# The Commodification of Morality in Tourism

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# Contents

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# Prologue

I have two main aims in this work. First, to conceptualize the ways in which a particular model of tourism, popularly designated as *ethical* and focused on 'localism', derives from large-scale ideologies and economic systems. Second, I wish to identify and analyze the role of the population of one village as conceptual stakeholders of such an *ethical* tourism business.

Although the title may suggest otherwise, this is not a work on morality. If I must simplify the topic in one word, I say it is about tourism. More concretely, I approach tourism as a modernizing force, representing an important field to access forms of modern consumerism. And it is along these lines that I critically consider the rationale behind one specific mode of *ethical* tourism: the so-called 'community-based tourism'.

The overemphasis on the host-guest paradigm in academic literature, and in particular in anthropology of tourism, tends to hide from our view all the other relationships that do not take place between tourists and those visited or providing touristic services. This denies the opportunity for crucial aspects of tourism to be acknowledged, thus limiting the theoretical results. Let me clarify this idea by putting in this way: the tourist is not necessarily the key element in tourism activity affecting destination societies. What I have in mind is that a certain ideology of tourism can be *the* crucial aspect of the impacts of tourism, not only on destination societies, but also on the tourists themselves. I believe this is the case with 'community-based tourism', for that the ideology and interests operating behind this model of tourism are taken into particular consideration in this thesis.

There have been so many and varied case studies addressing the powerless nature of small-scale societies in tourism that the recent rise of models of tourism self-declared as authorized, owned, and controlled by the destination 'communities' acquires a special interest. What sense can we make of these developments? Indeed, the recent emergence of new and more *ethical* forms of tourism begs for many questions. Although its ethical

denotation and the proclaimed commanding position of the host population on it, 'community-based tourism' necessitates no less critical evaluation than any other form of tourism. Of particular importance, for example, is the way in which these 'empowered' 'local communities' create, adapt, apprehend, and appropriate tourism assets and, in turn, commodify them. These circumstances invite us to think of tourist consumption and the tourism market as an important area for producing meaning for all its participants. What do they tell us about the global system in which we all live?

In order to answer this and many other related questions, I examine a particular case in the southern African country of Mozambique. My intention is not to propound an archetypal, but to provide credible and reliable theoretical reflections, resorting for that, but not exclusively, to one empirical case.

The first project of 'community-based tourism' in Mozambique dates back to May 2004. Although it was implemented by an international nongovernmental organization, the ownership and responsibility of its management was attributed to the population of one countryside village. The implementation of the tourism project was announced as bound to a strategy that seeks to improve the welfare of the 'local' residents. Since then, the village has been popularly referred to as a successful and exemplary case of 'community development' via tourism, embodying ideals of 'community empowerment', 'sustainability', and 'community participation'.

Contrary to the *destructive* character that is commonly attached to the figure of the mass tourist, those who visit the lodge and the village are not informed as irresponsible hedonists, but rather celebrated by their *benign* character. As such, it is possible to integrate the tourism project in the village as part of a bigger picture: a contemporary way of doing tourism that implicitly links tourists to the well-being of societies *in need*. That is, the current emergence of the model of 'community-based tourism' in the so-called 'developing countries' is part of a more general trend that connects consumption behaviour with the *lives of others* – tourists engage in moral action and 'make a difference' by choosing where and what to consume while on holiday. The politics of moralities, the system(s) influencing the shaping and re-shaping of moral values in tourism activity, whether concerning social responses to poverty or humanitarian justifications for consumption on holiday, are therefore important to acknowledge in this thesis.

Furthermore, the population of the village visited is not perceived as an object of (tourism) exploitation, which is also opposed to what is commonly acknowledged for the

destination societies that deal with other forms of tourism. Instead, the residents are perceived as proactive participants in a business whose goal is to contribute to the betterment of their village as a whole. By taking the form of ‘community-based’, tourism here is celebrated at its very best.

Finally, before coming to the crux of the matter, or of the discussion, I want to make a point very clear: although for the most part the following pages confront the reader with circumstances of poverty, deprivation, inequality, and perhaps even social injustice, it is not the intention of this thesis to serve as a sort of prescription.

I hope this work contributes to a deeper understanding of the social phenomenon of tourism.

# Contextualising the Data

To take on the task of *doing anthropology* is to engage in a particular process of approach. Anthropology acquires its legitimacy from 'being there' in the sense that the researcher witnesses and takes an active role in the subject of study. As such, there is no passivity: the personal characteristics of the anthropologist, whether they like it or not, are actively implied in the type of data produced, and therefore in the final outcomes of the research.

That said, the most credible and honest way I know to present conclusions in anthropological work is to relate the way the material that supports such conclusions was produced, and also, 'to disclose any personal idiosyncrasies that may have helped or hindered the process' (Gow 2008: 21). The elements of contemporary ethnography include the disclosure of the experience 'in the field'. Familiarising the reader with the ethnographer *as an individual* may help to diminish the aura of mysticism that often hovers over fieldwork, and demonstrate how problematic such process it can be. In this sense, the condition of introducing the figure of the researcher into the text is beyond style: it is a matter of validity that recognizes the partial view through which data is produced and, in turn, how knowledge is created. This thesis is an anthropological one and, thus, was written under this line of reasoning.

So the question which I have to answer now is what are my characteristics as a fieldworker that might have influenced the conclusions presented in this work? Three things that must be revealed concerning this: I am white, male, and Portuguese. Let me give an example.

In January 2008, when I was on my way to Chókwè in a *chapa* (the most common public form of transport in Mozambique)[1], which is half way between the capital city of Maputo and the village where I did my fieldwork, I had a fruitful conversation with a lady that was in the seat next to me. She had lived for two years in a town in the district where I

[1] Usually this is the private enterprise of men who own a Toyota Hiace.

would establish myself, therefore she introduced me to some of the characteristics of the region. Other people inside the van started progressively participating in the conversation, telling me the names of people they knew who could be useful for my work. Meanwhile, the driver also engaged in the conversation. He heard me say that I was living in Germany and so he spoke about how good the Germans are for the Mozambicans. He made a parallel with what he called the 'colonists', saying that, in contrast with the Germans, the 'colonists' still think of Mozambique as their colony and not as an independent country. He was referring to the Portuguese. He continued with this topic, always in a critical way until he asked me if I knew Portuguese people in Germany. I then announced myself as Portuguese. The interior of the van, with some sixteen people, became instantly soundless. The lively and informative talk we had been having so far was replaced by facial expressions of embarrassment, and the next hour and half of travel was mostly silent. By revealing my nationality I annulled the chances of continuing the conversation and, perhaps, accessing useful information, as it had all been so far. The environment installed in the *chapa* was suggestive of what I could expect for the next ten months of fieldwork. Indeed, I was going to establish myself in the inner part of the province of Gaza, which was the area in Mozambique most resistant to Portuguese hegemony, being in fact the last region conquered by the Portuguese during the colonial times.

To be Portuguese in Mozambique is not neutral, and can raise the extremes; as I was told once, it can stimulate *love* and *hate* sentiments in Mozambicans. In my case, it might have limited the access to certain subjects, inhibited people when they were talking to me about certain topics, increased suspicious thoughts about my long-term presence in one area, and contributed to the sustenance of perceptions of me as a sort of *colonist spy*/*infiltrator*. What I want to make clear here is that, as a Portuguese anthropologist, announcing neutrality in a post-colonial Portuguese setting is not an ethically acceptable position; it affects the politics of fieldwork and, in turn, the construction of knowledge. Although this is not the place to engage in such debate, I believe this is noteworthy particularly in the face of postmodern critiques of fieldwork. According to such radical forms of criticism, the 'field' can be seen as a cultural construct that is part of the discursive formation that is anthropology, and thus an arena of (western scientific) power, domination, and control in some way linkable to colonialism. Nevertheless, aside from the ethico-political dimensions of post-colonial fieldwork, my fluency in Portuguese, the institutional language of Mozambique, allowed me to access important subjects otherwise difficult to acknowledge in this study.

The main region where my fieldwork was conducted is (highly) patriarchal, showing strong gender-based structural differences. As man I occupied a *space* in the social structure of the village that a woman could never attain, in the same way that a female researcher could access and generate information that I never could. The fundamental intimacy of face-to-face research in the village was thus shaped by 'local' gender order. Hence, even though my effort to accomplish a pluralistic perspective and 'multivocality',[2] there is a disproportion of gender perspectives; that is, the female voice is somewhat less present in this thesis.

Finally, in contrast to the coastal area of Mozambique, being white in the inner east region of the province of Gaza is not discreet. To be white there irremediably carries implications of public attentiveness over all the behaviours, actions, conduct that one might have. This excessive interest in one person's individuality can obviously affect the productivity of fieldwork, particularly by fostering a sort of chronic psychological tiredness in the long-term, diminishing the capacities to maintain tactful and emphatic behaviour so commonly identified as essential technicalities in 'the field'.

## Producing Data

The data produced in this thesis comes from three principal sources. First, extended periods of participant observation in which events of each day were documented along with residents' interpretations. After the first month, I progressively began using a camera as part of my work. Second, semi-structured interviews on a one-to-one basis, but also on group sessions, most of the times taking the form of conversations. After preliminary attempts when I tried to use a device to record information, as it appeared to make people uncomfortable, I opted to take notes during or just after interviews and conversations. The corresponding information was carefully written up as a field diary, usually at the end of each day. Third, archive research and extensive bibliography analysis, primarily in Mozambique, South Africa, Portugal, and Germany.

This work is necessarily empirical in nature and is supported by a significant amount of primary data. It draws on fieldwork in Mozambique between January and June 2008, and between September and December 2008. It also draws on several exploratory trips previously made in the country in 2006 and 2007. During this time I lived in the city of Cape Town, in

[2] Multiple voices representing multiple interests, perceptions, experiences or 'realities'.

the neighbouring country of South Africa. During this period, I was in Mozambique for a total of more than three months, producing data also relevant in this work.

Taking the perspective that in contemporary societies the act of power takes essentially the form of representation, in this thesis I occasionally resort to a genealogical approach to analyse the evolution of meanings, but also to deconstruct the ideas shaping knowledge and the social definition of concepts. This work also operates within a methodological framework of Critical Discourse Analysis. Such method assumes that discourse constitutes societies and cultures; that it is ideological and historical; and that it is a form of social action. In this particular, I make use of ideological and contextual analysis of the discursive practices of the peoples in Mozambique implicated in the production of new subjectivities.

Finally, throughout this thesis I extend the 'space of problematization' further than the case-study in order to accomplish holistic and cross-cultural comparative perspectives. Put in simple terms, I refer to other cases beyond my main geographical focal point of interest, most of them in other regions in Mozambique which were also under direct observation. This method bears upon an understanding of tourism that may be gained from a critical analysis of an array of multi-'local' angles, together with an assessment of the global forces at work.

# 1 Introducing Tourism

## The Case of Canhane

The city of Nelspruit in South Africa is a recurrent escape for the new post-colonial elites living in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. Nelspruit's attraction does not rely on its landscape or cultural environment. Rather, the abundance and variety of shopping centres and institutions in the city, plus the short distance between the two cities (190 kilometres), are the main attributes that captivate those, particularly the expatriates, living in Maputo.

Not surprisingly then, in the beginning of 2001 the director of Helvetas, a Swiss nongovernmental organization (NGO) based in Maputo, went to Nelspruit. While there he consulted the periodic South African print run publication of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The journal had an announcement of the awarding of grants for 'community development' in the surrounding region of the Limpopo National Park in Mozambique (Figure 1). 'The content of USAID's announcement was very generic. It only mentioned broadly the area of implementation',[1] one of the staff working for Helvetas confirmed for me. When the Swiss director returned from Nelspruit to Maputo, he organized an internal working group to prepare a suitable application for the USAID funds.

The region in consideration has a special character. It is in the buffer zone of a Transfrontier Conservation Area named Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP). This is a cross-border *bioregion* that is intended to span three countries: South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique. It was officially proclaimed on November 10, 2000 by the respective Ministers of the Environment. They signed a document authorizing the incorporation of South African's Kruger National Park, Zimbabwe's Gonarezhou National Park, and the Limpopo National Park in Mozambique into one single conservation area of approximately 35,000 square kilometres. According to its official website, 'The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park will be a world-class eco-tourism destination … managed to optimize benefits for sustainable economic development of local communities and biodiversity conservation'.[2]

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[1] Conversation with Helvetas staff member, Maputo, September 1, 2006.
[2] http://www.greatlimpopopark.com, accessed November 16, 2009.

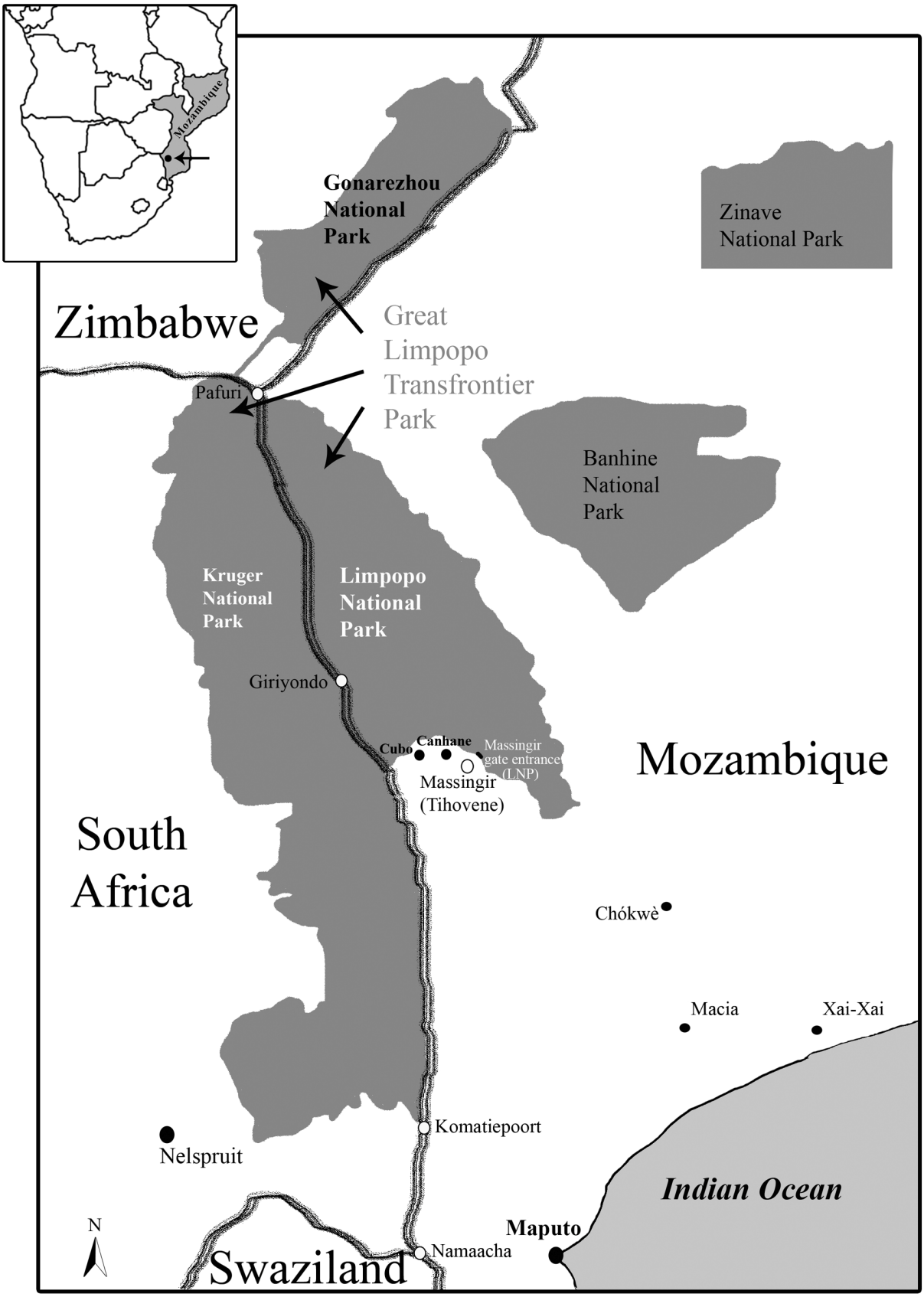


**Figure 1** – Map of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park and adjacent areas. Diagram by the author.

The GLTP was initially launched in the 1990s by Anton Rupert's personal initiative. Rupert[3] was a very wealthy South African tobacco magnate whose multiple business ventures included interests in tourism (Wolmer 2003: 269). He was also the former president of WWF-South Africa (then called the Southern African Nature Foundation). It was Rupert who initiated talks with the Mozambican government concerning the conservation border initiative. He was fundamental in interesting the World Bank in the project and securing financing (Wolmer 2003: 270). During this lobbying process, 'there was a growing recognition that tourism could be the one industry with the potential to become the economic engine',[4] not only specific to the GLTP's intended area, but also in the adjacent regions. Various donor-funded projects[5] were made available to support the Great Limpopo initiative and the so-called 'community development' of the populations living in and around it.

The Great Limpopo initiative is highly embedded with a peaceable extent. Among others, this is reflected in its discursive connotation: 'Peace Park'. As the most prominent *non-profit* institution in charge of the GLTP describes it, 'the establishment and development of peace parks [referring to the GLTP] is a … multi-facet approach to jointly manage natural resources across political boundaries. It is an exemplary process of partnerships … an African success story that will ensure peace, prosperity and stability for generations to come'.[6] Such (dominant) *green discourse* is legitimated and authorized as a metanarrative of global *environmentality*. Specifically, the positive connotation of the GLTP – Peace Park – can be interpreted as based on visions of tourism as the world's peace industry (Litvin 1998: 63), and on a 'concept of peace accepting the perspective of an organic and interconnected world' (D'Amore 1994: 113). Indeed, there is a growing body of literature connoting tourism to 'a spirit of goodwill and brotherhood' (Khamouna and Zeiger 1995: 86), and positioning tourism 'as the fundamental key to world peace' (Knopf 1991: 62). This perspective is suggestive of socio-ecological competency and ethics of the tourism industry. In this way, Peace Parks in general, and the GLTP in particular, have obtained unifying, all-embracing, and seemingly non-contestable acceptance. At a ceremony to celebrate the translocation of 25 elephants from the Kruger National Park (South Africa) to the Limpopo National Park (Mozambique), which took place on Anton Rupert's birthday, Nelson Mandela said: 'I know

[3] Anton Rupert was born October 4, 1916 and died January 18, 2006.
[4] http://www.peaceparks.org/Content_1010100000_Origins.htm, accessed November 19, 2009.
[5] Of particular relevance is the 'Development Bank of the Federal Republic and Federal States of Germany' (KfW), USAID, WWF-US and World Bank.
[6] http://www.peaceparks.org/Content_1020000000_Peace+Parks.htm, accessed November 24, 2009.

of no political movement, no philosophy, no ideology, which does not agree with the peace parks concept as we see it going into fruition today. It is a concept that can be embraced by all'.[7]

Yet, even being portrayed as an anti-political and moral *socio-green* intervention, the Great Limpopo initiative is squarely equated between modernization and neoliberalism – *ecological modernization* (Dryzek 1997).[8] Behind the constitutive manner which the GLTP's 'destination' is produced there is the view 'that environmental conservation is good for business profitability and long-term economic development' (Jamal and Stronza 2009: 315). Ramutsindela (2007), for example, argued that the relationship between the Peace Parks Foundation[9] and the private sector was indicative of the influence of global neoliberalism, where corporate sponsors regard funding conservation as a good way to enhance profits and establish their brand in the marketplace.

Although it is rhetorically celebrated in conservation-oriented terms, the GLTP is a marked-based venture. Its character has evolved from a minor regional aspect to become a significant conservation and tourism modality of transnational modern life. In the process of modernity the transfrontier character of this region has come to symbolize a particular (un)built environment – natural – which brings with it the idea of economic and *green* prosperity, particularly through (eco)tourism development. The GLTP geopolitical venture prepares the way for neoliberal pathways in tourism development to arise. More precisely, the official Join Management Plan of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park 'encourages the park to work closely with the tourism industry … also specifies that activities should be transparently outsourced to the private sector … [and] recommends that cultural tourism be developed and marked within local communities' (Spenceley 2006b: 651—652). In the Great

[7] Nelson Mandela speech on October 12, 2001. http://www.peaceparks.org/content/newsroom/news, accessed March 24, 2004.

[8] '*Ecological modernization* has emerged as a hybrid variant of modernization and neoliberalism that is positioned to enable sustainability between ecosystems and people' (Jamal and Stronza 2009: 315).

[9] In order to co-ordinate, facilitate and drive the process of GLTP's establishment and funding, the *non-profit* Peace Parks Foundation was established in February 1997 in Stellenbosh, South Africa. Since then the Great Limpopo initiative has been very much driven by this institution which has secured primary funding from the 'Development Bank of the Federal Republic and Federal States of Germany' (KfW) as well as the personal endorsement of Nelson Mandela. Alongside this process, and under the halo *of testing* 'new approaches to exploit synergies between conservation and community development' (World Bank 1996: 14), a number of other NGOs 'jockeyed to position themselves in the potentially lucrative "community consultation" role' (Wolmer 2003: 272). Various donor-funded projects were made available to support the Great Limpopo initiative and to the so-called 'community development' of the populations living around and in it.

Limpopo's arrangement, human ('local communities') and non-human (nature, animals, and environment) resources are considered as a means to an end: tourism.

**Figure 2** – Massingir gate entrance of LNP (photograph by the author, January 26, 2008).


**Figure 3** – Sign at the entrance of LNP informing visitors about the funders of the park (photograph by the author, January 26, 2008).

Facing this situation, 'community development' through tourism seemed to NGO Helvetas to be *the* suitable topic to be proposed to USAID. The idea was to establish a lodge in an area that would provide both a cultural experience for the tourists and a benefit to a 'local community'. More specifically, the primary objectives manifested by Helvetas were the economic empowering of 'community members', and capitalizing on its proximity to the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. Helvetas did not wait long after applying to receive an affirmative response and obtained $50,000 US in funding from USAID. The successful project proposal did not specify the area of *intervention*. Indeed, the 'community tourism' project was conceptualized without previous consultations at the 'community' level. The specific area of implementation was only chosen after USAID's approval and after Helvetas' consultations in 2002 with several provincial and district government representatives, such as:

1) The provincial authorities;
    - the Provincial Director of Tourism.
    - the Provincial director of Agriculture and Rural Development.
2) In the district of Massingir;
    - the District Administrator.
    - the District Directors of Tourism and Agriculture.
    - the Limpopo National Park administration.

The *target population* was only defined when the NGO held a range of meetings and presentations at the district level. In one occasion, the staff of Helvetas was led by the District Administrator to a high point with a scenic view over the Elephants River and the Limpopo National Park. The place instantly captured Helvetas' attention for its tourist potential. The District Administrator of Massingir at that time had a prominent role in determining the 'local community' that would be proposed and consulted for the implementation of the tourism project. The potential and aesthetics of the landscape played the decisive role. That is, the tourism potential of the place was the dominant aspect considered. No analysis 'was undertaken by Helvetas to evaluate whether the lodge was the most sustainable form of tourism development for the area and the community' (Spenceley 2006a: 23).

Following the initial phase, the next step was to consult the 'owners of the land': the 'local community'. However this turned out to be more difficult than expected. The area was between the jurisdiction of two 'communities': Cubo and Canhane (Figure 4). If this was not deserving of particular consideration up until now, as soon as Helvetas made public its interest in the place, it became contested, and still today remains a source of conflict between both villages. Helvetas decided to consult directly the community leaders[10] of Cubo and Canhane. The 'traditional authorities' of the neighbouring town of Tihovene and village of Mongoe were also consulted. All they were asked about was which land they considered their 'community' and its boundaries.

[10] According to each region, Mozambicans use different expressions to refer to individuals recognised as 'local' authorities. *Mpewe, Mwene Alupale, Mwini Dziko, Fumu, Mambo, Nkhoma* (Serra 2000: 19), *Chefes das terras, Encoces, Inhamasangos, Mucazambos, Senhores dos lugares, Régulos* (Feliciano 1998: 155) are just some examples. In Canhane people mainly use two expressions: 1) '*Lider comunitário*', which is Portuguese, literally 'community leader'; 2) '*Hosi'*, which is Shangane (the dialect spoken in Canhane). This has a broader meaning which includes both space delimitation and the main authority of a village.

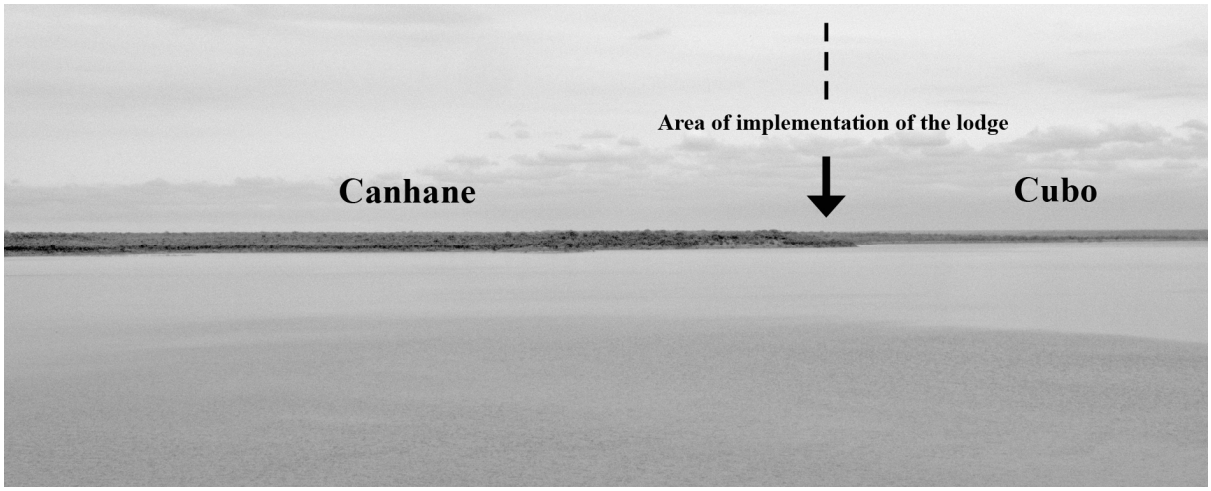


**Figure 4** – Margins of the lands of Canhane and Cubo over the Elephants River (photograph by the author, February 12, 2008)

## The Enigma of Land

The fastidious process undertaken by Helvetas to find which 'community' *owned* the place of the implementation of the lodge (Helvetas 2002a) informs a broader and complex issue that persists in the country: the land property rights.

Mozambican independence was accompanied by an ideological slogan: 'The liberation of land and man'.[11] Among others, this meant the nationalization of land. It is in this perspective that Article 46 of the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique proclaims: 1) land is the property of the state; 2) land cannot be sold, alienated, mortgaged or seized; 3) the use of land is a right of all the Mozambican people (Serra 2007: 5). However, in practice these principles are constantly being circumvented, and in this matter 'the Constitutional text is not more than death letters' (Serra 2007: 5). Indeed, many cases of land acquisition by purchase are found all over the country. The prominent national newspaper Zambeze, for example, focused an edition on this issue on November 20, 2008. The point in question was that some lands in the city of Beira were (publicly announced as) sold by its governor to an insurance company, which in turn was being directed by an ex-Prime Minister of Mozambique.[12]

The ambiguity that hovers over the basic principles of land tenure in Mozambique is allowing overlapping territorial claims. Property rights are characterized by a confusing

[11] Portuguese in the original ('A libertação da terra e do Homem').
[12] The main title in the journal is: 'After all, could the land be, or not to be, sold?' Portuguese in the original: '*Afinal a terra pode ou não ser vendida?*' (Zambeze, November 20, 2008, p. 7).

situation mostly based on official and governmental unwillingness to implement decisive land tenure reforms.

To understand the *unclearness* of land rights in Mozambique one must go through it from a historiographical perspective. Historical events in Mozambique are responsible, at least, for four layers in this matter: 1) claim rights based on historical occupation of the area and lineage membership; 2) Mozambicans and foreign interests who acquired land rights during the colonial period; 3) after Mozambique's independence in 1975, the establishment of the *aldeias comunais* (communal villages), state farms, and cooperatives; 4) during the civil war from 1977 to 1992 displaced families created new demands for land as people fled to secure zones and established new lives (Myers 1994: 614).

At present, one of the main causes of the continuing problematic issue of land is the government's administrative inconsistency, particularly at the district and locality level, in ensuring that executive procedures on land are followed and transparent. Also beyond the governmental sphere 'customary institutions … play an important role in the current struggles for control over land' (Myers 1994: 606). Inheritance methods of land circumscription in contemporary Mozambique, mainly based on 'community-based' marks of reference, are obstructing the uniformity of land policies and organization. For example, in Canhane I was informed by its residents of the land delimitations in relation to natural features: 'Where does Cubo begin? Pay attention to me then: in this direction there is a baobab which marks the limits of Canhane (Figure 5). If you proceed from there towards the river, after a while you'll see a lot of hedges concentrated in one spot. That's the other limit of Canhane. The peninsula where the cows used to go to drink water is also in Canhane'.[13] However, according to the community leader of Cubo, the baobab tree (*Adansonia digitata*) only started to be a reference of the border between both villages after Helvetas informed them of the location of the lodge; 'our lands go further the baobab: Canhane only starts after the path that goes down to the river, which is far after the baobab that they indicate'.[14] According to his version, the place intended for the lodge is thus in Cubo lands.

[13] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 27, 2008.
[14] Conversation with the community leader of Cubo, Cubo, October 17, 2008.

**Figure 5** – The baobab tree mentioned as marking the border between Canhane and Cubo lands (photograph by the author, February 28, 2008).

In their campaign to preserve control over the social definition of landscape and the boundaries of 'community', the lines distinguishing 'real' from 'fictive' are suddenly emphasized or redrawn. As Comaroff and Roberts (1981) have said, 'customary' rules governing property relations may be construed in a variety of ways instead of representing an internally consistent code, and therefore may be revised repeatedly to express contemporary interests. Concerning the Chagga population in northern Tanzania, Moore (1986) also stressed that, 'customary' forms of land control changed freely in response to social and economic transformations. The new norms and patterns of references that emerge under new conditions are simply incorporated as part of a system of practice (Takane 2008: 270).

Regardless of the increasing border disputes, in the end, the location for the implementation of the lodge was *formally* recognized by Helvetas to be in the jurisdiction of Canhane (Helvetas 2002a). The land on which the lodge and Canhane lie was demarcated on March 26, 2003 and 7723.25 hectares in total were delimited.

| **'Community-based tourism' project in Canhane – final report after the selection of the *target 'community'* (Helvetas 2002b: 3)**[15] | |
|---|---|
| **Goals to achieve with the project:** | |
| | The community of Canhane in Massingir district will improve their living conditions, in particular through the management of natural resources, making efficient and sustainable use of its tourism potential |
| **General goals:** | |
| | 1 – Formation and community empowerment in aspects related with their rights and responsibilities, on one side, in order that the community could develop competencies, knowledge and abilities, and on the other side, with the purpose of developing community-based tourism. |
| | 2 – Promote the establishment of infrastructures and pilot-activities linked to community-based tourism |
| | 3 – Promote the coordination between different actors inside Limpopo National Park, including the spreading of the results achieved in Canhane. |

## The Target 'Community'

After the application was accepted by USAID, the implementation and planning phase of the lodge in Canhane took roughly 18 months to complete. 'When we first arrived at Canhane, the community didn't know anything about tourism',[16] one of the main precursors of the project working for Helvetas told me. The first step in Canhane was the so-called 'participatory rural appraisal'. That means, 'we [Helvetas staff] spoke with the community leader and to the community as a whole, and we asked them: what are the main priorities for the village? What do you need most? After we got their answers we told them that tourism could be used to achieve those needs'.[17] The following is an excerpt of a report made by Helvetas (2002b) on the first meeting they had with the 'community' of Canhane:

> The meeting was held on the 05 November 2002, where 64 people participated, from the figure 31 were women and 33 men.
>
> 2.0 Objectives
> The objectives of the project were as follow:
> - To know the Canhane community.
> - Identify the main natural resources and existing problems in the zone.
> - Disseminate the land law and its regulation.
> - Identify the site of the camp.

[15] Portuguese in the original.
[16] Interview with a staff member of Helvetas, Maputo, September 1, 2006.
[17] Interview with a staff member of Helvetas, Maputo, September 1, 2006.

3.0 Methodology
The following techniques were used:
- Community meeting
- Participatory mapping
- Direct observation
- Walking in groups
- Interviews

(…)

After the presentation there was a space for discussion.
In the first moment people were not sure what to say. After about 3 minutes answers where like as follow:
- 'We want the project to come as soon as possible, we do not want to wait for long period' said one of the participants.

| **Principal steps of the implementation of the lodge in Canhane (October 2002 – May 2004)** |
|---|
| 1. Presentations of the project to the provincial authorities |
| 2. Presentations of the project to the district authorities |
| 3. Selection of the 'community' and the place to build the lodge |
| 4. Presentation and consultation with the population of Canhane |
| 5. Informal delimitation of the land of Canhane (7723 ha) |
| 6. Project construction plan of the lodge approved by the provincial authorities |
| 7. Creation of the 'community' management committee of the lodge (*Comissão de Gestão Social* ) |
| 8. Initiation of infrastructure construction of the lodge |
| 9. Formal partnership agreement between the 'community' management committee and NGO Helvetas, regarding the function of the camp |
| 10. Opening of a bank account for the lodge in Chókwè |
| 11. Management staff of the lodge recruited |
| 12. Opening of the lodge for the tourists (May 2004) |

According to data from 2006 provided by the community leader, Canhane has a population of 1105 residents (567 women and 538 men), corresponding to 203 families. I also checked the official data at the Administration office: in relation to the 3rd census of 2007, Canhane has 1197 residents, corresponding to 211 families. Due to the predominance of informal emigration to South Africa, particularly to work in the mines, it is hard to get a precise number of people living in the village. Nevertheless, my guess is that not more than 650 people currently live in Canhane. The people speak the dialect Shangane, and only few are fluent in Portuguese, the national language of Mozambique. Zulu is also spoken by some residents, as the result of the relationship they have had with South Africa. Canhane residents and all the populations living in the area are known as *Machanganas*, meaning *the people of*

*Sochangana*, who had the war name of *Manicusse* (Lima 1960: 2) when, escaping from Tchaca Zulo in 1821 in South Africa, they conquered part of present-day Mozambique.

## Conceptual Participants

The population of Canhane was informed that they would have to *organise* internally in order to deal with the tourism venture and to correspond with external sources. Specifically, the village had to create a committee that would be responsible for the management of the lodge. This committee would have to have ten people exclusively from Canhane headed by a president and vice-president other than the community leader. According to Helvetas (2002a), in the first meeting between Canhane residents and the NGO 'they [Canhaners] agreed on the creation of the community association or committee'.

Basically, contemporary 'community-based' schemes are part of an ideological strategic shift pointing to 'participatory' methods, particularly in the last two decades. As Fowler (1997: 221) put it, NGOs have moved from roles of welfare and delivery to roles of strengthening people's organisations and movements. With this shift, 'community' members have come to be viewed as proactive participants in 'development' rather than just passive beneficiaries. In turn, new terminology has emerged, and the language of policy makers of 'development' has changed considerably: two of the most common cited aims are now 'community participation' and 'community empowerment'. Particularly in many villages inside Limpopo National Park, which borders Canhane, the constitution of 'community-based organisations' was part of a required task for (some members of) the populations obtaining tangible support for their compulsory resettlement outside the circumscription of the Park. Underlying this organisational imperative was the idea of the collective cooperative format that the residents of these villages had to formally embrace, and 'participation' extended to their own 'developmentalisation'.

In Canhane, the selection of the staff committee was made during a meeting in the village in which only the Canhaners participated. 'The process was very simple',[18] one of the men present that day told me. He detailed that they were 'introduced by the community leader to what Helvetas had proposed: the lodge. But first we had to create a committee, so we pointed to the ones that should go to the committee'. As I confirmed throughout my fieldwork this process of selection was made in a casual, public way. 'For example', a lady

[18] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, March 8, 2008.

clarified for me once, 'one person pointed to other person saying: "I think he or she should go to the committee"; another said "I think that man also should go", and so on, until the ten people were chosen'.[19]

The first president nominated is a respected elder. Just after Mozambican independence, when the FRELIMO political party[20] announced the national policy of 'education for everyone', he was nominated the first teacher of literacy in Canhane. Then he migrated to South Africa, returning to Mozambique permanently in 1983. The son of the community leader was elected the vice-president of the 'community' committee, called *Comissão de Gestão Social* (Social Management Committee).

According to the Canhane residents the process of selecting of the staff committee was done in a very serene way. No inhabitant ever gave me any indication that disputes had occurred in the nomination's decisive meeting in the village. What were the reasons for such collective unanimity and harmony? Is Canhane a sort of 'community of reference' in its internal decision processes? Why were there no symptoms of intra-social disputes of power during the nominations? The creation of a committee that, among others, would link Canhane in a particular way with the 'exterior' through the management of a tourism venture apparently seems a good opportunity for the ascension of individuals in the social power structure of Canhane. The committee's members would be the representatives of 'the community' to external sources of income, particularly funders, the state, tourism companies, and tourists. This seems even more relevant due the fact that the community leader should keep outside of the management committee structure. That is, the selection process for the management committee of the lodge was a sort of 'untraditional' opportunity to access new forms of authority. The Canhaners were given a chance to break the orderly power arrangement based in 'traditional leadership'. Even so, there were no individual manifestations of ambition, and the moment was concordant as if it was about an insignificant matter. Why?

The answer could not be clearer than this: 'we didn't care'.[21] Indeed, as the current president of the committee said, 'the community was very suspicious about all this. I think that at that time nobody in Canhane really believed that the tourism project would ever be

[19] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 24, 2008.
[20] The *Liberation Front of Mozambique*, better known by the acronym FRELIMO (from the Portuguese *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*), is a political party founded in 1962 to fight for Mozambican independence.
[21] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, March 5, 2008.

implemented'.[22] In other words, the creation of the committee was comprehended by the Canhaners as an inconsequent protocol. Therefore, the staff committee's nominees were not associated with a means of ascension in the hierarchical structure of the village or to social power.

What were the reasons behind such social distrust? In truth, they were offered a new perspective and institutional support to surpass shortage problems in the village through tourism. I believe that their collective reluctance was mainly informed by the recent history of the village itself.

## History Matters

Portugal has claimed sovereignty over Mozambique ever since Vasco da Gama had landed on the *Ilha de Mozambique* in 1498. However, Portuguese domination over the country was only evident in the coastal areas. They had little influence in the other regions, especially in the southwest. The Portuguese were only able to consolidate control over the southwest region of Mozambique after defeating the Gaza Empire. Gaza, which is the province in which Canhane is located, was at that time governed by the Nguni lineage. Its hegemony ended when the Portuguese captured and exiled its last ruler, Ngungunhana, in 1895. As reported by a middle-aged influential man from Canhane, 'When the Portuguese arrived here, we didn't understand what was going on. They came simply to govern us. But they didn't fight us. However we were obliged to carry the Portuguese chief on our shoulder to transport him, because he had beaten Ngungunhana'.[23] The Canhaners were then 'forced to work' in the production of cotton, which was introduced in the area by the Portuguese. The social-economic regime in Canhane at that time was mostly selling cotton and paying annual taxes to the colonial ruler. That is, 'they [Portuguese] used to come here to buy what we produced, but at the same time collecting taxes that we had to pay with the money from our production'.[24] Narratives of oppression and suffering are commonly employed in Canhane to describe their life under the colonial regime.

After June 25, 1975 Mozambique became independent and ceased to be a colony of Portugal. The leaders of the military campaign of FRELIMO established a one-party state

[22] Conversation with the current president of Social Management Committee, Canhane, February 21, 2008.
[23] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, November 20, 2008.
[24] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, October 8, 2008.

allied with the Soviet bloc. Influenced by the policies of Julius Nyerere,[25] who emphasized "African socialism", FRELIMO adopted policies of *scientific socialism*:[26] the frame of reference was the contrast with the colonial regime. In Canhane, the country's independence is nowadays discursively connoted to *change towards freedom*. Accordingly, 'the idea of achieving freedom was good. We hoped to be free just like the white men and have houses like the Portuguese'.[27] The expectations brought by Mozambican independence were high. However, 'despite the promises made to us our lives didn't change and we are just like we were before'.[28] Once, an elder told me, when we were alone: 'life was better when the Big Noses[29] where here. There is more poverty and illness now. Before FRELIMO we lived longer'.[30] Popular memory in Canhane discloses the intricate and ambivalent significance of the post-independent period. Although many inhabitants express happiness about the post-colonial era, they also narrate post-independence events in terms very similar to their stories during the colonial regime.

Nevertheless, the main point is the Canhaners' gradual disappointment with the 'external' agency, even after Mozambique's independence. For the state-party FRELIMO, the grouping of the population into centralized planned settlements – villagisation – was seen as a way to urbanize and modernize the countryside and a useful response to internal insecurity. In Mozambique, villagisation began in 1977. Peoples' expectations were raised by the promise of benefits from the state. Communal villages were seen as providing a new and better life and were frequently popular with residents. By 1990, 1,350 communal villages had been created with 1.8 million inhabitants, or 14% of the total population. Canhane was one of these. The state policy of villagisation and the Massingir Dam[31] resulted in their relocation – which had happened in 1977 – to an upper area less prone to flooding.

Scott (2009: 182) said, 'Inaccessibility and dispersal are the enemies of appropriation'. In view of that, the relocation of the population of Canhane into an *accessible* and *concentrated* zone assisted with their appropriation by broader political and economic

[25] Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922–1999) was the first president of Tanzania and previously Tanganyika, from the country's founding in 1964 until his retirement in 1985.
[26] Term used by Friedrich Engels ([1882] 2008), as opposed to *utopian socialism*.
[27] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, October 6, 2008.
[28] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, October 12, 2008.
[29] "Big Nose" is a term that people in the region use to call the Portuguese.
[30] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, October 16, 2008.
[31] Construction of the Massingir Dam was started in 1972 by the Portuguese. Its main purpose was to provide flood control and irrigation for the Lower Limpopo Valley, further downstream. The dam was completed in 1976.

systems, such as the state and 'development' sector. Canhane became a social entity organized in a way that would be more workable: a 'community'.[32] FRELIMO promised Canhane residents they would build several houses just after the village was resettled. However, 'they simply gave us sheets of zinc' (Figure 6).[33] Each family had to build its own house with the materials they could get. The school in Canhane, although it was a state imposition, was built by Canhaners' labour. Also the water supply, which is the most bemoaned subject in present-day Canhane, was guarantied by the government that actually built two water pumps. However, they were never an effective mechanism. As I was told; 'they worked one day but the next day they were broken'.[34] Nobody informed me exactly how long the water pumps worked, but 'for sure it was much less than one year'[35] and they were completely abandoned a long time ago (Figure 7).

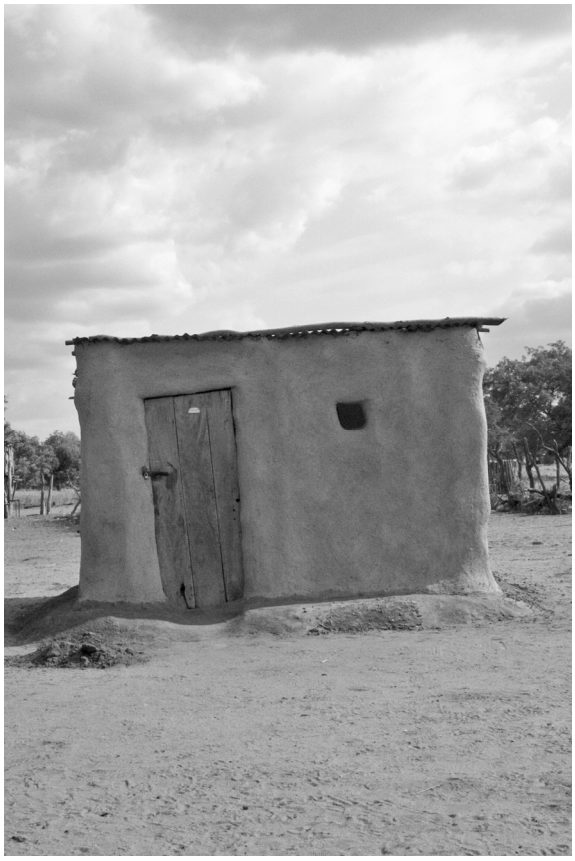

**Figure 6** – House in Canhane with zinc roof (photograph by the author, March 26, 2008).

**Figure 7** – State-built water pump (photograph by the author, January 30, 2008).

[32] This topic is essential to this work, and for that will deserve special attention further, in particular in the third chapter.
[33] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, October 16, 2008.
[34] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, March 26, 2008.
[35] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, March 26, 2008.

In addition to the unfulfillment of the promised infrastructural improvement by 'external' institutions, the *socialist* ideology that the independent movement carried with it has also been criticised. After the independence of Mozambique and the resettlement of Canhane's population, the *machamba do povo* (communal farm) was established in the village, based in the socialist ideology of communal sharing of produced goods. The involvement of the population in the model of co-operative production was, as I was told once, 'just a matter of following orders with which we really didn't agree. In the *machamba do povo* we saw a lot of fraud because many people ate maize from it without having worked for it since everything belonged to the *povo* [populace]'.[36] As it was with the production of cotton under the Portuguese regime, the Canhaners were informed by the FRELIMO government that they would have to work on the *machambas do povo* to collect money, part of which, in turn, had to be used to pay a fee to the FRELIMO party. The similarities of the post-independent setting in Canhane with the colonial regime had become evident. The *machamba do povo* was abandoned in Canhane even before the Mozambican civil war started in 1977.

The political situation established after Mozambique independence was unstable and led to a civil war (1977-1992). In Canhane, people were encouraged to form a pro-FRELIMO militia force to fight the *bandidos armados* (armed bandits) or the *Matsanga*, as the RENAMO[37] movement was known in the region at that time. For that, 'we were told that we would receive benefits'.[38] However, the Canhaners who participated in the militia were not compensated for their involvement during the war. According to the testimonies I received in the village, RENAMO soldiers first arrived in Canhane in 1985.

All this to say that the gradual disappointment in Canhane after the colonial period partly informs their sceptical reaction and indifference when presented with the intentions of support by an 'external' agency as NGO Helvetas – 'we didn't care'.

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[36] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, October 12, 2008.

[37] The *Mozambican National Resistance* (RENAMO) – from the Portuguese *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* – was founded in 1975 following Mozambique's independence as an anti-communist political organization. It fought against the Zimbabwean government of Robert Mugabe. Rhodesia's Smith administration (Ian Douglas Smith served as the Prime Minister of the British self-governing colony of Rhodesia from 1965 to 1979) wanted to prevent the Mozambican FRELIMO government from providing a safe haven for *Zimbabwe African National Union* (ZANU) militants seeking to overthrow the Rhodesian government.
In 2009, RENAMO was recognized as a conservative political party in Mozambique led by Afonso Dhlakama.

[38] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, October 6, 2008.

Regardless of the collective frustration, in the end, as it had been requested by Helvetas, ten people from Canhane were chosen by the 'community' for the Social Management Committee of the Lodge – four women and six men. However, not all the people nominated accepted the appointment. I was informed of this for the first time, when I was having dinner at the household of the *moraguele*[39] of the neighbourhood one in Canhane.[40] We were chatting about some of the members of the committee when he suddenly switched the topic to himself: 'You know, if I wanted I could be in the committee as well. But I refused it'.[41] He explained me that when he was nominated for the staff committee he instantly declined. The *moraguele* justified his decision by telling me: 'Some years before, I had attended a course in dealing with cattle. It was another NGO which provided this. I spent much time on this, because they told me I would receive more cattle. But nothing happened afterwards'. Other autobiographies in Canhane also inform the Canhaners' disillusion with unfulfilled promises made by 'extrinsic' institutions.

## Material Effect and the Recognition of Tourism in Canhane

'But then came the moment when we all started taking the tourism project seriously, as something that really would happen in our village: Helvetas asked us to build the lodge',[42] one of the staff committee members said to me in an emotional way. Helvetas' labour request came just after the Canhaners had informed the NGO about the people selected for the committee. Facing the deficient material conditions of the village, new infrastructure plays a vital role and caught the interest of its residents. Contrary to *externally* imposed organizational imperatives, as the Social Management Committee, infrastructure is not redundant in the village. This is confirmed in the Helvetas (2002a) report on the first meeting they had with the population of Canhane. When referred to the questions that came from the 'community' audience after the tourism project had been presented, the report states that 'Some mentioned that they were going to believe when the construction equipment will be in place'.

The presence of construction equipment in Canhane and the beginning of the building of the lodge represented the materialization of what was being said so far by Helvetas, and

[39] *Moraguele* is the chief of each neighbourhood in Canhane.
[40] The village is divided into four numbered neighbourhoods.
[41] Conversation with the *Moranguele* of neighbourhood one of Canhane, Canhane, February 27, 2008.
[42] Conversation with a member of the committee, Canhane, October 7, 2008.

therefore was the moment when tourism really entered into the core of Canhane's society. In turn, among others, the words 'tourism' (*turismo*), 'tourist(s)' (*turista[s]*), and 'community' (*comunidade*) became part of residents' common vocabulary.

The community leader chose twenty people from the village for the construction of the lodge. The construction materials were provided by Helvetas, but the labour force was exclusively from Canhane. A minority of the workers (the experts) were paid by the NGO but the majority were not – they were considered to be doing a 'communitarian' service. The sand used to make bricks came from the vicinity, cement was purchased in the city of Chókwè, furniture and fittings were purchased in Maputo, while thatching grass was brought from South Africa. According to estimations made by the staff of Helvetas, the total cost of the initial infrastructure was $70,000 US.

The first measure taken by the Social Management Committee was to decide the name of the lodge. This decision was exercised in a different context than the election of the staff committee. The village had already started building the lodge and thus perceived the tourism project with enthusiasm. The name chosen for the lodge was embedded with important collective significances, expressing one of the most important aspects in which the Canhaners base their social identity, particularly in contrast to the neighbouring villages – people are said to become (more) aware of their localities through tourism and voice this in their own words and symbols (Mordue 1999, in Hannam 2002: 232). The name chosen was 'Covane' – Covane Community Lodge – which was the name of the first 'official' community leader of Canhane.

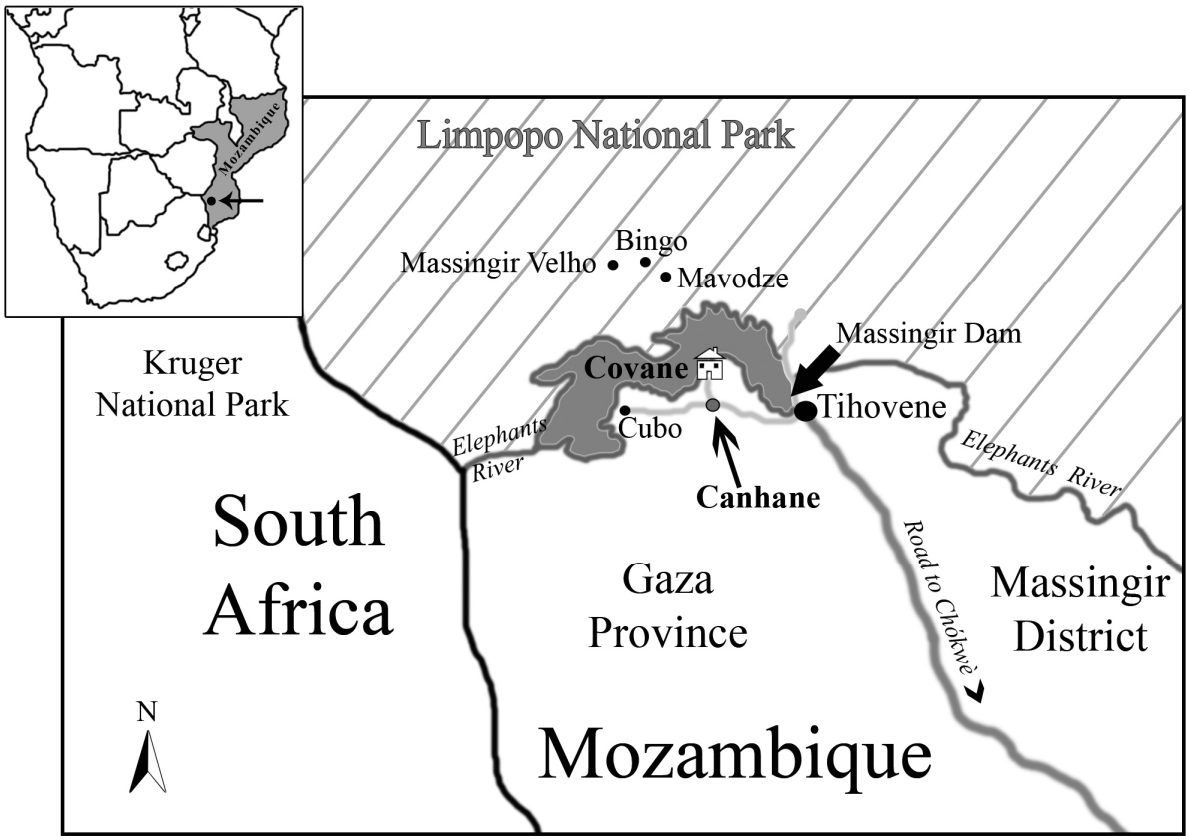



**Figure 8** – Diagram by the author.

## *The* (Hi)Story of Canhane

History, 'collective memory', and mythology have a role in the constitution and representation of social identity (Bell 2008; Griswold 2004, in Santos and Buzinde 2007: 326). Despite the possibilities of the imaginary inherent in oral (social) memory, the *remembered* history and the transmission mechanisms of collective memory about the constitution of the village of Canhane inform a certain 'kind of truth' (Shetler 2003: 386) – the *true* past required by a particular present (Fields 1989) – upon which many Canhane residents base their definition of themselves as *the* Canhaners. The 'governing myths' (Bell 2008) of Canhane are not neutral, for the way the myths narrate some things and exclude others. The *Canhaners' history* is inherently seen as part of the Canhane's identity and as a way by which the residents claim Canhane as *their territory*. In particular, myths about the constitution of Canhane gravitate around the legitimacy of the lineage *Zitha* over the territory, which in turn corroborates the ways in which collective memories come to be formed and reproduced as a means to social power.

What I am going to report was mostly told to me by the community leader, which is the most pertinent repository of 'local' history in the village, but also by some elders. Therefore, this must be viewed as a story by the Canhaners about themselves. Their oral narratives reveal, first and foremost, a collective mythological construction. Although the facts revealed are dissociated from *experience*, their identification with the narratives is *real*. As Bell (2008: 153) addressed, the finding 'of *the* "historical truth" about any particular case is often impossible'. For this reason, what I sought was precisely the Canhaners' version of their history and, in turn, to access the way 'community oral history' (Shopes 2002) acts as a charter for social identity.

Before present-day Canhane had obtained its name, the locale was acknowledged as a *Ngovene* area, which means the place, and surrounding area, was founded by the *Ngovene* family lineage. However, at some point the area of present-day Canhane was taken by a different ruling lineage – the *Zithas*. In fact, Canhane is the only portion of land in the region that 'belongs' to a lineage other than the *Ngovene*.

'All started', the community leader explained to me, 'when this place was under Valoi Ngovene's chieftaincy'.[43] On one occasion a man called Marunzele Zitha arrived to Valoi Ngovene's lands, precisely at the banks of the Elephants River, the area that is now known as *Nkovene*, or *Baixa* if referred in Portuguese (in English can be roughly translated as 'Down'). Nkovene was the area where the village of Canhane was until being resettled to the current upper area just after Mozambican independence. When Marunzele Zitha landed he was very tired because he had been paddling for a long time on a wood trunk and only using one oar. During his time in Nkovene he fell in love with a woman whom he married. After some time he decided to return with his wife to the place from where he came. But to do that he had to paddle through the Elephants River again, using the same wood trunk and the oar he used to arrive there. The population tried to dissuade him by telling him that it was too dangerous particularly because this time he had to carry another person with him. To convince him, the chief of the lands Valoi Ngovene offered him a parcel of land – approximately the same area in the jurisdiction of actual Canhane. He could live there forever with his wife and create a family. Marunzele Zitha accepted the offer and was established there with his wife.

At that time, all the people living in Ngovene's territory had to pay a tax to the 'local' chief. The tax was paid after the *canhu season*,[44] around March. The payment was made

[43] Interview with the community leader of Canhane, Canhane, February 18, 2008.
[44] Canhu season is when the canhu fruit ripens.

through pits of canhu fruit. Although Marunzele Zitha was informed about such customary procedure, he refused to pay the tax. Marunzele Zitha and his family decided thus to mix almonds (the inner part of the pits of canhu) with dry faeces of people and animals. When the time came to pay the tax, they offered that mixture to the Ngovene chief. It was Marunzele Zitha's way of protesting against a social practice that he did not agree with, and thus refused to be part of. Like the local chief, the inhabitants became extremely worried about his revolutionary behaviour. Marunzele Zitha's attitude was understood as a public manifestation of disrespect for tradition and social order. He and his family were named *vá canhane*, which means a group of people that is stubborn and against the rules. The chief Valoi Ngovene was very angry and complained to Marunzele Zitha about his obstinate behaviour. Marunzele Zitha became sick and died. After his funeral there was no rain in the area for about a year. The council of the residents consulted a witchdoctor, who informed them the cause of the lack of rain: Marundzele Zitha was angry with them. According to the witchdoctor the solution was to organize a ceremony in which the *vá canhane* – the Marundzele family – had to participate. During the ceremony it started to rain heavily. Afterwards, the local chief and the elders of the Ngovene area decided to make peace with the *vá Canhane* people and give them another opportunity to be included in the 'community life'. However, when the time to pay the tax came, Covane Zitha, who was the elder son of Marundzele Zitha, decided to use an elephant horn instead of the mandatory pits of canhu. Again, the population considered this to be an anti-social act in which the authority of the Ngovene chief was publicly challenged. The council of the elder people in the region decided to kill Covane Zitha. But Valoi Ngovene, who as the local chief had the final say, did not accept this and decided to let Covane Zitha live, according to his own rules, in the area where he was living. From this moment on Covane Zitha was known by the name of *Canhane* (stubborn) and his lands were repeatedly mentioned as *the lands of Canhane*. This led to the use of the single word 'Canhane' to refer to the locale. Canhane came to be run on the basis of a personalized power system based on *Zitha* hereditary titles, rather *Ngovene*, passed on in patrilinear succession. After Covane Zitha's death, power was given to his son Nguela, followed by Chicavane, Chidzuane, Naiete, Pondzane, and finally by the actual Carlos Zitha (Figure 9) in life. The name Canhane was contested in the post-colonial period by the FRELIMO political party. Hence, upon their resettlement, the new village was named Paulo Samuel Kankhomba.[45] But

[45] A combatant against the colonial regime in Mozambique.

the name never caught on among its residents who always referred to their village as Canhane.

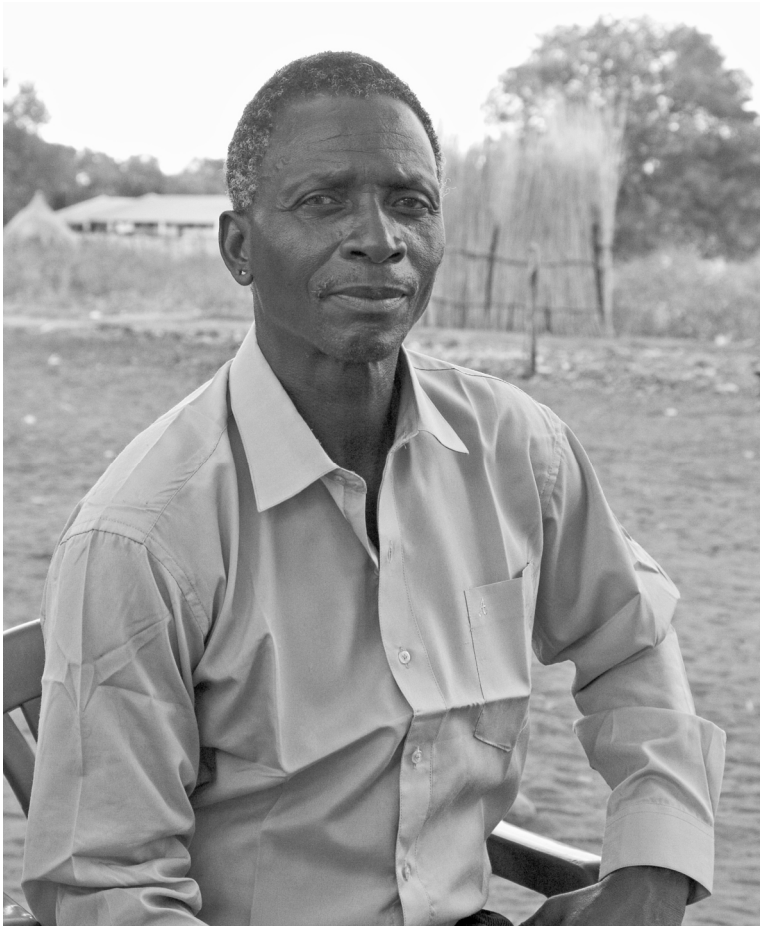


**Figure 9** – Community leader of Canhane (photograph by the author, February 18, 2008).

By using their ancestry for naming the tourist lodge (Covane) the Canhaners territorialized it; constituted it into a sign of Canhane's exclusiveness and dominion over land. The Covane Community Lodge became a mark solely connected with the space, culture, and the members of Canhane: a symbol of 'local' historical memory, and the manifestation of *continuity*. This attests to the power of representations of *a* past in the reproduction of social uniqueness. The fact that the name of the first community leader of the village is attached to the infrastructure of the lodge serves as reminder or instruction of the past. Now, *Canhane's history* is not only limited to narrative purposes, 'local' ceremonies, and public events, but also evident in the contemporary landscape of the village. The Covane lodge is at one and the same time a form of (re)presentation, and a justification for the possession of territory. As Bell (2008: 151) said, myths, even in the form of 'stories of origins', help constitute or bolster particular visions of society. It is in this sense that Canhaners grabbed their (stubborn) past and blended it with the present. The (mythological)

constitutive nature of Canhane became thus projected, represented, and canonized in the present, by taking the form of modernity: a tourist lodge (Figure 10). In turn, residents' consciousness of shared 'landed' identity is intensified.


**Figure 10** – Entrance to Covane Community Lodge. The expression 'Hoyo Hoyo' on the sign means 'welcome' in Shangane (photograph by the author, February 27, 2008).

## Configuration of 'Community-Based Tourism' and Covane Lodge in Canhane

The Canhaners are considered to be stakeholders in the Covane Community Lodge. Moreover, they 'own' the land that the lodge occupies, and also the lodge's infrastructure. *On paper*, the Covane Community Lodge is managed by the Social Management Committee that is comprised by ten elected representatives of the *Assembleia Geral* (General Assembly) – the entire population of Canhane. As the United Nations World Tourism Organization made clear, NGO 'Helvetas was a pioneer in the introduction of community-based tourism in Mozambique'.[46] The Covane Community Lodge and the village of Canhane are thus acknowledged as the first 'community-based tourism' venture in Mozambique, and they are commonly addressed, particularly in 'development' literature, as a successful case: 'The Canhane community in southern Mozambique represents an important new model for community development' (Norfolk and Tanner 2007: 16); 'The community of Canhane in Massingir district, is an eloquent example of how communities, when organized and

[46] http://www.unwto-themis.org/en/programas/volunteers/convocatorias/mozambique2010, accessed May 18, 2010.

knowledgeable of their rights, can make sustainable use of resources to produce wealth';[47] 'the Canhane Community seems to have moved … towards a change in attitude and awareness of new opportunities. This may be a function of the close and continual support offered by Helvetas over an extended period of time, which has served to encourage and build trust amongst the community' (Salomão and Matose 2007: 17); 'the community [of Canhane] is gaining a greater capacity to get involved with local institutions, and with the outside world, and to participate in the process of development now underway in the Massingir region' (Calane 2006: 12); 'the way in which the Committee [in Canhane has] participated in the tender selection process is ample testament to the positive comments … regarding local capacity and a change in attitude and awareness of new opportunities' (Nortfolk and Tanner 2006, in de Wit and Norfolk 2010: 31).

| **Balance sheet of three and a half years of Covane Lodge's activity (June 1, 2004 – November 30, 2007)[48]** | |
|---|---|
| Tourists | 3327 |
| Earnings | 1,846.565 Metical (51,547 Euro)[49] |
| Expenses | 1,041.722 Metical (29,080 Euro) |
| Balance | 804843 Metical (22,467 Euro) |

47 http://translate.googleusercontent.com/translate_c?hl=en&langpair=pt|en&u=http://www.zambezia.co.mz/noticias/94/9491-gaza-comunidades-participam-no-uso-de-recursos-sustentaveis&rurl=translate.google.com&twu=1&client=tmpg&usg=ALkJrhj_8SIAd6byRVecjaanRV6IK6MoeA, accessed 5 May 2010 (Zambezia Online, Wednesday, May 5, 2010 – title of the news: *Gaza: Communities participate in sustainable resource use*).

48 Source: Documents from Helvetas, accessed at LUPA's offices, April 1, 2008.

49 Assuming 1 Metical = 0,02792 Euro (November 30, 2007).

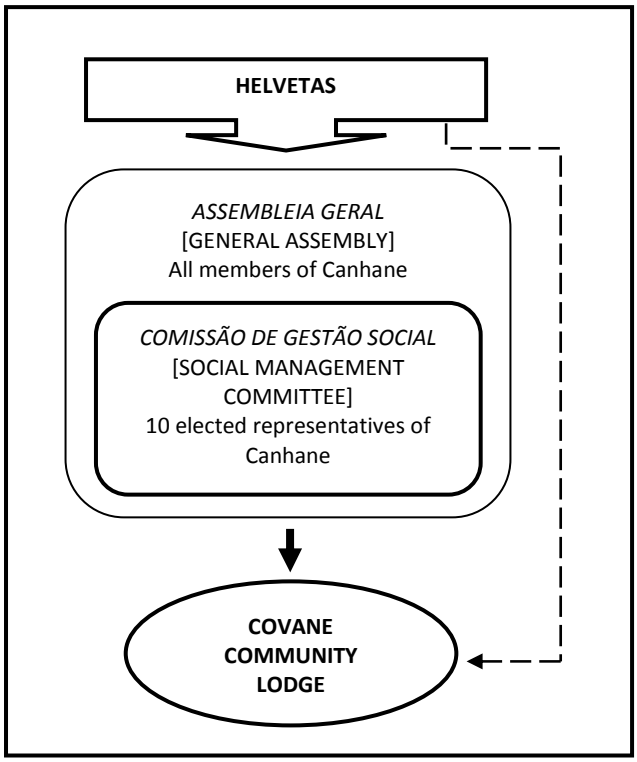
| **Distribution of Revenues (June 1, 2004 – November 30, 2007)[50]** |
|---|
| 1º semester<br>• Community – 56000 metical (construction of school classroom)<br>• Maintenance – 56000 metical (construction of two wooden chalets + bar + two tents in the lodge) |
| 2º semester<br>• Community – 66000 metical (construction of school classroom)<br>• Social management committee – 13000 metical<br>• Reserve fund – 26000 metical<br>• Maintenance – 27000 metical |
| 3º semester<br>• Community – 59000 metical (construction of school classroom + equipment for school classroom)<br>• Social management committee – 12000 metical<br>• Maintenance – 23000 metical<br>• Reserve fund – 23000 metical |
| 4º and 5º semester<br>• Community – 50000 metical (water supply)<br>• Social management committee – 10000 metical<br>• Reserve fund – 28000 metical<br>• Maintenance – 20000 metical |
| 6º semester<br>• Fee to INSS – 20195 metical<br>• Social management committee – 10000 metical |
| 7º semester<br>• Community – 28504 metical (water supply pipes)<br>• Social management committee – 10000 metical<br>• Subsidy of water supply – 5000 metical<br>• Indemnity to one employee – 11000 metical |

According to the statutes elaborated for the tourism venture, fifty percent of the earnings of the lodge must be spent on 'community development'. As it is also statutorily established, every six months the General Assembly should receive the money and invest it in the village. The money is presented at a public meeting by the staff of the NGO involved with the project (Helvetas until 2006, LUPA[51] thereafter).

[50] Source: Documents from NGO Helvetas, accessed at LUPA's offices, April 1, 2008.

[51] At the beginning of 2008 the 'development' projects of Helvetas in Maputo and Gaza province were handed over to a new Mozambican NGO called LUPA. This NGO was formed by Mozambican, former Helvetas staff. The partnership between these NGOs is evident through their use of shared offices and vehicles. Up to December 2008, the majority of the people in Canhane still referred to

**Figure 11** – Organisational structure of Covane Lodge.




- *Assembleia Geral* (General Assembly) – It consists of all members of the village of Canhane. The statute of the General Assembly states that this entity can change the statutes every ten years. The General Assembly should be informed and consulted prior to any relevant or structural change in the lodge. It is also its job to monitor the Social Management Committee;
- *Comissão de Gestão Social* (Social Management Committee) – The main role is to represent the interests of Canhane in the tourism business. The Social Management Committee is responsible for the management and marketing of the lodge;
- Covane Community Lodge – The lodge has a manager, a receptionist, two servants (who also cook), a driver, and two security guards. The lodge also subcontracts other people for tourism activities, such as fishing trips and dancing exhibitions. After 2007, the position of the employees at the lodge, particularly the servants and guards, became seasonal, dependent on the presence of tourists.

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Helvetas instead of LUPA, despite the project having been taken over by the latter. The fact that LUPA staff are former Helvetas employees contributes to the confusion over the two organisations.

| Waged Employees at the Covane Community Lodge (2004)[52] | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Employment Position | N. of employees | Monthly Wage (Metical - Mozambique) | Monthly Wage (Euro)[53] | Gender | Place of residence |
| Manager | 1 | 2,000 | 70.48 | M | Tihovene |
| Driver | 1 | 1,500 | 52.86 | M | Canhane |
| Receptionist | 1 | 1,250 | 44.05 | M | Tihovene |
| Servant/cook | 2 | 900 | 31.71 | F | Tihovene |
| Security | 2 | 750 | 26.43 | M | Canhane |

Accommodation at the Covane Community Lodge consists of two brick chalets (Figure 12 and 13), two wooden chalets (Figure 14 and 15), fixed tents (Figure 16), and space for camping. The brick chalets were given names in Shangane, transmitting the importance of nature in the 'local' culture. One chalet is called *Mabaramane*, which is the name of a fifty centimetre-long fish common in the Elephants River, while the other chalet is called *Mopani*, the designation for a popular tree in Canhane that is used for fires and to produce charcoal.

**Figure 12** – Brick house in Covane Lodge (photograph by the author, September 7, 2006).

**Figure 13** – Interior of a brick house in Covane Lodge (photograph by the author, November 20, 2008).

[52] Covane Lodge staff at the beginning of the lodge's activity. In December 2008, when I left the village, the number and position of the employees at the Covane Lodge was the same. The only difference was that one of the servants had been substituted for a women living in Canhane. Therefore, there were four people from Canhane working at the lodge.
[53] Assuming 1 Euro = 28.3567 Metical (May 28, 2004).

**Figure 14** – Wooden chalet in Covane Lodge (photograph by the author, November 20, 2008).

**Figure 15** – Interior of a wooden chalet in Covane Lodge (photograph by the author, September 7, 2006)

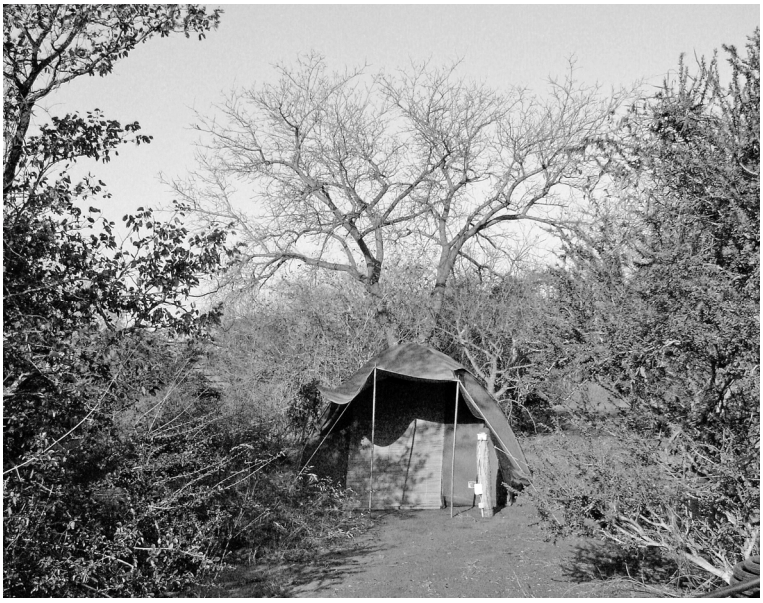

**Figure 16** – Fixed tent in Covane Lodge (photograph by the author, September 7, 2006).

| **Prices of Accommodation at the Covane Community Lodge[54]** | |
|---|---|
| Type of Accommodation | Price (per night) |
| Brick Chalet<br>▪ 1 double bed<br>▪ 2 single beds<br>▪ 1 sofa bed | 2100 Metical / 59,41 Euro |
| Wooden Chalet<br>▪ 2 single beds | 1200 Metical / 33,95 Euro |
| Tent<br>▪ 3 mattresses | 700 Metical / 19,80 Euro |
| Space for camping | 300 Metical / 8,48 Euro |

The infrastructure of the lodge also includes the reception (Figure 17), a small room with crafts on display (Figure 18), a dining area (Figure 19) – where the visitors can purchase meals, soft drinks, bottled water, and beer –, outdoor cold-water showers and toilets.

According to a consultancy report done in 2005, 'observing the criteria used in South Africa, the lodge appears roughly equivalent to a 1* [one star] facility' (Spenceley 2006a: 44). Its *limited conditions* add a distinctive dimension to the Covane Community Lodge: the 'North – South' axe of movement. It offers the possibility for the holidaymakers leave behind their industrialized 'North' world from where they come, and embark in *realistic* Africa. It enables the tourists to experience 'community' limitations, and by that authenticates the 'community-based' dimension of the tourism business.

[54] Prices as of December 2008. Assuming 1 Euro = 35,0527 Metical ( December 29, 2008).

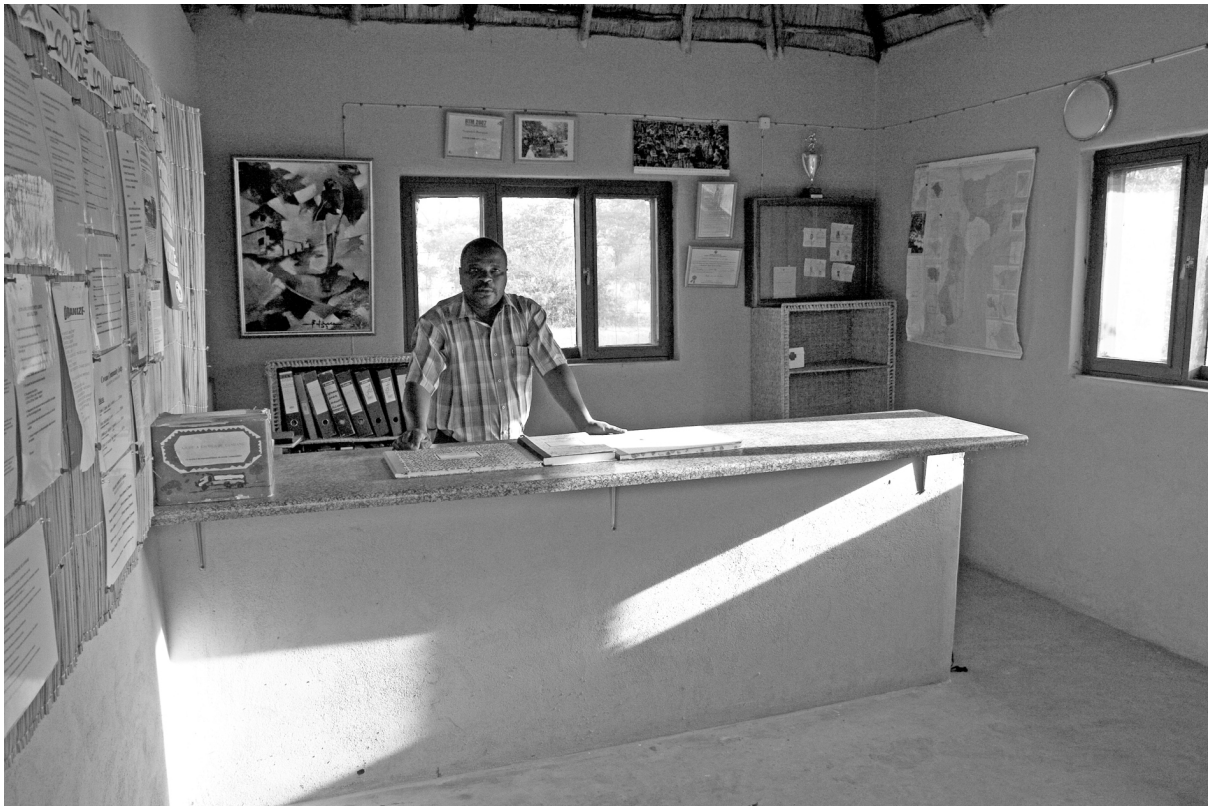

**Figure 17** – Reception of Covane Lodge (photograph by the author, March 27, 2008).

**Figure 18** – Room with crafts on display in Covane Lodge (photograph by the author, September 7, 2006).

**Figure 19** – Dining area in Covane Lodge (photograph by the author, November 20, 2008).

## Tourism Management and the Management of Tourism in Canhane

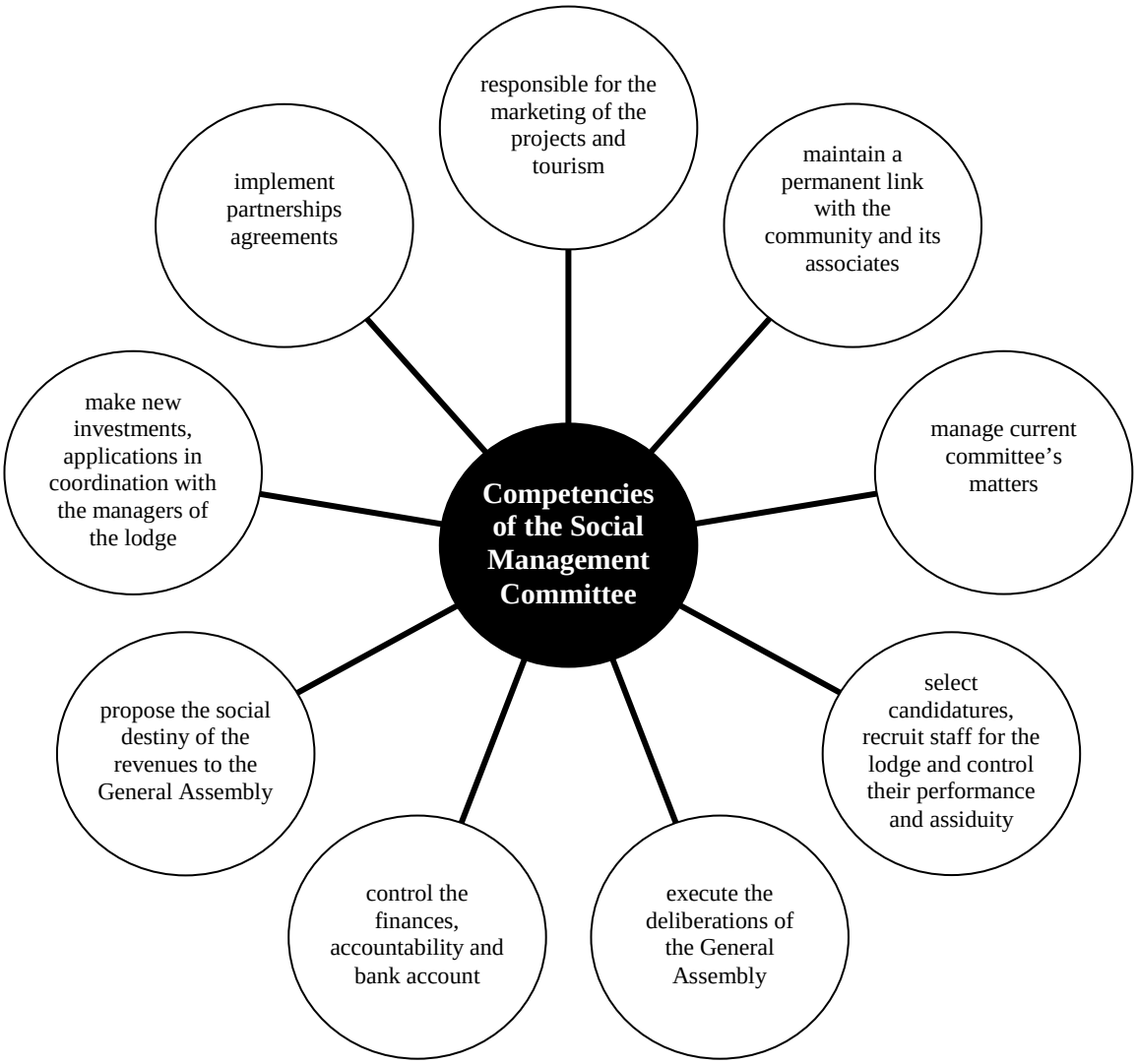


**Figure 20** – Statutory competencies of the Social Management Committee of Canhane.[55]

Tourism is a business encompassing both economic and organizational skills. It entails commercial activities and, the production of goods and services that are consumed by foreign and domestic tourists (consumers). Usually, tourism involves a conglomeration of functions which have to be met – accommodation, entertainment, food service, cleaning, informative assistance, and so on. Because the level of demand for tourism services is volatile, management has to include *ad hoc* competences of responding to varying demands, in a

[55] Source: Documents from NGO Helvetas, accessed at LUPA's offices, April 1, 2008.

variety of functions. Research on international tourism-related patterns and flows has facilitated the understanding of global-'local' (economic) relationships in tourism (Milne and Ateljevic 2001; Mosedale 2006), stimulating our understanding of tourism beyond the 'local' point of view. Particularly the internationalization of tourism means that tourist's managers cannot supervise their business in any particular society without analyzing developments taking place in most other countries. It is necessary to ponder the cultural changes which transform people's expectations about what they wish to *experience* and what significance should be attached to that *experience* (Urry 2002: 39). The core of the tourism businesses rests on the ability to understand, know, meet, and anticipate the customers' expectations. In this sense, successful tourism businesses recognize the importance of global references, tendencies and imperatives – the *wishes* of the international tourists and agencies –, and rely on continuing research, commercial, financial, and management performance to achieve positive results.

Therefore, the formal attribution of the management of the Covane Lodge to ten elected volunteers of Canhane (the members of the Social Management Committee) could not be more impractical. Just to give a simple, but revealing, example, the vice-president of the Social Management Committee is the only person among all the members of the Committee who is not illiterate and who speaks a language other than the 'local' Shangane dialect.

At the end of January 2008 I attended a meeting held in Canhane for its residents. Several subjects concerning the village were mentioned. When the subject of Covane Lodge came up, its manager took the lead. He used a paper to support his talk, while presenting the expenses and incomes of the Covane lodge's activity to the audience. Apparently, the members of the Social Management Committee who were also present had been previously informed about that data. Yet, all the information was given by the manager of the lodge. At the end, I asked to a teacher who was close by, why the president of the Committee, or anyone else from the Committee, was not presenting the report on the lodge's activity to the population (the General Assembly), as the official statutes of the 'community-based tourism' business declare. 'How come, if they don't know how to read the numbers?',[56] he said. Accordingly, how can they elaborate and interpret budgets and examine the finances of the tourism business if they do not know about math calculation? How can they establish international marketing strategies without having access to communication means like computers, the internet (there is no electricity in Canhane), newspapers, and so forth? How

[56] Conversation with a teacher at Canhane School, Canhane, January 26, 2008.

can they establish competitive price strategies if they do not know the principles of international currency and the prices that many other similar lodges charge? In summary, how can the Social Management Committee be responsible for the management strategic planning, strategic marketing, marketing operations, and financial administration of the Covane Community Lodge if its members are inexperienced in commercial business activities? After spending several months in Canhane, the answer to these becomes quite evident to me: by resorting to, and being depended on, 'external' sources.

On one occasion, I raised the issue of the lack of skills on the part of the members of the Social Management Committee for managing, and thus assuming responsibility of, the lodge, to one member of Helvetas' staff. He answered me: 'That's why we have to develop more training sessions in Canhane. This is the way of empowering them'.[57] The training sessions that he referred about are sponsored by international donor organizations, which are commonly referred to among the 'development' experts in Mozambique as *operadores* (operators). At the time of a report made by a consultant on the sustainable nature of the Covane Community Lodge, the author noted: 'the lodge is dependent on a monthly payment of $10,000 US channelled from USAID through Helvetas. This is used to finance salaries of the staff, training costs and some operational expenses' (Spenceley 2006a: 38). Later in the same conversation, the 'development' expert surprised me by saying: 'We consider the community of Canhane our safety guarantee. We think on it as the way to support economically the NGO'. In his words Canhane, the 'community', was explicitly declared a (economic) resource of the NGO; a source of income from 'development' institutions that was marketed and appropriated by the 'development' sector.

However, the complex relations that derive from such instrumental alliance (NGO – Canhane) cannot be exclusively defined in top-down terms: some members of the 'community' use their legitimacy as key players of that alliance to gain personal benefit. In 2007, the president of the Social Management Committee was arrested. The motive was simple; some employees of the Covane were working illegally. A couple of state inspectors had come to the Covane Community Lodge to check the social security number of the employees, and they discovered that some of them were not registered in the national social security system. The lodge was thus officially declared to be operating illegally. 'As soon we knew that', the president of the Social Management Committee said, 'we started talking a lot

[57] Conversation with Helvetas representative, Tihovene, February 20, 2008.

with Helvetas… asking questions'.[58] However, neither the committee nor the NGO resolved the problem. Meanwhile the fine was increasing. 'At some point they [the state inspectors] tried to discover who was running the lodge. It was when they arrived to me, the president of the committee'. Some members of the committee and the manager of the lodge intensified the contacts with Helvetas, stating that the fine should be paid immediately. 'But Helvetas continued doing nothing', the president of the committee told me, expressing embarrassment and tensest while engaging in the topic. As the one responsible for the management of the lodge, he was arrested and sent to the prison in the city of Chókwè. He stayed in jail for two days, until the fine was finally paid by NGO Helvetas. This happening has affected strongly the relationship between the president of the Committee and NGO LUPA. During 2008, he pressured the NGO to pay him an indemnification for the moral damages caused by the time he spent in prison, which the NGO did by giving him 1500 metical (40 euro)[59] in the middle of the year 2008. However, according to the director of the NGO LUPA, 'even being paid, he doesn't leave us in peace: now he's asking us for more money for him, still because of the period that he was in jail. It is a never-ending story'.[60]

## Conclusion

The Covane Community Lodge was officially registered with the notary in Chókwè, the closest city to Canhane, in 2003, and opened to tourists in May 2004. The lodge is located in the Massingir District, Gaza Province in Mozambique. It lies around seven kilometres from the centre of the village of Canhane. The tourist project is discursively celebrated by Canhaners, tourists, and 'development' staff as 'communitarian' and an opportunity to benefit, rather than harm, the social and infrastructural constitution of the village.

In practice, the NGO Helvetas 'developed a management model for the lodge' (Spenceley 2006a: 70). It directed the initial vision and planning of the lodge, also providing access to capital donations, elaborating statues and applications for licenses and registrations, providing training, overseeing operations, setting all the prices, and monitoring processes. In order to fulfil the mandatory requisites for establishing a tourism venture, Canhane was also introduced to formalization of procedures, processes, and new so-called 'community-based'

[58] Conversation with the president of the Social Management Committee, Canhane, February 21, 2008.
[59] Assuming 1 Euro = 37,2353 Metical (August 1, 2008).
[60] Interview with the director of NGO LUPA, Maputo, September 17, 2008

institutions.[61] However, as Fisher (1997: 455) more broadly addressed, 'Incorporation into existing economic markets [like tourism] may bring advantages, but incorporation also brings new encumbrances and dependencies'. Correspondingly, under the halo of 'community participation' models, such procedures incremented the (dependency) links with the 'development' sector. 'Community participation' in Canhane is instrumental in promoting a particular view of *social progress* in the 'South'; it is intrinsic to the 'development' agenda, an agenda shaped externally, and presented as their sole option (Butcher 2007: 82, 99), justified through the language of 'community-based'. In other words, the Covane Community Lodge and the 'community-based tourism' venture in Canhane are, first and foremost, a product of 'development'. Moreover, the case of Canhane illustrates the way in which imaginaries of 'community development' are institutionalised as an object of tourism assessment. How is this expressed in the everyday world of the 'hosts' (Smith 1989)?

Often, cultural complexity can be made more efficiently accessible by taking a broader perspective. It is in this sense that many authors have noted that in anthropological research cross-cultural comparative approaches are essential (Levinson and Ember 1996). Taking this perspective into consideration, I hope to answer the previous question by making a comparative approach between Canhane and another village in Mozambique. It is to the discursive activity and representations of the members of the two villages that I now turn.

[61] Such as, the Social Management Committee and Assembly General, in the beginning phase. Later, the *Comissão de Gestão da Água* (Water Management Committee) and *Comissão de Gestão de Selecção do Parceiro Privado* (Management Committee of the Private Partnership).

# 2 The Tourists of *Developmentourism*

## Representations 'From Below'

### Mbueca

'Want to enjoy a little opulence and do your bit for the local community at the same time?' asked the British newspaper The Observer in an article titled 'Luxury without the guilt'. The clarification came immediately after: **'**It's no longer an impossible combination … in the Lake Nyasa's most gorgeous corner, Nkwichi Lodge and the Manda Wilderness project have together assumed a prominent role in the country's [Mozambique's] tourism renaissance'.[1]

Briefly put, in 1994 two British brothers developed an idea for creating a tourism venture that would help 'local communities' in southeastern Africa. They mobilized private investors who were willing to invest $500,000 U.S. in the project. Their idea was materialized in 2001 when they established a lodge on the pristine and *untouched* Mchenga Nkwichi beach,[2] located on the shore of Lake Niassa, in the largest but least populated province of Mozambique – Niassa. The Nkwichi Lodge is surrounded by an idyllic landscape that is part of the Manda Wilderness Area – a privately initiated conservation region of 120,000 hectares. As advertised in the organisation's Website, 'the Manda Wilderness Community Trust works closely with Nkwichi Lodge to ensure local communities also benefit from the growth of responsible tourism in the region'.[3] The Nkwichi Lodge is cited worldwide as an example of good practices in tourism. Indeed, it was announced the winner of the Virgin Holidays Responsible Tourism Awards 2008 for best small hotel/accommodation in the world. 'When the tourists come here', one of the managers of the

[1]http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2006/may/14/ecotourism.observerescapesection?page=all, accessed November 2, 2009.

[2] In the Chinyanja dialect spoken in the region, *mchenga nkwichi* means 'squeaking sands'. Nkwichi is an onomatopoeia that imitates the sound made when one walks barefoot on the white and thin sand of the beach; 'It makes', a resident of the village said, 'a sort of "nkwichi, nkwichi, nkwichi" sound. So we started to call it Nkwichi beach' (conversation with Mbueca resident, April 6, 2008).

[3] http://www.mandawilderness.org, accessed October 23, 2009.

lodge told me, 'they already know about our community development work. Actually, many come because of that'.[4] The activities offered to the 'guests' include canoeing on the lake, snorkeling, and guided walks to the 'community development' projects and nearby villages, particularly to Mbueca. I questioned the British national in charge of 'community development' policy of the lodge about the impacts of visiting the village of Mbueca on the tourists. She said: 'The impression tourists bring after visiting the community is positive. But most of them are surprised by the fact that they are so well received by the villagers when they live in such shortage conditions; it's like lack of resources on one side, but smiles and tenderness on the other side'.[5]

According to the 'local' authorities, Mbueca has around 750 people. As the main 'community' attraction, the village does not have electricity, mobile telephone networks, or flushing toilets; households rely on firewood for cooking, and candles and paraffin lamps for light. The village is not accessible by road, only by footpaths. The closest road is at the Manda Mbuzi village, a two-and-half hour journey by foot. Farming, fishing, and tourism jobs are the main economic activities in the village.

[4] Interview with management staff of the Nkwichi Lodge, April 12, 2008.
[5] Interview with management staff of Nkwichi Lodge, April 17, 2008.

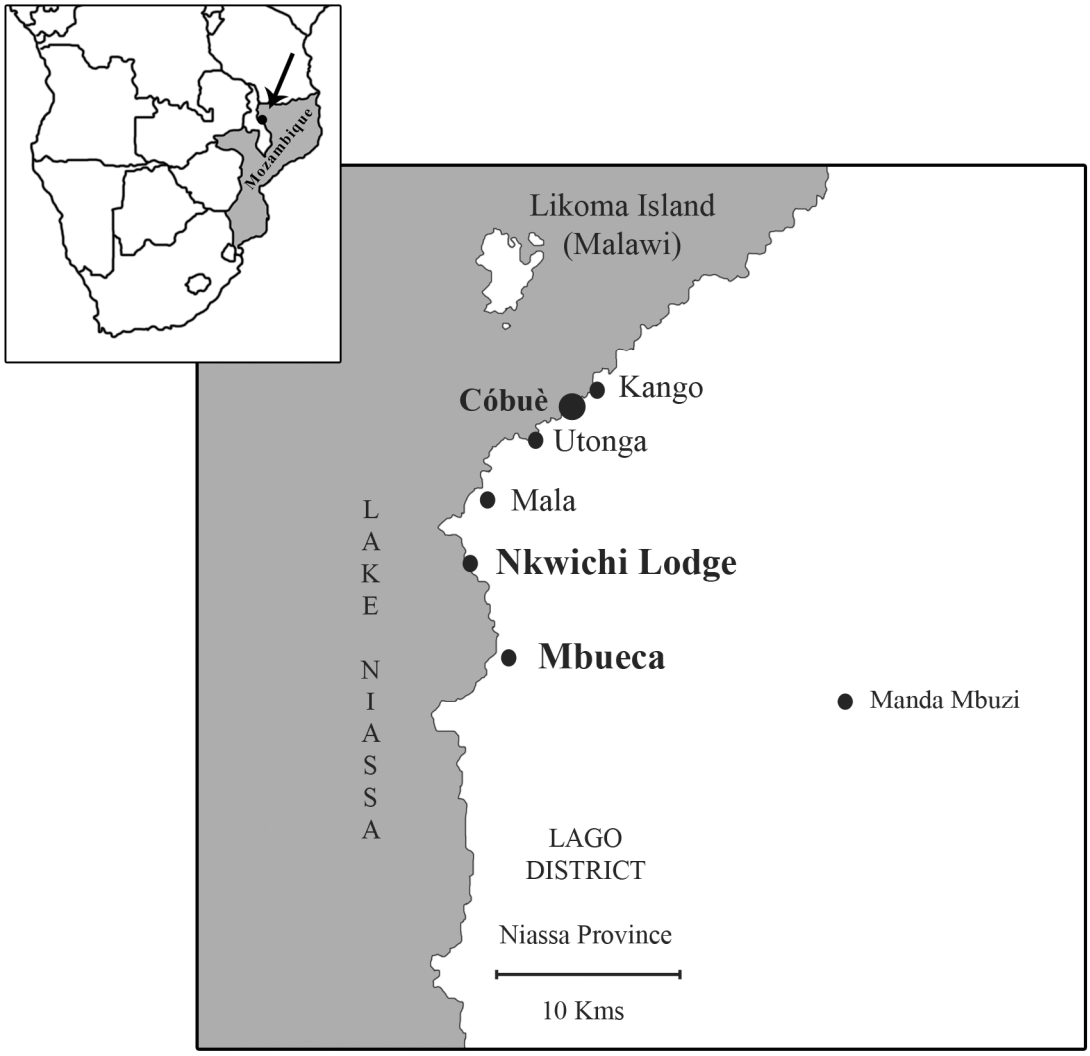


**Figure 21** - Diagram by the author.

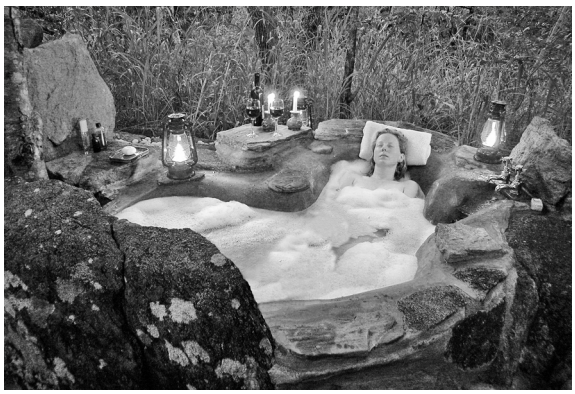

**Figure 22** – Nkwichi Lodge (figure from the lodge's Website, http://www.mandawilderness.org/gallery.php, accessed June 1, 2009).

**Figure 23** – Dining area of Nkwichi Lodge (figure from the lodge's Website, http://www.mandawilderness.org/gallery.php, accessed June 1, 2009).

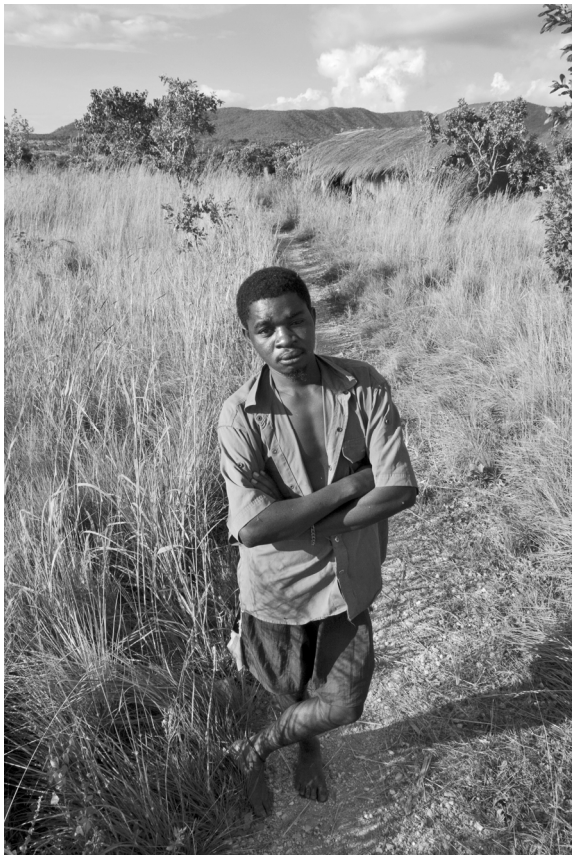

**Figure 24** – Mbueca resident who asked to be photographed (photograph by the author, April 13, 2008).

The inclusion of the village of Mbueca and its residents into the tourism realm is also an outcome of a major 'developmental' vision. The Manda Wilderness Community Trust, which is registered as a British charity organization, works in partnership with Nkiwchi Lodge 'to protect and manage a 120,000 hectare community reserve on the shores of Lake Niassa'.[6] This *green area* is funded by several other entities such as the Swedish cooperation department based in Lichinga, the capital of Niassa province, and the non-for-profit African Safari Lodge Foundation. Besides Mbueca, the region for tourism and conservation encompasses other fourteen villages with a total population of around 20,000 people. As a mandatory requirement, each of the villages had to create a 'community' committee that is linked to an all-encompassing alliance named *Umoji*. *Umoji* 'means "As One" in the local Chinyanja language of Lake Niassa [, and is] a new form of community association originally aimed to organising villagers' involvement in [the] Manda Wilderness'[7] conservation area.

[6] http://www.mandawilderness.org, accessed June 2, 2010.
[7] http://www.mandawilderness.org/community_project_umoji.html, accessed May 18, 2010.

The president of the aggregated committee *Umoji* is the *régulo*[8] of Manda Mbuzi village, and its treasurer is the British national in charge of Nkwichi Lodge.

The homogenizing representation of Mbueca and the other fourteen 'communities' for meeting large-scale organisational requirements could not be better expressed than through the name chosen for the all-encompassing committee ('As One'). The implied meaning is that all the fifteen villages are *As* if they all are *One* consensual and participatory entity that, as the Manda Wilderness Website mentions, 'now have a grip over their own futures'.[9] Yet, as Rahnema (1992: 182) noted, 'The attempt to empower people through the projects [driven by *external regimes*] is always an attempt, however benevolent, to reshape the personhood of the participants. It is in this sense that we argue that "empowerment" is tantamount to what Foucault calls subjection'.

**Figure 25** – Map of 'Manda Wilderness Community Conservation Area' at the Nkwichi Lodge's office (photograph by the author, April 12, 2008).

[8] In Mbueca's region the most common expression used to refer to the individual recognized as the 'local' authority is *régulo*.
[9] http://www.mandawilderness.org/community_project_umoji.html, accessed May 18, 2010.

**The Tourists?**

In April 2008 I came to Mbueca to record the perceptions of the inhabitants about tourism in general and the tourists who visit Mbueca in particular. In the village, I tried to convert informal conversations into debates around tourism. However, this proved to be a difficult task. Each time we engaged in the topic, the Mbueca residents opted to speak of *donors* ('doadores'). The word 'tourist(s)' was missing in our conversations. Despite my efforts to provoke and induce the use of the word, they persistently used the 'development' category. 'We used to be visited', the man in charge of the only store in the village said, 'by donors from the entire world: from Europe, Asia, America…'[10] Days passed without any reference to the tourists.

The reason for this intriguing phenomenon became clear following a personal experience *as a tourist*. On one occasion I asked a group of people for someone who could show me the village. They then called a man who introduced himself with the English version of his (Portuguese) name. He was my guide for the next three hours on a tour into shortage, need, and potentialities for 'community development'.

I was first led to the health clinic. My guide explained that it was built in 1986 by Catholic priests. However, in 1994 they were told that the church could no longer support it. 'It was when our régulo asked the government to find, and provide funds to hire a nurse and purchase medicines',[11] he said. No one was in the clinic. I was told that the nurse in charge had to leave, as he does every three months, to get medicines from the town of Metangula. After twenty minutes of touring the clinic, we went to visit the Anglican church. It is the most prominent building in the village. It is located in an elevated area, allowing a panoramic view of the village and the Lake Niassa. Despite the comparatively improved condition of the church, I was introduced to some of its limitations, such as the 'unbelievably hot temperature that it gets to when it is full of people attending the mass'. When we finally left the Anglican church, another man spontaneously joined us for the rest of the tour. He was not born in the village, but in Mocimboa da Praia. However, he considered himself a 'local' because he had been living in the village for twenty-two years. He was the director of the school at Mbueca, which was our next, and last, destination. When we arrived there he recounted how the school was built by the 'local community' with materials and money given by *donors* and by the British NGO Manda Wilderness Community Trust. 'However', he said, 'the school is still incomplete. The doors were our most recent improvement, made possible only through the

[10] Conversation with Mbueca resident, Mbueca, April 7, 2008.
[11] Conversation with Mbueca resident who was acting as tour guide, Mbueca, April 11, 2008.

money given by donors. But we need more support to provide better conditions for our children. The urgent needs now are for chairs and to repair the floor'.[12] During the visit I was silent most of the time. The director of the school gave a formal speech as a standard presentation. Later, he guided me to his office and kindly asked me to sit on a chair in front of his desk. He asked me to fill out the 'Visitors Book' (*Livro de Visitas*), as if I had just seen an art exhibition or a monument. One of the columns of the book – titled 'Observations' – was full of English comments made by previous visitors, such as: 'good', 'keep up the good work', 'thank you for showing us the school', and so forth. Moreover, some of the comments ended with a number preceded or followed by a monetary symbol (i.e., 'US 80', '50 €'). After I had filled out the 'Visitors Book', without having written any number under the column 'Observations', I gave it back to him. But then he slowly gave it back to me and repeated something that he had already emphasized during his presentation: 'the donors used to support us'. At that moment I realized something that later became extremely obvious and was confirmed throughout my permanence in the village: whenever the Mbueca residents talked about *donors*, they were referring to (those whom I considered) *tourists*. However, this finding raised a new basic question; why have people in Mbueca adopted such a category (*donors*) among the range of other categories? In other words, why have they attached such signification to 'tourists'?

[12] Presentation made by the director of the school of Mbueca, Mbueca, April 11, 2008.

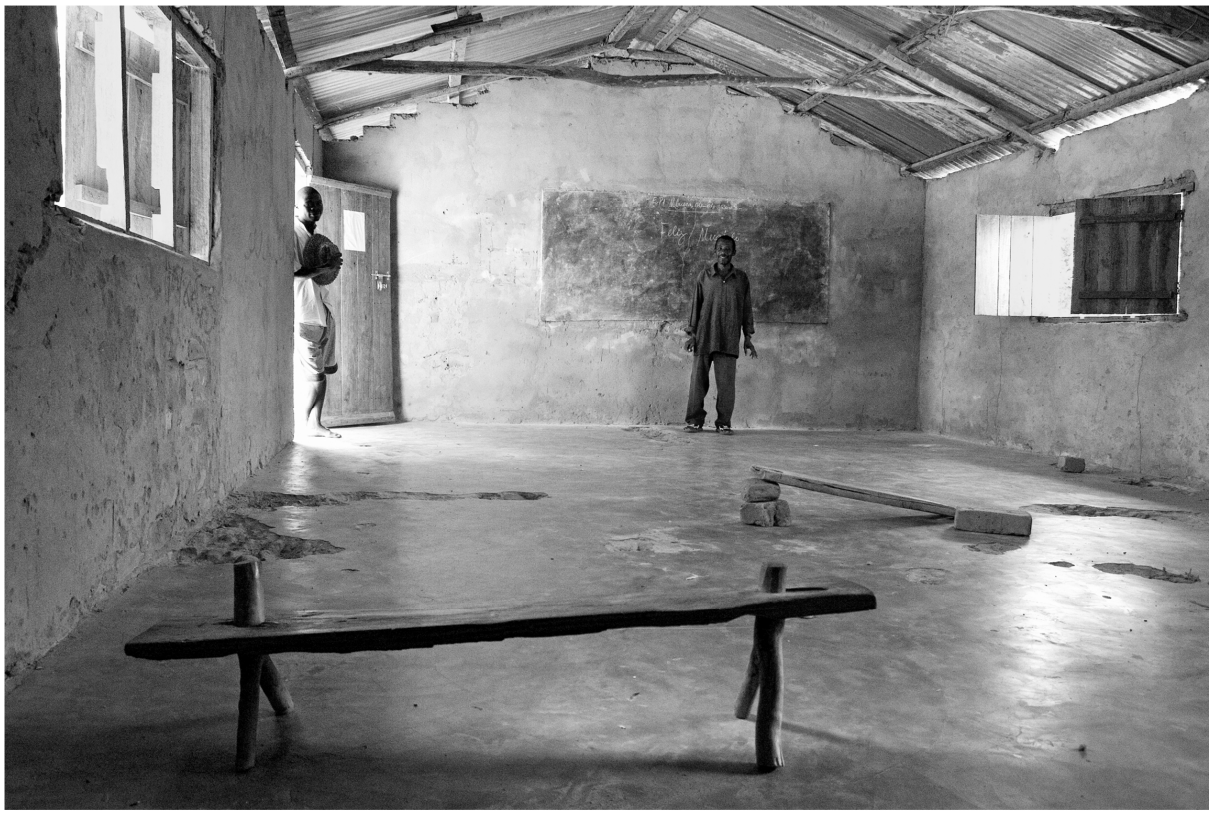

**Figure 26** - The school of Mbueca (photograph by the author, April 11, 2008).

## Canhane

In February 2008, at the peak of summer, a four-wheel drive vehicle transporting two men crossed the village of Canhane[13] at high speed. At that moment, I was seated close to a lady who was peeling canhu fruits.[14] We were relatively close to the trail that divides Canhane; hence, we were literally immersed by the heavy cloud of red dust left in the vehicle's trail. The just-washed and still-humid canhu fruits became covered by the dirt from the road, as were we. I followed the car with my eyes and saw the children who were playing on the road run away from it in a frightened way. The vehicle's brake lights did not light up at all, even as chickens and goats scampered out of its way. Upset by the careless behaviour of those aboard the vehicle, I muttered angry words. In contrast, the lady next to me kept her calm and told me: 'If they are going in that direction, they will be staying at the Covane [Lodge]. They might come here to visit the community. [She smiled to me] Maybe you can tell them directly

[13] Canhane is around 2,000 kilometers south of Mbueca.

[14] Canhu is an important drink in the region. It is made from the fruit (marula fruit, in English; or *Scelerocarya birrea*, in latin) of a sacred tree called *Canhoeiro*. The fruit is seasonal and ripens between January and the end of February – it bears small round shaped fruit (green in color when unripe) that ripens to a yellow color.

what you just said, in Canhane'. I asked her then: 'But why would these recklessly disrespectful people want to come here, away from their air-conditioned car, to visit Canhane?' She spontaneously answered me: 'because the tourists [*turistas*] want to see what the community is doing with their money'.[15]

She gave me a key to decode the meaning that the word 'tourists' carries with it in Canhane. The 'tourists' were informed as a sort of auditors – *verifiers*. As Rottenburg (2000: 143—144) made clear, after the first and second steps of 'development' aid projects (design and implementation, respectively), there is a required third step in order to make sense: 'the effects of the planned interventions have to be *verified*'. This activity is usually undertaken by what the author called 'experts'; that is, 'those in charge of designing and implementing schemes to reform (transform or develop) society' (2000: 145). What is interesting is that this 'developmental' function (to *verify*) and its professionals (the 'experts') are viewed in Canhane as included in the category of 'tourists'.

The majority of the residents approve of having tourism activities in the village.[16] When they were asked why, the typical answers I got were: 'because the tourists support the community'; 'because it brings benefits to the community'; 'because the tourists' contributions are to help the community'; 'because tourists assist the community'. Therefore, her response represented a generalized phenomenon in the village; that is, the discursive practice that converts the visitor-*other* into 'the tourist' conveys the Canhaners' normative significations: the category 'tourist' embodies an agent of 'community development'.

Especially among the fishermen who live in the lower part of Canhane, on the banks of the Elephants River, the lodge is called 'Helvetas' instead of Covane (Community Lodge). Such connotation is also common in neighbourhood villages. For example, just after I had interviewed the community leader of the village of Cubo, he asked the person who was accompanying me to help in the translation: 'I used to see him around [referring to me]. Is he sleeping at Helvetas [referring to Covane Lodge]?'[17] There is a direct and deliberated association of the lodge, and in particular its visitors, with the NGO. Moreover, not even the repetitive character of the formal appointments the Canhaners have in the village with donors,

[15] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 16, 2008.
[16] As I will approach in the next chapter, I do not support the idea of Canhane as a *single voice*. There are different opinions and representations among Canhane residents. However, this does not mean that there is not a prominent position on tourism and the tourists in particular that is shared by the majority of the inhabitants. This chapter is therefore about the dominant perspectives – not to be confused with unanimity – in both villages: Canhane and Mbueca.
[17] Conversation between the community leader of Cubo and a teacher of Canhane's school, Cubo, October 14, 2008.

consultants, and/or ‘development’ experts have led to their adoption of any denomination other than the category ‘tourists’. Although on many occasions these ‘development’ professionals only stay a couple of hours in the village, they are still considered ‘tourists’.

In the case of Canhane, the dominion of ‘development’ is transferred to the sphere of leisure activity (the *donor* is called a *tourist*), while in Mbueca the reverse happens (the *tourist* is called a *donor*). Both discourses are important because they are not passive; that is, they inform practice. Fundamentally, a social science perspective from anthropology implies observing what people do and say and use their categories to understand it. Where do these conceptions come from? How do they relate with the ‘place-in-the-world’ (Ferguson 2006) that Africa come to occupy in the new global order? In sum, what do these two cases – which seem to counter each other – tell us?

## The Category ‘Tourist’

According to James Buzard (1993: 1), the word ‘tourist’ is a late-eighteenth-century coinage especially used for those touring areas such as the English Lake District. Robert Aubin (1944: 334) confirmed this, attesting that the word was firstly planted in the language in 1780 with the announcement of a poem called ‘Ode to the Genius of the Lakes in the North of England’ written by an anonymous poet. In particular, from the time of the formation of a ‘tourism social science’ (Nash 2007: 1) in the 1970s there has been an effort expressed in many research reports, scientific articles, state institutions, monographs, and tourism literature to achieve a universal concept of what constitutes ‘the tourist’. However, since German sociologists’ (Knebel 1960) attempts to define ‘the tourist’, inconsistencies can still be found, and none of the generalized conceptualizations has been widely adopted (Cohen 1984: 374). ‘Despite its relevance to people almost everywhere, anthropologists have had a hard time defining tourism’ (Cohen 1974; Nash 1981, in Stronza 2001: 265), and as Crick noted, a ‘fundamental uncertainty remains – namely, about what a tourist is’ (Crick 1989: 312).

I believe that the ambiguity that surrounds the universality of its meaning is due principally to the inconsequent task of defining such *fluid* figure in the present era, which is characterized by the end of pre-allocated and static reference groups (Bauman 2000: 7). The *high-dynamic* stage of modern society calls for a rethinking of concepts in an attempt to frame their stable meanings. As Hall (1996) has argued with regard to ‘race’, a concept can

be attached and detached from so many different places, groups, and ideas that it operates as a free-floating signifier (Dixon and Hapke 2003: 143).

The purpose of this section is not to contribute to a (universal) definition of what constitutes 'the tourist'. Rather, this chapter addresses the emerging dedifferentiation of the meaning of 'tourist'. The world is now dominated by infinite exchanges of symbols, peoples, values, images, goods, and narratives, leading to the unbinding of processes that define contemporary social life. Using Urry's own words: 'postmodernism involves a dissolving of the boundaries' (Urry 2002: 74). Therefore, the increase of interwoven proceedings and the disintegration of clear borders between what were previously differentiated social activities have led to the reproduction of categories of activity (McCabe 2005: 87) that express, reflect, and reproduce dedifferentiation. It is in this sense that, regardless of whether it is labeled as 'late', 'post', 'second', or 'liquid', modernity assists in the emergence of new kinds of dedifferentiated *others*.

Considering that, what is important is not so much the universal definition of the 'tourist', but what the category represents in different contexts (what it incorporates and excludes) and, particularly, what it camouflages. The principle behind the classification of the 'donor' in Mbueca and the 'tourist' in Canhane informs the way in which definitions of reality are constituted and maintained through linguistic processes (Berger and Luckman 1966). The rhetoric of 'donor' and 'tourist' must be deconstructed and attention paid to whose voices are speaking and whose interests are being served (Cox 1995). Following this line, I suggest that behind the speaking subjects of discourse expressed at the *grassroots* level lies a fundamental truth: 'local communities' have become producers of tourism and 'development'.

## The Roles of Discourse

Through resorting to the subject of madness, Michel Foucault (1972: 32—33) considered discourse as 'the interplay of the rules that make possible the appearance of objects'. For Foucault, discourse makes its objects through meaningful social interaction. In this sense, we might think of discourse as a material practice in which we make sense of the world, shaping our perceptions of social relations. The Foucauldian employ of the term encompasses not only communicative practice, but also the ideological systems that animate the structures of social practice; that is, discourses shape the ways in which we apprehend the world (are

prescriptive) and exist to express certain realities in accordance to *higher* ideological principles. However, these *higher* effects are neither homogeneous nor static, as are societies. Michel Picard (1996: 165), for example, noted that the meaning associated with the Balinese expression for 'touristic culture' (*budaya wisata*) has shifted from identifying a threat to Balinese society to describing a positive feature of modern Bali. As Ferguson (1994: xv) clearly confirmed: 'discourses have important and very real social consequences'.

However, language as discourse is limited. That is to say that by disciplining our thinking, language includes certain possibilities of knowledge – generating certain realities – but also exclude others. Discourse constructs its own conventions by constituting frameworks of sense-making, producing meanings and making sense of reality through the way it rules in, or rules out, certain ways of thinking (Fairclough 1992). Therefore, the important question must be: 'what was being said in what was said?' (Foucault 1972: 28). Scholars have pointed out that in order to understand discourse as a social practice, it must be examined in the commonplace occurrences of everyday life (Marston 1989: 439). It is this latter suggestion that I want to grab hold of by adapting Foucault's question to the main topic of this chapter: What was being said when the Mbueca residents referred to the 'tourists' as 'donors' and the Canhane residents referred to the 'donors' as 'tourists'?

## 'Discourse of Development'

Categorizing the *world* and its constituents through language and words is an essential feature of the legitimation of knowledge. Some years ago, the Mozambican president Joaquim Chissano held a rally in the northern city of Nampula, in which he presented the ministers of his government. His speech was made in Portuguese, with direct translation to the regional dialect Emakua. After he presented the minister of culture, the translator hesitated, and said: 'he is the minister of fun' (Couto 2005: 128). The absence of equivalence is not an outcome of a minority of the dialect Emakua, but another way of interpreting the world and, in turn, of producing and maintaining different forms of knowledge: words are essential tools in our conception of *worlds*.

To understand the meaning of words one has first to consider them to be the words of someone, informed by significations brought by the context in which they are applied. Words are agile ingredients of language appropriated differently by people, fundamental to the construction of social reality (e.g., Gergen 1999; Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy 2004). The

categorization of 'tourist' as 'donor' (Mbueca) and 'donor' as 'tourist' (Canhane) thus reflects the world-as-it-is (re)presented by the speakers. More precisely, the use of one word to encompass *tourists* and *donors*, the intertwining character of their meanings, informs the way the speakers make sense of, and/or perform, the *world* in which they are *part of*.

Many authors have noted that the power of the 'development industry' (Fisher 1997) rests on a historically produced discourse (e.g., Escobar 1988; Ferguson 1994; Dubois 1991). Indeed, the 'discourse of development' has emerged from the worldwide political rearrangement that occurred after World War II. Ever since the postwar transformations, the 'development' institutions have elaborated and circulated a particular discourse that justifies and legitimizes 'development' interventions. In the view of many critics, the 'development' apparatus identifies 'problems' resultant from an idealized way of progress, which in turn requires the intervention of 'development' agencies (e.g., Ferguson 1994; Rahnema 1992) that assume the 'technical' solutions to the 'problems' that they produced. James Ferguson, for example, has demonstrated how the 'discourse of development' has constructed the African country of Lesotho as a particular kind of object of knowledge that validates 'development' interventions (Ferguson 1994). Arturo Escobar has exemplified how the 'development' knowledge organized the construction of the problem of hunger in the 'Third World', with a particular focus on Colombia. He explained how some institutions utilized a set of practices in the construction of this problem in such a way that they could control policy themes, enforce exclusions, and affect social relations (Escobar 1988). In the same way, Luis Avilés has shown how institutions devoted to international 'development' have created a discourse that influences the conduct of the *Epidemiological Profile* of El Salvador (Avilés 2001).

The 'discourse of development' generates a structure of knowledge, and by that shapes the ways in which the *realities* are perceived and defined. The institutional structure of 'development' and its globalization through policy and funding mechanisms have produced and consolidated the types of legitimate knowledge on and for 'development' all over the planet. This perhaps explains the apparent homogeneity of 'development' thinking and why many 'development' researchers accept standardized frameworks of representation as applicable across diverse geographies and cultural forms. In some cases the 'development' knowledge has become globalized in such a way that it has achieved the characteristic of popular 'world opinion' – Africa as 'Third World' is one such example (Escobar 1988). The reproduction of this discourse produces knowledge within a narrow framework. As the Mozambican writer Mia Couto said, 'Africa is still seen by the world as an exotic place, of an

elder telling stories close to a fire, of the wizards, of the witchdoctors' (Zanini 2008: 30).[18] According to Couto, these images and the associated categorizations of Africa ignore fifty years of independencies, urbanization, industrialization, and the emergence of some of the most energetic metropolises in the world. The globalization of such images means that 'Africa' as a category 'enters Western knowledge and imagination … through a series of lacks and absences, failings and problems' (Ferguson 2006: 2); 'where a "traditional African way of life" is simply a polite name for poverty' (ibid.: 21); and so, 'Africa' acquires the attribute of a 'developing' case seeking a 'development' solution. The obvious problem here is that such images do not just distort social *reality*: they also shape it. More fundamentally, it is in these terms that 'Africa' becomes a discursive and imaginative *reality* within which, and according to which, some people live.

The concept of 'Third World' – introduced into the literature of the social sciences by the French economist and demographer Alfred Sauvy in 1952 – is now a term of reference that is appropriated by the 'discourse of development'. The original meaning of the concept – used by Abbé Sieyès (1748-1836) to signal the emergence of the *bourgeoisie* as a political force in the eighteenth century (Mintz 1976: 377) – was then converted into new significances, essentially expressing shortage, poverty, exotic, and *underdevelopment.* The concept and its new meanings have spread as a fictitious construct and have become an omnipresent reality. Discourses, as Edward Said (1978) noted, are not innocent explanations of the world. They are a way of *worlding* (Spivak 1987), of appropriating the world through knowledge. Wide-reaching connotations of Africa as 'Third World' have thus induced and legitimated the interventions of 'development' institutions in order to resolve the problems that the (working) concept brings with it. As Mowforth and Munt (2009: 371) confirmed, 'in itself the Third World is a socially constructed and contested entity that is inexorably related to development'. In this view, the so-called 'Third World' 'is being swept by a nongovernmental, associational, or "quiet" revolution that at least one analyst believes may "prove to be as significant to the latter twentieth century as the rise of the nation-state was to the latter nineteenth century"' (Salamon 1993, in Fisher 1997: 440). Moreover, it was in this line of thought that James Ferguson (2006) wrote about the advent of, what he termed, 'nongovernmental states' in Africa.

Once, I met a Mozambican man in the town of Tihovene who spontaneously brought up this topic. He was in his early 60s and had spent a decade working on HIV/AIDS prevention

[18] Portuguese in the original.

programs with international NGOs. He had recently switched his professional activity, and he was now selling fishing materials for a company in Maputo. His geographical market was mostly confined to villages in Gaza province. Consequently, he came often to Tihovene because of the high concentration of fishermen in the proximate village of Cubo. He also used to visit Canhane at least twice a year; more precisely, he went to *Nkovene*, close to the Elephants River in the jurisdiction of Canhane, where the majority of the Canhaners' fishermen store their materials. One night, when I was sharing a table with him at the kiosk *Paga Logo ao David* (Pay Immediately to David) in Tihovene, he told me, 'For Mozambique, the global alarm about HIV [*sida*] in the country is useful, because it allows the money to continue coming in, and so it's useful to maintain such awareness, because it's a sort of business, an export business'.[19] He looked at me, while I tried to show him my interest without saying anything. 'I know what I'm talking about', he continued, 'I'm not inventing anything, I'm just saying the obvious and what my professional experience taught me: the poverty of the communities, developing them, helping them, etc., are convenient resources that are being promoted because all these are businesses, and make money from it. That's why we are Third World, and that's why it's convenient for some people that Mozambique keep being Third World'. Wherever I was I used to carry a small notebook with me. It revealed to be the most important research instrument, allowing me to record conversations, comments, ideas or *insignificances* that revealed themselves to be important afterwards. 'Do you mind if I write down now what you just said? I'm doing a study in Canhane about tourism', I asked him as I took the notebook out of my pocket. 'No problem, no problem', he said, 'but what I'm telling you everybody knows. Did you read the last book of Mia Couto?' He was referring to the novel 'The Last Flight of the Flamingo' (*O Últimо Voo do Flamingo*), where through a labyrinth of personages, events, and stories the Mozambican author provides a subtle look at emergent Mozambique nationhood based on a new and broader post-colonial order. Here is an eloquent passage from the book:

> We need to show the population off in all its hunger and with all its contagious diseases … our destitution is turning a good profit. To live in a country of beggars, it is necessary to uncover our sores, expose the protruding bones of our children … This is the current order of the day: gather together your remains, make it easier for the disaster

[19] Conversation with the seller of fishing materials, Tihovene, February 12, 2008.

> to be seen. The foreigner from outside, or from the capital, should be able to appreciate all the wretchedness without sweating about it too much (Couto 2004: 56).

Mozambique is part of the 'Third World' framework. The country was under an international embargo in 1983, which was only lifted after it agreed to join the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1984. This was the time when Mozambique started to benefit exponentially from international donations. The country was pressed down by a deep economic crisis due to the civil war (1975-1992). Until that time independent Mozambique had never authorized the presence of international NGOs. However, in 1984 the United States of America demanded that two NGOs – Care and World Vision – be authorized (Hanlon and Smart 2008: 35). Over the next five years, 180 international NGOs were established in Mozambique (Hanlon 1991: 207). Since then, whenever Mozambique resisted adopting the internationally driven policies of structural adjustment largely imposed by the World Bank and IMF, it suffered more international embargoes, such as in 1986 when all humanitarian food supply was stopped (Hanlon and Smart 2008: 36). To put in another way, the 'needed' aid flowed only as long as Mozambique agreed to a set of economic and political policies imposed by the 'North'. This situation has led to the institutionalization and increasing professionalization of 'solidarity' in the country; it rooted the 'aid-dependency model' (Moyo, 2010) in almost every domains of the nation. And so, Mozambique became a donor-oriented world of 'development' reforms, programs, and projects. The Mozambican Prime Minister Luísa Diogo confirmed this more recently: 'Mozambique has been helping itself through its integrity in the implementation of the [international] reforms, programs and projects … [but] we need more resources [donations] to continue presenting good results' (Anon 2008).[20] Indeed, it is in the interest of some countries to be categorized and ranked as 'developing' in order to justify claims for 'development' support, just as it is in the interests of institutional donors to represent them.

Since 2004 more than half of the Government Annual Budget of Mozambique is coming from foreign 'development' donors, international organizations, and governments – known as the G-19. Their contributions attest to the heavy dependence of Mozambique on international donations and in turn show the influence foreign 'development' institutions have in the country. The presence of institutional donors (or 'partners' as they are also commonly called) is so marked that the government of Mozambique publishes an annual

[20] Portuguese in the original.

evaluation report on the 'performance of the partners',[21] in which they are classified according to a chart: *strong* donors have more than thirty points, *medium* donors have between twenty three to twenty nine points; and those with less than twenty two points are considered *weak* donors.[22]

No wonder then that the 'local communities' in Mozambique have adopted and appropriated for themselves the 'discourse of development' as a way to be included in the network of global *existence*. The 'industry of aid' has become the main ruling force in Mozambican society, therefore spreading the ideas of its dominance all over the country and shaping the discursive production. In this vein, I believe that the similarity between the words previously quoted by the Mozambican Prime Minister and the discourse formally spoken to me by the director of the school of Mbueca ('But we need more support to provide better conditions for our children') is more than a simple coincidence. In truth, these are words informed by the formative 'discourse of development' that has been institutionalized in the country's post-independence regime, particularly in the last two decades. 'Donors' (*doadores*), 'human-animal conflict' (*conflito Homem animal*), 'capaciting' (*capacitação*), 'community participation' (*participação comunitária*), 'community development' (*desenvolvimento comunitário*), 'NGO' (*ONG*), 'partners' (*parceiros*), 'local development' (*desenvolvimento local*), 'facilitators' (*facilitadores*), and 'poverty eradication' (*erradicação de pobreza*) are just some examples of terms that are part of the common discourse in many of the remotest villages in the country. Some of these are concepts expressing problems; others are simply working concepts. However, the spread and inclusion of such concepts, obviously strongly reliant on 'development' institutional support, into all the domains of Mozambican society exercise constraint upon other forms of discourses and, thus, other forms of knowledge (Foucault 1972: 219). The system of rules that emerges through discourse is said to be responsible for the organized ways of using concepts, of referring to objects and people, and of thinking in strategies (Diaz-Bone et al. 2007). It is this character of producing normative orders of knowledge that establishes a dominant construct of 'reality', defining *the problems* and their *solutions*. To put it simply, the new concepts that are now part of the common rhetoric in all of Mozambique carry with them meanings in which the 'development' ideology is the legitimate framework for handling them.

[21] Online publication of the Mozambican journal *O País*. http://www.opais.co.mz/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6315:governo-considera-medio-a-fraco-desempenho-dos-doadores&catid=38:economia&Itemid=181, accessed June 3, 2010.
[22] Journal O País, May 9, 2008.

Discourses do not only make possible certain ways of thinking, but also certain ways of acting and being (Philips, Lawrence and Hardy 2004: 638). By adopting the 'discourse of development', 'local communities' are making a decision about, using Zygmunt Bauman's (2000: 173) expression, 'being and nothingness'; that is, 'local communities' are reaching a position in the new global inequality order by being the representatives of the antithesis of modern societies: 'underdevelopment'. However, there is an existential price: by accomplishing inclusion via their adherence to the 'discourse of development', the 'local' *reality* is transcended and reified in accordance to the 'development' rationality, which in turn is extended to the crux of the 'community' rationality itself. The members of the 'local communities' become, as Mia Couto put it, 'those who look to a mirror that was invented by others' (Zanini 2008: 30).[23]

## The 'Development'-*alization* of Tourism: *Developmentourism*

'Development' strategies based on tourism are very much part of the neoliberal plan (Smith and Duffy 2003: 137). Faced with a contemporary world ruled by consumption, in which every matter is subject to the same principle of evaluation as all other items of consumption, 'local communities' commodify their *underdevelopment distinctiveness* in order to place themselves in the global consumer market. Tourism emerges as *the* proper vehicle for that purpose. For the sake of this argument, let me return to the village of Mbueca.

When I first arrived in Mbueca, the *external* positive image of 'responsible tourism' that floated over the region hid conflicts, particularly between the Mbueca residents and the managers of the Nkwichi Lodge. 'The donors come here because of us: they want to help us, not the lodge at the beach. They must not interfere in our relation with the donors',[24] an inhabitant of Mbueca said to me. The origin of the quarrel can be traced back to when a group of 'donors', after visiting the village, promised $820 U.S. to the population. When they returned from the village tour, they delivered the money to the managers of the Nkwichi Lodge. However, 'that donation never arrived here. They [the managers of the lodge] kept it for themselves at our expense',[25] one of the brothers of the *régulo* of Mbueca said. On the other hand, the British national in charge of the 'community development' policy of the Nkwichi Lodge argued: 'if we give that money directly to them [Mbueca residents], it will

[23] Portuguese in the original.
[24] Conversation with Mbueca resident, Mbueca, April 15, 2008.
[25] Conversation with Mbueca resident, Mbueca, April 15, 2008.

never be used to improve the school and the church, which was the tourists' wish. They have to present to us first how, and on what, they intend to spend the money'.[26] The lodge then assumed the powerful position of intermediate and ruler between the 'donors' and the 'local community'.

However, the supposed dispossessed entity in this relation (the 'local community') also showed its power attributes through its ability to negotiate its position (in tourism) by using the authority of 'development'. 'We now want to have more fathers… two fathers!',[27] the régulo of Mbueca said to me. He was referring to another investor in tourism with whom he was negotiating. At the time when I was in the village, I was told that an Italian man who had been living in Maputo for five years was invited to build a lodge on a beach within the jurisdiction of Mbueca. This was also part of the ongoing animosity. 'We know', the brother of the *régulo* insisted, 'that the Nkwichi Lodge doesn't like that! They want to be here alone. But the new lodge will be better for us because it will bring more donors and more development to our community. We are the ones who need support, not them!'[28]

Mbueca thus exemplifies how the halo of '(under)development' in tourism can reproduce a complex relation of power among the 'donors' (*tourists*), the lodge, and the 'local community'. However, it also shows how the placement of tourism as a potential 'development' tool and the 'discourse of development' (i.e., '… more development to our community. We are the ones who need support') can be used and appropriated as a *grassroots* strategy within a consumption-driven framework. In other words, the 'local community' of Mbueca has obtained its (tourism) value by self-consciously representing a 'development problem'. The authority of the 'development' ideology is used by, and within, the producers of tourism (including the 'local community') as a legitimate competitive force. Therefore, the important point is that the dedifferentiated combination of tourism and 'development' morals allows the materialization of the 'underdevelopmentness' quality of the 'community' on the *market*. The discursive practice of referring to 'donors' as 'tourists' is as much a strategic representation 'from below' (Robins 2001: 846) as a reflex of the tourism and 'development' order in which Mbueca has been placed. Such representation forms part of the hegemonic strategies of establishing sense and control of the visitor-*other*, in accordance to the interests of the tourism and 'development' industry, as well as those of the 'local community'.

[26] Conversation with one of the supervisors of the Nkwichi Lodge, Mbueca, April 17, 2008.
[27] Conversation with the *régulo* of Mbueca, Mbueca, April 15, 2008.
[28] Conversation with Mbueca resident, Mbueca, April 15, 2008.

As in Mbueca, this postmodernist facet of what I call *developmentourism* is also characteristic of Canhane, and is expressed, among others, through their representations. A South African consultant who did research in Canhane in 2005 wrote: 'many people in the village [Canhane] reported that they had seen tourists in the village over the past week' (Spenceley 2006: 113). The consultant was hosted at the Covane Lodge the month prior to the interviews. She stated that, 'none [of the tourists during that period] had undertaken the village visit. Therefore it appears that estimates from villagers were exaggerated' (Spenceley 2006: 113). Who were those *invisible* 'tourists'? I believe she was one of them. What she did not realize was that the Canhaners were including her and other 'development' experts, who visited the village during that period, into the category of 'tourists'. In this sense, the Canhaners invert the perception held by the Mbueca residents; that is, for the inhabitants of Canhane the 'donors' (and all professionals associated with the 'development' sector) are 'tourists'. In the same way, on the beginning of October 2010 I was told by the staff of the Covane Lodge that, 'lots of tourists will come here next Tuesday: it will be a busy time for us'.[29] People in Canhane were also commenting on it. The day before the 'tourists' arrived I met the driver of the Covane Lodge's truck at his house, and I asked him about if he knew exactly who they were. 'Yes', he said, 'we already know them: they are a group of consultants from the NGO Technoserve'.[30] He added later, 'it's a group of tourists that work on the relation between the lodge and the community: they come here to help the community'.

As in Mbueca, the 'community-based tourism' project in Canhane gives evidence to the way its inhabitants have adopted and put into practice the principle that their tourism value lies on their being *potentialities for 'development'*. In both villages, 'community development' is *the* legitimate tourism product. Therefore, its members use the ('underdevelopmental') nature that has constituted them as 'hosts' to attain a position in the global tourism market: they capitalize on the *underdevelopmental* value of their tourism constituency. What I suggest is that 'development' should be seen as *the* structuring element of the modalities of tourism in Mbueca and Canhane; it is something that has been incorporated into them and not something that stands outside of them. In these modalities of practice, tourism and 'development' operate side by side, share the same vision and goals, and are therefore both perceived by the inhabitants as undifferentiated. Moreover, this is

[29] Conversation with a group of employees at the Covane Lodge (the manager, the security guard, and a servant), Canhane, October 12, 2008.
[30] Conversation with the Covane Lodge's driver, Canhane, October 13, 2008.

explicitly and strategically manifested through their discursive representations of the 'tourists'-*others* as protagonists of assistance.

The meanings of aid attached to the word 'donor' in Mbueca and 'tourist' in Canhane are compatible with the interests of the inhabitants of both villages; it involves the disposing and manipulation of representations in favour of one's own context. If it is true that the involvement of 'development' in tourism is to a certain degree a response to the existing consumer expectation and to a macroeconomic order, then it is also correct to say that this depends on the protagonists of the encounter at the *grassroots* level. Their actions, which show a strong commitment to the 'development'-*alization* of tourism, foster the means by which tourism becomes dedifferentiated in their villages.

## Dedifferentiation between Tourism and 'Development'

In theory, the dedifferentiated character of tourism found in both villages is in the spirit of the present age (Doquet and Evrard 2008: 187). Indeed, post-modernity, it is said, is characterized by the quality of dedifferentiation, an increasing dissolution of borders between differences (Lash 1990). In such an unbounded world dominated by infinite exchanges and interwoven processes, the present is often regarded as expressing rootlessness (Smith and Duffy 2003: 110), and even the idea of home, historically essential to defining the tourism experience, is redefined. In this vein, Jean Urbain gave an example of how the porosity between the everyday and the elsewhere of holidays is increasing. When he was working on 'holiday homes', he met a woman who told him: 'Since I moved into an individual house, each evening when I come home I feel like I'm on holiday' (Doquet and Evrard 2008: 187). She was putting herself in holiday in her everyday life. The world has become an infinite collection of possibilities (Bauman 2000: 61) as individuals can place themselves in the skin of 'tourists' everywhere, even *at home*. Her observation then reflects a broader issue; that is, in postmodern societies the borders between *at home* and *away*, everyday and extraordinary, settled and *mobile* are progressively blurring. As the distinction between home and away began to dissolve, so too the distinction between work and pleasure began to disappear (Lash and Urry 1993; Rojek 1995). Such mergence has enabled many people to be able to holiday through *working*. This can be clearly found, for example, in those who spend long term vacations in the 'South' volunteering to save animals in danger of extinction, work at orphanages, and built schools. In the 'modern way of being-in-the-world' (Bauman 2000:

157) the extraordinary could also mean the everyday, and as Esman noted in relation to Louisiana Cajuns in United States of America, individuals can be 'tourists within their own culture' (1984: 465).

All this comes down to saying that where there once had been a world of structural differentiation, there is now a world of dedifferentiation, in which the 'tourist' is reproduced in unlimited fields of life. The extension of this perspective has led John Urry to proclaim the 'end of tourism' (1995). Historically, scholars have been accustomed to thinking of tourism as an external force acting upon a pre-existing object (Wood 1998: 223). Urry's fatalist perspective is thus justified by the perception of the disintegration of 'tourism's specificity' for the reason that everyone is a tourist, all the time, now that tourism is nowhere yet everywhere (Urry 1995: 148). In turn, the 'touristic modes of staging, visualization and experience become increasingly central to other areas of social life' (Wood 1998: 229).

As a consequence of the post-modernist paradigm of *fusion*, the 'tourist gaze' became partly indistinguishable from all sorts of other social practices (Urry 2002: 74). Thus, many scholars support the view that the distinction between the 'hosts and guests of tourism are no longer so easily perceived' (Halvaksz 2006: 101). Ryan, for example, noted almost two decades ago that a blurring of the boundaries between 'hosts' and 'guests' often occurs when 'tourists' continuously return to a particular destination where they have established strong relationships with the inhabitants. Consequently, these 'guests' 'become part of, but not from, the host community' (Ryan 1991, in O'Reilly 2003: 308). As 'tourism and other aspects of culture are becoming "dedifferentiated"' (Wood 1998: 223), new interwoven modes of tourism practice arise. Moreover, it is the creativity of postmodern tourism, partly driven by economic determination, and the dedifferentiated character of its nature that inform the 'development'-*alization* of tourism; that is, the integration of the 'development' discourse, knowledge, and action into the tourism experience.

I knew a person who lived in Tihovene, close to Canhane, for seven years. His last job was supplying water to the town, waking up every day at five in the morning and arriving home at nine at night. One day he told me: 'I'm tired of my life. I've an idea for a tourism project. The project was thought to be implemented here, close to the Massingir Dam, but I'm tired of this. I need to be close to the sea'.[31] He said that he knew a community leader of a village on the northern coastal area of Mozambique, close to the city of Nampula, who could give him land to implement the tourism business. 'Because you work with tourism and come

[31] Conversation with Tihovene resident, October 1, 2009.

from Germany, can't you find aid funds to support this?' he asked me. 'You could be my managing partner, and the main goal would be to support community development in the community of my friend. I would stay there, in the office, while you could be travelling elsewhere'. The 'office' he was referring to was *the lodge*, which in this way embodied the merging character of 'community development' *in* tourism.

The way in which 'development' and tourism merges into each other (developmentourism) is informed worldwide by the engagement of multiple players. The private sector, governments, NGOs, media, the 'tourists', and the 'hosts' all assist in the creation and promotion of tourism as a 'developmental' act. For instance, not long after the tsunami hit the coastlines of the Indian Ocean on December 26, 2004, the president of the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) said: 'If you want to help us, book your trip now' (Cater 2006: 29). Cravatte and Chabloz have shown how some French associations use tourism to support sustainable 'development' in 'southern countries'. Focusing particularly on the village of Doubou in Burkina Faso, the authors analyzed the ways in which the NGO Tourism & Développement Solidaires embraced and put into practice the feeling of solidarity between the 'tourists' and the inhabitants of the village visited (Cravatte and Chabloz 2008). Kate Simpson also gave eloquent evidence about the currently intimate relation between tourism and 'development'. Focused on a specific 'gap year' industry – its targets were young people who took a 'gap year' between school and university – the author examined the way 'development' is promoted and sold through international volunteer tourism. Accordingly, the 'gap year' industry creates and promotes a 'geography of need' in which the 'enthusiastic western volunteer … becomes the … agent of development' (Simpson 2004: 685). In a broader sense, Butcher and Smith (2010) addressed volunteer tourism in the 'Third World' as indicative of 'post-development' politics based on the construction of (ethical) identity through the act of consumption, rather than on collective politics, progressive oriented. Finally, to finish this set of examples let me return again to my personal experience in Mozambique, but this time staying outside of the orbit of the 'local communities'.

I will shortly refer to a music event that I attended in Tofo in November 2008. As soon as I arrived to this coastal town in the province of Inhambane I was informed by the driver of the *chapa*[32] about 'a nice concert with an amazing band that will take place at the backpackers' lodge on the beach'. Just before I left his vehicle and while I was paying him for the transportation, I asked: 'Shall I see you then at the concert tonight?' He answered me:

[32] Public transport.

'No, no: it is only for tourists'.[33] I just had arrived to one of the most touristic sites in Mozambique.

The concert was formally announced through a promotional poster at the location of the event. It included a text in English, as follows:

[The name of the band]
They are playing for U all tonight to give U a
GOOD TIME and the feeling of Mozambican Traditional
DRUMS and RHYTHMS. They play for free !
U
– in return – could do them a
**BIG FAVOR**
in the form of a **DONATION** for their performance and especially to
finance a new Timbila.
We don't like to charge Entrance Fee or raise our prices to support the Band to get a new
Instrument more we want **U to feel free** in what u
like to spend for this special charitable purpose.

Thanks a lot for UR Support !!
We appreciate UR help !

[emphases in the original]

After persistently being informed about the high quality of the band, I asked the backpackers lodge's staff the reasons for not charging an entrance fee. 'It is better this way',[34] one said. 'Why is that? Will the band get more money from donations than if everyone pays an entrance?' I insisted. The answer was even more vague; 'Well, that we don't know. The tourists that want to support the band will donate money…' In truth, the touristic event was informed by the ideological parameters that join humanitarianism and leisure. The fact that the 'tourist' was put in the position of the charitable supporter contributed to the belittlement of the band. The band was constituted as the *needy group* from the start, while the 'tourists' were placed as the 'donors'. This episode is just one example out many others that show how

[33] Conversation with the driver of the *chapa*, Tofu, November 15, 2008.
[34] Conversation with a member of the staff of the Backpacker's lodge, Tofu, November 15, 2008.

the institutionalization of solidarity is embedded in the common tourism sphere in Mozambique, even in the 'mass backpackers' consumer society.

To that end, the conduct of tourism in Mbueca and Canhane, which expresses dedifferentiation between tourism and 'development', and 'tourist' and 'donor', should not be interpreted *merely* as a 'local' phenomenon. Instead, both reflect a postmodern phenomenon in which tourism consumption is projected into the moral agenda.

## Conclusion

The day before I traveled towards the north of Mozambique in the direction of Mbueca, I talked to a 'development' expert who at that time worked for the German NGO GTZ in Maputo. He pointed out what he considered the 'main structural difference between the Nkwichi and the Covane lodges'.[35] According to him, 'while the Covane promotes tourism based on the community, the Nkwichi exercises tourism on the community – it's like an UFO hovering over the community. In contrast, the tourism in Canhane is built within the community itself'. He added that 'the only similarity between them is that both provide a community experience to the tourists'. However, his words were inaccurate. There are other similarities between the two. Particularly relevant for the purpose of this chapter is that both are based on a policy that promotes 'community development' as a tourist commodity. After doing fieldwork in the two villages, it has become clear that in both cases the principles behind the provision of the 'community experience to the tourists' intersect with the dominant 'development' ideology that hovers over Mozambique.

The view of the 'development' organizations as voluntary, nonprofits, independent, or 'third' sector (e.g., Korten 1990; Fisher 1993; Salamon 1994) that are also separate from market principles contributes to perceptions of the 'development' ideology as part of a moral segment of society. These perceptions are linked with oft-stated aims of *doing good*, helping the *needy other*, and 'community development' in the 'Third World'. What I am trying to demonstrate is that these moral conjectures are now also at the crux of particular forms of tourism and thus have become commodities themselves. Particularly, historical occurrences in Mozambique may inform contextual conditions that have fostered the straight relation between 'development' and tourism in the country. Indeed, after the country's independence, 'during the 1980s and beginnings of the 1990s, the external tourism was dominated by

[35] Conversation with 'development' expert, Maputo, March 28, 2008.

businesses and was basically dominated by the accommodation of the members of International aid' (Guambe 2007: 43).[36]

As tourism diversifies, the representations of 'tourists' also vary. In this section I approached the emergence of such representations by resorting to the *people visited*. The tactful response and adaptation of the residents of Canhane and Mbueca to the simultaneous presence of tourism and 'development' in their villages have led to the representations of 'donors' as 'tourists' (Canhane) and of 'tourists' as 'donors' (Mbueca): tourism and 'development' became dedifferentiated – developmentourism. These two cases in Mozambique also suggest that developmentourism should not be simply seen as an imposition by the 'North' into the 'South': it is in some degree facilitated by the mutual interests of the participants. Conventionally regarded as a 'problem', particularly in its mass form, the 'tourists' are now advocated as a solution for the 'local communities' in the 'Third World'. The figure of the 'tourist' has assumed a 'developmental' and 'moral consumer style', and is strategically constituted into a sort of *aid provider* (i.e., 'the tourists support the community' [Canhane]).

However, both cases of dedifferentiation must be seen in the light of the broader moral and economic order in which the 'local communities' in Mozambique, and all of Africa, are situated. This means those who seek to put their *underdevelopmentness* up for sale, to profit from what makes them different, find themselves having to do so under the universally recognizable terms in which their difference is represented (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 24). The commodifying impact of *underdevelopmentness* can be interpreted as a way of 'community empowerment' in the sense that generates market mentalities, and that the 'local communities' become more integrated in a worldwide (market) system. However, one may also consider that such commodification processes increment their dependency status from the wider system where the 'local communities' are now located and on which their residents have to rely. More precisely, the representations of 'donor' and 'tourist' in Mbueca and Canhane are a reflex of the market, ruled by tourism and 'development' principles, where the members of the 'communities' act, as product, producers, and sellers. The cases of Mbueca and Canhane, and the dedifferentiated 'tourist', thus inform the wider context in which they operate, and demonstrate how 'development' in the 'Third World' has become part of the entertainment industry. That is to say, the two villages confirm the incessant creation of new consumer markets and products induced by the expansion of neoliberalism.

[36] Portuguese in the original.

In conclusion, Mbueca and Canhane illustrate the complex ways in which the global regime of 'development', worldwide economy, politics of consumption, universalized conceptions of morality, 'local' performance, and the disposing of 'community' interact in, and are part of, modern tourism.

It might be worth taking the last suggestion (disposing of 'community') further because, as essentials of developmentourism in the 'South', 'development' and tourism advance in constituting subdomains of populations that are rhetorically defined and placed in a way that can be *workable* and *marketable*: 'the communities'. Moreover, this is manifested at different levels. For example, when I returned to Canhane in September 2008 after an absence of two and a half months I was often asked the same question by Canhane residents: 'What did you bring to the community?' This happened in situations when I was among a group of people, but also when I was with just one other person. That is, even when I was alone with another individual, I was questioned in the name of 'the community' and not in the name of the man or woman that was with me. Not only did they not use the term 'to me', but they also did not use 'to us'. Instead, the prevailing expression was, 'what did you bring to *the community*'.[37]

The effort put in this chapter seeks to emphasize that in tourism we are dealing with the nature of representation, and how the meanings of words such as 'tourist' and 'donor' are socially constructed, apprehended, and adapted by host societies. It follows that 'community' is another key concept that must be analyzed to understand the nature of developmentourism. In the next section I will try to show that, while fostering morality in tourism, the so called 'community-based tourism' uses the discourse of 'development' and contributes to incorporating the 'development' rationale into the domain of the societies labelled 'communities'. Indeed, 'community' has become an idea to attract attention and, particularly, funding. The argument will be to a large degree empirical, mostly based on the village of Canhane.

[37] The only time the community leader of Canhane, for example, expressively spoke in his name to me was when I said goodbye to him in December 2008, after almost one year being in the village. He said then: 'It was nice that you didn't get ill while living in Canhane, because your friends outside would think of Canhane as bad. And João, next time you return don't forget to bring me a remembrance'.(*)
(*) Conversation with community leader of Canhane, December 3, 2008.

# 3 Beyond ‘Community-based Tourism’

## ‘Development’ and the Moral Project of ‘Community’


**Figure 27** – Entrance to Canhane village (photograph by the author, January 30, 2008).

On February 17, 2008, the ordinary quietness of Canhane was disrupted by a big ceremony of *lobolo* (bridewealth). The village was unrecognizable during the event; lots of people were together, dancing, singing, drinking, talking loudly, or sitting more discretely in the *background*. A television connected to a battery was set up outside of the house of the fiancé’s parents, playing loud music to the delight of the children who filled the place. I was asked several times to take pictures of people who wanted to be photographed dancing close to the television (Figure 28). I took photographs of three people, until a woman came to me and said: ‘Don’t photograph her: she doesn’t deserve it’.[1] Without having time to say anything, I was instantly surrounded by women who started arguing and screaming at each other. Not far away, many adults were also seated around containers of canhu drink. People were spread around separate gatherings (Figure 29). Some of them were not from Canhane.

[1] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 17, 2008.

According to a teacher from the primary school, they had come from other villages essentially 'hoping to find free meat to eat'.[2] Nevertheless, the place was mostly crowded with Canhane residents, which apparently did not discourage the emergence of intrigue. 'Look that man over there! I haven't seen him here for long time… opportunist',[3] commented a young resident about other Canhaner. His critical observation was based on the fact that the family who gave the party was giving the guests free drinks and food. At least one bull had been killed for the occasion.

During the party I approached the community leader, who was drinking canhu with a large group of people. He instantly got up and came toward me, as if he felt that I wanted to speak with him in private, which was partly the case. Since I had arrived in Canhane, I had had only occasional and brief talks with him, and we were always surrounded by other people. I asked him when, and if, we could meet alone. He told me he was available then, although he added it would be nicer for me to enjoy the party. I agreed and we scheduled my first interview with him for the early afternoon of the next day.

We were also in the depth of canhu season (*época do canhu*). The *customary* ceremony of *cupácha* that each year formalizes the beginning of the Canhu's season in Canhane had taken place on February 2, two weeks before the lobolo's event. Thus, countless people who remained at the party consumed large amounts of the 'traditional' beer (fermented canhu fruits), each one drinking it through a *nzécuo* in one gulp (Figure 30). Many were drunk all day. Perhaps partly because of that, the social environment became increasingly tense, with arguments taking a prominent role, particularly among the women. In one occasion, for example, one of the two priests of the Twelve Apostles' church in Canhane joined the group I was in, and after a couple of minutes, one said: 'Let us amuse ourselves and play a game'.[4] 'What?' other man replied vociferously, 'but we are drinking canhu now: aren't we amusing ourselves?' The priest, who is known in the village for his integrity and commitment to the principles of the church, shook his head while looking at the ground, expressing his disappointment. He answered him: 'Of course not. Canhu is only for us to get drunk, and calls for problems and conflicts. The game is for amusement'.

Archaeological evidence shows the *Canhoeiro*[5] (the marula tree that bears the canhu fruit) was a source of nutrition for the populations in southern Africa as long as ago as 10,000

[2] Conversation with teacher from Canhane school, Canhane, February 17, 2008.
[3] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 17, 2008.
[4] Conversation among Canhane residents, Canhane, February 17, 2008.
[5] *Nkanhu* in Shangane.

B.C. In the present, the canhu season is an important period in Canhane: it is a time when people have socially approved motives to join together during certain hours and consume a specific alcoholic drink. Most importantly, such a drink symbolizes reciprocal interaction. Canhu drink is valuable because it gives people the opportunity to socialize. Basically, each family is expected to invite others to share the canhu drink that family has produced.[6] The social connotation of this 'traditional' drink goes beyond the 'local' sphere in contemporary Mozambique. Speaking on January 31, 2009 in Xitevele, in the Boane district, west of Maputo, Mozambican President Armando Guebuza connected the traditional ceremony of the opening of canhu season to strengthening the unity and interaction of all Mozambican citizens.[7]

In Canhane, the canhu season is also a time when infidelities among married people are tolerated to some extent. The canhu drink is said 'to give sexual power in people'.[8] Its aphrodisiac connotation means that people excuse sexual behavior that would be severely reproved if it happened during any other time of the year. Indeed, according to what I was told by an elder of the village, 'in the old times, women couldn't drink canhu close to the men! But now everyone does it together – women, men – and that contributes to a lot of agitation'.[9] Customarily, the canhu drink also promotes friendly relationships between mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law. By offering the drink to the son-in-law, the mother-in-law can ask, the following day, about the *effects* of the drink on his sexual performance, and therefore be informed of the intimate life of the couple.

All this is to say that if one side of the canhu season in Canhane reinforces the social links between the residents, the other side reveals 'internal' divergences, conflicts, and dissimilarities. Canhu's usefulness for social interaction and *togetherness* induces public confrontations. In this vein, the combination of popular *communion* and morally free circumstances during the canhu season amplifies 'internal' frictions in the village. These social dynamics inform what Guijt and Shah called 'the darker side of traditional communities' (Guijt and Shah 1998: 8). In other words, Canhane as a 'community' is de-homogenized and de-moralized.

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[6] After produced, the canhu drink is good for about 24 hours before it becomes spoilt.
[7] Mozambican News Agency, http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news/newsletter/aim372.html#story2, accessed January 14, 2010.
[8] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, March 4, 2008.
[9] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 20, 2008.

**Figure 28** – Man with hat dancing after asking me to be photographed (photograph by the author, February 17, 2008).

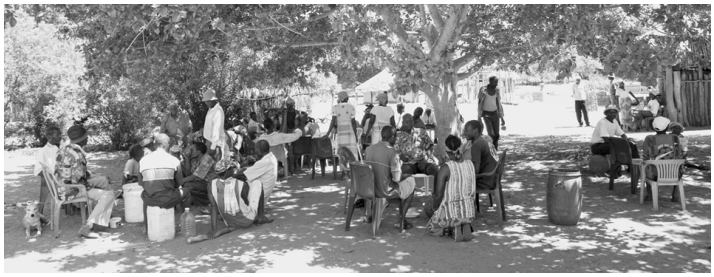

**Figure 29** – Canhu's gatherings at the lobolo's event (photograph by the author, February 17, 2008).

**Figure 30** – Woman drinking canhu through a nzécuo (photograph by the author, February 17, 2008).

**Figure 31** – People dancing at the lobolo's ceremony (photograph by the author, February 17, 2008).

One of the newest buildings in Canhane is a brick house that faces the main road that cuts the village into two main blocks. Neighborhoods one and two are on one side of the road, and neighborhoods three and four are on the other side. The house (Figure 32) was empty and closed, at least until the end of December 2008, when I left the village. 'It is a business project that I have had in my mind since long time ago; it will have salt, biscuits,

and juices',[10] the entrepreneur told me. He has eleven sons, two wives, and was born in 1966 in Canhane. On the front of the house are two prominent words, which announce the name of the business: 'No Jellus'. I questioned him about the reason for that expression: 'Is "No Jellus" the name of the house, the name of the business or a sort of statement of principles that you want to make public while the establishment is still closed?' He answered: 'I order someone to paint those words because that is the name of the store. I chose that because it is important for us to be less jealous of each other. There is a lot of envy in Canhane that makes people blind about what really matters'. 'No Jellus' informs a broader context in the village, that is, the dissimilarities among the residents, which in turn partly inform why people begrudge each others. 'Let's put our hates, divergences, and gossip away and start working hard instead', the entrepreneur concluded. Against visions of 'communities' in Mozambique as homogenized populations wholly grounded in a subsistence economy, and/or magical-religious economic power dependent on communication with ancestors (Feliciano 1998), 'No Jellus' put strong emphasis on individual agency and is evidence of the presence of processes of social differentiation, in particular those based on personal accumulation of resources and wealth. Underlying his *emancipator potential* is the individualization role of modern economics. Moreover, the focus of 'No Jellus' is also moral: the need for some people in Canhane to stop being envious. It is worth remembering this, because it informs the current (im)moral practices in the village that are acknowledged by its own members. That is, Canhane is a society also, and not exclusively, constituted of immoral conducts.

[10] Conversation with Canhane entrepreneur, Canhane, March 14, 2008.


**Figure 32** – Business 'No Jellus' (photograph by the author, March 10, 2008).

What all this means in practice is that there is no uniformity in the social structure of Canhane. Some men own more than sixty oxen, while other men have none. Some adult men have more than two wives, while other men have no wife. Some adults have more than twelve sons, while others have no sons. Some families live in brick houses, and other families live in mud huts. There are literates and illiterates, people who are fluent in three languages (Portuguese, English, and Shangane) and people who speak only the 'local' language (Shangane), people who have migrated and people who never migrated. Moreover, besides the cult of ancestors and witchcraft, there are three distinct churches in Canhane: Twelve Apostles, Assembly of God, and Zion. All these differences inform, and are informed by, the heterogeneous character of Canhane.

Yet what Canhane exemplifies in state, 'development' and tourism discourses is a model of homogeneity: a 'community'. Canhane could be a model, but a model with its own built-in tensions, individualities, (im)moralities, divergences, and diversities. Why is the everyday world of Canhane residents discursively flattened – homogenised – in contexts of developmentourism?

Canhane residents in the village

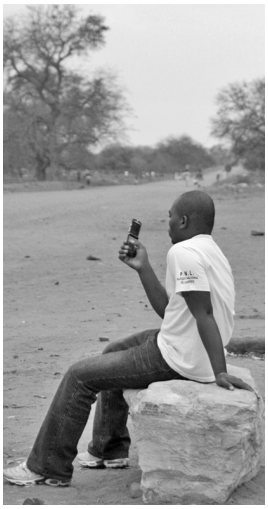

**Figure 33** (photograph by the author, September 7, 2006).

**Figure 34** (photograph by the author, February 3, 2008).

**Figure 35** (photograph by the author, October 2, 2008).

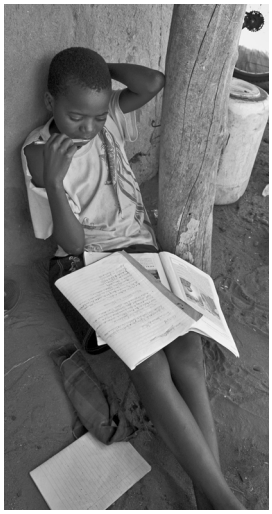

**Figure 36** (photograph by the author, March 26, 2008).

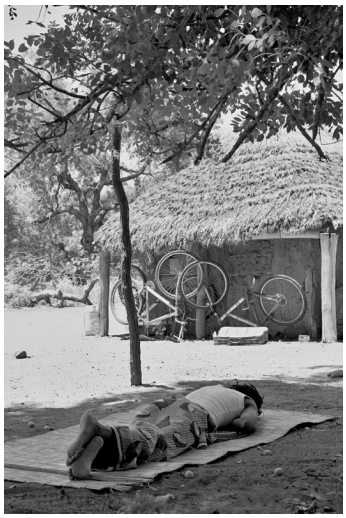

**Figure 37** (photograph by the author, February 3, 2008).

**Figure 38** (photograph by the author, March 6, 2008).

**Figure 39** (photograph by the author, March 12, 2008).

**Figure 40** (photograph by the author, October 16, 2008).

## The *We-less* Presentation of 'Community'

The first time I interviewed the community leader of Canhane in private was on the day after the aforementioned lobolo´s event. He was waiting for me under the shadow of a tree near his house at two o'clock in the afternoon. His punctuality was indicative of the formality he adopted for the entire interview. As soon as he started talking, a word emerged as dominant in his discourse: '*comunidade*' ['community']. He pronounced this word in Portuguese innumerable times, embedded in the rest of the Shangane vocabulary. The frequency at which he employed it was notable, as if it was part of his recurrent Shangane language. Shangane is not the only language with which people have difficulty expressing certain concepts, leading to adoption of foreign words. That difficulty is common in every language. For instance, it is not by chance that it is hard to find correspondence for the term *saudade* in languages other than Portuguese. This is because such a concept is natural in Portugal. Accordingly, 'community' is a foreign concept to Canhane.

The interview was divided essentially into two parts; the first was concerned with the history of Canhane, while the second was more focused on the venture in 'community-based tourism'. It was in the second part of the interview that he really began using the term 'community', pronouncing it several times. At one point, he said, 'the community is benefiting from tourism. For example, because of tourism revenues the community now has a new classroom, which helps the education of the sons of the community'.[11] In two sentences, he employed the term 'community' three times, all in the context of benefits of tourism. As a

[11] Interview with the community leader of Canhane, Canhane, February 18, 2008.

substitute he could have opted for the pronoun 'we' or its possessive ('our') – e.g., *we are benefiting from tourism*, instead of 'the community is benefiting from tourism'; or, *education of our sons*, instead of 'education of the sons of the community'. This short example illustrates well his degree of linguistic choice ('community') to (re)present the residents of Canhane and this prevailed in all our meetings. Moreover, his repetition of the word was in line with a commonplace discourse used by many residents of Canhane with those whom they call 'the tourists'.[12]

In this section, I am interested in what underlies the (strategic) usage and appropriation of the concept of 'community' 'from below', particularly in the context of ongoing 'community-based' ventures. What might the appropriation and use of the term 'community' by the Canhaners, as a way to represent themselves, reveal about the nature of the movement in which they participate?

## The Significance of 'Community'

The phenomenon of this word in the village was not exclusive to this interview, nor is it a 'local' characteristic. In fact, the category of 'community' has spread all over Mozambique, becoming integrated into the political, economic, and social dominant discourse in the country. According to the Mozambican writer Mia Couto (2005: 17), there has been an expansion of concepts informing the potentialities and ways of 'developing' the nation: 'local communities' is the latest buzzword in the country. In Mozambique, in all the printed editions of the popular newsweekly *Savana* in 2009, the word 'tribe(s)'[13] appeared 24 times, 'locality/localities'[14] appeared 40 times, 'collectivity/collectivities'[15] 67 times, 'village(s)'[16] 110, 'region(s)'[17] 182, and 'community/communities'[18] 272 times.[19]

[12] See previous chapter.
[13] *Tribo(s)*, in the original.
[14] *Localidade(s)*, in the original.
[15] *Colectividade(s)*, in the original.
[16] *Vila(s)*, in the original.
[17] *Região/regiões*, in the original.
[18] *Comunidade(s)*, in the original.
[19] 51 editions of the *Savana* newspaper (pdf version) were analyzed.

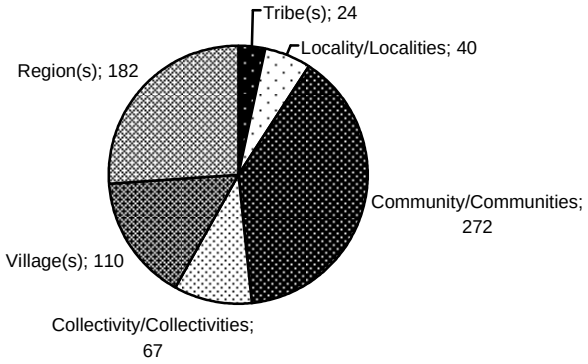


**Figure 41** – Rate of appearance of certain words in Jornal Savana (2009).

The massive contemporary adoption of the term 'community' is observed in the manner in which questions of politics, economics, law, environment, ethnicity, 'development', and tourism are being articulated in present-day Mozambique. Particularly, 'communities' can be instrumentalised as a means of moralising state and economic politics, even if in practical terms this leads to ambiguous ends. Let me give an example.

On May 17, 2008, a seminar titled 'The New Modalities of Tourism Activities' was held in the city of Maputo. The main speaker was the Assistant Director of Tourism in Mozambique. According to him, he was responsible for all current legislation concerning tourism in the country. His presentation was focused almost exclusively on the legislative regulations of tourism investment and implementation. At one point, with the formality that accompanied his entire presentation, he announced: 'All the tourist businesses in Mozambique – like hotels, lodges, pensions – have to give five per cent of their incomes to the local community. It is the law!'[20] He continued throughout his speech in an instructive and informative way, ending by discussing the ethical basis that supported such legislation. In the end, the aim of his presentation became quite evident: to inform the audience of the benefits of tourism for, what he repeatedly called, 'our local communities'. As he finished his presentation, a pertinent question arose from the audience: 'Which community is paid by the hotels at the city centre of Maputo?' The Assistant Director of Tourism hesitated for a few seconds, before his answer came: 'There we have a problem', he said, 'it is something to be resolved in the regulation'.

[20] Presentation made by the Assistant Director of Tourism in Mozambique, FACIM - Feira Internacional de Maputo, Maputo, May 17, 2008.

His public embarrassment derived from the broader incongruity and ambiguity that inform some of the national laws in Mozambique. Curiously, he had corroborated this in his contribution for an edited volume titled *Tourism and Local Development*. In the chapter *The Role of the Central State in the Regulation of Tourism Sector* he wrote: 'The public administration of tourism, the national organization of tourism, and the law of tourism are areas insufficiently studied in Mozambique. It is not by chance that the emergence of law of tourism in Mozambique is not questioned yet' (Chambal 2007: 69).[21] Specifically, tourism regulation is based on a conception of Mozambique as a compound of 'local communities'. It is as if there is no 'non-community' setting in the country. For example, according to the Mozambican Strategic Program for 2005-2009 (*Programa Quinquenal do Governo*), while contributing to 'poverty alleviation', the development of tourism in Mozambique must 'respect cultural values and stimulates the self-esteem of communities' (República de Moçambique 2005: 127, in Valá 2007: 19).[22] Facing this exclusive perspective, possible questions that could have arisen in the seminar would be: What is a 'local community'? Who is or are the legitimate representatives of 'local communities'? According to the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, article 1 of law number 19, from July 18, 2007, 'local community' is defined as follows:

> A group of families and individuals, living within a territorial circumscription of the level of locality or inferior, which aims the safeguard of common interests through the protection of housing areas, agricultural areas, cultivated or fallow land, forests, localities of cultural importance, pastures, water sources, and areas of expansion.[23]

Small-scale 'territorial circumscription', shared 'common interests', and (*cultural*) *ruralism* are the three most basic characteristics defining the term. In such an understanding 'local communities' are essentially located in *rural landscapes* – not in *urban* as the centre of Maputo implies – and are directly connected with nature ('agricultural areas', 'forests', 'water sources', 'pastures'). In this definition the 'community' members appear to have an intuitive sense of tie with nature. But most importantly, they are projected as acting homogeneously in relation to the 'safeguarding' of their 'common interests', which transmits

[21] Portuguese in the original.
[22] Portuguese in the original.
[23] Portuguese in the original.

the idea of the 'local community' members thinking in a single (shared) way. This is an issue to keep in mind, because, as I shall elaborate, it relies on a high degree of stereotyping based on conceptualisation of the homogeneous 'other'. As addressed by Gerd Baumann (1996: 8) in the context of the Southall area in Greater London, by conventionalising individuals 'as "belonging to" or even "speaking for" a pre-defined "community" one runs the risk of tribalizing people'. For this reason Fraser (1997) proposed the concept of 'public' – which implies a plurality of perspectives, an arena that is unbounded – in substitution of 'community'.

The pitfall of using 'local community' in the tourism regulation context is its use without application of practical law in 'modern' Mozambique, along with the impracticability of so-called 'community development' through tourism. Put simply, five percent of tourism revenues cannot be effectively given to unrealistic counter-modern entities, abstractions which are said to be the beneficiaries. The problem of identifying 'local communities' is not exclusive to the centre of Mozambique's bigger cities, such as Maputo, Beira, Nampula, Tete, Quelimane, and so on. The post-colonial policy of villagisation and the increasing urbanisation of the country, particularly in the coastal area where tourism investment is more evident, has geographically, architectonically, and socially incorporated the hypothetical 'group of families and individuals, living within a territorial circumscription' into a continuum urban space. The coastal towns of Pemba, Vilanculo, and Tofo – the busiest tourist regions in Mozambique – are good examples of this.

In the middle of November 2008 I stayed at one lodge in Tofo. When I first arrived, I noticed a prominent phrase on a poster at the reception desk: 'Contribution for community service'. While I filled in the booking sheet, I asked the two receptionists about it. As I was having difficulty getting even a hint as to which 'community' their poster was referring, a Mozambican middle-aged guest who was close by interrupted my questions and told me: 'Don't you get it? That is only noise, without any applicability. You find that kind of buzz-slogans throughout all the lodges in Mozambique!'[24] He worked for a Dutch NGO based in Maputo, and was in Tofo collecting data for a project on, as he put it, 'poverty eradication through tourism'. As he explained to me later, his impetuous remark was informed by his experience working for both tourism and 'development' industries in the country. He confirmed something that has become obvious in modern rhetoric of Mozambique: 'community' has been appropriated by the discourse of tourism and 'development' to gain

[24] Commentary by NGO 'expert', Tofo, November 15, 2008.

moral credibility for their ventures. The main idea underlying his comment was that tourism entrepreneurs mask their economic motives with a discourse of 'community interest'. The association of the term 'community' with tourism management and planning schemes themselves alludes to business and moralistic public interests as being one and the same.

Mozambique has one state university specializing in tourism. The *Escola Superior de Hotelaria e Turismo de Inhambane* (Hotel Management and Tourism School of Inhambane) is located in Inhambane City, the capital of Inhambane province, which is around fifteen kilometres from Tofo. According to its vice-president, 'Inhambane is one of the poorest provinces in Mozambique, but at the same time it's by far the province with more tourism investment in the country,[25] particularly because of Tofo'.[26] Although working for a state institution, she openly manifested her criticism over the governmental politics of tourism development to me; 'but I'm hundred percent Mozambican, don't misunderstand me!' she repeated several times in-between her argumentations. 'When the tourism investors arrive here', she said at one point, 'they announce the local communities will benefit a lot, and they compromise with that, but the truth is they keep all the benefits for them; and the statistics prove it. So, what communities are they referring about? Their families? The South Africans? Mozambican elites? For sure, not the local communities I know'. In the end, as Mia Couto (2005: 139) said, 'nobody [in Mozambique] knows exactly what a community is. Nobody knows the ones that are part of that collectivity'.[27]

Despite the nebulous connotations of 'community', the past few decades have witnessed a burgeoning number of official projects in the 'South' with the prefix 'community' attached to them (Kumar 2005: 275). Following this conceptual flow, the tourism sector has been increasingly embracing the term 'community' to legitimate tourism plans. The term is now widespread in the tourism literature, yet such literature rarely recognises the term's conceptual difficulties (Blackstock 2005: 41). In straight economic terms, the lack of clarity as to the meaning of 'community' is not critical. The moral value of

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[25] Among the ten provinces of the country (not counting Maputo's capital, which has a special administrative regime), official data of the year 2007 shows that Inhambane is the province with more hotels (694, corresponding to 26,50% of the total), motels (64, corresponding to 31,53% of the total), foreign guests (17465, corresponding to 25,09% of the total) and overnights spent by foreigners (74438, corresponding to 41,56% of the total) in Mozambique (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2008: 96).

[26] Interview with the vice-president of Hotel Management and Tourism School of Inhambane, Inhambane City, February 6, 2008.

[27] Portuguese in the original.

the word 'community' informs *per se* the economic potential of transmitting a straight association between tourism businesses and 'community' welfare. Especially in the global 'South', where the characteristic of scarcity is projected worldwide, the term 'community' has a value-added business concept.

*Support 'community development'* is a dominant slogan promoting Mozambique as a tourism destination. International travel agencies as RealGap Experience,[28] GoEco,[29] Frontier,[30] Wava,[31] United Planet,[32] Kaya Responsible Travel,[33] All Out Africa,[34] Amanzi Travel,[35] ColtGap,[36] and Viaggi Solidali,[37] to mention only a few, sell developmentourism packages in which the tourist becomes a social worker contributing to 'community development' in Mozambique. In Canhane, on the front of the Covane lodge's office, there is a single poster advertising a tourism partnership between the Canhane's 'community-based' venture with the 'development' organisation Open Africa, which 'is a non-profit organisation under the patronage of Nelson Mandela … [Its] vision is to link the splendours of Africa in a network of job creating conservation-oriented tourism routes [that] take you to places that you will otherwise not see: Authentic places'.[38] Under the institutional slogan 'Travel Africa and help to spread wealth and expand biodiversity', Canhane is organised by the 'development' organisation as one of the 'Communities in Africa's rural and marginalised areas [that] are the custodians of most of the world's nature and cultural treasures. They badly need the money we are willing to pay to see these splendours … This is why Open Africa is joining these threads, so that you and I can experience the true soul of this magnificent continent whilst bringing succour and nourishment to where it is most needed'.[39]

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[28] http://www.realgap.com/Mozambique-Community-Development, accessed October 9, 2010.
[29] http://www.goeco.org/project/67/Volunteer_in_Mozambique_Community_Education_and_Work, accessed October 9, 2010.
[30] http://www.frontier.ac.uk/gap_year_projects/Mozambique/Mozambique_Community_Development, accessed October 9, 2010
[31] http://www.workandvolunteer.com/Programme/?pgid=366, accessed October 9, 2010.
[32] http://www.unitedplanet.org/volunteer-in-mozambique-long-term, accessed October 9, 2010.
[33] http://www.kayavolunteer.com/destinations/continent/Africa, accessed October 9, 2010.
[34] http://www.alloutafrica.com/volunteers/project.php?id=48, accessed October 9, 2010.
[35] http://www.amanzitravel.co.uk/product/africa/south_africa/volunteer_project/community_development_volunteer_project/mozambique_pre-school_teaching_and_hiv/aids_awareness_av010.html, accessed October 9, 2010.
[36] http://www.coltgap.com, accessed October 9, 2010.
[37] http://www.viaggisolidali.it/elencoPartenzeDest.php?aGeo=2&dst=16, accessed June 3, 2010.
[38] http://www.openafrica.org/page/about, accessed May 17, 2010.
[39] http://www.openafrica.org/page/about, accessed May 17, 2010.

The mention of scarcity and in turn the *promotion* of 'community development' in tourist experience is most often a marketing maneuver; a communication approach using moral appeals and *good reasons* in the market segmentation of tourism industry. Moreover, the active involvement of 'development' organizations in the promotion of 'community development' through tourism is leading to dedifferentiation between tourism and 'development' industries in Mozambique.[40] In this context 'community development' is most of all an ideological concept that empowers the 'development' sector via tourism. As an influent manager of the Limpopo National Park once told me, 'like the travel agencies, all NGOs only work when they get money. It is as simple as this: NGOs depend on raising money, otherwise they close the doors. These people from the NGOs are experts in creating problems, and after, they go to ask money to the donors saying that they know how to solve them'.[41] In other words, the projection of distinctive landscapes of *problems* in the 'South' – imagined geographies – by both 'development' organizations and travel agencies produces mapped market opportunities.

Particularly evident at the tourism conference in Maputo, the term 'community' is reduced to a mere rhetorical political and economic expression that in turn projects a positive moral intention. As Kumar (2005: 277) said, 'community' is one type of word that has never been used in a negative sense: people never want to say they are against 'community'. Most importantly, the Maputo conference and the episode in Tofo illustrate the way development of tourism in Mozambique is to a large degree based on a moral extend. This is manifested, among others, by national, regional, and 'local' appropriation and reproduction of the dominant global discourse of 'community'.

## The (Non)Concept of 'Community'

'Community' is a core construct in social thinking. It has been increasingly central in political, religious, academic, and popular discourse. Especially since Charles Galpin's sociological approach to the concept in 'The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community' in 1915, numerous disputed attempts have been made to define 'community' (Harper and Dunham 1959: 19). It is beyond the scope of this work to engage in such countless definitions

[40] See previous chapter.
[41] Interview with manager of the Limpopo National Park, offices of the park, October 31, 2010.

that have been suggested in both scientific and practical domains. Nevertheless, it is important to address that a clear definition of 'community' remains a problem (Wolf 2005: 10); capturing the essence of the term is still an unfulfilled project within contemporary social science literature (Gauld 2000, in Kumar 2005: 276). This is because 'community' relies on abstractions (Hart 1998: xxxiii). Correspondingly, Bauman (2000: 169) stressed that 'There is commotion around … community mainly because it is less and less clear whether the realities which the portraits of "community" claim to represent are much in evidence, and if such realities can be found'.

Despite its vagueness, the concept of 'community' is historically situated in critiques of modernity. Early sociologists saw the very idea of advancing modern society as being in opposition to the ideals underlying the morals of 'community'. Such images of societal evolution influenced, for example, Ferdinand Tönnies' formulation of evolvement from *Gemeinschaft*, characterized by 'intimate, private, and exclusive living together' (Bender 1978: 17, in Agrawal and Gibson 1999: 633), to *Gesellschaft*, representing openness and 'essentially urban productive society' (Robinson 1995: 22). The essential basis of this view was that human harmony, closeness, and companionship ('community' or the German Gemeinschaft) were being replaced by individualism, disharmony, and insecurity (modern society).

To Zygmunt Bauman (2000), the accelerating 'liquefaction' of modern life, subjugated by motion and uncertainty, the superiority of speed over slowness, exterritoriality over locality, leads to a diffuse anxiety about the present and the future. This, in turn, means precariousness and propagation of conditions of insecurity. While globalisation expands opportunity, information, and economic growth, it also leads to inequality of incomes and might decrease human security. As spaces have become more closely linked, insecurity in one place can affect the sense of security in other places. Consequently, public discourse has become increasingly characterised by a rhetoric of insecurity, often taking the form of the rhetoric of war. The greatest (paradoxical) example of this was given by Barack Obama in his Nobel Peace Prize address, in December 2009. Far from giving a message of peace, he gave a speech on war. Indeed, in his entire talk, the word 'war', in singular and plural forms, was pronounced 44 times.[42]

[42] According to the transcript of Barack Obama's speech at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in Oslo on December 10, 2010 as released by the White House.
http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/11/world/europe/11prexy.text.html, accessed February 11, 2010.

The vision of ‘community’ represents precisely the opposite; it ‘is that of an island of homely and cosy tranquillity in a sea of turbulence and inhospitality’ (Bauman 2000: 182). ‘Community’ has become a source of peacefulness and cosiness in an insecure world; therefore, the ongoing acclamation of ‘communitarian’ ideas and their rising global popularity rely on the promise of the antithesis of modernity: a safe haven, a dream destination, and groups to which people can belong, certainly and forever – an inclusive system. In Bauman’s (2000: 172) own words, ‘The inner harmony of the communal world shines and glitters against the background of the obscure and tangled jungle which starts on the other side of the turnpike’.

The ‘solidarity’ and ‘companionship’ inherent in promulgated ideas of ‘community’ triggered Bauman’s idea of being wanted and belonging. Despite the free-floating definition of ‘community’, the concept is generally approached as a value (Frazer 1999: 76); *something good*. ‘Community’, Tuan (2002: 307) said, ‘is considered good because its members cooperate’. The use of ‘community’ has remained ‘associated with the hope and the wish of reviving … the closer, warmer, more harmonious type of bonds between people’ (Hoggett 1997: 5). Such a heavenly form of communion and commitment is clearly revealed in the commonplace expression ‘spirit of community’, which necessarily transmits the idea of cooperation.

Therefore, the concept of ‘community’ carries with it a moral significance. It encompasses the metaphorical ‘moral world’, idyllic togetherness of ‘pure’ structure of relationships, which contrasts with competitive and precarious modern life, particularly in urban settings. Raymon Williams, however, counteracted its implicit moral faculty by addressing how ‘community’ in general might be instead an intrinsically dishonest word: ‘It was when I suddenly realised that no-one ever used “community” in a hostile sense that I saw how dangerous it was … What is more important, perhaps, is that unlike all other types of social organisation (state, nation, society, etc.) it seems never to be used unfavourably’ (Williams 1976: 66, in Baumann 1996: 15). It is in this sense that I suggest that the (idealised) idea of ‘community-based’ has been used as a moral rhetoric tool to legitimate projects and policies, particularly in the so-called ‘South’. That is, the category of ‘community’ embodies *per se* moral justification for action. As such, it is used in many contexts where what it means has practical consequences (Wolfe 2005: 10). In Mozambique, from the offices of governmental departments and NGOs in cosmopolitan Maputo, to the countryside villages in Niassa province – a region that the Lonely Planet travel guide

considers 'one of Africa's last frontiers' (Fitzpatrick 2007: 131), and the Financial Times called, 'one of the least-visited, most inaccessible places in Africa' (van der Post 2010: 53) –, the term 'community' is *productively* used for its moral aptitude. As an employee of a tourist lodge in Northern Mozambique told me, 'At the Nkwichi [lodge] they [the managers] are angry with me, because they think I should lie to my community [village of Mbueca, in Niassa], and not reveal what they are doing with the money the donors leave in the lodge for my community. But I can't lie to my community. Nobody should lie to the communities'.[43]

## The Making of 'Community-Based'

The concept of 'community-based' has been particularly endorsed by 'development' institutions such as the World Bank, United Nations, and international NGOs (e.g., Gooneratne and Mbilinyi 1992; Mansuri and Rao 2003; Nel et al. 2001; Stock 1995). The rhetorical spread of 'community-based' in the aid industry has led to the institutionalising of 'communities' as the priority of 'development' work of NGOs; the starting point for any 'community-based' project is demarcating a specific group of people as 'the community' (Sangameswaran 2008: 388).

Taking the perspective of 'development' as an induced necessity, the so-called 'community-based organisations' can be used as channels to foster the 'development' rationale in societies found mostly in rural settings. As Opare (2007: 256) said, in reference to Kaplan's (1996) work, 'Development practitioners in particular have a key role to play in facilitating community-based membership organizations to enhance their ability to engage in … development activities'. In addition to other methods, and in the name of the so-called 'building capacities', this is materialised through the abundant consultations, courses, and workshops promoted at the 'local' level.

In October 2008, I spoke with a staff member of Technoserve in Mozambique. Technoserve was founded in 1968 in the United States of America and is an international organization with a presence in more than twenty countries, mainly in the 'developing world'. The organization's institutional slogan is 'Business Solutions to Poverty' and, as announced on Technoserve's Website, its mission is '[to help] entrepreneurial men and women in poor areas of the developing world to build businesses that create income,

[43] Conversation with employee at the Nkwichi Lodge and Mbueca resident, Mbueca, April 15, 2008.

opportunity and economic growth for their families, their communities and their countries'.[44] Established in Mozambique in 1997, Technoserve began a key intervention in the tourism sector, and Covane Community Lodge in Canhane is one of the five tourism projects that the organization is involved in.[45] I met the Technoserve representative on October 14, 2008 at the Covane Lodge. He was there to present his report on what he called, 'the necessities of the lodge … to make it more competitive in the tourism market'.[46] His presence in Canhane and his report were also in line with a partnership between the 'community' and private investors that was under consideration. He referred to Technoserve most of the time as the 'facilitator' in this process. He said, 'The [Covane] lodge needs an injection of four hundred thousand dollars. The majority is to be spent on infrastructure, but also on consultation services for helping the community'. He added that Technoserve had already secured $150,000 of non-recoverable funds from the Ford Foundation for that end, of which $57,000 would be spent on 'community training'. Meanwhile, the 'community training' services had already been contracted to the company Proserv Tourism Mozambique, which is a subsidiary of Proserv South Africa that in turn is part of the holding company Proserv International.

While I was interviewing the Technoserve representative, we were interrupted by a man in his 30s who was also fluent in Portuguese. It was around five o'clock in afternoon when he came to us and asked the Technoserve consultant: 'Have you brought Baygon?'[47] After the consultant gave a negative response, he insisted: 'Really? So how do you do with all these crazy mosquitoes?' 'They simply don't bite me so much', the consultant replied. 'Uháááuuu, my boy is so lucky. I wish to be like you. I'm a magnet for mosquitoes… I couldn't exist in a place like this: so full of mosquitoes and God knows what else', the man who had interrupted us said. They continued a bit more with the conversation. In the end, already when I was alone with the Technoserve representative, I asked him: 'Who is he?' He said: 'He's an expert on increasing the capacity of rural communities for tourism'. More concretely, he was the Proserv consultant who is going to be responsible for the 'community training' in Canhane. As one of the *external* institutions involved in the 'community-based' venture in

[44] http://www.technoserve.org/who-we-are/index.html, accessed April 8, 2010.
[45] In addition to the Covane Community Lodge, the other projects are: Manda Wilderness (Niassa province), Guludo Beach Lodge and Ibo Island Lodge (both in Cabo Delgado province) and at the Ilha de Moçambique (Nampula province).
[46] Interview with Technoserve representative, Canhane, October 14, 2008.
[47] Baygon is an insecticide brand used for extermination and control of insects in households.

Canhane, Proserv was thus represented by him at the 'development' event at the Covane lodge.

In addition to Technoserve and Proserv, two other institutions were represented in this two-day meeting: NGO LUPA and the African Safari Lodge Foundation. The latter is also a self-described partner of the 'community', aiming 'to set high standards of responsible tourism and to show the way in terms of using tourism for powerful forms of rural development'.[48] The 'community', through the members of the Social Management Committee, participated briefly in the morning's meeting on the second day. When I arrived at the Covane Lodge on that morning around nine o'clock, they were all seated on the wood dividers that divide the area for dancing shows. At the same time, the meeting was taking place in the restaurant of the lodge. 'They told us to leave, because they needed to talk',[49] said one of the members of the Social Management Committee to me. Apparently, the 'community' was in the meeting for half an hour.

What this means is that 'community-based' models are also a way for the 'development' experts and 'development' ideology to infiltrate societies that have been institutionalized as 'communities'. Advocates of 'community-based organisations' highlight their (potential) empowerment character, yet they also emphasise that 'CBOs ['community-based organisations'] need various forms of support to enable them make a productive contribution to rural development' (Opare 2007: 256). Such 'support' comes from external sources, found essentially in 'development' institutions. In Canhane, the 'community-based tourism' enterprise has already justified numerous externally funded actions with respect to so-called 'community capacity building'. Here are some examples of activities undertaken by Helvetas and LUPA:

- Codes of conduct for dealing with tourists (2004).
- Visit to Makuleke Community Centre & Homestay. This 'community-based' lodge is located in the village of Makuleke, ten kilometers from the Punta Maria Gate of Kruger National Park in South Africa. Eleven Canhaners participated in this trip, the ten members of the Social Management Committee of the Covane Lodge and the community leader (2004).

[48] http://www.asl-foundation.org/link_country_moz.php, accessed April 8, 2010.
[49] Conversation with one of the members of the Social Management Committee of the Covane Community Lodge, Canhane, October 15, 2008.

- Handicraft course at the school of Canhane – handicrafts to be sold at the Covane Lodge (2005).
- Management training course for the Social Management Committee and for the manager of Covane Lodge (February 2008).
- English course (March-April 2008).
- Bartending course in Maputo for the receptionist of the Covane Community Lodge (July 2008).
- English course (October 2008).
- Course on conservation and sustainable planting methods (September 30 to October 4, 2008).
- Course for the Assistant director of the Social Management Committee on ‘community ownership of land’, in the town of Xai-Xai (September 2008).
- Workshop on analysis and identification of profitable sections (October 6, 2008) (Figure 42).
- Waiter training course (December 1-5, 2008).

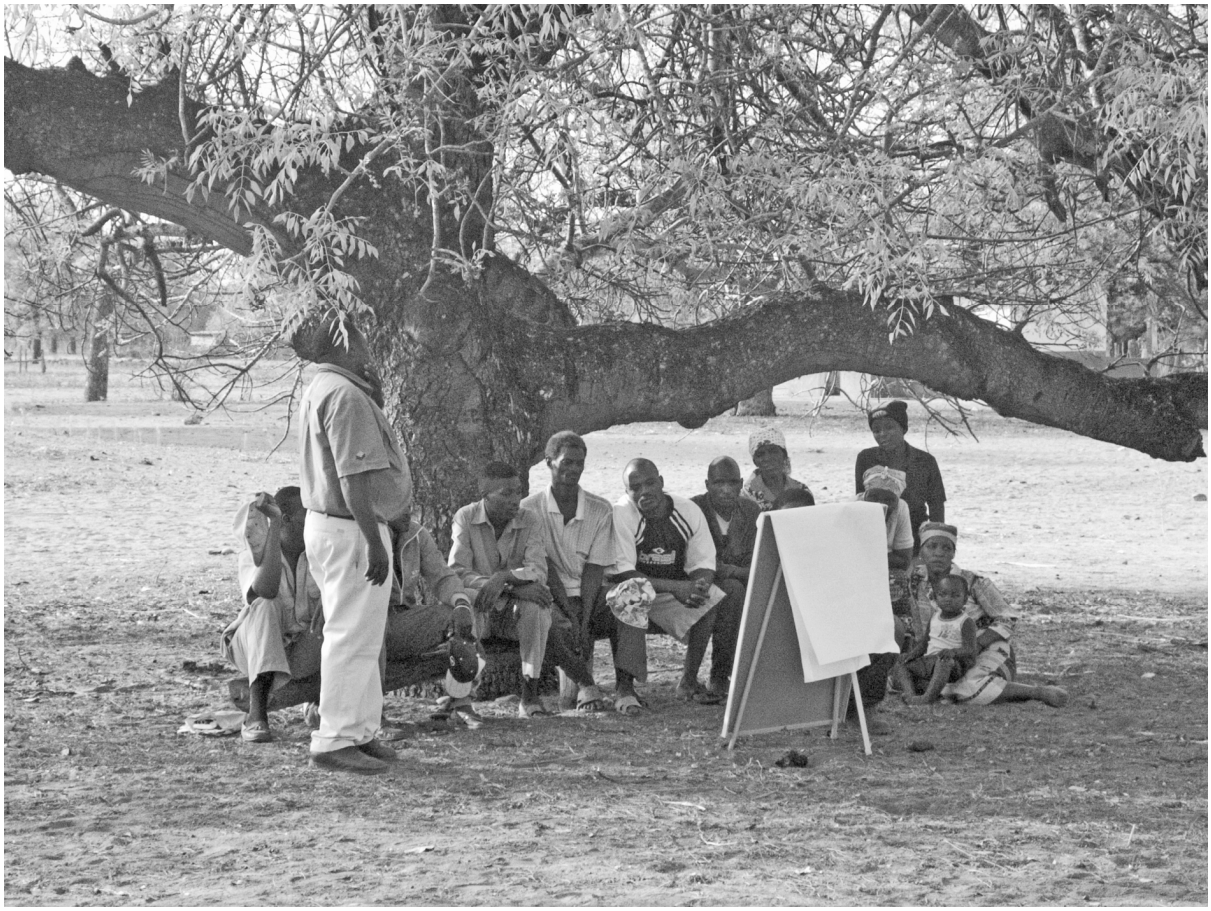

**Figure 42** – Workshop in Canhane (photograph by the author, October 6, 2008).

Given the increasing importance attached to participation and empowerment in conventional 'development' discourse, 'community-based tourism' opens a potential Pandora's Box, as it provides a window of opportunity for 'development' agencies. Manyara et al. (2006, in Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez 2010: 202) warned that 'community-based tourism' could represent a neo-colonial strategy in the way that the majority of such experiences are highly dependent on NGOs and other external agents, contributing thus to the prosperity of those 'non-local' organizations. Indeed, the 'community-based' project in Canhane seems to have been pulling up and nurturing the NGOs behind the developmentourism venture. Every action mentioned was funded by external organizations. The English course undertaken in March and April of 2008, for example, was financed by, as the director of LUPA said, 'Spanish *mola* [spring],[50] from the World Tourism Organization'.[51] This course was taught by the receptionist of the Covane Lodge, which was parodied by the teachers of the primary school in Canhane. As I personally confirmed throughout the time, the receptionist's English was clearly unsatisfactory for teaching purposes. In practical terms, the 'community-based' venture has generated constant and parallel funding for Helvetas and LUPA, which, as the *petitioners*, were responsible for applying that funding in 'community capacity building'. The predominance of such actions shows how the 'community-based' Covane lodge has served as a way of introducing not only tourism and tourists, but also 'development' and 'developers' into the 'community'. The unskilled and needy nature of 'community-based organisations', and every other sort of 'community-based' model, legitimates and intensifies the importance of 'development' apparatus in the 'community' setting; it is a way to appeal to 'development' *expertise*, which in turn becomes a necessity.

[50] In Mozambique, money is commonly mentioned by *mola* (*spring*, in English). Its connotation derives from the fact that money allows people to move.
[51] Interview with the director of LUPA, Maputo, April 1, 2008.

## Meeting Diversity in the 'Community'

On October 6, 2008 a meeting between 'development' experts and 'local' residents was held in Canhane. At this meeting, a framed map of the land of the village was presented to the 'community'. When the map was introduced, the director of the NGO said in Portuguese,[52] 'This map is to tell you how to treat the community land. From now on, you know the areas for tourism development, for agriculture, for pasture, and so on'.[53] After a short pause, he proceeded: 'let me specify: Do you see this red area on the map [pointing at the map (Figure 43)]? This is the area destined for tourism in the community. It is good to know this, because if anyone comes here wanting to invest in tourism, you know now where to lead them. But, count on us to help you in every potential process with tourism investors'. In contrast to the residents of Canhane, this was not the first time I had seen the map. I had seen it on September 17, 2008. The director of NGO LUPA had shown me a small version of it in his office. He was visibly proud of the map, and even asked my opinion about it. He explained that the map was the outcome of a consultancy service done by what he initially called 'a company'. Shortly thereafter, he revealed that the consultancy was done by his wife, who had taken a course on aerospace photography in 2007 at one of the NASA centers in the United States of America.

Later in the meeting, the NGO's director suggested parallel activities for the residents to foster tourism development in the village. In this phase he insisted particularly on handicraft work. In the end, he said, 'and if there is no knowledge in the community on how to do it [handicraft work for tourists], we bring people that know, and they teach you: consultants can come here and help you with that'. Under the halo of 'community participation' and 'participatory rural appraisal', this meeting was reduced to a legitimating process of approval, if not just a mere informative action. As in this context, 'community' indicates a particular kind of *composite reality* invested as a field of/for intervention.

[52] He does not speak Shangane.
[53] Presentation by the director of LUPA, Canhane, October 6, 2008.

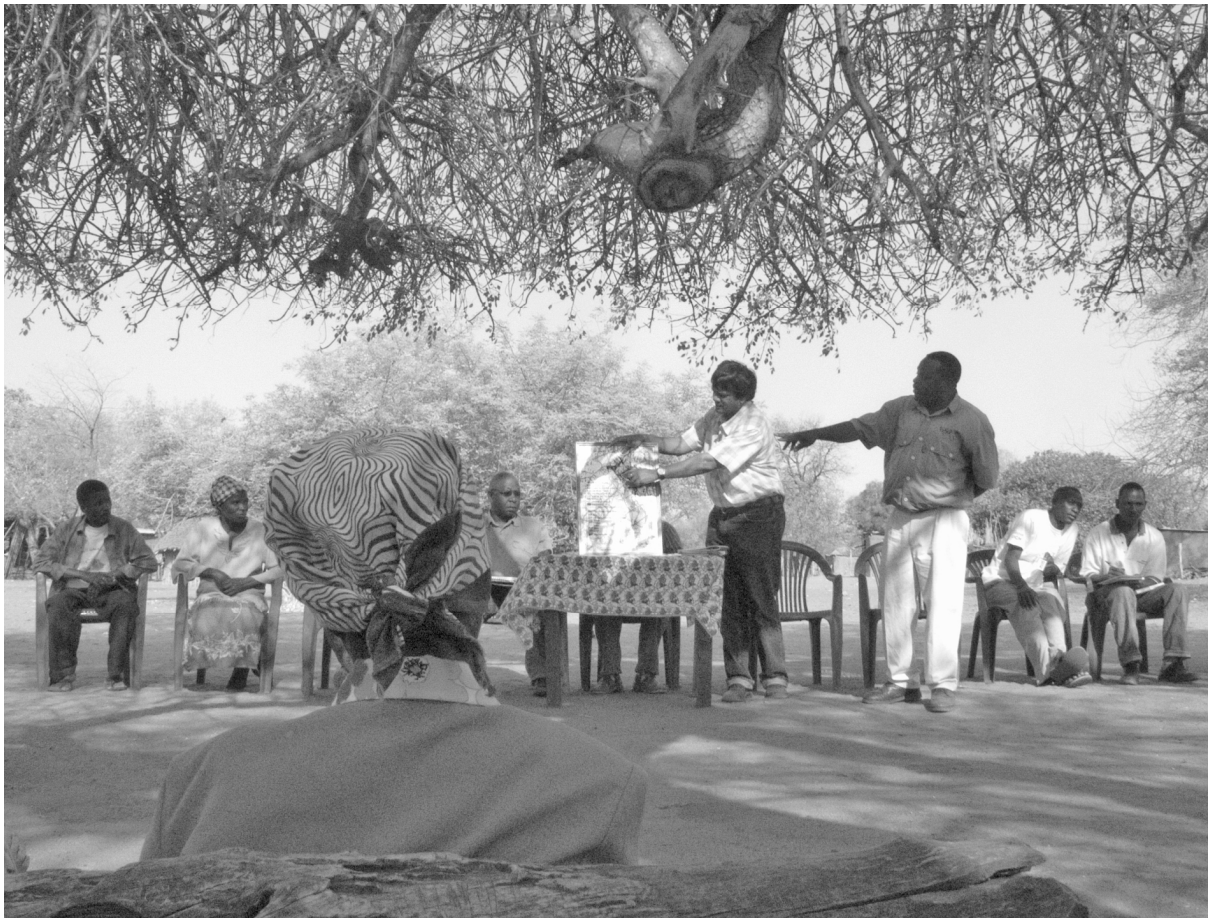

**Figure 43** – Meeting in Canhane. Moment when the red zone of the map was explained (photograph by the author, October 6, 2008).

The meeting evolved into disagreements and public confrontations between the community leader and the other Canhaners. At this phase, the 'development experts' assumed a passive position, not intervening at all. They, who within 'development' literature are addressed as 'a team of Mozambican experts committed to the improvement of the socio-economic situation of local (rural) communities',[54] told me afterward how surprised they were, particularly, as one of them said, 'by the easy way the community leader was pushed against the wall by some men who were invisible before'.[55] The main quarrel was that the community leader and a restricted group of elders in the village had recently received a retired minister who had shown interest in obtaining 'community' lands to build a lodge. This was made known only to the people attending this meeting. Moreover, the intended portion of land where the lodge would be built was outside the 'red area' on the map. The process of

[54] http://www.unwto-themis.org/en/programas/volunteers/convocatorias/mozambique2010, accessed May 18, 2010.
[55] Conversation with NGO LUPA representative, Canhane, October 6, 2008.

acquiring the land had already taken place, and took no more than two days. The political chair of Massingir district played a key role de-bureaucracizing the proceedings: a document was signed, the terrain was delimitated, and the *cerimónia de juramento* (oath ceremony) was held.[56] At the end of the meeting, an elder from the audience got up and yelled: 'I'm not afraid of the generals [referring to the retired minister – the *investor*]! You should also be brave like me, and not be cowards. I used to run from them during the war [Mozambican Civil War], but I don't have to do it anymore'. This instigated more disorder with several people making loud and divergent comments.

The quarrels at the end of the meeting revealed a fragmented society to the 'development' experts, a compound of divergent opinions, influence, decisions, information, and interests: tensions and contradictions that stem from being a 'community'. In the end, packaged juices were distributed by the NGO to the participants. This practice is common in Canhane, serving as a sort of incentive for popular participation. 'Beginning with our community leader, and ending with our young men who only think about playing football: there are lots of problems here',[57] a middle-aged man confided in me while he was collecting his juice when the meeting was over. As the end of the meeting showed, his words informed the heterogenic visions in the 'community' about *life in the village* and the 'community-based' venture they are *part of*.

## Disposing 'Community'

Behind the advocacy of 'community-based' models, the idea of 'community' has been persistently capitalised on the notions of smallness, harmonious ideal, 'local' solidarities, mutuality, equality, and homogeneity. The presentation of 'community' as *one single voice* ignores how 'community' groups can act out of disparate interests rather than for a unanimous collective good. Under this ideological vision, the 'community participants' are all equal partners, and the participatory approach is beneficial to all. To Nyamugasira (2002:

[56] In Canhane, the ancestors who lived in the village should be informed about any transition of power/ownership over the lands, 'otherwise they could become angry and boycott everything'.* The usual proceedings imply that the 'investor' has to buy and bring five liters of red wine – to be given to the ancestors by irrigating the field –, an additional liter of red wine to be consumed, and pay three hundred metical. All the wine must be used (for irrigation and consumption) during the ceremony taking place at the locale to be acquired by the investor.
* Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, October 25, 2008.
[57] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, October 6, 2008.

11), for example, ‘community-based’ approaches make significant contributions, ‘in forging community solidarity, uplifting the human spirit, promoting togetherness’. For Opare (2007: 252-3), ‘community-based organisations’ give the opportunity for the residents to ‘tap the “we-feeling” that group solidarity generates’. Accordingly, Loza (2004: 300) highlighted that ‘community-based organisations’ can be vital conduits in building, ‘social ties among the citizenry of the community’, and therefore, ‘are integral to the well being of the … communities’ (ibid.: 301).

Specifically, the ‘community-based’ rhetoric that tends to homogenise ‘the community’ (e.g., Ferguson 1994; Kumar 2005; Li 1996; Mosse 1999; Shafer and Bell 2002) tends to ignore both social and intra-social differences among, and within, the ‘communities’. Such ‘dominant discourse relies on equating community, culture, and ethnic identity, and its protagonists can easily reduce anybody’s behaviour to a symptom of this equation’ (Baumann 1996: 6). What this means is a process of *othering*, based on an ethnocentric construction of ‘radical alterity – a culturally constructed Other radically different from Us’ (Kessing 1994: 301, in Baumann 1996: 12). Such a process operates as a system of representations according to a specific tendency, disposed by a global economic setting. As in the ‘Orient’ of Edward Said (1978), the contemporary spread of homogeneous representations of the *other* and of ‘community’ contributes to the construction of the homogeneous and underdeveloped ‘South’ (‘other’), which in turn strengthens the role of ‘development’ institutions in that region; the ‘South’ is ‘developmentalised’.

If we accept Bauman’s (2000: 169) allegation that ‘all communities are *postulated*; projects than realities’, then it might be hypothetically possible to integrate the prevailing homogeneous rhetoric about ‘community’ as a (discursive) strategy. Kumar (2005: 279) said that ‘images of “community” are central to issues of project implementation’. Indeed, addressing homogeneity is strategically more convincing for ‘development’ than claiming the multiple compositions, diversities, and contexts of particular ‘community’. The complex peculiarities of difference make the process of identifying and promulgating targets for ‘development’ more difficult. ‘Community’ uniformity rather than ‘community’ diversity is what makes ‘community-based’ projects more convincing and intrinsically good, implicitly assumed to have moral value. Therefore, homogeneous ‘developmental’ visions of ‘community’ remain fruitful because the homogeneous *other* is a better target than the heterogeneous *other*.

The important point here is that it is easy to see ‘community’ rather than *individuals*. In this context, ‘community’ is informed as, ‘a reified entity that has a definitive substantive

content and assumes the status of a thing that people “have”[, do not have,] or “are members of”’ (Baumann 1996: 12). This is part of the process of disposing of things in order to lead them. As Fisher (1997: 449) stressed, ‘the discourse of development renders independent groups as objects of “scientific” study which provides and defines knowledge of these objects in such a way as to make them amenable to control’. It is the production of *this* knowledge, ‘that creates the boundaries of the “domains of truth” and, therefore, it is the basis for the process of comprehension, realization and legitimization that guides agency’ (Wearing and McDonald 2002: 197). In other words, power is exercised in reference to the knowledge produced and reproduced.

However, in the case of the construct ‘community’, the constitution of knowledge for ‘development’ is independent of the constitution of knowledge of the subject of that knowledge. That is, the way ‘community’ is knowledgeable of ‘development’ purposes does not imply knowledge of the internal processes of the particular ‘community’ – the ‘community’ in itself. This is why the ‘development’ experts were surprised by the manifestations of *internal* divergences shown at the end of the ‘participatory’ meeting in Canhane: they had come directly from the *far-away* capital town of Maputo, where the majority of the NGOs are based, with a stereotypical image of homogeneous Canhane (which represented the ‘local community’ located in the *far countryside*). Moreover, it was on such an *externally* based image of Canhane that they were implementing ‘community development’.

This idea is also endorsed by some NGOs working in other parts of the world. Accordingly, Loizos and Pratt (1992: 37) said, in a report about OXFAM, ‘common interests and characteristics are projected on to a community before there is any real evidence that they exist’. David Gow (2008: 3) stressed that only rarely, ‘do experts in development listen carefully to what those on the ground actually say’, because, ‘What they say may confound, confuse, and question the insights of the experts’. Many other ‘development experts’ have criticized the lack of reflection of empirical information, and the ‘genericization’ (Brosius et al. 1998) of the notion of ‘community’ upon which policy-making could be based (Pigg 1992, in Kumar 2005: 280).

In conclusion, the extensive system that reveals a homogeneous and mythicised moral abstraction – ‘the community’ – as the subject of needs, generates a field of ‘development’ intervention. It is in this sense that a consistent domain of ‘reality’ that calls to be ‘developed’ emerges, and the ‘development’ institutions are (self-)placed as the experts to intervene in it.

The concept of 'community' thus entails the construct through which 'development' institutions can best exercise their intentions. Quoting the director of the South Bakundu Forest Regeneration Project in Cameroon, Sharpe (1998, in Kumar 2005: 280) wrote, 'If they don't have a "community" we'll make them form one, and then we'll order them to participate'.

## 'Community-Based' in Tourism

At the beginning of the 1990s, the effects of worldwide interconnectedness and its impacts on the 'communities' in the 'South' captured public attention. At this point, the impacts of modern globalisation and neoliberalism on 'local' cultures and environment were mainly declared destructive. Still in the minority, there were also contrasting opinions from different domains (i.e., academia, politics, economics, etc.) leading the topic as a divisive subject. Naturally, as a side effect of modern globalisation, tourism was also considered. Tourism is one of the main indicators of expanding globalization (di Castri 2002). As Anna Tsing noted, 'interconnection is everything in the new globalism. And interconnection is created through circulation' (Tsing 2000: 336). Therefore, if we understand circulation and interconnection as central characteristics of the 'new globalism', we must put tourism at the forefront of modern globalisation, because both characteristics are fundamental aspects of it.

The first academic approaches on tourism were during the 1960s. They were described largely in terms of economic development, and were thus seen almost entirely in a positive light (Crick 1989: 314). This was a time when tourism was enthusiastically promoted, particularly by economists, as an ideal strategy for development. Under such an optimistic vision the United Nations even declared 1967 to be the International Tourism Year. However, 'despite the early hopes, tourism as a "passport" to macroeconomic development did not pan out quite as planned' (de Kadt 1979, in Stronza 2001: 268), and scholars started approaching tourism from its economic and sociocultural adverse consequences. This pessimism about tourism became common in academia and even the earlier economic arguments mentioning tourism as a secure growth industry and, thus, as a valid option for development in less industrialized nations, started to be vastly reproved. Particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, 'many social scientists argued that poor people in non-Western countries were typically excluded from or disadvantaged by international tourism development' (Hall and Page 2009: 8). Most of the counterarguments to the positive economic vision of tourism came from the

empirical evidence advanced by anthropologists. But it was not only academics who considered tourism destructive. As an example, a former Executive Director of the world's largest tourism-related NGO (Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism) said that 'tourism, especially Third World tourism ... does not benefit the majority of the people. Instead it exploits them, pollutes the environment, destroys the ecosystem, bastardises the culture, robs people of their traditional values and ways of life and subjugates women and children in the abject slavery of prostitution' (Srisang 1992: 3, in Mowforth and Munt 2009: 55). Rather than alleviate poverty, tourism was declared the cause of new kinds of economic and social problems – from prostitution to environmental degradation.

Although in the minority, there have been positive assessments about the impacts of tourism on host's societies as well. In fact, when we analyse the literature on impacts of tourism, particularly in anthropologists' work, the focus often lies more on hosts than on tourists. For MacCannel (1992: 19), for example, the Masai in Kenya and Tanzania could maintain 'being themselves' because of tourism, 'permitting them to avoid the kind of work in factories and as agricultural labourers that changes their lives forever'. It is worthy of note his positive connotation of tourism was linked with preservation of cultural practices, as if *change* brought by the 'modern world' (ibid.: 19) would be negative. Other authors addressed the strengthening of 'local' economies from employment opportunities (Mansperger 1995); the fortification and regeneration of 'local' traditions once they are commodified in tourism (Van den Berghe 1994); the reinforcement of ethnic identity (Smith 1982); and the empowerment of 'local' residents for resource protection (Young 1999). However, altogether scholars' opinions about the impacts of tourism have been highly negative, and tourism has been referred to as a highly 'deceptive' industry (Britton and Clarke 1987, in Crick 1989: 309). This fostered the idea of tourism and modern globalization, as a 'threat' to societies, cultures, and the environment in destination areas.[58]

These insights and a general antipathy towards tourism have led to contemporary calls for ethical tourism and for the incorporation of global principles of 'sustainability' by the tourism sector. This was formally expressed in Agenda 21,[59] adopted at the Earth Summit in 1992. Elsewhere, the document resulting from that conference argues that 'Travel and

[58] For cultural aspects, see Bruner (1989), Nuñez (1989), Rossel (1988). For environmental issues see De Groot (1983), Holden (2000), Stonich (1999), Stronza (2001), Young (1999).

[59] Agenda 21 was revealed at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit), held in Rio de Janeiro on June 14, 1992. There, 178 governments voted to adopt the programme.

Tourism should assist people in leading healthy and productive lives', and, 'tourism development should recognize and support the identity, culture and interests of indigenous peoples' (WTTC et al. 1995). Since then, the exponential worldwide agreement over the incorporation of ethics in tourism activity has generated, for example, 'travel' sections in broadsheet newspapers regularly carrying stories of ethical tourism, widespread 'Ethical Travel Awards', public events advocating the conscientious side of tourism, online forums promoting codes of conduct in tourism, and even links so that people can offset their own carbon emissions. A new domain of influence that ascribes (moral) value to businesses and consumers' practices emerged in tourism: 'The essence of the concept is that tourist developments should consist of small-scale enterprises which are in harmony with the environment in which they are located, and where local control and decision making predominate' (France and Blake 1992, in Wheeler, 1995: 45). This means the beginning of new types of tourism, commonly called 'new tourism' (Mowforth and Munt 2009). 'Community-based tourism' is one of them.

Although the term emerged during the 1990s and has been widely used in tourism and 'development' discourse, particularly in Africa, South America, and Asia, there is no single and unanimous definition of 'community-based tourism'. Its definition has been blurred by commonplace ideas of promoting welfare for so-called 'rural, poor and economically marginalized'[60] populations. The concept of 'community-based tourism' is commonly linked to principles of 'participation', 'empowerment', 'sustainability', 'community well-being', 'responsible travel', 'gender egalitarianism', 'pro-poor benefits', and 'local' level. For example, to Patullo et al. (2009, in Tourism Concern 2009: 7), 'Community-based tourism is where visitors stay in local homes, have a glimpse into traditional life, and most importantly, where management and benefits remain with the community'. To NGO Planeterra, 'community-based tourism allows travelers an opportunity to spend time in local communities and learn about their way of life … while also bringing the financial benefits of tourism to the local economy … CBT ["community-based tourism"] emerges from a community development strategy'.[61] While to the travel agent Responsible Travel, 'Community based tourism is tourism in which local residents … invite tourists to visit their

[60] http://www.responsibletravel.com/copy/copy901197.htm, accessed June 1, 2009.
[61] http://www.planeterra.org/pages/community_based_tourism/37.php, accessed May 19, 2010.

communities … [and] At least part of the tourist income is set aside for projects which provide benefits to the community as a whole'.[62]

The relationship between hosts and tourists presented here encompasses the desirability of 'community development'. In line with this perspective, this new mode of tourism is generally presented as bringing a range of possibilities for solving *problems* in the 'communities' that other ways of 'development' have not *solved*. The coordinator of 'community-based' tourism in Ceará (Brazil),[63] for instance, addressed many of the 'undesirable' impacts of tourism on 'local communities' in a report published by the NGO Instituto Terramar; however, at one point, he said: 'But, fortunately there are exceptions; places with community based tourism projects' (Neuhaus 2003: 1). In such a view, not only does 'community-based tourism' solve *problems*, but it also makes the tourist a better person; gives them a gratifying role informed by virtue; that is, the possibility to be *good* whilst experiencing a holiday by redressing economic inequalities, respecting other cultures, and protecting the environment. According to the 'Ethical Travel Guide' edited by the British charity organization Tourism Concern, 'Tourism is no longer a dirty word' (Patullo et al. 2009, in Tourism Concern 2009: 7), because of the emergence of 'community-based tourism' in which activities are branded *ethical*. In practice, the 'ethical', implicit through the prefix 'community-based', allows the tourism industry to improve its own image.

Nonetheless, despite the variety of perspectives and meanings of 'community-based tourism', there is a single aspect we can attribute to it, and that is the nature of the concept; it arose from 'development' ideology as a means of 'community development' through tourism. Consequently, international aid agencies have increasingly encouraged and financed NGOs engaged in it (Butcher 2003: 9). As the director of LUPA once told me, after he attended a three-day workshop organized by NGO GTZ in Tihovene on, 'empowering local communities at the buffer zone of the Limpopo National Park', 'Now everybody wants community-based tourism: it seems that it's the new fashion!'[64] Indeed, one thing is certain in the present time: 'CBT ['community-based tourism'], undoubtedly, remains the option of choice for most nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and governmental agencies that include tourism in their developmental portfolio' (Weaver 2010: 206).

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[62] http://www.responsibletravel.com/Copy/Copy901197.htm, accessed May 19, 2010.
[63] It is one of the twenty-six states of Brazil, located in the northeastern part of the country, on the Atlantic coast.
[64] Conversation with the director of LUPA, Tihovene, October 27, 2008.

According to the international cooperation enterprise GTZ (2005: 1), 'in CBT ["community-based tourism"] the focus is on the community'. What this means is that 'community-based tourism' legitimates 'communities' as both tourism and 'development' marks. Moreover, as an outcome of the ideological strategic shift made by 'development' institutions, this 'new tourism' mode carries with it the 'developmentalist' requisite of 'community participation'. It implies the involvement and participation of the 'hosts' – the 'community' members – in the tourism process as decision-makers. In this vein, 'community-based tourism' is often celebrated as a means of 'community empowerment'. The NGO Netherlands Development Organization (SNV)'s review of projects in Botswana, for example, suggested that the social impacts of 'community empowerment' can be considered the most important benefit of 'community-based tourism' (SNV 2001). Likewise, the results of a GTZ research project revealed that the most mentioned criteria for the success of 'community-based tourism' initiatives identified by funders, conservationists, and development experts (116 in total) fell in the category of 'empowerment of local communities' (Goodwin and Santilli 2009). As Timothy (2002: 150) clearly put it, 'community-based tourism' 'is about grassroots empowerment'.

However, the empirical evidence is far less convincing. By resorting to an extensive inventory of 'community-based tourism' cases compiled by Zeppel (2006), and contrasting to a prevalent dogma advocated by 'development' discourse, Weaver critically stated how the vast majority of 'community-based tourism' enterprises 'are dependent on continuing financial and other resources provided by NGOs and governmental agencies'. 'In practice', Weaver continues, 'it appears that most of these operations fail soon after the aid is cut, rendering the concept of "empowerment" as farcical' (2010: 206). Reading 'development' literature makes it clear that 'community-based tourism' is, first and foremost, an idealistic concept associated with ideals of 'community empowerment' and democratisation as well as broad distribution of benefits amongst 'communities' considered *in need*. In its wake, new expectations, hopes, aspirations, and perceptions of *reality* are created.

## Inducing Moralities through 'Community-based Tourism'

The classificatory area of the 'South' bears the mark of weakness, shortage, and underdevelopment: it is represented as a compound of 'developing countries'. The inclusion of these categories and classificatory schemes in the public domain has led to the global

aesthetic, economic, sociological, political awareness that the world is made up of two unequal halves – the wealthy 'North' and the poor 'South' – and thus that one half needs to be 'helped'. Such generalisations and their efficacy at creating representations of the 'South' contribute to legitimate 'development' programmes in that part of the world. To fortify this, 'underlying development, or at least the discourse of development, are some implicit assumptions and principles about what constitutes a good society' (Gow 2008: 5).

The 'progressive incorporation of problems' (Escobar 1984) in the 'South' and in its 'local communities' has assisted in the formulation of a field of 'development' intervention. In turn, this legitimises a self-perpetuating *raison d'être* (Hannam 2002: 231) for 'development' apparatus in its 'community-based tourism' form. The 'incorporated problems' come to be integrated into the tourism industry as the product attraction that needs to be surpassed precisely through tourism action. It is in this sense that the tourists who consciously choose to go to 'community-based' lodges have come to be referred to as inherent components of 'development' programmes, in terms of their ability to alleviate the poverty of the populations they visit. The 'new moral tourist' (Butcher 2003) has emerged.

The concept of 'community-based tourism' is often accompanied by moralistic assertions, such as: 'Leave the world a better place',[65] 'Your holiday can make a big difference!',[66] 'the "good tourism"',[67] 'ethical dealings with rural communities',[68] 'Towards a new culture of peace and sustainability',[69] 'Fighting poverty, protecting biodiversity',[70] and so on. The language used here is that of the social worker rather than the holiday maker (Butcher 2003: 71). The need to 'fight poverty' and 'make a big difference' has replaced fun, relaxation, and hedonism in the vocabulary of the 'community-based tourism' market. To The Mountain Institute (2000: 1) based in Washington, United States of America, 'community-based tourism' is, 'a visitor-host interaction that has meaningful participation by both', and it, 'has a duty to the visitor to provide a socially and environmentally responsible product' (ibid.: 5). Accordingly, the tourist product provided (sold) must be *responsible*. In this perspective, 'community-based tourism' rests on the *rightness* of consumption. The

[65] http://www.communitybasedtourism.com, accessed June 1, 2009.
[66] http://www.community-tourism-africa.com, accessed June 1, 2009.
[67] http://www.good-tourism.com/page/Community-based+tourism, accessed June 1, 2009.
[68] http://www.tnrf.org/groups/tourism, accessed June 1, 2009.
[69] http://www.worldfutureschool.org/index.php?id=1535&L=4, accessed June 2, 2009.
[70] http://www.unv.org/en/volunteer-voices/doc/fighting-poverty-protecting-biodiversity.html, accessed June 1, 2009.

(tourist) product for sale is not just any kind of product; it is a moral one. The act of consumption in the 'community-based tourism' framework is a *good act*, and therefore should be morally celebrated. The *rightness* and moral significance of such particular (tourism) commodity relies, among other things, on the, 'moral perspective that argues that management by local people accompanied by devolved decision-making is more preferable' (The Mountain Institute 2000: 4), principally for achieving so-called sustainable 'community development'. The main point to note here is that since 'community-based tourism' has come to be considered a tool for 'community development', not only has it become a self-consciously moral approach to tourism, but also a worthwhile consuming practice (by tourists) in its role of alleviating poverty of the 'local community' visited.

The association of morality with 'community-based tourism' reveals the broader context in which this new tourism category has arisen. As noted above, at the beginning of the 1990s there was a prominent global debate, touching almost all social spheres, proclaiming the threats of tourism to destination populations. It was this context, which evidenced the wrongness of the tourists' actions, which also led to a new claim in tourism: the rightness of the tourists' actions. These were particularly materialized by generating 'codes of conduct' and moralizing consumer decision making. Tourists were incorporated as elements of a wider project of global and ethical governance (Smith and Duffy 2003: 77). This is known through the discourse of rights and ethics of tourism, among others expressed through the 'Tourism Bill of Rights and Tourism Code' (1985) as well as the 'Global Code of Ethics for Tourism' (1999) institutionalised by the World Tourism Organization. Through this, people are taught how to behave *properly* whilst travelling by adhering to moral instructions.

Just as the World Tourism Organization can be regarded as a case of global governance, the language of tourism rights and ethics has also achieved international institutional recognition; 'it could be argued that its discourse about rights and tourism reflects a set of norms and values that have arisen out of modernity and then globalized' (Smith and Duffy 2003: 77). Therefore, the debate about the threats of tourism to destination societies, which had its peak in the early 1990s, led to its antithesis, and tourism is now proclaimed not only a 'development' tool for the 'South' but also a universal right.[71]

[71] The article 7 of the World Tourism Organization Global Code of Ethics for Tourism is entitled 'Right to tourism', and Article 8 is 'Liberty of tourist movements' (UNWTO 2001: 6). The World Tourism Organization Global Code encompasses ten articles.

Furthermore, the global institutionalisation of these ideals was an outcome of the calls for a new (*Western*) moralised concept of leisure travel, or what Butcher (2003) called the 'moralization of tourism'. The underlying force and character of such moralization, particularly the modes of *Western* acknowledgement of tourist virtue, are highly driven by both 'development' and tourism industries: 'from a tourism marketing perspective this means communicating *reality* and *fragility* of the destinations' (Wheeler 1995: 45, italics are mine). It is from this perspective of *real weakness* and *societies of want* (Boudhiba 1981, in Crick 1989: 317) that the 'South' gains tourism and 'developmental' protagonism. 'Community-based tourism' is a product of this *Western* context, and it is largely through this moral system of global regulation that 'local communities', and Canhane in particular, are incorporated into the global (tourism) market and bound to specific rationalities of production.

'Community-based tourism', therefore, introduces new language and new ways of thinking – a new 'regime of truth' (Wearing and McDonald 2002: 199) – appropriated by members of the (project) 'community'. Its members can gain access to ideologies or discourses that might give them access to new opportunities. It is in this vein that the term 'community' becomes the representation of 'we' for the 'local' population, as it means 'they' to the *external* 'development' institutions and to developmentourists. The spread, by one side, and the appropriation, by the other, of the 'discourse of community' to populations operating under the halo of 'community-based tourism' are inherent processes of normalisation.

## The Value of 'in Community' and its Mechanisms of Exclusion

Looking again at Canhane and to its 'community-based tourism' venture, many of the residents become aware of their 'communitarian' condition and try to capitalise on it. As a reporter who visited the lodge in Canhane in 2004 said, 'Covane Community Lodge represents a new world of access to resources for development … the decisions are, or should be, taken by the community itself (through its leaders), which in turn maintains the activities that define its identity as a rural community – cattle breeding and subsistence agriculture' (Lopes 2006: 33).[72] This comment, which can be interpreted as the tourist's point of view, underlies the externally attributed virtue of maintenance of 'community identity'. That is,

[72] Portuguese in the original.

Canhane as a 'community' is valuable by its identitarian 'rural' sameness, which is bounded to ideals of subsistence, uniformity, impoverishment, and necessity. Therefore, in line with the designation of 'community' by which they are (externally) acknowledged, the Canhaners have incorporated the potentialities involved in being 'in community' as an exclusionary condition. Let me give an example from the field to illustrate how the dominant discourse of 'community' is converted into a 'local' one.

On October 2008, the NGO LUPA organised an English course in Canhane. The course was projected for fewer than fifteen attendants. The selection of 'community' participants was made by the manager of the Covane Community Lodge. The participants were the ten people constituting the Social Management Committee, the community leader, and a fisherman living in the neighbourhood village of Cubo. He was not born in Canhane, but in the coastal province of Inhambane. He was selected for the English course because he used to guide the tourists visiting the lodge through the Elephants River and show them the *traditional* way of fishing and conserving the fish in the area. On the second day of the fifteen-day course, a 'development expert' from an international NGO based in Maputo and a representative from the Mozambique Ministry of Tourism attended the class. They had been invited by LUPA to informally experience 'community development' and tourism impacts in Canhane. During the class, the teacher, who was the receptionist at the lodge but also had the responsibility, as he told me, 'of being the link between the community and the lodge',[73] suggested the election of a class delegate. Because of the collective indecision in choosing that person, both the NGO and Ministry of Tourism representatives suggested the fisherman; however, the class proceeded without a definitive decision on that issue.

On the fourth day of the English course, I met the fisherman at his home in Cubo village. I asked him how the course was going. He said, 'I don't know, and I don't care! I was kicked out of it the day after you and the other people from Maputo were there'.[74] Accordingly, at the beginning of class on the third day of the course, when the 'development expert', the Ministry of Tourism representative, and myself were not there, the rest of the attendants accused him of not being a member of the 'community' of Canhane. Therefore, he should not benefit from the English course. He told me; 'they came with this stupid argument that I'm not from the community. But they forget that I'm the one who contributes more to the community with my patience with the tourists… because, in the end, the majority of the

[73] Conversation with the receptionist of the Covane Community Lodge, Canhane, January 25, 2008.
[74] Conversation with the fishermen, Cubo, October 4, 2008.

money the tourists pay for my guiding tours goes to them, not to my family’. Visibly irritated, he said, ‘this is not the first time that such thing happens… whenever foreigners engage me in front of them, they act like, “you are not from the community”, or “we are the ones who need to be helped”, they say thereafter!’. The quarrel was confirmed later by the teacher of the English course as well.

As Brockriede (1968: 12) noted, ‘A rhetorical act occurs only within a situation, and the nature of that act is influenced profoundly by the nature of the encompassing situation’. This means each rhetorical act fits into the characteristics of ongoing processes. The way the Canhaners speak about ‘community’ must be understood within the broader situational context that gives it relevance and meaning. Being in the ‘community’ is, in the ongoing ‘community-based’ process, a value, an opportunity, and therefore needs to be exclusionary – ‘you are not from the community’, someone said to the fisherman, who was for that reason placed in the position of a sort of *internal other*. Through overemphasis on ‘community’ as the *we entity*, also evident in most Canhaners’ (institutional) conversation, they revealed the logic behind their ‘community-based tourism’ venture.

Their ‘discourse of community’ is informed by a reflexive self-validating quality in accordance with a ‘higher order’ that creates the condition of ‘community’ as a (tourism) market opportunity. Through such discourse, the Canhaners and their village are presented as something that the tourist’s culture has lost: purity, spirituality, closeness to nature; in sum, a sense of ‘community’. That is to say, the ‘discourse of community’ has colonised the Canhaners’ discourse about themselves, which in turn has become a discourse of (tourism market) opportunity. By adopting such discourse, they engage in rhetoric as a process of adjusting people to ideas. More precisely, the Canhaners participate in a dominant system of representation derived from a transnational ‘development’ discourse. They are participants in such a system because, by speaking about ‘community’, they create and authorise an entity that did not exist as such before the implementation of the developmentourism project by the NGO Helvetas. This attests the idea that the globalization of ‘development’ rationale in the ‘South’ may produce new forms of ‘locality’ based on performance of morals (‘we are the ones who need to be helped’), but which are in line with neoliberalism ideals and market ideology. Recurrent use of the non-Shangane term ‘community’ by the Canhaners to refer to themselves represents a rhetorical phenomenon in which they validate and incarnate the argument that constitutes them as a homogeneous, needy, rural, ethnic, and moral entity; in

other words, a homogeneous target for both tourism and 'development'. In turn, the Canhaners constitute themselves as the proof of what is said.

As with all symbolic creations, being 'the community' must continually be revived and sustained by discourse. The (productive) 'local' incorporation and appropriation of 'community', used in substitution for *we*, is a fundamental factor in the (modern) projection of their auto-image. Their appropriation of the term 'community' to represent themselves thus entails a reflective conscious and collective aptitude required to see themselves within a situational context, in the same way an 'outsider' would, or would want to, see 'them'. This is somewhat a consequence of being in a market specialty based on 'development' and tourism principles. In Canhane, 'community' can be seen as an enabling concept: adopting the 'community' and 'community-based tourism' (trade)mark enables them to *survive*, and be part of the modern (tourism) world – a 'niche market'. It is in this sense that various Canhaners strategically incorporate, assume, and exercise their (externally-given) position as the 'ones who need to be helped', and participate in 'development' ideology by projecting the act of *being helped* into the moral sphere of tourism. Consequently, the Canhaners have adopted the rhetorical force ('community') that best represents and expresses them in such a market context. In the end, Canhaners as 'community' are being organised and constituting themselves, not only as a market but also as specialized producers in 'development' and tourism industries.

## Conclusion

Particularly in southern Africa, present regimes dominated by methods of 'development' revolve mostly around 'communities' as the legitimate basis of social unity. In current 'development' rhetoric, the word 'community' carries with it powerful significance, particularly in attracting international funding, which often relegates 'community-based' models to processes of merely acquiring funding opportunities (Agrawal and Gibson 1999: 631). Fundamentally, the socio-economic paradigm (re)produced by institutions of global governance over the 'South' induces to the *knowledge* of 'community' as a category of 'development' intervention. In practice, however, whatever 'development' project with the concept of 'community' at its heart is ambiguous, because it relies on an idealistic construct: a stereotypical idealisation of the *other*, an '*ideal* masquerading as social *fact*' (Blackstock 2005: 42, italics in the original).

In the village of Canhane in Mozambique many residents have become aware of their ‘communitarian’ condition through engaging in the ‘community-based tourism’ venture suggested by an international NGO. In this manner, they have appropriated the ‘community’ ideology of which they were (*externally*) acknowledged, and have been reproducing, largely at the ‘frontstage’ level (Goffman 1959), their *needy homogenous status*. Furthermore, the Canhaners are explicitly placed as the antithesis of modernity. That is, in contrast to (modern) neoliberal and capitalist ideals, in the ‘community’ setting there are no individual aspirations, only common and shared interests. The fundamental idea in this section is that, ‘community’ as a category mostly induced by the ‘development’ industry has become a ‘reality’ performed by some of the Canhaners. It goes without saying that their appropriation and performance of ‘community’, in the context of ‘community-based tourism’, is perceived by them as an opportunity; and as such, their participation in this representational process reflects their aspiration to membership and inclusion in the neoliberal world.

Finally, the ‘community-based tourism’ venture in Canhane is part of a major ethical and ‘developmental’ agenda, of which the village is now part, that induces morality in tourism consumption. This is the outcome of an ideological trend that considers (certain modes of) tourism in moral terms. In this setting, the ‘community’ represents a tourism moral product, in the same way as the tourist becomes a way of *doing good* and a decisive component of ‘community development’. But what if the ‘community development’ pursued by tourists and hosts leads to processes of individual empowerment and privatization of resources in the same society that has obtained its moral value, and thus the legitimacy for *being ‘developed’ via tourism*, precisely by representing the opposite – commonality? The next chapter is about this question.

So far, by demystifying the homogeneous nature promoted by ‘development’ and tourism discourses of the social structure of Canhane, I hope I have not given in the same way a narrow perspective of it; that is, a version of the village as too diverse, too irregular, too *disordered*, too confused. Despite its heterogeneous character, Canhane is to some extent under a certain ‘local order’. As I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Canhane may in fact represent a model, not the model of ‘community’, but a more exclusive one; a model of society informed by historiographies, pre-, pos-, and colonial effects, national politics, and ‘local’ responses and resistance to them. In other words, Canhane also has unitary characteristics that support the social ordering in the village; characteristics, however, that do not match the paradigm of ‘community’ proclaimed by extra-‘local’ institutions.

What happens if the Canhane's social ordering is in opposition to the 'community development' induced by 'community-based tourism'?

# 4 Disturbing 'Community Development'

## The Water Supply Conflict

Shortly after the Covane Community Lodge opened its doors to tourists in May 2004, Canhaners were asked by NGO Helvetas to identify their priority for investing the expected tourism revenues in their village. 'That was an easy question', one elder of the village told me, and the answer was precise and unanimous: a water supply system.[1]

This chapter presents and analyses the implementation of the water supply system in Canhane and its contradictory effects. It is a case where the achievement of social 'development' aspirations that were informed by the Canhaners' own 'felt needs' generated social insecurity in the village. The collective endeavour to organise a reliable water supply is an interesting case for observing (and accessing) the 'politics of the local' (Agrawal and Gibson 1999: 637) that emerged with tourism in a 'development'-oriented context. The realisation of Canhaners' collective desire to have a water supply system, and their active participation in attaining their own 'developmental needs', resulted in social conflict that revealed them as active participants in an apparent contradiction. The larger point here is that water control is a mechanism for social ordering and not a simple matter of means-ends necessity, which limits any capacity to predict the social outcomes of water change projects (Mosse 2008: 943). There is a non-project dimension to people's lives that validates the unintended social consequences arising from any 'development' project (Cleaver 1999: 599). Canhane confirms this, even though the project was driven by the 'community' itself. In Fabricius's words, 'objectivity in CBNRM [community-based natural resource management] is a myth' (Fabricius 2004: 39).

[1] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, January 27, 2008.

In contrast to 'community-based' rhetoric that tends to homogenise *the community* as coherent, equitable, intrinsically moral, ahistorical, and harmonious,[2] the example of Canhane illustrates the weakness of universal notions of 'community' and of 'participatory development'. Based on an analysis of the spatial arrangement of water in Canhane, this case attests to the importance of considering the multiple and dynamic processes that emerge within 'the community' in any 'development'-oriented context. What I am going to describe in this chapter illustrates how spatial arrangements and social status are central means for ordering (Law 1993) everyday life, and confirms the value of de-homogenizing and demystifying representations of 'community' and 'participatory development'.

## Conflictual Improvement

Prior to the 1970s, the population of Canhane lived elsewhere, namely on the shore of the Elephants River around five kilometres away from present day Canhane. However, the state policy of villagisation that followed Mozambique's independence in 1975 and the construction of the Massingir Dam resulted in their relocation to a higher area less prone to flooding. Since Elizabeth Colson's (1971) pioneer work on the forced resettlement of the Gwenbe Tonga on both sides of the Zambezi River (Zimbabwe and Zambia), many studies on the impacts of dam-building have emerged. Several of them reveal that in the name of national 'progress' and in line with claims for rational models of society and nature – reflected in James Scott's terms 'high modernism' (Scott 1998) – some populations' access to essential resources were neglected and made difficult.[3] That was also the case for Canhane. The state-imposed dam led to processes of marginalization and deprivation of its population. Up until their compulsory relocation, Canhaners lived in a fertile valley close to essential resources such as water, wood, and productive land, which all proved scarce in their new settlement areas.

Many authors have given empirical evidence of the complex, causal relations between space and culture[4] and how changes in one can affect the other.[5] Accordingly, countless

[2] See Chapter 3.
[3] See, for example, Goldsmith, E. and N. Hildyard (Eds.) (1984); Isaacman, A. and Sneddon, C. (2000); World Commission on Dams (2000).
[4] See for example, Park, R and Burgess, E. 1925; Foucault, M. 1961; Altman, I. 1975; Giddens, A. 1985; Rapoport, A. 1990; Moore, H. 1996; Augé, M. 1988; Hendon, J. 2000; Thomas, T., Sheppard, P. and Walter, R. 2001.
[5] See for example, Whiteford, M. 1978; Pred, A. 1990; Rémy, J. and Voyé, L. 1992.

ethnographic descriptions advance the hypothesis that human intervention can structure space and that space itself can structure human behaviour – space operates as cause and consequence of culture. Changing the place of residence thus commonly entails social, cultural, and behavioural changes. Such variation took place in Canhane.

After their relocation, Canhaners had to re-adapt their daily practices, including vital routines, to the new locale. Access to water was one of them – due to its inherent connection to land, it is said that water shares the complexity of the causal relation between space and culture as a medium of meaning and material relations (Mosse 2008: 940). The dearth of water has long been bemoaned by the people of Canhane who claim that water shortages have been the worst effect of their resettlement (Lunstrum 2004). Canhaners have two ways to access water: from a communal shallow well in the *centre* of the village which is often dry, or from the Elephants River around five kilometres away. Obtaining water is difficult and people expend much of their daily energy getting it.

**Figure 44 -** The shallow well in Canhane is a hole dug to allow access to water (photograph by the author, February 11, 2008).

My first contact with the population of Canhane was in September 2006. At that time they were digging a ditch from the lodge to the village and burying several flexible plastic pipes to be used to provide water to the village. The village is divided into four numbered neighbourhoods. Mostly, the women of each neighbourhood took turns each day to work on the water endeavour. The pipes were intended to supply water to a tank and three taps that would be implemented near the shallow well area, located in the *centre* of the village. The distance covered was around seven kilometres. However, at the beginning of 2007, the yet unfinished system started evidencing technical problems. The issue was that the water pump placed near the river did not have enough power to pump water the required distance of more than five kilometres. Therefore, water could not reach Canhane. The only possible solution was to buy a new and more powerful water pump. But its cost was extremely high and the revenues from the lodge were not enough to cover it.

Many Canhaners were disappointed. They channelled their frustration largely to Helvetas. One time I participated in a village meeting where I was the only non-Canhaner present. Although its initial purpose was to discuss how better prepare children for school, debating the water issue ended up taking the majority of the time. Some people blamed Helvetas for the failure of the project. At one point (as is usual in these meetings) an old man took advantage of a brief silence to stand up and say:

> I want to talk about the attempt to bring water to the village. It was Helvetas' decision to dig such a long ditch, and all technical decisions were made by them, so the failure was their fault alone. It was money wasted. Money earned by the Covane [lodge]. People worked there for nothing. They should have known that such a system wouldn't work before we started constructing it.[6]

If there were forces of discord, they were silent throughout. In fact, collective 'back-channelling' (Gibson 2003: 1348) through utterances like 'hmmm' and 'ha-ha' were frequently used to encourage any speaker who had had approached the subject in such a manner. No one defended the position of Helvetas, and this criticism and suspicion of the NGO was maintained until the end of the meeting.

Canhaners' reactions at this meeting provide clues about a broader phenomenon which had intensified since the implementation of the 'community-based' tourism project in

[6] February 7, 2007.

Canhane: that is the confrontation between 'development' instigated by 'external' agencies and the view 'from below'. 'Communities', as Fabricius (2004: 38) stated, often see conservationists and 'developers' as the evil perpetrators of land evictions. In his work on Chishanga in southern Zimbabwe, Mazarire has demonstrated how Hera people have always perceived state 'development' initiatives (colonial and postcolonial) with scepticism. Accordingly, 'community development' programs related to water, particularly on the rivers of Chishanga, are perceived by 'autochthons' as a threat because they (might) serve as *external* strategies of appropriation over land and authority (Mazarire 2008). In Mozambique, in Sussundenga district, Schafer and Black gave the example of a 'local chief' who encouraged the new settlement by members of his 'community' in an area intended as a forest reserve. His purpose was 'scaring away conservationists whose intentions he perceived as a threat to local livelihoods and control over resources' (Schafer and Black 2003). All this could be grounded on Young's idea that, 'The desire to demonize others is based on the ontological uncertainties' of those inside (Young 1999:165, in Bauman 2000: 172).

Nonetheless, despite Canhaners' focus on an *outside* culprit, the meeting demonstrated and reinforced their engagement for a communal cause: the water supply system. Hence, soon people started to consider new ideas for bringing water to the village. But this time a shorter way had to be found to link the village to the Elephants River. After some investigation and popular scrutiny they found a possible route of five kilometres. However, the ditch would have to be dug in the bush, in places infrequently accessed by the people and inaccessible to the Covane Lodge truck. This made the work harder, particularly regarding the transportation of workers, equipment, and food supplies. Even with such difficulties they embraced the work once more, and this time Canhaners took full responsibility for the technical decisions. 'Community' viewpoints, aspirations, and participation were all again mobilized, and all the elements of 'community participation' that dominant 'development' discourses (Escobar 1988) emphasise are required for successful resource management[7] were present, which suggested there would be optimistic results for the people of Canhane.

Months later the water supply system was finally installed. The technical restrictions dictated the exact position of the water taps: the system had to be implemented in the northeast corner of the village, which is the place in Canhane closest to the river (Figure 45).

[7] See for example, Saunders, R. and Warford, J. 1976. Since this publication for the World Bank, there has been a growing body of literature engaged in *Development Studies* addressing the need for 'community' involvement in the development, operation and maintenance processes of water supply systems.

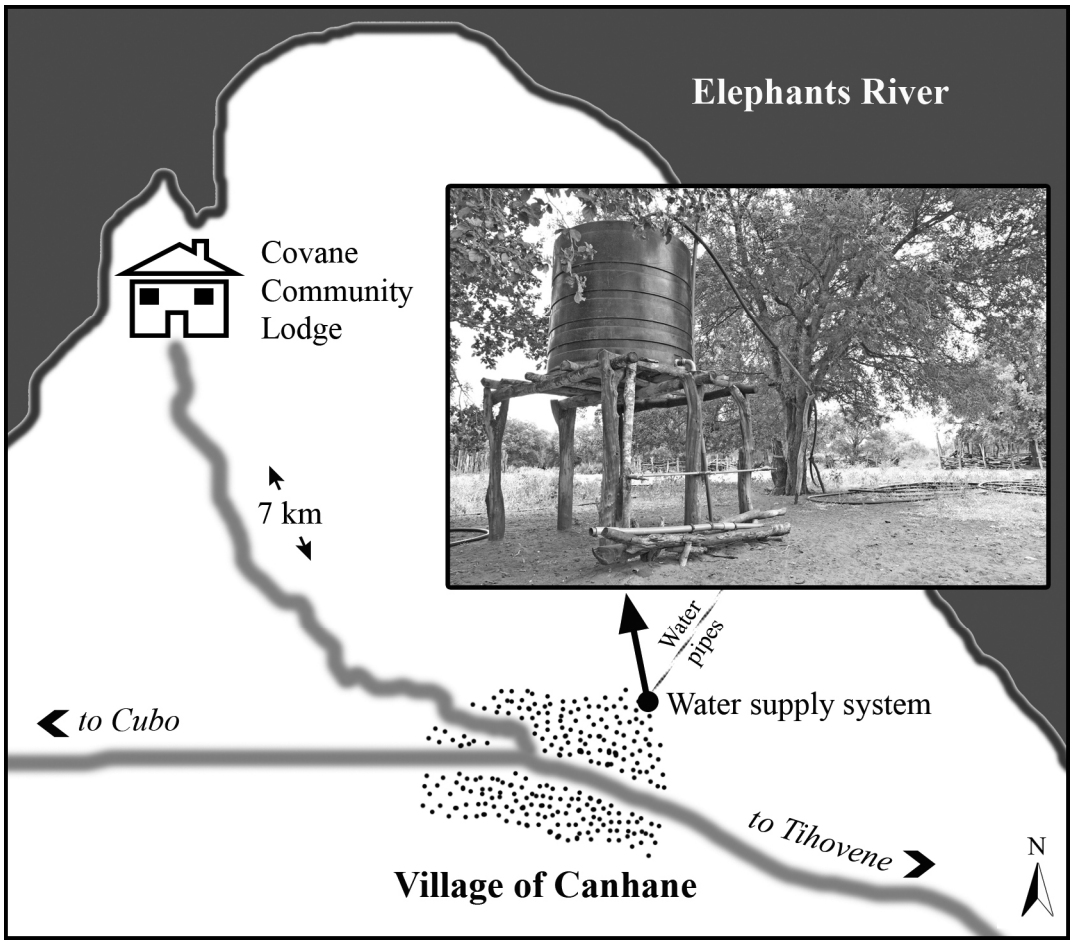


**Figure 45 -** The position of the water supply system in Canhane. The topography of the village is flat. Diagram by the author.

Canhaners had up to this point fully addressed 'community participation' (by being involved in planning and implementing the water supply), but not yet 'community management' (assuming control of the water system). As Harvey and Reed (2007: 365) put it: 'in general, this is fulfilled through the formation of a community water committee that is responsible for operating the system'. Correspondingly, just after the tank was installed a water committee was created and an autochthon (a man) was chosen to be its president. The water committee was an organisational imperative. This (standard) 'community' organisation signified the construction of the 'community' (Canhane) in the context of 'development' policy for resource management (Mosse 1999: 305). The new institution expressed an attempt to constitute Canhane in terms of higher organisational imperatives, while at the same time served to universalize the 'local'. In Max Weber's scheme, this can be interpreted as a bureaucratic and 'modernization' process that provides a rationale for formalising and organising 'the community' into pre-defined forms recognised by *external* officials (ibid.:

322). Put simply, the water committee met *external* expectations about the way Canhane should organise itself.

The ('community-based') nomination of a man as president of the water committee reflected the gendered control of key resources in the village. In fact, historically and 'culturally', recognition of women's ability to control resources in Canhane is extremely limited. Particularly with regard to water, women have a recognised and long established responsibility to obtain and distribute it: they are perceived as water-givers. But according to long-standing power arrangements, the supervision of water as a resource must be done by men. Hence, as a new water supply emerged, manifestations of possession and control over the resource shifted. Before, due to the abundance of water in the Elephants River (the principal water supply), differential control over it by gender was not so evident. However, the situation changed. Water is now situated inside a storage tank positioned in the village, which means it is limited and needs to be managed, controlled, and rationalized. In other words, water became an object of measurement. This brought up new communal exigencies that challenged the existing water order.

The implementation of the new water supply system in Canhane, even though it was accomplished in a 'community-based' manner, carried with it a broader confrontation between old and new social processes. As Mosse (2008: 941) put it, 'water systems are not only shaped by, but also themselves shape, [the] social …'. Corrado Tornimbeni (2007) has described how the villages of Tse Tserra and Mussimwa-Rotanda in west-central Mozambique, have strategically used both 'traditional' processes and 'modern' instruments to preserve individual and group interests. In a different sphere Nhantumbo, Norfolk and Pereira suggested that new management processes brought by CBNRM initiatives in Derre – also in Mozambique – produced mechanisms for the exclusion of old people and subsequent conflicts within 'traditional authorities'.[8] Johnson (2004: 217—218) stressed that when some members of the Mozambican village of Bawa were recruited as game guards and started to enforce new laws on fellow 'community' members, division and dissent grew within that 'community'. Their actions were in accordance with new processes of 'community management and control' of natural resources promoted by CBNRM initiatives in the area. Around 270 kilometres north of Canhane, John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff (2009: 14—15) stressed the dissatisfaction among some of the Makuleke people, in the South Africa side, derived from the implementation of (modern) 'community-based' processes of capitalizing

[8] This suggestion came from the growing legitimacy of an emerging 'local' association (ACODEMAZA) (Nhantumbo, et al 2003: 21, 24).

their 'culture' through tourism. Accordingly, the 'chief' of Makuleke is said to have misappropriated tourism 'benefits' (revenues) for his own needs, leading to intra-'community' tensions. In the village of Xaxaba (Botswana), Madzwamuse and Fabricius (2004: 170) noted, the constitution of modern institutions, in order to qualify for government support for CBNRM, have led to conflict within the 'traditional' institutions. And focusing specifically on water supply systems, Matthew Bender (2008) has shown how innovative pipelines implemented by the Tanzania Government during the *Ujimaa* period on the Mount Kilimanjaro, challenged 'traditional leadership' over water, and extended government control into the most intimate domains of daily life. Provoking new social dynamics, what were the impacts of the new water scheme authorized by the 'community-based tourism' in Canhane?

Despite the transformative social challenges of the new water system in the village, the gendered division over the control of water resources remained. Men retained control of water supplies. This was manifest in the choice of a man as president of the water committee. Moreover, this person seemed to unite several crucial characteristics for assuming such a task. For instance, he is one of the few Canhaners who speaks fluent Portuguese as well as the Shangane dialect. He also had an old motorbike which allowed him to quickly reach the water pump. Finally, as a fisherman, he was very experienced in dealing with the Elephants River, where the water comes from.

The water supply achievement was highly celebrated in the 'outside'. The annual report of NGO Helvetas for 2006, to be distributed to its donors, for example, announced it with pride. Here is an excerpt of the report:

> C Successful Activity in 2006
>
> Drinking Water in Canhane is a Reality Now
>
> (…)
>
> Today Canhane already consumes drinking water, the water source is less than 500 meters for every inhabitants…
>
> Finally, for one of the ladies of the village, the work developed brought back the pride of her origins, increased her self-esteem, allowing, most of all, a better life perspective for all.
>
> (Helvetas 2007: 33—34)[9]

[9] Portuguese in the original.

However, after one month of operation, the water mechanism stopped working. Rumours spread in Canhane that the pipes were being cut during the night. According to these rumours, people from the village were going into the bush to drill holes in the pipes. Others said the pipes were not strong enough to deal with the water pressure: 'It seems they must be replaced. They were provided by Helvetas ... But they aren't good enough', a resident told me.[10] Soon the technical argument spread all over the village and whenever I spoke to someone and asked 'what happened with the water system you installed?' people spoke of the bad quality of the pipes and/or about the age of the water pump. The NGO again emerged as the guilty party and this became a normative discourse in the village. The interruption of water supply persisted for a long time until the Mozambican government provided new pipes, partly due to institutional pressure from NGO LUPA, the local successor to Helvetas. As the head of the project told me:

> If we were guilty of anything relating to the water supply inefficiency in Canhane, which I don't agree to, now we are not anymore! We have given them everything they needed… We pressured the Water Department of the Government of Gaza to provide them good, I mean very, very good water pipes. What do they want more!?! What will they invent more now!?.[11]

However, despite such asserted efforts the water supply system continued to fail. Actually, the new, 'good' pipes were never installed, and remain stored close to the household of the community leader of Canhane (Figure 46).

[10] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, April 25, 2008.
[11] Interview with LUPA representative, Maputo, September 17, 2008.

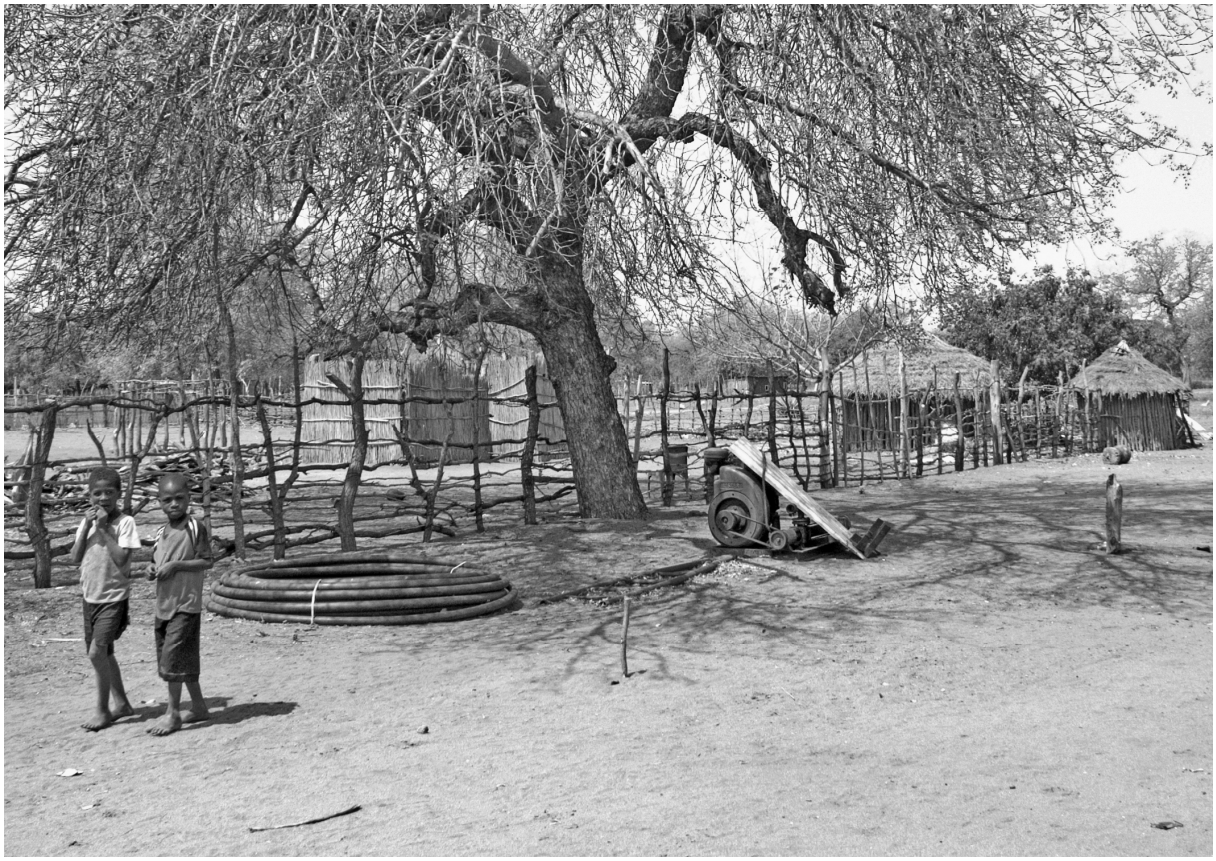

**Figure 46 -** 100 m of the water pipes provided by the Mozambican Government stored near the house of the community leader of Canhane (photograph by the author, October 8, 2008).

Gradually the water problem became an increasingly controversial subject in the village. People used to avoid talking about it to me or in my presence. Their discomfort was not so much a consequence of the lack of water itself, but rather due to the motives behind the stoppage. These were causing a constant renewal of intrigues in the village. The manager of the Covane Community Lodge for instance, used to say whenever the topic was referred to: 'I don't know what happens and I don't want to know!'[12] In general Canhaners started to be very brief when the issue came up, saying '*Ku yila*', which roughly means *taboo* and came to be used regularly to put a stop to my curiosity and to end conversations on the topic. No one in the village was taking action to resolve the mysterious situation and a social climate was established that was not conducive to resolving the problem either – whatever it was!

In the meantime, something very intriguing happened. Several 'development' experts visited the village to see what the impact of tourism in Canhane was. Their purpose was to evaluate the 'local benefits' of tourism and to collect data to mediate future donations in support of such initiatives. Despite the fact that the water supply system had not been

[12] Conversation with the manager of the Covane Community Lodge, Canhane, October 6, 2008.

working for some time, it suddenly began to work during the two-day period that they were there. The community leader's son had gone to Maputo the day before their arrival to buy parts and accessories for the water supply system (purification tablets, extra screws, and so on). He left Canhane at two o'clock in the morning to return again the same day around six in the evening. His commitment was undeniable. On the day after the 'development' experts had left the village the water system stopped supplying water and never functioned again. It had been a protocol of appearance. The episode reinforced categorically the idea that the functioning of the system was primarily a matter of will rather than a technical problem.

As mentioned earlier, a functioning water supply was unanimously the foremost (spoken) desire of the Canhaners, ever since their resettlement to the area in the mid-1970s. I myself witnessed the Canhaners' commitment to reaching this goal in the construction of the pipe-systems. Some developmentourists also *experience* it.[13] However, when the water supply system was finally ready to operate and provide a valuable and needed service, they appeared to reject it. What were the motives behind this? I was not the only person puzzled by this paradoxical situation. The NGO employees often talked of it. On one occasion, when I went to Maputo to attend the annual Tourism Fair organised by the Mozambican Ministry of Tourism, one of the NGO staff members came to me and asked: 'Can you try to find out what is going on and tell us, please?'[14]

## The Gender Rationale

On one occasion the Covane Community Lodge hosted a young Mozambican woman working for LUPA. She came to the lodge to teach people how to organise a small farm, where they would employ conservation methods and grow mainly medicinal plants. This farm would be established near the lodge and would become part of the tourist programme: providing a tour of the sustainable garden. I went to visit her at the lodge together with a friend of mine, a teacher from the school in Canhane. He had been living in Canhane for three years. We chatted about several issues, mostly about each other's professions. Later, after we engaged in more informal conversation he invited her to visit him: 'Next time you come here, you should visit me in Canhane'.[15] She answered: 'Ok, I will try. Maybe I'll love

[13] See chapter 7 – Community (as) Morality.
[14] Conversation with LUPA representative, Maputo (FACIM – Bolsa de Turismo de Maputo), May 16, 2008.
[15] Conversation held at the Covane Community Lodge, Canhane, October 1, 2008.

the place and I'll decide to live there forever… I'm tired of living in the city!' He instantly replied: 'You wouldn't hold out. Women here don't have an easy life. They spend all day working to support their husbands, or if they are not married, the men of their family. The men just lie around all day while the women never stop. And when it is time to eat, they even can't sit on a chair close to the men; they eat sitting on the ground!' After a couple of seconds of silence, he continued: 'That's why no one resolves the water problem in the village. The men are the ones who have power there. Because they don't have to do anything to get water – women do that for them – they don't care! The ones who could quickly resolve this entire situation aren't interested in it'. I was surprised by his criticism. After several months of talking to him regularly, asking him about what the motives behind the passivity on the water issue might be, he had finally given his opinion. Moreover, his comment included an indication of his understanding of the nature of the social (in)action regarding the water problem; that is, the relevance of gender.

According to him, gendered dynamics of authority in Canhane were at the core of the water problem. In fact, several social structures in the village confirmed a significant level of gender inequality. These structures are key determinants in gender relations, serving particularly to legitimate male authority. They can be found in migration, agricultural production, polygamy, the fact that only men can become community leaders, owners of household resources and so on. Although women support society through their productive and reproductive efforts, they are ignored as commanding participants in their own right. I witnessed one dramatic situation that was symptomatic of the amplitude and perception of gender commandment in Canhane. On one occasion, a woman was beaten up severely by a man between the lodge and the village. She had to be transported immediately to the closest health centre in Tihovene. This situation preoccupied the people of Canhane not so much because of the violence involved, but because, as someone told me, 'she has an owner, who will not like to know she was beaten up by someone other than him!'[16]

Although the relations of power between men and women in Canhane are not static – gender dynamics of authority in Canhane are contextual – gender inequality can be found in many aspects of daily life. Central to the purpose of this chapter, the cultural arrangement and reproduction of gender roles in the village plays a primary role in constituting women as water-givers. This is supported by the cultural belief that the life-giving power of water is intertwined with the ability of women to generate human life. Providing water, like providing

[16] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, March 4, 2008.

*life*, is socially, symbolically and historically perceived as a female function in Canhane. In this way the importance of water in Canhane derives from the entanglement of its material qualities with its cultural and symbolic efficacies and, importantly, its role in social ordering; water acts as a social symbolic order through which gender relations are structured. Due to the scarcity of water in the village, the cultural attribution of water-giver to women contributes to reinforcing gendered power relations. This is expressed in many ways. For instance, in the morning it is common to observe women arriving in the village, coming from the banks of the Elephants River, carrying heavy barrels full of water on their heads. Such water-carrying techniques are used exclusively by women who learn to carry water on their heads from an early age, when they become apprentice water-givers. This is an arduous routine, and its exclusive learning by gender reflects and reproduces gender roles and inequalities. In this sense, the existing water order in Canhane is the product of a particular social system.

Therefore, the argument of the teacher was instructive in pointing out the contextually disparate power positions of men and women in Canhane. Gender seemed to be the crucial aspect for defining the willingness and capacity of the collective to solve the water problem.

Some weeks later I went to visit a self-proclaimed specialist in the maintenance of the traditional dances in Canhane. He lived in neighbourhood three. Of the four neighbourhoods in the village, the third is the most culturally 'conservative'. In it are concentrated the highest number of elders and it is where most relevant communal and ancestral ceremonies take place. It is the most 'traditionalist' neighbourhood in Canhane, where memory and social conduct are most strongly reinforced. When I arrived he was not there. I was informed by one of his wives that he would return soon, so I decided to wait for him. In that time I joined a group of people close by and had the chance to listen to an enlightening conversation between women. It was around eight in the evening and getting dark, so it was difficult to see their faces. This may have contributed to a feeling of anonymity in my presence, for they allowed me access to their intimate conversation.[17]

They were seated on two mats in front of one of their houses and they were whispering about the water supply problem in Canhane. 'Everyone has to benefit from it and not only some of us', said one of the women. The other replied, troubled: 'Of course, this water supply system cannot work. It is not good for the village. Otherwise, the ones who benefit from it will suffer the consequences; they should be pursued'. She was referring here to witchcraft.

[17] Conversation held on November 15, 2008.

Witchcraft is a word rarely used among Canhaners but often practised. As a mystical ability to cause harm to others, it functions as a counteractive force in conflict situations. Witchcraft is always about those who want to disturb the others; 'where there is no conflict there will be no witchcraft' (Hammond-Tooke 1989: 84). It is a sign of a dispute.

This was a conversation between women; those who have the task of walking long distances to collect water, and therefore those who would benefit most from the new water supply system. For women the water pipes should have represented a solution, not a problem. Nonetheless, both women were clearly opposed to it, which contradicted the argument of the teacher.[18] Being somewhat older, these two women were both heads of their own households. Because of the practice of polygamy in Canhane, and being senior wives, they were less expected to act as water-givers themselves – this was mainly the work of younger wives. However, there are many cases when older wives and women do in fact have to get water, as substitutes for younger wives. For instance, when a woman has sexual intercourse at night with her husband, she is responsible for serving him breakfast (*mata-bicho*) the next morning. To do so she has to remain within her household and thus cannot fetch water. This task must then be performed by other women (usually the female-headed households), and involves a walk of more than nine kilometres, with half of the women carrying a heavy barrel full of water on their heads. Yet despite having to act in the arduous role of water-givers on occasion, these older women too were against the new water system. This suggests that the deeply entrenched gender relations involved in the control and supply of water were not the only significant factors that caused the failure of the water supply system, as even women 'water-givers' were critical of the new system that was most likely to benefit them above anyone else. Thus, attention to factors other than gender and mechanical problems must be included in this analysis.

[18] It is not my intention to generalise the opinion of these two women as that of the entire female population of the village. Evidently there are various opinions about various subjects among the women. The diversity of opinions in Canhane attests to the heterogeneous quality of the composition of any 'community'. However, this conversation did represent a perspective predominant among the women of Canhane on the issue of water. It is one illustrative example among many other, similar episodes that occurred while I was in Canhane which indicate one common attitude amongst women on the new water scheme in Canhane.

## Spatial Expressions of Control Over the Commons

The current community leader lives in the 'centre' of Canhane. I frequented his household many times, particularly during the Canhu time ('*época do Canhu*'). When I was there, I became conscious of the geographical and special advantages of the location of his house. The village institutions most important for ordering the social were positioned close to his residence: the shallow well, the school (Figure 48), the two state's houses (Figure 49),[19] the main church (Figure 50),[20] the official meeting point of Canhane (Figure 51), the Covane Committee office (Figure 52), the 'bell'[21] used to call the people of the village together (Figure 53), the football field (Figure 54),[22] the main public transport stop, and 'the store'(Figure 55).[23] The location of the community leader's house allowed him easy visual access to the most vital aspects of daily life in the village. It is a privileged location for both understanding and controlling Canhane.

[19] Both are used to accommodate the director and assistant director of the school.
[20] Canhane has three churches: Assembly of God, Zion and Twelve Apostles. Despite the rapid growth of Assembly of God recently, Twelve Apostles, which is located in the '*centre*' of the village, still has more members.
[21] 'The bell' is an iron hung from a tree and is used to announce public meetings.
[22] More than forty young men meet to play, or watch others play, football every day around six in the evening except for Sundays.
[23] This concrete block house used to be called *a loja*, which means 'the store'. It was run by an association that sold various consumer products. Today it is rarely frequented by consumers, but is a common place for people to stop by.

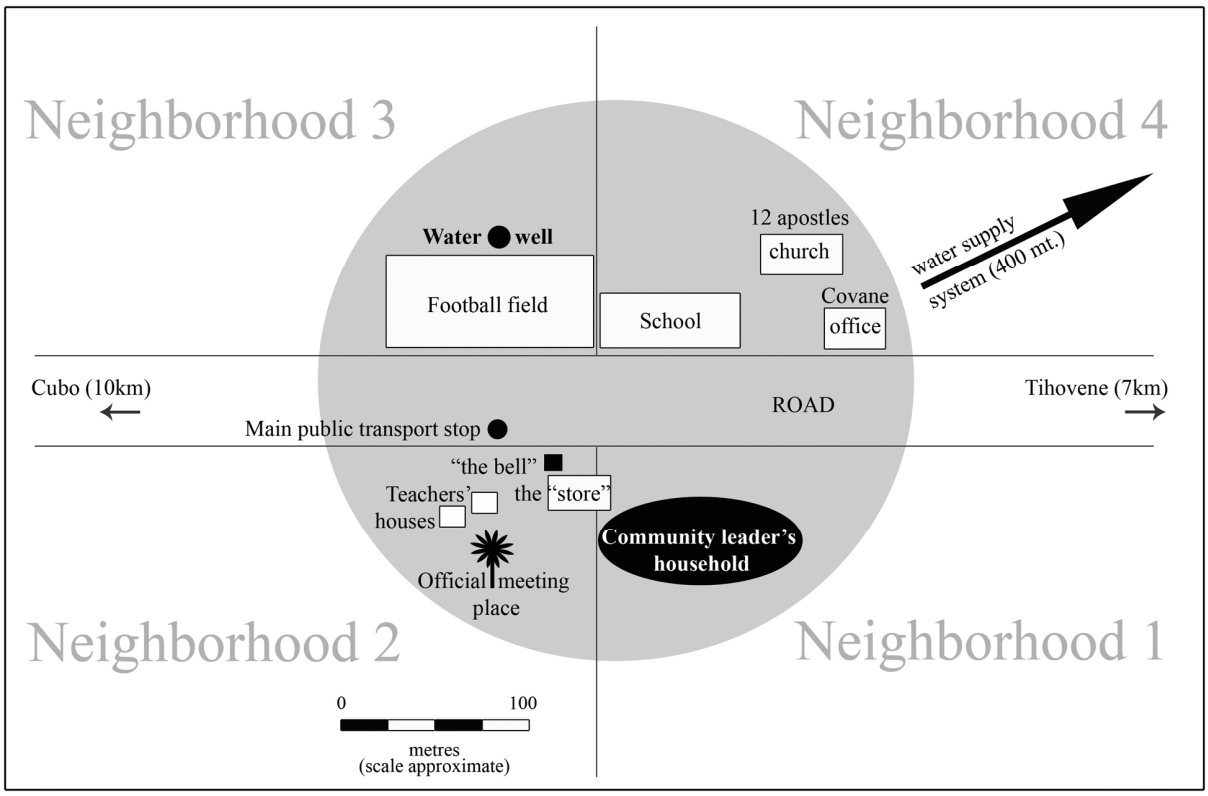


**Figure 47 -** The 'centre' of Canhane. Diagram by the author.

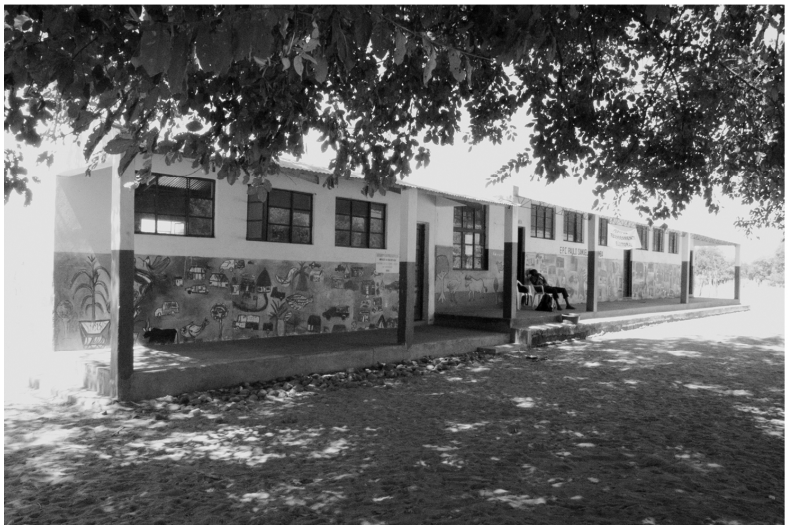

**Figure 48 - S**chool of Canhane (photograph by the author, February 23, 2008).

**Figure 49 -** One of the state's houses in Canhane, where a teacher was living (photograph by the author, October 16, 2008).

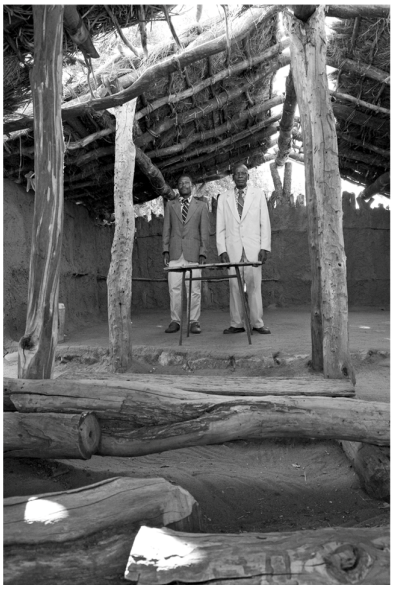

**Figure 50 -** The Twelve Apostles church and its two priests (photograph by the author, February 23, 2008).

**Figure 51 -** The official meeting point in Canhane, where the majority of the inhabitants meet to debate topics related to the village (photograph by the author, October 8, 2008).


**Figure 52 -** The Covane Committee office in Canhane. (photograph by the author, January 30, 2008).

**Figure 53** - The iron bell (photograph by the author, October 18, 2008).

**Figure 54 -** The football field (photograph by the author, February 11, 2008).

**Figure 55 -** 'The store' is a concrete block house that is rarely frequented by consumers, but is a common place for people to stop by (photograph by the author, February 16, 2008).

The area around the community leader's household (see the grey circle, Figure 47) is understood to be the communal place in the village. I was told, for example, that I could walk freely there. 'Although it has a lot of things, there are not so many houses there and so you can walk around without restraint … well, it is the centre of here',[24] said one resident. The idea of a place cannot exist in the absence of some externality or oppositional element (Thomas 1992). Thus, without expressing it directly, this comment also implied the reverse: elsewhere else I needed to be more attentive and could not walk so freely. In fact, this was confirmed repeatedly whenever people gave me directions. For example, outside the 'centre' I was often told not to walk straight to the place I wanted to go to, but rather given directions which meant skirting around apparently empty spaces. These empty spaces are understood as *g!uéque*, which are open air household areas without fences, a common phenomenon in Canhane. But when I was in the village 'centre', people always told me to go straight to wherever I wanted to go. This central area is understood and ordered as the public space of Canhane, while the rest consists of intimate and private spaces.

Such representations of space also give clues about the perception of the 'publicness' (Hudson and Jones 2005) of goods being dependent on their location. That is the case for water in Canhane. Despite its scarcity, water in the village was always positioned at the 'centre', in the communal shallow well; it is acknowledged as 'public' like the place itself. Accordingly, moving the access point for water out of a 'public' space and into a 'private' zone risks fostering perceptions of 'private' ownership of it. This change in the location of the village's main source of water also risked its alienation from the purview of the community leader, because it was now out of his physical line of sight. Moreover, (the

[24] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, January 27, 2008.

apprehension over) the reduction of his personal control over this water was conducive to collective perceptions of the 'privateness' of the resource: the 'public' was colonized by the 'private' (Bauman 2000: 37). Water became an empowering mechanism of privatisation in people's minds, confronting them with new ways of ordering the social that undermined existing conceptions and practices of authority.

The controlling location of the community leader in the village is reinforced by the gathering of communal materials around his central position. It acts as a self-reinforcing system: his central location is reinforced by his attraction for communal goods and vice versa. The Covane truck, for instance, is always parked close to the community leader's house, even though the driver lives elsewhere. Such daily conduct reflects and reiterates a way of ordering the social and thereby maintaining a social equilibrium. Its permanent control by the community leader provides the Covane truck with the signification of collectivity (as collective good) – its private control has a public dimension. This is also true of other (communal) equipment kept close to his house, like wooden stakes, tubes, old generators, metal sheeting for roofs, empty containers, plastic chairs, and of course redundant or uninstalled water pipes. The control of these goods by the community leader validates difference. It enables him – the controller – to authenticate his hierarchical rank and legitimises his role as the community leader. Furthermore, the 'centre', where he lives, is collectively defined as a space of social power.

What are the reasons for this spatial configuration? And why does the exclusive control of the community leader over some goods represent 'publicness' in Canhane? Only a historical analysis will make it possible to understand the social motives behind the centralisation of the commons around the figure of the community leader, and in turn, why this plays such a key role in the water supply dilemma in Canhane.

## Placing Symbols: The *Zitha* Lineage and the Community Leader

After the last ruler of the Gaza Empire (the actual region in which Canhane is located) was captured and exiled by the Portuguese in 1895, the colonial authorities institutionalized traditional community leaders as administrative intermediaries in the region, according to the customary law. This was applied all over Mozambique and later led to the code of

*Indigenato*,[25] which was officially adopted in 1928. In it the Portuguese colonial regime delineated the responsibilities of the community leaders.[26] As compensation, they were paid by the colonial state. The Portuguese colonial regime adopted 'local' rules of power succession and let customary practices govern the arbitration of disputes (O'Laughlin 2000: 17), which has contributed to strengthening the authority of community leaders over populations. They have derived personal benefit and accumulated power for themselves (West and Kloeck-Jenson 1999: 456).

The colonial system contributed to increased grassroots separatism. It intensified internal class distinctions between the *natives*[27] themselves. The Land Law of 1918, for instance, divided all land into three classes: state land, land under private tenure, and the native reserves (O'Laughlin 2000: 10), which were under the control of the community leaders. In these *indigenous* areas, community leaders could expand their own personal power, owning (some of) 'the means of production'. Institutional conceded autonomy has given them authority among the population and it was determinant to fortify practices of differential control of communal resources. The colonial regime was also about strengthening 'traditional authority'.

The abolition of the *Indigenato* in 1961 did not entail any fundamental change in the organization of governance of community leaders in rural areas; rather their position was regularized (ibid.: 21). In fact, mainly due to the rise of national liberation movements, the power of 'local' authorities was even strengthened by the colonial regime. Community leaders started to be seen by the Portuguese as possible allies in the resistance against the emerging national liberation front.

Therefore, when FRELIMO took power in Mozambique after its independence (1975), community leaders, who were understood as the partners of the colonists, were officially excluded from positions of authority – hereditary chieftaincy was abolished. The new socialist regime pushed forward new territorial power arrangements. It encouraged the formation of dynamising groups (*gupos dinamizadores*) in every village, which were

[25] According to Mamdani (1996), *Indigenato* was a political system that subordinated Mozambicans to regional chiefs.

[26] Responsibilities such as informing Portuguese administrators about available laborers and recruits for the colonial army, collecting household taxes, controlling the entrance of 'foreigners' in their area of jurisdiction who were not carrying a valid pass, and enforcing the state wine monopoly (Serra 2000: 385).

[27] The 1899 Labor Law officially introduced this distinction between two classes of people living in Mozambique: *natives* and *non-natives* – or *civilized*. Later, in 1917, an intermediate category was established – the *assimilated*. However, the divide between *native* and *non-native* remained as the politically and socially most applicable one.

expected to act as provisional political organisations. It also stimulated the inclusion of 'village secretaries' who would act as representatives of the FRELIMO government. The main intention behind the implementation of both these local government structures was to diminish long-standing customary institutions, which were then decried as legacies of colonial rule.

However, the implementation of co-operative and participant decision-making was not applied successfully in all areas. Canhane was one of these places. Today, Canhane is the only village in the Massingir administrative area that does not have a village secretary. Moreover, in all my time in Canhane I did not find any evidence of the existence of any 'dynamising group' associated with the FRELIMO government. In 1975, FRELIMO divided the dynamising group's structure in Canhane into three groups: one for culture, one for agriculture, and one for the organisation of Mozambican women.[28] However, these have faded over time and now they are completely non-existent in the village. Thus, Canhane represents the failure of the collectivisation policy projected by FRELIMO onto such villages: most people do not pay taxes and co-operative production does not exist anymore, if indeed it ever did.[29] People work on their own fields and the community leader is still recognised as *the* authority in the village.

Let me tell of an episode that demonstrates well the singularity the hegemony of a lineage and one individual as the primary social authority in Canhane represents in the post-colonial context.

After a month or so of conducting field work in Canhane, the teachers of the school told me about 'an American girl who is in the Limpopo National Park for more than one year for *defending* and living with the communities, like you are' –[30] instead of *researching*, the teachers used to say *defending* when they talked about the presence of academic researchers in the region. After that, I was frequently asked: 'Did you already talk with her?' According to what they said, she was conducting field work to finish her 'graduation' somewhere in United States of America. Later I confirmed she was collecting data for her PhD in the Netherlands. Her presence in the region for more than one year intensified my curiosity about her. We finally met in the middle of April, at the town of Tihovene. I was immediately

[28] This became known as Organização da Mulher Moçambicana – OMM.
[29] After independence and the resettlement of Canhane, a *machamba do povo* (people's agricultural field) was established in the village, materialising FRELIMO's socialist ideology of agricultural co-operatives and the communal sharing of produced goods. However, according to residents, this project was abandoned in Canhane even before the Mozambican civil war started in 1977.
[30] Conversation with one teacher of the school in Canhane, Canhane, February 14, 2008.

surprised by her fluency in Portuguese, which confirmed her long presence in Mozambique. After that, we met briefly several times. It was only in October 2008 that we had the first long conversation, and we shared experiences and information concerning our (academic) topics. She told me how she was particularly engaged in the relation between culture and environment. She spoke about a theory she was developing regarding the ascension of power by the 'traditional community leaders in the villages in the Limpopo National Park that will be resettled'.[31] As she said, 'the traditional community leaders are almost nothing in these places. The power and authority are in the hands of the political leaders [village secretaries]. However, with the ongoing resettlement processes, this is now changing, and it seems the traditional leaders are recovering some of the social power and influence that the independence had taken away from them'. And then she asked me: 'How is the relation between the political and the traditional leader in Canhane?' I told her that I never had heard about the existence of a 'political leader' in Canhane. 'No, really? But you should check it better', she said, 'because, at least in this region in Mozambique, every village has a political leader – it's an effect of the country's independence'. I gave her counter arguments, from my own experience in the village, pointing to the non-existence of such a figure in Canhane. Nevertheless, she continued defending her version: 'That's impossible! Every village has a political leader here!' Meanwhile, after we had been speaking about this topic for one hour, a woman joined us. She was the assistant of the American researcher. It happens that she was from Canhane. 'Good that you arrived', the researcher said to her while looking at me, 'Now we'll clarify once and for all our difference: do you know the political leader of Canhane?' Her answer came promptly: 'There's no political leader there'. 'What?', said the researcher surprised, 'How's that possible? Almost two years living in this region and I never heard of a community without a political leader!' Then her assistant said, 'Well, this is a different case: don't forget that the village calls Canhane'. She looked in the eyes of the researcher, and started smiling, just before she elucidated her: 'which means stubborn people… There is only one leader there: the community leader, who is a *Zitha*'.

Canhane contradicts simplistic notions that resettled people across southern Africa are more easily controlled by government (Fabricius 2004: 9). Non-compliance in Canhane, particularly the rejection and lack of interest in state policies, has idiosyncratic motivations. One of these is the distinctive role of ruling lineages. All the surrounding villages are *Ngovene* areas, which means they were founded by the *Ngovene* family lineage. As addressed

[31] Conversation with academic researcher, Tihovene, October 4, 2008.

in chapter one, Canhane was once also a *Ngovene* area but now it is dominated by *Zithas*, a different family lineage. Summarizing what was noted before (pp. 34—37), I was often told that this change took place in such a mulish way that Marunzele, the first *Zitha* in the village and the one responsible for this shift, was named Canhane, which, as the assistant of the American researcher said, means stubborn. Soon afterward his death the lands were called the lands of *Zitha* Canhane – the stubborn *Zitha* – or just Canhane.

Once I was aware of this history of Canhane I tried to track the *Zithas*, historically and geographically. I was told by the community leader that the *Zithas* came from a region about 150 kilometres away from Canhane called Caniçado, which is in the district of Guijá. There I talked to men who belonged to long-established, pre-colonial lineages. In the beginning I only met people of the *Cuinica* lineage. The *Zithas* seemed non-existent there. However, after a few days of persistent searching I met a man, the eldest brother of the community leader of the Chimbembe village, who provided me with the following narrative:

> Zitha is the same as Cuinica. A long time ago whenever a Cuinica man fought against others he used to yell if victorious: "Zitháááááá!" It was also common whenever a Cuinica completed hard work successfully to go to an open place, for instance the middle of the village, and yell: "Zitháááááá!" So, after some time, many people started to call us Zitha instead of Cuinica. The difference is that nowadays there is a tendency to call Zitha only to those Cuinica who have moved from here. Actually, I suppose Canhane is the only place outside of Guijá which is governed by Zitha. They are Cuinica who moved. But we are all the same. Cuinica and Zitha belong to the same family.[32]

The origin of Canhane is understood to be entrenched not only in a stubborn personal attitude taken by its first leader – Marunzele Zitha – but also in a lineage-principle of triumph: 'Zitháááááá!' Both are historical and mythological aspects of the lineage commanding Canhane. Moreover, this narrative of *Zitha* distinctiveness has become embedded in Canhane culture.

Public commemorations and events often express the way societies institutionalize mythologies and explicitly reinforce them to their history. Every December, for example, several men from Canhane organise the *Zitha Football Cup*. The event, paid for through

[32] Conversation held at the Chimbembe village in the district of Chivonguene (which borders on Guijá), October 30, 2008.

remittances from Canhane emigrants living in South Africa, is well known beyond the local vicinity reaching villages as far as 140 kilometres away. In the 2008 Cup, the winning team won 8000 metical (240 Euro), and the second-place team won 4000 metical (120 Euro).[33] There is no other public event in the region with a similar lineage reference. The founding of a *Zitha* event illustrates Canhaners' self-confidence in a particular lineage and it reinforces the connection between a territory and a lineage group. 'Canhane is Zitha … Zitha and Canhane mean the same', the community leader's cousin (and a security guard in the lodge) once told me.[34] Like other sorts of 'languages and practices of land' (Fountein 2006) that combine space and genealogy, labelling a public event with a lineage name reflects a sense of territorial and genealogical pride, whereby distinctiveness is reminded and affirmed. Moreover, the annual dissemination of this message perpetuates and informs about the *Zitha*'s dominance within the locale; Canhane itself.

Consequently, it might be useful to consider Canhane's resistance to selected government policies as intrinsically related to local representations of lineage uniqueness, and territorial integrity. As essential features of past-oriented modes of self-identity, the legendary *Zitha* lineage and the 'stubborn' birth of the village have become important components of social identity among ruling Canhaners. Furthermore, the physical arrangement of space in Canhane, particularly the 'centre' as a situated practice promoting the control of the commons by the community leader – a *Zitha* – is a result of these historical circumstances. The *Canhane past* operates as a symbolic resource which reproduces cultural meanings and validates contemporary power and social ordering arrangements. Any deviation from this norm, even if the result of participatory 'development', as was the case with the implementation of the new water system, and particularly the location of water taps outside the 'centre', is a source of contestation, quarrels and, potentially, social upheaval. The social motivations behind contradictory behaviour towards the new water supply system are driven by processes that position (physically and symbolically) a particular past as central to ordering the present. In Mosse's (2008: 947) words, 'water systems involve the interplay of past and present embedded in a landscape that is a store of … residues of meaning, as well as ecological constraints'. Correspondingly, past-oriented practices that have been ordering everyday life in Canhane are now the root of anxieties over (present) *change*. Thus, as Schafer and Bell (2002) have also addressed in reference to Mozambique, the Canhane case illustrates the importance of considering contested 'local pasts' in order to understand

[33] Assuming 1 Euro = 33.607 Metical (December 16, 2008).
[34] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 7, 2008.

perceptions of, and reactions to, contemporary 'community-based' projects. In other words, understanding how such 'community-based projects' will be received, and what responses they may provoke, requires not only a thorough understanding of local histories, but also of local historiographies.

The actual power and authority of the community leader in Canhane relies less on his personality and more on his role as a symbol of a legendary past – *Zitha*. As Foucault (1978, 1980) and many others have since discussed, power resides not in things, persons or institutions, but rather in relations. In Canhane, the power of the community leader is relational, it is in part a consequence of a communal concession; he has been given the duty to exercise it. The population of Canhane is then an accomplice in processes of social differentiation. The use of the past plays a determinant role as a source of the social validation of such differences because while allowing the present community leader to exercise power, the collective is using historical accomplishments to regulate their present life. The control over resources such as water that is vested in the community leader in Canhane is a consequence of social interaction and validation, and not the result of charisma nor the attributes of the leader's *Zitha* lineage. Furthermore, his control and its spatial manifestation – the geographical centralisation of social institutions – are verified by the population of Canhane, and thus are essential elements in the continuation of specific social modes of ordering society in Canhane.

**The 'House for Tourists'**

Another analogous case of conflicting social processes induced by tourism and also caused by the challenging of the spatial forms of the control of the commons, occurred during my permanence in the village. Briefly, when I first met with the director of NGO LUPA, in Maputo, he showed his disappointment by the failure of what he considered a, 'very smart idea'.[35] Accordingly, the NGO had proposed an idea for a new tourist product to the members of the Social Management Committee. As the director of the NGO said, 'it would be something to be promoted in the Covane Lodge to the tourists. Something as: "come to spend a night in the village"'. Basically, the tourists would have the opportunity to be accommodated in Canhane, spend the night and wake up embedded in 'village life'. 'However', he added, 'for that we would have to build a new house in the village, more or less similar to the houses they have, but with more comfort inside. But, they didn't accept it'.

[35] Interview with the director of LUPA, Maputo, January 18, 2008.

The reason gave by the NGO's director for the Canhaners' negative reaction was that, 'they don't want wealthy manifestations inside the village, so they were afraid of this house and refused it'. Curiously, in line with this a Mozambican working for Dutch GTZ in Maputo told me once, 'usually people from local communities in Mozambique must leave the place where they were born in order to try to be wealthy. It's as if, in order to achieve and be able to show wealth, they must begin a new local community elsewhere, from and for them'.[36]

Although these comments inform an interesting aspect in some way related to the secrecy of wealth, which to a certain degree was confirmed throughout my fieldwork, the fact is that house landscaping in Canhane is changing mainly because of the new houses that Canhane emigrants living in South Africa are building. The majority of them are brick houses, therefore exhibiting signs of wealth in contrast with the precarious setting left by the other houses where most of the Canhaners live (Figure 56). Moreover, I obtained data attesting that having a brick house is not only a common aspiration of the majority of the residents, but also a socially approved realization.

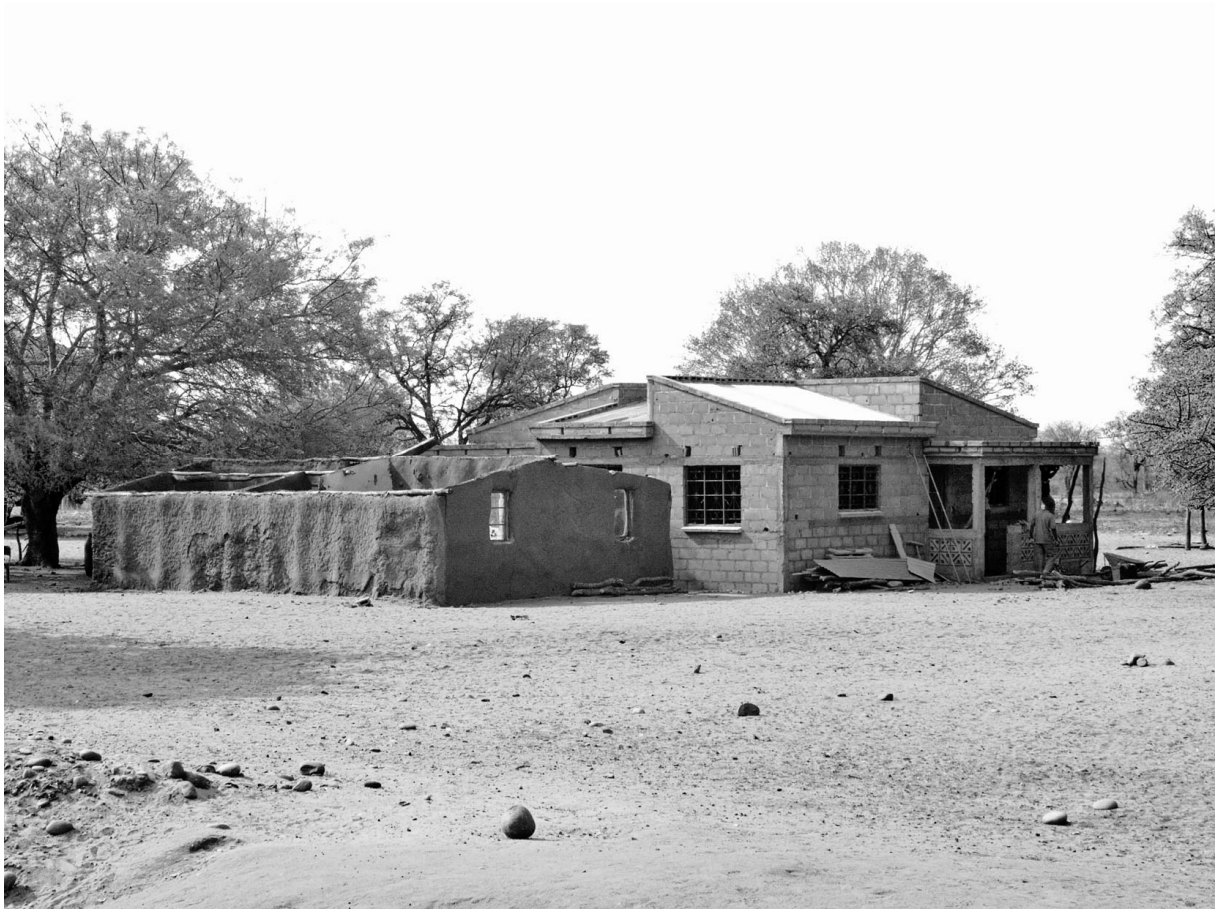

**Figure 56 -** Brick house being built close to old house in Canhane (photograph by the author, March 28, 2008).

[36] Conversation with GTZ member, Maputo, December 8, 2008.

At one point I heard an interesting comment about the NGO's idea of implementing a house for tourists in the village. It came from the receptionist of the Covane Lodge. Firstly, he informed me of his unfamiliarity with the subject. But then I asked him: 'But do you think it is a matter of money? I mean, maybe there is not enough money to build the "house for tourists"'. He instantly replied: 'No, no, no. For sure, that's not the problem. There is always money for these things!'[37] His reaction informs his conscience of the availability of *funds* for 'community development' through developmentourism. More concretely, and confirmed to me by an employee of LUPA two months later, the costs for building such house were guaranteed by an *external* 'development' program. More than a realistic business opportunity for the population of Canhane, the 'house for tourists' exemplified an opportunity for attracting funds to the NGO *in charge of the project*, and it was planned within the 'development' framework of 'community empowerment' via tourism.

It took me a long time and numerous conversations in Canhane to understand what was behind the negation of the implementation of a *free* 'house for tourists' in the village. The problem was that this house would have to be built close to someone fluent in English and/or Portuguese in order to give support to the tourists accommodated. Two places were considered: in the corner of the neighbourhood one, or in the corner of the neighbourhood four (See Figure 47, p.132). Both places were far from the centre of the village. As one of the people living close to one of the intended building sites told me, 'In the end, the community leader refused it. He said that the house to be built should be in the centre and not at the household that already has an owner'.[38] Implicit in his decision, also supported by many other Canhaners, was the assumption that the implementation of the 'house for tourists' close to, or in, the household of someone, and far from the 'centre' of the village, would bring benefits to that person or family and not for the 'community'. In other words, the benefits of tourism would be privatized.

[37] Conversation with the receptionist of the Covane Lodge, Canhane, February 12, 2008.
[38] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, October 5, 2008.

## Perceptions of the 'Publicness' and 'Privateness' of Water

Developmentourists visiting Canhane are told by Canhaners that communal resources in the village do not belong to individuals – not even to the community leader – but to the 'community'. In a conversation about tourists, tourism, and Canhane, a man – the oldest one present – made this self-understanding clear, though indirectly. He told me: 'The benefits of tourism are not for me, for her [pointing to a women passing by carrying a barrel full of water on her head] or for any one in the village. It should not be like that! No person should gain anything from that. The benefits of tourism must be for the community, for all of us here'.[39] His statement assumes a dichotomy between the individualisation and collectivisation of assets, pointing to a distinction between the 'publicness' and 'privateness' of goods. Accordingly, the 'benefits of tourism' are informed broadly as a collective claim and precisely because they are a communal resource, like water, they should not belong to any individual but to the 'community'. This was also indirectly manifested through the answers I got in semi-structured interviews to the residents. Let me give an example:

Me: Has your life been changed because of tourism and Covane Lodge?
Him: No. It is still the same. If anything changed, it wasn't because of it.
Me: What do you think about tourism in Canhane?
Him: I think it is good.
Me: Why?
Him: Because it brings benefits for the community.
Me: What do you mean by 'benefits for the community'?
Him: Tourists leave money to help the community.
Me: In what way does their money help the community?
Him: Because with that money we built the school, the Covane office, and the water tank.[40]

The responses and explanations of this Canhaner reflect the prevailing answers I obtained whenever I engaged in the questions-topic of personal *versus* collective benefits of tourism. There were also occasions when their answers leaped directly to the collective perspective:

[39] Conversation with Canhane resident, December 4, 2008.
[40] Interview with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 25, 2008.

Me: Has your life been changed because of tourism and Covane Lodge?

Her: Yes.

Me: How come?

Her: Because the community has now a new classroom and a water tank.

Me: In what way did the new classroom and the water tank change your life then?

Her: Didn't change my life in anything.

Me: But you just said your life has changed because of the Covane…

Her: Nããã, the life of the community.[41]

The benefits of tourism are integrated in the 'discourse of community'. The Canhaners' focus on the collectiveness of benefits could be interpreted as an outcome of the moral ideology underlying the 'community-based' venture. Moreover, the similarity of their answers also informs *customary* cultural perspectives in the village of the dominion of the social over the individual. Communal goods, like communal benefits, are thus declared 'public': a collective assertion. It follows that social orderliness in Canhane is not based on who *owns* the commons but rather on who controls it. This is understood as the duty of the community leader. The 'public' is the domain of the community leader and control of the 'public' signifies status and authority. Such cultural mechanisms of authority are an essential component in the normative expectations of the population of the village. However, it is crucial to highlight that this is fundamentally a collective expectation and not gender-based, even if the roles ('water giver' or 'controller') that derive from it are highly gendered. That is why women, who have the exigent task of getting water and could expect the most benefits from the new water supply system in Canhane, did not approve it.

It has been demonstrated that 'extra-local' skills may be claimed by some people in a locality in order to gain influence and power (Edel 1966). In contrast to the community leader, the individual chosen to supervise the water supply system in Canhane seems to fit this model. The level of his knowledge of the water technology and provision was vital for his nomination by Canhaners. However, their choice was contrary to long-established or 'customary' forms of ordering the social. His nomination gave him an 'extra-local' source of legitimacy; as the *controller* of the water in the village, which is now linked to (positive) tourism impacts, he became a sort of representative (of Canhane) to the *outside*; he embodied the successful 'development' case that Canhane represents to the *outside*, particularly to

[41] Interview with Canhane resident, Canhane, March 4, 2008.

tourists and to 'development' experts. He also had to manage a myriad of duties, people, and things related to his new mission. One of these is charging money per barrel of water, a key but unenviable task, necessary to support the maintenance costs of the water supply system. These circumstances not only empowered him as an individual, but also reinforced collective perceptions of the 'privateness' and appropriation of water in Canhane, which were in direct conflict with established social organisation and power structures in the village. Such collective perceptions and the social apprehension carried with them are not exclusive to contemporary Canhane society. Historical research across the region indicates that the effective, 'appropriation of water was often key to the appropriation of land in southern Africa settler colonies' (Fontein 2008: 745). For example, Mazarire's (2008) work on Chishanga in southern Zimbabwe has shown how the power derived from controlling surface water (rivers) and rain (through rain-making ceremonies) is inherently linked to a sense of ownership of land and contests over authority. Accordingly, in Canhane the new water supply project was also interpreted as a means for de-legitimising 'traditional' authority (community leader) over the land and over society.

The 'developmental' failure of Canhane's water project owes more to how Canhaners interpreted the water supply system, than to the effective service that it would bring to the village. The symbolic significance of the water tank is entrenched in structures of authority and conceptions of 'public' and 'non-public' spaces. This indicates that such water supply projects should not be interpreted on the basis of their functional and technical potentialities alone without reference to the complex social, cultural, historical, and political representations in which it is embedded.

Finally, the complex, contested, and contradictory ways in which the control of water and social power converge in Canhane also resonate with broader neoliberal processes of commodification and the 'privatisation' of resources like water, and indeed popular responses to them. Existing scholarship that has explored how neoliberal strategies for the 'production of water' have been adopted across Africa, and particularly in South Africa, are helpful in this domain (Debbané 2007: 224). For example both Buntu Siwisa (2008) and Von Schnitzler (2008) have explored the complex politics involved in the establishment of neoliberal water provision and new water technologies, and popular responses and protests against them, in the townships of Durban and Johannesburg in South Africa. These conflicts show how the 'local' is linked to the 'external'. They reflect the impulses of the 'neoliberal' world and its counter-reactions generated 'from below'. In part a response to such social conflicts arising from the 'privatisation of water', there has been a corresponding 'developmental' anti-

privatisation shift, particularly since the 1990s; this has fed into oft promoted ‘community-based’ water management approaches (Bakker 2003: 335). This ideological shift introduced principles of ‘water democracy’ and water as a human right into ongoing debates about water provision.

However, the ‘community-based’ water approach deployed in Canhane was sensed to cause an opposite effect: the ‘privateness’ of water. In Canhane, the placement of the water-supply system outside of the ‘centre’ of the village was perceived as a threat to an established social order by effecting a ‘privatisation’ of a public resource. If the water supply project had succeeded, Canhaners would have become *clients*, instead of *users*, of what they perceive and construct as a ‘public’ good. Thus, as an effect of expansionist ‘development’ discourses of participation and ‘community’ management, Canhane has implemented and reproduced wider neoliberal norms, which have activated social and ideological conflicts around the world. In the end, the inevitable social reordering provoked by the implementation of the new water scheme in Canhane was shown to be dependent on intra-social flexibility and a willingness to challenge established structures and spatialities of authority. This social flexibility and willingness to change was lacking, and so the water scheme has remained unfulfilled.

## Conclusion

The control of the community leader over the commons is an important contemporary form of ordering the social in Canhane. The process of the personal connection to communal goods and institutions is bound to a collective reliance on a localised practice: the centralisation of the commons around the community leader’s house. Such spatial configuration informs the relationship between the population and the village itself, and it both reproduces and derives from social meaning. The ‘centre’ is not a product of chance but a project of order, the basis of social hierarchies, representations of ‘publicness’ and controlling behaviour; it orders the lives of Canhane’s residents while reproducing a specific past. In the ‘centre’ we find, what Foucault (2007: 32) called: ‘the disciplinary treatment of multiplicities in space’. That is to say, it represents the constitution of a specific space within which the multiplicities are constructed and organized according to the principle of hierarchy, communications of relations of power, and functional effects specific to this distribution.

The orderly social practices that co-ordinate people in the village were challenged by the implementation of the water supply system, which carried with it new ways of organising

society. By resorting to the new taps implemented outside of the 'centre', even for a short period, Canhaners realised that they in turn were undermining 'traditional leadership' and allowing new forms of authority. Such new practices, that temporarily disciplined water users according to logics of 'privateness', were understood as confrontational social behaviour. Water was located at the core of contested spatialities of power (Fountein 2008: 751), generating a landscape of insecurity. This led to 'intra-community' conflict. Rumours about the sabotaging of water pipes and the prolonged periods of inoperability reflect this social turmoil. As many have pointed out, it is through regular use that institutions are strengthened (Selznich, in Manning 2002: 81). Therefore, through not being used, the new water supply system could not gain strength and social acceptance, illustrating the central place of water as an arena of social reliability on established, 'traditional' structures of power. Changing the point of public access to a communal resource like water from the 'public centre' to the 'private periphery', and the coinciding shift in control from the community leader to the president of the water committee, challenged established structures of power that were understood as 'traditional', and legitimised by recognised and celebrated versions of local lineage history.

The decentralisation of communal resources was not locally sanctioned in Canhane, even if a new water supply was strongly, even 'universally' desired, and it represented a threat to established forms of ordering the social. It challenged the engrained canons that regulated society. Consequently, despite the long desired improvement that the implementation of the new water supply would bring to the Canhaners, it also threatened to undermine the spatial ordering of society and thereby cause social upheaval. The larger issue at stake here is that the social conflicts that emerged in Canhane can be seen as a criticism 'from below' of the widely celebrated but normative consensus that exists about the beneficial effects of 'community development' ideology. The flawed outcome of the 'participatory', 'community development' strategies that were deployed (and widely celebrated) in Canhane illustrate the importance of questioning, rather than simply adopting commonplace, 'developmental' rhetoric which assumes that simply because the process is 'community-based' and 'participatory', it is bound to succeed.

However, the subject of the water supply system in the village is not finished yet. We should not forget that along with the 'developmental' impinge Canhane is (also) a tourism place. So, a pertinent question arises from such dual-associated engagement: in what way does 'development' influence Canhaners presentation of the village to tourists and tourists'

ways of looking at it? I believe the water tank can give us good hints for answering this. The next chapter tries to explain precisely why and how that is so.

# 5 The Route of Needs

I have shown the social motivations and cultural complexities inherent in the water supply impasse in Canhane. By such analysis, I have raised arguments that connote the new water structure in the village to a (serviceable) waste. In other words, after all the effort and revenues spent on it, its persistent inoperability should make the new water supply system a failure. However, such an immediate conclusion proved to be wrong.

After I left Mozambique I found myself occasionally speaking about the water situation in Canhane to different people. The majority expressed bewilderment about the outcome of the effort made by Canhaners, particularly some of my colleagues at the Institute of Ethnology of Martin Luther University, and Mozambicans living in the city of Halle, in Germany. As an example, a prominent academic researcher sent me once an e-mail reflecting this reluctance, where he asked me 'Why did no-one think of this before when slogging their guts out digging the second ditch which it is claimed was the decision of the village?'[1]

The truth is, the new water mechanism revealed to be an adequate and coherent achievement for one purpose: developmentourism. The water tank's phenomenon in Canhane gives expressive hints for answering Urry's, 'interesting question whether it is in fact possible to construct a postmodern tourist site around absolutely any object' (Urry 2002: 92). Although it does not represent the typical distinctive exotic feature that might attract tourists to visit an *African village*, the water tank has not only become a tourist sight in Canhane, but the most visited spot by tourists. Why? I might simply answer, *because tourists are guided to it*. However, although it is concordant with the facts, such answer falls into oversimplification and hides important contexts that justify the touristic *success* of the new water infrastructure. It is precisely those contexts that I want bring to light in the following pages.

In short, a deep analysis of the water supply site's phenomenon reveals that the new water mechanism in Canhane fulfils the requirements of a 'community-based tourism' project. It explicitly incorporates four essential vectors of its ideology: (1) 'community development', (2) 'community participation', (3) 'community empowerment', and (4)

[1] Personal communication, March 6, 2009.

tourism. That means it represents the solution to surpass the most relevant shortage informed by the Canhaners' own *felt needs* ('community development'), it was accomplished by Canhane residents ('community participation' and 'community empowerment'), and it was possible due to tourism revenues (tourism).

Following this preamble let me say that I am not defending the idea that the water tank was designed (just) to be gazed upon by developmentourists. My analysis is not on *what were the ('real') motives behind the Canhaners effort in building the water mechanism*, but rather on *how and why it has become a tourist phenomenon*. It is in respect to the last proposition that I affirm that the water tank has the potential to represent what was initially projected for Canhane: 'community development' through tourism. It embodies the solution to the water scarcity in the village. The fact that it does not work, and thus its social effect is distant from its original purpose (supply water to the population), is not relevant for becoming the most relevant tourist sight in Canhane. What is determinant for its touristic *success* is its *form*, its higher ability to represent something that the tourists and the *developers* seek in Canhane through tourism: a 'developmental' solution that resolved a dearth problem. As Urry (2002: 117) addressed, 'We do not literally "see" things. Particularly as tourists we see objects constituted as signs. They stand for something else … such signs function metaphorically'. In other words, the touristic *success* of the water mechanism relies in its ability to be a symbol of 'community development'. It is this latter suggestion that I want to push further. How is this expressed?

**Figure 57** – Tourists preparing to take a photograph in Canhane (photograph by Erick, June 6, 2007).

## Developmental Touring in Canhane

The tourist accommodation in Canhane is outside of the village. This spatial configuration raises particular impacts of tourists in Canhane. In practical terms, the lodge can be full of tourists without necessarily originating face-to-face contact between them and Canhaners other than those working at the lodge. The involuntary contact the tourists have with the village and its inhabitants is on their way to the lodge, when they travel the road that divides Canhane. But even then there are cases when tourists arrive at Covane Lodge directly by boat, coming from the other side of the river where Limpopo National Park lays. In particular the Machampane Wilderness Camp, situated in the Lebombo Mountains in the park, used to organize direct trips to the Covane Lodge by crossing the Elephants River.

However, there is a prevalent ordered way for tourists encounter Canhaners: the 'village walk'.[2] The village walk is basically a tourist product that can be purchased at the reception of the lodge and it has become the most *genuine* setting of tourism exhibition.

The village walk is not the only way for tourists visit Canhane. Actually, they are also encouraged to visit it on their own, whenever they want. This is expressed in some texts

[2] Originally announced in Portuguese: 'Passeio á aldeia'.

available at the lodge. Yet, such *friendly invitation* also instigates some awareness on the tourists. In the same texts there is the following remark: 'The risks are not the responsibility of the Covane Community Lodge'. In a context where the setting is perceived as unfamiliar to the tourists, such observation might reinforce apprehensiveness in their feelings, and appeals for more secure ways of experiencing the village. The fact is, during my presence in Canhane I never saw tourists walking *unaccompanied* there. All those who visited had requested the village walk and paid for that service. This aspect is important because, although tourists can visit Canhane on their own without being charged, they decided to *consume* (pay) for the experience. It was their choice to pay for something that can be accessed for free. As I will try to show in the following pages the tourists' option to pay to visit the village reveals the interdependent relation that is promoted between consumption and 'community development' in Canhane.

A Canhane resident once told me 'It's good for us to receive tourists because they support and help the community'.[3] His comment, expressed by many other Canhaners, gives clues about the principle behind the *structure of feeling* of the village walk: helping the 'community'. In addition to the resident's commentary, a staff member of NGO LUPA said, 'That tour represents what we really want for tourism there: tourists who are interested in the community. The five star tourists who used to go to costal areas, and who don't want to know about local cultures, are not our aim'.[4] In other words, the target is the sensitive, responsible, moral tourist.

[3] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, March 8, 2008.
[4] Interview with LUPA representative, Tihovene, October 6, 2008.

Tourists in Canhane

**Figure 58** – (unidentified, August 14, 2008).[5]

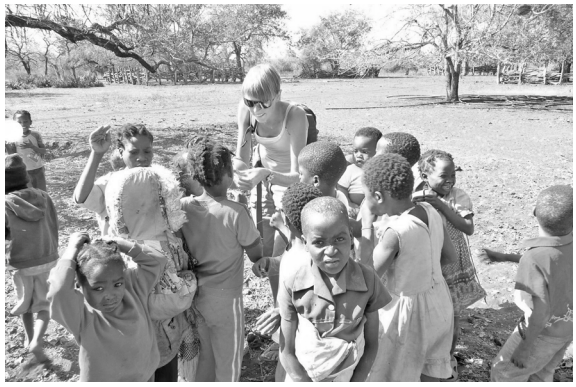

**Figure 59** – (unidentified, August 14, 2008).[6]

**Figure 60** – (photograph by Erick, June 6, 2007)

**Figure 61** – (unidentified, August 14, 2008).[7]

The tour is conducted individually or in group – the price is charged per person –[8] and usually takes a couple of hours. However, it varies in length according to the characteristics of the participants. Although its flexibility, the tour is mostly a time-maximized experience consisting of a standard circuit that takes tourists mainly through five particular spots in a specific order (Figure 62):

#1 Community leader;

#2 Witchdoctor;

#3 Shallow well;

#4 School;

#5 Water supply system.

[5] http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/_Qv6pBhEkX6-OP-qNsWk3g, accessed June 6, 2009.
[6] http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/_Qv6pBhEkX6-OP-qNsWk3g, accessed June 6, 2009.
[7] http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/_Qv6pBhEkX6-OP-qNsWk3g, accessed June 6, 2009.
[8] Until December 2008, the price charged per person was 130 metical (4.23 Euro at that date). It is free of charge for children under ten years old.

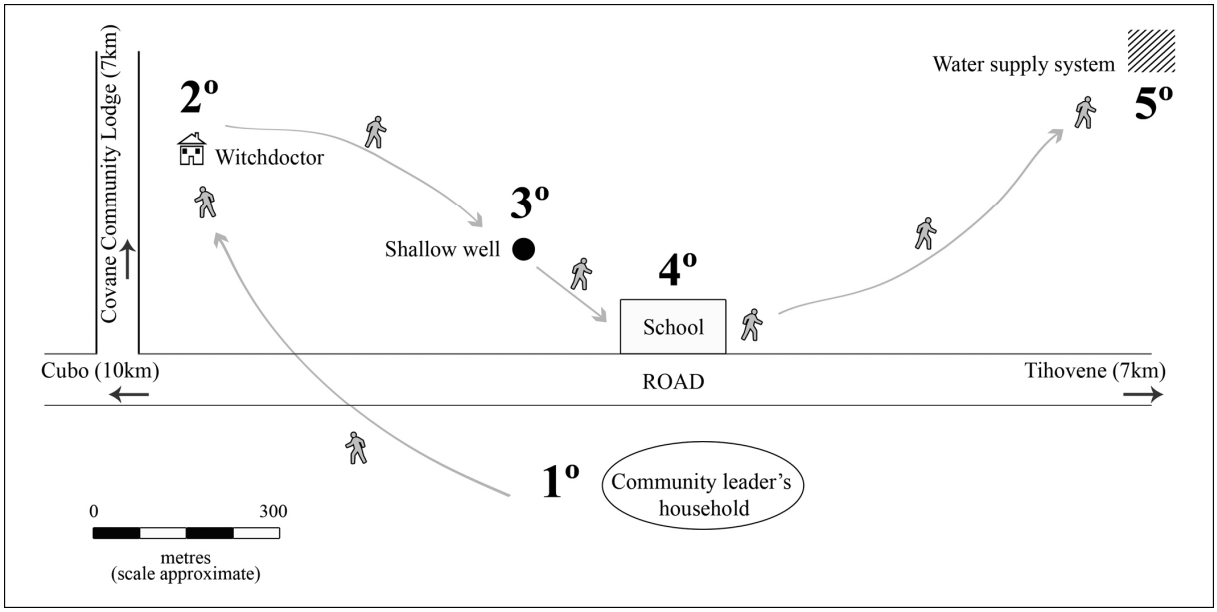


**Figure 62** – The trail of the village walk in Canhane (diagram by the author).

At the beginning, the village walk was guided by a Canhane resident. Although he is not a *Zitha* descendent he is perceived among the majority of the residents as a reputable person having specific skills (i.e., fluency in Portuguese, average English, driving license, etc.), which were essential to place him as the more capable person for the job. However, some months later he was given the job of driver of the Covane truck. From then on, the role of tour guide was taken by the manager and the sub-manager of the lodge, who are not from Canhane and live in the town of Tihovene. They used to alternate the job of leading the tour, and only one goes with the tourists.

The manager and the sub-manager (who is also the receptionist) of Covane Lodge never had any course on tour guiding. Although Portuguese and English are the exclusive languages they use while touring, Shangane dialect is their first language, which complicates their communication handiness. Yet, their non-expertise on the touring languages reinforces the *authenticity* of the whole experience for the tourists. Such linguistic behavior contributes to make the place and the tourism experience *genuine*, *'local'*, *unsophisticated*. As tour guides, they never manifest themselves as 'community' or ethnic insiders, but as people who were born elsewhere and who are just working there. They rarely engage in discourses that reveal their personal feelings toward what they are showing in the village.

The dialogues between them and the tourists vary among expressive and referential modes, and they used to be mostly about the village of Canhane. I never saw the tour guide assume a position of controlling speaker, as is common with the mass package tour guides. Nevertheless, even though the absence of an elaborated speaking tour and particular

discourses enactment, a close examination of the village walk reveals that the tour guide does have a moderate role in reinforcing tourists' feelings. This is particularly evident by their regular appliance of 'development' and ethical rhetoric to describe and explain Canhane.

As I will try to show in this chapter, the placement of a (planned) sequential orderliness in the village walk promotes a sense of climax toward the end of the tour in the visitors' feelings. Such an emotional condition arises fundamentally from the developmentourism experience that the tourists embrace with the tour. Moreover, both the social constitution of tourist sights on one hand and the sequential orderliness on other hand, have contributed to the conversion of the non-functional water apparatus as the most important and representative tourist site in the village.

Following this preamble, I shall now proceed on through the analysis of the water tank's symbolic conversion, and justify why this reveals so much about the logics behind the 'community-based tourism' in Canhane. For that I will try to guide the reader into the standard procedures of the village walk.

| | **Village walk requests. Period of three years and half (7 semesters) (June 1, 2004 – November 30, 2007)[9]** | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sem. 1 | sem. 2 | sem.3 | sem.4 | sem.5 | sem.6 | sem.7 | **Total** |
| Village walk | 24 | 14 | 18 | 14 | 61 | 2 | 65 | **198** |

## Moment #1 – The Community Leader

'Ok, first of all let me introduce you to the community leader of Canhane',[10] said the tour guide to a couple of Italian tourists a few short minutes after they got out of their car in the village. The three had come directly from the Covane Community Lodge. In accordance with ethical and historical forms of visiting or passing through a village in Mozambique, tourists are initially guided to the community leader's household – the premier visitor *attraction*. Such a beginning follows broader past dynamics in the country, when people's mobility outside of their residential area had to follow strict procedures, as introducing, asking permission, and paying a *voluntary* fee to the 'traditional' authority of the accessed area (Tornimbeni 2007). During the colonial times, for example, there were three main *conducts of passage* involving the territorial 'traditional' authority and the colonists: *saguate*, *bassela*, and *kombela*. All the three had a controlling and economic purpose, and in the most simplistic way of approaching

[9] Source: Documents of Helvetas, accessed at LUPA's offices, Maputo, April 1, 2008.
[10] Manager of Covane Lodge acting as tour guide, Canhane, March 13, 2008.

them, they could be understood as a sort of different levels of *passage rate*. Such economic practice does not happen in the village walk. Tourists do not (have to) pay a fee to the community leader. Rather, the visit to the 'local authority' represents a symbolic beginning: he has to allow the visitor to walk in the village. This act authenticates tourists' entrance into the emblematic space of 'community'. Nevertheless, as a symbolic action, the community leader's presence, or his allowance, are not essential prerequisites for the tour. Sometimes few Canhaners and the community leader are told in advance about the visits, but other times they are not, particularly when the village walk is booked on the same day of the visit. Thus, on many occasions when the tourists arrive at the community leader's household he is absent.

If the community leader is at home, he is introduced by the tour guide, and the tourists used to compliment him with a handshake. As is common in the region, the community leader grabs his right elbow with his left hand while he shakes the hand of the tourist with his right. It is a sign of respect. Then the tourists are invited to sit outdoors on plastic chairs, which used to be placed in a circle. The community leader used to be accompanied by other men and women who are chatting before the tourists' arrival. When the tourists arrive he is perceived as indistinguishable from the others. He does not wear unique clothing or show any physical characteristic that might distinguish him from the rest of the people in the group. The community leader is the only one announced to the tourists by the tour guide. The others who are with him usually remain at the place after the tourists arrive, but they rarely engage in the conversation, and used to lapse into silence. Canhaners' apparent passivity is an effect of their respect for the tourism arrangement; they consciously respect the *tourist order*. Like an elder who used to be present in this encounters told me, 'That's when the tourists want to meet the community leader and want to ask him about Canhane'.[11]

This encounter is also an opportunity for Canhaners to evaluate the performance of the community leader. During the period when he is in the immediate presence of tourists, his behaviour is scrutinized by a heterogeneous audience. In this sense, the community leader is not only observed by the tourists, but by the Canhaners as well.

[11] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 17, 2008.

**Figure 63** – Gathering at the community leaders' household (photograph by the author, February 17, 2008).

A short time after arriving, visitors are *indirectly* encouraged by the tour guide, or even pressured by the silence after they are seated, to ask questions to the community leader. Common tourists' questions used to be; 'How many people are in the community?', 'How old are you?', 'What kind of activities do people have here?', 'Why is the name of the village Canhane?', and so forth. In addition to the symbolic welcome's significance, underlying this encounter is also the *meaningful interaction* and the *unsophisticated* format of the meeting that it might represent in the visitors minds. In such a way, tourists find themselves socializing in Canhane, not touring at the village. The fact that they are given time and (a particular) space to interact with the community leader helps to fade the possibility of eventual *touring* and *voyeuristic* connotations of their visit. Such *way of visit* Canhane, faraway from *air-conditioned tourism*, and respecting 'local' traditions, is in line with emergent 'ethical' modes of practicing tourism. They are there to meet the community leader on his own turf, not just to gaze at him as the 'exotic other'.

It is important, however, to address that the way the encounter takes place is not an outcome of tourists' direct enterprise but it is how the village walk is organized. Tourists are led to such *meaningful interaction* as part of an (pre)arranged tourism experience. Shortly after arriving in the village the tourists find themselves in a particular social setting with which they are not familiar with. This contributes to them being put at the mercy of the procedures of the village walk, being thus a sort of *driven* elements in the first encounter. Of course tourists can refuse to sit and talk with the community leader, or impose circumstantial rules of interaction, but such an attitude would be in contradiction with the decision to visit

the village. As soon they arrive in Canhane, tourists are treated and ordered as sensitive, friendly, and supportive. This is particularly manifested when they are politely offered chairs (*xitulos*) to sit close to the 'local' authority, in his own environment. Such a beginning of the tour gives clues on how they are assisted in perceiving themselves as more than *just* tourists: they are *partners*.

At this point, however, it is fair to say that the community leader is not an affectionate person at first contact. Whenever I saw him hosting tourists, he was always a quiescent element, rarely smiling, spending the majority of the time looking at the *infinite* and never taking the initiative of socialization. Basically, he did not embark on distinctive and affable diplomacy. But that does not mean he is impolite to tourists. He never mistreated them. Instead, he used to assume a serious posture while he put himself adequately in the position to be asked by the visitors. Whenever tourists questioned him about something more concrete, like 'How big Canhane's lands are?', he takes this efficiently, in many cases resorting to documents and maps that he keeps in his house. In sum, the community leader participates in the village walk by representing the 'traditional' authority and the ultimate source of information about the 'community'.

## Moment #2 – The Witchdoctor

After visiting (or not) the community leader, tourists are guided to the house where the witchdoctor use to attend to Canhane residents. The witchdoctor is 'locally' referred to as either *curandeiro* or *nianga* – the first denomination is Portuguese and the second is Shangane. He is paid by Canhaners a basic fee of 50 metical (1,32 Euro) for each visit. However, the price depends on several aspects, particularly how sick the person is. For example, if someone is cured of a serious sickness, he could receive a cow; but if someone is cured of malaria, this costs no more than 100 metical (2,64 euro).[12]

The village has four main witchdoctors. All they are men. There is an informal hierarchy among them, mainly based on their age. The oldest one is the most requested by residents. He is also an important elder in the village who used to be consulted whenever there were collective concerns. His importance in the village goes beyond his function as a witchdoctor, and he is always the first choice for the tour guide. Another witchdoctor is sought when he is not in the village or otherwise not available. Only two witchdoctors

[12] In both cases, assuming 1 Euro = 37.5223 Metical (May 1, 2008).

'perform' for tourists – the two oldest ones. Nevertheless, independent of who receives the tourists, each of them employs proximally the same methods.

In contrast to the previous contact between the community leader and the tourists, the witchdoctor encounter is more *intimate*. It is in an indoor atmosphere shared by only the tour guide, the witchdoctor, and the tourists. Therefore, there are not as many rumours about this meeting in the village as there are about other meetings. Although Canhaners proved to be informed about it in general – 'What does he show? He shows how to cure illness to the tourists',[13] as someone from the village informed me – they do not elaborate much further on the content of such a meeting when asked about it. That is, the witchdoctor's relation to the tourists is less public than that of the community leader's.

I got around the lack of information about the witchdoctor encounter by introducing myself at the event. Whenever I felt it appropriate, I used to approach tourists in Canhane and asked them if I could accompany them during their trip. In those occasions I always presented myself as a social researcher, guarantying them I would behave *passively* as much as possible, and not take photographs, for example. It was through this method that I collected much of the information on face-to-face interactions between tourists and Canhaners.

It is important to consider the witchdoctor's site as an interactive place, where different values meet and new meanings are created. At the witchdoctor's house tourists used to be very interventive, asking him several questions and comments, which irremediably shapes his discourse. I realized the effects of tourists on the witchdoctor's presentations by listening to the adjustments he made according to tourists' previous comments and questions. The following example took place between March and May 2008:

> Witchdoctor: When I do surgeries, I ask the person to lie down on this mat [pointing to a mat close to him]. I know that is not very comfortable, but it is what I can offer. After this, I use this blade [he raised his hand holding an old rusty blade] to operate on a patient.
>
> Tourist: Do you use only that one? I mean, do you apply the same blade in several surgeries? Don't you change it?
>
> Witchdoctor: [He took a couple of seconds before answering, while looking at the blade]. No, no. I change it. [He looked at

[13] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 17, 2008.

it again in silence]. I know the same blade can transmit diseases to different people.

Tourist: But don't you have another type of instrument, more appropriate for it? That's a razor blade; it's not good for surgeries!

Witchdoctor: [He put aside the blade and started looking for another object]. No. This is the one I use. It's the type of instrument to operate I have access to in Canhane.

Two months later, the same witchdoctor was visited by two other tourists. In the same part of his sequential presentation his discourse was revised. He said:

Witchdoctor: For the surgeries, I tell the person to lie down on this mat [pointing to a mat close to him]. I prepare myself, prepare the person and when we are ready I use this blade to operate him [he raised his hand holding a new and shiny blade]. However, I always use a new blade on each person: [slowing down his speech] I never repeat the same blade on different people. [He looked to one of the tourists] I don't have possibilities to use a more appropriate instrument to operate, and benefit the community.

Tourist: 'Possibilities'? What do you mean by that?

Witchdoctor: I don't have *how*.

Tourist: Áh, ok, I understand. [She looked at the other tourist]. But, please, carry on. How often do you do surgeries?

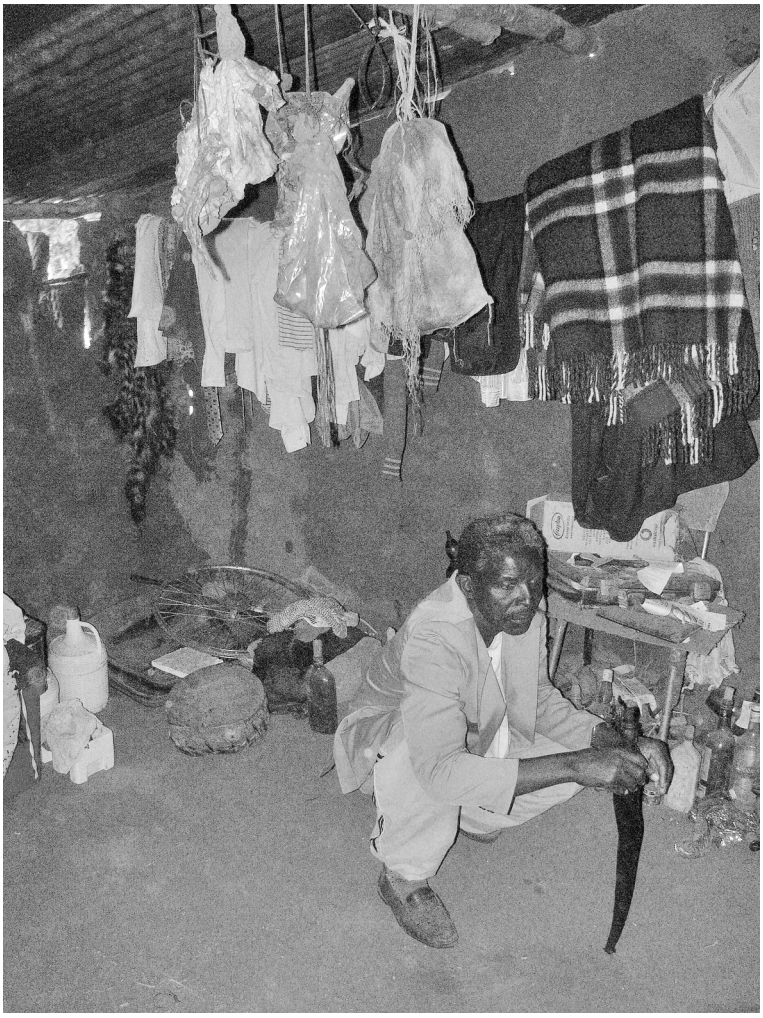

**Figure 64** – The witchdoctor in the house where he receives Canhane residents and tourists (photograph by the author, March 26, 2008).

In both examples the sub-manager of the Covane Lodge was the translator between the witchdoctor and the tourists. The second witchdoctor's presentation included more initial information and the exhibition of a new blade to illustrate his practice, rather than the rusty one used previously. He also added new relevant information, informed by sentimental character. This was particularly manifested when he mentioned that he has to use a blade because he does not 'have possibilities to use a more appropriate instrument to operate, and [thus] benefit the community'. However, what is worth highlighting here is that the content he added is directly related to the preceding tourists' encounter. By calling attention in the second presentation to the fact that he uses a different blade for each person, he included the answer to a particular question previously raised by tourists. Such discourse modifications are not exclusive to this example. Rather, they represent the cumulative process that characterizes his presentations over tourists since he started to be visited by them.

Questions commonly reveal the interests of the questioners. Therefore, by containing the answers to the previous visitors' questions, the discourse of the witchdoctor is cumulatively adapted in accordance to the interests and characteristics of the tourists. However, the witchdoctor is not passive, simply reproducing the interests of the tourists. He also attached new emotional roles to the new information provided, which were in accordance with his perception of the tourists' concerns: in his own words, to 'benefit the community'. In this vein, the witchdoctor used his memory to reproduce the tourists' interests but also his creativity and astuteness to present it.

The production and reproduction of the presentation of the witchdoctor was made in line with the nature of the persons who attended the tour. Put it simply, a question reveals the interest(s) of its questioner, thus the nature of the questioner may give the background for the question itself. This leads to the hypothesis that it was the nature of the tourists (the questioners) that shaped the witchdoctor's presentation, and therefore the fundamental source of his discourse's alteration. Finally, this brings us to the characteristics of the tourists as essential in this process.

The tourists who opt for the Covane Community Lodge are mostly interested in unstructured travel. However, they are not homogeneous. For example, those interested visiting Canhane present different a character from those who are not. They share a particular way of experiencing 'community-based tourism'. Basically, their option for the village walk is part of their (tourist) identification, mostly built in opposition to the mass-tourists stereotype: they tend to look for, and take the side of, the *Other*, and present themselves as more sensitive to the 'community' theme. On one occasion, a Portuguese lady who stayed two nights at the Covane Lodge told me:

> The tourism agency in Maputo didn't want me to come here. I asked them 'Why?' They said 'Because you won't have nice conditions there; it's a poor place, they don't have electricity, hot water, good facilities, and blah, blah, blah...' My answer to them was: 'It's precisely because of that I want to go!' I had to prove to them I'm not a typical tourist; otherwise they wouldn't stop talking about that.[14]

She finished by saying, 'I want to be closer, feel, understand and help the community'. Accordingly, despite the efforts of the tourism agency, she kept and defended her choice, and

[14] Conversation with tourist at Covane Lodge, Canhane, October 6, 2008.

by that she manifested and reproduced her idealized (tourist) status, informed in contrast to what she called the 'typical tourist'. Through choosing a particular form of tourism she affirms herself in contrast to other tourists – with a more genuine and moral travel aspiration – , but also with the people of the destination. It is in this vein that Salazar (2009: 85) said that, 'tourism can be considered as the business of "difference" par excellence'.

She is a doctor in Portugal, so when she met the witchdoctor, she expressed her concern and knowledge about some of the health practices that he presented to her. However, she was not the only one: other developmentourists also used to approach him in the same way, striving to *educate* him by using an instructive style. Hence, the second witchdoctor most visited by tourists said: 'They [tourists] used to ask me first, "What type of diseases can you cure?" Then they speak about my work and about several diseases like malaria, diarrhea, and AIDS ["*sida*"]'.[15] As was demonstrated in the example given before, when the tourist questioned the witchdoctor's use of the (rusty) blade – 'But don't you have another type of instrument, more appropriate for it? That's a razor blade; it's not good for surgeries!' –, there is a standard model of approach by developmentourists. That is, a mix of awareness and didactics. The blade here represents just one example of many other *inappropriate* health procedures that instigate their mode of approach, which in turn corresponds to the specificity of the nature of those who attend the tour, who idealize themselves as more sensitive, responsible, and moral than the (other) 'typical tourists'.

The effect of the developmentourists' behaviours in Canhane goes beyond the reformation of 'local' health practices. In particular, the witchdoctor's interactions with them reveal the scope character of oral (re)production of ethnicity. I heard him several times saying that what he does is 'a gift'; that is, he is *blessed*. To be a witchdoctor is a cultural feature, 'which the actors themselves regard as significant' (Barth 1969: 14), and the individual practice and social belief in witchdoctorness ('*curandeirismo*') are of the utmost importance for the expression of ethnicity in Canhane. Therefore, witchdoctorness is one of the aspects that leads to the organization and manifestation of contrastive ethnic identities in tourism, notably expressed in the village walk. However, as Joane Nagel (2000: 111) noted, 'ethnicity is a dialectical process that arises out of interaction between individuals and audiences'. Ethnicity is a phenomenon of social distinction constituted by declarations, enactments, and encounters with 'emblems of differences' (Barth 1969: 14). It does not simply pre-exist as a static cultural content but rather it is continually reproduced in the context of changing

[15] Conversation with witchdoctor in Canhane, Canhane, March 8, 2008.

circumstances, by interplay between self and others; it is a *performative process*. As such, ethnicity is situational and changeable.

Through the tourist face-to-face event, the witchdoctor's expressions of ethnicity are continuously reinvented in response to the interests of developmentourists. In other words, the witchdoctor is part of a process of ethnic (re)formation instigated by social interactions in tourism. His adaptive (re)presentations of ethnicity evidenced him as an ethnicity-maker. However, precisely because this is done through a series of social interactions, he is not the only ethnicity-maker: the developmentourists are also active elements of that. Extending the concept of identities used by Ludwig and Schnepel (2009: 12) to the ethnicity's sphere, one could mention that, 'Identities [as ethnicity] exist, so to say, "in action". This means, among other things, that one not only depends the cultural values of one's own social group, but also that the reference parameters of others are integrated … into one's own sphere'. The tourism 'action' and the nature of the tourists of the village walk come out as determinant in this process of ethnic (re)formation.

As self-idealized responsible and ethical (in many cases of non-African aid-workers), and through their manifestations of concern about the *proper* health practices 'locally' exercised, developmentourists contribute to shape witchdoctors' (ethnic) discourses in line with their own ideas. Witchdoctors' (re)production of ethnicity is being done into the structure of what is expressively fundamental for the developmentourists: 'community development'. By carrying ideologies of 'development' with them, the developmentourists are contributing to the 'developmentalization' of witchdoctors' (ethnic) discourses; that is to say, witchdoctors' manifestations of ethnicity are being reformed by 'development(al)' stipulations.

**The *Reflector Engagement***

The effects of the witchdoctor encounter reveal a particular social phenomenon, which I call the *reflector engagement*. It is basically characterized by a set of conjunctural rhetoric practices (in this case, by the witchdoctor) that confirm developmentourists' presumptions. The comments and questions made by developmentourists leave their imprint in witchdoctor's consciousness of what should be said to them. The witchdoctor' discourses deliberately *reflect* the ideas that the developmentourists have about what should be their adequate health conduct in Canhane. Such ideas have an idealized aspect, for if the witchdoctor is to be successful he must offer the kind of situation that realizes the developmentourists' stereotypes. In other words, via reflector engagement the witchdoctor confirms to the developmentourists their

own ideas of right health policy, and under that he becomes a self-representing protagonist of 'community development'.

Developmentourists approach the witchdoctor using a didactic style, therefore as an agent that should be '*developed*'. Moreover, the witchdoctor confirms this through the agency of *reflecting* that. He presents himself as an element that needs to be *improved* in accordance to developmentourists' opinions. By consciously reflecting the visitors' ideas about him, the witchdoctor reinforces their conceptions of him as, 'the antithesis of modern men or women located in the Northern industrialized world' (Smith and Duffy 2003: 120). In doing that, he validates developmentourists' ideologies and makes their visit a positive experience for them, while in turn, by reversing the projections over him expressed through developmentourists' questions and comments, he favours his own needs. For example, the extra emotional roles included in some parts of his presentation, as showed in the above example, can be interpreted as an attempt to take personal advantage from the visitors' ideas of his dearth condition. When he said, 'I don't have possibilities to use a more appropriate instrument to operate, and benefit the community', he confirmed to the audience his 'poverty' and introduced an opportunity for (the 'community') being *helped* by them. Later that day, he reinforced the idea of 'I don't have *how*…' by saying directly to the developmentourists 'I don't have money enough for good instruments …'[16] As corollary, moments before the developmentourists left they gave him money. I did not listen to what they said to him then, but it was self-evident that they were impelled to give him money by the way he had re-projected and, thus, confirmed a specific image of himself, and of the 'community', to them.

His (re)presentation of himself and of the 'community' was done in accordance with the ideas that developmentourists have before they visit Canhane. The witchdoctor projected over them their own ideas of 'local poverty', but at the same time he gave some clues and the opportunity for them to solve the problem – 'I don't have money enough for good instruments …' He *offered* the possibility for developmentourists to feel active participants in reducing shortage and lessening its social effects. In other words, he (re)produced and supplied a way for tourists *do good*. On the night of the visit mentioned above, he went to Tihovene and bought two bottles of liquor and some goods for his family. Moreover, the entire time I was in Canhane he never presented an instrument to the tourists other than the blade whenever he referred to the way he does surgeries. This suggests that while 'indigenously based tourism

[16] Conversation between the witchdoctor and the tourists, Canhane, May 1, 2008.

development' (Cohen 2001: 379) can be regarded an important road to 'local' economic growth, it may also result in direct benefits for some individuals and not for others.[17]

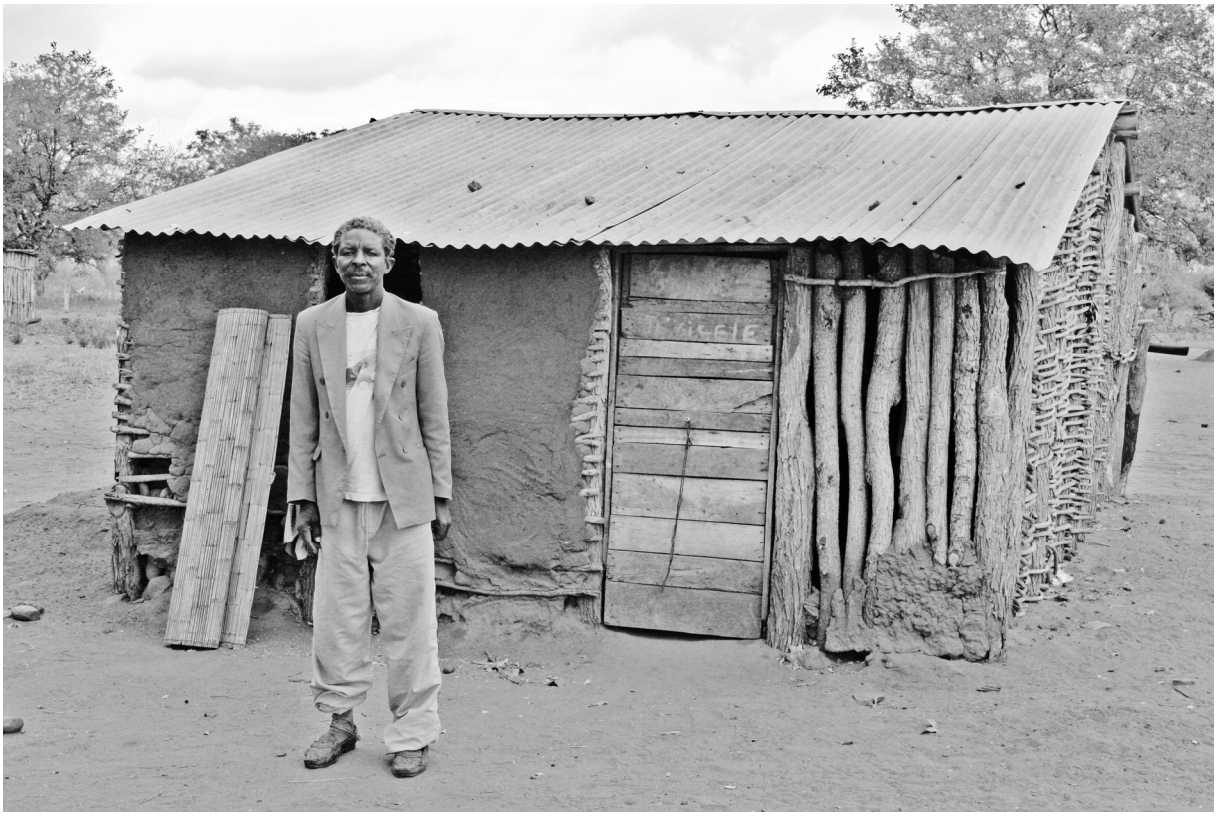

**Figure 65** – The oldest witchdoctor in Canhane and his *consulting room* (photograph by the author, March 26, 2008).

## Moment #3 – The Shallow Well

The shallow well is the first communal place the tourists visit in the village walk. There, they are introduced to the water scarcity problem in Canhane. The visual impact of shortage is strong and authenticates poverty. But tourists here do not just look; other senses also interact in the apprehending of 'underdevelopment'. Usually frequented by women, the shallow well is probably the most immediate expression of shortage in the village, because congregates and links everyday life and scarcity in the same place. At the shallow well the tourists experience *real tourism* in the sense of their 'notion of a genuine local experience' (Smith and Duffy 2003: 114). They can experience *real people* and *real situations* in a circumstance that is often shocking for them – it is a poverty show. A forty-one year old British woman stood immobile for around two minutes, seated over a rock, under strong sunlight conditions

[17] About the 'local' inequality effects of 'community-based' models in tourism see for example, van den Berghe 1992; Archer and Cooper 1994; Smith 1994; Butler and Hinch 1996.

looking at the setting of the place. 'Are you okay?'[18] I asked her. 'When I see these same situations on TV or on the computer screen', she said, 'I'm not close enough, so it's easy to turn off feelings. But now that I'm here… It's impossible to ignore it'. She confirmed what many authors have suggested: 'There has always been a nagging inadequacy around the assertion that one cannot sell poverty, but one can sell paradise. Today, the tourist industry does sell poverty' (Salazar 2009: 92). Canhane is an example of that.

Because of the predominance of women at the shallow well, the area is understood *feminine* by the majority of Canhane residents. As the spot where Canhaners have access to water in the village, such gender representation of space is a consequence of the social attribution of women as water-givers, as I mentioned in the previous chapter. Thus, the first impressions that tourists have after reaching the shallow well, as illustrated by what a Belgian tourist expressively told me, is: 'poor women!'[19] Although short, this comment made by a woman who I met in the touristic coastal area of Tofo a few months after she had visited Canhane, includes the aspects most mentioned by tourists about the shallow well: 'women' and 'poverty'.

Such tourists' perception is not an outcome of Canhaners' enactment. The shallow well is probably one of the places in Canhane where women like most to stay because it is a privileged place for them to socialize with each other, without being called lazy by men. It is where they get informed about the latest rumours in the village, speak about their problems and reinforce links with other women. Thus, their presence at the shallow well is not a result of tourism, or, as has been mentioned by many authors, a 'performed authenticity' carried out for tourism consumption.

If there is an active role of Canhaners causing the *'poor women's'* perception in tourists, that must be found in their authorization of the inclusion of the shallow well in the village walk. In other words, at the shallow well the Canhaners let themselves be gazed upon and experienced by the tourists in a particular everyday life atmosphere. The shallow well has the most convincing (aesthetic) characteristics to connect Canhane to poverty in the visitors' minds. And many Canhaners are conscious of that. By allowing themselves to be visited in such *poverty environment*, Canhaners support tourists' representations of them as people who need to be helped and 'developed', serving thus as attribute and not limitation for the 'community-based tourism' business. For example, at a canhu gathering, an elder, who was visibly drunk, said: 'the wife [his wife] tell me that tourists are impressed when they see her

[18] Conversation with tourist, Canhane, January 29, 2008.
[19] Conversation with tourist, Tofo, February 6, 2008.

getting water in the hole...'[20] He interrupted himself to drink more canhu because he just had been given the *ndzeco*, used in these occasions as a glass. Before he had time to return to his comment another man cut into the conversation and added: 'áhhh, it's Canhane's poverty!'

The expressivity of the scenery appeals to an informal tour without the need for a structured presentation. Particularly when there is water in the hole, the place acquires a social vitality difficult to feel in other places in the village. There is no individuality to see or a presentation to listen to like in the previous cases, but only the population of Canhane imbedded in poverty. On some occasions, tourists and the guide confine into silence. 'Verbal sacralisation' (Fine and Speer 1985) is redundant here. The experience of *being there* lifts the tourist to an emotional level and legitimates (a specific character of) knowledge.

**Figure 66** – Tourist looking at the shallow well (unidentified, August 14, 2008).[21]

At the shallow well there is no controlled tourist encounter with Canhane residents; visitors are free to participate and *be part of* the social action. They can move at will. Some times this is expressed by them taking pictures, simulating getting water from the shallow well and taking the initiative to approach the women close by. This corporeality of movement does produce intermittent moments of physical proximity (Urry 2002: 154), and the structural

[20] Conversation among Canhane residents, Canhane, February 20, 2008.
[21] http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/_Qv6pBhEkX6-OP-qNsWk3g, accessed June 6, 2009.

confines between Canhane's population and tourists seem to be attenuated throughout visitors' engage in symbolic interactionism with Canhaners. The shallow well provides a particular emotional setting that transcends the 'typical tourist's' activity, in which Canhaners symbolically share their impoverishment with the tourists. It is a chance for communion between individuals of radically different socio-economic status – hosts and guests – with poverty as the background.

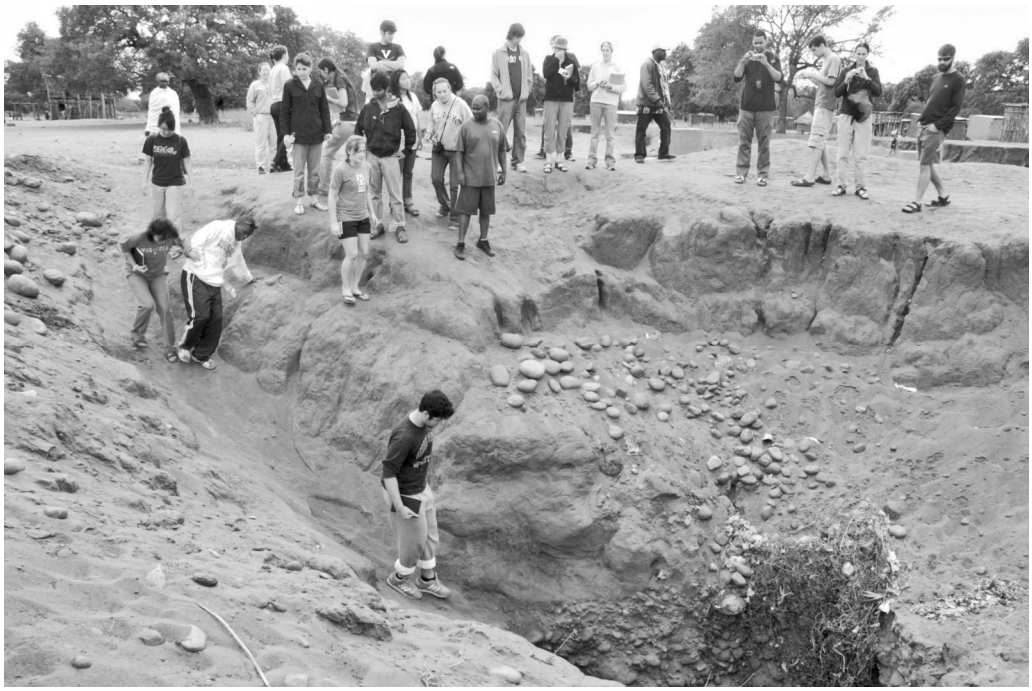

**Figure 67** – A group of tourists visiting the shallow well in Canhane (photograph by Erick, June 6, 2007).

By spending their leisure time under strong sunlight conditions, apprehending Canhaners' scarcity and seeking solutions to that, with the shallow well experience the tourists became part of a touristic scruples operation. In contrast to the so-called mass tourists, the visitor at the shallow well does not only accumulates cultural capital, but also acquires a symbolic ethical superiority over the 'typical tourists' of the four S's – sun, sex, sea, and sand (Matthews 1977: 25, in Crick 1989: 308).

## Moment #4 – The School

**Figure 68** – Tourists at the school (photograph by Erick, June 6, 2007).

The next stop is the school of Canhane. Here, the children are taught literacy from grades one to seven. Subsequently, students have to go to school in the town of Tihovene. According to a text titled 'Impacts in the community of Canhane' that is announced at the reception of the Covane Community Lodge, Canhane has a 'conventional school room + twenty school desks, and twenty seven old school desks that were also rehabilitated with the tourism income'.[22]

Not far from the shallow well, and probably while they still are dealing with its emotional effects, tourists have the opportunity to see the school and a *positive side* of Canhane, which is a direct consequence of tourism: 'Before, children used to attend classes under that big traditional tree',[23] said once the guide when presenting the school to tourists, while pointing to a *canhoeiro* not far from them. The context and the guide's factual discourse highlight the positive replacement of the *traditional* teaching outline (under the tree) for the new teaching outline (classroom). The tourists are thus introduced to *progress* in Canhane, a *progress* that is suggested as only possible because of tourism. This is expressively reinforced when the tourists are led to a sign inscribed at the entrance of the classroom that was built with the tourism revenues (Figure 69).

[22] Portuguese in the original. The 'tourism income' mentioned are referring to the profits and the donations collected for the classroom, using a donation box in the reception of the lodge.
[23] Presentation made by the manager of Covane Lodge acting as tour guide, Canhane, October 17, 2008.


**Figure 69 –** The sign says: 'Primary School of Canhane. Enlargement of the classroom. Contribution of the Covane Lodge and of the community. 2005' (photograph by the author, September 7, 2006).

Such a mark associates a concrete materialization of 'development' in the village (the classroom) to the 'community-based tourism' project. It explicitly bonds 'development' and tourism through the assertion of the contribution of tourism in 'community development'.

When the director of the school is present, he used to accompany tourists and the guide through the school. If there are no lessons (Saturday or Sunday), tourists are guided into the classroom built with tourism revenues. As when they visited the community leader and the witchdoctor, the tourists are expected to ask questions. However, the context of conversation now is more formal than the previous tourists' encounters. The new director of the school,[24] who was born in Maputo, used to manifest a different diplomacy, and it is not uncommon to invite them to his office for a *reserved* conversation.

[24] He began this position in July 2008.

**Figure 70 -** The class room built with tourism revenues (photograph by the author, February 27, 2008).


**Figure 71** – Teachers at the school (photograph by the author, February 27, 2008):

Tourists' questions often extend beyond the guide and the director of the school and reach teachers who might be there teaching or just having a break. Indeed, the adults they meet while experiencing the first case of 'community development' via tourism are not from Canhane (the guide, the director of the school, and the teachers). The place indicates 'development' not only due to the infrastructural improvements, but also due to the *internal foreigners* present. As the *foreigners* living in Canhane, the teachers[25] apply distinctive diplomatic skills different than those of the Canhaners when they encounter tourists. I saw, for instance, some of the teachers consulting tourism book guides belonging to the visitors, and helping them with suggestions about some other places to visit in Mozambique. These are *sophisticated* encounters that reveal a new perspective of Canhane that the tourists had not seen before in the village walk.

The school is also the only place in Canhane with a Mozambican flag. Every morning a teacher has the duty to hoist the Mozambican flag in front of the school, and to pull it down later in the afternoon and keep it in the director's office after the last lesson finishes. This routine is a state practice in the village only done by the *internal foreigners* (the teachers). The Canhaners have no commitment to that. These aspects – the infrastructure outline, the

[25] Usually, at some point in the conversation they end up saying their provenience out of Canhane.

predominance of the role of *foreign* (adult) people, and the presence of the Mozambican flag – give an extra-'local' sense to the place.

Except for the presence of children the area is rarely frequented by Canhaners. Like the shallow well is understood a *feminine* place, the school is perceived by the majority of Canhaners as the teachers' area (*a zona dos professores*). However, even though the *foreignness* connotation of the place, the school is not alienated from the rest of the village. In the context of the village walk it is a site and a source of 'community development': it is where the children are educated, and thus also carries the significance of 'community empowerment'. Moreover, all the gifts the teachers receive from tourists are informed to support their educational activity and thus to beneficiate the 'community', and not individualities (i.e., pencils, paper, pens, rubbers, etc.) (Figure 72).

**Figure 72** – Tourists giving gifts to a teacher at the school (unidentified, August 14, 2008).[26]

## Moment #5 – The Water Supply System

The village walk finishes when the tourists reach the water tank: it is their last experience in Canhane. The outline of its apparatus contrasts with the majority of the village dominated by a precarious setting. It embodies progress and social betterment. The imprinting of meaning on the site is greatly emotional. On several occasions developmentourists express a sort of *personal relief* revealed through glad comments. These are some examples I heard: 'Oh, look

[26] http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/_Qv6pBhEkX6-OP-qNsWk3g, accessed June 6, 2009.

at this hidden equipment'; 'What a nice surprise'; 'Water for everybody?!'; 'I'm happy now!'; 'Beautiful!'; 'Well done!'

The developmentourists' perceptions rely not so much on the single moment when they face the water equipment, but on the fact they had had seen the communal shallow well previously. Through this sequential journey they are induced to experience a positive evolution of one of the most basic elements for human life: water access. From the shallow well to the water tank, tourists make an emotional journey from extreme poverty to prosperity, from social embarrassment to human dignity, from a problem to its resolution. The alignment of enrichment in order toward the end of the tour influences visitors' feelings and provides a sense of climax at the water tank. During this sensorial odyssey through the village, in which the water tank is dramatically contextualised, tourists encounter bipolar (*negative* and *positive*) conditions, and a particular display about the possibilities of 'developing' the 'community' is promoted.

**The Vinho Tourist Tour Order**

The reinforcement of emotional conditions in the tourists' feelings through the placement of a sequential orderliness in a 'community' tour is not exclusive to Canhane in Mozambique. In November 2008 I visited the Gorongosa National Park situated in the province of Sofala, which is approximately in the middle of Mozambique. In short, according to the Website of the Gorongosa National Park, 'the Carr Foundation, a U.S. not-for-profit organization, has teamed with the Government of Mozambique to protect and restore the ecosystem of Gorongosa National Park and to develop an ecotourism industry to benefit local communities'.[27] The park headquarters are at the Chitengo Safari Camp. Tourism facilities include eighteen air-conditioned rooms, a camping area and a gift shop. Although wildlife safaris are the core of tourism activity, the Chitengo Camp also provides 'cultural tours' to the village of Vinho which is the closest 'community' to the Chitengo Safari Camp. It is just outside the Park's southern boundary, after the Pungue River.

I wanted to visit the Vinho village. When I asked about it at the reception of the Chitengo Camp I was told by the staff – two employees – that I was not allowed to visit, 'the community without our tour guide'.[28] 'Why?' I replied. One of them answered, 'Because it's not possible'. I repeated his answer by changing it to the form of a question: 'Why isn't it possible?' The other employee said, 'Because that can't happen!' I insisted a bit more: 'But

[27] http://www.gorongosa.net/en/page/restoration/restoration-project, accessed June 18, 2009.
[28] Conversation with Chitengo Camp Staff, Gorongosa National Park, November 10, 2008.

why can't I go there by myself?' The explanation I got was, 'Yes, you can't go there without our guide'. Then I gave up. Important, however, is the hidden message below their repetitive comments: the 'community' was appropriated by the managers of the park. I had been in Vinho before, in 2006. At that time I went there without any constrains, sometimes accompanied by people from Vinho, other times on my own. The village of Vinho was then a *public* and *open* space, not a *private* and *restricted* area where tourists had to pay to visit it. Nevertheless, I did not continue questioning them and in the end I requested a tour at Vinho with their tour guide. Actually I felt this was an excellent opportunity to explore the tourism process of other village walk in Mozambique than the one in Canhane.

The tour was scheduled for the next day at eleven o'clock in the morning. Because of the hot temperatures that make long walks painful, particularly in between eleven and two o'clock, I asked them if it was possible to make it earlier. I was told, 'That's not possible because the guide has already a tour booked before, which will take him until ten-thirty'. I thought that was even better for my purposes, because I could be included in a group of other tourists, and then observe their reactions while touring the 'community'. So I replied: 'Ok, but that's not a problem for me: I don't mind to join that group!' But, then he said: 'Well, only if you also want to see animals: they go to the park for a safari... you know? To see wild animals'. As the expert in wildlife he also used to be the tour guide of the 'cultural tours' into the village. What I want to highlight here is that it was a professional specialized in describing and *showing* animals who guided me into the population of Vinho. I declined the Game Safari, paid 350 meticais,[29] and booked the tour at Vinho for the next day at eleven o'clock in the morning.

On the day of the 'cultural tour', while we were walking toward the village of Vinho, the guide told me that he was born in Zimbabwe where he had taken the course of 'game safari'. Within this course he got the specialization of 'bird watching'. His academic profile confirmed his eco-specialization. Summing up the facts until this point, I was given a tour guide specialized in bird watching to introduce me the 'community' of Vinho and its population. There are a growing body of literature addressing tourism representations of *exotic human cultures* as extensions of the natural world. Gorongosa Park's policy on tour guiding corroborates such a perspective.

In the village I was presented with four main attractions: The *régulo*,[30] the place where the children had had school classes, the health clinic, and the school. Both the health clinic

[29] According to the exchange rate at October 2008, 350 metical was 10,58 Euro.

[30] As the case of the village of Mbueca, in Niassa province (Chapter 2 – The Tourists of *Developmentourism*), in Vinho the individual recognize(d) as the 'local' authority is *régulo*.

and the school were built in 2008 with the support of Carr Foundation. They were officially inaugurated by the President of Mozambique, Armando Guebusa, in a ceremony held on June 24, 2008. Just before we arrive at the régulo's household – our first stop – I was told by the tour guide that ten percent of what I had paid for the tour would be given to the régulo.[31] The three of us chatted for half an hour. After this, I was led to a barren place. It was the second tour sight, and it was where children had classes until 2008. I remembered being there in 2006, when I saw a one-room hut for teaching the children (Figure 73). But now, only the stakes that supported the hut were left (Figure 74). I did not tell the tour guide that I had already been there two years earlier. However, I asked him: 'Why did you bring me here?'[32] He gave me a direct answer: 'We came here to see the difference'. He pointed to the place where the children of Vinho used to attend classes and said: 'It's for you to realize the conditions that they had before they got the new school built by Greg Carr[33] that I will show you later' (Figure 75). His answer confirmed the intentional placement of a sequential orderliness in the tour to promote particular feelings in the visitor. Still gazing at the place, he told me 'Before, they used to put almost 500 children here to learn... it was very bad!' Throughout the rest of the tour he informed me about the 'community service' that Greg Carr and his foundation were doing in the village.

[31] That is 35 meticais. According to the exchange rate of October 2008 that was around 1,05 Euro.
[32] Conversation with the tour guide, Gorongosa National Park, November 11, 2008.
[33] Greg Carr is the president of the Carr Foundation. He is from United States of America.

**Figure 73** – The school of Vinho before 2008 (photograph by the author, September 16, 2006).

**Figure 74** – Place where children in Vinho used to attend classes without the classroom (photograph by the author, November 11, 2008).

**Figure 75** – The new school in Vinho (photograph by the author, November 11, 2008).

**Moments of (Re)Production in Canhane**

There is a crucial distinction between the village tour in Vinho and the village walk in Canhane. While the Carr Foundation is placed as the most valuable contributor to the betterment of the 'community' of Vinho, in Canhane, though indirectly, that is attributed to the tourists. 'Community development' in Canhane gravitates on the individual behaviour of the tourist, in particular by virtue of their consumption behaviour. Moreover, the tourists' conscientiousness of their *positive* role in that process is reinforced through the village walk's enterprise. In other words, it is (also) through the sensorial dimension promoted by the sequential journey in the village walk that the tourists can experience and confirm their contributions to and their value for the Canhaners. In this line, the tourists' perception of the improvement that the water supply system represents in Canhane is beyond their gaze: they are informed as the cause of that betterment. It was due to (their) tourism revenues that such *social improvement* was possible.

While underlining the significance of the water mechanism for the 'community', the tour guide used to employ special linguistic patterns that in turn sensitise the visitors (i.e., 'We are now watching another effect of tourism in the community'; 'The community have

applied tourism revenues here, and they have built this'; 'The water tank has changed their lives'). The water tank is rhetorically configured as a 'development' symbol in Canhane. The tour guide's approach contributes to emphasise the significance of tourism in 'community development' and by that reinforces the tourists' condition in this process.

In contrast with the shallow well's place, the area of the water tank is often empty of people. The water infrastructure stands alone in the scenery with no social vitality around it. Like the other 'development' effect of tourism in the village – the school –, the water tank's area is rarely frequented by (adult) Canhaners. Tourists used to question the reason for that: 'Why is no one getting water here?'[34] an Italian man who was accompanied by his girlfriend asked the tour guide. They are told that there have been technical problems with the water mechanism and that it is a momentary situation that will be resolved soon. Although the water tank is not uniformly interpreted and passively accepted by all tourists, they do not usually insist and spend much time questioning the motives of its temporary inoperability. Instead, the majority of the visitors used to perform and celebrate the (representation of a) water supply system as a *real* and *worthy* accomplishment of social betterment in the village.

## The Provision and Pursuing of Moral Emotions

Since the village walk is the foremost venture that promotes the sensation of *genuine* encounter for the tourists with Canhaners, the terms of their interaction is greatly influenced by the logics of 'development'. The village walk exceeds the mere leisure attribute for developmentourists. It implicitly embodies complementary significances bounded with the logics of the 'development' sector; to be exact, it is a way for tourists be aware of supporting a 'community-based' project. Through the village walk Canhane is constituted as a comprehensive dramatic landscape in which the duty to reduce 'local' poverty is partially transferred from the 'development' specialists to the tourists. Being informed as the *donors* of the improvement accomplishments in Canhane, tourists are induced to realize their actions as agency toward positive social transformation. With the village walk tourism is superiorly informed as a 'developmental' enterprise and consequently, it acquires a moral value. The tourists are thus placed by the logics of 'community-based tourism' as protagonists of the moral attribute of 'helping the community', and the village walk is the most effective practice confirming that to them.

[34] March 26, 2008.

Specifically, the process of showing tourists material expressions of *progress* in the village (the new classroom, the water tank) justifies to them the worth value of their presence and, more concretely, the worth value of the money they spend in the Covane Community Lodge, because such *infrastructures of 'development'* were only possible due to their revenues. Furthermore, while these are shown to tourists, they are institutionalized as touristic sights. And through that, developmentourists are instrumentally involved in a specific method of 'community development'.

However, this does not mean that there is a powerful independent entity (the Canhaners and the 'development' sector) dominating and inducing another independent and powerless one (the tourists). The 'community-based tourism' in Canhane is not unilateral. Particularly via the village walk, Canhane is constituted as a meaningful setting that tourists consume but which they also help produce. In a radical article where forms of tourism other than the traditional mass-packaged holidays are analysed, Ian Munt (1994: 51) noted that, 'new tourisms have begun to be conceived (especially among the new petit bourgeoisie) as reflecting personal qualities in the individual, such as strength of character, adaptability, sensitivity or even "worldliness"'. In other words, some new forms of tourism are reflexes of lifestyles, or self-projections, of the 'postmodern man'. As mentioned earlier, the tourists are the ones who prefer to be guided in the village, not visit by themselves. Through their preference, tourists put their senses at the mercy of being shaped. It is not that tourists cannot, 'see through the clichés', but that they are complicit in being, 'seduced by them, again and again' (Krippendorf 1987: 56, in Munt 1994: 57). When tourists visit Canhane they are not passive elements acting as human puppets: they also seek to feel morally worthy, resorting for that to a sort of leisure catharsis. The developmentourists of the village walk leave somehow involved in a momentary moral conscience of *doing good* and, as one tourist told me after she finished the tour, they 'take something meaningful' with them. Naturally, the enjoyment and gratification that the developmentourists might obtain from the village walk implies them having 'development knowledge'. That is to say, those who 'take something meaningful' belong to a category of people that are equipped with the expertise necessary to be entertained by, and within, shortage.

What I suggest is that, although Canhaners have an active role providing a moral worth touristic experience, this is only possible with the participation of the tourists. The tourism in Canhane reflects and confirms the tourists' idealized self-distinctive lifestyles. In this sense, the village walk incorporates a strong component of ego-touring (Munt 1994): it is a way for tourists to accumulate a particular type of cultural capital that supports their (idealized)

identifications, their expectations, and their knowledge of the world. For the sake of this latter suggestion, it might be important to address that tourists use a 'perspectival seeing' (Favero 2007: 57) during the village walk to select and achieve only specific frames. The frames *seen* are the ones that correspond to their expectations, so they are the ones that tourists are interested in. What they 'gaze upon' are ideal representations of the view in question (Urry 2002: 78) that they internalise from ideologies of 'development'. The water tank is treated and exposed as an *ideal*, in contrast to an approach which emphasises its *use*. That is why the fact that the water supply system does not work is irrelevant for the meaning that represents in the visitors minds. The aesthetic experience, the gaze at the infrastructure, provide the (superficial) knowledge that tourists want to achieve, likewise the knowledge Canhaners want to offer. It is through these 'perspectival positions' that tourists access a concrete case of 'community development' through tourism. Finally, this supports the moral worth they are seeking, while strengthening their self-perceptions about their central and worthy role in the 'community development' of Canhane.

However, as I stressed in the previous chapter, behind the physical apparatus of the water tank, there is another version to be told. It is a version that reveals the antithesis of the improvement accomplishment. Due to *internal* ways of ordering the social, the implementation of the water supply system in that part of the village was doomed to fail even before it was established. Yet, this version is missing in the touristic experience. That is precisely because this version represents neither what the Canhaners want to show nor what tourists want to achieve. It is part of the frames of the broader *reality* that the tourists do not access.

The village walk is in its essence a multi-sided tourism process of providing and acquiring moral emotions. It is characterized by tourists' desires to feel legitimate and veritable experiences, the *really real* – including *real* poverty and *real* 'development' (*real tourism*) – and by the active role of Canhaners and 'development' sector in providing it. And it is through this multi-sided *structure of feeling*, where tourists use their own senses to see, smell, touch, and physically perceive Canhaners' insufficiencies, but also the contributions and potentialities to solve those same insufficiencies, that tourists engage in a project of 'community development'.

What seems undeniable is that the perception of the *genuine moral* contribution of tourists to Canhane is informed by the stimulus presented by the 'community-based tourism' business itself, but also by the expectations of the tourists. In this sense, the *untraditional* establishment of the water supply system had a better result as a tourism outcome and a

response to existing consumer expectations (tourists), than as an attempt to resolve the water scarcity in the village. That is why the water tank has become the most visited place in Canhane by tourists, though a non-frequented place by Canhaners. As the youngest wife of the director of the Social Management Committee of Covane Lodge said about the non-presence of Canhaners at the water tank: 'There is nothing to do there'.[35]

## Conclusion

Material culture affects humans through the promotion of active senses. *Making sense* is not a static process, but a dynamic one which could be cultural, individual, and contextual. Therefore, an object is not necessarily a product and reflection of its maker. What matters most is its significance, the way it is sensed and the inherent message it represents in the social context where it exists. Objects can acquire new functions and meanings according to social circumstances, and are a creative part of social life.

The continuous inoperability of the water supply system has contributed to its appropriation by two emergent and intermixed socio-economic categories in Canhane. Tourism and 'development' have appropriated it and the water tank has become exclusively a touristic mark, obtaining other *function* than the one related to the purpose of its creation: provide water to the village. Its conversion from a mere serviceable object to an apparatus to be gazed upon by tourists has positioned it as exclusively symbolic, in the way that its only purpose is to aggrandize and honor (potential) social benefits of 'local' tourism in the 'community'.

The water tank in Canhane is a developmentourism sight. Its faculty relies more on the way it supports ideological claims of 'community development' through tourism than of achieved betterment. In this vein, it operates as a mechanism energizing discourse of 'community development' rather than a mechanism to supply water. What this means is that the water tank works as a representative of the main criterion that fostered the emergence of tourism in Canhane and under this circumstance it has become touristified. In turn, this reveals an emergent social order in Canhane, which encompasses primordially 'development' and tourism. Finally, the village walk participates in that, principally by the way it promotes a certain type of knowledge that reproduces and strengthens a particular sensemaking doctrine. It provides a tourist *realistic* experience in line with ideologies of 'development', and by that

[35] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 24, 2008.

confirms the importance of *holiday 'developers'* (developmentourists) in the 'community' setting.

# 6 ‘Community’ Front

Friendly Advice

> When you arrive at our home turn off the clock, the cellular phone, the radio and enjoy the pleasures that mother earth offers you. Here time stops, the rhythms and the realities are different. Do not forget that the peasant friend orientates by the sun and that in the village everything that is bad is resolved by good. Relax and get rest. We are here to serve you and enjoy![1]

This text is the welcoming greeting at the Covane Community Lodge. It is posted with thumbtacks inside the reception of the lodge over a mat of straw that is on a wall. Its modest outward aspect is coherent to its content. The communication informs the tourists about both the goodness (‘the peasant friend’) and backwardness (‘here time stops’) of the place. Through the use of such allegorical rhetoric (i.e., ‘in the village everything that is bad is resolved by good’) the text projects a stylized version of the locale, invested by ideas of *purity*, friendship, and authenticity. It is said, ‘that the search for the exotic and genuine other is especially important for tourists who choose more independent holidays or who go to less easily accessible destination in the developing world’ (Smith and Duffy 2003: 124). This gives hints for interpreting and contextualizing what the main director of LUPA told me: ‘Sometimes people ask me: “How are they [Canhane] having so many visits in such a remote place, so far away from everything?” I simply used to tell them: “It’s just a matter of good marketing!”’[2]

The success of the ‘community-based tourism’ in Canhane relies upon the degree to which *the project* is ‘marketed’ to tourists. By presenting the place and its *peasants* as emblems of *purity*, the tourists are offered what they wish to see. This is particular relevant because, as Harvie Ferguson (1996: 205) suggested, the wish is the ultimate motivating force

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[1] Portuguese in the original.
[2] Interview with the director of LUPA, Maputo, April 1, 2008.

of consumption, especially in *Northern* societies from where the majority of the tourists come from. That is to say, in the present consuming era, ideas of places (i.e., where it is possible to 'enjoy the pleasures that the mother earth offers you') and of people (i.e., those who 'orientates by the sun') are commodified in accordance to *Northern* wishes supported on 'ethnographic imagery' (Edwards 1996: 197—200, in Smith and Duffy 2003: 117).

The welcoming text of the Covane Lodge establishes a border between the *outside* and the locale: 'Here … the realities are different'. Through that, it attests the meaningful option for tourists to be there, and a means to explore *otherness*. The text contributes to *othering* the space (where 'the time stops') and the population in the visitors' minds. The 'peasant friend' represents the antithesis of the postulated modern man and industrialized world. In this context the *other* – the 'peasant friend' – is reduced to a homogeneous and stereotypical idea of 'community' imagery to be consumed by tourists. While Canhane becomes the tangible embodiment of *otherness* and the scope of necessitousness, the Canhaners are essentialized as the friendly needy *peasants*. By homogenising the 'community', the welcoming text also announces the economic relations implicated in their production. More precisely, the 'peasant friend' turns into a product to feed, and that feeds on, the moneyed tourists who are placed as protagonists of assistance. In turn, developmentourists consume and perform themselves the role of supporters of 'community development'.

Combined with the images of *purity*, *backwardness*, and *dependency*, Canhaners are also projected, and project themselves, thought tourism by their *ruling* character. The 'community-based' nature of the tourism enterprise implies a particular performance in which the Canhaners have to engage in order to legitimate the specificity of the tourism business. That is, they have to perform simultaneously the role of *needy*, ethnic, 'peasant friend', and the role of stakeholder in the tourism business. Both (re)presentations constitute what I call, influenced by Erving Goffman (1959) work, the '*community*' *front* of Canhane.

Saidi (2006: 410) said, 'Tourism and theatre could each easily serve as mutual metaphors'. This can be found in the way processes of deconstructing tourism activities may use theatrical vocabulary as, for example: performance, actors, stage, role, acting, scene, arena, and so on. Dean MacCannell was one of the first to use theatrical terms to understand and conceived tourism, as he did in his book 'The Tourist' (1976); a still influential thesis of his work is what he called 'staged authenticity'. He took inspiration from Goffman (1959) who consistently used dramaturgy for analysing everyday human interaction. Goffman suggested that people present themselves using certain techniques that fit the requirements of

a particular situation. He projected people as actors performing on a stage, and he suggested two structural components: the 'frontstage' and 'backstage'.

In the frontstage, individuals and groups perform the roles that lead the audience to form an impression. According to Goffman (1959: 22), the front is, 'that part of the individual's [or team's] performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance'. Goffman also noted that in the frontstage, performers typically conceal behaviours, attitudes, and emotions that can be expressed in the backstage. Accordingly, the backstage is a place, 'where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted' (ibid.: 112) and where, 'performers behave out of character' (ibid.: 113), and can openly violate the frontstage's role behaviours. Therefore, it is expected that, 'the back region will be kept closed to members of the audience or that the entire back region will be kept hidden from them' (ibid.: 112).

Naturally, by borrowing the term from Goffman when addressing the existence of front I am also underlying the existence of a back as well. So, the question that I still did not answer is: how is this discernible in Canhane? Let me start by asking another question that may lead us to evidence: Who was, or were, the responsible person(s) for the choice of the spots visited by tourists in the village walk?

## The *Rulers* of the Back

I questioned many inhabitants of the village, the manager and sub-manager of the Covane Community Lodge, and the people working for LUPA about that. Both the NGO and Canhaners claimed influence in the selection of the five spots that tourists visit in the village. However, while most of the Canhaners assumed the entire protagonism of the 'community' in the decision process (i.e., 'it was a community leader's decision to choose what to see'),[3] which was also confirmed by the manager and sub-manager of the lodge, the NGO's staff decentralized the origins of that choice. According to the head of LUPA, 'We and the community have decided what to show to the tourists. We [people from the NGO] though the tourists would like to see how they get water from the hole, the school, etc'.[4]

[3] Conversation with a member of Social Management Committee, Canhane, October 16, 2008.
[4] Conversation with director of LUPA, Maputo, September 17, 2008.

Although their responses stated the active involvement of the 'community' in the selection process, evidence gathered during my fieldwork indicates that their answers were instead a rhetoric practice supporting and justifying the 'community-based tourism' project. Put it simply, Canhaners did not choose what to show to tourists, rather they authorized it. The selection of the five spots visited in the village was made by the NGO's staff and proposed to the 'community'. That is to say, just like the entire tourism project in Canhane, the village walk was instituted and designed by the 'development' sector. Canhaners participated in the selection process by approving what they were told, not by choosing what was to be shown.

However, what seems worthwhile to highlight here is that when they claim for themselves (to the figure of the community leader) the entire responsibility for the selection of the sights to be gazed upon by tourists, they are authenticating the 'community-based tourism' model in their village; it is a way of Canhaners presenting themselves as *the* stakeholders of the tourism business. I had access to the *Guest Book* of the Covane Lodge, where tourists leave their comments and suggestions. One of the most common positive aspects mentioned between January 2005 and January 2008 is the, 'good community initiative'. The concept 'community initiative' in this context implies more than 'community participation', but 'community' enterprise, 'community' empowerment, and 'community' guidance. It also shows the sort of criteria important for *the tourists of Canhane* for qualifying the tourism undertaking, and Canhaners' dominant role in the tourism enterprise is one of them. Therefore, the assumption that the village walk had been planned by others than the Canhaners would be in contradiction to the logic that supports and validates the 'community-based tourism'. The success of the village walk, in particular, and of the 'community-based tourism', in general, is predicated on the Canhaners appearance of *authentic* stakeholders in the tourism project; and the active involvement of the 'community' in the decision making process – as *in control of the business* – is essential to legitimate it: such performance projects the sense of empowerment that characterizes agency and ownership itself. Thus, when (re)presenting themselves *the* stakeholders of the tourism business, Canhaners are strategically enacting a role.

For the sake of this matter, let me report a series of events with people other than the members of the 'community' that illustrate what I have been addressing.

The truck acquired in 2004 is an essential element in the activity of Covane Lodge. Among numerous other functions, the Covane truck helps with transporting workers and tourists, as well carrying essential materials. The lodge depends greatly on it. On one

occasion, the Canhaner who drives the truck and I met occasionally at the Covane Lodge. Both of us were waiting for the end of a meeting that was being held in the area of the restaurant. 'I'm too old for this',[5] he told me, 'and sometimes, when I don't rest enough I become confused'.[6] I was there because I wanted to talk with the staff of LUPA, but I did not know his reasons. 'Why don't you go rest then?', I asked him. 'I can't', he replied, 'It's part of my job to wait now, because someone might need a lift to elsewhere… so, even if they finish at midnight, I have to wait'. He was sad and visibly tired. I left Covane Lodge before the meeting finished. It was dark already, around eight o'clock at night.

Two days after our meeting, I was told that the driver had an accident that night at half past nine. Apparently, he drove to Tihovene and just before he arrived to the town he ran over a child who had had a fight with his father, and thus was sleeping on the road. For that, the driver stayed twenty four hours in prison. The police also found out that the truck was not covered by insurance, and thus it was seized. The director of LUPA was at the Covane Lodge when the accident happened, but apparently he did not involve himself in resolving the situation. Meanwhile, the child run over by the Covane truck went to the hospital in Chókwè the morning after of the accident. Because of the anxiety of the driver and the manager of the lodge, I went to visit him one week after the occurrence. He was out of danger, despite the rumors in the village suggesting that the child was close to death.

Since the accident, Covane Lodge could not count on the truck, and therefore the staff had to walk long distances to get there. Three of them were from the town of Tihovene, which is around fifteen kilometers away from the lodge. This implied that they had to walk at least thirty kilometers every day. Over time, this became too hard for them, and thus the lodge was often without any employees. Besides, the lodge quickly ran out of gasoline, which is essential for the water pump to pull water from the Elephants River and for the generator providing electricity for the two hours at night included in the tourism accommodation service (thus only used when tourists are present). The determinism of the truck for the lodge became more obvious, and its inoperability undermined all the tourism activity in Canhane.

I visited the offices of NGO LUPA in Maputo the week of the accident. I talked with someone there who told me that in their weekly meetings, nobody had spoken about the incident when the 'Canhane's agenda' was approached. Indeed, despite the involvement of this staff member of the NGO in the 'Canhane's project', she did not know about the accident

[5] He was born in 1958.
[6] Conversation with the driver of the Covane truck, Canhane, October 21, 2008.

at all, and how this was constraining the activity of Covane Lodge. Since LUPA was not engaged in the incident and its resolution, the problem of the seized truck remained. The manager of Covane Lodge felt isolated: 'Maybe they are trying to test me… I've to resolve the problem in my way then',[7] he told me facing the indifference of LUPA.

There is a Portuguese man who has been living in Tihovene for seven years. He is known in the region by *mulungu* of Banga (*mulungo de Banga*).[8] Such connotation is informed by the color of his skin. In the southwest zone of Mozambique the word *mulungu* is used to describe both a *white skinned person* and *the ruler*. Such a double connotation is a legacy of the colonialism in the region, where the majority of the colonists had white skin and were in charge or engaged in enterprise something. Nowadays people also used to use the term *mulungu* to refer to dark skinned Mozambicans in the government or those recognized as having social power through their businesses, such as the drivers of *chapas*. In line with perceptions of Portuguese colonists by south-western Mozambicans, *mulungu* is never associated with submissive, poor, servile people. Therefore, the contemporary use and double connotation of the word are to carry out an act of social remembrance from the colonial times; that is, the conventional use of the word *mulungu* in the region expresses and fortifies an acceptance of shared definitions of past-based *reality*: *mulungu* informs the colonial past.[9]

The manager of Covane Lodge tried to get insurance for the truck in order to release it from the hands of the police through this Portuguese man who, as his nickname suggests, is perceived as someone with *skills* in the region. I participated in one of his approaches to the *mulungu* of Banga: 'Come on, help me with this… I don't know to whom to turn… I'm with no solutions',[10] the manager told him. 'I can try', the Portuguese replied, 'but for that I have to go to Maputo, with my car… you know? I'll have expenses'. They looked at each other for a few seconds, while the Portuguese shrank his shoulders in sign of evidence. 'I understand, but I'm alone here… how can I fund that?', the manager of Covane Lodge said. They continued with the conversation, confronting arguments, but also looking for solutions. In the end, the Portuguese said: 'Let me think then about a day, in which I can take care of other

[7] Conversation with the Manager of Covane Lodge, Tihovene, October 23, 2008.
[8] Banga is the village where he lived before he moved to Tihovene.
[9] Furthermore, the closest word *Molungo* derives from the word 'God' or 'big spirit' in BiBanto from Central Africa. And in Nyanja language, in the Niassa Province of Mozambique, *Mulungu* means God. In this line, I was told once by an inhabitant of Tihovene that, 'We call mulungo to the white guy, because God is white'. (*)
(*) Conversation with Tihovene resident, Tihovene, March 10, 2008.
[10] Conversation between the manager of Covane Lodge and the Portuguese man of Tihovene, Tihovene, October 24, 2008.

stuff in Maputo as well… then I don’t have to go there only because of your problem. But you have to wait’.

The ‘community’ of Canhane and the Social Management Committee were not a part of the conversation, as if their members were unable to contribute in any possible way. This was in direct contrast with what I was told when I formally interviewed the manager of the lodge for the first time, around nine months previously. At that time he said: ‘I and [saying the name of the receptionist, who was close by] are mere employees here; the community is the one in charge of the lodge, and we have to present reports every three months to the Social Management Committee’.[11] By saying that, he was authenticating and strengthening ‘community-based’ ideology. The ‘community’ was informed as the ultimate ruler, commanding and carrying the responsibility for decisions about the lodge. ‘I just follow orders… this is the community’s rule’, he concluded. However, during the following months his (institutionalized) words proved to be dissociated from practice. For example, every morning the Mozambican flag must be hoisted by the community leader of Canhane. It is a state requirement in every village in the country. However, despite the existence of a flag post at the entrance of his house, the community leader never raises the flag (Figure 76). Apparently, the national flag he has is full of holes and is not in a suitable condition to be hoisted. He tried to resolve the issue by informally resorting to tourism revenues. I was told about this by the manager of Covane Lodge. He said: ‘Once, the community leader of Canhane came to me and asked me money for the flag, saying that it was also a matter of tourism... But then I told him: “More? No, no, if you want a new flag, you have to buy it with your own money, or ask to some one in the administration”. For sure, he won’t use the money of the lodge for that’.[12] Contrary to basic principles of ‘community-based’ ideology, in practice the manager of Covane Lodge proved to be more a governor than an employee of the ‘community’ as he had classified himself before. Likewise, when I first arrived in Canhane, I asked him how it would be if I stayed for a couple of months in the lodge. He immediately informed me of the possibility of charging less than the usual price. Yet, his lack of autonomy was instantly revealed: he had to speak with the director of LUPA to know how far he could go on the discount. Only after he had spoken to him by phone, he told me the price. All this was arranged between me, him, and the NGO. The ‘community’ and the Social Management Committee were totally ignored. Many other occurrences that took place during my stay in

[11] Interview with manager of Covane Lodge, Canhane, January 25, 2008.
[12] Conversation with manager of Covane Lodge, Canhane, March 5, 2008.

the region confirm the 'community' as an entity not able in practice to influence the manager and, in turn, the management of Covane Lodge.

**Figure 76** – The flag post at the house of the community leader standing without a flag (photograph by the author, May 3, 2008).

After the Portuguese *mulungu* was asked for help to resolve the problem of the Covane's truck, more related problems arose. According to the manager of Covane Lodge, the person in charge of the police station in Tihovene, where the truck was stored, wanted *mola* (*spring* – meaning money): 'Even if I get insurance for the truck, he would never let it free without *mola*',[13] he said. The manager of the lodge became very disoriented with the situation, not knowing exactly what steps to take: 'Gosh, my bosses [referring to NGO LUPA]…',[14] he vented once, showing his disappointment for his unsupported position. Moreover, his comment attests to his perception of who are in charge of Covane Lodge and tourism in Canhane: 'the bosses' he was referring were the 'development experts' of LUPA, and not the 'community' of Canhane.

The ongoing complication uncovered and made obvious the inability of the Social Management Committee, the 'community', and the manager of the Covane Lodge in

[13] Conversation with the Manager of Covane Lodge, Tihovene, October 25, 2008.
[14] Conversation with the Manager of Covane Lodge, Tihovene, October 25, 2008.

conducting the tourism venture in Canhane. The prefix 'community-based' for tourism activity in Canhane means that the 'community' is highly involved in running it, accompanying all the procedures and participating in decision-making. Moreover, being 'community-based' means that the image of the 'community' is also represented and projected to the *outside* through the tourism venture. Therefore, the illegality of the Covane Lodge's truck should be resolved rapidly, otherwise the aura of 'community empowerment' gravitating on the *moral* 'community' would be gone. Still, the problem remained. 'If the NGO suddenly decides to leave Canhane', a Mozambican manager of Limpopo National Park told me once, when exemplifying the pitfalls of 'community tourism' in the country, 'they become completely weakened: they don't know how to hire a lawyer… they don't know how things work. Tourism there is a fake situation, because they pretend they are in charge but they are entirely dependent on the NGO'.[15] He substantiated his opinion by revealing his friendship with the director of LUPA: 'I know pretty well what happens there; I and [the first name of the NGO's director] are friends for a long time, so we used to talk openly about it'. In line with his perspective of the 'development expert's' rule over tourism in Canhane, in September 2008 the director of LUPA confirmed that by saying, 'In the last three months there were lots of tourists going to Covane [Lodge], and they were passing back and forth in the village. So they [referring to the community leader and his son who is the president of the Social Management Committee] see this… and this is shaking them… they became anxious about money'.[16] Implicitly underscoring Canhaners' powerlessness over what is proclaimed as their enterprise, he added:

> Not long ago I had to go there [Canhane] just to calm them down. It's obvious that we [NGO] can't pay them more now just because there are lots of tourists, because there will be periods when there are no tourists at all, and they don't understand this. For example, the members of the [Social Management] committee receive 1000 metical[17] every six months, but now they want a salary as well, as if they were working at the lodge, and this is not possible. At least we [NGO] pay the minimum wage to the employees of the Covane [Lodge] and

[15] Interview with manager of Limpopo National Park, offices of the park, October 31, 2010.
[16] Interview with the director of LUPA, Maputo, September 17, 2008.
[17] 29,30 euro at the date of September 2008.

> give courses to the community! But there might be occasions as well that we have to fire people…

In the name of the NGO that he represents, his personal endeavor and posture is more concordant with the character of controller and proprietor of the tourism activity in Canhane, than of cooperator of a hypothetical Canhaners-ruled tourism business. His position shows how power can be acquired in, and through, tourism.

What it is important to address at this stage is that the introduction of tourism into the core of Canhane society has placed LUPA, in particular, and the 'development' sector, in general, as *'community' rulers* that operate at the backstage of the 'community-based' projection. More precisely, since the population became a 'community', primarily materialized by their compulsory relocation and spatial concentration into a different zone and the introduction of tourism, Canhane's process of integration into broader national, global, and 'developmental' regimes represents an index of diminishing autonomy and sovereignty. Presenting the 'community' as *the* stakeholders in the tourism venture in Canhane is an illusion sold, a fiction (front) role that is performed in order to legitimize the 'community-based' prefix and moral ideal of the tourism enterprise.

## The Back of the Front

As the main form of encounter between tourists and the 'community', the village walk is an inherent component of the front and supports the social constitution of tourist sights in Canhane. It institutionalizes ordinary places, materials, and people (particularly the community leader and the witchdoctor) as tourist attractions. However, the touristification of specific places, materials, and people in the village was not random. They were chosen to be *the* tourist sights because of their potential to represent the logic behind the implementation of the 'community-based tourism' project: that is, 'community development' via tourism. Let me illustrate this with a counter example.

One of the most *exclusive* houses in Canhane is located at the western part of the village, in neighborhood four. Its owner is a *Zitha* descendent (Figure 77). He lives there with his two wives and six sons. When he was seventeen years old, mainly because of the Mozambican civil war, he moved to South Africa, where he remained for the next five years. Moving back to Canhane in 1994, he came to be known for his entrepreneurial spirit. 'When I

returned from South Africa', he told me, 'I wanted to build a house similar to the one where I was living before. So, I started going to Maputo making business with cows. I did that until I had enough money for this [pointing at his house behind him]'.[18] Meanwhile, he continued engaging in several activities: he invested in a boat for renting to 'local' fishermen; got one of the biggest agricultural areas close to the Elephants River; obtained funds from a NGO to build latrines in order to sell them to the residents of Canhane with a special lower price;[19] and became one of the leaders of the Assembly of God church in Canhane. Indeed, since my first contact with him, he always seamed affirmative, *open minded*, and confident about his and Canhane's potentialities. When I questioned him about the positive impacts of tourism in the village, he said: 'For us tourism is good because it is a way to study new things, receive people of different colours, see new things… Now children are not scared anymore when they see a different person'.[20] He was the only Canhaner who ever addressed the access 'to new things' as a benefit of tourism in Canhane. The answer revealed his belief in the access to the *extra-'local'* as a social benefit, which reflects much of modern visions ruled by interconnectiveness. Also on another occasion, when we addressed the issue of lack of electricity in the village, he told me, 'I already tried to convince them [Canhane residents] that we should organize ourselves, cut some trees, and install lamp posts from here [Canhane] to the town of Tihovene. Then, we go to the administration office and say to them: "Now you just have to put up cables!" But they [Canhane residents] don't want to do anything'.[21] Although he seemed to represent the ideal of 'community participation' and 'community empowerment' that are implicit in the contemporary ideology of 'development' and, therefore in 'community-based tourism', he was not an element of 'decision making' in the tourism venture in Canhane. That is, he was not one of the ten constituents of the Social Management Committee of the Covane Community Lodge.

[18] Conversation with *Zitha* descendent, Canhane, March 5, 2008.
[19] The price charged in Canhane per latrine is 100 metical (3,02 euro, in December 15, 2008). The negative difference between the production costs and the selling price is covered LUPA. These latrines can also be sold in other places than Canhane, where the price is higher.
[20] Conversation with *Zitha* descendent, Canhane, February 23, 2008.
[21] Conversation with *Zitha* descendent, Canhane, March 5, 2008.

**Figure 77** – One of the most *modern* houses in Canhane and its owner (photograph by the author, March 5, 2008).

In line with his high level of initiative and proactivity, he implemented a system close to his house that allows the residents to watch South African football matches (Figure 78). He acquired a generator that provides energy to a television that is inside a hut with a parabolic antenna outside. He charges five metical per person (0,13 Euro),[22] in order to buy fuel for the generator. Facing the dearth material conditions in the village, the hut obtains the significance of social progress, or more concretely, it has the potential to embody, better than all the other *sites* in Canhane, the so-called 'community development' that is (re)presented to the tourists in the village walk. Moreover, this hut is no more than twenty metres far from the water tank, which is a *must* in the village walk. However, no tourist had ever visited the hut where the television stands. Why are the tourists led to the water tank and not to the hut where (some) Canhaners watch television?

[22] Assuming 1 Euro = 36,055 Metical (August 10, 2008).

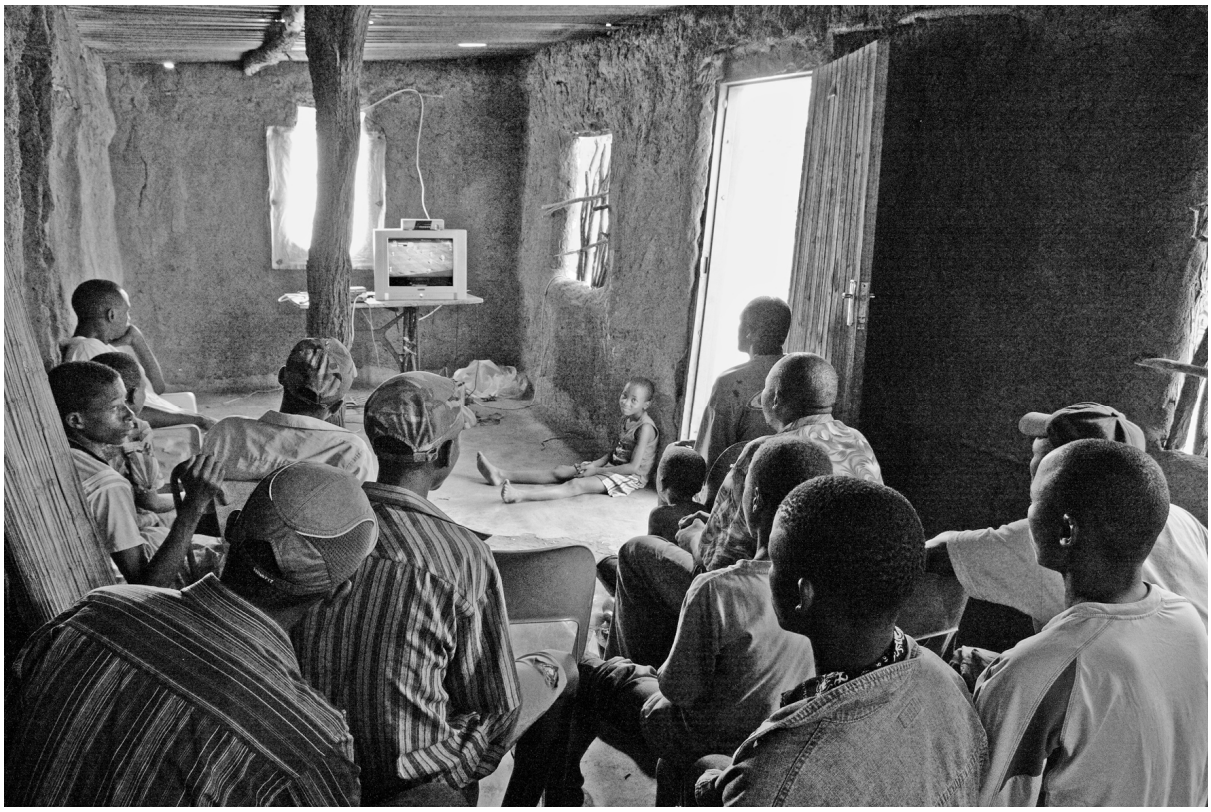

**Figure 78** – Inside the hut where Canhaners can watch South African football matches (photograph by the author, March 8, 2008).

I believe the answer to this simple question gives evidence about the broader context of tourism in Canhane. The water tank incorporates and represents the ‘local development’ that is possible due to the contribution of tourists, therefore it is directly associated with (tourists’) consumption. Contrarily, the television’s hut is an initiative of one Canhaner, and does not derive from tourism (consumption). Although it has the characteristics to represent a case of ‘community development’, it is a self-entrepreneurship initiative without any support from ‘development’ organisations and tourism, and therefore is not *promoted*.

Goffman (1959: 22) distinguished the standard parts of the frontstage: ‘First, there is the “setting” … which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it’. Adapting what he said, the water tank can be thus interpreted as a scenic part of the frontstage in the tourism venture in Canhane. It is one of the (front) signs in the village (re)presented to the tourists. On the contrary, the television’s hut is the place where, ‘no member of the audience [tourists] will intrude’ (ibid.: 113) and therefore the Canhaner, ‘can relax: he can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines, and step out of character’ (ibid.: 112).

The director of the Social Management Committee of the Covane Lodge was a recurrent presence at the television's hut. I met him several times there, although we never engaged in conversation about tourism or the lodge in particular. This was a place where I had to worry about a chair to sit in, for example. In contrast with many other places and situations in the village, I was never given a chair to sit that was already occupied. Moreover, despite the fact that it exhibits technology, entrepreneurship, 'empowerment', all them commonly (rhetoric) goals of 'community development' visions, according to its initiator this hut was never visited by any 'development expert', member of the government, or tourist. 'You are the first person coming here', the man responsible for the place told me when I watched my first match there. The difference from the water supply system is that the television's hut does not have the potential to link tourists with 'community development', and therefore it is kept out of the tourism experience. In sum, the television's hut is at the backstage, while the water tank is at the frontstage of developmentourism in Canhane.

## Performing Ethnicity – The Makwai Dance

The performative and aesthetic characters of ethnicity are also part of the frontstage in Canhane. This is particularly evidenced through two main events: the witchdoctor and the dance Makwai. The subject of the witchdoctor was already analysed in this work in chapter five – The Route of Needs. Thus, let me focus now on the second aspect that is the dance Makwai, and which has become a symbol of an essentialized and ethnicized 'community' identity projected to the *outside*.

The Makwai dance performed by Canhaners is characterised by aggressive and virile male foot percussion. Probably the most distinctive feature of the dance is the strength with which men beat their feet against the ground, generating a low cloud of dust around them and peculiar sounds from the pebbles that are inside of cans bind to their ankles. It is known in Mozambique as a war dance typical of the countryside, contrasting with the dances practiced at the littoral, more undulating, smooth, languid (Manuel and Ussene 2009: 31). Women are not allowed to dance Makwai, but they are expected to participate by standing in line in the background of the dancers, clapping, singing, and yelling. Particularly evident in this case, Makwai attests the complex ways in which dance styles may signal group hierarchies and serve as expression and practice of power relations of gender. Confirmed by Reed (1998: 516), 'Discourses of dance are often rooted in ideas of natural gender difference'. The

Makwai dance exhibits patterns that inform conceptions of social and gender organization. Interpretations of body movement in Makwai inform how men use dance as an arena of exhibiting strength, bravery, and potency, while women demonstrate their supportive character. In the past, Makwai in Canhane was performed in *lobolo* (bridewealth) ceremonies; today it is mostly danced for tourism purposes or in representing the village at institutional events.

In the end of the 1990s the government of Mozambique started requesting performances of Makwai from Canhaners as a way to express *Canhanerness*. 'Once, we even won a radio in a festival at the town of Chibuto',[23] one of the habitual Makwai dancers told me. The role of state institutions in the promotion of national dances has been documented in a number of studies (e.g., Austerlitz 1997; Daniel 1995; Mohd 1993). The formal suppression, regulation or incentive of *countryside* dances by post-colonial governments is an indicator of the significance of dance as a potential site of political manifestation. It may reflect a state strategy in the development of national cultures, whether as indications of the dominance of ethnic groups or as displays of cultural pluralism. In many post-colonial nations, 'local' and regional dances come to be idealized as symbols of an authentic pre-colonial past; as an embodiment of cultural heritage and, therefore, serving to support post-colonial state ideologies of nationalism. For example, in the context of the contemporary unifying role of the *Séga* dance in multiethnic identity construction in Mauritius, Schnepel and Schnepel (2009: 283) addressed that, 'At the present day, we find that the dance has become an important means and statement to further the state's nationalist claims as well as the tourism industry', by reproducing, 'a presentable cultural heritage within a globalizing world'.

The 8th of February is Tihovene Day. I was present at the commemorations in 2008. The neighboring 'communities' were invited to attend and to represent themselves at the event. There was one single form for public projection of their 'community identity' and that was dance. Canhane was represented through Makwai. The community leader of Canhane was also at the event. But although he was wearing the 'traditional' uniform – green suit with pinned medals and a military hat, an imitation of the military clothes distributed to the community leaders during the colonial time – he was a mere element of the crowd. Like him, there were other community leaders, many using the same type of costume, also *passively* mixed with the rest of the population. None of them made a speech or had any sort of

[23] Conversation with Makwai dancer, Canhane, September 25, 2008.

protagonism in the name of the collectivity they represent. Dance was the only vehicle to express the 'communities'.

In Mozambique, the state manifestation of interest in the Makwai of Canhane induced the constitution of a strict group of men specialized in it. Since then, Makwai is only performed by this group when tourists request it (by paying 600 metical [18 euro] at the Covane Lodge),[24] (Figure 79, 80 and 81) or outside Canhane at governmental events (Figure 82). According to the *stage manager* of the dance, a *Zitha* who calls himself, 'responsible for the culture in the village', the biggest visual change that occurred in Makwai was that, 'in the old times we used white clothes, while now we put on lots of colorful dresses, like wispy skirts… but we always used the bells on the feet, for example'.[25] The change of the aesthetic aspects of the dance may inform the character of nonverbal communication of *differentness* that Makwai has obtained in Canhane, because of its inclusion as a tourism product. The very aspects that make dances appealing and colorful as representations of the exotic *other* could be precisely the things that do not easily fit into the self-representation of the audience (tourists). I asked him how often they used to practice it among themselves. 'Never', he said, 'Not anymore. We are professionals [he smiled], and we don't have to practice anymore. We only dance Makwai when there is an event'.

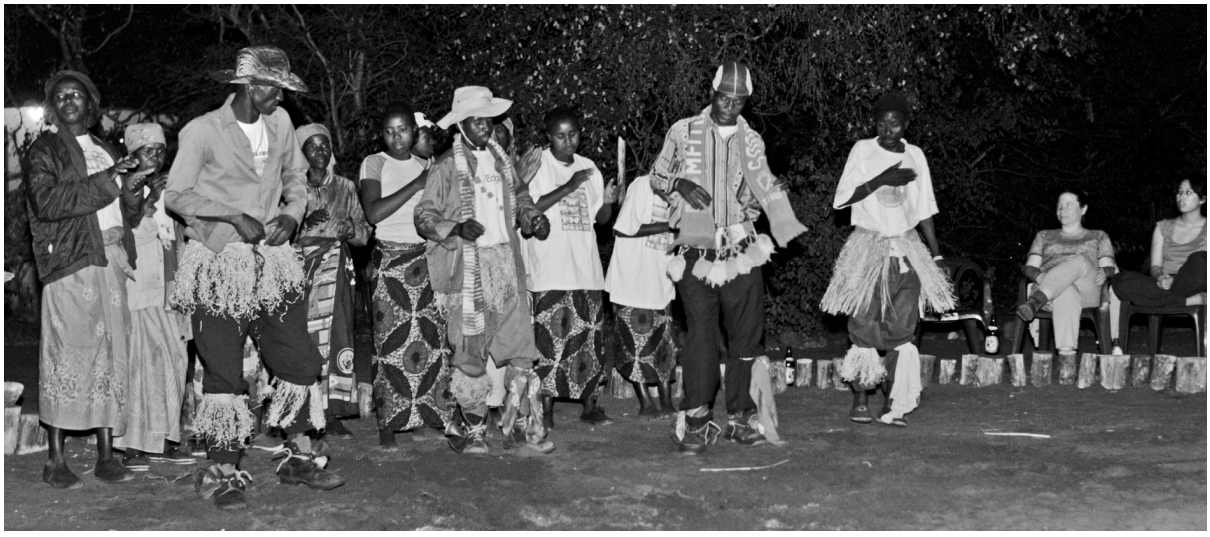

**Figure 79** – Dancing Makwai in Covane Lodge for tourists (photograph by Matthew, June 5, 2007).

[24] Assuming 1 Euro = 33.33 Metical (December 15, 2008).
[25] Conversation with Makwai dancer, Canhane, October 11, 2008.

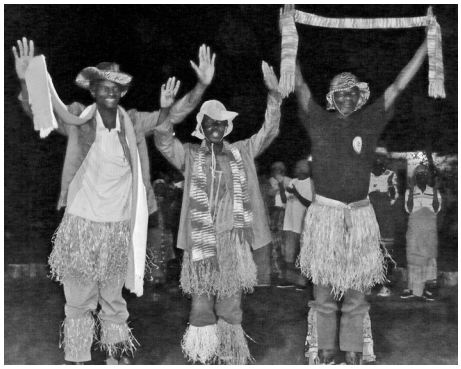

**Figure 80** – Dancing Makwai in Covane Lodge for tourists (unidentified, August 14, 2008).[26]

**Figure 81** – Dancing Makwai in Canhane for tourists (photograph by the author, March 6, 2008).

**Figure 82** – Dancing Makwai at the town of Tihovene for Mozambican President Armando Guebusa, who is in front of them greeting people with his raised right arm (photograph by the author, October 2, 2008).

Despite the fact that the dance Makwai is not performed anymore among and for Canhaners, it has become the most representative manifestation of Canhane ethnicity to the *outside*, in particular for tourists; an emblem of the ethnic side of the 'community'. Reed

[26] http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/_Qv6pBhEkX6-OP-qNsWk3g, accessed June 6, 2009.

(1998: 509) said, 'Exoticization takes many forms, and the representation of the exotic Other … has been an important feature of both dance performances and visual representations of dance since at least the 18th century'. Accordingly, on one occasion, the company Transfrontier Parks Destinations that is running the Machampane Wilderness Camp contacted NGO LUPA to organize a promotional pamphlet about Covane Lodge to be distributed at the camp, in the Limpopo National Park. The idea was to diversify the tourist offerings of the Machampane Camp, which was exclusively focused on wilderness, nature and animal life, with parallel cultural activities outside of the park. Canhane was considered in this partnership for its ethnic potential. After analyzing the best ways of promoting the *cultural* side of Canhane, they decided the subjects to be pictured and to be included in the promotional pamphlet: they were, fishing in the Elephants River and Makwai dance in the village (Figure 83 and 84).

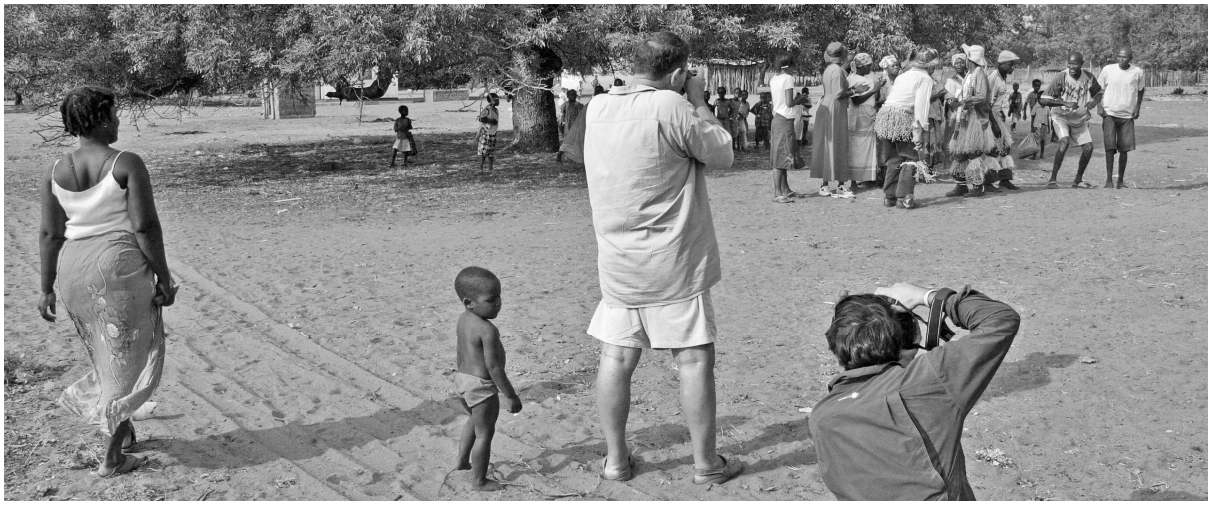

**Figure 83** – Machampane Camp's staff taking photographs of Makwai dancers (photograph by the author, March 12, 2008).

**Figure 84** – Machampane Camp's staff taking photographs of Makwai dancers (photograph by the author, March 12, 2008).

By collecting and selecting the signs of 'local' distinctness, the staff of the company Transfrontier Parks Destinations and LUPA are acting as *deciders*, and through that they take part of (re)production of ethnicity, contributing to fostering performing ethnicity and 'exoticism' to tourists. For the Canhaners, the dance now means almost exclusively entertainment for visitors and it is a clear manifestation of frontstage in tourism. Ethnicity through dance in Canhane thus exists only insofar as it is enacted. Once, I said to one of the usual dancers of Makwai, who is also a security guard at Covane Lodge, 'Your dance is very energetic and seems to instill that in those who watch it. When are you dancing again?'[27] He smiled, squeezed his fingers in a sign of money, and said: 'Makwai? Money. No money, no Makwai!' As a performer of the dance, his comment showed his lack of identification with the dance as a manifestation of Canhane's traditions, as it is presented to the audiences. Underlying this is his consciousness of what Schnepel (2006: 125), influenced by Köpping's work, called the difference between 'playing' a role and 'being' a role in the context of the religious festival in eastern India known as 'Dando Nato'.

The new context of the dance informs of the new identifications that are emerging from Canhaners' venture in 'community-based tourism'. That is, among others, *players and sellers of a role*. The Makwai dancer demonstrated the (new) capitalistic values behind the dance, which have become the main source instigating the continuation of such an old custom in the village. Therefore, the contemporary practices of producing and reproducing exoticization in Canhane through Makwai dance inform (part of the) Canhaners as *producers*, in this case, of ethnicity. It draws upon a process of 'self-orientalism' (Ong 1999), in which images and performances of uniqueness are presented as representative of essential cultural differences. Projected as a symbol of ethnic *other* and of exotic culture for tourist consumption, Makwai exemplifies the processes of commodification that many Canhaners have been embracing since the introduction of ('community-based') tourism in the village by the 'development' sector. Moreover, its commodifying impact can be interpreted as a way of 'community empowerment' in the sense that Canhaners become more integrated in a worldwide system. Such integration derives from them being both *product* and *seller*. However, one may also consider that such commodification processes increment their dependency status from the wider system where Canhane is now located and on which they have to rely. More precisely, under the halo of 'community-based tourism', the (selective) features being commodified are

[27] Conversation with Makwai dancer, Canhane, April 12, 2008.

a reflex of the market, ruled by tourism and 'development' principles, where Canhaners operate, as product, producers, and sellers.

## Sight of Gratitude

Particularly in industrialized societies, from where the majority of the tourists come, attending school and receiving a formal education is considered to be extremely vital and necessary if one wants to achieve success in life. The school is extended as the place where kids learn and are expected to practice the social values of the society in which they live. Therefore, in tourists' home societies the fact that there are places in the world where not every child has an opportunity to receive an education in school is highly connected with deprivation, 'underdevelopment', and poverty. The school carries the meaning of social-esteem, social dignity, and empowerment. For this reason, knowing that part of the school of Canhane, 'was only possible because of the money left by the tourists that visit the Covane',[28] a morally justifies *per se* the presence of (a [e]special type of) tourists in Canhane.

In the numerous interviews that I did, many Canhaners pointed the school as one of the positive outcomes of tourism. When saying that to developmentourists, they know the positive connotation that such an outcome has in the moral world of the listener. Once, the community leader said to a tourist who had asked him if he liked having tourism in the village: 'Yes, because it's helping in the education of the sons of the community, and they are learning new abilities, and you know how that is important for the community'.[29] He applied the moral judgments of the tourist-listener when describing the positive and 'developmental' effects of tourism in the 'community'.

In all my formal interviews in Canhane, the school was a dominant argument referred to as supporting the benefits of tourism. However, there was an exception: a man who not only did not mention the school, but also criticized the fact that the residents refer the school as a 'good thing'. I met him on one occasion, after I had made many attempts. He used to be in the village of Cubo, selling goods to the fishermen who are based there. He has a small 'cabana' close to the river where he sells several products, on the path that the fishermen use to pass by to go to their boats. He lives in neighborhood two in Canhane. When I met him

[28] Presentation of the manager of Covane Lodge acting as tour guide to tourists, Canhane, October 17, 2008.
[29] Conversation between the community leader and tourist, Canhane, October 6, 2008.

there for the first time, he was friendly from the start. He gave many distinctive signs evidencing his individuality. One of them was, for instance, the promptness that he stated his age (he was born in 1961), something that proved to be not so common in Canhane. He invited me to have a dinner with him; 'But only if you don't mind eating our food',[30] he added. We ate *xima*[31] with candle beans and grilled corn, all cooked by his youngest wife who, as is common in Canhane, did not join us for the meal. We talked for more than an hour before I started to ask him some standard questions that I had been asking throughout the village. This was the time when he assumed his criticism upon tourism development in Canhane. He was the only case I found in the village expressing pessimism towards the ongoing venture. At one point he said, 'I think tourism wasn't a good option. Would be much better instead if Helvetas started chicken breeding, for example'. He also engaged in organizational issues by stating that the members of the Social Management Committee of the lodge should change every three years, otherwise, as he put it, 'They stay there forever always saying the same things'. Then I questioned him about one of the most referred benefits of tourism that I had been told of so far by the rest of the population; that is, the school. He promptly said: 'They should shut up. Mentioning the school is ridiculous. You know why?', he asked me. 'Actually, you know what?', he continued before I had time to say anything, 'Won't be me telling you that: just ask to one of the teachers what they think about the frequency that the children go to their classes… and then asked them the reasons behind that'.

He used to see tourists in Canhane. However he told me that he never talked with them because, 'the population wouldn't appreciate it'. His posture and negativism could reveal a different side of the 'community' that would not fit in the paradigm of 'community-based tourism'. When the Canhaner presents himself/herself before the tourist, his/her posture tends to incorporate and exemplify the expectations of the visitor, which has become the idea of 'community' to be projected for tourism purposes. Because of the homogenous representation that the concept 'community' carries in itself, a dissonant impression given by an individual of 'the community' may be a threat to the *whole*, discrediting tourists' idyllic and pre-established images of Canhane. Canhaners as performers of 'community-based tourism'

[30] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, January 27, 2008.
[31] *Xima* is the main food staple in Canhane. It is ground-up corn cooked down in water until it obtains a stiff consistency (Figure 85, 86).

should thus confirm through their actions and discourses the patterns of appropriate conduct and appearance that are attached to ideas of 'community'.

The standards of 'community' must be enacted, exposed, and understandable for tourists. This means that if the members of 'the community' have to give expression to ideal standards, then they will have to conceal rhetoric and attitudes which are inconsistent with these standards. Therefore, the Canhaners who do not perform such ideas of 'community' and do not *offer* to the tourists an idealized impression of themselves may represent a threat to the 'community-based tourism' venture. In other words, not only do spaces inform the front and back of tourism in the village, people and Canhaners' behaviours also do, and he was clearly an element of the back of tourism's paradigm. Just before I left his household, he asked me: 'What are you going to do with the information I gave you?'

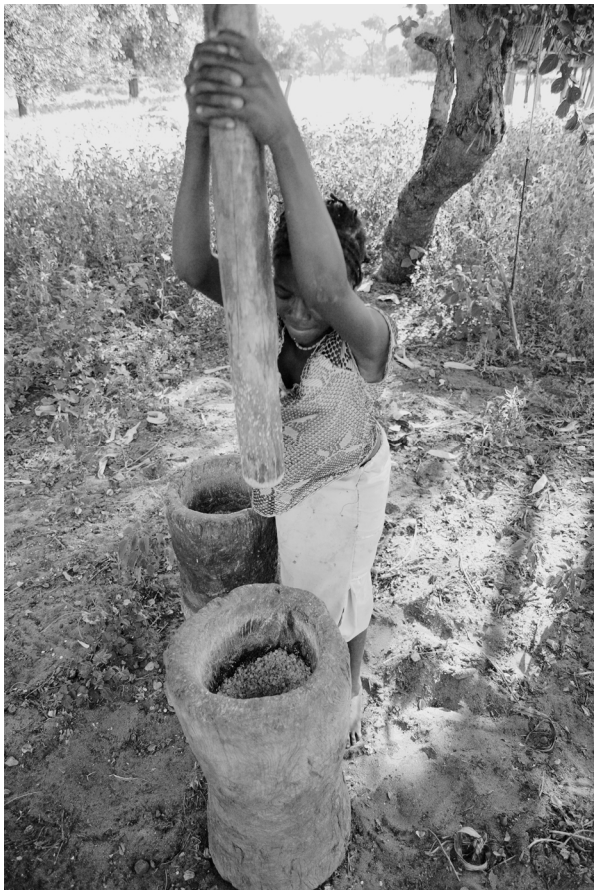

**Figure 85** – Preparing xima in Canhane (photograph by the author, February 3, 2008).

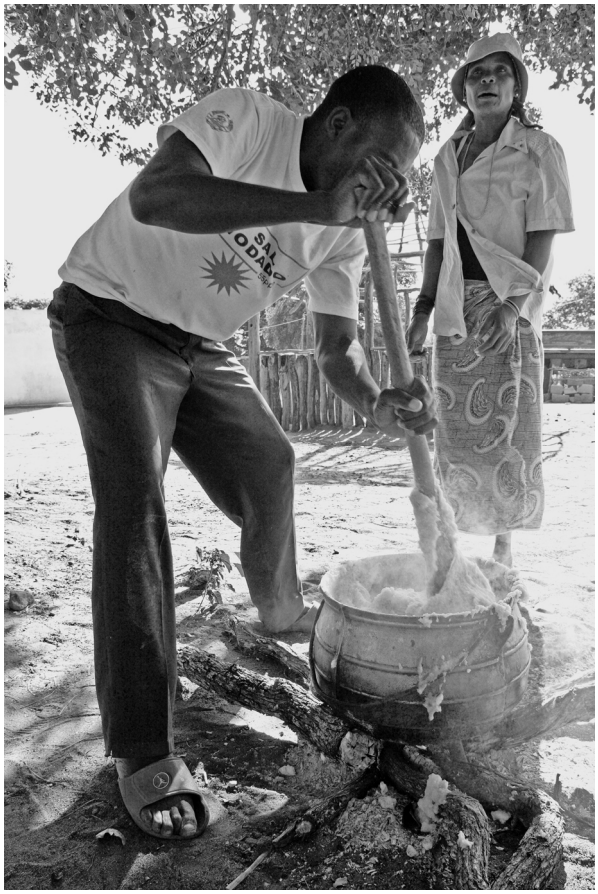

**Figure 86** – Preparing xima in Canhane (photograph by the author, February 8, 2008).

I followed his advice and not long after our conversation I asked a teacher of the school in Canhane, what was his biggest problem in their work at school. 'The worst battle I have every morning', the teacher of mathematics said, 'is to bring the children to school'. [32] He confirmed thus the problem of children's (in)frequency in the classes. Nevertheless, I asked him to be clearer, and then he said: 'Their parents don't have any education, so they don't care about school. For them school is a waste of time. They prefer to put boys pasturing cattle and girls milling corn, than let them learn any subject at school'. This is not exclusive to Canhane. Once I was told by two Portuguese women living at the town of Chókwè the difficulties they had when dealing with 'local' mothers to allow their sons to go to the school they were implementing as part of their volunteer work for a 'local' NGO. According to them, despite their continuous efforts trying to convince them to bring their sons, the school remained empty almost all the time, until eventually it had to be closed. The main reason was that the mothers asked them for money in order to allow their sons to go to school. Above all, such conduct was highly criticized by the volunteers and announces the contrastive moralities between the Portuguese women and the Mozambican women living in Chókwè.

The uselessness that the school seems to mean for many Mozambicans in the region pushed the NGO 'Joint Aid Management'[33] to implement small projects in several villages in the district of Massingir, where Canhane is located. The key goal is to provide an afternoon free meal every day to the children who attend the school. In Canhane this meal is prepared by two women with the food donated by the NGO (Figure 87). The purpose is to save a meal per day for the parents of these children, and therefore motivating them to let their sons attend the school.

[32] Conversation with a teacher of the school, Canhane, January 29, 2008.
[33] Conversation with a teacher of the school, Canhane, September 29, 2008.

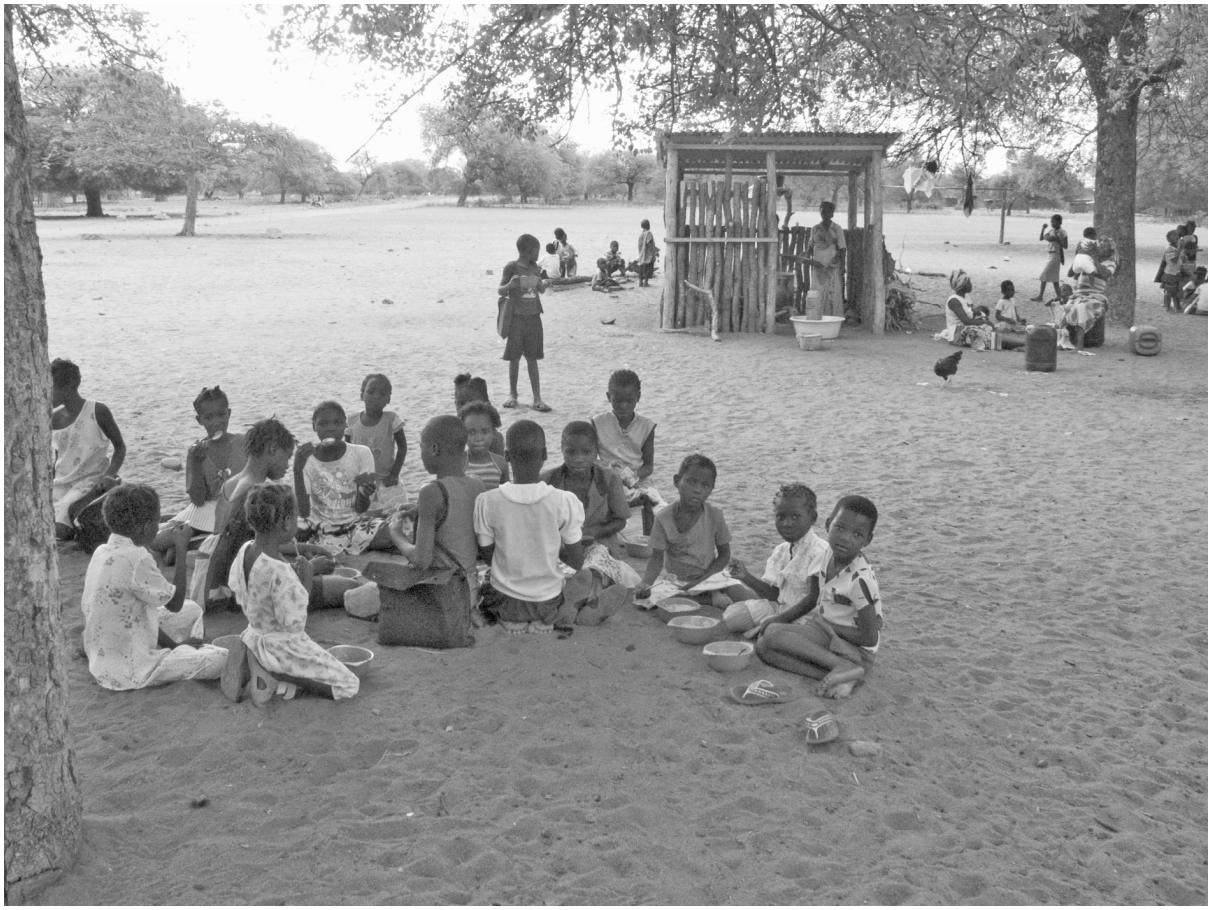

**Figure 87** – Children having a meal provided by the NGO 'Join Aid Management' at the school in Canhane (photograph by the author, October 16, 2008).

All of the teachers in Canhane are from other regions. They were placed there by the Ministry of Education. The main requisite for the selection of the location of teaching by the state is the language proficiency of the candidate. Shangane speakers are therefore eligible for the majority of the schools in Gaza province, including Canhane. Their life is difficult. The majority of them have family living in other places and their salary is low. In Canhane, both the director and assistant director[34] of the school have guarantied accommodation. The two brick houses in the village that are the property of the state are destined to accommodate them. However, the others teachers have to look for a hut to live in. Despite the emphasis that many Canhaners attribute to their activity for the 'community' when speaking to the visitors, they charge money for their residence. Indeed, the Canhaners do not facilitate this and, even though their salaries are low, all the teachers other than the director and sub-director of the school have to rent a hut from a Canhane resident. One of the teachers refused, and since he

[34] Who used to be called *Directora Pedagógica* – Pedagogic Director

was placed in Canhane, he preferred to rent a house in the town of Tihovene and walk every day the seven kilometres between Canhane and Tihovene, back and forth. ‘If they [Canhaners] complicate my life by saying that I must rent a house to work as a teacher’, he told me once, ‘I prefer to rent one in the town’.[35] The teachers’ payments for their residence (housing), and in turn for exercising their ‘valuable’ activity, contradicts the moral significance of their work in the village as it is noted by many of Canhane’s residents to developmentourists.

The school is constantly (re)presented to the *outside* by those same Canhaners who say in the backstage that, ‘the school is a waste of time’, as a beneficial contribution of tourism in Canhane. This clearly informs the distinctive posture (some of) the Canhaners have when they are at the *front* or *back*. At the frontstage, they tend to conceal or underplay those activities, facts, and motives which are incompatible with an idealized version of themselves and their *product*. The idealized image is offered by expressing and accentuating certain aspects and omitting others. As happens when the community leader emphasizes the school as a benefit for the ‘community’ – ‘because it’s helping in the education of the sons of the community’ –, the objective is to engender in the audience the belief that the ‘community’ is related to the moral values of the tourists in an ideal way.

Specifically, schools are understood in industrialized societies as essential providers of children’s growth from early childhood through adolescence (Lopez and Hochberg 1993). Nissani (2004: 3), for example, extended this by addressing that, ‘schools are currently the fastest-growing sector for the development of family support programming’. These (*Western*) understandings inform schools in tourists’ societies as ideal locations for the learning of moral action, the acculturation into societal values, and the foundation of educated responsible workforce. In this way, Canhaners’ performances are institutionalized by tourist expectations and ‘development’ requisites. The rhetoric enactments taken by many of the residents show the ‘community’ front that has emerged from the incorporation of the essential values of tourism and ‘development’. That is to say, such front of Canhane has become institutionalized in terms of the market expectations to which it had given rise. The information projected at the frontstage of tourism is thus a reflex of the inclusion of a system of ideas, derived from both tourism and ‘development’ sectors, into Canhane rationale.

[35] Conversation with a teacher from the school, Canhane, March 10, 2008.

Basically, the school operates as a vehicle for conveying a moral sign to the tourists. What this means is, through expressing the importance of the school for the 'community', Canhaners authenticate the moral relevance of the money spent by the tourists in accordance to the moral values of the tourist (consumer) but not of the values of the (majority of the) Canhaners themselves. The moral status that the school represents in the visitors' minds triggered the selection of such sign-material to be projected, admired, and valorised at the frontstage. Goffman (1959: 35) said, 'a performance is "socialized," molded, and modified to fit into the understanding and expectations of the society in which it is presented'. In the same way, the *school performance* tends to establish claims of 'community development' and ideal principles in accordance with the values of the tourist-*consumer's* society. Finally, the tourists' satisfaction that comes from this concurrence derives from the meaningful character and moral earnestness that their consumption is informed. In the end, what happens is an exchange: the tourists spend money at the Covane Community Lodge, and in turn the Canhaners present to them the effects of that consumption in the form of their (tourists') moralities.

## (Ob)Serving Tourists

Canhaners and the staff of the Covane Lodge do not play the role of 'community-based tourism' solely on the tourism stage. Tourism performance is an interactive and contingent process. For the tourism (re)production of 'community' *problems*, and in turn 'community development' (*solutions*), there must be a participative audience, an audience able to engage in the meaningful context they are presented. That is, the success and coherence of the occasion not only depends on the degree of the hosts' performance, but also on the degree to which the tourist audiences participate and are able to immerse themselves in the role. In fact, whenever Canhaners interact with tourists for the first time, they *react* more than *act*. The character of interaction is crucial and the tourists' posture defines the degree of Canhaners performance.

On the 12th of March 2008 I went to Canhane in the afternoon, around three o'clock. Two South African men were there accompanied by the manager of the Covane Lodge. One was seated over a wood truck under the shadow of a tree. The other was around fifty metres away from him, standing and looking at the screen of his camera. They wanted to, 'Stop

every now and then to take some photos and to go fishing by boat'.[36] Both were accommodated at the Machampane Wilderness Camp in the Limpopo National Park. At one point, the one standing asked loudly to the manager of the Covane Lodge, who was talking with someone from the village: 'Is there anything worth seeing here?' His tone was a bit aggressive. 'Come, we can go for a short walk', he replied. When they started walking, the other South African who still remained seated, yelled 'Let's go to the river instead… there's nothing here'. Despite the fact that some residents were discreetly watching them, no Canhaner approached the South Africans, and even the one who was seated remained alone the entire time. The manager of the lodge and the tourist stopped and returned to the same position where they were before. Suddenly, the other South African got up, took two or three steps very carefully, and bent down. Something finally captured his attention. He remained immobile for a while looking at something that I could not see from where I was. At one point he smoothly grabbed what seemed to be a little object and gestured silently to the other South African with his other arm. He was grabbing a little colourful chameleon. His friend rushed towards them, turned on the camera and started shooting pictures of the animal and of his friend grabbing the chameleon. After some time, the chameleon was carefully put on a higher branch of a tree close by. The animal continued being photographed and happily appreciated by both South Africans. This was the moment when they showed the most enthusiasm and interest in something in the village. In contrast with the rest of the human and infrastructural setting, their main focus of interest was on an animal that was not more than fifteen centimetres long. The character of their zoological keen interest revealed them as non-participative in the 'community-based tourism' goal, and they left the village after the chameleon encounter without ever having expressed any empathy for 'community development' and the outcomes of tourism in Canhane. However, they were also *left alone* by the Canhaners themselves. Although the South Africans had to pay for the village walk, their posture in the village dictated the apathetic hosts' reaction and, in turn, a meaningless 'community-based tourism' experience. In the end, there was no embeddeness in tourism as a vehicle for social improvement.

This episode reveals a common aspect. That is, if tourists do not express interest in 'community development' Canhaners usually display passive and unenthusiastic behaviour. Tourists are also distinguished by the kind of (expected) performative participation they

[36] Conversation with South African tourist, Canhane, March 12, 2008.

exhibit. The Canhaners' tourism play, which relies mostly on *emotion*, derives its coherence from the willingness of the tourists to respectfully incorporate the proceedings and consent to the ideals being presented. Accordingly, Edensor (2001: 71) said, 'Tourism constitutes a collection of commonly understood and embodied practices and meanings which are reproduced by tourists through their performances'. Tourism (as performance) in Canhane is reliant upon the ability of the audience to share the meanings the hosts hope to transmit, while the tourists are captivated into taking roles in support of what they see(k). The ways tourism is consumed, even when this is embedded with strategies of social betterment, as in the case of Canhane, 'is intimately wrapped up in the inter-subjective tactics of governing the [tourist] consuming self, and is likely to involve elements of performance amongst the consumers' (Barnett et al. 2005: 37). It is the performative practices of sharing the same ideals of 'development' that brings host and tourist together, as a kind of partners towards an idealized end: 'community development'. All this is to say that the tourism product in Canhane is also performed and (re)produced by tourists, dramatizing their commitment to the ideals of which the 'community' is part of.

Let me finish this section by extending this theme beyond the 'local' sphere of Canhane with an example from elsewhere in Mozambique which highlights the impact that discrepancies of rules and roles between guests and hosts may have in tourism.

Once, an influential manager of the Limpopo National Park told me about a series of episodes that attests to the relevance of tourists' attitudes in the 'community' tourism activity. He is an experienced professional, particularly in dealing with populations living in conservation areas. One of his jobs was in the Niassa Reserve, in northern Mozambique. He told me that some years ago, when he was working there, a Dutch private group developed a, 'Sort of community tourism service: basically, they put tourists from the Netherlands visiting and sleeping in one community, in Niassa [province]'.[37] The tourists wanted to be temporarily part of the *culture* they were visiting. Thus, many Dutch women started appearing in the village without wearing a top, showing their breasts like the residents did. The women of the village felt offended by being imitated by the Dutch tourists. According to the Limpopo Park's manager, they protested to one of the Dutch organizers saying: 'We don't wear clothes because of our culture, but because of our poverty'. They felt insulted by the exploitation tourists were making of their misery. In the end, the tourism project ceased in their village, because of the pressure of the residents of the village.

[37] Interview with manager of Limpopo National Park, offices of the park, October 31, 2008.

What this example highlights is the importance of tourists’ performance of codes of conduct according to different settings; in this case, tourists failed to behave in accordance with ‘local’ beliefs of appropriate conduct. Confirmed by Salazar (2009: 88), ‘If “hosts” and “guests” have dramatically different views about acceptable behaviour, standards, or perceptions about morals and what constitutes “proper” behaviour, problems can arise, ranging from minor and almost amusing misunderstandings to major disasters’. As Nash (1981, in Stronza 2001: 267) also suggested three decades ago, the host’s society, ‘may play a significant role in determining the kind of tourists it receives and the form of tourism they practice’. In Canhane the mediating role of ‘development’ industry in the tourism activity presents the (moral) devices by which both tourists and Canhaners can perform, and so, the sharing forms of conduct. The *success* of ‘community-based tourism’ in Canhane relies on regular and conventional enactment, at least that which is authorized by the participants. Being a tourist here, thus, involves an explicit demonstration of commitments, which in turn depends on various sorts of performative practice.

## Conclusion

The ‘community-based tourism’ in Canhane is informed by shared goals among the participants (hosts and visitors). When tourists opt to stay at Covane Lodge, they are more than *responsible tourists*: they are *participant tourists* in the sense that they are there to participate, through consumption, in ‘community development’, and in turn to obtain moral worth. Before they decide to go there, the tourists usually know about the setting they are going to face. Thus, when they arrive, they already carry with them pre-established discursive, behavioral norms that help to guide their performative actions, consumption practices, and moral posture.

The problem is that the tourists leave the frontstage area of Canhane, but the Canhaners live in it. It is their *home*, their *culture*, that is performed in moral ways. However, despite the emergence of ‘development’ rationale in the core of Canhane society, what I tried to show in this chapter is that most of the Canhaners are conscious of, and participate by authorizing it, the strategic divisions between what is viewed and acknowledged *of them* by developmentourists. Moreover, such divisions are informed by the logic behind ‘community-based tourism’ ideology. That is, the ways in which hosts and guests define Canhane as a ‘community’ to be ‘developed’ through tourism are informed by the engagement with

tourism and the ‘development’ industry. Most important, this social (re)presentation of (one side of) Canhane for consumption by developmentourists is also a response to consumer expectations. I suggest thus that the front in Canhane is informed by a moral expected quality offered to developmentourists. The possibility to contribute, *verify*, and *be part of* the ‘community participation’ of Canhaners in their own betterment by developmentourists is a moral (tourism) product. It is this latter suggestion – the commodification of morality in tourism through ‘development’ ideology – that I want to push further in the next, and final, chapter.

# 7 Consuming (as) Morality

A Brazilian woman undertaking fieldwork in the Mozambican costal village of Tofo, Inhambane province, and a Canadian man working on dismantling landmines with rats for an international NGO, also in Inhambane's region, came to visit Covane Lodge at the end of October 2008. They arrived from Kruger National Park in South Africa, getting into Mozambique through Giriyondo Gate. Both shared a four-wheel drive car. They had to drive for seventy kilometres through Limpopo National Park until they reached Massingir gate, which is around twenty-two kilometres from Covane Lodge. I was not in Canhane at that time. Nonetheless, I met them a couple of weeks later in Tofo and questioned them about the trip. The Brazilian, who was conducting research in Mozambique for her PhD in ecotourism at James Cook University (Australia), revealed her disappointment in the experience. She told me, 'coming from the Kruger, so organized, and then having to deal with the confused and disappointed Limpopo Park… You are supposed to go to a park to see animals, but then you see people, and the children were always begging for money and running over to the car. There was a situation when one even simulated throwing a stone at us because we didn't stop to give him money'.[1] 'Actually', the Canadian interrupted her, 'I think he really threw it, but I'm not one hundred per cent sure… well, throwing it or not, he missed us'. Both expressed their disillusion of the park's experience and particularly by, what the Brazilian called, the 'indecent' begging and aggressive behaviour of the children.

Their comments reflect standard conduct in this conservation area. Indeed, everyone who drives through the villages in Limpopo National Park has to deal with children running towards the vehicle begging for money. Pamphlets were produced by the Communication Department of the park advising tourists to 'Keep a sharp eye out for children and animals unused to traffic'. The text continues by mentioning, 'If you feel you would like to make a personal contribution to the livelihoods of people living in the Park, please consider

[1] Conversation with Brazilian woman and Canadian man, Tofo, November 15, 2008.

supporting the park's own programmes, rather than making indiscriminate donations of food, clothing or cash which may create a begging culture'.[2] What is certain however, despite the regulations for the tourists behaviour, is that resident children persistently used to raise the palm of their hand, begging for money, toward the windows of the four-wheel drive vehicles that cross the Limpopo Park.

'This doesn't happen in Canhane', said the director of NGO LUPA when comparing Canhane to those villages, 'Nobody there [in Canhane] begs money from tourists'.[3] He was wrong: in Canhane children also used to do the same (begging) gesture to the tourists, and even adults may ask directly for money. Apart from residents' perceptions of me as a tourist or not, I also experienced such behaviours, especially during the first months of my residence in the village. The first time that this happened was on January 30, 2008. I was seated at the main entrance of the school, speaking with a couple of teachers. A man came and sat close to me. Apparently, he seemed only interested in listening to our conversation. After we exchanged a few cordial words he remained silent, mostly looking at me, even when someone else was speaking. But, at one point, apparently without a reasonable context, he said: 'Can you give me some money?'[4] I looked at him for a while, and he finally concluded, 'It's for juice'.

**Figure 88** – Children at the school in Canhane with a tourist (unidentified, August 14, 2008).[5]

[2] Text from the promotional pamphlet available at the entrances of the Limpopo National Park.
[3] Interview with director of LUPA, Maputo, September 17, 2008.
[4] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, January 30, 2008.
[5] http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/_Qv6pBhEkX6-OP-qNsWk3g, accessed June 6, 2009.

A similar situation happened four days later. This time, I was in neighbourhood one drinking canhu with a large group of around sixteen Canhaners when a man from neighbourhood three joined us. He is known in the village by the name *confused man* (*homem confuso*). 'When he speaks he changes subjects very easy',[6] an elder told me justifying his nickname. After he sat close to us, he started leading the topics of conversation of the entire group. Curiously, immediately after *confused man* arrived, the environment became more *confused*, not so much because of the variety and disorder of subjects spoken about, but more because of the intensity, drama, and loud character of his words. We were sitting in a circle, around the canhu container positioned in the centre. He sat in front of me, around three meters from me. I was approached by him for the first time just a few minutes after he came; and it was to ask me for money. The loud and chaotic atmosphere in the group was abruptly interrupted by silence after his request. I felt everybody staring at me, as if there was no other point of interest. The first thought that passed through my mind was that I was being tested. I had been in the village for a couple of weeks, and so I wondered if many residents were curious about my conduct. I was in a delicate public situation, which gained the effect of *moment of presentation*. More than an answer to him, I would have to make a (non-offensive) public statement about myself and my conduct in the village. 'It's to buy cigarettes',[7] he added, breaking the collective silence, just before my reply. I decided then to use a Shangane word I had learned days before (*nihava*), which was roughly translated for me as the most cordial way to express, 'I can't'. After that day, I may have been asked for money no more than eight times during my entire stay in Canhane, mostly by children, in particular when I was taking photographs of them.

It is fair to say that there is a difference of scale between Canhane and the villages in the Limpopo National Park. Although Canhaners' asking for money from visitors is a current practice, *begging* is not a very frequent occurrence in Canhane. When it does happen, people, and children in particular, are not as persistent as they are in the Park. Underlying Canhaners' distinct(ive) behaviour is the idea that the moral pedagogy in tourism is not exclusive to tourists. Hosts might also incorporate behavioural conducts in line with moral paradigms. Specifically, Canhaners' behaviours towards tourists are partially a consequence of training sessions done in the village during the building of the Covane Community Lodge, when effort was put into instituting codes of conduct for the residents. Through Helvetas' initial

[6] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 17, 2008.
[7] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, February 3, 2008.

training sessions, they were encouraged to *perform* ethical behaviour towards tourists, and not *begging* for money was one of the *qualities* instructed. Importantly, however, is that the codes of conduct coached by 'development' trainers were in direct response to tourists' expectations, wishes, and system of values, as illustrated by the Brazilian and Canadian couple. Briefly put, Canhaners' ethical conduct was included in the tourism transaction for the wealth of the business. Therefore, my point is that such trained conduct must be examined for the way it constructs, disciplines, and moralizes the contemporary tourism position of Canhaners and their 'community'. Despite their shortage circumstances, by not *begging* for money, Canhaners become more dignified and in turn more worth of being supported by developmentourists.

The instruction of ethical conduct on the part of Canhaners is in line with a broader 'development' view that the Mozambican NGO LUPA follows. Accordingly, the director of LUPA told me that 'the secret to achieving successes [in the NGO sector in Mozambique] is to establish a strong and sustainable relationship with donors [*operadores*] and to promote a relationship between the communities and the donors not based on begging'.[8] Together with the need to meet consumers' expectations, Canhaners were also induced to follow a 'development' strategic principle and to apply it in tourism. They were placed as elements of a system of generating funds in, and for, 'development' via tourism. As previously addressed in this thesis, 'community-based tourism' and 'development' in Canhane are blended not only by the principle of their constitution – 'poverty eradication', 'empowerment', 'community development' –, but also by the organizational strategies that their constituents use to achieve their goals. Canhaners, in this matter, have become product, producers, and participants of developmentourism. Confirmed by Spencey (2005: 121) in her consultancy report a year after Covane Lodge had opened to tourists, 'Helvetas does treat community members as partners'.

[8] Conversation with the director LUPA, Maputo, January 18, 2008.

## Retailing 'Community Development' to Tourists

> The women wake up at 5.00 am and goes to fetch water in an bore hole. After that she goes to the field. At 10.00 am she comes back home carrying firewood for cooking and to clean the house. In the afternoon, if is rain season she goes back to the field to remove the grass. The husband and the children wake up at 6.00 am.
>
> The man normally goes to the field to help the wife or he can go to carry firewood, fishing and house maintenance. In the afternoon the man can repair some small things in the house and visit friends. The children go to school from 7.30 – 12.00. In the afternoon they help the parents with domestic jobs.
>
> The man takes the family decisions. But first, consulting the wife particularly related with the marriage of the kids, school education and allocation of land.
>
> Go and gain more from our village. Stay well...

This text[9] is an excerpt from the information on 'village life in Canhane' displayed in the reception of Covane Lodge and in the booklets that are in the chalets. Its communication faculty lies in its capacity to reproduce a homogenous image about Canhane's social *reality*, and thus expresses an ideology and a social representation. The inhabitants are organised in a vision of totality, as self-contained in an expected unit and therefore tractable.

In addition, the text fosters the idea that the 'community-based tourism' was projected to include the 'community' as part of the tourism attraction/offer. It also shows the central character of the interrelation between tourists and residents of the tourism specialty – 'Go and gain more from our village'. Among others, this informs the importance that the residents' conduct has in the tourism experience. As an important component of the 'community-based' model, host residents' behaviour towards tourists plays a decisive role in *authenticating* the circumstantial partnership between developmentourists and Canhaners in 'community development'. The stereotyping of 'community' and its members (i.e., 'The women … goes to fetch water in an bore hole'; 'The man takes the family decisions') also (re)presented through hosts' behaviours, reinforces visitors' perceptions of the economic asymmetry

[9] English in the original.

between them and the residents, which in turn fosters and/or validates tourists' desirability to be helpful in 'developing' *them*.

To that end, and to put it bluntly, the behaviours of the members of Canhane are *tourism assets*; they are essential in confirming tourists' importance in 'community development' and thus in provide them the sense of having a gratifying role. As such, hosts' behaviours become part of the tourist attraction/offer to be *consumed* by developmentourists.[10] To better demonstrate this, let me go back to September 2006 and return to the water supply endeavour.

Around two years after Covane Lodge opened to tourists, Canhaners started digging a ditch from the lodge to the village and burying several flexible plastic pipes to be used to provide water to the village. The materials of construction were manifestly exposed throughout the area as if they were part of the tourist experience itself (Figure 89). The truck of the lodge, which is used to transfer tourists, was also regularly busy transporting the Canhaners and/or the equipment related to the water supply work (Figure 90). Thus, whenever the tourists requested to use the truck, they were passively included in the process of 'community development' by allowing (or dispose) them to experience the *real* working operation. In fact, the tourists could not experience the lodge and Canhane without dealing with this 'community' effort.

**Figure 89** – The plastic pipes for water supply at the entrance of the Covane Lodge (photograph by the author, September 8, 2006).

[10] In order to promote direct and personal relations between tourists and 'locals', a list of greetings and common phrases used in the dialect of the village (Shangane) is provided with translations into Portuguese and English in the reception and chalets.

**Figure 90** – People in Canhane preparing to work on the water supply project. Photograph taken from the place where the tourists used to sit in the Covane Lodge's truck (photograph by the author, September 7, 2006).

The costs of the water supply initiative were covered by the profits of the lodge; that is to say, it was the money left by the tourists that was being applied by the 'community' towards their own social betterment. The tourists could then see and experience for themselves the commitment of the Canhaners to the proper allocation and management of that money, and in turn, consubstantiate and validate their contributions. It was in this way that the Canhaners converted their presence into acts of *verification* through reproducing what Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett called 'tourism realism' (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994). They employed a self-assumed performance accountability towards the tourists who become represented, as a woman once told me, by those who come to Canhane, 'to see what the community is doing with their money'.[11] For this reason the ongoing 'community development' was powerfully aestheticized and included in the tourist experience. But what is even more important to note here, is that the relevance and meaning of this tourist experience comes from the fact that it operates within a moral framework that attributes moral value to tourists' consumption and actions. Tourism revenues are obviously directly associated with the tourists' consumption in the lodge. Therefore, through

[11] See chapter 2, page 59.

Canhaners' commitment to applying tourism revenues in a worthy and valuable way, (tourist) consumption is moralized.

The main point I am trying to make here is this: by exhibiting to the tourists their ongoing work on the water supply project and the materials for it, the Canhaners were also consciously commodifying the *'community development' in progress*. Furthermore, this was driven by a particular understanding of how the tourists want to be *good*, better people, and moralized. The Canhaners' commitment and the (informal) visual accompaniment of their work were at the heart of what was being sold; it was a commodified simulation of *authenticity*. Urry mentioned that, 'the social interaction between the provider of the service … and the consumers, is part of the "product" being purchased by tourists' (Urry 2002: 38). Accordingly, in this case what was consumed was, in effect, the context of the social interaction between the tourists and the hosts. Treated as a tourist site, 'community development', participation, and moral worth are symbolically consumed in Canhane.

Tourist encounters in Canhane take place in situations of inequality. It generates face to face interaction between people separated by unequal access to resources. It follows that for the most part this is the tourism motive in Canhane: tourist interpersonal access to poverty (the *problem*) and to its *solution*. In this vein, tourist consumption is (presented as) the *solution* to the *problem*; an explicit commitment to the *other*. This is evidenced by the fact that the application of the revenues from the Covane Lodge, and thus from the tourists, is announced at the reception of the lodge as a tourism product. Take the following example, also from September 2006.

[Tourism revenues were]

Used for:

- Construction of 2 traditional houses in the Covane Lodge
- Construction of 1 conventional schoolroom in the village of Canhane
- Construction of a water supply system in the village of Canhane (ongoing)
- Acquisition of improved beehives for 12 villagers
- Payment of the subsidy to the Commission of Social Management
- Creation of a Savings Fund for the Covane Lodge

This text was positioned alongside the (other) tourist offerings of the lodge.[12] Its contents certify and reinforce the importance of the contributions of the tourists to Canhane. It also strengthens the 'aura of realism' (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994: 457) that the materials and ongoing work on the water supply system exhibited. But most importantly, the explicit alignment of the text within the recognizable tourist offerings confirms that 'community development' was in itself a tourist offering. In such a scenario, the act of tourist consumption assumes a 'developmental' role because all the tourism revenues are presented as contributions for 'community development'. This consuming model, and its endorsement by the tourists, is in straight contradiction with exclusionary visions of tourism being, 'conspicuous consumption in front of the deprived' (Crick 1989: 317). On the contrary, in Canhane the incorporation of virtue within tourism is done precisely through tourist consumption, which in turn is informed as a moral act, a service of good ('Northern') citizenship.

This simple example gives evidence of the way many Canhane residents have adopted and put into practice the principle that their tourism value lies on them being *potentialities for 'development'*. Such Canhaners use the (*underdevelopmental*) nature that has constituted them in hosts to attain a position in the global tourism market: they capitalize on the *underdevelopmental* value of their tourism constituency. However, the disciplining effects of 'community-based tourism' on Canhaners, many of who strategically began incorporating (whenever at the frontstage) the personification of 'community', *underdevelopness*, and *gratefulness*, cannot be interpreted separately from the broader productive aspects that have generated them.

## The *Good*(s) of 'Community-Based Tourism'

A manufactured product is usually easily identifiable, particularly in terms of what it consists of. In the service sector, this is not so clear. As Mars and Nicod (1984: 28) put it, service, 'Is more than one might normally expect. In a transport café it can mean no more than passing the sauce bottle with a smile'. Therefore, to buy a service is, 'to buy a particular social or sociological experience' (Urry 2002: 60). Within a contemporary society dominated by commodity relations, human interaction becomes in itself *the* commodity in the service

[12] i.e., menu of meals and drinks, accommodation, and what were listed as 'tourist products': 'local dances', 'village walk', 'boat trip', 'medicinal plants', and, 'visits to the Limpopo National Park'.

sector, a product that is traded or, in Marxist terms, a value exchangeable (often via monetary exchange). In fact, considering Marx's theory of the alienation of workers from their labour and from the product of that labour, one might assume the premise that all aspects of life, tangible or not, (can) have money value and, therefore, (can) become commoditized – in Marxist terms, commodification refers to the process of attributing market value to goods or services that previously existed outside of the market (Marx 1978).

Just to mention a few brief examples, Constable (2009) demonstrated how intimate and personal relations have become more explicitly commodified. By resorting to an extensive literature review, and mainly approaching it from the transnational mobility's point of view, the author showed how women and men from 'Third World' countries provide feigned love to wealthy people from 'First World' societies to mask the economic exchange and the benefits they receive from performing romantic intimacy. Munro (1994: 233, in Brown 1998: 204) showed how particular versions of the past become, 'a commodity that can be mobilised for political power and economic gain … in the interests of creating a useable history that will serve as a vehicle for correcting past wrongs'. Wee and Brooks (2010: 46) focused on 'the commodification of reflexivity itself, where knowledge concerning "reflexivity skills" is being marked for consumption'. Krahmann (2007) argued that the risk society has been largely a creation of private companies which set about the commodification of risk and insecurity in Europe and North America. Finally, Cook contended that childhood is a product of commodity logic. In his book *The Commodification of Childhood*, the author argued that not only childhood but also, 'Motherhood ... becomes expressed and expressible through consumption – as consumer practice – and thereby commodified, emerging as a value-in-exchange' (Cook 2004: 65).

Regardless of the tangibility of what is sold, there has been an escalating expansion of consumer choice in modern society. Postmodern stages lead to, 'the commodification of everything' (Edensor 2001: 79). As Russ pointed out, 'The proliferation of consumption practices and domains in late capitalism … creates doubts as to what – if anything – exists outside of commodity change' (Russ 2005: 142). As commodity choice becomes central to human existence, so too our existence itself becomes an expression of consumption (Smith and Duffy 2003: 71). Indeed, the difference, 'between living and buying is becoming smaller and smaller' (Zournazi n.d., in Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 28). It was in this sense that Russell Belk (1988: 139) suggested that, 'our possessions are a major contributor to and reflection of our identities'. The answers to 'what do you buy' and 'where to and when do you go away' inform what the person *is* (Featherstone 1987). In the consumption-based

world, the individual then gains power over his/her own *condition*, realizing that it could be a project of his/her own creation (Deitch 1992) through consumption choices. In this line, the collective also becomes, 'the object of choice and self-construction, typically through the act of consumption' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 1).

To put it in concrete terms: managing the self becomes also a matter of consumption options, which in turn are a realm of practices of identity. Mainly referring to industrialized, thus highly consumer societies Giddens (1992: 30) said, 'the self today is for everyone a reflexive project'. This involves a inter-subjective dimension of '*governing the consuming self*', where this refers 'to the various practices of governing oneself in and through consumption, of making one's own life a project of self-cultivation' (Barnett et al. 2005); and so, such process of self-formation is likely to imply consuming morality.

## Consumption as Expression of the Self

The continuous emergence and reproduction of new systems of consumption and commodification inevitably generates questions about *how society should be*. It is in this sense that consumption is inherently 'ethical' and 'moral' (Barnett et al. 2005: 26), as it is an essential component of contemporary social practice and of relationships between selves and others. Wilk (2001: 246) corroborated this by stressing that, 'consumption is in essence a moral matter, since it always and inevitably raises issues of fairness, self vs. group interests'. From such a perspective, through their selected purchases, consumers may use their sovereignty in the marketplace to determine *the sort of society they wish to be part of* (Dickinson and Hollander 1991) – a clear example of this is consumer boycotts of companies or countries. Issues as child labour, environmental risks, (un)fair trade can be view as a *shared* responsibility of business and consumers, and thus consumers are (co-)responsible for the consequences of their buying behaviour (Brinkmann 2004: 129). For this reason, many scholars have critically addressed consumption, particularly in its mass form, for its (im)moral purposes (e.g., Brinkmann 2004; Caruana 2007; Galbraith 2004; Marcuse 1964; Wilk 2001), and the politics of responsibility of commodity consumption have been problematised.

Consumption in industrial societies came to be conceived by many authors as both cause and symptom of a *badness* that is both personal and social; 'an arena where social sciences demonstrate their ultimate moral lessons … For sociology, consumption is the

product of social decay; for psychologists, the pathology of a malformed persona; and for anthropologists, the loss of authentic culture' (Wilk 2001: 247). Taking a historical perspective, the moral condemnation of consumption became more obvious after World War I, when (mass) consumption in middle class society was more explicitly regarded as socially, ecologically, and personally *destructive*; a sign of a democracy built on wealth and materialism; a decadence of values. As Wilk (2001: 249) said, 'Consumerism became the major theme of a critique of modernism in general, especially in the hands of conservative sociologists like Carle Zimmerman (1936), who contrasted a [modern] life of "egoistic sensation" … with traditional and isolated people who had "social stability, deferred gratification, altruism, and a commitment to community"'.

However, a decisive shift occurred towards modern socio-economic discourses, and particular forms of consumption came to be seen as mechanisms of virtue. Consumer responsibility emerged as a counterargument to the idea that consumers are intrinsically culpable for their purchases. More precisely, distinctions between good and bad consumption came to be central in the moral and ethical debate about the role of *consumption for others* or *consumption for environment conservation*. Taking his case study of Danish consumers' choice of environment-friendly packaging as the basis for broader discussion, Thøgersen (1999: 440) clearly stated: 'It is by no means obvious that moral concerns influence environmentally important consumer buying decisions'. A *Good Housekeeping Magazine* poll, 'revealed that 83.7% of the consumers interrogated were interested in buying foods packaged in environmentally safe materials, and 77.6% indicated that they were willing to actually pay more for such packaging' (Manrai, Lascu and Ryans 1997: 520). In a different sphere, and based on the results of an exploratory research in Malaysia, Lau (2010: 34) stated that a more religious consumer would be more likely to buy, 'from companies that help the needy and support victims of natural disasters or avoid buying products from companies that discriminate against minorities'. Henion and Kinnear (1976, in Belk, Painter and Semenik 1981: 307) demonstrated that consumers believe more strongly in ecological activism, and thus express this by encompassing ethics as a factor affecting their consumption decisions, if they generally display an 'internal locus of control' (a belief in personal responsibility for their lives) rather than a belief that chance or powerful others control their lives. This can be viewed in line with what Micheletti (2003) considered 'collective individualization' – a way of doing politics individually. Some examples of the so-called eco-consumption or sustainable consumption are recycling, energy saving, efficient driving or ecological labelling campaigns. As an early example of ethical consumption as a focus for people's aspirations,

*The Green Consumer* (Elkington and Hailes 1988) sold 350,000 copies in the single year of 1988 (Butcher and Smith 2010: 30). Finally, in a broader sense, Campbell (1998: 141) advanced the idea that in contemporary industrial (or postindustrial) societies, 'Close attention to why people actually do consume goods suggests the presence of an idealistic, if not exactly ethical, dimension'. Underlying these purchasing behaviours is the assumption that *spending for good* can be a source of satisfaction and a spiritual benefit to the consumer. Moreover, it might be hypothetically possible to consider these and similar behaviours of 'socially responsible consumption' as deriving from the emergence of global socio-economic forces, which have been contributing to shape perceptions of the world.

The increasing globalization movement has contributed to (a sense of) the compression of space and of 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice-versa' (Gidens 1990: 38). In other words, in the last decades there was a rise of *problem consciousness* outside the neighbourhood, province, country, or even continental geographical sphere. The exemplary topic of problematizing the geographies of responsibility has become the recurrent theme of *caring at a distance* for *distant others*. People's (*bad* and *good*) practices became associated with happenings elsewhere on the planet and, as the Norwegian ethical shopping initiative discloses,[13] a theme under discussion started becoming popular in the 'North': 'how you as a consumer can show that you care' (Brinkmann 2004: 130); and, in turn, *what can you do to help solve the problem(s)?* It is in this sense that, as a central aspect of modernity, (some forms of) consumption became *constructive* – moralized – and therefore consumption took the position of a medium for enrolling people into broader projects of social change operating under the significance of 'ethics' or 'morality'.

The rise of initiatives, campaigns, and engagements in fair trade, sustainable consumption, environmental friendly products, corporate social responsibility, fair markets, and so on, reflect the increasing role of ethics in determining consumer behaviour. More and more companies started claiming to use manufacturing processes aimed at preserving the environment (Winski 1991) while positioning their products and services as meeting the needs of the 'conscious consumer' (Davis 1991). Moreover, as product of globalization the geographies of consumption have become less relevant for their (bad or good) effects. In this way, consumption practices in North America, for example, can be directly linked to conservative approaches in Southern Africa (i.e., by buying a t-shirt in a store in New York

[13] www.etiskforbrunk.no

the consumer is informed that they are contributing to the preservation of a particular animal species in Mozambique), or with healthcare in Southeast Asia (i.e., by going to a Christmas concert in Vancouver, the audience is aware that part of the money spent on the tickets is for the construction of a health clinic in Laos). What this means is that, some kinds of consumption became perceived as good, others bad. Understood along these lines, consumption can be thought of as one of the key sites of moral self-formation in the contemporary period of 'advanced liberalism' (Miller and Rose 1997, in Barnett et al. 2005: 30).

## Whose Morality?

The distinction between bad and good consumption – or let's say, *consumer idealism* – is made on the basis of the construct of the moralities in consumers' culture and of the consumers' own experiences. That is, there is no uniform process encompassing all societies, people, and individuals informing or determining what is to be, and act as, moral. As a Mozambican told me once, 'If they [international NGOs and tourists] care so much about our little birds, well I start caring as well... as far as there is money involved... even if it's about simple birds'.[14] An employee of Nkwichi Lodge in Niassa, from Mbueca village, also expressed his incomprehension of what is informed by good practices by some tourists: 'I don't understand: many come here', he said, 'to work for free, and pay for accommodation… I'll receive six people in the next month to whom I have to teach how to build chairs and tables of wood, painting buildings, repairing this and that…'.[15] He was referring specifically to the so-called volunteer tourists that the lodge used to accommodate. Later, I was informed by the management staff about what they considered the three types of tourists Nkwichi Lodge used to receive: 'the normal one, the organized volunteer, and the independent volunteer'.[16] Accordingly, the 'normal one' is the tourist that books in advance and pays the normal fee (which was $240 US in 2008, price per person, per night, sharing a room); the 'organized volunteer' used to stay for 16 weeks in the lodge or in neighbouring villages and work in 'local' projects of agriculture, schools, maternity clinics, and handcraft – they come via travel agencies and/or NGOs; the 'independent volunteer' contacts the lodge directly through the website or via, 'someone who knows someone there' – they usually are people

[14] Conversation with Mozambican man, Tihovene, October 20, 2010.
[15] Conversation with employee at the Nkwichi Lodge, Mbueca, April 12, 2008.
[16] Interview with a member of the management staff of the Nkwichi Lodge, Mbueca, April 14, 2008.

with particular skills who give training to 'community' members, and stay between two to six months in the lodge. All pay accommodation ($45 per night for the volunteers in 2008), which raised the comment of a Mozambican living in Cóbuè:[17] 'What do they [tourists] earn from coming here? They pay to come here, pay to sleep here, pay to eat here, and even pay to work here!'[18] My guess is they, among other things, 'earn' morality.

On other occasion, when I was coming from Maputo to Tihovene by *chapa*, a Mozambican who was seated close to me asked me, 'can you open the window a bit more, please?'[19] I was the one next to the window. Just after I opened it, he stretched toward the window and threw away two empty cans on the roadside. I followed the cans with my eyes, moving my head in a way to accompany them for some three seconds while the car continued moving forward. Afterward, I looked at him and at his plastic bag from where he had taken the cans. He might have understood my reaction as curious, so he asked me another question: 'Why did you look at the cans I threw away in the street?' 'No special reason', I replied, 'Just to see where they will stay'. 'Well', he promptly responded, 'they wont stay there a long time'. We were crossing a cleared zone for many kilometres, with no houses and signs of population nearby. The only sign of human intervention was the road; the rest was low vegetation. 'How's that? Garbage collection?', I asked him ironically. 'But they aren't garbage', he said seriously, 'I bet in two days someone will collect them, and will get good use from them. Everything here is useful. They aren't garbage. By throwing them out, I'm helping the poor'. I was very tired and, thus, not able to see beyond my cultural paradigms. I was not mentally able to be an anthropologist there, so I returned to irony: 'I see: contributing to poverty eradication'. He continued in earnest, and vehemently shook his head up and down in a sign of accord. This happening gives clues about two interesting aspects: differences of perceptions of waste and of moral conduct. Both inform the relativist moral quality of comportments.

What the comments and actions of these Mozambicans put in evidence is the selective character of consciousness. Indeed, their observations underlie, though indirectly, the importance of taking into account so-called 'moral relativism', which in anthropology, in particular, and social sciences, in general, derives from the broad concept of cultural relativism.

[17] The biggest town close to Nkwichi Lodge where many tourists catch the boat to the lodge.
[18] Conversation with Cóbuè resident, Cóbuè, April 15, 2008.
[19] Conversation with Mozambican man, close to Tihovene, November 19, 2010.

The diversity of cultural and moral systems in the world has been documented, particularly by anthropologists, over the last century. Such a wealth of empirical data supports relativists when defending non-universalistic outcomes and meanings of morality. Basically, moral relativism, which is to this day, 'the expected and assumed moral theory of the anthropological discipline' (Zigon 2008: 10), encompasses the argument that people in diverse cultures may hold different points of view, and therefore different systems of beliefs that, in turn, influence their values and moral judgements. This perspective comprehends morality as not absolute and by that places emphasis on its relativity; it rejects the very idea of a moral 'universal' and does not acknowledge a single frame of reference for judging what is *right* and *wrong*. From this angle, morality is a social practice that varies, as individuals and groups of people have different lives. This theoretical perspective is useful because it encompasses the possibility of Canhaners performing different moralities for tourists, independently from their own moralities. These performances are both moments of (re)production of *the* moralities of the tourists and moments of provision for the consumers. It is in this sense that I say that a sort of morality is commodified in Canhane and put up for sale as a tourism product. It should be clear, then, that this work is based on the recognition of a multiplicity of moralities, which are first and foremost personal and collective embodied sensibilities gained and derived from social experience and institutional discourses.

In order to better contextualize the core of morality in contemporary consumer practices, let me resort to Barnett et al. (2005: 27) theoretical conceptualization of ethical consumption:

> On the one hand, ethical consumption might be defined in relation to particular *objects* of ethical concern … including environmental sustainability, health and safety risks, animal welfare, fair trade, labour conditions, and human rights. On the other hand, this focus on consumption as a means of acting in an ethical way toward particular objects of concern extends across various forms of *practice,* including shopping, investment decisions, and personal banking and pensions.

People's consuming motivations are highly complex, symbolic, and contextual. Moreover, if on one hand the motives and outcomes of consumption inevitably appeal for moral debate, then on the other hand, 'all forms of consumption are morally ambiguous and problematic, whatever one's social role or position in the world system' (Wilk 2001: 253). Indeed, the

debate of the interlaced relation between morality and consumption is vast and cries out for more study (e.g., Adams and Raisborough 2008; Barnett et al. 2005; Brinkmann 2004; Thøgersen 1999; Wilk 2001). That said, I must clarify that this is not the place, and it is not my intention to engage in such debate, or to dip into the motivations of morally responsible consumption. Taking Barnett et al. (2005) conceptualization in account, what I am interested in exploring is one particular *object* and one particular *practice* in the moral sphere of consumption; that is, 'communities' in the 'South' as the *object* of moral concern, and tourism as the *practice* of consumption through which the (tourist) consumer acquires and fortifies his/her 'moral selving' (Allahyari 2000; Cloke 2002). Consequently, I conceptualize tourism in Canhane as a way in which many tourists purchase their own morality that, in turn, is informed by policies, ideologies, campaigns, practices, and personal experiences that enlist them in the ideology of 'community development'. Put simply, tourism (consumption) in Canhane operates as a site of 'development' and moral agency.

## Commodification in Tourism

The inclusion of the commoditization of intangible elements into the tourism debate is not a new theme. Four decades ago the German Hans Enzenberger had already pointed out that, 'Liberation from the Industrial World has become an industry in its own right, the journey from the commodity world has become a commodity' (Koshar 2000: 2). Dean MacCannel (1989), like many others, also extended tourism to the production and consumption of commodifiable experiences, leading to the already popular assumption that tourism services are, first and foremost, products for consumption.

One of the most popular cases mentioned of commodity in tourism has been Greenwood's (1989) work on the commodification of a festival in the Basque region of Spain. By analysing the transformation process of a *'local' meaningful* cultural practice into an economic development resource in the late sixties (1969), the author concluded that culture can assume the commodity form and be sold in tourism. Among other materializations of intangible products as saleable, 'Commodification within the sphere of culture is a social fact' (Shepherd 2002: 195). Since then, others have approached the commodification in tourism. Just to mention a few, concentrating on New Zealand, Cloke and Perkins (2002) showed how adventure is commodified in tourism; Bunten (2008: 381) developed the idea of 'self-commodification' by taking into account, 'the pressures cultural-

tourism workers experience in representing themselves according to cross-cultural models'; Halewood and Hannam (2001) wrote about the commodification of Viking heritage in tourism in western Europe; Poulin (2003) approached the subject of the commodification of women and children in sex tourism; Cousins, Evans and Sadler (2009) talked about the commodification of 'conservation science' in tourism; Chee (2007) analysed the process of transforming Malaysian healthcare into a global commodity through medical tourism; Voigt and Laing (2010) examined the commodification of reproduction in 'reproductive tourism'; and Heller (2003: 490), while resorting to more broadly 'globalized markets for authentic cultural products', in which tourism plays a determinant role, presented a case of commodification of language in Francophone areas of Canada. What all these cases confirm is that for the tourist-consumer, 'the world has become one large department store' (Schivelbusch 1986: 1997), and even an anti-materialist religion like Buddhism can become commodified as a money-spinning tourist attraction (Philip and Mercer 1999, in Smith and Duffy 2003: 161). In conclusion, reflecting on the growth of post-Fordist consumption patterns, Urry said: 'almost all aspects of social life become commodified, even charity' (Urry 2002: 14).

Consumption behaviours presented as, 'moral superior alternatives to the package holiday' (Butcher 2003: 1) have emerged in tourism industry. In broad terms, ethics and morality are now intangible allies in doing business in the contemporary neoliberal world, and the tourism sector is under such a socio-economic framework. Making use again of work done in this matter, Smith and Duffy pointed out that, 'ethics is being "sold" within industry as a way of … maximizing profits in a climate of increasing environmental and social concerns' (Smith and Duffy 2003: 89). Accordingly, a growing body of literature has been locating certain businesses, including new forms of tourism, within the wider context of ethical consumerism (e.g. Goodwin and Francis 2003; Lisle 2009; Weeden 2002; Wheeler 1995). To Wheeler (1995: 44), for example, 'it is possible to see that an ethical tourism marketing perspective can be constructed … This remains useful and therefore attractive to the industry as it maintains an underlying profit-making strategy'. Among many others, this is confirmed by Fleckstein and Huebsch (1999: 142) who said that, 'Being ethical is good business since being ethical enhances a company's profits management effectiveness, [and] public image'. However, taking a broader perspective, Fennell (2006: 13, in Mowforth and Munt 2009: 87) also warned that, 'ethics too can be wrong in its support of ideologies and utopias that have more to do with the agendas of a few'. Thus the important matter here is that the 'ethical' concept allows the tourism industry to legitimately appropriate new

(business) areas, and in turn tourists may consume holidays as moral protagonists. Viewing it in this way, it becomes clear that tourism can operate as a vehicle for transmitting ethical identity through consumption. Together with the environment, the 'communities' are nowadays an important medium in this matter. Accordingly, 'community[-based] tourism is considered by many to be the state of the art in ethical tourism' (Butcher 2003: 121). It encompasses the values that make consuming tourism worthwhile. Being a tourist in this type of tourism is more than going on holidays. It is part of a 'development' agenda in which the tourists are given the opportunity to support the 'locals', *do good*, and contribute to 'community development' in accordance to images of a better and fairer world; it is a way for the tourist obtain or reinforce their own morality.

Therefore, more than just assuming tourism commodity consumption as an arena of moral manifestation in contemporary world, I suggest that morality is also in itself part of the intangible contemporary variety of choices available in the tourism market, ready to be consumed and, therefore, having the possibility to become part of the consumer self; that is, morality is a commodity in its own right.

Now almost arriving to the end of this chapter, I hope to have given enough arguments to support the idea that commodity consumption is a field in which motivation for morality can dictate the consumption practices. However, what is also important to acknowledge is that such motivations, and what is discerned as moral, are not arbitrary; they may derive from large-scale economic systems through which moral preferences of consumers are signalled and, therefore, institutionally shaped. The commodification of morality can have different 'faces' and be controlled by global agents within the tourism terrain. This is where 'development' enters the field as *the* reference. Together with the production of what comes to be constituted as authoritative knowledge about how to 'develop' societies is the power to judge. What I am saying is, the power to know in 'development' discourse leads also, inevitably, to the institutionalization of morals.

Discourses on virtue circulated by 'development' and tourism industries act as medium in defining *how to be good in the 'Third World'* through consumption preferences in tourism 'niche markets'. This is manifested, for example, by consumer practices of differentiation and distinction, as it is the case of the 'responsible traveller' when they try to differentiate and distinct themselves from the mass package tourist by not going to internationally-owned resorts in Africa but instead to 'community-based' lodges. Through such preference, tourist consumption is explicitly directed towards *others*, who in turn embody the character of

neediness, purity, and 'community' campaigned for mostly by 'development' institutions in the *Western world*. Consequently, the motivations for going to a 'community-based' lodge and the consumption practices by the tourist while there take the significance of morally responsible.

With this is mind, consumption (as) morality in Canhane can be understood as an outcome of broader policies and campaigns largely driven by worldwide 'development' visions promoting (ideas of) social change in the 'South'. Developmentourists in Covane Lodge are implicated in their actions by reference to a particular 'developmental' notion of human agency, which in turn aims to inform intangible commodity consumption as expression of moral agency. From this perspective the commodification of morality in Canhane involves consciously making a certain 'community' (front), and sharing it with tourists; and it is from this position that the 'community-based tourism' activity occurs.

## Conclusion

> Your presence contributes to the improvement of the livelihoods of the population of the village of Canhane. Kanimambo[20] a lot![21]

In Canhane, tourists are given the opportunity to *feel good* about their acts of consumption because these acts are transformed into *doing good for others*, and therefore as a way to make them *feel good about themselves*: the tourist experience and the consumption that carries with it are moralized. However, such 'moralization of tourism' in Canhane is made in accordance with *Western* values; the constructive character of consumption at the Covane Community Lodge – i.e., contributing to the school – is in line with the moral principles of the visitors' society, and not according to the host society. As such, this work understands the moralization of goods in tourism primarily in terms of the role that large-scale policies of sensemaking play in informing the moral value of consumption practices by *Western tourists* in the so called 'developing countries'.

It is important, thus, to point out that the 'moralization of tourism' can have two distinct sides: the side of the *western* tourist and the side of the host, who caters to the morality of the former. In the 'community-based tourism' of Canhane, not only are the tourists' moral values

[20] "Kanimambo" is a Shangane word which means "thanks".
[21] Phrase at the reception of Covane Lodge.

provided, but they are also presented as shared and supported by Canhaners. Underneath the hosts' performative engagement in consumers' moralities is the making of services that produce value in the 'community-based' 'niche market'. That is, for the tourists, the pleasure of the holiday in Canhane comes from the moral value of their consumption, which in turn must be authenticated and certified by the hosts. This justifies why the implicit goodwill attribution to the tourists is a general assertion in Canhane's tourism discourse.

As the phrase quoted at the beginning of this section shows, tourists are persuaded to internalize their 'development's' effect by *being there*. The usage of a *local* word (*kanimambo*) in that statement reinforces the symbolic interdependence promoted between *locals* and tourists. Such *native way* of communication is part of the process of social construction of the destination for consumption. The Shangane word *kanimambo* helps authenticate and underline the *genuine* Canhaners' gratefulness for the tourists' visit. It is generally accepted by social scientists that language choices play an important role in expressing people's self and cultural collectivity (e.g., Bakhtin 1986; Harré 1993; Havel 1992; Klicperová 1994). As such, single words might act as meaning potentials carrying cultural and collective representations; 'Language itself is an object of social representations' (Marková 2008: 268). The 'local' thankful term *kanimambo* comes directly from the 'local community', exactly as they use in *real life*, and thus represents cultural purity, which in turn reinforces 'community' members' gratefulness. Sharing it with tourists informs thus their kindness and *genuine* appreciation for them. Moreover, the discursive construction and circulation of gratefulness, and the fact that the *genuine* appreciation comes directly from *them* contributes to strengthening the tourists' perception of their value by being and spending money there.

Canhane and the Covane Community Lodge represent a way of tourists engaging in consumption as an act of 'helping the community', and therefore is informed by a moral ideal. The tourists are morally rewarded for being capable of spending (on) holidays while being virtuous, and in turn they are able to secure their identities by a special sort of consumption; tourists surpass their recreational condition and become partners in a 'development project' that has their own morality as a tourism product.

# Conclusion

There is a popular moral authority associated with the way in which ‘community-based tourism’ contributes to the betterment of deprived populations. However, from the very start of this thesis I tried to make clear that behind such popular visions we should not lose sight of the fact that ‘community-based tourism’ is firstly a sophisticated modern tourism product. What this means in practice is that, contrary to dominant ideas that put it exclusively as a principled model closely associated with broader humanistic values, ‘community-based tourism’ is a ‘niche market’ operating in an extensive and global market industry. This explains why the development of this model of tourism contributes to the market expansion of already established industries: tourism and ‘development’. Following this line of thought also allows us to critically access the logic operating on the side of processes of social homogenization and, in turn, positioning groups of people within the market – what I have in mind here is the construct of ‘community’.

In the village of Canhane in Mozambique, ‘community-based tourism’ is an emerging strategy, with the ‘development’ industry the instigator of that strategy. Here, (an idea of) ‘community’ is in the spotlight of tourism. Such a ‘community’ is (re)presented and sold to tourists as uniform, organised toward unanimous common good, *in need*, and as a localized harmony. This confirms the potential of ‘community-based tourism’ for fostering particular ways of participating in the market, as well as the rise of new products in the tourism sphere. It is in this vein that, along with other sophisticated processes of commodification, an unsuspected tradable product appears as protagonist in Canhane: morality. Indeed, I have attempted to demonstrate in this thesis that not only is morality a commodity in Canhane, but commodities can also be moralized in tourism. For the sake of the argument, let me illustrate this with a brief example.

It was one of the hottest days I experienced in Mozambique. My guess is that it was between forty five to fifty degrees Celsius. 'Today burns',[1] said an elder of Canhane. It was an unhealthy climate that invited immobility and desires for anything cold. A Mozambican from Maputo, who was living in the town of Tihovene for three months, passed by Canhane that day. He worked for Limpopo National Park in the conservation department. He met me, together with two residents, in the shadow of the biggest tree in neighbourhood two. At one point he said: 'Today is impossible, and it is catastrophic not having anything cold to drink close by'.[2] He came by car, so I informed him about the Covane Lodge that was seven kilometres from there. 'I know about that', he said, 'but it's immoral the prices they charge in the lodge. I can't accept that they charge in a one star place the same for a beer as in a chic restaurant in Maputo'. Despite his complaint, I guess it was too hot for deprivation due to idealist positions, and we ended up going to Covane Lodge: 'You drive, I pay for the beer', I suggested, and he seemed agreeably convinced. In the lodge, we met a tourist who was in the restaurant drinking a Coca-cola. The prices charged for the drinks came up as a subject, and was once again initiated by the Mozambican. He returned to the expression 'immoral' to classify them. However, this time he got a counterargument: 'Immoral?' the tourist exclaimed, raising his eyebrowns at him, 'To the contrary! I don't mind paying more if that money is for community development. Immoral is to pay this price in a restaurant in Maputo, but here it is moral'.[3] Just after he said that, he grabbed the Coca-cola, put the bottle in his mouth, closed his eyes and swallowed the rest of the liquid with a visible expression of pleasure. He ingested more than just the liquid: he consumed morality.

'Sign value' is an important component of the commodities produced in the post-modern economy (Lash and Urry 1994). It provides consumers with symbolic resources that they can use to construct, change, and reinforce identitarian issues, as projects of their self. In line with this, Lash and Urry (1994: 656) said, 'What is being sold is not just the direct use of a commodity, but its symbolic significance as a particular ingredient of a cohesive lifestyle'. Accordingly, at Covane Community Lodge, a *global imposing* product like Coca-cola can acquire the character of a moral commodity. In turn, its purchaser can gain morality, because that consumption behaviour is informed as contributing to the 'community development' of a society that is living in shortage. It is the *good act* attached to consumption in the

[1] Conversation with Canhane resident, Canhane, September 26, 2008.
[2] Conversation with Mozambican resident in Tihovene, Canhane, September 26, 2008.
[3] Conversation with tourist, Covane Lodge, September 26, 2008.

'community-based' lodge that gives moral meaning to the product sold and to its purchaser. In such a context, when the tourists, who are sensitive to issues of 'local' poverty and aware of the (proclaimed) 'community-based' enterprise as an attempt to solve them, ask for Coca-cola in the restaurant of the lodge they are actually buying at least two products: the drink, and (the fortifying of their own) morality. For the most part, consumption in and of leisure in Canhane is a moral quest. And this represents a change in contemporary perceptions of consumption and commodities in the tourism sphere.

## The Moralization of Consumption and the Consumption of Morality in Tourism

I have attempted to demonstrate that tourism in Canhane is motivated by developmentourists' moral motives. The moral conceptions of developmentourists derive well beyond those of universalistic notions of ethics and morality, and include questions of identification and awareness of self. Underlying this is the fact that in this work morality is understood as a process of personal and collective embodied sensibilities continually shaped and reshaped by social experience, policies, ideologies, campaigns, and institutional discourses. That said, the morality consumed in the 'community-based tourism' of Canhane is informed by consumers' own moral motives – not dictated by universally accepted moral criteria, but instead *western*-based – which in turn are fundamentally represented and ordered by the 'development' sector that campaigns around issues of 'community' well-being in the 'South'. More theoretically, the commodifying logic of advanced capitalism is clearly present in the village of Canhane through the performance of 'community-based' in tourism activity, which lays its main commercial attribute on moral order induced by the 'development' industry. 'Development' here operates as a technique of re-managing of populations through shaping the politics of moralities, whether concerning social responses to poverty in the 'South', or humanitarian justifications for consumption.

The Canhane tourism case gives evidence about the way the advent of new ethical models of tourism draws in broader economic forces, and how the so-called 'Third World' is used for that. International and national NGOs, which belong to a sector that has obtained historic legitimacy over issues of conservation and poverty, are at the vanguard of this movement. That is why these organizations are the main advocates and inducers of 'community-based tourism' in the 'Third World'. Let me reinforce this by reminding that the tourism project in Canhane was an idea of, and implemented by, one international NGO,

financially supported by the main 'development' department of United States of America (USAID). The promotion of 'community-based tourism' models as benign, (re)presenting an optimistic attempt toward social betterment of deprived societies, has led to the emergence of both the moralization of consumption and the consumption of morality in tourism. The village of Canhane is clearly part of this ethic framework.

In tourism activity, Canhaners are much more than just the object of tourist gaze. By representing a 'community', they are drawn into a system where they become producers and partners in generating funds in, and for, 'development'. This is particularly manifested through the constant consultations and workshops in the village led by 'development experts', and funded by a myriad of international departments and institutions. In the 'community-based tourism' of Canhane, what is most empowered is the 'development' industry, not the 'community' as a whole, as is commonly promoted in contexts of 'community-based tourism' ventures. Better to illustrate this by giving a final brief example.

In 2006, the community leader of Canhane established an accord with a private international investor for the concession of lands for the implementation of a touristic lodge. 'He hidden it from us', the current director of LUPA, who was still working for Helvetas at that time, said, 'without consulting Helvetas, even though we were implementing the Covane [lodge]'.[4] Soon after this was known *in the corridors* of the NGO in Maputo, the investor requested a meeting at the Helvetas offices, where the director asked him: 'What do you want from there?' The investor explained his version of the agreement he had established with the community leader. Although the efforts of the NGO's staff to persuade him to invest elsewhere, he kept to his position to establish a lodge in Canhane. It was when the director of LUPA decided to contact the political chair of the Massingir district and inform him about the situation. 'He [the Chair] was my colleague at the school, and he's been my friend since then', the LUPA director added, 'He [the Chair] put an end to that from the day to the night, and since then I've never heard anymore about this investor: case resolved'. That is, the state administration made the implementation of other lodge in Canhane impossible by deauthorizing 'local' authority. Moreover, through that action the state institution contributed to the monopoly of the 'community-based' NGO-run lodge in the area.

Rather than empowering the 'community' against 'external' institutions, such as the state and NGOs, the implementation of the 'community-based tourism' venture has fostered Canhane as a resource for them. In this sense, under the aura of ethical tourism, Canhane

[4] Interview with Director of LUPA, Maputo, April 1, 2008.

exemplifies how ‘community-based tourism’ arrangements can work as levers for the appropriation of ‘communities’ as (economic) resources, especially by the ‘development’ sector. The institutionalization of *necessity of development* in segments of populations constituted as ‘communities’, notably by tourism, ‘development’, and state organisations, reveals to be more of a masquerade strategy to fortify extra-‘local’ institutions than empowering the declared and exhibited disadvantaged ‘local’ societies; that is, the ‘communities’. The main point here is that, the contemporary emergence of new models of ‘ethical’ tourism in the ‘South’ has the potential to reinforce or reintroduce the relationships of power already in exercise in the advancement of colonization.

In this way, ‘community-based tourism’ may be seen as an exercise of power over the people who live in and for it – ‘the community’. But does this mean the aggravation of their deprivation? This is not as easy as it might sound. What the case of Canhane reveals is that particularly the commodification of developmentourists’ morality gives new arguments for cultural functioning in the village. The objectification of what was not previously considerable ‘saleable’ – a ‘Northern’ morality – and its association and extension to the hosts’ performances, generates new complex social dynamics in Canhane. Probably, the most obvious one is the ability that many residents show at the frontstage level in embodying a certain idea of themselves that is intrinsic to an agenda shaped externally. However, by being externally constituted and by adjusting themselves to ‘the community’ of the ‘community-based tourism’ they achieve global market value, and by that Canhane residents are integrated into a neoliberal system of specialization of production. In the realm of tourism, the neoliberalizing forces are bound to the internationalization of the industry, when ‘different countries, or different places within a country, come to specialise in providing particular kinds of objects’ (Urry 2002: 45) to be consumed by tourists. It is in this way that many Canhaners became producers of, particularly, intangible goods for a ‘niche market’, but also partners of a wider system of attributing moral value to consumption. As such, the ‘niche market’ operating in this system becomes an opportunity for the ‘community’ while the ‘community’ is an opportunity for the ‘niche market’.

The ‘community-based tourism’ phenomenon in Canhane is inherently part of pro-market policies of optimization, materialized in the inscription of geographies of specialization of production. In such zoning processes, spaces and populations are adjusted and ‘developed’ in relation to global market opportunities. Since this involves assimilating new perspectives and new elements that were previously ‘extraneous’, Canhaners are

*'improving'* within a specific, but global, framework – this is where tourism and 'development' enter the field as the critical order. 'Community-based tourism' is a way of Canhane getting in, becoming represented in, and gaining access to the *global* by being an expression of the 'South': that is, *in need*, moral, and seeking development.

Canhaners have developed and adopted ways to translate 'foreign' criteria of moral values in commodities. The commodification of morality according to developmentourists' wishes has entailed great symbolic investment in the village, but has also necessarily implied a process of objectification, and therefore of reflection on 'Northern' practices and beliefs. The case of 'community-based tourism' in Canhane suggests that the commodification of morality is not an analytical end in itself, but instead provides an important basis for analyses of cultural relativism, socioeconomic inequalities, and capitalist expansion.

Finally, let me finish this work in the most exigent and challenging way by presenting two concise phrases that I believe summarize the essentials of the thesis. Tourism in Canhane is a field of moral agency, with the 'development' industry the main system that is shaping the moral values in the tourist consumption. Moreover these moral values are deployed through the promotion of 'community development', and it is the sophistication of this activity within a tourism speciality ('community-based tourism') that has led to the commodification of morality in Canhane.

Are the tourists' moralities an opportunity or a limitation for Canhane?

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