional methods over the easy modern ways. The point here is tradition is still central for the community of Phiphidi, most of the elders have mentioned that they themselves perform rituals in the graves of their ancestors to ask for success, wealth for their children and for peace in their community. This is proof that ancestral practices are still performed by elders in communities and not just the Ramunangi clan, there is so much respect for ancestral worship within the community and usually the ritual is performed in one area as acknowledged by the ancestors for each clan.

Not every member of the community was directly affected by the developments that happened in 2010, but there are members of the community who saw the developments as unfair to the Ramunangi clan and they felt remorseful because they too worship and they know and understand the consequences that this could have on those who will be affected. The people who showed remorse are the ones who supported the Ramunangi by going to court with them throughout, elderly women known as '*makhadzis*', who are mainly responsible for tending for the natural and cultural environment, these people also disputed the claim that the protest which others say was for water in the community was influenced largely by concerns about the sacredness of the waterfalls.

5.3.3. Expectations of the community

As much as there were spiritual concerns on the generational succession of the Ramunangi clan, other issues arose from these developments. The most pressing issue was the employment methods that were being used during the project of developing *Govhukuvhu* (Phiphidi Waterfalls), the first issue is knowledge of the developments. The waterfalls at Phiphidi are said to belong to every member of the community, but does this not mean that they have to be actively aware and involved in everything that happens to them? It came as a surprise to most members in Phiphidi when they saw contractors at the waterfalls, this is how they knew that there were going to be developments. As Participant 3 indicated,

> "We just saw trucks and heavy machinery and people making movements in the waterfalls, we did not know what was being built until it was almost complete because the people then demanded answers about the employment methods that were used to hire the people who were working on a project that was in our community".
>
> (Participant 3, Interview, 2022)

Employment is a social development issue, when projects are initiated and advocated for jobs are usually promised to members of the community, but this was not the case in Phiphidi. The manager of the waterfalls has said that there is a board that represents the community of Phiphidi but the members say that they do not even know who is part of this apparent board (Interview 3, Appendix 3). As the developments were commencing the community was then informed that there are developments that have started and these are for the benefit of the community. The community was promised jobs in a fair manner, a raffle was used to get the first members of general employees in the community and they were told that the people would be cycled through jobs to give other people a chance to get the jobs as well. But this was not the case, the people who got the jobs were not even fromthe community to start with, most of those who were from the community even got retrenchedbefore the contacted ended (Interview 2, Appendix 3). The community thought that these developments were going to bring change, they believed that they were going to experience this change through jobs, they thought the community was going to receive more money by allowing more people to access *Govhukuvhu* but all that seems to have only happened on paperand verbally.

5.3.4. Community Benefits

The project of developing the waterfalls was meant to last only a few months, the people would be employed at the time of these developments, but this is not exactly as people were told. The members of the community expected this project to keep employing people even after the developments by sending them to other jobs, as this is what they were made to believe by the developers. Some community members were employed. They were employed at the waterfalls for general jobs such as building, roofing and clearing up trees to create space for the picnic areas, rooms and the conference centre. The members of the community were employed in their own town so they did not spend on transport fees and this was beneficial for them. However, the benefits were mostly enjoyed by those people who have a relationship with the royal family as they were prioritized along with those who stay closer to the waterfalls. The royal family also had many benefits, they were in charge of everything and the community is

aware that the promises that were made when the project started were not fulfilled and the only way that this happened is by those in charge taking more for themselves. The community gained exposure when the developments happened, people from most parts of Limpopo did not even know that there are waterfalls in Thohoyandou but they knew and wanted to visit after they knew about them, to experience the natural feature for themselves. Other people believe that culture and religion are far more important than any monetary benefits, the people got employed but at the cost of the Ramunangi forcefully abandoning their place of worship for tourists to explore.

The benefits that were promised did not manifest and the members of the community were upset, this led to an unrest in the community. Members were concerned about how they did not see the methods that were agreed on being implemented so they decided to protest. These members had no spiritual affiliation to *Govhukuvhu*, however they also experienced indirect consequences that were a result of these developments. The way that the royal family hired employees was questionable for the community, they believed that the people who reside in the community would be prioritized but that did not happen, and instead other people were employed ahead of the members of the community.

5.3.4. Those who were not affected.

Ancestors are spiritual and may not be bound at any specific location, however it is tradition to worship them at the places where they were buried, and this is because the burial place is their final resting place. When someone passes on, their spirit is collected by talking to them from their place of death in a journey to take them home before taking them to their grave as their final resting place. It is Venda custom to visit the graves and to speak to the ancestors, informing them about troubles and asking them to help the living with protection, blessings, and success in whatever their living relatives do. But recently, people have moved from small villages to live in the city in search of better opportunities. This has taken a toll on their spiritual wellbeing as they spend most of their lives away from the places where their ancestors are buried. But because the spirits are not bound by location, people are able to connect with their ancestors at natural places that have not been developed or modified in any way such as rivers, lakes, mountains and valleys. They still connect to their ancestors even when they are not next to their graves, natural habitats are believed to bring people closer to a spiritual realm and *Govhukuvhu* is still that to people who do not have any relationship to the waterfalls.

There are people who come to the waterfalls to perform other rituals, they even carry the water from the waterfalls, as they believe that they have healing powers and to them this is proof that the place is only natural and anyone can worship there depending on what they believe. With all this, some people believe that the waterfalls are sacred in different ways, they are also a natural habitat that makes people feel closer to what they believe in, people who are Christians also go to the waterfalls and they worship there but this does not mean that they are worshipping the ancestors that are believed to be in the waterfalls. There are other believers of Christ who are aware that there are ancestors of a certain clan but they are not affected by what happens at the waterfalls. This produces a multiple use of the space, the waterfalls are considered sacred by many people and their sacredness may be based on a number of different types of belief.

5.4. A different approach?

The members of the community are aware that the waterfalls belong to people who live in the community, they have ideas on how the developments should have been done but they were not given an opportunity, all the decisions about the developments were made and approved by the late chief Jerry Tshivhase. The community was engaged when the developments had already started and only about employment because it was a cause of concern that would arise sooner or later if the community was excluded from this part too. The manager of the waterfalls is backed up by the fact that the developments were approved by the Department of Tourism and a board of trustees, so they believe this was done accordingly.

However, members of the community have said that they wanted to know about what was going to happen even before this started, the community has general meetings where everyone is invited to discuss issues of the community but they were closed off on the developments that happened in 2010, they could have been called into one of these meetings to discuss this and find amicable solutions to face the challenges that could arise even before the developments started. A participant, who had a very angry tone regarding the spiritual succession of the Ramunangi said that the chief and the royal family knew that they would have encountered a lot of resistance if they first consulted with the community, this led to them going on with the developments knowing that no one would really stop them halfway, they have power and influence, and this gave them a huge advantage even with the Department and their sponsors (Interview 5, Appendix 3).

Some members of the community even believe that the developments should not have started to begin with, this is because they understand the sensitivity and sacredness of the waterfalls. Had the community been contacted, they would have spoken to the chief and tried to reason with them about how the developments were going to affect the Ramunangi clan, spiritually, and the community, indirectly, by being cut off from the benefits that they got when the Ramunangi clan worshipped at the sacred site.

5.5. Towards a new framework

National and provincial governments have their ways of preserving natural habitats, however these are found only on their documents, and they are hardly implemented in communities that need them the most, the communities that depend on these habitats for their livelihoods. The government brings out these plans to help them preserve the environment that they need instead of adopting the ways that the communities are already using and helping them with the resources that they need to make them more effective (Shackleton *et al*. 2019). The preservation of indigenous forests in other places depends on the finances that the government has given to those in charge, they then have to make decisions about which forest they have to protect and which one have to be let go because of limited financial resources (Shackleton 2019). Although this is about the natural biodiversity, the same method can be used in preserving sacred sites and indigenous places with cultural heritage and intangible heritage.

It is recommended that the government takes into consideration that every community and sacred site is different in their own way, they cannot have the same policy for these different sites. Each sacred site has to be learnt carefully, it has to be investigated through community members and elders who reside in these communities to get to the rightful stakeholders, a specific policy and budget has to be used for that community and the sacred site for its preservation. This policy does not have to be from the documents used by the government to govern sacred sites of the country but should be site specific. Communities have their own ways and ideas of how things should be, how sites shouldbe preserved as they have the closest relationships to the site compared to the government, theyshould be given the opportunity to lead projects that affect their sites. The community leaderstend to have a better understanding of what their community members need, they can also communicate with the communities without intimidating them while they understand their demands and how they can solve issues amongst themselves coming to an understanding of what they all need and how it will

be beneficial for them. This is unlike developers who may speak to the community members while promising them jobs, only pitching ideas of how things can suit the needs of the communities without asking them what they think or what they want.

Community engagement should go way beyond speaking to the communities on one meeting, instead of using a top-down approach the communities need to identify their problems and explain them to the government officials themselves. This way the government gets involved but they will not dictate how the community fixes the problem that the members of the community identified. A problem should be introduced with a solution that may have been discussed by the community at large, the elders (the chief and the community council) to see if they need help from the government and if they see that need, they can send a representative to speak to the government on their behalf.

5.6. Current situation of management of Phiphidi Waterfalls

The members of the community were informed that the waterfalls belong to them because they reside in the community and they form part of the history. However, the systems that are currently in place to protect the waterfalls are not a true representation of this. The structures that were built in 2010 are not being maintained, this includes even the ablution areas. The physical management of the waterfalls is not pleasing to the eye, it is clear that they are not being cleaned sufficiently. The manager has said that there are people who have been hired to take care of all the areas of the waterfalls but it looks like the basic work is only done at the entrance of the waterfalls.

The Ramunangi clan told me in interview that they used to maintain the waterfalls themselves by making sure that the area is kept clean of any litter, and the vegetation was not cleared because it is part of the natural habitat and the sacred forest (Interview 5, Appendix 3). The rituals that were performed at the waterfalls were part of sustaining the habitats but nothing is being done to take care of the habitats at the moment because of the belief that the sacred land is a shared and communal space, there are people who worship on the sacred land by burning candles of different colours on the mountains and the residue is left there without being cleared. This may be an issue for the Ramunangi clan, however at the moment there is nothing that they can do to contest for their space even after the death of the chief because the power lies with the whole royal family and the chiefs of Venda.

5.7. Comparative studies, other sacred sites in Venda

5.7.1. Lake Fundudzi

Lake Fundudzi is located close to Phiphidi Waterfalls, the traditional custodians of the site are the Vhatavhatshindi (people of the pool) (Anyumba &Nkuna 2017) (a royal family) who perform rituals at the lake. The scaredness of the lake has kept people away from the lake because there were beliefs associated with the royal family, permission to the lake could only be granted by the chief. The development of infrastructure close to the lake was done without any interferences with the beliefs of the lake. In the case that someone disobeys any myths they would pay a fine to rectify their mistake (Khorombi 2007).

It is believed that there are *zwidudwane* (a human that only has half their body) that can be heard in the lake at night playing drums, there are rocks that are shaped like drums that are believed to be the drums played by the *zwidudwane* during the rituals performed by the royal family. The water at the lake is not from any rivers that flow into it, the water passes through and does not mix with the lake water. There are invisible beings that are believed to guard the area, they ensure that people do not make the sacred area dirty by throwing stones to the people who attempt to do that. No object can be collected from the lake and the surrounding forest, this was a conservation measure. There are many other beliefs and myths that were used to help conserve the area from any potential harm or damage by the locals and by developments. Enforcing the myths has enabled the royal family to keep their lake sacred and away from developments and misuse of natural resources by the local community (Khorombi 2007).

5.7.2. Tshatshingo pothole

The potholes are located in Tahurovha River, these are three sinkholes whose traditional custodians are the Makani clan, the chief of the clan is responsible for making decisions regarding the sinkholes, permission to access the sinkholes has to be requested from the Makani chief and a gift has to be given to the chief to show gratitude.

Access to the sinkholes is not denied, the people who wish to visit them have to follow proper channels and access will be granted to them. The chief is responsible for ensuring that the pothole is respected, the chief is responsible for the cultural ‘tourism’ as they manage the activities and control the access of the pothole. They use this approach and it is working for

them, the clan is in charge, through the chief and the sacredness of the area has not been altered, the experience of the potholes is as natural and authentic as it can get. The tourist is also led by the Makani as the cultural significance of the area can be understood through communication that is given through a guided tour (Odhiambo & Manuga 2017). Tourism is not denied on the sinkholes, the Makani clan is leading the process and doing it in a way that does not upset the ancestors.

5.7.3. Thathe Vondo forest

The Thathe Vondo forests consists of graves that belong to the Tshidzivhe clan, however only a selected few were buried there and it includes the chiefs who did not go through circumcision. Myths have played an important role in conserving the forest. The place is believed to be guarded by a white lion, who is believed to be *Nethathe*, another creature that guards the area is a bird called *Ndzadzi* which attacks people who enter the forest unlawfully. The myths have kept people away from the forest and it has been kept protected from developments and local communities. The place is open to the public, however only through the help of a local guide who stays on a track that is not dangerous, wondering off of hiking with no guidance is not allowed in the sacred forests. The natural resources cannot be collected from the forests, it is forbidden and the people believe that wood will turn into snakes, fear has been instilled in the people who live closer to the forest and this is why there has not been much fatalities. Indigenous practises have been used in the sacred forest of *Thathe Vondo* to ensure that the forests and their resources are kept pristine, this has worked and tourism is allowed just at a reasonable scale and tourists can only be in the area when guided by a local guide to stay on the right track and not disrespect the ancestors who are in the area (Sinthumele & Mashau 2020).

Traditional management systems have been used in rural communities to safeguard sacred sites, these are in the form of myths and taboos that are unwritten yet known and respected by members of the communities. They are enforced by the clans who are traditional custodians of the sacred sites. The traditional custodians mentioned above have proved that they do not reject cultural tourism, they accept it just as long as it does not interfere with their ancestors. The Ramunangi clan, who are traditional custodians of Phiphidi waterfalls are not against the developments of the waterfalls, they just wanted to be included in the engagements and to be consulted regarding the developments. However, the developers engaged a trust that was

affiliated with the chief of the time. The assumption was that the chief was the traditional custodian as it is for other villages but this was not the case and it had implications for the clan.

Sikhita (1999) believes that local communities have to be provided with the legal rights and usage rights of sacred places to mitigate some of the problems that are encountered by developers and to minimize conflicts.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

6.1. Findings

The world is constantly changing with an effort to improve the standards of living of the people who live in it. In developing countries such as South Africa, the government has been putting some effort into eradicating poverty and improving the standards of living for the people through many channels. These include agriculture, tourism, education and other sources of income that the government supports, especially in rural communities. Rural communities are usually associated with poor living conditions that are related to poor sanitation, water related issues and poor service delivery. The government tries to find ways to minimize the impact that these have on people in rural conditions by designing plans according to the services that can be offered by the communities. In mining communities, members of the communities are given opportunities to work at the mines by also providing them with skillsets and training that will help the rural communities improve their living conditions. In farming communities, they are provided with opportunities that will teach them to plant agricultural gardens and work on the farms for a salary that will improve their lives. The targeted number of people whose lives would be employed is 100 at Phiphidi (Fig. 16), and the interviews have proven that no much people from the community benefited from any employment opportunities.

AND MENTORSHIP SERVICES TO THE SELECTED COMMUNITY OWNED HOSPITALITY ENTERPRISES FOR A PERIOD OF THREE (3) YEARS. (NDT0028/19)

CLUSTER	PROVINCE	NUMBER OF PEOPLE TARGETTED FOR INTERVENTION
CLUSTER 1 – Limpopo province	**Limpopo province** **Phiphidi Waterfalls (Thohoyandou)** • Phiphidi Village, Take N1 to Makhado from Polokwane, turn right to Thohoyandou approximatly 70KM, while in Thohoyandou drive to Sibasa and take Nzhelele road and 10KM from Sibasa is Phiphidi village. At the stop sign turn right (200m is Phiphidi Waterfall on the right). • **Project deliverables:** Construction of a tourism facility comprising of the following: Chalets, standard and luxury type; Admin block with office, reception area and ablution; Extension and upgrading of an existing boundary fence; Restaurant with kitchen lapa, store room & bar; Access road, entrance gate with guard house & store room; Paved parking around Admin block; Upgrading/renovation of existing braai & build 6 new additional; Signage; Upgrading of an existing rondavel & traditional kitchen; Water, electricity and sanitation infrastructure; Laundry & ablution. • **Project Status Quo:**	100

Figure 16: Government tender additional information for Phiphidi Waterfalls. (https://www.tourism.gov.za/Tenders/Documents/Additional%20Informtion%20on%20Projects%20Capacity%20Building%20-%20NDT0028-19.pdf).

Cultural tourism is not excluded from this fate, it is promoted as a means of improving the lives of people who live within the communities at which the culture exists. It has a lot of financial benefits for the communities because tourists tend to want to experience the culture of people who live there. There can be crafts that are made by the people in the community that tourists can purchase as a reminder of their experience in the cultural area. When cultural heritage resources are sold as a commodity, their value may depreciate due to demand of crafts by the tourists. Because the members of the community who are selling are trying to make a living from selling the crafts, they usually just start to produce the product on demand. The people also find faster ways and different materials to make the crafts, crafts are usually associated with certain rituals and how they are made is also related. With the increase in demand of these crafts their value decreases to suit the needs of the tourists. This is about tangible heritage, but it also applies to intangible heritage as well. Intangible heritage is sold to tourists as culture and as a sense of feel, they are told what a place represents and who it is usually associated with. Tourists seek a tale that will excite them and want to engage and may also want to come back for the experience they pay for. This can be beneficial for the community who get to share their stories about sacred and intangible heritage, however just

like with tangible heritage, members of the community can also sell a story or a tale that they think could be interesting for the tourists. They can skew the history to make the tourists want to engage, they can exaggerate on the value of the sacred places just to make sponsors and the tourists invest in thedevelopment of the areas. And with all this, the question that remains is whether it is a good idea to commodify intangible and sacred places for the economic gain, if as a result, there is areduction in the spiritual value of the places or a distortion of the truth.

While this may not be the case for other places that contain intangible heritage and sacred values, there are other issues that are related to the development of sacred places. These include conflicts within communities, developers keeping money for themselves and not benefiting the community at large, other members of the community not wanting to develop the sacred area because it relates to their family roots and traditions, amongst other issues. The issues make it difficult to make a decision on whether the development should happen or not. Another issue that makes is worse is custodianship, sacred places tend to have no legal custodians because they are located in communal or shared spaces in the community. The community of Phiphidi also knows the waterfalls, which they prefer to call *Govhukuvhu* is a place of worship for the Ramunangi clan. However, in rural communities such as those in Thohoyandou, the traditional system of management for communities is still active. There are chiefs who rule the communities, they govern them and in other areas there are court structures that exist to enforce peace within the communities. In Phiphidi Waterfalls, the chief who was in charge when the developments of the waterfalls happened in 2010 is Chief Jerry Tshivhase, who is now deceased. In rural areas where the chief is in charge, he owns the land that the people reside in and if anyone needs a portion of the land it has to be purchased through the chief. This applies to any piece of land, including sacred places, in Phiphidi for example, the waterfalls have been a place of worship for the Ramunangi clan but the land may belong to the chief through traditional management systems of chieftaincy. Traditional custodianship of the waterfalls is acknowledged by members of the community yet it is denied by a member of the royal family (representing the Tshivhase Development Fund, who has attempted to take over the chieftaincy after the death of Chief Jerry Tshivhase with no luck because of her gender. She is now the manager at Phiphidi Waterfalls as discussed in Chapter 4.

6.2. The waterfalls and their significance

The spiritual value of the waterfalls is associated with the Ramunangi clan only, members of the community were not affected by the developments that happened at the waterfalls because they did not have any spiritual connections to anything at the waterfalls, some of the members of the community mentioned that they know about the affiliation that the Ramunangi clan has with the waterfalls but it does not affect them or their livelihoods. As traditional people themselves, the participants did sympathise with the Ramunangi clan for their loss, they mention that as much as there are no physical graves at the waterfalls belonging to the ancestors of the Ramunangi clan, there is a clear connection between the waterfalls and the Ramunangi clan and this was evident after the developments that happened in 2010 (Interview 13, Appendix 3). There has been a series of people drowning in the waterfalls, specifically tourists and this is an indication that the ancestors that reside in these waters do not want any new people with no understanding of their tradition to be within the premises of the waterfalls. There have not been any people from the community of Phiphidi who have drowned in the waterfalls and the people say it is because the members of the community are aware of what the ancestors are capable of so they rarely even visit the waterfalls (Interview 8, Appendix 3).

The Ramunangi clan has tended to all of the five waterfalls but they perform at one specific waterfall, which is known as *Govhukuvu*. They have a connection to all of them but they *phahla* (speak to ancestors) at this specific one and they have from older generations, a part of the Ramunangi indicated that this is the one that has always provided them with what they perform rituals for, including good health, good harvest, rain, luck and success(Interview 5, Appendix 3). The whole clan was affected and impacted upon by the developments that happened and the developers giving access to tourists into the sacred place, they tried to negotiate with the chief who was in charge to at least leave one waterfall for their use but the chief refused and wanted to give tourists an experience of all the waterfalls.

Though traditional custodianship can be debated as it is only acknowledged by members of the community, there is an undeniable correlation between the waterfalls and the Ramunangi clan. It was also acknowledged by the court of law, who ruled that the developments need to stop in 2011 because of the effect that they could have on the Ramunangi clan (Interview 6, Appendix 3). The members of the community helped the Ramunangi clan in trying to stop these developments from happening not because they could benefit anything from it, but because

they acknowledge and respect their culture. Members of the community of Phiphidi do not share spiritual roots with the Ramunangi clan, but they still believe that the clan should be the decision makers when it comes to what happens to the waterfalls. The area of Phiphidi is large and it was not a communal space for the community.

In the past, access was restricted only for members of the Ramunangi clan from as long as the elders stayed at Phiphidi, these were unwritten rules but everyone in the community knew and respected them. They tell stories of the sounds that the mystical forests and the waterfalls used to make before the developments and they speak about how they could not get anywhere near the area but the Ramunangi could (Interview 9, Appendix 3). The community speak about sounds of drumming, children crying, their mothers comforting them with songs and the sound of a traditional grinder as if the women were making mielie meal from dried corn. In winter seasons, the forests would be white and it is believed that there was a sacred lion that would also roam around the forests to protect it from intruders. The members of the community have not heard about any sights of it or heard it making sounds and they believed that it was chased away by the developments of the roads, markets and ultimately the lodge (Interview 9, Appendix 3). This is intangible heritage that can only be described by those who have experienced it or have heard about it. The elder members of the communities have a lot of tales about just the one sacred site, they know that there are consequences of ignorance of issues such as these. One could argue that these were myths that were made up by grown up people to keep communities out of trouble or mischief. However, people have been exploring forests from a long time and they know how to deal with what they encountered, the elders mention that not a lot of people drowned in the waterfalls in the past. But with the recent developments from around early 1900s, there have been people drowning but these were not put on record because it was considered sacred information. It was never even spoken about because it would be considered as the ancestors or the *zwiphoni* that used to reside in the waterfalls would be feeding, spaces like these can be dangerous if people are ignorant about what they represent.

For example, a member of the royal family, who is now the manager of the waterfalls denied any relationship between any specific person and the waterfalls (Interview 1, Appendix 3). They claimed that the Phiphidi waterfalls are a shared communal space that can be used by anyone to worship, collect the water and use it for spiritual purposes or rituals and to reconnect with their ancestors from there. This may be true, as traditional healers also believe that healing power can be generated from natural elements, there are some Christians, especially from the

Zion churches who believe that certain problems will be washed out of ones' body when they cleanse with natural spring waters that has not been contaminated in anyway. And in Limpopo, there are a few sources of pure water where Phiphidi waterfalls is common and has easy access, unlike lake Fundudzi and other places with restricted access. The denial of any relationship with the Ramunangi clan may take away the value that the waterfalls have, they are known to everyone as sacred, but what makes them sacred? Is it not their history and does the history not correlate to the sounds heard, the sacred lion, women comforting babies by lullabies and the Ramunangi people being the only people who could go to the waterfalls and not be harmed?

Traditional custodianship cannot be denied if elders of the community, who are respected in rural Venda are acknowledging them and the information that they are providing, this is indigenous knowledge that should be preserved and passed on to the younger generations of Phiphidi. Instead of this, the parents who sat through these interviews with the elders complained that their children go to the waterfalls to have a great time and this derails them from focusing on their schoolwork and passing at school because they are constantly thinking about what the next great thing will be at Phiphidi so they can participate. Cultural tourism has its own advantages and disadvantages, it may also influence a change in behaviours in the people of the community to match up the standard that has been created by the developers.

6.3 Intangible heritage

Considerations for a new framework

Intangible heritage is usually associated with living heritage and sacred spaces that are defined by the identity of those who tend for them. In African countries, these are intertwined and because they are interesting for other people they are constantly faced with the challenge of cultural tourism. As much as they would like to these pristine, there are other community issues that have the potential to be solved through cultural tourism, to live up to the improved standards that are constantly changing the communities takes the chance.

This has had impacts on the value of intangible heritage, living heritage is a dying culture and sacred spaces are no longer respected and used for their intended purpose. Preserving intangible heritage is a challenge especially to modern systems that are vastly focused on objects that can be seen and touched while intangible heritage is expressions by the people who are associated with certain places and hold certain values. A convenient way of commercialising such sites is

using a people's centred approach that focuses and uses the people who are associated with the sacred sites to lead the developments if they approve to them. Through engagements with the qualified people from the developers using a bottom up approach to enforce traditional management systems using funds from the government and sponsors, a suitable construction plan for the infrastructure can be designed and implemented on the sacred sites. This will allow for the associated people to still have access to their intangible heritage, hold on to their values yet still enabling tourism to create opportunities for the members of the community and everyone who is involved, giving the government an opportunity to be involved.

A misconception has been that the intangible heritage is associated with the whole community, this may be the case for other communities but it does not apply to every community, most sacred sites that contain intangible heritage have an association with just certain people or a clan within the community, who are then considered traditional custodians as they are responsible for tending to the sites by using traditional management systems of preservation. For instance, the manager of the waterfalls told the researcher that the waterfalls do not belong to anyone and for that reason anyone from any part of the country can use the space for what they believe in. These can be shared spaces that meanings can be based on what you believe in, there is a rain-making place in Phiphidi Waterfalls that was even used by Queen Modjadji and her plea for rain was heard.

Intangible heritage plays an important role in shaping the values of the cultures and respect for each other. Its preservation should be dependent on the people who are associated with it, alternatively the people who wish to develop the sacred sites can have agreements with the people on using modern systems of management being careful of not losing the authenticity and value of the intangible heritage.

6.3. Cultural tourism

Cultural tourism is a direct outcome of cultural appropriation, cultural tourism is when tourism developers who are usually outsiders intend to develop and commodify the material culture of the communities to tourists who have an interest in indigenous knowledge, culture and the history of the people. The benefit that the community has is an improved lifestyle that is defined by the developers who view their ways as not modern and hence may unintentionally impose their version of 'improved lifestyle' to the members of the community. The tourism developers

usually have a different lifestyle from the members of the community and they may also make a mistake of exaggerating the benefits of the developments to make the communities more interested in seeing the constructions that have a potential of 'improving their lives' to move them closer to modern ways of living. This idea sounds great even to government authorities such as the Department of Rural Development who have the same vision, they support these initiatives to achieve a common goal of eradicating poverty and improving the lifestyles of people who live in rural areas. However, does this not cause a degradation of the traditional ways of living? Are developments that bring in more tourists making rural people change their ways and to copy the ways of the people who come to see them?

Cultural appropriation has evident negative impacts on the identities of the people whose culture is appropriated as well as their practises. Commercialising their culture is usually promoted as a way that will benefit and improve their lives, but Wanda George (2010) has reported that that is not always the case as the tourism developers stand to benefit more from the developments than the community. The benefits are handled directly by the developers and how they are shared amongst the community is fully dependent on them. There is usually no transparency between the communities and the developers, especially financially. The community gains from these developments by getting jobs and sometimes by the developers having initiatives that donate where there is a need. The profit that is made when the developments are completed are not made known to the communities and this may be fair since the developers are the ones who paid for the culture to be commodified. However, the community having no knowledge about the financial gain can be the root cause of the community not benefiting equally from developments. Cultural tourism has its own advantages and disadvantages, it is essential to evaluate both of these when planning for developments at sensitive spaces that hold values and associations of living heritage that is constantly recreated and passed on to next generations.

6.4. Custodianship of sacred sites

6.4.1. Who should have authority of sacred sites?

Custodianship is a debatable subject that has its own issues, these include legal problems and the danger that they pose to the community is felt by most members if not all. Sacred sites are seen as shared spaces to some people, in the case of the waterfalls, the royal family refused to

define them as belonging to a particular group of people, while elders of the community have acknowledged that these sacred waterfalls have an association with the Ramunangi clan. This poses a problem that causes the conflict within the community members and towards the chiefs, and the absence of legal documentation to support any party intensifies such conflicts.

For the chief and the royal family, it was acceptable to them to say they have authority over the waterfalls because of their status. In traditional systems of ruling in rural communities the land belongs to the chief, the chief can sell portion of the land for money to any member who wishes to buy and occupy. The problem is that there are no written laws about land that contains intangible heritage and has significant value and an association with a particular group of people. The chief claims that the land belongs to him and his family regardless of the claims that it has an association with the Ramunangi clan. The clan was assisted by the *Dzomo la Mupo* (Voice of the Earth) to lay a complaint against government bodies, the Minister of Rural Development, the joint chiefs of Venda and the Venda royal family that was taken to court. With no legal documentation to prove ownership of the sacred site, the royal family and the chiefs were ordered to stop the construction of the lodge in the area where the waterfalls are. The court ordered the developments to stop because of the acknowledged traditional custodianship of the waterfalls by the Ramunangi clan and they won the custody battle.

However, the Ramunangi clan only started a conflict with the royal family which still exists to date. This was worsened by the royal family not abiding by the court order. After the court ruled that the developments had to be stopped, the developing companies proceeded, completely ignoring the judgement of the court. This led to the Ramunangi clan deciding to act on this matter by themselves and as a result they were chased out of the community by the Chief.

Members of the community mentioned that these conflicts even got physical at some point, there are also claims that the royal families consulted traditional healers on how to deal with the conflict but ended up chasing the clan out of the community so they can stop interacting with them. The clan, (Fig. 3) are the outliers that enlarged the footprint now reside on the other side of the waterfalls which is not considered as Phiphidi through political boundaries, however is close to the waterfalls on the northern side. Traditional custodianship is recognised, respected and acknowledged by the court of law in South Africa, it is understood that traditions and heritage may not have physical objects to prove them but they do exist. With this, it may be useful for traditional custodians to learn from the conflicts of Phiphidi over custodians and

register the lands that they may own legally to avoid any implications such as the ones that happened at Phiphidi. The government needs to actively assist the members of the community who may have this land. The Department of Rural Development should be fair by ensuring that all the parties involved benefit equally from rural projects, this could be one of their priorities as they can work closely with rural communities and to ensure that the development is based on what the community wants to be developed.

6.4.2. Local community attitudes

In this phase, community covers the broader context of people who live in the same geographic location and share common values and culture. The community may have underlying issues such as legacy problems, problems with chieftaincies and other associated issues but they still understand and share values when it comes to other things. They know what binds them together even though there can be issues that they have differences in. It is rare to find communities that want to be behind in terms of developments and improving their standards of living. The country is economy driven and this affects every part of it from rural areas to urban areas, every shift in the economy is felt and it affects all the people who exist within it. The systems that are in place within rural and urban communities are all affected by the economy of the whole country, however, is it the responsibility of the rural communities to ensure that their lives are improved?

They may collaborate with other parties to ensure that their lives are improved and when presented with an opportunity that has conflicting outcomes the communities' values and norms are at risk. The community can have shared values but these can be threatened by such opportunities, conflicts within the communities themselves can cause the developers to act on the decisions that is best for them by choosing to engage with the people who side with them ignoring the other people completely. This was the case for Phiphidi waterfalls and the community. Since a chieftaincy system is used to rule the community, the developers saw it fit for them to engage the chief about this development and not the other members of the community. The developers also had an already existing relationship with the chief of the community, and so the decision that was taken by the chief was misinterpreted to represent the entire community.

These systems are a traditional system that were used to enforce law and order in rural communities. However, the chiefs tend to practise and misuse their power over communities

by making important decisions without engaging and consulting with the community members about what they would like to see in their communities. In this case, a member of the community who was interviewed mentioned that this misuse of power was prevalent in many of the surrounding communities because there is a lot of myths that are used to threaten the community members who do not obey the rules that the chief has placed for the people to follow (Interview 7, Appendix 3). It is said that after the Ramunangi went against the chief and his decision to develop Phiphidi the Ramunangi clan was chased out of the community to live elsewhere on the grounds that the land that everyone lives in belongs to the chief even when the land has been bought from him the chief still has power to chase you if you do not obey his rules in his land. This instilled so much fear within the community members of Phiphidi and they chose not to actively support the Ramunangi clan with their claims of owning the sacred lands. The community elders that were interviewed did not agree with the decision that was made by the chief but they still did not want any trouble (Interview 2, Appendix 3).

Communities that are led by an individual or a certain group of people are usually impacted but they cannot act because they do not have enough power and resources to stand up against the people who are ruling them. The community also looks at what they stand to benefit from the situation and their judgement is based on that, they may have conflicting ideas about things but they are usually rooted in their values. However, in the case that the community stands to benefit financially these values can be broken, the people in Venda are known to actively use traditional management systems to preserve not only their cultural heritage and intangible heritage but their natural habitats as well. But with the changes that have been going on and the degradation of sacred places and values, people will choose to gain financially over preserving something that they are not associated with. As discussed, the sacred waterfalls are only associated directly with the Ramunangi clan, they are the people who worship there, it is believed that their ancestors stay there and that they have tended for the waterfalls using traditional management systems from older generations. So, they were the only people who were directly affected by the developments but the other members of the community did not feel the impact in that scale except for the conflicts that instilled fear for the royal family.

The issues relating to traditional management systems, community attitudes, traditional custodianship, and intangible heritage have been discussed above. They have been discussed in the context of the Phiphidi Waterfalls to emphasise the issues and conflicts that could emerge around intangible heritage and its associated values in sacred spaces, especially in rural

communities, but what may be the solution? Although every site is specific with the issues that they deal with, there still have to be some common issues. There may be a better approach to developments, which may be suitable for the community members, traditional custodians and the tourism developers when used sufficiently and appropriately. Achieving sustainable development may require a lot of patience from all the stakeholders involved, for this reason the rightful people need to be used for such and the process may take years. However, this does not mean it is not achievable, it is still possible for developments to be done in sacred heritage sites and to leave all the stakeholders satisfied.

6.5. Sustainable tourism

Achieving sustainability in cultural tourism development is dependent on the attitudes of all the stakeholders involved and their ability to communicate with what decision could be suitable for the sacred sites containing intangible heritage, its value, its history and what the people stand to benefit from proper decisions made. It may be easier to just want to not develop the area in order to sustain and keep the waterfalls pristine as this is required by the Ramunangi clan, it would be the safest option for them to keep access to the waterfalls restricted to just them and not have anyone else enter unless they belong to the clan. It would be safer because there would not be any cases of people drowning, drinking next to the waterfalls and any acts that may upset the ancestors, including littering and cutting down of sacred plants or trees. The communities would also benefit from this because the children in the community would not see the Waterfalls as a place to drink alcohol and to have fun at, and would instead focus more on their studies. This seems like a good plan, but is it possible for an opportunity to be there to change the lives of the people who live in the community and for people not to support it because it poses a threat on one group of people, in this case the Ramunangi clan.

Tourism developers saw an opportunity at the waterfalls and they decided to see it through, they engaged with the ‘community’ through the chief. When asked whether the community knew about the developments that happened in the year 2010 specifically, they stated that they only saw activities happening to show that something is being built they did not have any prior knowledge to any developments taking place at the waterfalls. People were just hired for general work, people who are in very close proximity to the waterfalls. They needed the jobs so they took them without enquiring if there would not be any conflicts with these developments. As discussed, they too wanted to improve their lives and this was an opportunity

that would aid them in doing that.

The company that was in charge of the developments that happened in the year 2010 is the Tshivhase Development Foundation Fund, the first name of the fund is the same as that of the late Chief Jerry Tshivhase who initiated and approved the development of the waterfalls as the chief of the community and the owner of the land. The community's unrest is denied by members of the royal family, who claim that the unrest was solely because the community wanted the people who worked at the waterfalls to be cycled so the members can all get an opportunity to work and fend for their families. However, there was national coverage in Newspapers in 2010 on the court order where the *Dzomo la Mupo* action group and the Ramunangi clan decided to take the legal route in trying to preserve what remained of their intangible heritage (Appendix 4). What led to this decision was the ignorance of the royal family and the support that they received from government departments, the chiefs and the Minister of Rural Development who were all taken to court by the *Dzomo la Mupo* and the Ramunangi clan after attempts of talking to them about exclusive access to certain parts of the waterfalls and free access that would even allow them to spend days there as there are other rituals that require days in the sacred worship place.

The solution for all the conflicts, court cases and employment cycling would have been proper engagements with all the people who are involved. The developers should have found more effective ways of communicating that there would be jobs for general work for the community members of Phiphidi to apply for, that the waterfalls were going to be developed to allow access to tourists and to also allow for people to visit and sleep over in the natural scenery to give the Ramunangi a chance to negotiate with the developers instead of just taking them to court. Stakeholder engagements are an important part of every development, they serve the purpose of understanding the communities' needs and ensure that they can continue with developments with no interruptions such as conflicts and protests by the communities. To attain sustainable tourism stakeholders need to be done appropriately and sufficiently.

The term Responsible Innovation is defined by (Stilgoe *et al.* 2013) as a process that is transparent and interactive with the aim of achieving sustainability in any form of innovation, in this case, development. This concept has outlined five actions that are beneficial for achieving sustainability. When creating a framework for sustainable cultural tourism the most important process that would have resulted in profitable cultural tourism is engagements. For communities to strive, where there is an opportunity to develop the area through culture and

heritage which is associated with people who have lived through the heritage and taken care of the resources it is important to try and use traditional management systems that have worked for the years that they have and implement modern ways to assist them but only through successful and critical engagements that produce substantial outcomes for the community and for the tourism developers.

Achieving effective and successful engagements can also be challenging to achieve, it requires a lot of patience all the people who are stakeholders of the waterfalls or the communities of place, interest or community of practice. To create a framework that may result in sustainable cultural tourism in sacred sites that contain intangible heritage, five concepts will be utilised to guide social consultations with communities.

First, as discussed in Chapter 4, it is important to identify the communities respectively, this will guide how they will be engaged and the values that they have attached to the sacred sites or intangible heritage. This will also determine what their goals are if they are engaged properly, tourism developers are always thought of as business people who only care about the profit that will be made from developments, however they too can understand the values of people and the reasons they want things to happen in a particular way by having them actively take part in the engagements between them and the communities. This framework is aimed at sustainable cultural tourism especially at sacred sites that have a connection with certain people. This considers that every site is different and that there may be some limitations associated with the framework.

6.5.1. Engagements

Through the interviews I found that the gaps that led to unsustainable cultural tourism in the case of Phiphidi waterfalls was mainly because of miscommunications and the lack of communication between the developers, their chief and the community. The first question I asked in interviews was intentionally placed as the first question for the elderly members of the community to help understand the background of the waterfalls according to their knowledge and whether the community was involved from the start of the process. Most of the community members denied having any prior knowledge of the developments that happened in Phiphidi waterfalls especially in 2010, which have caught the attention of national newspapers and television stations. When conducting engagements, the guideline of using

transparency, interaction, responsiveness and co-responsibility has to be adopted along with the bottom up people centred approach proposed. These will be discussed further and examples of ignorance of the Tshivhase Development Foundation Fund as tourism developers.

A bottom up approach is proposed for engagements with members of the community, where the directly affected people are the ones that should make the most significant decisions regarding developments. Even still following this process, some guidelines have to be created and be followed to ensure success of the stakeholder engagements. Stakeholder engagements are not always a one way street, they may be difficult and they need an understanding of the people who are being dealt with, the expectations and all the necessary information. They tend to be difficult, especially if there has been unresolved issues in the past that may cause problems for the new project.

6.5.2. Transparency

Transparency is sharing information and any knowledge about the process in any stage of the development. This begins from the planning of the projects, when the rightful people have been identified for engagements, it is important to be transparent with necessary information that have impacts on the developments. For people to be able to achieve a common goal they need to be honest about their intentions with the developments to each other, that way the stakeholders will mention and discuss the vision that they have regarding the developments and they can all find a way to communicate what they need and find ways to implement their goals sustainably (Blok *et al*. 2015).

6.5.3. Interaction

The most important factor that has the capability to solve any conflict between people is communication. All the stakeholders that are involved in any development need to have a consensus about all the decisions that affect the developments. It is very important from the beginning of the process to know the people to engage with and extensive research has to be done to avoid issues arising in the process of development that could hinder or delay the proposed constructions. Communications have to be done in an interactive process that allows all the involved stakeholders to be comfortable and their opinions should be heard and be implemented where suitable.

It is almost impossible to engage the whole community individually and engaging them as the whole community can also be dangerous especially in communities that have legacy issues and other underlying problems such as poor service delivery, basic needs and other related issues. It was discussed in chapter 5 that communities usually have expectations that they need to be met through the developments or other projects that may not have any intentions of solving government related issues but can only try to solve those that are feasible to them. In such cases where the whole community cannot be engaged, one day can be organised at the beginning phase or planning of the development for the whole community to choose a representative by themselves who will speak for them. The representative can be a board of people who they trust can speak for them. The board can then be able to speak to the community and report to the developers to make the process of interaction fair and just. A representation will be able to sit and engage on the objectives of the developments and clarify what the developments will do. The developers must be careful not to over exaggerate the benefits that the developments will have for the community and the community needs to be understand these as well.

During the process, all the stakeholders need to agree to the decisions and ensure that they hold to them until the end of the process. The engagements need to be recorded whether in writing or even audio where possible to refer back to in the case that things do not go as planned during the process, even during this time if amendments have to be done, they can be engaged again and the objectives can be refined and clarified to fit the developments as long as all the stakeholders are engaged and are in consensus with each other.

6.5.4. Responsiveness

Engagements are important, but if they are held with no actions there will be no productivity. Responsiveness is just as important as engagements, when the engagements have been completed and when they are underway the actions that arise from them need to be done. With this, a level of trust will be established by the community members from and the developers to the community. In cases where the community has expectations that the developers may assist with the developers may help where feasible but not making a commitment that they may not live up to. If the developments have a potential of making extra money, they can assist the community with the challenges that the community are faced with that can also affect the developers to sustain their developments or the infrastructure. For example, during the interviews it was mentioned that crime arose in the community of Phiphidi after the waterfalls

were developed because people would wait for people who would be going out of the establishment late at night and sometimes drunk to come out so they can rob them of their belongings. As much as this is not a direct problem for the developers it affects the Waterfalls and tarnishes its name, it can also lead to people not going because of the crime. The developers may actively engage with the community on how they can combat such problems with the community. This will again enforce the trust that has already been developed and make the community a better and safe place for members of the community.

A relationship between developers and members of the community is important when the developers come from outside to propose and bring something that will be beneficial for the community and the developers. The relationship has to be built and maintained through trust and trust can be enforced through responsiveness of the developers and of the community when they need to. The behaviour that stakeholders have before, during and after developments will govern the progress of the developments.

6.5.5. Co-responsibility

There are evident differences between community members and tourism developers, however there should be mutual respect for each other when engaging with each other. Although this may be undermined, it can create conflicts that could hinder the progress of developments when they are in play. For the developers and the members of the community to respect each other they may have to share responsibilities, these can be achieved through initiatives that make the whole community feel comfortable with the people who are developing their community. The initiatives can be in the form of cleaning the waterfalls where all the stakeholders arrange a day and they can just bond over something that is also beneficial for the developments that they have made commercial. The community elders of Phiphidi have mentioned that they have never even been to the waterfalls from when they were young. They never went to the waterfalls back then because of the threats and the myths that were associated with the waterfall, the opening and commercialising of the waterfalls could have been an opportunity for them to go see the natural waterfalls but they still chose not to. If engagements were done properly with all the communities (community of place, interest and practise) the Ramunangi said in the interview that they were willing to let the place be developed they just wanted exclusive access to only certain parts of the place. The elders would have taken the chance to go to the waterfalls knowing that the custodians have agreed and that meant that they would

have performed the necessary rituals that would allow all the people to visit the waterfalls. The elders do not want to cross boundaries and disrespect the ancestors of other people because they too have ancestors that they believe in and they perform rituals to who they would not want other people to disrespect.

Sharing responsibilities with all the communities would have solved a part of the conflicts that arose about the waterfalls, the tourism developers would have taken the role of the construction of the infrastructure that was proposed, and the communities would have been given the roles according to the type of community they represent. The Ramunangi clan would have led the members of community with the rituals as that is part of their living heritage and they hold indigenous knowledge about the waterfalls. This would have been an important part of the guided tours as the waterfalls are sacred and that part of the story can be told truthfully by the custodians who have tended the waterfalls from older generations. The community of interest are usually people who care for their communities in all areas, they have knowledge about the communities' interests. They do not have to engage but they could assist with the people to employ and to liaise with the community on how to employ people and develop a system that would have been fair for them. The community of place could have benefitted by getting employment and also letting people know about the developments to attract tourists from outside.

All these may have their own disadvantages and may not work according to how they are they are suggested, and with this. Tourism developers, as they are usually the people who begin the process of developments from just a business idea, they need to include stakeholder engagement in their plans and find other alternative engagement strategies based on the communities that they are working with. The main goal being sustainable tourism with agreements that are acceptable and suitable for all the stakeholders that are involved.
The stakeholder engagements also need to be in complaint with the National Environmental Management Act under the Environmental Impact Assessment (NEMA 107 of 1998), under EIA regulations amended in 2014 in South Africa and the Phiphidi Waterfalls Development Project was not complaint with these regulations as proven throughout this dissertation.

CONCLUSIONS

The study of the nature of the traditional custodianship system at Phiphidi Waterfalls suggests that the use and management of natural and cultural resources is sustained by a wider frame of religious beliefs that define the behaviour of local communities' members towards the space and the resources around the Dzwaini mountain range. This is in line with previous studies (e.g. Jopela 2011) across southern Africa, that have illustrated that the access and use of places of cultural significance in these landscapes is restricted by various social mechanisms such as taboos, with control vested in specific members of the community, traditional custodians (in the case of Phiphidi Falls this was the Ramunangi Clan). This study also demonstrates that despite the potential of traditional custodianship for managing heritage places that are imbued with sacred values such as the Phiphidi Waterfalls, these systems can lose their effectiveness, or be weakened at best, in a context of overwhelming socio-political stress cause by divergent and competing interests and agendas. Although the custodianship system has ensured the survival of the sacred values around Phiphidi Falls for a long time, the system has been greatly affected by recent changes resulting from the interference by the local and provincial authorities driven by the desire to turn this sacred heritage landscape as tourist destination.

The way in which intangible heritage should be preserved is subjective. Traditional custodianship of sites is usually held by members of the community, while they do not hold any legal custody of the land, and this is the case for Phiphidi waterfalls. In the event of tourism developments, communities may feel that there was a failure to preserve their sacred heritage, losing connections to their ancestors as their places of worship are developed and traditional management systems are ignored. Developments at Phiphidi Waterfalls started during the apartheid era in South Africa, when there was a move to commercialise the area by planting Ceylon tea, however the agricultural development was not successful and the traditional custodian (the Ramunangi clan) were still able to access the waterfalls to perform rituals to maintain and sustain the waterfalls. However, in 2010, tourism developments started in Phiphidi Waterfalls, with the approval of the chief, who was in a position to speak for the community, as the chieftaincy system is still enforced in rural Venda communities. However,

in this case the Chief did not speak with the wider community to inform them of the proposed developments.

As a result the developments started without the knowledge of most community members and when they queried this they were told about the benefits that they could have as a result of the developments and cultural appropriation. An impoverished community that wanted to improve their standards of living could not decline an opportunity that had the potential to bring economic benefit to the community. Although promising, this development has had a lasting effect on the community, twelve years later there are still conflicts in the community that were direct effects of the developments that were made without proper engagements between the developers and members of the community. The Ramunangi clan has been responsible for taking care of the waterfalls using traditional management systems that have been passed down from generations of their clans. The 2010 developments removed their exclusive access to the waterfalls. The legal action they took against the development, led to them being banned from the waterfalls and the community. The result is that all their connections with their ancestors that reside at the waterfalls were severed.

Although they were many other issues that caused conflicts in the community from the developments, the Ramunangi has suffered spiritually and have been denied generational succession of tending for the waterfalls like they did throughout living memory. And all this would have been avoided through stakeholder engagements, a people centred bottom up approach is proposed in community engagements when tourism developments are initiated in communities that have cultural heritage of high sacred significance. The cultural heritage can only be ascribed the significance through the voices of the community (mainly those directly affiliated to the sacred site) who understand and practise culture surrounding these sacred spaces.

When engagements are done properly, by first identifying the rightful stakeholders, conflicts would be avoided as all the necessary people would be involved and they would make decisions that are suitable for everyone. This approach can be adopted by developing countries with a disadvantaged background where their cultural heritage was defined by systems of colonialism and wish to change the narrative. Developing countries are mainly associated with extreme poverty and national governments try to use any method of development that can improve the standards of living of the people. Cultural heritage with high cultural significance can be sold

as a commodity through cultural appropriation to boost the economic status of the community within which it lies. However, when not done properly, communities suffer a great deal of spiritual implications associated with the commercialisation of their cultural heritage while developers gain economic benefits, causing conflict between the communities and the developers. A bottom up approach can be used to minimize these impacts, by consulting with the stakeholders and ensuring that they are involved in every part of the process empowering them through their own heritage while also improving their living conditions.

Further research

The literature suggests that the adoption of a legal framework that preserves and facilitates the dynamism manifested in cultural landscapes (e.g. community engagement with sacred places) as well as the interaction between different management systems (state-base and traditional custodianship), is perhaps one of the crucial steps towards a more integrated management system of tourism development at sacred heritage places (e.g. Mumma 2002, Ndoro 2003). With the time constraints, I could not thoroughly investigate the gaps in the legislation that governs the developments of tourism in the country and beyond. However, when presented with an opportunity to study further I hope to critically analyse the reason why the legislation is failing local communities in tourism developments, and propose how it can be advanced through lessons learnt and cases such as Phiphidi waterfalls with cultural heritage that is imbued with sacred values.

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Appendix 1: Interview Questions for Tourism Developers.

THESE QUESTIONS WERE DIRECTED TO THE TOURISM DEVELOPERS WHO WENT AHEAD WITH THE DEVELOPMENTS IN 2010 AT PHIPHIDI WATERFALLS.

1. What kind of tourism development happened in Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?
2. What was the motive behind the developments?
3. Did the development actively involve the members of the community, if so, how?
4. Did the members of the community benefit from the developments that happened in 2010?
5. Why was there conflict between members of the community and tourism developers (you)?
6. Were you aware that the site is sacred and that the community did not want any form of developments to happen at the site?
7. Did you have any formal permission from traditional custodians to go ahead with the developments?
8. Was the rightful chief of the community consulted before these developments took place?
9. Why did the developments go on despite the community's unrest and effort of taking this issue to court?
10. Why was the court order that required you to stop the developments breached?
11. Are you planning on making tourism developments at Phiphidi Waterfalls or any other sacred sites?
12. What lesson did you learn from this development, has anything changed regarding how you engage the community before and after developments?
13. Do you have any relationship with the community of Phiphidi, were you able to establish and maintain peace with them after the conflicts?

14. How do you think communities must be engaged in tourism developments for peace to be maintained between tourism developers and members of the community?

Appendix 2: Interview Questions for Community Elders

Questions of the local community members and other stakeholders . There are two parts A and B.

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?
2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?
3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?
4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?
5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?
6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?
7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?
8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?
9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?
10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?
11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?
2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?
3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?
4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?
5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?
6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?
7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?
8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

Appendix 3: Transcribed Interviews

(Interviews conducted between June 2022 and October 2022).

1. Interview 1

Place: Phiphidi Waterfall Gate

Interviewee: Management of the Phiphidi Waterfalls

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010 and how did the community receive it?

A: A lodge, restaurant, laundry room were built and in 2018 a conference hall, rooms for accommodation were also built.

The community was really happy because it started as a project, but it eventually became a business that benefitted the community at large.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I was not affected in any way and I believe that this land belongs to the community. there are no ancestors in the waterfalls, people from anywhere can worship at this sacred site it does not belong to anyone.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: No these developments were even approved by the Department of Tourism from a national level along with a board of trustees.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The community did not try to stop the developments at all.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: The community was calm throughout the process of developing the waterfalls area

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: There were no effects, the community had meetings and we agreed on how the people from the community were going to be employed to ensure that everyone gets an opportunity to be employed.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: They did, they got jobs and they were happy to be employed in their own home town

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: There hasn't been any consequences the community has only benefitted from these developments and they are still benefitting from them.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: The benefits outweighed the consequences

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: Everything was done in order

Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: There are workers who clean up the picnic sites and ensure that the falls are clean at all times for tourists

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: The falls are managed by a board of trustees called Phiphidi Development Trust, they also manage the waterfall and the lodge.

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: Yes they are

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: The people who work here are from the community of Phiphidi so yes they are involved

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: Some members got jobs so the whole community is represented.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: No one owns these falls, they are owned by the community and the board oversees what happens with the falls.

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: No it has been registered at the High Court by the trustees and the beneficiary is the community.

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: The community should benefit from developments through jobs.

Note: This interviewee directed us to a house down the road from the waterfall to a household whose son was employed at Phiphidi waterfalls during the construction of the picnic sites and the lodge in 2010. We found a grandmother who answered only a few of our questions. So no transcript is included here.

She told us that she knew nothing about the developments, that she only saw people building as she lives closer to the falls. She said she did not know anything about the past of Phiphidi and she has no connection to the falls as she was married into the area. She referred us to her

neighbour who was born here. She asked us to note that the issue is very controversial and the community is afraid of speaking about how the sacred the land is. She asked to remain anonymous.

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2. Interview 2

Place: Homestead close to the Phiphidi Waterfall

Interviewees: Grandma and Grandpa

Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: I was not at home but I came back and I just saw people building some things, the people spoke about getting jobs and that was exciting for the community.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I was not affected spiritually, I am a Christian so I have no connection to the waterfalls.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: They could have called a "*xiviju"* which is a community meeting and informed people about what was about to happen

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The community protested, however the main issue for the community as a whole was that they were not being employed fairly and most people who got the jobs were not even from the community of Phiphidi.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: The developments went on and the ways of employing people also did not change.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The community was happy with the developments because they came with promises of jobs so the community would reduce or even eradicate unemployment.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: Just a few members of the community benefitted, mostly those who stay near the Waterfalls as they were closer to the project area.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: There has been protests over ways of employing people causing a division between the "*Musanda*" (chief) and members of the community.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: The worst consequences were that other people got employed for only a few months, they went back to roaming around the streets after being promised that the jobs will be for a long time and crime eventually increased in the community.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: The community could have been consulted by the chief to discuss how this development is going to go so even if there are no jobs the community they would not hold on to empty promises, they would have known that the developments are here to make the waterfalls advanced not solely for the community's' benefit.

Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: We are not told anything, the Musanda family (royalty of Phiphidi) is in charge of everything that has to do with the waterfalls, they seem to have full control.

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: We do not know

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: The community is over this matter, we have just moved on from this matter for the sake of peace.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No the community is not involved in anything.

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: They are not doing much, there are guards and guides at the gate they are the only people who know what is going on at the waterfalls.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The Musanda family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: I do not know

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: There should be communication between the community and not just a part of the community which in this case is the Musanda family.

Note: When asked to recommend other people who could be helpful or have a connection to the waterfall they told us that things have evolved. There has been changes in what the community, the people who used to worship at the waterfalls before they were fenced off have since passed away and some moved during forced removals during Apartheid in South Africa. They have relocated to Tsonga speaking tribes in Malamulele and Giyani which is isolated from Phiphidi so they have lost their roots. They showed us a house where they sell traditional beers as there were a lot of elders there, so they could help us.

3. Interview 3

Place: Homestead next to Phiphidi Waterfalls

Interviewee: Village elders – Male and Female

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: There were developments that were made when the community members showed concern as the land is sacred, *zwiphoni (*ancestors*)* and *zwidzhimu(*gods*)* reside there.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: We were not affected in any way, the ancestors were not angry.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: We could have been informed about the developments before they could even start as this land belongs to the whole community. They nominated a board but we do not know who the members are for this they do not reside in this community.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The community elders, especially women orchestrated a protest against these developments.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: Yes, the developments stopped for a while and after the community had settled down the developments went ahead.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The community lost trust of the chieftaincy, this is why even now there is no chief in the community, there is a female who is claiming to be chief after her brother passed away but the

community is denying her this opportunity, not only because she is female but because of the way they handled developing Phiphidi Waterfalls.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: Barely

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: There has since been conflict and so the community will not be ruled fairly and just if those who are supposed to inform the community are abusing their power.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: There are clans who used to worship at the falls, they were no longer given free access to perform the rituals and this wasn't right at all as it affected their ancestors and there has been conflicts as the zwiphoni and the zwidzhimu are upset with the chieftaincy of the community.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: They could have first consulted the clans (Vha-Mudua and Ramunangi) about this matter as they are the closest to this matter. They could have opened the falls for tourists while keeping other parts sacred for the clans to perform the rituals.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: We do not know

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: The owners

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: The community is not involved

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: The waterfall area is run by the chief's family as they own the land of the whole community

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: We do not know

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: Sacred sites have ties with certain groups of people, they should be consulted first and permission should be requested from them if the area should be developed or not.

Note: When we asked them to suggest people to help us answer these questions, they told us that the people who would have answers are the Ramunangi and the Vhadau clans as they have a spiritual connection to the waterfall. They told us that they stay on the other side of the village. We did not know the exact location but we were determined to speak with them, so we meet some boys on the street and we asked them to give us directions to the Ramunangi clan and they lead us to them.

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4. Interview 4

Place: Homestead of interviewee

Interviewee: Village elder – Female

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: They built halls and a lodge and the community members were denied free access to the waterfalls after it was declared a tourism sight, before this it was a forest. The community was happy as this was the first park in the area, they were excited for the park but no one anticipated the consequences that came with it.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: People started dying at the waterfalls unexplainably, people would just be in a small pond and just disappear and this is a direct effect of the developments.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: Yes, they could have properly agreed with the community on how this should be done from the start, people just started seeing developments at the waterfalls.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: There was a protest in the community in 2020.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: The developments went ahead, the chief did not care about the community.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The community expected some benefits to go directly to them, we expected some funds to help with community programmes like the lack of water but the developments did not provide any support to the community the benefits are enjoyed by the royal family.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: The promises were made to the community but only the chief and his family benefitted from these tourism developments.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: There has been increasing sudden deaths in the waterfalls, people fall into the ponds by the waterfalls and they disappear. The ponds are not big or deep enough for people to disappear in them or even die but since there has been developments there has been deaths, sometimes the deaths are kept a secret as this matter is conflict between the chief's family and the Ramunangi clan. The Ramunangi clan have performed a ritual at night, we just heard drums being beaten at night and it is believed that the Ramunangi were relocating their ancestors from the waterfalls to another sacred site in Njhelele and they have since performed their rituals there. They even fought with "witchcraft" where they were sending each other things such as baboons, a live human figure with no heads and other creatures to fight them over the waterfalls. The Ramunangi clan were unhappy because they do were not granted free access to the waterfalls to perform their rituals.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: There were hardly any benefits for the community, the project was supposed to hire people on a 5 year contract basis on rotation with other members of the community. However, the people in charge (royalty of Phiphidi) hired their own family members and friends and no rotations were ever done, the jobs did not even last for five years and when new projects are introduced in the community the same people get hired and the community will not know until they start working.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: They should have arranged a meeting with all the community members, taken all the contacts of the unemployed people and employ them on six months contract, they should have contacted the Ramunangi clan to arrange with them days where they could have free access to the waterfalls to perform the annual ritual that they have,

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: The chief's sister took over the waterfalls after her brother chief Jerry passed on so she is in charge.

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: The manager

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: The community is silent, but the Ramunangi clan is still unhappy with the way this issue was handled.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: The community is not involved.

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: The community is not doing anything they are letting Tshimangadzo take over.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: They do not have any papers

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: Sacred sites should not be used to generate money, the communities that still respect their ancestors are rare and they should be left untouched, every other thing in the community can be developed but the sacred sites where there are traditional people who perform rituals that benefit the community should be left as they are.

5. Interview 5

Place: Homestead of participant

Interviewee: Member of the Ramunangi clan.

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: They built a lodge, a hall and some other things.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: Phiphidi is a sacred site, which means that people who should go there have to be approved by the ancestors who reside in the waters around the waterfalls. We were denied access to go and perform rituals at the waterfalls because it now had to be pleasant to look at to attract more tourists.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: They should have consulted us, it is well known in this community that we worship and perform rituals for our ancestors at that site, we have even been acknowledged by all Venda tribes as the traditional custodians of the sites.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The only thing that we could do was to fight this legally, so we went to court and the court ordered the people in charge of the developments to stop. We went to the High Court three times. They even had a protested because the community was not benefiting from the income.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: This was during the rule of Jacob Zuma, money rules this country and so the court order was benched by the tourism developers and nothing was done about that.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: We cannot just speak about ancestors, they are also sacred just like the place they reside in, but after the conflicts that happened after the developments people have been dying in the community. There were also conflicts within the Ramunangi family itself about things I cannot disclose but they were very related to the developments at Phiphidi.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: There were no benefits for the Ramunangi, a few community members benefitted but the people who benefitted the most are the royal family.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: People have fallen and disappeared in the dams, there has been a huge loss of respect for the sacred site because of tourism.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: The benefits were not enough, they were more than enough for only a particular group but we did not benefit anything. The effects were directly on individuals, they cannot be traced and proven that these are consequences for developing the land but those who know are able to identify such effects on these individuals.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: They could have contacted every person who is interested to have a meeting about what to do, if they were developed they could have left certain places for the use of traditional rituals.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: They are still doing as they wish

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: The Musanda family

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: No but what can they do without money and power, this project was supported by the government and other sponsors who are more powerful than the community.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: The community is not doing anything, under stably so because this issue affects the Ramunangi clan spiritually, the rest of the community is seeking for jobs to fend for their families.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The land is not owned by anyone, it is ruled by the *Musanda* (chief) as they have paid off the fine and it ended there. Nothing has been spoken from that period until now.

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: We do not

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: Just communicate with the people, we were never engaged from the beginning we just saw the falls being developed. So an agreement between the people and those in charge should be reached before any developments can be made, discussions about which part of the sacred site they can develop can be made.

Note: The Ramunangi clan representative is a man who is well advanced in his years, he seems very touched about this matter and he has hope that the SABC, media and the local community radio station (Phala-Phala FM) will help them in communicating this matter with more people in the country to help them. He says there is a documentary that will play on Heritage day on SABC to spread the word for Venda people.

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6. Interview 6

Place: Homestead

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: They made developments, built lodges and made a hall I think.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I personally was not affected spiritually, but I do know that the Ramunangi clan has been suffering so many consequences of this from the time of the developments. There are "*zwipho*" (ancestors) which reside in the waterfalls, it is said that they have now collected their ancestors from the waterfalls but it does not seem so.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: Yes, there were so many things that went wrong with these developments from when they started even now. First, the community was not informed about what was about to happen, after there was corruption in the way that the people were employed.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: They asked for legal advice and it was handled by the courts, this is all we know. The Ramunangi tried this but the chief had said that this is his land and he will do things by force even with resistance.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: No, the court could only speak on what had to happen but they could not physically stop the men from doing their jobs at the site.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The community was not affected directly, the main issue that upset the community is the way that people were getting employed, some people who got employed were not from Phiphidi so how does that benefit the community? The way people got employed was not fair, a raffle was used to choose the people who got employed and it was agreed that the people

would be changed a year later so every person may try get an opportunity to get employed but that is not how it went and this led to a protest and unrest in the community. I may start exposing a lot of things if I go forward with this but in short that is what happened in the community.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: The only benefit is a few people getting jobs that is what we know.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: The community that was supposed to benefit from the developments to be made at the natural resources that belong to everyone did not benefit as much as they were supposed to, after the court order a lot was promised and they did all the things in the name of making Phiphidi a better community. All that they did was to make it known to people that there are waterfalls in Limpopo but at what cost? The ancestors were angry at the Ramunangi because the ancestors only deal with their own people so the people who are suffering the consequences in the community are the Ramunangi clan. The Ramunangi clan were attacked by the Ramunangi "zwipho" because they did not want developments as they want to keep their issues pristine. It was hard, the Ramunangi were even banned from the gravesite of the community, they are allowed to stay in the community but they are not allowed to be buried in the community's' gravesite. The chief (*musanda*) bribed the lawyers to get rid of this case, the chief then passed on (May His soul rest in peace). The Ramunangi were right to deny the developments being done because they knew they were going to be the ones who suffered the consequences by being attacked by their ancestors. When a person disappears in the waterfall, the Ramunangi are called to help perform a ritual to ask the ancestors to release the person. The people who disappear in the waterfalls are usually people who do not reside in the community, these are people who do not know the boundaries at the waterfall. You cannot pick up anything from the waterfall and the plants there, they is an ancestral part that is part of the Ramunangi and certain things cannot be touched. Just like the Nevhutanda people where the firewood collected they will turn into snakes when they get home.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: The only benefit is that people got employed, and the only jobs were to certain people and they were not fairly employed.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: This development should have been done while creating boundaries for sacred sites to be exclusive for the Ramunangi to keep peace between the people and to also bring change into the community through tourism.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: We are not informed

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: The royal family is in charge of everything

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: The community has now backed down, no one knows what is going on with the status of the waterfall.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: The community is not involved in anything about the waterfall besides the people who have been employed.

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: Nothing

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: They do not

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: All the stakeholders must be included and engaged with from the beginning, the people who have to benefit must be told and it should be followed that they really do that. The people who play an important role in sacred sites in any ways must also be consulted for advice on how to develop the place to ensure that there is peace within the community and amongst themselves.

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7. Interview 7

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes, the place is popularly known as Govhukuvhu in the community.

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: It became a tourist attraction place giving people from everywhere access to see the beautiful water sources.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I was upset, I respect the traditions of the Venda people and so when our culture is undermined to accommodate developments that are more modern I get very upset. There was a specific month when the Ramunangi clan used to go to the waterfalls (before they were developed) to perform a ritual that did not only serve the interests of the Ramunangi but benefitted the whole community. They do not have that privilege anymore, they are expected to pay an entrance fee into the land that bodies their ancestors and perform sacred rituals in the presence of an audience (visitors) for monetary gain.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: The developments should not have been done to even start with.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The community did not do much, there was nothing much that they could do this village is run by a chief. The chief is in charge of making decisions for the community and no one is consulted the chief does what he thinks is best and greed usually gets in the ways of those in charge. However the Ramunangi fought this, it was so bad it even got physical as it was war between them and the musanda (chief). This shangoni ya musanda (community) belongs to the chief and during this war he banned them from the community as he was forcefully taking the waterfall that did not belong to anyone. It has been tended for by the Ramunangi and that can only be because they have been assigned by the ancestors, so in our culture automatically that land belongs to them because it came from their ancestors and we respect and acknowledge that the land is theirs.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: The developments went forward under the orders of the chief, completely disregarding the concerns that the Ramunangi had.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The thing with ancestors is that when they are upset they do not take it out directly on everyone, we have obviously seen the decrease in rainfall after the annual rainmaking event stopped but the Ramunangi have since struggled the worst circumstances. The ancestors need to be tended for by their people and so when they are abandoned they get the attention of the ones who are responsible for tending for them through affliction in their personal lives. The consequence that was experienced by the community would be that business people saw an opportunity to open a tavern right next to the waterfall to serve tourists who come to have picnics at the waterfalls with alcohol. This was great for them but for our children it left an effect that is evident even today, children started drinking at a higher rate as the tavern played loud music every weekend and made events that got their attention, they lost their focus on schoolwork and started heavily drinking on most weekends and a lot of people in the community are uneducated now because of this. You should have seen a lot of them walking around the streets doing nothing on such a weekday, they are not only unemployed they are also uneducated and it is a sad thing for the community because they may turn out to be criminals while trying to make a living for themselves.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: Barely, a few were offered jobs.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: There is no longer trust in the system that rules the village, the chief who was responsible for all this unfortunately passed away. You would think that this was a good thing for the community but the sister took over and she has the same principles.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: They were not enough

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: The chief could have consulted the Ramunangi first so they could find common grounds on how to develop the waterfalls.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: I do not know

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: Tshimangadzo

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: The community no longer has interest on what happens at the waterfall anymore.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No they are not

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: They are not doing anything, a lot of people do not believe in ancestral things, but you do not have to believe in it to respect other people's traditions. When white people got to Venda they wanted to create space to use as farmland, they were cutting down trees when one of them wondered alone and he disappeared with no trace and it is believed he was taken by the ancestors, only then did people start believing that things do exist and could affect your life when you disregard them. I am not imposing my traditions on people but they must learn to respect them.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The chief's family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: They do not

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: There should be respect for what exists at the site, even when those who are developing are not accustomed to the traditions they should not completely disregard them because the consequences are vastly felt by those who the ancestors belong to.

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8. Interview 8

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes, I am aware

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: They built a lodge making the waterfalls a picnic area for the people to go have fun.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I was not affected spiritually, it only affects you if you believe and worship ancestors.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: They could have at least consulted the clans whose ancestors reside at Govhukuvhu to let them know that they should change their place of worship to find other places such as Fundudzi and Njelele to worship at since they will be disturbed at Govhukuvhu,

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The community did not do anything, the clans were just denied access after they tried to stop the developments through court orders.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: No the developments continued, the only thing that happened was that the Ramunangi clan were not only denied access to the Govhukuvhu they were also banned from the community.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The ancestors of the Ramunangi were very angry, this showed in the war that happened between the Ramunangi and the royal family in the community, it was intense and deadly they almost even killed each other. There was a protest at the waterfalls but it was for water and employment. A lot of tourists have been taken by the '*zwiphoni'* at Govhukuvhu, there has been cases where a person would disappear in the water for a number of days, it is believed that the person would be held by the ancestors and the only way the body would return to the surface would be when the Ramunangi speak to the ancestors to let go of the person, they had to explain that the person is a visitor and did not know the lands he stepped on belong to them.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: Not everyone, they could have only done as much as they could, my two sons worked there during the constructions of the lodge.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: There has been unrest in the community, the royal family has since been ruling but they themselves have no order and no one has been appointed to be chief properly since the death of Chief Jerry Tshivhase and this could be a result of the constructions.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: Everything will have positive and negative impacts, some people have benefitted and some suffered in terms of their belief system. So it depends on which side you are on.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: The clans could have been consulted to get a new place of worship because the ancestors would not refuse to leave the area, they just need to be respected and tended for.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: Tourists are still visiting the waterfalls, the royal family manages them.

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: Chief Jerry's sister TShimangadzo

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: The community is ruled by the royal family, as long as people are employed the community is satisfied.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: The community does not take part in anything at the waterfall besides getting employed.

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: The community is not doing anything, the Ramunangi has also just let it go.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: They would have stopped the developments because they are happening even today.

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: They should just talk to everyone who is involved for their views to avoid wars.

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9. <u>Interview 9</u>

<u>A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)</u>

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: I am aware

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: They changed the place from being just the forest to an accommodation that welcomes guests.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: A lot has changed in this community since the developments happened. There were certain things in the community that we were all aware of, the place where the waterfalls are is known as Govhukuvhu. I believe that a spiritual community used to reside in the place when it was still a bush, we would hear children crying and a woman voice calming the baby down through words and by singing songs for the crying baby. We would stand at a distance and listen to all of this, they were not threatened by us listening because they knew we stayed in the area and we did no harm to them, we would also hear "Gi, Gi, Gi" sounds which happens when older women are grinding something in a traditional equipment known as "tshurhi na musi". We all knew that a community was there but we no matter how closer you got you would not see anyone in the waterfalls, we could hear them and the sound got louder when moving towards the waterfall so we knew they resided there. After the rainmaking event that was hosted and performed by the Ramunangi clan we would hear the water have a boiling effect, the forest where the waterfalls are located would then be covered by smoke and we knew that the ancestors are satisfied with the ritual and they would send rain to water our crops. This has not been heard from when the developments were made, the community has since been quiet and no one has heard the unseen community or the forest filled with smoke. It was said that there is a white lion that guards the sacred forests from intruders, that too hasn't been spotted.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: They should have just left the waterfalls as they were, ancestral things are a problem because the consequences are not even suffered by those who develop the land but ty those who are responsible to take care of the land in which they reside.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The Ramunangi were upset and they took the matter the court but the court order did not mean anything to the royal family.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: They continued, the development continued despite the efforts of the Ramunangi which was war and the royal family won.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: Traditions of the village are no longer respected, our grandchildren just see the waterfalls as places to go and drink alcohol and have fun they do not know that the place is sacred, that higher powers and spirits reside there as they have been suppressed while trying to accommodate developments in the community.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: Some got jobs, the money which is generated there is probably only used by the royal family because those who got employed were paid by the money from the government or the Department that sponsored this development.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: The community has been in shambles since, the royal family has been confused about how they should run the village and no one has taken over the late chief. And a community with no proper ruling system has no direction. There has been a protest and this showed a very poor leadership skills from the royal family.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: They were not enough, not for those who got employed and definitely not for the Ramunangi.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: They should have worked together, development is good but they should have considered involving the ones who have been responsible for taking care of that land before they wanted to develop it for monetary gain.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: The only things that are being taken care of are the buildings that they constructed.

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: The chief's sister.

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: If the royal family approves there is nothing that the community can do or say to convince them otherwise.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: They are not

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: They are not doing anything.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: They do not

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: These developments are sensitive and so people should just speak and agree on how they want to do things with no ignorance.

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10. Interview 10

1. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: We were happy because they developed the place that was just a bush, it now became a place we could take pride in.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: The Ramunangi are the ones who were affected by the developments as they were denied access to the waterfalls to perform their rituals.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: They could have informed the whole community that there is going to be some developments at the waterfalls, this could have at least given the community to voice out their suggestions about how the developments could happen to reduce conflicts and disputes during the construction.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The community went to court to try to stop the developments.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: No the developments continued.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The Ramunangi were denied access to the waterfalls and their ancestors got angry and started attacking them. People have also disappeared when visiting the waterfalls and by the time that they are found they are already dead.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: Yes, some people got jobs

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: The Ramunangi was constantly being attacked by the ancestors as they were being disturbed in the waterfalls, the Ramunangi also got banned from the village because of this war.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: No, I believe culture is far more important than money and attention. Culture must not stand in the way of developing but culture still has to be acknowledged.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: they could have left some land undeveloped for the Ramunangi to continue worshipping in private to reduce commotion.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: I don't know

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: Tshimangadzo is in charge because she is the chief's daughter

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: The community does not know anything it is managed by the royal family.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No, the royal family is in charge and they supposedly represent the interests of the community.

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: They are not doing anything

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family has the authority because they are the chieftaincy and they own everything in the land of Phiphidi, this is why you can even purchase land from them if you want and that money is used by them.

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: No they do not.

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: They should have consulted with the clan because now it just seems like their traditions were undermined.

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11. Interview 11

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: They built a hall, conference centre and a lodge closer to the waterfalls which was authorised by the late chief.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I was not affected, the Ramunangi clan are the ones whose spiritual life was affected because during and after the developments they were denied access to the waterfalls to perform rituals, their ancestors reside there. They were denied access by the chief of the community (chief Jerry Tshivhase) who is now late. The Ramunangi wanted to claim full ownership of the waterfalls because they are the custodians and this did not sit well with the chief because he knew that the Ramunangi would not let them develop the area if they had full and legal ownership of the land.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: Yes, they could have spoken to everyone who is involved or has a connection to the waterfalls to accommodate them at least.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: In this community, the representative is the chief, who is responsible for making decisions on behalf of every member. The community is just told what will be done without consulting people who live in the community so whatever that they decide goes. There was a strike, but it was about jobs and water in the community it just included the waterfalls but it was not entirely about them.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: The Ramunangi tried to stop the process by going to court, but this did not stop the people from developing the place.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: A man from Makwarela has disappeared in the waterfall and he was found dead a few days later, this cannot be proved but it is believed that the Ramunangi ancestors took the person as this happened about ten years ago during the developments and the war between the Ramunangi and the royal family. There was a protest in 2017 where the community was asking for job rotations, water from the dam and the issue at Phiphidi but this was not successful.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: The community benefitted, people got the jobs and people from Phiphidi are the ones who got employed.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: There has been conflict in the community ever since these developments, the chief's authority has since been undermined by the whole community.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: The benefits were there, maybe the entrance fees is used to pay the salaries of those who got jobs, but at the cost of the spiritual lives of the Ramunangi clan so the benefits were not enough.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: They could have communicated with the Ramunangi clan to create boundaries of where to develop and boundaries on where not to develop.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: There are security guards and cleaners who have been employed to take care of the place.

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: The royal family

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: The community is only bothered by employment issues in the area so everything else they are not involved.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: They are not

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: The community has left this responsibility for the royal family.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family controls everything they have the authority.

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: No I do not think they have any legal custody

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: They need to talk to everyone who is involved and make sure that the people decide on how they are going to develop the area, creating boundaries where necessary.

Added note from the interviwee: There used to be sounds of footsteps and babies crying in the sacred forests but we could not see them, we believe that these are "*zwipho*" who used to reside there. We do not know if they can still be heard because the developments could have threatened them so the ancestors could be gone. It is possible to communicate with the ancestors and ask them to move to another location when their privacy is invaded.

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12. Interview 12

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: I am aware

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: They constructed a lodge to make the waterfalls a tourist attraction site.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I have mixed feelings about this, I was not affected spiritually but the clan that performed rituals for this community was affected and so our community was affected as the undirect benefits from Ramunangi ancestors were cut off from the community.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: Yes, the Ramunangi should have taken full control of the developments, this way they would have spoken to the ancestors to ask them to allow the developments to happen where they reside.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The Ramunangi clan is the one who owns that land so they are ones who fought, they tried their best to fight the chief so he can stop the developments.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: The developments went on, there is so much greed in the royal family, people want money and they usually put it before the needs of other peoples' spirituality.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developents were stopped?

A: The community suffered, there has been some unexplainable deaths in the community, the farmlands that used to produce great and more than enough harvest has been drying out slowly, the has been incidents of people disappearing in the waterfalls and there has been no proper ruling of the community. (Do not sell this information to papers).

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: Just a few people got jobs, it did not work out because I was also employed there and I was stopped for a while, so no we did not benefit as much as we expected.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: The community has dealt with many issues since then, like I said there has been no ruler in the village and that is a problem on its own.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: No they were not enough, we expected more because the waterfalls belong to everyone who resides in Phiphidi.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: They could have really made this development about the people of Phiphidi like they said when they were developing the site so everyone could benefit from them.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: The chief's sister has taken over

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: Tshimangadzo, the chief's sister

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: The community is not satisfied because they are still longing for jobs.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No they are not

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: The community is not doing anything they let things be and they are allowing the chief's sister to do as she wishes.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The whole royal family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: No the royal family does

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: A council should be nominated to represent every stakeholder to discuss how they can develop the area with peace and everyone agreeing upon the final decision.

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13. Interview 13

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: They developed a lodge and other things

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I am very angry as it is, these questions are not only upsetting to my spirit but they bring back harsh memories of conflict amongst each other in the community, that place holds the ancestors that belong to other people. Those people were denied access to tend for the ancestors and even the innocent are suffering the consequences.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: What they did in that location should not have happened, it is not ethical, it is against our own culture and tradition so it should not be developed at all. In 2010 they restricted the area completely causing the Ramunangi clan to not enter at all and their ancestors are now affecting them till this day. But they too (the royal family) are facing the consequences along with the community.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: We went to court, we spoke to the chief to ask him to stop this because he too was a traditional man he knew how these things work but he had his mind set on the money that would be generated do he did care to listen to what the community was thinking.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: No, the developments went on, and this created a lot of tension between the Ramunangi clan and the royal family and those who supported them.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: There has been conflicts ever since, the royal family is at war with the Ramunangi and it gets bad, they do not get along at all and this issue is ancestral so it is not influenced only by people in charge but also the ancestors of both family members as both strive to protect their own people and pride.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: No they did not get anything, even now there are no jobs there

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: The Ramunangi has been denied access to the waterfalls, they have also been banned from the community whilst they are the only people who can communicate with their ancestors to bring change into the community.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: The benefits were not enough

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: They should have left the land untouched, we would still be experiencing good harvests and significant amounts of rains, instead outsiders are dying every year in Govhukuvhu.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: The royal family is collecting the entrance fees everyday but nothing is being done.

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: Tshimangadzo

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: How can anyone be happy when we are being ruled by a woman who clearly does not know what she is doing?

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: There is nothing we can do as a community we do not have that power.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: No the lawyers were bribed, where will legal custody come from?

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: Sacred places should not be developed, there is so much risks and dangers involved.

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14. Interview 14

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: A lodge was built to accommodate people who come from afar to see the waterfalls.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I had conflicted thoughts, I was happy for the developments but I was worried because some claimed that the land is theirs and they wanted the developments to stop

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: No the developments happened in regulations with the law, this is how it s done in all the places and nothing wrong was done.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: They went to court and they were overruled so the developments had to continue.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: No, the court stood with the royal family to keep construct the site for more job creation and money in the community.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The community had only positive impacts, they got employed and they were happy.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: Yes a lot, they are no longer roaming around the streets, they have even made markets by the waterfalls to sell food for the people who visit the waterfalls.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: There were no consequences in the community

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: They were enough for the ones who got jobs.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: The developments were made right, the conflict was because some people did not want them but that was only a few people.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: The are employers to take care of the area

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: Tshimangadzo (who is actually my daughter in law) is the manager

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: Yes they still go there at a discounted price to visit so they are happy

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: Yes, the employees are from Phiphidi so they are involved.

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: They always sweep the areas, pick up litter and help people around when they visit.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: No

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: Developments are good, they should happen more often to move people away from the cycle of poverty. The war is over, they forgave each other.

15. Interview 15

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: I am

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: They changed it into a lodge and it ultimately became a project

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: It only affects you when you believe in them, it affected the families that worshipped at the waterfalls because they stopped going to worship there.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: Yes, they should have consulted with them to find out how they can work things out together.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The community supported the Ramunangi when they went to court by going to the trials with them.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: It is quite evident that the developments went ahead because the waterfalls is still operating and welcoming guests.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: Well the community was not really affected, there was just conflict between the chief's family and the Ramunangi clan/family.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: A few benefitted by getting jobs, it was said that this is a perfect opportunity for the community to generate money.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: People got promised jobs that most of them did not get, a ruffle was used to pick candidates to work on the project and some got dismissed after a short while.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: No the benefits were not how we expected them to be

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: They should have asked for some part of the land to develop leaving them with space to worship which would be private and no access unless you belong to the Ramunangi clan.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: I do not know

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: Tshimangadzo Tshivhase

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: I do not really know, and I have not been there in a very long time

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No they are not

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: We would be informed if there was anything so there is nothing being done.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The chief and his family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: No they do not

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: They should come into agreement with the people who are traditional custodians of the site on how to develop the land without upsetting the ancestors.

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16. Interview 16

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: They developed a lodge at the waterfall.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I was not affected spiritually

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: Yes, they should have told the people from the community before the developments started.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The Ramunangi clan went to court to stop the developments as they had already started by the time the community was told.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: No the developments continued

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: When business owners saw that the place was getting a lot of attention, they decided to bring a bottle store/tavern close to the waterfalls to attract customers who visit the waterfalls. They also wanted the taverns to generate a lot of money so they had events that attracted young children to go and drink alcohol and have fun at these places, so it had a negative impact on the children because they disturbed their schoolwork and it had a positive impact on the owner of the tavern because he got more profit.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: They did, they got jobs.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: It became war between the royal family and the Ramunangi clan over ownership of the waterfalls.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: The people from the community got employed and at least they were able to feed their families, the entrance money is also used to maintain the lodge and look after the waterfalls properly.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: They royal family should have communicated their development plans with all members of the community because their views and options could have been discussed there with everyone present.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: I do not know.

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: The manager is Tshimangadzo Tshivhase

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: What can the community say, they no longer even go there because we cannot be expected to pay money to see our waterfalls.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: the community is not doing anything.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: They do not

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: It is all the same, there is no hope the places will be developed regardless. If the court order can be benched then nothing less is expected from other developments in other sacred places.

17. Interview 17

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: The area was made into a lodge with rooms for accommodation, I was happy for this because people would not cut on transport fees because they had closer rooms to book.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I was not affected spiritually.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: Yes they could have said that the people from the community had free access because now we pay R50 to see these natural beautiful waterfalls.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The Ramunangi people tried to stop the developments by going to court.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: They continued regardless of the court's order.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The Ramunangi ended up being banned from performing rituals at the waterfalls, they were even responsible for calling to their ancestors out when someone had disappeared in the waterfalls.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: Yes, we got a lodge closer, a developed area and now our village is known all over Limpopo because of the developments.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: We did not have any consequences from the development it brought many good things to the community.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: Yes they were enough.

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: The could have made the job rotations from the beginning they didn't have to wait for the community to strike, because someone even disappeared during the strike and those who know say it was associated with the Ramunangi ancestors' anger.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: There are people who were employed to take care of the developments that were made nothing is done to conserve the waterfalls themselves.

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: The acting chief Tshimangadzo Tshivhase

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: Yes there are people who are responsible for taking care of the waterfalls to make sure that they last for generations.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: Not really

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: The community is not really doing anything

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family as they rule this village

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: No they do not

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: They should all communicate what will happen and they should look out for what is better for the community.

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18. Interview 18

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: The area which the waterfalls are located was developed and turned into lodge to accommodate visitors.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: No one's spiritual life was affected by the developments at the waterfalls, any water body can be used to perform ancestral activities. so there was nothing there that belonged to the Ramunangi clan as they claimed.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: No it was only right for these developments to happen to welcome people to come see the waterfalls.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: They started a protest to rule out the way people were being employed in the 3 projects that were taking place. Even the Sanco was involved in the strike as it was about the employment of the people who stay in the community.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: The ways of employment were changed to accommodate the people in the community.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The jobs were not so many and the employers did not want to recycle workers for so long and that was a challenge in the community.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: They did through jobs.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: A tavern was opened right next to the waterfalls, the children could go because they do not listen to their parents as they have rights these days. They went to the tavern and the waterfalls to have fun and usually slacked when it came to their schoolwork but we cannot blame the development the children do what they want.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: They were fairly enough

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: The developments were going to happen either way, it is good that they happened internally and so the chief was monitoring what was happening during the developments. There will always be a negative side of things and unfortunately some people felt like they own the land but they could not prove that they own any land there.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: I do not know

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: Manager is the daughter from royalty

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: They are not, the people employed there are in charge of looking after the place.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No, nobody knows what is happening

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: The community is trusting the employed people to look after the waterfalls.

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The chief's family because there is money involved.

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: No

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: They should just allow the developments to happen, they do so much for the community as it attracts people who stay afar, the problem is when the community is also expected to pay the

entrance fees and when the community is not told when they start just like it happened in our community.

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19. Interview 19

Place: Ramunangi family house

Interviewee: Member of the Ramunangi clan – Female

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes I am aware

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: There were constructions of a lodge to make the place an area that allows people to sleep in the area next to the waterfalls.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I am from the Ramunangi clan, I am a *makhadzi* (aunt) of the family, there are certain things that I am responsible for to ensure peace, wealth and good health in the clan. I am also a traditional healer, I enquire about traditional herbs from my ancestors and they help me heal people from my family and people from outside the family. Since the waterfalls were closed for construction and reopened again for tourists the Ramunangi clan was denied free and exclusive access to the site. The royal family did not recognise us, at all. They did not discuss anything about the development of the waterfalls and they know that our ancestors are there and they understand the implications of denying us access. I have been unable to consult with my ancestors about my traditional healer journey, for it to be complete I had to go let them know at the waterfalls that I am now a healer as they instructed me in my dreams but I haven't been able to do that and I cannot practise until they acknowledge me.

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: They should have spoken to the clan, we would not have stopped the developments we understand that there are changes I the way that things work, we would have communicated the developments plans and how to avoid the places in the waterfalls that have higher spiritual significance to us.

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The community went to court with us to hold off the constructions that had already started.

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: They did not stop, they ignored even the courts and decided to carry on, it even seemed as if the lawyers were bribed because they too did not intervene much after the constructions were happening when they were ordered to stop.

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The community was not affected by the developments, they affected us as the Ramunangi clan.

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: They did, they got employed to take care of the new buildings and guard the area.

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: There was war between the royal family and members of the community, people now saw that the royal family was undermining their culture and their traditions.

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: No they were not sufficient for the whole community

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: They could have consulted us themselves, they should have done enough research they would know who the rightful custodians.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: Nothing, the same buildings that they built are not being taken care of. Nothing is being well maintained.

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: The royal family has put themselves in charge of our heritage

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: The Ramunangi clan is not, we are now denied even access, they do not want anything to do with us it looks like they have concluded that the area will be theirs and we will not do anything to change that. They have strong and powerful people by their side.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No the community is just watching no one is doing anything

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: Nothing

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: No one owns that land, we proved that it is ours in court but no one has acknowledged that and this is why they are doing as they like.

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: We do not

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: They should be avoided if possible, or the developments must not affect sacred activities that belong to certain people.

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20. Interview 20

A. Questions to investigate the **History** (what happened in 2010)

1. Are you aware of the tourism developments that happened at Phiphidi Waterfall in 2010?

A: Yes

2. What happened at Phiphidi Waterfalls in the year 2010?

A: There were developments that were made, the place became a lodge.

3. How did the developments that happened in 2010 affect your life (spiritually)?

A: I was not affected spiritually

4. Do you think that they could have done the tourism developments in a different manner?

A: I don't know I think they too were trying to do what they thought was best for the community

5. What was done by the community to try and stop the developments from happening?

A: The Ramunangi clan protested and took the matter to court

6. Did the action that you took make the developments stop or did they continue regardless of the community's effort?

A: No as you may know the waterfalls are still open to the public

7. How was the community affected by the actions that happened even after the developments were stopped?

A: The community was not really affected by the developments

8. Did the community benefit from the tourism developments that happened in the year 2010?

A: The community just wanted jobs and they got that

9. What consequences did the community have to face because of the developments that went ahead in 2010?

A: The community went on with life and this has been forgotten

10. Were the benefits enough/ did the benefits outweigh the consequences that were faced because of the developments (if any)?

A: There was only so much that the developments could provide, so they were enough

11. What could have been done by the tourism developers to avoid conflict between them and community members?

A: Developments should be done and ensure that job security will be provided for a while and not just for the time that the projects are made.

B. Questions to investigate the **Current management and conservation status** of the Phiphidi Waterfall.

1. What is happening to Phiphidi Waterfalls right now to manage and conserve the waterfalls?

A: They are maintained by the people who have been employed to take care of the waterfalls.

2. Who is currently in charge of managing the conservation of the sites?

A: The royal family

3. Is the community satisfied with the current management and conservation status?

A: The community does not participate much in the waterfalls, so they do noy care that much.

4. Is the community actively involved in the management of the falls at the moment?

A: No

5. What is the community currently doing to conserve and manage their waterfalls?

A: The community is not doing anything they do not have the power to do anything

6. Who has the authority over the sacred sites, who owns the land which Phiphidi Waterfalls exist?

A: The royal family

7. Do traditional custodians have any legal custody of the site at the moment?

A: They do not

8. If developments like these are to happen in the future in sacred sites, what can be done to avoid conflict between members of the community and tourism developers?

A: They should agree on a better way of developing the area while respecting each other's traditions.

Appendix 4: News24 newspaper article & National articles

Trusted News. First

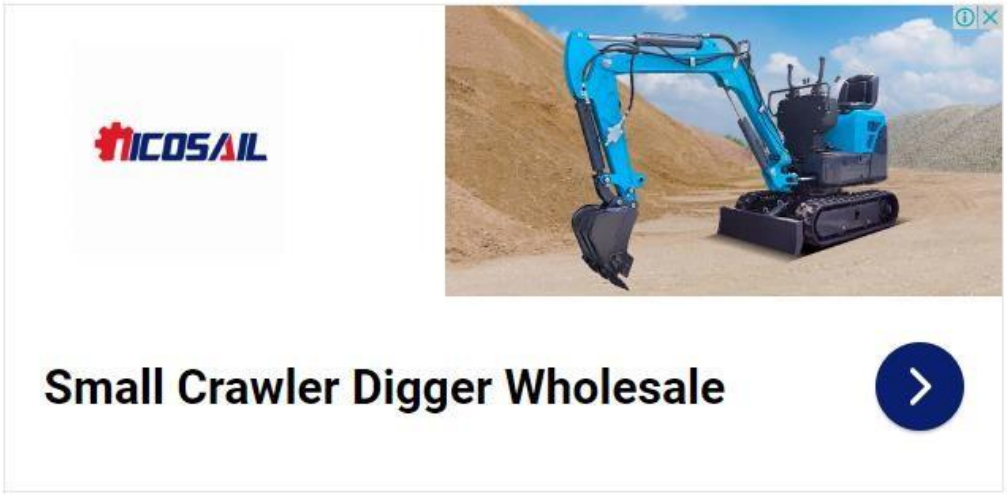
04 Jul 2010

Royal battle set for court

SHARE

A battle that has been quietly raging between Venda royals and the community's elders will erupt in court on Tuesday when Dzomo la Mupo (the voice of the earth), the custodians of sacred sites in Venda, petition the court to halt construction of a tourist camp above the sacred Phiphidi Falls.

The application will be served on members of the Venda royal family, chiefs, the minister of rural development and various government departments.



The complainants are members of Dzomo la Mupo and the Ramunangi clan, in whose area the falls are situated.

Developers are building eight tourist chalets, a restaurant, bar, lapa and laundry at the head of the falls which, the elders say, is degrading the sacred site, fouling the river and angering the spirits.

The construction is being undertaken by an organisation connected to the royal family.

For several years polite pleading and petitioning by the Ramunangi custodians has been - ignored.

In this deeply traditional society it has taken considerable courage to go up against chiefs and royalty, and the custodians are at pains to point out that they hold no personal animosity - towards the king or his chiefs.

The decision on the application could have far-reaching political and ecological implications.

Central to the network of sacred sites across the Soutpansberg is a forest from which 24 streams flow, providing water for the area's fertile farms and smallholdings.

The forest, together with Lake Fundudzi and pools, groves and waterfalls are biodiversity hotspots Venda people have always conserved.

Without them, they say, rain will not fall and the land will become sick and die.

The issue raises questions about the difference between political and custodial rights, and whether tradition can be preserved in the face of development for gain.

The Phiphidi development is being undertaken by the Tshivhase Development Foundation Trust (TDFT), of which the BEE billionaire Mashudu Tshivhase is a director.

He is related to one of the most respected Venda kings, Kennedy Tshivhase, who claims to know nothing about the petition.

When a road was built through the forest a few 100m above the falls in 2007, the Ramunangi and Dzomo la Mupo petitioned the local chief and the government through their lawyer, Roger Chennels, but got no response.

Then things got worse. The sacred falls were fenced off and the custodians were told they had no right to enter a construction area.

> Chennels discovered that the environmental impact assessment which sanctioned the development was defective, and the development was therefore illegal.
>
> Dzomo la Mupo then extended their petitioning to government departments and the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Minorities.
>
> They all failed to respond.
>
> When no other official response was forthcoming, the Dzomo la Mupo brought an urgent interdict to the Limpopo High Court to stop all development at Phiphidi pending the restoration of their traditional rights.
>
> Respondents include the TDFT, the Tshivhase Traditional Council, Chief Jerry Tshivhase, the - departments of economic development and environment and tourism, the minister of rural - development and the Thulamela municipality.

NATIONAL

Defender of the sacred sites

Don Pinnock 11 Mar 2011



To some Mphatheleni Makaulule is a demon's daughter, destined to burn in the fires of a Christian hell. To others she's an emissary from the ancestors and a keeper of ancient tribal traditions.

But Makaulule tells me she's just a traditional woman from rural Venda with healing abilities. Yet traditional rural women generally don't win Bill Clinton Fellowships to study leadership at the United Nations and at universities such as Tufts and Harvard.

Neither do they normally travel to the Amazon, Ethiopia, Colombia, Spain, Britain and Kenya in pursuit of knowledge about ancient cultures and global warming.

I'm in Thohoyandou to talk to Makaulule about a waterfall she's protecting. It's called Phiphidi and is lovely beyond imagining. Here the Mutshindudu River cascades down black granite into a pool rimmed by huge ancient trees, their muscular roots entwined in embrace and their gnarled branches reaching out over the water.

For countless generations women have come to the pool to perform rituals for bountiful crops, good rains and the health of the Venda people. The river is one of 24 that flow from the Thathe Holy Forest, higher up in the Soutpansberg, said to be protected by a white lion. Along their courses are groves, pools, falls and a lake where, the women say, trees, creatures and the air we breathe are purified and renewed.

Phiphidi is part of a biodiversity hot spot in Limpopo Province that supports hundreds of plant and animal species, some of which are endemic. Thirty percent of South Africa's tree species grow in the area, though it accounts for less than 1% of the country's area. In addition, 60% of South Africa's birdlife, 40% of its mammals and 30% of its reptiles call the Soutpansberg home.

But when I visited Phiphidi, a front-end loader was clawing at piles of gravel and driving a road to the head of the falls. Under construction were eight chalets, a restaurant, laundry, bar and lapa, as well as an imposing, lockable gate. A Limpopo hotel group was already advertising the falls and the sacred lake, Fundudzi, in its "Land of Myth and Legend" tour package.

Ancestral traditions

The development was evidently sanctioned by a local chief, Jerry Tshivhase, and was being undertaken by the Tshivhase Development Foundation Trust, of which the BEE billionaire Mashudu Tshivhase is a director. Both men are related to King Kennedy Tshivhase.

After my visit the organisation that Makaulule formed, Dzomo la Mupo (Voice of Nature) took them all to court and forced building operations to cease. The king, coincidentally, had his kingship stripped. The message is clear: don't mess with ancestral traditions.

Makaulule is the firstborn of the third wife of a traditional healer whom she revered. Her mother, too, had healing skills inherited from her own father, a traditional spiritual guide. Her father was 74 when she was born, the 11th of 24 children, a large clan related to the kin "My father gave me the name of Mphatheleni, which means to rebuild," she says, "and I tak it very seriously. He knew what he wanted me to do."

From standard eight, with her father now old, Makaulule went to live with her uncle, a fervent Christian who saw it as his duty to turn her from her "heathen" ways. She tried to oblige, but kept having dreams in which her father, who died when she was in her second year at university, instructed her in the old ways of her people. When she told her uncle, he said her father was a demon and prayed over her head to exorcise him.

In her final year the spiritual contradictions were becoming intolerable. Right after graduation she had a breakdown. In hospital they diagnosed hyperstress and pulmonary tuberculosis. Her uncle visited her to preach. Weak and in bed, she had little resistance, so she fought back in the only way possible.

One day she dressed herself and ran away to the only place she thought she could find peac and healing: a forest at the foot of a sacred mountain near Elim named Luvhola. Alone, but with a memory of herbal remedies her father had taught her, and with wild fruits and sprin water, she healed herself. When her strength returned she built a rough hut and daily climbed the mountain to sit and think.

Finding strength

"I spent two years in the forest," she says, "with no money, living the way of my father. I wasn't afraid — my totem is the warthog. I walked a lot. Friends brought me books and relatives came with food. Mostly I needed to stay alone, but I visited older members of my clan, learning from them the history of my people. It was a rite of passage and I found the strength to do what I'm doing now."

Appendix 5: Ethics Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Mabehle

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H21/10/18**
PROJECT TITLE	Traditional Custodians, Sacred Heritage Sites and Tourism Development: A Case Study of the Phiphidi Falls in the Limpopo Province of South Africa
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Ms N Mabehle
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies/
DATE CONSIDERED	22 October 2021
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Risk Level: Low
EXPIRY DATE	17 March 2025
DATE 18 March 2022	**CHAIRPERSON** _____ (Professor J Watermeyer)

cc: Supervisor : Dr T Russell

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to submit an amendment of the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a regular progress report. For Minimal and Low studies, this is due annually on 31 December. For Medium and High Risk studies, this is due twice annually on 30 June and 31 December.**

_____ **Signature**

_____/_____/_____ **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES