

**ISSUES OF IDENTITY IN RELATION TO THE KALAHARI BUSHMEN OF
SOUTHERN AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TWO
DIFFERENT BUSHMEN GROUPS DURING THE LATE 1990S AND INTO
2001**

by

Anthea Simões

**In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
In the Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media Studies
University of Natal, Durban**

2001

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own original work and that where use has been made of the work of others, it has been duly acknowledged in the text.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a vertical line with a loop and a horizontal wavy line extending to the right.

Date: 29 June 2001

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I have been privileged in this research dissertation to be part of and contribute towards a wider project conducted by the Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media Studies (CMS) since 1994. This project is entitled, 'Semiotics of the encounter: The staged authenticity via cultural tourism, theme parks and TV series in the Kalahari desert and Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa.' It has been sponsored by the Natal University Research Fund (URF). I am indebted to the National Research Foundation (NRF) and to the University of Natal for scholarships to undertake this study. The URF and NRF also covered most of my research expenses via the larger project led by my supervisor, Keyan Tomaselli. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are however those of the author and not necessarily attributed to the sponsoring parties.

My special appreciation is extended to those who made this journey of self-exploration and learning possible. They are the communities at Ngwatle, in the Northern Cape and at Kagga Kamma who welcomed our research team so warmly and specifically, all the enthusiastic research partners who made themselves available for discussions. Thanks are given to Keyan Tomaselli, my ever supportive and insightful supervisor and Jeffrey Sehume and Chantel Oosthuysen who were tireless interpreters and translators. I am especially grateful to Chantel Oosthuysen for her help and advice in the editing of the document. Thanks also go to the other members of the research teams who made for light work and happy travels.

My gratitude also goes to the #Khomani Council (and in particular Anna Festus), Safaris Botswana Bound, the Mokala Lodge (Jwaneng, Botswana), Molopo Lodge (Northern Cape, South Africa) and to Kagga Kamma (Western Cape, South Africa) for facilitating our work, as well as to the Khoisan Legacy Project for inviting the research team to attend the 2001 National Consultative Conference as observers.

INTRODUCTION

Background

This dissertation forms part of a broader research project on 'Semiotics of the encounter,' which is headed by Keyan Tomaselli of the Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media Studies (CMS). Information was available not only from the four field trips in which I participated, but from three before, to Botswana (1995), Eastern Bushmanland (1996) and again to Botswana (1999). Unpublished studies arising out of these are available on www.und.ac.za/und/ccms. Contributors to the growing body of research for this project include Gibson Boloka (2001), Belinda Jeursen (1996; 1995), Jeffrey Sehume (2000; 1999) and Keyan Tomaselli (2001a/b; 2000; 1999a/b/c/d; 1997; 1996; 1995).

My participation in the project on 'staged authenticity' in its various manifestations in the Kalahari and in Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa began with a weekend field trip to the cultural village, Shakaland, in Kwa-Zulu Natal in 1998. Here, my interest in cultural tourism was first piqued. My first long-distance field trip was to the Kagga Kamma Private Game Reserve (South Africa) in April 1999 and took place before I had conceived this particular research project. At Kagga Kamma, I was inspired by the individuals that I met and sought to investigate further into the circumstances that create their identity as Bushmen or San. Subsequent research was conducted on CMS field trips, in which I participated, to Ngwatle (Botswana) in July 2000, to the Northern Cape (South Africa) in September 2000 (many of the #Khomani previously at Kagga Kamma had relocated here¹) and again to Kagga Kamma in April 2001. Keyan Tomaselli headed all field trips. In April 1999, Jeffrey Sehume (Ph.D. student) and Merrideth Regnard (Tomaselli's Australian niece) joined the research team. In July 2000, the group included Jeffrey Sehume and Caleb Wang (Honours student), as well as Wafola Nerubucha, a Kenyan mechanic who we had befriended in Jwaneng (Botswana) where we had been stranded for a week with car trouble. In September 2000, Chantel Oosthuysen (intepreter and researcher), Alexandra von Stauss (Masters student) and Ntokozo Ndlela (Masters

¹ The #Khomani community of which the Kagga Kamma group is a part, are spread out in the Northern Cape living in the Mier area, in and around Upington, Postmasburg and Olifantshoek (Magrietha Eiman, 2001).

student) accompanied. Finally, in April 2001, the group included Chantel Oosthuysen, Deanna Powers (Masters student) and Nelia Oets (co-interpreter and interested observer).²

Research partners or interviewees at Kagga Kamma in 1999 and 2001 include #Khomani members living and working on the Reserve, Gert Swart, Pien, Hendrik and Jon Kruiper, as well as Kagga Kamma staff Danie Jacobs, Greg Grant, Gary Trow, Daan Raath, Andries Ras and Heinrich de Waal. Interviews were also conducted with visitors to the Reserve, for example tourists, Peter Reber and Harriet Charles and tour guide, Ella Bauer. At Ngwatle (1999), interviews were conducted with community members Miriam and Pedris Motshabise, Kaptein Mangau Madietsane, Tshomu³, Kaki Matlakala and Vista Nxai, as well as Amber Pollock (from Safaris Botswana Bound or SBB). Robert Waldron (filmmaker and long time visitor to Ngwatle) was interviewed at a later stage in Durban, South Africa. Contact was also made with members of the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust with which Ngwatle co-operates in a joint tourism project with the safari company, Safaris Botswana Bound. On the trip to the Northern Cape (2000), information was offered by #Khomani and other individuals involved with the community: Dawid Kruiper, Paul Witbooi, Sagraan Kruiper, Anna Swart, Ouma⁴ !Una, Ouma Kys, Anna Festus, Belinda Kruiper, Jakob Malgas, Roger Carter and Petrus Vaalbooi (as well as Magrietha Eiman and Aubrey Beukes at the Oudtshoorn National Khoisan Consultative Conference in 2001). Additional research material was also utilised from previous Cultural and Media Studies field trips to Ngwatle (1995 and 1999) in which I did not participate.⁵

Focus

My unique focus within the broader cultural studies project mentioned above, is the analysis of empirical evidence collected on the various field trips in relation to issues of identity. Data has been examined comparatively in connection with two completely

² See **Glossary** for clarification of details of researchers.

³ Unfortunately, Tshomu's surname is not known.

⁴ Ouma: 'granny' in Afrikaans.

⁵ See **Glossary** for clarification of details of research partners.

different Bushmen groups whose only apparent common characteristic appears to be their claim to a Bushman identity. The first group is the #Khomani living at Kagga Kamma Game Reserve in the Western Cape, South Africa. They all share a common heritage and come from the same clan. Since the early 1990s, there has been a group (of varying number⁶) staying on the Reserve making an income through enacting a traditional hunter-gatherer image in cultural tourism. Data in relation to this group includes experiences related by those members of the group who have relocated to the Northern Cape where the government granted them land in 1999. The second group is the displaced rural community of Ngwatle in the Kgalagadi district of Botswana. The community is multicultural (for example, Basarwa, Balala and Bakalagadi) and consists of over one hundred people from different clans, although most seem to identify with a Bushman identity. The community was in early 2000, incorporated into a joint tourism venture with a safari company and a peoples' trust. This does not yet constitute a dependable income for the community nor involve the enactment of Western myths promulgated through media and tourism (although members have some experience of cultural tourism).

In the following analysis, I will investigate the applicability of a model of Bushman identity as incomplete and relational, as opposed to single and stable (Hall, 1990; see Grossberg, 1996), to the two groups encountered in Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma. No research (known to the author) has been conducted to date applying the models of identity selected, to the Bushmen. My objective is to illuminate the contexts of identity construction for each group. I propose that a second model of identity that represents identity in motion is appropriate to the elaborate process of identity formation in which they are implicated, especially in the context of southern Africa and the world's rapidly changing political, social, cultural and economic environment. It is intended that a textured analysis will be achieved, which reveals the similarities and differences in the unique experience of each group.

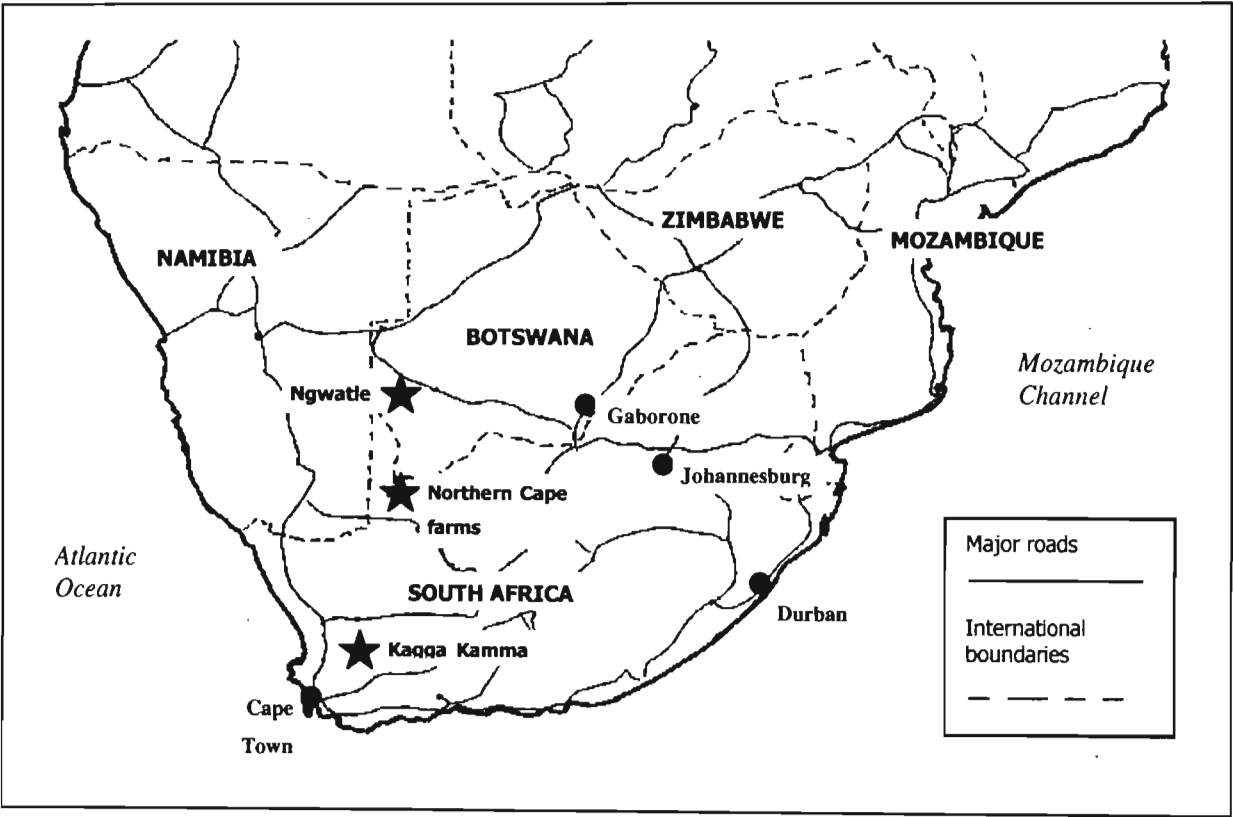
Before such an exploration is initiated, the naming of the Bushmen/San is qualified. In addition, the term 'identity' itself and the theoretical models used are investigated, as

⁶ The number has increased to approximately 50 people and now rests at about 15 (2001).

well as the ethics, methodology and challenges of this inquiry. The main body of the study comprises the pivotal variables of the context of identity formation, which are the observable social factors of identity construction. These are discursive practices of representation, factors of time and space, language, intercultural exchanges and narratives of the body.⁷ They will be examined in terms of a literary survey and then empirical results from each group will be applied. Problems and requests, which emanate from the encounters in the field, will be highlighted towards the end of the work. Finally, issues of agency and realisations, which emerge from each chapter, will be communicated. It is hoped these will lead to a new understanding that emphasises Bushman agency with regard to their own destiny and dispels disempowering myths.

⁷ Gender and spirituality are also key areas that affect processes of identity construction. My omission of them should not be interpreted as a sign of their importance (or lack of), but rather an indication of spaces where valuable academic research still needs to be performed. Both empowerment of women and spirituality can be key elements in social change (see Katz *et al*, 1997).

Figure 1: Map of places visited on field trips in 2000 and 2001



CHAPTER 1: GROUNDWORK

What's in a name?

In light of the often vociferous debate which rages about the correct naming of the heterogeneous group referred to as 'Bushmen' or 'San'⁸, I feel it necessary to first, briefly outline this debate and second, to qualify my choice of name. The European colonists were responsible for homogenising the many San/Bushmen and some Khoi groups into a single unit which neatly fitted into the ideological foundation of tribal administration in southern Africa (Skotnes, 1996; Wilmsen, 1989). The label 'Bushman' is a colonial construct, along with the category of 'tribe', "created to control subjugated peoples in manageable, depoliticised, arbitrarily bounded enclaves of homogeneity in a previously flourishing landscape of political-social diversity" (Wilmsen, 1996a: 188). It glossed over a diversity of people who spoke different languages, lived in different geographical regions and shared different histories. These include, the /Xam, the //Xegwi, the /A'uni≠Khomani, the !Xo, the Ju/'hoansi, the Hai//om, the Nharo, the Hietshare, the G/wi and many others (Skotnes, 1996).⁹

The complicated historical trajectory of the nomenclature is dealt with in some detail by Edwin Wilmsen (1989) and Robert Gordon (1992). It is clear that the term 'Bushman' first came into use in the Cape area in the 1600's by early Dutch settlers. 'Bosjesman/Bossiesman' is glossed as 'bandit' or 'outlaw.' 'San' is generally traced to the Khoi word 'Sonqua' glossed as 'original people' (also, 'Souqua', 'Sanqua' and 'Soaqua'), although Gordon (1992) makes a case for its pejorative sense of 'bandit'. Wilmsen usefully distinguishes between "three sets of contrasting pairs: Dutch, Sonqua/-Bosjesmans; Otjiherero, Ovakuru/Ovatua; Setswana, Barwa/Masarwa" (1989: 30). These formulations indicate in each pair, the evolution to a second, more pejorative label as

⁸ In Botswana, the common name is 'Basarwa' which is derived from a word signifying 'People of the south' (Hitchcock, 1998: 303). This term is however not as internationally recognised as the two mentioned here and the Botswana government has in fact tried to avoid the use of ethnic categories by official use of the term Remote Area Dwellers which includes groups other than the Basarwa (Hitchcock, 1998: 303).

⁹ Please note other spellings and group differentiations do exist; see for e.g. Barnard (1998: 51-58).

hegemony is established, with the exception of the Ovaherero who never established lasting hegemony and for whom Ovatus¹⁰ "are situated somewhere over the horizon" (Wilmsen, 1989: 31).

It could be argued that the term 'Bushman' "represents and re-presents not persons themselves, but the entire lexicon of the sordid discourse of dispossession inflicted on persons, that not only accompanied but underwrote the process of colonial dispossession itself, to which those persons, living as well as dead, are then automatically linked" (Wilmsen, 1996a: 188). A possible solution then, is to shun use of the term altogether and use the self-referents of self-defined social groups (Wilmsen, 1989). The desirability of differentiation is evident in the excerpt from the 1994-1995 Progress Report of the Kuru Development Trust, Botswana: "There are many groups among us, all of whom prefer to be called by their own names" (in Tobias, 1998: 21). Occasionally, however, a single term is required to describe common experience between certain groups in southern Africa. In these cases, it could also be argued that words obtain their meaning from the social context in which they are used and it should be possible and, in fact, desirable to recast the same term and infuse it with new meaning (Gordon, 1992). Social banditry should be made respectable again as, "of all the southern African people exposed to the colonial onslaught, those labeled "Bushmen" have the longest, most valiant, if costly, record of resistance to colonialism" (Gordon, 1992: 6-7).

One of the aims of my research is to qualify and describe the nuances of difference and similarity in the experience of two different Bushmen/San groups, those who have worked at Kagga Kamma and have partly relocated to the Northern Cape and those that live at Ngwatle, Botswana. "The disagreement over 'naming'... empowers 'scientific' discourse over the everyday collective nouns used by people to describe themselves" (Tomaselli, 1992: 206). Therefore, I think it apt that I take my cue from them, the research partners. In describing each individual group, I will make use of the terms that the people use to refer to themselves. In the case of the people at Kagga Kamma, preference is given to the clan name #Khomani. In the case of the people at Ngwatle, identification appears to be foremost as members of Ngwatle, considering the mixed

¹⁰ As mentioned, 'Ovatus' is the more pejorative label given by the Otjiherero in Namibia to the group

heritage of many of the members. They will therefore be termed the Ngwatle Bushmen. ("Adopting terms of self-appellation acknowledges the new sense of empowerment of indigenous southern Africans" (Hitchcock, 1998: 303)). I aim to present the reality of a heterogeneous group but sometimes it will be necessary to use a general term. Discussions during interviews with community members revealed that there are advocates equally for each name. After much personal consideration, I have chosen the term 'Bushmen' and follow the path of some grassroots organisations that advocate 'enobling' the term and emphasising its meaning of independent persons who cannot be controlled by authorities (Katz *et al*, 1996: 166, 195).

The salient point in this debate is that the controversy is duly noted and use is qualified and performed knowingly and with care. But the concepts behind the words should not be forgotten. The intricacies of how the all-inclusive terms are loaded with connotations and how these knowledge claims about the Bushmen or San as a category feed into the dominant political, economic and social systems (Wilmsen, 1989) will be examined in the section **The discursive approach to identity construction.**

A Matter of Ethics

Introduction

Before formally beginning research for my thesis, I had (and still have) several ideological misgivings. My concern was being involved in a research project where I would become one more in a long line of often well intentioned academics, filmmakers, photographers, tourists who visit the Bushmen and whose presence serves no purpose or who in fact reinforce inequitable power relations. Verna St. Denis admits to a similar misgiving that the "power of privilege made [her] feel in some ways no different from the missionaries and all the other government agencies" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 178). Bixgao Sixpence's¹¹ (1999) words to the Cultural and Media Studies researchers on the 1999 field trip to Botswana serve as a warning. "[M]any people are doing this [research] for

more generally known as San or Bushmen (Wilmsen, 1989: 30).

¹¹ Bixgao lives in D'Kar, Botswana, north of Ngwatle. She and her husband, Hunter Sixpence were enthusiastic research partners.

us and nothing is helping and we are not happy. Don't just come for us and then write the papers and go and do your education, because here we are suffering, we need help", she stated (Bixgao Sixpence, 1999; see also Katz *et al*, 1997: 177). My desperation revolves around how to give the right kind of help, within my capabilities as a scholar.

As a scholar, my intention is to be honest and self-critical and to keep my results as tangible and intelligible as possible. I have had the privilege of meeting and interacting with interesting people during my research, who have given me permission to use their thoughts and opinions in my work. I honour their presence in the research process. I think an important objective is to "present the actual and potential power" (Katz *et al*, 1997: xxv) of the #Khomani and Ngwatle Bushmen with whom I came into contact. I do not presume to speak on their behalf,¹² but to tell a story of my own experience with them and my own interpretation of their circumstances, which may (hopefully) be of use to them.

Anyone "who speaks for others should only do so out of a concrete analysis of the particular power relations and discursive effects involved" (Alcoff, 1991: 24). A crucial preliminary step in self-scrutiny then, is to regard the nature of ethics and power in the relationships that develop between observers and observed (as follows). The secondary step is to critically examine one's own social location and context and how this affects the scholarly discursive practice in which one is involved (see Alcoff, 1991: 25)¹³. This will be accomplished in the chapter, **Intercultural exchanges**.

Towards an ethics of author/community interactions

There is an extensive history of ethnocentric intellectual constructions of the Other (Tomaselli and Shepperson, 1997: 294). "The ethnographer is the symbol of doom" states Stephen Tyler (1987: 99). This is largely true of ethnographers who have historically ventured forth from the Western world to seek out the Other, the savage, the

¹² Elana Bregin (1998: 31) acknowledges her own bias yet presumes to give an 'insider's view' of Bushmen texts.

¹³ As Bregin suggests (2000: 87), the academic can never be invisible from his/her work.

exotic and on finding him, expose him to the modern influence which changes his very 'authenticity'. There have however been various recent brave attempts by ethnographic filmmakers to interrogate their received view of the Other (for example, in the later work of John Marshall (1988; 1985; 1980) and Terence Turner (1992)). The interrogation coincides with an attempt to avoid simply contributing to the reproduction of relations of tutelage i.e. the relations of the superordinate Western professional to the subordinate indigenous subjects. It is against this backdrop that Keyan Tomaselli and Arnold Shepperson emphasise the values of freedom and life, defined as follows:

In communicative terms, therefore, freedom can be seen as a protonorm insofar as the consequences of communicative action alleviate people's tutelage in means-ends relationships. Similarly, the justice-value of life serves as a protonorm insofar as the consequences of a communicative encounter can be intended to promote a plurality of ways in which people's endowments can be raised into talents (Tomaselli and Shepperson, 1997: 295-296) .

The first sentence refers to the use of indigenous people as a resource, a means for the achievement of the professional goals of anthropologists or filmmakers. And the second sentence refers to the limiting of people's talents through interchanges. In other words,

Cultures that define themselves on other kinds of talents (or on a greater range of talents) are constrained either to marginal status as far as they fail to profit or build power bases on these talents, or they have to restructure their practices (cultural and social) to make money or gain leverage (or both) by doing them (Tomaselli and Shepperson, 1997: 292).

In the context of research conducted in the Northern Cape, for example, it seems that all talents have been converted into money-making mechanisms e.g. hunting, dancing, creative work, story-telling. Even the elderly and respected Oumas¹⁴, who retain much of the historical traditional knowledge and skill, are accustomed to trading their cultural expertise in a cash economy. In fact, they are so adept at doing so, that the suggested

gesture of payment for interviewing was weighed up or 'counted'. This is probably the result of a long history of interactions with (and possibly exploitation by) academics, media workers and tourists. As Tomaselli points out, "Anthropologists introduced the idea that culture is something that can be bought or sold" (1996: 267). Belinda Kruiper (2000), a former SASI (South Africa San Institute) worker and now a member of the community¹⁵, makes a similar link between exploitation and payment. "But they [the Bushmen] just feel so exploited. And now people are quite appalled when they think the Bushmen now wants money for their knowledge. You taught them that. You developed them" (Belinda Kruiper, 2000).

A serious question relates to the impact of the payment of informants, sources or actors and whether 'we' actually have the right to prescribe what is done with it. Tomaselli illustrates this dilemma with the case of the payment of Abrahams in the making of the film, *I am Clifford Abrahams, This is Grahamstown* (Tomaselli, 1996). Abrahams used the payment for his acting to feed his substance and alcohol abuse. We were saved to a certain extent in the Northern Cape (where alcoholism and consequent problems of abuse and rape are serious issues) from really grappling with these issues due to the intervention of Anna Festus. She is the educated niece and assistant to the traditional leader, Dawid Kruiper, who liaises with all prospective visitors to the community. It was her suggestion to pay with 'kospakkies' or food hampers, as opposed to the usual cash sum. Greg Grant (2001), an employee at Kagga Kamma and friend of the Bushmen there, suggested that we purchase some of the handcrafts on sale in exchange for interviews rather than create the mentality that information equals cash¹⁶. At Kagga Kamma, tourist visits and interchanges with Bushmen are free, although it is hoped or expected that craft would be purchased. In Ngwatle, a standard cash price was negotiated for interviews. This is not yet a contentious issue in this remote village. Belinda Kruiper believes that it is the "intent when you do things" (2000) that is

¹⁴ These two sisters live on the farm Brosdoring in the Northern Cape. They are two of the remaining speakers of the original \ne Khomani language.

¹⁵ She is married to Vetkat Kruiper and stays on Blinkwater farm in the Northern Cape.

¹⁶ Greg Grant's well-intentioned advice was accepted. There is however an ever-present danger of allowing outsiders to decide what is best for the Bushmen. See chapter **Conclusion** for issues of agency.

important and this factor, in her opinion, separates money which brings harm and money which brings positive benefits to the community.

Anthropologists' participation and impact on the field is significant in Paul Stoller's (1992) version of radical empirical anthropology. The very questions asked by academics in the field, which possibly affect consciousness, represents one of the impacts researchers have on their field of research. Stephen Lansing argues that "[I]nstead of buying information, film [or academic research] can facilitate exchange on the level of ideas and interpretations" (Lansing, 1990: 16). In other words, the interview process itself might hold as an alternative form of exchange to cash payment (Tomaselli, 1996: 268). It was my impression that such an exchange of ideas characterised the interview between Tomaselli and Belinda Kruiper (2000). In the case of Ngwatle, I am not suggesting that cash payment for interviews would not be necessary and it would be presumptuous to state that our presence might be the only cause of any impetus for social change. But I imagine that the kinds of answers that Jeffrey Sehume prompted from Mangau Madietsane (Kaptein) (2000), village headman or community leader, with questions like: "An issue like that one, how can it be addressed?" (referring to community dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic system imposed by the new tourist community joint venture with a safari company) and "What can be done to go back to the traditional ways of hunting?" (referring to our impression that the hunting deal in the new venture spells the doom of traditional hunting practices); could be the basis for a more co-operative process of investigation.

The significance of the researcher's 'entanglement' in the social field (*à la* Stoller, 1992) was easily definable in another example, on the trip to the Northern Cape. Our liaison with the community at Witdraai, one of the farms granted by government to the #Khomani, was Anna Festus who is assistant to the #Khomani traditional leader, Dawid Kruiper. During the course of our stay, she became a friend who 'came to supper' at the campfire on two occasions and travelled with us to Upington when we left the Kalahari. The result was that when it came to interviewing Anna towards the end of the stay, I felt uncomfortable asking her the sensitive questions that were required, for example, on the problems of alcoholism in her community, the quality of leadership of her uncle, Dawid Kruiper (about whom we had heard mixed reports) and the relationship between

those on the Witdraai and Blinkwater farms, which we had learnt was strained. Her answers to these questions were careful and restrained. Perhaps, under different circumstances I might have been more assertive in obtaining more information.

To continue in the vein of anthropologists' "entanglement– in networks of social relations" (Stoller, 1992: 214), Tomaselli asserts that the "nature of the encounter and new relations catalysed by the production crew [or research team] need to be constantly problematized" (1996: 273). It is no doubt that the system of distribution of the second hand clothes that we took to Ngwatle, that was eventually decided upon after hours of negotiation amongst the members of an adhoc committee, was a first. The turnout of the whole community for the day's events ensured its significance in the social, political and economic life of the community. The distribution method which was selected – clothes were randomly given to a representative from each homestead – did seem in keeping with a traditional, fair, distribution system.¹⁷ It was also speculated that our presence in the village (as outsiders who might make note of their complaints about the company) sparked off the Safari Company bringing meat to the community for the first time. In terms of their agreement with the community, they were to supply meat in exchange for the village's hunting quota.

Besides the impact that our research potentially holds¹⁸, our involvement had other immediately discernable consequences. When visiting Blinkwater farm, we carried regards to Belinda Kruiper from Anna Festus. Belinda seemed pleasantly surprised and after we had learnt the context of internal familial strife, we understood her comment that she was pleased to see that relations could not be that strained. While at Blinkwater, we showed Belinda the *Sunday Times Lifestyle* article "Kalahari dreaming" (Steyn, 2000). It was the first time she had seen the article and was adamant that Lys, one of the subjects in the photographs, had not been consulted and that some of the information about the Bushmen healing practices was misrepresented. It was an issue she wished to follow up on with the journalist in question, whom she knew. Possible political-type repercussions might have ensued one of the CMS researchers remembered

¹⁷ Interviewees agreed later that they thought the system was fair (personal communication, 2000).

¹⁸ Bilu (1998), in a reading of Blackman and Brettell, also talks about a growing sensitivity to the effect of ethnographic accounts on communities studied.

incorrectly what Belinda had said about the contentious issue of the SASI vehicle during an interview with Roger Carter, manager of the Molopo Lodge in the Northern Cape. (The mistake was corrected). The interview with Petrus Vaalbooi, ex chairman of the #Khomani council and community activist, outside and in view of the building in which the present council was busy holding a meeting, had certain political resonance for me. In view of Vaalbooi's discontent on a number of issues, the interview with us, as outside media workers, could have been construed as a threat to the council. These three examples indicate three situations where our research team, often unwittingly, might have caused immediate ripple effects in the community.

In relation to the issue of relative empowerment of particular community members as opposed to others, our experience in Ngwatle is of only using those informants who volunteer themselves or with whom we are able to establish relations. Inequitable economic benefits are therefore created through association with us, but this links to the active seeking out of what might be considered a job.¹⁹ This would also seem to avoid the con game of acquiring consent, as elaborated by Calvin Pryluck (1986). He warns that consent is not valid unless, "1) it was made under conditions that were free of coercion and deception, 2) with full knowledge of the procedure and anticipated affects, 3) by someone competent to consent" (1986: 99). Of course, documentary filmmaking presents a greater risk value in terms of ethical standards than does anthropological research, but can we be sure that all informants have understood the implications of their co-operation? In Ngwatle specifically, selective empowerment, even if not actively sought out by us, was also gendered. At Kagga Kamma, there is free choice as to who comes to meet the tourists, an activity that always holds the potential for questioning by visitors. Of course, it was necessary for the research team to explain our presence and interest and to respect the choice of either involvement or lack thereof. In the Northern Cape, the system was more formalised and we were forced into a structured programme where interviewees were organised on our behalf. This was not our usual *modus operandi* of first seeing with whom we connect. The result was that on a particular day, one of our 'scheduled' interviewees refused to speak to us, which gave us the feeling

¹⁹ The system does however seem to resonate with a Western, individualist philosophy.

that there had initially been coercion to participate, possibly by Dawid Kruiper. The context for some of these interviews was therefore that of a business exchange.²⁰

The provocation by Pryluck that the "use of people for our advantage is an ethically questionable undertaking" (1986: 98) cannot be avoided in such an analysis. The subjects, "the objects of study, the human raw material without which anthropology and sociology could not survive, have to get on with their lives– or perhaps pick up the pieces– after the observers have left" (Tomaselli and Shepperson, 1997: 285). It is true that accountability and the difficulty of "communicating back to the subjects the content of a Ph.D. or MA thesis, article or book" (Tomaselli, 1996: 272) have not yet been truly dealt with. The difficulty relates to the issue, within the present context of power relations in the world, of "writing as an act of oppression" (Fabian, 1990: 767), as well as to problems of language. This is the very problem, which led Jean Rouch into ethnographic filmmaking. True enough, accountability can be argued in relation to organisations such as WIMSA (Working group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa) and SASI (South African San Institute), as well as to those development organisations that work with the specific communities visited, for example, Thusano Lefatsheng Trust (of Ngwatle). This however does not solve the problem of how to achieve accountability in the eyes of the community. Would ensured continued research trips, which are a resource, be sufficient? Megan Biesele and Verna St. Denis discuss the value of tapes of interviews as a "record of their history, a record of their old people's wisdom" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 179). A summarised, translated and verbal version of the research is potentially a viable method of returning the knowledge in a form that can actually be used.

Towards a contingent conclusion

I cannot deny that at the end of the day, I am going to complete my Masters and gain in so-called market value as a result of my use of the information shared with me during interviews with research partners. These research partners come from indigenous

²⁰ James Faris (1988) describes the highly structured, monitored visits to Southeast Nuba that caricature local custom, in the wake of Riefenstahl's ethnographic work (1976; 1974). This is reminiscent of visits to the Kruipers.

communities largely structured in damning power relations with the West, the developed, the urban and the politically dominant. Tomaselli (1996) describes the need for greater sensitivity and foresight in encounters with subjects and Pryluck describes the need to "make explicit our ethical standards [which will result in]... a greater sensitivity to ethical violations" (1986: 104). Such considerations should be included in any interactions with subject communities, but so too should the acknowledgement of their agency. As suggested by Turner (1992) in his defence of the Kayapo development project, the possibility of resistance or self-empowerment by non-Western peoples should not be denied. Belinda Kruiper (2000) alludes to the fact that although things look bad for the #Khomani from a development point of view, they have never been happier because their activities are the result of choice. Alexandra von Stauss (personal communication, 2000), photojournalist and Masters student, felt that the traditional superordinate author/subordinate community relationship had been inverted on the Northern Cape trip. Our activities were controlled and monitored by the community we visited there. Despite its contradictions, the power inversion is a sure sign of a motivated, active community, equal although different participants in the 'con game' where cultural capital is used for commercial extraction.

Bushmen communities should have authoritative participation in the research process and there should be practical outcomes/ benefits for those communities (Mathambo Ngakaeaja *et al*, 1998: 30-31). Mathambo Ngakaeaja *et al* at the Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference argues for an "action-oriented type of research" (1998: 30) where researchers respect and recognise San grassroots organisations. "Such research would focus on real and concrete problems that the San face in modern times" (Ngakaeaja *et al*, 1998: 30). Further, the "San regard themselves as the experts concerning San issues and should thus be involved in research from the planning stage" (Ngakaeaja *et al*, 1998: 31)²¹. These resolute words were further mobilised at the next Khoisan Conference (2001) by the journalist respondent, Zenzile Khoisan, to Keyan Tomaselli (2001b). He advocated claiming control of all representation for themselves

²¹ Similarly, it should be acknowledged that "[g]ood fieldwork is possible only if the fieldworker feels, in his heart, respect for the people he [or she] studies" (Tanaka, 1990: 515).

and when outsiders do come in to do work, there should be programmes of exchange where community members can be trained in for example, video production.²²

These notions of research require humility on the part of the researcher²³ and acknowledgement of the Bushman power to determine his/her own development path. Dick Katz states, "We [as researchers] have to respect their ability to know what they need, what is "good" for them" (Katz *et al*; 1997: 180). In such a context where issues of conscience, ethics and power, exchange and use are acknowledged, a new, simple path to development is forged. You "just hang out with the people and let them tell you what to do" (Belinda Kruiper, 2000). To relate back to Tomaselli and Shepperson's (1997: 295-296) identification of the protonorms of freedom and life, it is vital that communities are seen out of the context of relations of tutelage and to ensure that encounters involve more than simply trading off invaluable talents for money and/ or political clout. According to Linda Alcoff (1991: 29), the question that must constantly be asked is "will it [in this case, the research] enable the empowerment of oppressed peoples?" In other words, academic practice needs to be self-conscious and moral (Gordon, 1992: 12).

For my own purposes, I would like to recreate the spirit in which work was conducted for *Healing makes our hearts happy* (Katz *et al*, 1997). Recognising the limitations of my perspective as an outsider, I would nevertheless like to humbly place my research within the framework of the people's larger discourse of liberation, as part of the struggle for self-determination (see Katz *et al*. 1997: 3).

²² This brings to mind the participatory development programme with Kayapo communities in Brazil. A debate developed whereby on the one hand, Terence Turner advocated that the Kayapo's acquired video technology serves them as a political tool (and social document) which gives them the opportunity to "insert their voice into the media of the Western 'Other'" (1992). Faris (1992), on the other hand, argues that the very nature of the technology, its instruction and the intended Western consumers, ensure that structures of Western global hegemony remain firmly in place.

²³ Linda Alcoff (1992: 29) states that the "practice of speaking for others is often born of a desire for mastery, to privilege oneself as the one who correctly understands the truth about another's situation or as one who can champion a just cause and thus achieve glory and praise."

Research methodology and methods

The broad framework of the research conducted is a reflexive, 'qualitative' methodology. Basic assumptions of such a method, according to Paul Willis, may include the recognition that "significant data are collected not through the purity or scientificism of its method, but through the status of the method as a social relationship, and specifically through the moments of crisis in that relationship and its to-be-discovered pattern of what is/what is not shared" (1980: 93). The potential to be 'surprised' in the field or of "reaching knowledge not prefigured in one's starting paradigm" (Willis, 1980: 90) is therefore possible, as well as the effort to reveal the contradictions, inconsistencies and divergencies which inevitably characterise the subtext of any cultural form researched. Another important admonition is that the "'object' is only perceived and understood through an internal organization of data, mediated by conceptual constructs and ways of seeing the world" (Willis, 1980: 90). Hence, there is an interest in "one's role in the social relationship and its variable patterning" (Willis, 1980: 94).

The specific research method selected is participant observation, which is well suited to the study of the social process of identity formation rather than any static data collecting. Participant observation involves "some amount of genuinely social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, some direct observation of relevant events, some formal and a great deal of informal interviewing, some systematic counting, some collection of documents and artifacts, and open-endedness in the direction the study takes" (McCall and Simmons, 1969: 1). Willis identifies a combination of techniques that characterise the method of participant observation. These include participation, observation and participation as observer, observation as participant, just 'being around', group discussion, unfocused interview and recorded unfocused interview (Willis, 1980: 94). A combination of these techniques was used on the field trips. A relaxed, open-minded approach to conducting research is encouraged. Belinda Kruiper said, "It would be important to talk to as many people as possible. And know that in groups and areas like this, the one thing that keeps people ticking is stories. So you hear a whole lot of things before your research actually starts" (2000). Likewise, "Hanging out builds trust, and trust results in ordinary conversation and ordinary behaviour in your presence"

(Bernard, 1994: 152). Belinda Kruiper added, "you don't get the truth... [if you're] going according to structured development, what's been written... not experience" and "the important thing... for people to do is don't disregard people who live in communities. Don't focus on going to the leaders and to the political structures. Find out. Hang out a few days" (2000). In any intercultural exchange, spontaneity is essential and the very nature and progression of the interpersonal exchanges with the communities is exemplary of larger processes of identity formation, cultural exchange and globalisation.

This focus on lived experience characterises the informative or guiding theory in my use of participant observation – radically empirical anthropology. This is "an anthropology that recognises blatant incongruities, confounding ambiguities, and seemingly intolerable contradictions- the texture of life as it is experienced in the field" (Stoller, 1992: 213). Participation in this context of radically empirical anthropology, becomes the opening up of anthropologists "to other worlds as they acknowledge their implication– their entanglement– in networks of social relations" (Stoller, 1992: 214). The ethnographic filmmaker Jean Rouch is described as a "radical empiricist for whom lived experience is a primary component of fieldwork" (Stoller, 1992: 202). It is this concern with experience that I would like to emulate.

A personal concern with my research is that my immersion into the culture of the Other has been incomplete. Belinda Kruiper stated that in order to do proper research, one should stay with the communities for a length of time, to simply "hang out" (2000) with the people. Belinda became an eager 'apprentice', a full participant in Bushman life and may never actually return to the Cartesian, Western world from which she came. Time (and financial) constraints limit the possibility of me "letting [my]... senses be penetrated by the world of the Other" (Stoller, 1984: 93). "In the field one connects or is cast away" (Stoller, 1992: 216). Yet despite my constraints, I feel I connected with many of the people and feel personally obligated to specific people as a result.

Within the scope of Stephen Tyler's (1987) postmodern anthropology, Paul Stoller places the ethnographic filmmaking of Jean Rouch, which does not analyse social phenomena but rather "move[s] viewers through powerful imagery and transcendent stories" (1992: 200). I am reminded here of the description of the film, *The Great Dance* (2000), by

Belinda Kruiper (2000). She said that the film really captured the essence of the Bushman hunting experience and that her husband Vetkat had been able to feel the exhilaration of the hunt as if the story was being told around the fire. Through an analysis of his ethnography and filmmaking, Stoller describes Rouch as a radical empiricist who provides a "model for a more empathetic, more faithful, and more artistic kind of anthropological expression" (1992: 202). From the information gathered from the interviews conducted and observations made in the field, I hope to produce a genre that is not simply analytical and critical, but that also contains elements of the poetic and narrative.²⁴

We sat under a tree on the Blinkwater sand dunes recording the interview with Belinda Kruiper through the mid-day Kalahari heat. Her husband, Vetkat, lay nearby sleeping after a rare night of beer drinking. Belinda's holy T-shirt with Native Indian feathers on it, her bracelets and sandals immediately gave me the impression of an earthy, hippie, spiritual type. As we all sat around her, listening to her clear, well-spoken voice (in English – it had been a while since we had all been able to understand and communicate in the interviews without an interpreter), my admiration of her increased. I also pondered over the prediction of an astrologer that an older woman would guide me. Stoller infers from the work of Dewey, "experience is a radically empirical domain in which thoughts, feelings, and actions are inseparable" (1992: 212). For me, the experience of this 'unstructured, open-ended, recorded interview' cannot be detached from all the sensations and feelings that it entailed for me. (The distraction of being bitten by a sand insect on my feet was of course a sensation I would willingly have omitted). As Michael Jackson (1989) urges, anthropological knowledge (and I would like to add cultural knowledge) should be grounded not only in detached observations but also in practical, personal and participatory experience (Stoller, 1992: 213).

Participant observation, or ethnographic fieldwork, was applied to encounters with Bushmen communities at the Kagga Kamma Game Reserve in April 1999, at Ngwatle in July 2000, in the Northern Cape in September 2000 and again at Kagga Kamma in April

²⁴ See 'A matter of ethics' for more on the need to create 'faithful' academic expressions.

2001. Unstructured, open-ended, face-to-face interviews were conducted by the author and by other members of the research team. The interviews and interactions were recorded both by tape recorders and video cameras. These interviews were transcribed and translated, where necessary, on returning to Durban. In some cases, observations and natural conversation were simply recorded retrospectively by hand. Interviews are regarded here as not merely the result of the combination of the components of codes, participants and settings (Fabian, 1979: 9). Rather, they are to be seen as processual communicative events. In other words, the "contents of communicative exchanges are being constituted, formed or transformed, in short, 'created'" (Fabian, 1979: 21). Importantly, within this context, fieldwork becomes a creative production (Fabian, 1979: 19).

Technical Challenges Encountered

The principle technical (if they could be described as such) challenges center around the interview process. Because of insufficient time and finance, research trips did not exceed three weeks and constituted no more than one week in a specific location. Total immersion into the culture, as performed by many researchers over a period of months was not possible. Experience of each community (although, for example, in the case of Ngwatle, relations had been established before) coincided more with what the average tourist/visitor could achieve. This in itself was a valuable quality of the research strategy.

Another challenge, which is duly noted, is that of responses of interviewees not necessarily being a true reflection of their feelings (see chapter on **Intercultural exchanges**). Pieter Jolly (1996: 209) warns against people giving responses according to the perceived needs of the employers or interviewers and the fact that dealing in 'primitiveness' can become a lucrative business. Ouma !Una says, "It's our work to talk" (2000). Katz *et al* register the "countless examples of how Indigenous peoples have resisted the research ventures of anthropologists, at times providing superficial and even false answers just to appear polite" (1997: 147). Bearing this in mind, I do believe that

some heartfelt responses were offered. Further, as part of a longer-term research project, it will be possible for the findings of this study to be verified and modified as relationships and dialogue develop between CMS and community members and as circumstances change.

Another challenge relates to the translation process and should be guarded against. This is the possibility that languages lose their individuality of expression in the translation process (Katz *et al*, 1997: 179). A possible check to this is that people who were present at the time of enunciation do the translations. (This was possible with all CMS research trips). At least then, the context, atmosphere and generally, the lived experience may be recalled. Translation is still a difficult and not foolproof process and should be treated with care.

"The Ju/'hoansi often reply to our questions with a story. They resist generalizing and stay with the concrete" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 104). It became an important skill to learn how to remodel the questions in a non-theoretical way to suit the research partners. In interviews conducted with individuals who had a similar education or cultural experience (for example, Roger Carter and Robert Waldron), channels of communication were more open and more substantial responses were acquired. Belinda Jeursen (1995) also notes this in comparing an interview with Robert Waldron and Miriam Motshabise²⁵, even though Miriam speaks English fairly well. In other words, even if a common language is chosen, intercultural communication presents unique challenges.

Acknowledgement of the incongruities and challenges of fieldwork enriches the research process further and points to the 'entanglement' of academics in "networks of social relations" (Stoller, 1992: 214). Therefore despite or perhaps on account of the challenges described, I have been able to gain an experience which I hope to present and examine faithfully.

²⁵ Miriam is a fairly well-educated young woman who lives in Ngwatle.

The Dual Question of Identity

There are two possible ways of conceptualising cultural identity that have been discerned (Hall, 1990: 223). These constitute the two models (as described by Grossberg, 1996: 89) in terms of which theorisation of this research project occurs.

The first model of identity

Within the terms of the first essentialist and historic model of identity, cultural identities are assumed to “reflect the common experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as ‘one people’, with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history” (Hall, 1990: 223). Emphasis is therefore placed on a unified identity that can be rediscovered by excavating a common, historical culture. Cultural identity is seen as a “fixed origin to which we can make some final and absolute return”, a “universal and transcendental spirit inside us on which history has made no fundamental mark” (Hall, 1990: 226). In other words, the “struggle over representations of identity here takes the form of contesting negative images with positive ones, and of trying to discover the ‘authentic’ and ‘original’ content of the identity” (Grossberg, 1996: 89).

The second model of identity

The second model of identity is non-essentialist and strategic. It defines cultural identity as a “matter of ‘becoming’ as well as of ‘being’ ”:

Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they [cultural identities] are subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere ‘recovery’ of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past (Hall, 1990: 225).

Simply put, “fully constituted, separate and distinct identities” are perceived to be impossible (Grossberg, 1996: 89). “Identities are always relational and incomplete, in process” (Grossberg, 1996: 89; see also Hall, 1991).

Formulations about the fragmentation of the unified, modern subject as evidenced by the progression from the first to the second model, occur within the context of the processes of globalisation. The theories about these processes are open and provisional (Hall, 1992: 274). The two models of identity described above are used as entry points to discuss the complex theoretical and practical field in which the Bushmen may be found.

Context

The de-centring or dislocation of the Enlightenment subject (Hall, 1994; 1992; 1991b) largely explains the context of the theoretical, historical and strategic transition from the first to the second model of identity. Modernity viewed the human subject to be rational, indivisible and unique. In late-modernity, however, the subject came to be understood as both estranged and dislocated. Evidently, this transition coincides with the denial of the “existence of authentic and originary identities based in a universally shared origin or experience” (Grossberg, 1996: 89). A transitory ‘sociological’ subject can be distinguished in the conceptualised trajectory that leads from the Enlightenment to the post-modern subject (Hall, 1992: 275-277). In this phase, the subject still maintains its inner, unified core (à la Enlightenment), yet is constituted interactively (Barker, 1999: 14). Stuart Hall (1994: 119-125; 1992: 285-291; 1991b: 43-44) lists five principle movements or “ruptures in the discourses of modern knowledge” (Hall, 1992: 285) which contributed to the de-centring of the Cartesian subject.

Marxism is the first de-centring movement. This theory is associated with historical materialism, dialectical materialism and revolution (Cashmore and Rojek, 1999: 346). The subject is established as having agency, but this is qualified by the assertion that individuals make decisions on the “basis of conditions which are not of their own making” (in Hall 1994: 120; see Marx and Engels, 1973). Louis Althusser, the Marxist structuralist, is also interpreted as having negated the notion of ‘unified’ man through

emphasis on the formation of the subject within ideology (see Althusser, 1971). Psychoanalysts, Sigmund Freud and later, Jacques Lacan's elaboration of the largely unknowable unconscious and symbolic processes by which a human's identity is formed through the look of the Other, constitutes the second movement (see Freud, 1999; 1966; 1952; Lacan, 1977). Freud's work suggests that the unconscious is actively at work in everyday life and Lacan's suggest that structures of the unconscious can be understood by examining language (Cashmore and Rojek, 1999). They contributed to an understanding of identification as a process which does not designate the fullness of identity but rather "a lack of wholeness which is 'filled' from outside us" (Hall, 1994: 122). The Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure's avocation that the subject is not the author of language but is rather spoken by it, is cited as the third de-centring (see Saussure, 1993; 1916,1953). Jacques Derrida (famous for his deconstructivist stance) expanded on this theory, declaring that the subject has no control over meaning, which is inherently unstable (see Derrida, 1981). The fourth de-centring occurs with the post-structuralist work of Michel Foucault (see Foucault, 1986; 1975; 1973; 1967). He advocated that the subject is produced through historically specific discourses, which are essentially statements of power. Disciplinary powers in society are seen to regulate the individual and the collective group, producing what he referred to as the 'docile body.' In the context of late-modernity, the more collective and organised the institutions, the more isolated the individual. Feminism challenges the "distinction between the outside and the inside, the public and private" (Barker, 1999: 22). It is the fifth and final critique and social movement that challenged the unity and centrality of the subject, bringing into question the various ways in which subjectivity is formed.²⁶

Crucial to the analysis of identity (as well as any encounters that occur) in contemporary southern Africa is the complex and ubiquitous process of globalisation. The term 'globalisation' is described not only as the space-time compression of the world²⁷, but also an intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole (Robertson, 1992; see

²⁶ In addition, the relativisation of the Western narrative itself, through the rise of other cultures (Hall, 1991b: 44), is significant.

²⁷ Hall, in relation to Tony McGrew's (1992) chapter in the same publication, describes space-time compression as the "speeding up of global processes, so that the world feels smaller and distances shorter, so that events in one place impact immediately on people and places a very long distance away" (1992: 300).

also McGrew, 1992). The work of Anthony Giddens (1990) outlines the institutions of modernity in terms of which the process of globalisation may be understood. These institutions are: the world capitalist economy, industrialism, the world military order and surveillance or the global information system (Giddens, 1990: 59). The idea of a world system of nation-states is also a critical underpinning of these four institutions. They allow for the separation of time and space and 'disembedding', or in Chris Barker's words, the "lifting out of social relations developed in one locale and their re-embedding in different places" (1999: 34). Both of these factors are relevant to an examination of contemporary Bushmen social, economic and political relationships within and without their communities.

A common understanding of globalisation is that it is a phenomenon of "economic activity [conducted] on a planetary scale" (Barker, 1999: 35) which has various political and socio-cultural consequences worldwide. The *World communication report* states that globalisation symbolises the "worldwide triumph of market economies and the liberalisation of international trade" (1997: 13). Some of the controversial issues associated with the discourse of globalisation will be encountered in this research. These include the boundedness of nation-states in relation to worldwide economic and cultural flows which disregard geographic borders, the uneven development of the global economy which excludes many Third World countries and peoples altogether, issues of local identity in relation to the global, cultural homogenisation or fragmentation, and the role of communication in creating the "phantasm of a global symbolic community" (Comaroff, 1996: 168). Within this context, identity becomes a 'moveable feast' which is continuously changing with the surrounding cultural systems (Hall, 1992: 277).

A similar distinction to the two models of identity outlined by Hall is the differentiation between a primordialist and circumstantialist view of ethnicity²⁸, when discussing collective ethnic identity (Cornell and Hartman, 1998). In the former, ethnicity is fixed and unchanging and is rooted in history. This evidently corresponds with Hall's first model of identity (1990) as already described. In the latter, ethnicity is considered fluid

²⁸ The term 'ethnicity' is discussed in some detail in the chapters, **Discursive practices in ethnic politics** and **Intercultural exchanges**. Alan Barnard (1998: 52, 53) similarly summarises the

and changeable, is useful and adapts to changing circumstances. This relates to the second model of identity as identified by Hall.

The persistence of the concept, 'identity'²⁹

In recent years, the term 'identity' has been deconstructed by a variety of disciplines, all of which are "critical of the notion of an integral, originary and unified identity" (Hall, 1996a: 1), implicit in the first model. This method of deconstruction indicates that the term is no longer really 'serviceable' because of its previous associations, but that no new term has yet taken its place. Despite the fact that it is 'under erasure', it still exists as a key concept because of its "centrality to the question of agency and politics" (Hall, 1996a: 2). Identity is significant for modern political movements in its unstable form and in terms of its relationship to a politics of location (Hall, 1996a: 2). The deconstruction (and persistence) of the term 'identity' is significant in terms of changes in the status quo. "As the hegemonic grip of unitary modern (and commonly white male middle class) identity is weakened and fragmented so the voices of modernity's marginalized 'others'... have come to disturb the cultural peace" (Barker, 1999: 10).

Acknowledging the influence of Foucault, affirms that any subject agency should be defined in terms of the articulated relationship between the subject and discursive practices (Hall, 1996a: 2). Significantly, it is not only discourse but also the psyche that is central in the constitution of identity. Here, Freud and Lacan's theories of identification are relevant. However, in the context of this study, this line of thought will not be investigated. It is the outward, social factors in the constitution of the Bushman identity, which are both observable and relevant. As an outsider, it would be impossible for me to offer an analysis of Bushman psyche. The construction of the subject through discourse is the first factor of identity formation that will be examined (see chapter, **The discursive approach to identity construction**).

opposing approaches of the 'primordialists' and the 'instrumentalists' and adds a third category of 'constructivists'.

²⁹ Barnard (1998) describes various conceptions of identity. It can refer to a sense of belonging, whether self- or collective. It can also be understood in terms of unconscious personal identities (by some contemporary anthropologists and psychologists) or as that sense of "selfhood which is instilled

A Note on the Application of Empirical Results

Due to the nature of the methodology used (see **Research methodology**) results are not scientifically thorough nor objective. They rely to a large extent on material, conversations, and observations as they were presented to me. For this reason, information gathered for each group (Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma) do not follow identical formats nor constitute an equal quantity for all issues examined. I hope that respect for each research partner's opinion is conveyed, although it should be remembered that all data has been either consciously or subconsciously been submitted to my own reasoning and theoretical framework. I will examine these instances where possible. The opinions expressed by research partners are in the past tense to maintain a sense of historical specificity, as the notion of changing circumstances and relations in identity construction is central to this research work. The oral expressions recorded here, however, are equal if not more valuable than the literary texts which are cited in the present tense. First names are used (instead of surnames) for research partners to avoid repetition because several interviewees have the same surname. 'A Closing Note' at the end of each section on the application of empirical results acts as a precursor for the 'Realisations' to be found in the final chapter in this work, **Conclusion**.

by socialisation and is defined differently in different cultures" [by the 'culture and personality' school] (Barnard, 1998: 52).

CHAPTER 2: THE DISCURSIVE APPROACH TO IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

Literary Survey

Introduction

"Identity is always in part a narrative, always in part a kind of representation" (Hall, 1991b: 47). It is therefore important to examine how an individual or group is represented from the outside (and whether they identify with or contest that representation) in order to understand their identity. This section surveys the literary texts which theorise how Bushmen have been discursively represented in the fields of ethnic politics and media and tourism.

Firstly, some grounding principles need to be established. Identification, which is incorporated in both discourse and psychoanalytic theory, is a useful concept in the theorisation of issues of identity. It is "the moment when we invest in how we are hailed from the outside" (Hall, 1997a: 12). Identification is commonly understood as the recognition of a common characteristic with another individual or group and the feeling of solidarity and allegiance that is thereby naturally formed (Hall, 1996a: 2). It is the 'naturalism' of this understanding that is contested by the discursive approach (which is favoured by Hall's (1990) second model of identity.) Identification is rather a "process... [that] operates across difference... [and] entails discursive work, the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries" (Hall, 1996a: 3). In the discursive approach then, identity is viewed as constructed by various discursive practices, which in turn means that it is conditional and historically determined by relations of power. "The concept of identity deployed here is therefore not an essentialist, but a strategic and positional one" (Hall, 1996a: 3).

In the discursive approach, the proclaimed unity of identity is not regarded as the result of a "natural and inevitable or primordial totality" but rather of a "constructed form of closure" (Hall, 1996a: 5) that inevitably entails the play of power. "Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices

construct for us" (Hall, 1996a: 6). Discourse may be described as both "language and practice, regulated ways of speaking which define, construct and produce objects of knowledge" (Barker, 1999: 173). It is equally a "way of constructing meanings which influences and organizes both our actions and our conception of ourselves" (Hall, 1992: 292-293). Identities are actively constructed by establishing difference from other possibilities. Hall (deducing from Butler (1993)) asserts that "all identities operate through exclusion, through the discursive construction of a constitutive outside and the production of abjected and marginalized subjects, apparently outside the field of the symbolic, the representable" (1996a: 15). Essential to the construction of identity then, is the discursive marking of boundaries from others.

Essential to any analysis of identity is therefore an examination of the "subject positions which discursive practices construct" (Hall, 1996a: 6). There are two realms of closely related discursive practice that will be privileged in this study. The first relates to the production of circumstances of identity construction through the play of ethnic politics which is founded on academic, official (as in governmental) and popular opinion. This will be reviewed in the section, 'Discursive practices within ethnic politics,' as follows. The second is the representation of Bushmen (principally in the media) in terms of the 'Great Bushman Myth' which informs tourist expectations and imaginings. This will be reviewed in the section, 'Discursive practices in the media and tourism,' as follows. As suggested by Hall's (1997a) theory of identification, various subject positions interpellate³⁰ the Bushmen, but they will not necessarily identify with these positions. An "effective suturing of the subject to a subject-position requires, not only that the subject is 'hailed', but that the subject invests in the position" (Hall, 1996a: 6). Discourse essentially encompasses all other factors of identity formation which will be examined in the chapters that follow. Discursive representation nevertheless informs but does not determine identity construction.

³⁰ See Althusser's (1971) theory of interpellation.

Discursive practices within ethnic politics

All that symbolic and narrative energy and work is directed to secure us 'over here' and them 'over there', to fix each in its appointed species place. It is a way of marking how deeply our histories actually intertwine and interpenetrate; how necessary 'the Other' is to our sense of identity; how even the dominant, colonizing, imperializing power only knows who and what it is and can only experience the pleasure of its own power of domination in and through the construction of the Other (Hall, 1996b: 341-342).

The comprehension of history as a narrative or a story, rather than a literal fact (Hall, 1991b: 58) is especially appropriate to the contentious and inconsistent 'story' of ethnic representation as it applies to the Bushmen.³¹ A study of the discursive practices in the field of ethnic politics is a study of the ethnicisation of the Bushmen and the subsequent investing of this ethnic label with meaning³². Historically, the 'Great Bushman Myth'³³ (which will be discussed in detail shortly) fits into that discourse which signifies racial 'difference' and entails processes of naturalisation (which attempt to fix cultural identities), as well as reductionism and stereotyping, whereby cultures of the Other are reduced to their essences (Hall, 1997b). Academic discourse was founded on the inability of the colonials to accept Bushman "difference on its own terms, without ascribing to it the dehumanizing value judgements of alterity" (Bregin, 1998: 56). The discourse of difference, therefore, sought to maintain a particular social and symbolic order that excluded those groups who were deemed different and served as a justification for colonisation and domination. There is consequently a correspondence between the discursive construction of the Bushmen and the material interests of their observers, although this is never a closed system (Landau, 1996: 129). It is necessary to shed the "illusion that the African custom recorded by officials or by many anthropologists is [necessarily] any sort of guide to the African past" (Ranger, 1983:

³¹ For a detailed review of the colonial representation of the Bushmen, see Elana Bregin (1998: 32-83).

³² Janet Wolff asserts that the mistake should not be made of granting "groups or cultures some 'essential' existence, denying the linguistic and other strategies through which they are negotiated and produced" (1991: 167), hence the need to examine the construct 'Bushman'.

261-262).³⁴ Extrapolating from Ashcroft *et al* (1989), Elana Bregin states that the only point of view recorded remains as the sole interpretation of events and is therefore conferred authority; simultaneously, "the Bushman alterity becomes inscribed as a palimpsest of fact" (1998: 46).

Any ethnographic description needs to be firmly placed within this context of Euroamerica's rationalisation of its interventions in other parts of the world (Wilmsen, 1989) and understood as an attempt to understand the Euroamerican self through the establishment of an other. Hence, it should be acknowledged that

[o]ur ways of making the Other are ways of making ourselves. The need to go there (to exotic places, be they far away or around the corner) is really our desire to be here (to find our position in the world). The urge to write ethnography is about making the *then* into a *now*. In this move from then to now the making of knowledge out of experience occurs (Fabian, 1990: 756).

Historical imaginings of Bushmen became a way of clarifying symbolic and actual borders: "It became an absolute border between the secular and the sacred other; between the present and the past; and between the social and the natural" (Landau, 1996: 140). Jan Pieterse (1992: 230) argues that all negative traits assigned to the Other were originally true of European societies themselves. Hence, anthropologists, for example, were simply studying their own societies. 'Bushman' then becomes a "negative form of metaphor predicated on an urge to retain a mythic image of the childhood of mankind" (Wilmsen, 1996: 186). It should be remembered in examining how subject positions are constructed within the discourse of the Other that "othering expresses the insight that the Other is never simply given, never just found or encountered, but made" (Fabian, 1990: 755; see also Fiske, 1993: 150).

³³ Myths are "dominant popular meaning[s]... culturally constructed dominant connotations (Heck, 1980) that represent an ahistorically represented condition" (Tomaselli, 1995: ii). The power of myths is invested symbolically rather than in the real (Bregin, 1998: 141).

³⁴ The travel writers who were commenting on the African landscapes, vegetation and people before even the anthropologists, were to a large extent 'displaced', unable to connect with their unfamiliar surroundings. Despite other differences in their reports, they all "view[ed] Africa through European eyes" (Chapman, 1996:81) and produced "document[s] of ideology" (Chapman, 1996: 82; see also Bregin, 1998: 47-48).

All Khoisan-speaking people, dating from the colonial period, were homogenised into a single, primal, ethnic category of Basarwa/Bushmen/San or hunter-gatherer/forager (Wilmsen, 1996; 1989; Wilmsen and Denbow, 1990).³⁵ The homogenisation of the various Bushmen and some Khoi groups into a single unit joined together “a diversity of peoples, speaking different languages, observing differing customs, participating in differing intellectual traditions, and sharing differing histories” (Skotnes, 1996: 17). This categorisation system is definitively a system of power play which is used to “segregate historically, economically, and politically the peoples they label and thus to isolate them socially— and often racially— from those who apply the terms” (Wilmsen, 1989: 32). Additionally, as already suggested, the primal categories “become objects and function to illuminate and legitimize a crucial area in Euroamerica’s symbolic reconstruction of its own ontology” (Wilmsen and Denbow, 1990: 494).

The classification of Bushmen as prehistoric foragers or hunter-gatherers fits into a theoretical formulation which opposed the primitive with the civilised and was developed through the 1800s by authors such as Lubbock, Tylor, Tönnies, Durkheim and to some extent, Marx, to name but a few (Wilmsen, 1989).³⁶ The intellectual climate which sparked interest in the Bushmen as ‘early man’ had “echoes of Lubbock, Morgan, and of Tylor cradled in *Gemeinschaft* and swaddled in Durkheimian mechanical solidarity” (Wilmsen, 1989: 34). What is essentially suggested is a search for authenticity, for the route back to some original, happy, essential state from which civilised man has ‘fallen away’ (see also Isernhagen, 1982). Therefore, valorisation of Bushmen occurred within the context of Victorian (and subsequent eras’) longing for a simple communal past which had been lost to the civilised European man (Landau, 1996: 134; see also White, 1995: 3). Bushmen were required to certify the ontological quest, “an idealist search for human authenticity to be achieved by a return to an ideal(ised) original state of being

³⁵ I am aware of the vibrant debates (See *Current Anthropology*, 1990-1995) as to whether the Kalahari San could ever have been categorised as foragers. This debate has been described as centering around the idealisation of the primitive Other versus an overriding belief in the power and destructive tendency of capital (Lee and Guenther, 1993: 229). I intend to side step the contentious and as yet, largely unresolved, issue as far as possible. The intellectual context out of which this categorisation grew is still valid, as is the evidence of Bushman agency in historical developments of southern Africa.

³⁶ “The notion of tribe is one result of th[e] attempt at biological and evolutionary discourse” (Tomaselli, 1996: 98).

through a shedding of historical attributes" (Wilmsen, 1996: 187). The present myth of "pre-modern authenticity" should perhaps be judged as part of a "survival strategy in a conceptually chaotic and irreverent post-modern world" where "the past" holds the value of "reminders of certainty, timeless values and the receding state of Eden" (Tomaselli and Homiak, 1999: 179).

Certain literary texts testify to the modification of reality to fit in with the conceptual paradigms which opposed primitive and civilised. For example, some anthropologists may have developed an intellectual blind spot to that evidence which did not correspond with the 'remnant original man' conceptions. Actual and conceptual borders needed to be established and this was accomplished by divesting Bushmen of signs of 'civilised' poverty (Landau, 1996: 140). The possibility for the misappropriation of theory is aptly expressed: "So we focus upon bush camps, upon hunting, upon old fashioned customs, and although we remind each other once in a while not to be romantic, we consciously and unconsciously neglect and avoid the !Kung who don't conform to our expectations" (Howell, in Wilmsen, 1989: 36).

An interesting example of this phenomenon is the contradiction between the mythic and romantic portrayal of Ju/'hoan life in John Marshall's *The hunters* (1958) and the !Kung San Series, and the off-cuts or out-takes from that footage. These "unmistakably show scenes of !Kung social interlinkages with black groups, territorial migrations by !Kung families, their employment by Hereros, their interaction with mining company recruiters, crew-subject relations, and various kinds of enculturation" (Tomaselli and Homiak, 1999: 290). The explanation for the contradiction lies in the reproduction of common sense and myth through unconscious encoding and the operation of a prevailing interpretive paradigm to study a hunter-gatherer way of life through conscious selection (Tomaselli and Homiak, 1999: 160). Ethnographers "work with cultural constructs of the societies they study"; they invent them, rather than simply describing or presenting (Wolff, 1991: 167).

Even in contemporary discourse, the scientific and popular image of the Bushmen has remained largely unchanged and the primary focus of any academic work remains

focused on difference (Gordon, 1992).³⁷ The idea is still promoted that "Bushmen have always lived in the splendidly bracing isolation of the Kalahari Desert, where, in uncontaminated purity, they live in a state of "pristine affluence" as one of the last living representatives of our paleolithic forebears" (Gordon, 1992: 2-3). This idea constitutes the 'Great Bushman Myth' and as a description, it belies the actual conditions of the time³⁸. Bushmen have consistently been placed within a discourse of nature and compared to animals (Landau, 1996: 132). Yet representations have been ambiguous and encompass those that show them as wild and untameable and others that show them as gentle and beautiful yet naïve and helpless, depending on the changing social relationships surrounding the production of the text (see Guenther, 1980; Schrire, 1984; Marks, 1981; Wright, 1977).³⁹ A re-examination of the social, political and economic relationships which existed and, in fact, pre-existed colonial times creates a potentially revised picture of the Bushmen. Early, valuable and earnest academic analysis, which did not however include examination of possible social linkages at the time of research, includes work by social anthropologists such as George Silberbauer (1981), Richard Lee and Irvin DeVore (1968) and Elizabeth Marshall Thomas (1959). Literary seeds for myth making also appeared in the work of Laurens van der Post (1961) and notably through work emanating from the Marshall family expeditions in the 1950s (see Tomaselli and Homiak, 1999).

There is some debate about the extent to which all Bushmen of southern Africa were active in intercultural and multiple economic activities. But there is certainly evidence of greater Bushman agency in their own history that contradicts a vision of Bushman culture as static and completely isolated. It also sheds light on the process of the creation of a rural underclass (which exists today) through the incorporation of foragers into the colonial and subsequent political orders (Gordon, 1992; Wilmsen, 1989). This is all particularly pertinent considering, "[s]ocial identity becomes meaningful only in

³⁷ Recent revisionist intellectual work stands in contrast to this tradition (see White, 1995: 1-5 for a review).

³⁸ Reviewing the literature encompassing the 'Great Bushman Debate,' White states, "The essential hunter-gatherer is thus dissolved in a history of clientship, banditry, slavery, guerilla warfare, and wage labour on the farms and mines" (1995: 4).

³⁹ Landau (1996: 137) describes how even during the period 1880 to 1920 when they were being hunted down as bandits, they were still pictured within a conservationist discourse largely because they occupied the same space in the Western mind as animals.

relation to others; thus, in order to understand the image of the Bushman, we must consider that image as the product of interactions between those encompassed by the label and their "significant" others" (Gordon, 1992: 5).

The static condition described in the 'Great Bushman Myth' is necessarily supported by a theory of geographic isolation and cultural conservatism. However, in light of evidence of economic trade, interlinking social relationships and active political resistance to domination, Wilmsen concludes that "[t]he appearance of isolation and its reality of dispossessed poverty are recent products of a process that unfolded over two centuries and culminated in the last moments of the colonial era" (1989: 157). Wilmsen's re-evaluation of history through *A political economy of the Kalahari* affirms the role of "all San-speaking peoples as astute political persons with competing economic goals and social strategies... not as ahistorical residues of ancient foragers but as coproducers, along with their Bantu-speaking cohabitants, of a history they helped form" (1989: 271). Even though analysing a different region of southern Africa, Gordon similarly affirms that

Bushmen emerge as one of the many indigenous people operating in a mobile landscape, forming and shifting their political and economic alliances to take advantage of circumstances as they perceived them. Instead of toppling helplessly from foraging to begging, they emerge as hotshot traders in the mercantile world market for ivory and skins. They were brokers between competing forces and hired guns in the game business. Rather than being victims of pastoralists and traders who depleted the game, they appear as one of the many willing agents of this commercial depletion. Instead of being ignorant of metals,... they were fierce defenders of rich copper mines that they worked for export and profit (Gordon, 1992: 11).

In terms of a myth of an original affluent society and the so-called abundance of nature, Wilmsen (1989) provides evidence of malnutrition, concern for food deprivation and resultant slow infant growth and mortality. Some Bushmen look back on forager lifestyle as hard and deprived (Tomaselli, 1999c: 199). In fact, the villagers of N/aqmtjoha, Namibia believe that their appearance in Discovery Channel's *Hunters of the Kalahari* (1995) in traditional gear would convey their poverty to Western audiences, instead of

idyllic affluence as the research team interviewing them tried to suggest (Tomaselli, 1999c: 199).

It should also be acknowledged that there was a fair amount of flexibility in the hunter and forager lifestyle that was supposedly exclusively found on colonisation. Hunter-gatherer groups would often adopt pastoralism or rural proletarianisation for periods of time and then foraging would be returned to (Gordon, 1992). In the last few decades though, the Bushmen have almost entirely moved away from a forager and nomadic lifestyle to sedentary domestic production and wage earning (Hitchcock and Holm, 1993: 310). The persistence of an image of the thunder bolt "fall from Eden" of the

last free hunter-gatherers in Africa is an image which conveys considerably more urgency to international aid organizations than does a perspective which depicts the Nyae Nyae !Kung as the victims of a centuries-long inexorable process of incorporation by native and European forces (Tomaselli and Homiak, 1999: 168).

In Botswana, Bushmen 'incorporation by native and European forces', in other words, their historical ethnicisation and subordination, is interpreted by Wilmsen (1989) as resulting from two processes. Firstly, there is the insertion of mercantile capital into the region and the consequent consolidation of power in the hands of Tswana chiefs and secondly, the categorisation of tribes for colonial administrative purposes. A situation is described whereby the Bushmen, during the late 1800s and into the 1900s, were solidified into an underclass which was alienated from the land and prevented from participating in more profitable labour employment. The consolidation of Tswana hegemony over other Kalahari peoples was largely abetted by the British colonial administration. These peoples were relegated to the more inaccessible and undesirable regions of the Kalahari where they were forced into a foraging existence, dependant on those few relatives who were able to secure work at cattle-posts (Wilmsen, 1989: 133). They came to occupy the role in Botswana's economy of a secondary labour pool which then freed Tswana men, who would otherwise have been needed for domestic production, to go and earn cash income on the South African mines (Wilmsen, 1996; 1989: 281). "The large economic differences found today between patron villages and remote-rural client settlements can be traced directly to this historically developed

ecologic-ethnic pattern" (Wilmsen, 1989: 283) instituted through the Tswana *kgamelo*⁴⁰ system, which imposed a class structure of hierarchical property and surplus extraction relations. Poverty then in contemporary Botswana is historical and relational, the legacy of such systems of classification and economy (Dahlgren *et al*, 1993: 43). "Groups such as the Basarwa, Balala, etc have remained most disadvantaged and much less accepted than other minority groups in the country, partly due to their remoteness and partly because of their marginal position from the social, economic and political mainstream" (Dahlgren *et al*, 1993: 41).

The ethnic labels that have been discussed at some length should be understood as relatively flexible and not commanding sole experience of exclusion or poverty. In the Botswana context specifically, class poverty has historically aligned poor Batswanans with Bushmen peoples (Wilmsen, 1989). In recent years, these same labels have been largely renegotiated and class interests have aligned groups of rurally poor differently (Wilmsen, 1996). The Remote Area Dwellers (RAD) group of Botswana consists principally of Basarwa, but also of other groups such as Balala, Herero, Bakgalagadi and Babukushu (Nyathi, forthcoming). The Basarwa are however, hierarchically the lowest ethnic group in terms of resources, power and influence and are often excluded by other RAD groups from government development initiatives (Nyathi, forthcoming). It was only in the late 1970s and early 1980s that the government started to target groups such as the Remote Area Dwellers who benefited least from a policy of universal provision (Duncan *et al*, 1994: 47). Even so, cultural prejudice had resulted in politicians being reluctant to implement targeting programmes, which are not available to all Batswana, even if sorely needed (Duncan *et al*, 1994: 47). The lasting legacy of ethnic politics is still visible: "It is evident that Batswana still despise, exploit and deny Basarwa their rights... The law does however technically afford Basarwa equal rights to those of every other Motswana" (Dahlgren *et al*, 1993: 39).

Some of the effects, both positive and negative, of the discursive practices of ethnic politics described relate to present-day development policies. As discussed, invented tradition in the form of the 'Great Bushman Myth' creates a vision of Bushman culture as

⁴⁰ This is the 'milk jug' system of patronage that enabled the tributary extraction of capital and

static and is perpetuated by dominant groups (of which ethnographers are an example). In Botswana, the practical effects of stereotypes of nomadism include lack of land allocation, farmers not employing Bushmen as foremen on farms and a reticence in the provision of health and education facilities (Ngakaeaje *et al*, 1997: 30). There evolves a gradualist policy of development (Wilmsen, 1989: 317) towards the subordinate groups who have been deprived of both responsibility and agency in the management of their own future. "[D]istorted readings of anthropological abstractions and an ahistorical traditionalism are consciously employed to reinforce contemporary perpetuation of San dispossession" (Wilmsen, 1989: 318). The Remote Area Dwellers Programme instituted in Botswana has had little effect largely because it has not been given sufficient or solid support by the national government. The inequitable share of economic benefits in the country should be judged harshly in the context of Botswana's economic boom in the past twenty years (Nyathi, forthcoming). As highlighted by Wilmsen and Gordon's evidence, attention should be drawn away from blaming the victims for their state of poverty and focused on the political, economic and social system that excludes them (Nyathi, forthcoming). Empirical data on the Zhu, for example, emphasises that poverty is the result not of poor management of a cash economy, as ethnographic prejudice would have it, but rather of structural inequities in the political economy of Botswana which ensures that there is no market for their labour (Wilmsen, 1989).

Social exclusion can be described as "a multi-dimensional concept that enables us to understand the processes, mechanisms and institutions that generate poverty" (Nyathi, forthcoming) entailing political, administrative, economic, socio-cultural, legal and geographic dimensions. Government strategy for solving the 'Bushman problem' has simply resulted in Bushmen coming increasingly under the domination of "state bureaucratic structures in terms of land ownership, civil and criminal law and various essential services related to education, health and development" (Hitchcock and Holm, 1993: 317).

In South Africa, discursive representation of Bushmen in ethnic politics has followed a similar, though not identical path. Bushmen have been represented as historically

enhanced class differences in the Tswana social system (Wilmsen, 1989: 99, 131).

isolated, hunter-gatherer societies⁴¹ whose difference from their pastoralist, Khoikhoi neighbours is an important distinction now and during a history in which the Bushmen exacted a prolonged and fierce resistance to colonial expansion (Penn, 1996: 82). There is indirect evidence however, of previous social ties with other groups, for example that some Khoikhoi who lost their cattle to settlers sought refuge with Bushmen communities (Penn, 1996: 83). It has also been suggested that cyclical models of fortune existed between pastoralism and hunting in southern Africa (Smith, 1996: 249) and that patron-client relationship would have developed between Khoikhoi and some Soaqua groups who would have been valuable as herders (Smith, 1996: 251). Moreover, there is substantial evidence of European settlers being faced with the ambiguity of groups of a particular San physical type maintaining hybrid cultures and thus falling between the racial and ethnic packages the colonialists were trying so hard to delineate (Jolly, 1996: 198). Just a few of the many examples from written and pictorial evidence which blur the boundaries of the Bushman 'type' are as follows (Jolly, 1996: 200-206): Some 'Bushmen' were known to live in more permanent dwellings; Khoi herders were viewed, before Van Riebeeck's arrival, with bows and arrows. Nguni, southern Sotho and Tswana also became hunter-gatherers and even integrated with Bushman groups. There are accounts of Bushmen who kept cattle on a permanent basis. Intermarriage between 'Bushmen' and black (Nguni and Sotho) farmers has occurred from at least the sixteenth century and finally, some rock paintings appear to be associated with Nguni, Sotho and perhaps Khoi religious ceremonies. Human description, it should be borne in mind, is relative (Watts, in Jolly, 1996: 197, 198), but so too is ethnic identity. Even on settler arrival, there is evidence that the economy and culture of certain so-called 'Bushmen' communities were changing their ethnic identity as a result of contact with herder and farmer communities (Jolly, 1996: 198). Such revisionist findings serve to restore a dynamic quality to the image of Bushmen and a sense of process and progress to their lifestyle and culture.

Settler policy in the Cape seemed to be one of either exterminating them completely or else incorporating them into the economy as unfree labour (here, orphaned children

⁴¹ Such representation flourishes in popular, mass consumption mediums such as postcards and coffee table anthologies, for example, *The Bushmen* (1979) which contains photography by Anthony

were the most desirable) (Penn, 1996; see also Bregin, 1998: 70-82). Although a theory of the 'cultural isolate' may not be necessarily disproved, it is clear that the Bushmen of South Africa emerge as fierce, fearless, freedom fighters and not "passive, unsuspecting victims of colonial aggression" (Penn, 1996: 89) whose world view was in the end, simply "no match for the savage civility of their enemies" (Penn, 1996: 91). South African Deputy President, Jacob Zuma's introductory speech to the National Khoisan Consultative Conference (2001) equally emphasises the heroism and honour of the Khoisan in the war against colonialism. Colonial cruelty to the Bushmen should be placed in the context not only of violent, frontier warfare, but also of the Bushmen's ideological placement at the furthest extreme from the colonisers' self-perceived state of civilisation, superiority and accomplishment (Penn, 1996: 89). This placement may have been simply because they were the most difficult to subjugate, pin down or incorporate into the colonial system. Evidence shows that even after captivity Bushmen continued to exhibit signs of 'wildness', or, more appropriately, freedom of spirit (Penn, 1996: 88-89).

The 'extinction' of Bushmen people and culture by the beginning of the twentieth century may be the result not only of processes of dispersal, dispossession and genocide, but also of active promulgation by scholarly writings of a myth of the vanishing Bushman (Prins, 2000: 1). The experience of direct descendants of southern San has been treated as peripheral to South African history since the 1890s (Prins, 2000: 1). The National Government of 1950 grouped together "San and other Khoisan minorities... with sometimes-unrelated people in an amorphous category as "coloureds" " (Prins, 2000: 2). The growing number who are presently claiming #Khomani identity through the official government registering process in the Northern Cape has "already posed unanticipated social and economic challenges for the status quo in South Africa who for a long time had conveniently thought them to be assimilated and almost extinct" (Prins, 2000: 2).

Bannister and is often developed in schools through outdated teaching curriculums and text books (see Simoes, 1998).

The dual construction of Bushman-ness and Baster-ness⁴² is a theme which arises in contemporary South African ethnic politics as it is brought into relief in the situation of the #Khomani of Kagga Kamma (White, 1995). The Kagga Kamma #Khomani define their identity in antagonistic terms against that of the *Basters* who are said to lack their own language, culture and tradition and to be the illegitimate occupants of Bushman land (White, 1995: 30-31). This boundary construction links back to the creation in the Northern Cape of the Kalahari Gemsbok Park in 1931 and, more relevantly, the Mier Coloured Settlement Area in 1930. The #Khomani Bushmen were thereby dispossessed of their land and what is perceived as an "idyllic age of Bushman independence and prosperity" (White, 1995: 31) was effectively ended. The aggressive assertion of Bushman identity in relation to the coloured community is also a materially motivated effort to maintain marketability (White, 1995: 35). This point will be returned to in the chapter, **Intercultural exchanges**.

A significant and almost paradoxical recent development in the discursive representation of Bushmen which generally prioritises difference, has been the usage of Bushmen as an ethnically unifying symbol in post-Apartheid South Africa (see Dowson and Lewis-Williams, 1993). Bushman culture is identified by Ntongela Masilela (1987) as a common cultural heritage which should be "at the centre of the intellectual discourse and political struggle [and used in]... a process of decentring [destructive] nationalisms" (Tomaselli, 1995: x). Masilela's essentially historically materialist quest, emphasises the notion of First People found in Laurens van der Post's application of Karl Jung (Tomaselli, 1995; see also Tomaselli, 1992d). On termination of the Apartheid era, Bushmen provided a largely uncontroversial and uncontested symbol of Africa that could be used for nation building (Buntman, 1996b: 35-36). Their association with an idyllic past which pre-dated apartheid and their liminality made them ideal advertising vehicles for commercial interests who wished to emphasise their new, democratic sensibilities (Buntman, 1996b: 35-36). Frans Prins highlights that the "appropriation of San rock art imagery as potential symbols for a national identity has taken place without the consultation of southern San descendants" (2000: 6).

⁴² *Baster*: lit. 'bastard,' referring to people of mixed racial ancestry, officially classified 'coloured'

My intention has been to provide an overview of the intellectual and official discourse, which has both created a system of ethnic categorisation and invested this system with ideological meaning. The aim of such an examination has been to reveal possibilities for returning to subordinated and marginalised groups such as the Bushmen, legitimacy, collective memory and historical agency. The aim was not to disprove *all* evidence relating to the Bushmen as hunter-gatherer societies⁴³. There is no doubt that differences in culture and lifestyle existed on 'discovery' of Bushmen during colonisation and still exist today, but the conceptualisation of those differences and the system of categorisation which it fed into, were disempowering for those people who were classified. The homogenising consequences of the ethnicising discursive practices serve to rob individual groups of their politically threatening cultural memory. Divisions of class and politics are glossed over by unities of culture and language (Langer, 1998). Further, "contested histories which produce different subject positions" are ignored (Langer, 1998: 165). This is part of a 'strategy' of exchanging individual histories for a singular culture which "excludes long standing territorial disputes or communal conflict," or even economic inequalities it could be suggested.⁴⁴ Domination is accompanied by loss of historical memory and "African voices were forced into forms dislocated from the historical register in which they were generated and in which alone they make historical sense" (Wilmsen, 1996: 186).

The general trends thus far with regards to discursive representations of Bushmen in ethnic politics are their construction or invention as an Other to the European/Western Self/Same; their homogenisation into separate and subordinate (to Western 'civilised' society) uniform, ethnic categories; their isolation at a fixed spatial and temporal distance and in general, the focus on their qualities of difference. These discursive practices, which focus on difference, have set up a series of changing, relational and subordinate subject positions to which Bushmen are interpellated. Through this literary

under South Africa's Population Registration Act of 1950 (White, 1995: 19).

⁴³ The Dobe-Nyae Nyae region of the Kalahari is the main area of dispute in terms of holding out a theory of the cultural isolate. Lee (1990: 512), for example, does not dispute that some parts of the Kalahari were areas of intense and sustained mercantile activity prior to the colonial period. It has been argued though that the notion of autonomous societies should not be totally abandoned (Lee and Guenther, 1995: 304).

⁴⁴ This is interesting considering the disadvantaged position of the Bushmen despite their legitimate claim to the land of southern Africa as constructed by ethnic discourse in Botswana.

review, it is evident how academic and official discourse have combined to categorise Bushmen ethnically and invest that category with particular, stereotypical meanings.

Discursive practices in the media and tourism

This section surveys those kinds of representations, which inform Bushman identity, from the fields of media and tourism. The ideological investment of tribal categories through discursive practices in the field of ethnic politics has occurred largely through the appropriation of anthropological abstractions and misconceptions (Wilmsen, 1989). The static, insular vision of Bushman 'culture'⁴⁵ promoted through ethnic discourse is extended into the process of discursive representation within the tourist trade via the media. Tourists' preconceived ideas are formed by media images that fix Bushmen as primitive, authentic and untouched. The media in turn is fed by academic or scientific research which lends credibility to their practice of image making (Gordon, 1992). Media and tourist visions of Bushman culture are critical to Bushman identity because identity is formed in the "encounter with the assumptions of the encompassing culture of the society at large" (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998: 174). Literary analysis of the discursive practices in the media and tourism encompasses to some extent examination of the intercultural exchange that occurs between tourists and locals.

As suggested above, any media representation of Bushmen in terms of isolation and primitive affluence should be understood within the general scholarly discourse which promoted such notions⁴⁶. In fact, media workers might be described as the "Bushman image makers par excellence" yet they were simply the "popularizers and amplifiers of the scientific colloquy. Their discourse on Bushmen exemplifies our fascination with strange customs, the search for laws of development and the enchantment of misunderstanding" (Gordon, 1992: 216).

⁴⁵ What is required in this study is a more flexible, permeable and less bounded conception of culture than the traditional anthropological understandings. This definition accommodates the fluidity (Wallerstein, 1991: 95) and variety of mutations and exchanges that increasingly characterises contemporary cultures studied. It may usefully be regarded as "concrete sets of signifying practices-modes of generating meaning - that create communication orders of one kind or another" (Nyamnjoh, 1999: 151; see also Barnard, 1998: 51-52).

⁴⁶ Such interpretations are traced to the Marshall expeditions and the Harvard-sponsored work of Richard Lee and Irvin DeVore (Tomaselli, 1996: 96).

Jamie Uys's blockbuster comedy film *The gods must be crazy* (1980) is viewed as the myth-maker par excellence and is evidence of how popular discourse often maintains myths which have been discarded by scientific paradigms (Tomaselli, 1992b: 214). The film "popularised myths about the Bushmen... [that they] still live an isolated hunter-gatherer existence, are friendly and simple by nature, with no understanding of modern capitalist society" (Jeursen, 1996: 2). The mythical culture represented in the *Gods* can be contrasted with the "facts of a dispossessed people undergoing a traumatic social transition, much more accurately depicted in *N!ai, the story of a !Kung woman* (1980) whose filming occurred during the same period" (Tomaselli, 1992a: 219). As Megan Biesele declares, "People can despair and quietly die while mythic media paint them as happy savages" (in Tomaselli, 1996: 103). The danger in these representations is that the media in fact help constitute those things which they reflect (Hall, 1996b: 340).

One of the numerous media texts, which similarly present mythical representations of Bushmen⁴⁷, is *Adventure Bound* (1996). It "evokes a Western view of the Bushmen as non-rational, given to instinctive impulses rather than intellectual cognition" (Tomaselli, 1999c: 197). Critical anthropologists also berate Discovery Channel's *Hunters of the Kalahari* (1995) for its romantic *Gods* flavour (Tomaselli, 1999c: 199). The documentary, *People of the great sandface* (1985) is seen as a perpetuator of the 'killer-myth' of the 'wild Bushman' (Gordon, 1990: 32). Advertising in South Africa in the late 1980s and early 1990s, for Spoornet and the South African Broadcasting Corporation, categorised Bushmen in terms of simple racial and cultural stereotypes and used them as a unifying symbol of an idyllic African past (Buntman, 1996b). The ideas in the advertisements are reflective of the dominant ideology of the producing society (Buntman, 1996b: 51), rather than the conscious, nefarious intentions of the advertising agents. Access to and control of the political power of the mass media allows the hegemonic class to propagate myths, 'common sense' perceptions, about the groups they wish to hold in subordination (Tomaselli, 1996: 72). Critiques of these media representations however, should not be restricted to purely mechanistic terms and

⁴⁷ There are some examples of recent attempts to present a 'truer' picture of the Bushmen, for example, *N!ai, the story of a !Kung woman* ([1951-78], 1980), *Pull ourselves up or die* (1984), *In God's places*

should incorporate examination of the historical and cultural, discursive context of the text, as well as the possibilities for multiple interpretation (see Tomaselli, 1992b). This is because films "about people are specific discourses embedded in broader, constantly changing social processes and ways of encountering others, whether or not these are acknowledged in the films themselves" (Tomaselli, 1992b: 216).

Such a thorough examination (as suggested by Tomaselli (1992b)) would reveal, for example, that Uys was trying to "bring to consciousness a culture and philosophy of an Afrikaner childhood" (Tomaselli, 1992d: 85).⁴⁸ In addition, Myburgh's *Sandface* (1985) may in fact be a courageous, if naïve, "attempt to find the key to self-identity in relation to a forgotten universal cultural/ religious synthesis" (Tomaselli, 1992d: 85). Films and media products, which may signify a Jungian psychic search, should not be judged on the same terms as ethnographic material which claims scientific accuracy (Tomaselli, 1992d). Of course, these films should equally not claim ethnographic veracity. Moreover, even if portrayal is recognised by the subjects as accurate, it can still be 'misinterpreted' by other audiences as "negative primitive stereotypes" (Tomaselli, 1996: 104). Some filmic representation may even operate as a unifying symbol that connects "present-day consciousness... and the natural, unconscious, instinctive wholeness of primeval times" (Tomaselli, 1992d: 85). The interest here, nevertheless, lies in how media representations have fed into and affect the discursive socio-economic and cultural practices of the tourism industry. Within these practices, it is evident that certain mythic ideals have persisted. Myths such as the "image of the 'stone-age' child-man, harbourer of ancient, forgotten wisdoms— and its corollary, the politically unthreatening, spiritually unifying First Man— has been firmly clasped to the Western public bosom and is not so easily despatched" (Bregin, 1998: 141).

In the 1960s through to recent years, tourism has become the new economic development buzzword in southern Africa. It has been judged the fastest growing industry in the world economy, with "ecotourism to exotic destinations like Africa as one of the industry's brightest diamonds" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 267). Its historical

(1997); the 50/50 programmes (2001; 1995; 1990), *Xpressions* (2001) and to a certain extent, *The Great Dance* (2000).

root in Africa can be traced to the romanticised hunting and travel adventures that occurred just prior to and during colonisation (Garland and Gordon, 1999). The appetite for relics of pre-industrial life occurs as a result of the "destruction of local traditions and the assault on "the past" perpetuated by industrialization and world-wide modernization" (Graña, in MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 82) as well as globalisation, one might add. Mystic events "once accessible only to natives, are now marketed to foreign visitors by the well-organized bureaucracies of popularized cultural romance, both private and governmental- that is to say, travel agencies, tourist bureaus, and even tourist ministries" (Graña, in MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 82). The encounter between local and tourist is evidence of a differential economic relationship. Leisure activities are a sure sign, as well as a guarantor, of the inequality that exists between those that may afford time out from the rat race and those who are immobile and depend on the production of symbolic goods for survival (Lefebvre in Gordon, 1992; see also Tomaselli, 1999c).

It is also within the context of tourist trade, that Bushman culture has, on a very basic level, turned into a commodity (Boloka, 2001). The commodity is the most common embodiment of capitalism and "commodification is the process of transforming use values into exchange values" (Mosco, 1996: 141). The crafts, which Bushmen sell to tourists, symbolise culture and when transported into new spaces, may be understood as blurring the cultural boundaries between "Bushman space and ours" (Boloka, 2001). Once again, it should be reminded that media images, which inform tourist opinion, may not necessarily correspond with people's self-perception, but are rather mythical constructions. Tomaselli states, "Cultures have been turned into commodities even if the subjects of these ways of life do not themselves feel commoditized or integrated into the global relations of image production" (1999c: 205). It may even be supposed that the Bushmen themselves have become a commodity whose image they adapt for greater market worth to the tourists. The imposition of representation on the real, through the tourists purchasing a particular image of the Bushmen, signifies the power of capital (Boloka, 2001). It has become a matter of economic survival for Bushmen communities to produce the "symbolic goods which feed the frenzy of cultural and tourist consumption, whether of objects, artifacts, images, performances or tourism"

⁴⁸ By contrast Zenzile Khoisan (2001) sees the film only negatively in terms of the stereotypes it

(Tomaselli, 1999c: 205). But the question needs to be asked whether this cultural commodification actually empowers those people who participate (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 270). It should be remembered that the commodification of culture occurs not only through the nation-state and its institutions, but also within "complex cultural and economic processes of multinational capital" (Koundoura, 1998: 71).

Discursive practices construct an image of Bushmen, which fits into a Western hierarchy of needs. Hence, "[c]haracterized in innumerable academic and popular representations as gentle, egalitarian, and perfectly ecologically-adapted, stereotypic 'bushmen' provide a compelling, almost natural foil for the individuated materialism of the Westerners... who visit them as tourists" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 271). As discussed in relation to the 'Great Bushman Myth' as it appears in the field of ethnic discourse, such romantic characterisations not only suppress the real conditions of life but also create an illusion of a life that never really existed. The tourist actually invests capital to attain an experience of difference as compared to the real and 'authenticity' makes an appearance as a central theme in tourist discourse. Tourist consciousness is, almost paradoxically, motivated by a desire for authentic experiences, even though authenticity can never be guaranteed (MacCannell, 1973: 597). This desire relates to a hankering after that which modernity is understood as destroying: authenticity, stability, purity, 'naturalness' (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 3). The Westerners search to find "in the margins of the Third World a figment of their imagination, a fantasy of Western consciousness – the exotic, erotic, primitive, the happy savage" (Bruner, nd: 29; see e.g. Tomaselli, 1999b). Authenticity marking is required to indicate authentic otherness, thereby validating the tourists' quest. Emphasis on the 'vanishing culture' syndrome in tourist discourse can achieve this. As John Comaroff aptly interprets Appadurai (and in expansion of Graña's comments, to suit the present-day, post-modern context), in the much dissected global ecumene, "mass tourism encourages the celebration, circulation, and consumption of the exotic" (1996: 172).

This consumption of the exotic through tourism also entails a process of self-definition through the formulation of an Other in opposition to the Self. Hence, not only does the

promulgates.

visit to the location of the Other provide relief from the "alienation and fragmentation of ... modern [life]", but through "contact with those perceived to be their symbolic opposites, tourists gain reassurance that they are themselves worthy and whole; through exposure to the authentic Other, the Self shores up a sense of its own authenticity" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 271-272). Therefore, it is the quality of difference that is most attractive about the Bushmen in the tourist drive for self-discovery, assert Elizabeth Garland and Robert Gordon (1999: 272). A central paradox in this spatial and metaphysical journey is that it requires the tribe to be simultaneously lost and found. The 'lost' tribe emerges not from a distant and inaccessible terrain, but from the "(alienated) bourgeois imagination of tourists" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 274). Western nostalgia and search for authenticity, as previously discussed, are in fact "components of the conquering spirit of modernity— the grounds of its unifying consciousness" (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 3). The role of the Bushmen in the Western subjective discursive narrative is portrayed:

Lost tribes are created by us, to free our imaginations and to give us hope. We need them to make our complete connectedness to the rest of the world tolerable. We take comfort from the presumption that there remain, in some distant jungle, people who do not subscribe to the worldwide web of relationships that has become part of our lives. As long as we presume they exist, there is the faint chance that we may join them; one day we, too, may become "lost" (Birkett, in Garland and Gordon, 1999: 274).

Of course, in the efforts to reconnect with this lifestyle 'untouched' by the global phenomena which affect so-called civilised, modern societies, these groups are connected into the 'worldwide web of relationships' from which they are meant to represent an oasis. The complexities and contradictions that this entails will be examined subsequently. (For additional analysis of this phenomenon of interconnectedness, see chapter **The logic of spatiality in identity construction** in this work.)

The concept of authenticity might appropriately be revamped in the tourist context to one of 'staged authenticity.' The tourist search for an authentic and demystified

experience is reminiscent of another search for "truth, intimacy and sharing of life behind the scenes" (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 95) – that of the anthropologist. These quests are based on an "implicit distinction between false fronts and intimate reality" (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 95). But even for the 'trained' anthropologist, it may be very difficult to penetrate the possibly multiple layers of fronts to reach the 'core'⁴⁹ of truth. The argument of staged authenticity in tourist settings (MacCannell, 1976, 1989) is based on the distinction of front and back stage delineated by Erving Goffman (1956). Front regions are "where a particular performance is or may be in progress" and which maintains a particular set, tools and rules of conduct appropriate to the performance (Goffman, 1956: 82). Back regions are "where action occurs that is related to the performance but inconsistent with the appearance fostered by the performance", a place where the performers can 'let their guard down' (Goffman, 1956: 82). Tours are designed to reveal the 'inner' workings of a place and yet they maintain a certain "staged quality... that lends them an aura of superficiality" (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 98). Further, entry into this inner space "allows adults to recapture virginal sensations of discovery, or childlike feelings of being half-in and half-out" (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 99).

The intellectual distaste for such authentic, inauthentic tourist experiences⁵⁰ is revealed in a comment that evokes the postmodernist language of the hyper-real: "The idea here is that a false back is more insidious and dangerous than a false front, or an inauthentic demystification of social life is not merely a lie, but a superlie, the kind that drips with sincerity" (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 102-103). This same disdain and lack of differentiation between different kinds of tourists, is evident in the comment that "Only tourists remain the same– because while they have "seen" everything, they have understood nothing– or very little" (Tomaselli, 1999b: 189)⁵¹. Tourists are therefore often described in literary texts with derision as unthinking consumers of myths. It is my contention that some tourists might be challenged by stereotypical tourist representations to investigate further 'back stage.'

⁴⁹ Of course, postmodernism would have it that there is no core to reach.

⁵⁰ MacCannell (1976, 1989) says of 'experience': "It implies an original skepticism or an emptiness transformed into a specific belief or feeling through direct, firsthand involvement with some data" (23).

⁵¹ Tomaselli (2001b) shifted this view and acknowledged the possibility of a more discerning tourist.

Returning to the front/back stage conception, theme parks, a relatively recent innovation in the field of cultural tourism⁵² “reconstruct pre-modern conditions and lifestyles” (Tomaselli, 1999c: 202) for tourist consumption. In the Klein Dobe area (Botswana), a basic cultural village described by Tomaselli, clearly distinguishes between the “front stage” acting in traditional garb for tourists, and “back stage” life for themselves where they reclothed in Western dress... These performers are well aware that they are “acting” and were quite clear on how to negotiate levels of tourist access between front and back stages” (1999c: 202)⁵³. Essential to the veracity and ‘authenticity’ of cultural tourism practices is that distinctions are made between front and back stage. If not, the “re-enactments are necessarily advertised and sold in a naturalizing way” which announces the business venture as some form of “ethno-survival” for a prehistoric remnant on the brink of “extinction” and thereby perpetuates myth (Tomaselli, 1999c: 203). Recognition and theorisation of a front and back stage necessarily reflects the complicated, duality of modern-day Bushman existence.

The disparity between front and back stage indicates this dual (if not multiple) existence. “Whether the performers feel their official offering is the ‘realist’ reality or not, they will give surreptitious expression to multiple versions of reality, each tending to be incompatible with the others” (Goffman, 1956: 131). In the context of ‘performances’ for tourists then, there will often be evidence which will ‘leak out’, which pertains to another reality besides the one which emphasises Bushman cultural difference from the Westerners. At a cultural village at Makuri Camp in Namibia run by Ju/’hoan Bushmen, dynamics are encountered such as “arguments over how high the fees should be for services provided to tourists, arguments over what to spend tourist money on, or discussions about the history of the camp... and the bane of many people in similar situations, getting roaringly drunk on cheap... liquor” (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 276). All this is evidence of the supplementary role of Bushmen as a marginal people entering

⁵² Cultural tourism is “tourism where the commodity being sold to tourists is not merely leisure or game-viewing, but *people themselves* (or at least their cultural Otherness)” (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 270).

⁵³ Besides setting and a ‘personal front’, Goffman (1956) maintains that the appearance of certain levels of decorum and politeness characterise the front stage. Accordingly, Ju/’hoan “front stage

a highly differentiated global political economic system. Bushmen may then appeal as both "exotic cultural Others *and* as modernizing subjects in the throws of economic development" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 276).

This dual reality of the Bushmen can be skilfully utilised as a marketing ploy that allows tourists to feel good about themselves by helping to 'empower' the local community they are visiting. The owners of the Intu Afrika Kalahari Reserve in Namibia, for example, market themselves as "benevolent chaperones for these bushmen, ushering them from their primitive, disempowered, "traditional" state into their modern roles as partners in a legal joint venture" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 277). Bushmen in this context assume the role of both objects and producers of tourism. Paradoxically, the two discourses of modernism and cultural difference can co-exist quite comfortably. "At times it even seems that their status as Others is the very thing which makes their modern subjectivity possible in their first place— it is because of their appeal as authentic Others, after all, that people called bushmen have something to sell in the marketplace" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 279).

A scholarly shift in the examination of authenticity within tourist settings, should be noted (Garland and Gordon, 1999). This has been influenced by the rise of post-structuralist theory and relies on the assertion that authenticity can never actually be reached. Emphasis on the notion of a "true, stable cultural referent", which is more characteristic of the first model of identity, has been replaced with focus on the "degree to which authenticity seems to matter to the tourists themselves" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 280; see Bruner, 1991; Cohen, 1988; Handler, 1986). Acceptance of the relativity of authenticity then accommodates the kind of "meta-tourism" described in the previous examples of Makuri Camp and Intu Africa where the tourists are encouraged to relish the opportunity of experiencing Bushman Otherness as it really is (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 281). According to Garland and Gordon (1999: 281) then, tourism is no longer about the quest for authenticity, as suggested by Dean MacCannell (1976, 1989) but the authenticity of the quest. Within this context, the very discovery of inauthenticity would be proof of authenticity (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 281).

authenticity is communicated via a strategic friendliness and a transactional hospitality" (Tomaselli,

To return to the representation of Bushmen as cultural Others, the discourses intercepted by films such as *The gods must be crazy* (1980), interpellate the Bushmen "as the primordial object of the tourists' gaze" (Tomaselli, 1999b: 187). As suggested, the Bushmen then capitalise on these stereotypical images of themselves and exchange them for cash income (Tomaselli, 1999c). In the same way that the West has constructed certain images of the Bushmen, so have the Bushmen done of the Westerners. Jeursen (1996) discovered that the interaction between visitors, be they tourists, film crews or researchers and the Bushmen involves a meeting of two sets of stereotypes and myths that each group maintains of the other⁵⁴. There is no real understanding of the respective group's life experiences. A tourist, for example, might interpret poor living conditions in Eastern Bushmanland as being in some way primordial, essential and close to nature. The Bushmen, on the other hand, may interpret even the "researcher who is travelling on a small bursary, with a borrowed camera and a faulty tape recorder" (Jeursen, 1996: 14) as possessing the same signs of wealth and privilege as the affluent American tourist (although relative to the Bushmen, he probably does). In other words, Bushmen may not distinguish between the different Westerners with whom they come into contact. "All these social practices are reduced by the Ju/'hoansi into the text of the Western Same, the people who have power and money, and whose largesse has made them dependent upon such tourists in terms of cash exchange, development projects and inter-village transport" (Tomaselli, 1999b: 190).

In addition, the nature of the exchange between the two cultures does not "allow for the breaking down of stereotypes or the banishing of myths" (Jeursen, 1996: 14). An explanation may lie with the description of the interaction as a performance and Goffman's (1956) theorisation of the essential process of mystification in a performance. "It is widely held that restrictions placed upon contact, the maintenance of social distance, provide a way in which awe can be generated and sustained in the audience – a way, as Kenneth Burke has said, in which the audience can be held in a state of

1999b: 191).

⁵⁴ It should be borne in mind that of course "alterity for the black man is not the black but the white man" (Fanon, 1952, 1986: 97).

mystification in regard to the performer" (Goffman, 1956: 45). Therefore it would be the quality of performance that obstructs true interaction and revelation of 'truth'.

The economic base in tourism has been previously identified. The power of tourism as a social phenomenon, however, is great as it is "not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition: a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs" (MacCannell, 1992: 1). An examination of the advertising material for and the tourist/Bushmen relations at Kagga Kamma Game Reserve reveal a perpetuation of a popular, idealised image of Bushmen. In promotional material for the Reserve, Bushmen are represented as " 'traditional' foragers – Other to the urban and industrial world that constitutes familiar experience for tourists" in the photographs, "while... [the] text tantalises the consumer to an anachronistic and exotic meeting of cultures and times" (White, 1995: 11). They are described as an "ancient and "primitive" people" who are "one with nature" (Buntman, 1996a: 274) and with whom tourists may have the "privilege" (Kagga Kamma brochure, in Buntman, 1996a: 274) of encountering in their natural environment. Clearly, the cultural encounter is founded on the orthodox Bushman discourse that depicts an image of the 'pristine-but-endangered-hunter-gatherer' icon, despite its academic revisions in more recent years. The stereotypes it induced are still implanted in the popular mind (White, 1995: 15).

The organised excursion to visit the Bushmen at Kagga Kamma, guided by a resident 'anthropologist', is described by Barbara Buntman (1996a). For her, it conjures up notions of a 'living museum' where visitors may act as involved spectators (Buntman, 1996a: 277).⁵⁵ On the tourist search for authenticity, the "aura of difference is heightened" (Buntman, 1996a: 278) and the mystic curtain which veils the back stage of actual conditions of social, political and economic marginalisation is never raised.⁵⁶ The

⁵⁵ See also Gordon *et al* (1996) for more on the live exhibition of #Khomani Bushmen, which sets up spatial and temporal boundaries of civilization.

⁵⁶ Paul Weinberg's photograph entitled *Feeding livestock, Kagga Kamma* which was displayed at the Miscast exhibit in Cape Town in 1996 (see Weinberg, 1996), represents an oppositionary space to that viewed by the tourists. "By exposing the backstage- through the inclusion of livestock, a plastic container, makeshift shacks, and "Western" clothing within an image of domestic, everyday exchange- Weinberg attempts to challenge the stage on which this particular version of Bushman(ia) is performed" (Bester and Buntman, 1999: 53).

"myth of innocent noble savages, happy in their unselfconscious remove from the perils and stresses of contemporary life" (Buntman, 1996a: 278) is promulgated. This presents a very different picture from the meta-tourism suggested by Garland and Gordon (1999) and falls more in line with those cultural tourism ventures which present the traditional re-enactments in a naturalising fashion (Tomaselli, 1999c: 203).

The dangers of identification with the subject positions created by tourist discourse is signalled by Buntman, in that "the people begin to see themselves as representative of this seemingly authentic life-style... [and] the group tends to 'museumise' itself, or otherwise become a frozen image of itself" (1996a: 278). In restricting itself to the stereotypical, so-called authentic images of itself assigned by dominant power groups (management, tourist industry etc.), Buntman (1996: 278-279) asserts, the group contributes to its own objectification, opens itself to further exploitation and reproduces its own subordination and marginalisation. This view coincides with the proposition that identity is shaped by recognition or its absence and that misrecognition can imprison someone in a "false, distorted, and reduced mode of being" (Taylor, 1994: 25), which results in internalised self-depreciation and self-produced oppression (Taylor, 1994: 26, 36). By never actually representing themselves, the Bushmen "remain a colonised subject, often abstracted, who are represented as a generalised whole and as a collective entity" (Buntman, 1996a: 279). The situation is not however as simple as it appears in this examination.

It is noteworthy that in an article (Buntman, 1996a) whose objective is to flesh out the "dynamic struggles for power" and to demystify the "staged authenticity" (MacCannell, in Buntman, 1996a: 271) of touristic events, the Bushmen voice only appears indirectly through the voice of their human rights lawyer, Roger Chennells and in a footnote quoted by White (in Buntman, 1996a: 362). Perhaps, this is an indication of just how far discourse has separated the ethnically marginalised from those in power (of the pen, in this case), no matter how sympathetic. The discourse engaged in this analysis tends to be reductionist and disallows the possibility of multiple realities (*à la* Goffman, 1956) – and multiple identities – for the Bushmen, or even dual realities (*à la* Garland and Gordon, 1999) and hence disallows the possibility of Bushman agency.

It is evident thus far, that in order for people to be displayed, they have to be exoticised. And even in 1993, the Kagga Kamma #Khomani fashioned a cultural identity as "The world's most primitive people" and the "last pure Bushman community" within the context of an international tourist trade which searched for the exotic in safe surrounds (Gordon *et al*, 1996: 269). Kagga Kamma is described in the promotional discourse as "Home of The Bushmen" (Kagga Kamma Game Reserve, promotional video, in Gordon *et al*, 1996: 267) and the traditional identity of the Bushmen at Kagga Kamma is activated for the tourist. Dawid Kruiper, a former farm worker, for example, becomes the Bushman leader who "reveals, demonstrates and illuminates bushman life and culture to the gazing public as part of the act" (Gordon *et al*, 1996: 268). Yet the Bushman cultural identity, which focuses on exotic difference, at Kagga Kamma is not fashioned in any uncomplicated way. It cannot be explained as "simply an instrumental manipulation on the part of the management of the game farm, but arises out of a complex history and set of transactions around the experiences of dispossession, patronage and labour" (Gordon *et al*, 1996: 268; see White 1995; Buntman, 1996a).

Evidence from interviews conducted by Hylton White (1995) with Bushmen at Kagga Kamma indicate that the Bushmen themselves have adopted a purist discourse of cultural survival which may be just as questionable as their outside, imposed discursive representation. The gap between mythical image projected and reality is noted. They, in fact, are no longer living as "pristine hunters and gatherers nor are they isolated from the industrialised world. Producers of curio commodities and performers of services for tourists' consumption, they are instead integrated participants in a global cash economy" (White, 1995: 25). Further, they "do not in practice use the cultural items associated with ideal Bushman-ness, but rather those deemed to reflect a Western influence" (White, 1995: 25). The /ai (or loin cloth) is mainly worn for tourists and the #Khomani language⁵⁷ they claim as their heritage, they can no longer speak. Rather than being mythic, pristine Bushmen, they are not as fully Other as anticipated (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 281). Even as they are marketed and self-marketed as "exotic cultural Others" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 276), they are also modern subjects, "agentive participants in the tourism industry" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 279). Explanation of

⁵⁷ See chapter on **Language** for more on the original #Khomani language.

traditional identity should be viewed not so much in essentialist terms, but rather as a "fiction, an artifice... something that, like all culture is made by human beings and not naturally given" (White, 1995: 27). Their discourse then becomes an "act of subjective differentiation (Wallman 1978: 202) – a selective re-creation of identity" (White, 1995: 27).

A constructionist view of ethnic identity interprets ethnicity as a social construction (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998). Ethnic identity is then a combination of the conditions of society (and its changes) as well as the active involvement of humans in the "construction and reconstruction of identities, negotiating boundaries, asserting meanings, interpreting their own pasts, resisting the impositions of the present, and claiming the future" (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998: 101). This view emphasises the Bushmen's agency in the making of their identity. Within this formulation, Bushmen manipulating their 'traditional' image for the benefit of tourists, as seen in White's analysis (1995), is an example not only of the commodification of people, but of the communities' active construction and reproduction of their identity.

This active reconstruction of identity is in the face of dispossession perceived at the hands of the *Basters*, has resulted in the Kagga Kamma group's "assertion of a hunter-gatherer identity in the present... [as] an expression of historical grievance and a claim to entitlement" (White, 1995: 31). Since the 1930s, income has come from work in the Kalahari Gemsbok Park and later patronage by an intermittent stream of 'white' patrons (the most recent of which at Kagga Kamma), interspersed with enforced rural proletarianisation for *Baster* employers. Patronage is socially unifying and prevents them from having to resort to the detested wage labour. The #Khomani consider themselves as well suited to "Bushman work" because of their "innate identity as people of nature and as heirs to the hunter-gatherer tradition" (White, 1995: 34). The benefits of such work and its necessary assertion of 'traditional' identity, is strategic and economic (White, 1995: 34). "Their ideological constructions of an internal group identity and boundary... are responses in particular to their collective experiences of a socially and economically significant vulnerability to the external interrogation of their identity, and are thus one pole in a dialectical boundary process" (White, 1995: 35). In White's opinion then, the assertion of a traditional hunter-gatherer image at Kagga Kamma

forms part of a group unifying project for this #Khomani clan, which protects them from other undesirable forms of labour.

Additional proof of the inadequacy of examining identity construction through tourist discursive practices at Kagga Kamma solely in neat economic terms, is the evidence of conflict and resistance amongst the #Khomani group and the ambiguous role of Dawid Kruiper (White, 1995). This belies simplistic versions of exploitative bosses versus Bushmen victims, as suggested by Buntman (1996a). The group has used non-cooperation with management as a means of resisting management exploitation. Some criticism has been levelled at Dawid Kruiper, from the group, who acts as intermediary between the group and management.⁵⁸ Dawid is necessarily pacifying to the patrons on whom he is "equally if not in fact more dependent for his office" (White, 1995: 44). Such evidence of methods of persuasion available to the group in relation to their patrons and of derision amongst the group itself, challenges the idea of conventional, uniform, economic hierarchies.

The circumstances of identity construction of the #Khomani group at Kagga Kamma are complex, according to White's analysis. The reproduction of popular images is a "means of making them subjects of public interest which can in turn generate further rounds of patronage" (White, 1994: 54). They are bound to the representations of the global Bushman discourse, over which they have no control. Such discursive practices frame their 'traditional' hunter-gatherer identity as "a path to utopian restoration" but it is in fact the "product of a condition of dependency with deep historical roots" (White, 1995: 55). At the same time, "their self-representation as primordial foragers also marks an inventive manipulation of the global cultural economy" (White, 1995: 55). This self-representation can be used by the Bushmen as a resource of exchange in a cash economy and yet signifies their "manipulation by discursive forces beyond their control... to exhibit tourist-oriented behaviour, and to feed now largely academically discredited but popularly legitimate anthropological paradigms of a stone-age people frozen-in-time" (Tomaselli, 1999b: 190). These paradigms operate in terms of an historically recovered, stable essence of Bushman identity (as in the first model of identity), rather than

⁵⁸ In 1992, a group who had challenged Dawid's adequacy to office, departed

recognise Bushman identity as "relational and incomplete" (Grossberg, 1996: 89). Such are some of the nuances of the process of identity construction through tourist discourse as it relates to the Bushmen of Kagga Kamma.

This section has reviewed some of the literature which pertains to the representation of Bushmen in the fields of media and tourism. What is evident is the appropriation and development of ideas and myths conceived in ethnic discourse, as discussed in the previous section. Bushmen are predominantly represented and invented as Others who help to re-define Western identity. The focus is on their traditional image as hunter-gatherers who are isolated in a distant time and space, even though they are present in the here and now in the media or tourist's view. The focus is on their alterity and authenticity. Representations, especially in tourism, have become embroiled with economic concerns. These representations in media and tourism encourage the creation of a Bushman identity that relies on a common, stable, historical experience. They favour a first model of identity. There is some suggestion though that the subject position created for Bushmen in tourism is not simply one of object but also producer and that the Bushman/tourist relationship is complex and inconsistent. This suggests a model of identity in which identity is "subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" (Hall, 1990: 225).

Application of Empirical Results

In this section, observations and information from interviews in the field will be applied to the literary theories discussed in the preceding literary survey, which relate to discursive practices in ethnic politics and in the media and tourism. Empirical results are described and analysed firstly from experiences in Ngwatle and secondly, in Kagga Kamma. Analysis of the discursive practices in the media and tourism is continued in **Intercultural exchanges** which investigates the tourist setting as a venue for such intercultural and identity-forming exchange.

Ngwatle

As illustrated in the preceding sections, a lot of academic energy went into verifying a colonial system of ethnic categorisation, even if the boundaries between the constructed categories were not as clear-cut as has often been presented. Pedris Motshabise (1999) is a fairly well educated (he did not finish high school, but attained a high grade in comparison to others in the village) member of the Ngwatle community who spent considerable time with the research team on both the 1999 and 2000 field trips. He commented on the inaccuracy of simplistic literary understandings of ethnic categories, as it has related to him in Botswana:

Normally, they say it was only the Basarwa who were nomads... they were moving from one place to another. Well even the Bakgalagadi... do that. And they have said that ... the Basarwa were the only people who were killing animals, when even the Bakgalagadi were doing that... They have said that the Bakgalagadi were no goats, no cattles, no donkeys. Well even the Basarwa were having that kinds of things. That's what it said in the books and I didn't see that (Pedris Motshabise, 1999).

The inflexibility of the academic ethnic categories in Botswana, as described by Pedris, is reminiscent also of the categorisation system in South Africa which sought to distinguish between the hunter-gatherer Bushmen and the pastoralist Khoi (see Jolly, 1996). Pedris also warned against the potential discrepancy between how Bushmen are represented in the various written forms and their own understandings of self. "I agree sometimes if you can go through history, you can hear several things that are talking about the Basarwa, but if we could see them or if you could ask them, they can tell you different things from what you have heard from the book" (Pedris Motshabise, 1999). As has been discussed in 'Discursive practices within ethnic politics', records of African tradition are frequently records of the Western search for self-knowledge, as well as justification for their systems of control in Africa. All representation is then a particular version of reality, out of which identity may or may not be formed.

An enlightening exercise is to investigate Bushmen responses to idealised representations of Bushmen in advertising. Such inquiries were conducted on the 1995 and 1999 fieldtrips. Copies of the South African Spoornet calendar (this advertising material has been critically analysed by Buntman (1996b)) were taken as prompts to discuss Western popular practices of representation. The Bushmen research partners interpreted images which depict Bushmen in traditional dress, in scenes of vast, natural spaces living a pristine, nomadic hunter gatherer existence. Such media representations, which were used for post-Apartheid unification, have been interpreted as stereotypical, a "false illusion far removed from any reality" (Buntman, 1996b).

On seeing the Spoornet images⁵⁹, Pedris Motshabise (1999) reflected that there could not be Bushmen who were still living in this 'primitive' state, thereby dispelling myths of the 'remnant original man'. The images inspired him to talk about how life has improved since these 'olden days'. He thought an old lady photographed, may be "very hungry... I can see that she is thinking, thinking. It's like a person who haven't have any meal... And she's very old, she can't do anything for herself" (Pedris Motshabise, 1999). Improvements in lifestyle, which he mentioned, include having money to buy clothes, sleeping with blankets and transportation. He said, "But now we can use a donkey, we can use a horse, and we can even ask a lift from someone's vehicle to go to somewhere, you see, which means that life for old days was very difficult for someone to survive" (Pedris Motshabise, 1999). Baba (Kortjan) Kies Nxai remembers his previous nomadic lifestyle, has worked on farms in Namibia and was interviewed while living at Ngwatle. He had a similar response to Pedris. He described the clothes of the 'old times' as ugly and not as warm or protective as modern clothes. In addition he said, "Their life was very good but they didn't live well because they walked on foot, they carry the things. Now today it's a little better because you have a donkey and your things, you work with the donkey... They had it tough, yes they had it tough" (Kortjan Nxai, 1999).

These interpretations of hardships contradict the Western representations or interpretations of primitive affluence and unity with nature, which compile part of the discourse of ethnic politics and feeds, in this example, into popular media discursive

⁵⁹ See Tomaselli (1999c: 198) to see image of photo-elicitation in progress.

practices (see Wilmsen, 1989; Tomaselli, 1999c). Kortjan Nxai (1999) suggested parallels between the people who appear in the calendar pictures dressed as if in the olden times and Bushmen who dress up to perform for or be photographed by tourists. The artifice in media discursive practices is thereby recognised.

Hunter Sixpence, a community activist who works for the Kuru Development Trust, interviewed north of Ngwatle at D'kar, speculated about what a sequel to *The gods must be crazy* (1980) should be like:

I think part two should be how these people are now living... Now watching how these people are now living, and this is how they were hunting. And now this is how they are living: they are having radios, they can listen to the music, they can listen to the news, they can dance, and they can put on tapes (1999).

He requested a sequel that challenges stereotypes and captures a more realistic contemporary vision of Bushman culture and society in flux. His view coincides with a second model of identity which defines cultural identity as a "matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being' " (Hall, 1990: 225). In other words, Bushman identity is not only constituted by the mythical, historical, hunter-gatherer lifestyle depicted in the first *Gods* film. The components of their modern lives also contribute to who they are.

As a result of the Ngwatle community's geographical remoteness and cultural mix, they have not been used in films about Bushmen. The only film (*Hunt or die*, circa 2000), in which they appeared, was made by Robert Waldron and aimed at generating overseas development funds for the community. The film was requested by the community and is sensitive to their actual contemporary difficulties. Waldron explained:

So they asked me how I could help them and eventually it came down to making a movie about them, about how they've had to change their hunting ways, how they have no choice, how they didn't have any water... how they've simply had to cope with their life and how they feel their rights have been infringed upon and how they haven't actually been able to further themselves within what they believe are their real rights and become a real community that is not disenfranchised. So

that's the real reason for the film 'cos the film also demonstrates the way that they hunt and gather and shows the way that they live and in amongst that, echoes their problems in many ways, with the water truck coming and the more donkeys that they've got. It shows the gradual imposition of other societies upon them and the lesser and lesser extent to which they have their own freedom of choice and freedom to progress their society the way they choose (2000).

Evidently, the film is unique in that it was initiated by the community and has been made by a filmmaker who was firstly their friend. This is significant considering the role that representations play in more general "constantly changing social processes and ways of encountering others" (Tomaselli, 1992b: 216). Unfortunately, the completed version (which is in Italian) was not available for viewing at the time of writing. In terms of its objectives though, it is imagined that perpetuation of a myth of 'happy savages' living in the abundance of nature would not be promulgated. In 1995, Jeursen commented that campaigns for Telkom, Colgate, Mazda, United Bank, Spoornet etc. stand in contrast to Waldron's work which does not opportunistically exploit the mythical image of 'Bushmen.'

Gadiphemolwe Orileng, who is a resident of Ngwatle but works as a tracker for the SBB, believes in the potentially productive and beneficial qualities of films for Bushmen communities. He expressed the desire to take part in films if he had the opportunity because he said:

There are people who don't know what a Bushman is, or what sort of a nation the Bushman is. It would be better if they had such pictures [films]. And I who am a Bushman, can show these pictures to people and then I tell them and then I must also point out the pictures to them... because I'm a Bushman... We can show the people how those such people live and how they start to suffer (1999).

What appears key to such beneficial filmmaking in Orileng's eyes, is the active involvement of Bushmen in its making (see 'Agency' in **Conclusion** in this work) and the representation of change and real problems that face the community. His views then coincide with those of Hunter Sixpence (1999), mentioned above.

Ngwatle as a tourist destination is still undeveloped, compared to the enterprise at Kagga Kamma. Tourist access to Ngwatle village has only recently been formalised with the company, Safaris Bound Botswana, being granted the concession area KD/1 (December 1999). According to the brochure (double page, black and white, printed paper with map of area), which was received on entering Ngwatle, this area is approximately 13 000 km² and contains three villages within its wilderness boundaries. They are Ukhwi, Ngwatle and Ncaang and represent a population of approximately 800 people. The community trust, which represents the local people, is called the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust and acts as the liaison between the community and the Safaris in this joint venture tourism project. Visitors are expected to pay an entrance fee (and a vehicle fee for the duration of their stay), for which they will receive a visitor's receipt obligatory to being in the concession area. A campsite has been built at a distance from Ngwatle. At present, visitors to the Ngwatle environs are generally just passing through or hunters who are going to the private hunting camp close to Ukhwi.

An important factor in the representation of Bushmen in tourism is always the establishment of their temporal status – validating the present in historical terms. This coincides with the first model attempt to “discover the ‘authentic’ and ‘original’ content of the identity” (Grossberg, 1990: 89). Such an example appears in the Visitors’ brochure which asserts that the “Basarwa (San or Bushmen)... have lived here for perhaps 30 000 years pursuing a hunting and gathering lifestyle well into the 20th century” (2000). A commonly referred to mythical image is that of Bushmen as expert hunters and trackers. Amber Pollock, one of the owners of Safaris Bound, referred to the people in the KD/1 area as some of the “best hunters in the world” (2000). This quality or skill is regarded as a potential tourist attraction, which will be used in a planned training centre. Their knowledge of the wild is utilised at this point by the availability of field guides to campers, who are paid per day. Some locals are also employed by the SBB as trackers for the big game hunters. Besides interactions with the entrance guard, camp cook or field guides, tourist contact with the villagers is minimal considering the camp’s distance from the village. There are no tours conducted and no outside guides who mediate the Bushman/tourist exchange. At the private campsite near Ukhwi, tourists may enjoy Bushman dancing in the evening. Members of

Ngwatle community are however not involved in this. Relations with the Safaris Bound will be further analysed in **Intercultural Exchanges**.

Kagga Kamma

- 1999

Kagga Kamma is a privately owned 5640ha game reserve, 260 km from Cape Town, in the Cedarberg mountains. As a tourist enterprise in itself, Kagga Kamma presents an abundance of media and tourist discursive practices that can be analysed in terms of what subject positions (Hall, 1997a) are created for the #Khomani Bushmen that live there. They are highly accessible as employees for various media ventures and the very nature of their stay at Kagga Kamma has been characterised by their participation in the tourist market.

In 1999, the main attraction advertised in the Kagga Kamma publicity material was the Bushmen. In the travel brochure for Kagga Kamma (circa 1999), the majority of the text is dedicated to explaining the context of their living at Kagga Kamma.⁶⁰ The agreement reached between management and the group is described as follows: "They could hunt and gather, earn money by making ethnic crafts and artifacts and live as close as possible to the traditional lifestyle of their forebears" (Kagga Kamma brochure, circa 1999). Despite some acknowledged criticism, the project is determined a success and is described as a "possible blueprint for other world-wide indigenous communities, supporting themselves from the proceeds of eco-tourism" (Kagga Kamma brochure, 1999). Nevertheless, the Bushmen are framed in a particular manner, which appears to fix and essentialise Bushmen (see Buntman, 1996a; White, 1995, discussed in 'Discursive practices in the media and tourism'). The romanticised photographs depict Bushmen in stereotypical poses, conjuring up scenes of a primitive hunter-gatherer past. They are described as "wonderfully friendly people with their centuries of wisdom and guidance" (Kagga Kamma brochure, circa 1999).

⁶⁰ The brochure is a colour printed booklet.

The lyrical text on the final page of the brochure names all the traditional qualities of Bushman life as associated with the 'Great Bushman Myth.' Those mentioned are a unity with nature and with their ancestral spirits, their skills of living off the land and those human qualities of being wise and cunning. There is a definite focus on their history (as in the Visitors' brochure received at Ngwatle) as validating and constituting their identity with the words "almost extinct from our ancient history" and "leave with memories of a people as old as mankind itself" (Kagga Kamma brochure, circa 1999). This kind of discourse fits in more with the first model of identity and with the historic discourse signifying essential racial differences. It contrasts with the unsentimental information displayed in a notice on the pin-up board in a display area of the hotel's bar-lounge in April 1999, entitled 'Bushmen... Their changing way of life,' which concludes on the note, "Eden, if ever existed, has gone; poverty and a need to struggle for their rights have swiftly taken place" (Jacobs, nd, circa 1998: 2).

The 'orchestrated' visit to the Bushmen (in approximately 1996) is described by Buntman as exhibiting a 'staged authenticity' which "is more powerful than the cover [of the brochure] which suggests museum diorama" (Buntman, 1996a: 277). The "people are not [necessarily] demystified" (Buntman, 1996a: 278) on the visit. Yet, in 1999, the introductory speech given by Danie Jacobs, the tour guide who was studying to be an anthropologist, to tourists before visiting the Bushmen aimed at a more realistic representation. It illustrated the attempt to challenge the essentialist, romantic discourse that often frames the Bushmen in films such as *The gods must be crazy* (1980). Danie (1999) gave an historical analysis of the Bushmen and their 'ancient culture' and way of life, a modern analysis of their changing status and lifestyles, as well as details about the Kruiper family itself.

Danie Jacobs (1999) emphasised the complexity of their religion and the ingenuity of their lifestyles. This contests those colonial discourses, used by both Africans and Westerners, which represented the Bushmen as sub-human and which today represents the Bushmen as infantile and helpless. He humorously countered the Western fantastic pursuit for an originary and authentic culture of the First Peoples, by stating that one cannot bring back the ancient Bushman culture as this would effectively entail the impossible task of all those of European descent returning to Europe. Danie denounced

the Western guilt at the horrors of colonialism and asserted that treating the Bushmen as if they are "people in wheel chairs" will only result in dependency. He mentioned that there have been Bushmen in southern Africa who we have simply not known how to recognise because of their inter-marriage with other cultural groups (see also Prins, 2000). This is an interesting reference to the possibility of a hybrid cultural identity.

The common myth that Bushmen are only defined as those that still live in a traditional manner was dispelled by the statement that "It doesn't mean that if they do not have a loin cloth then they are not a Bushman" (Danie Jacobs, 1999). He explained how it is only natural for the Bushmen to appropriate those elements of modern life, for example matches, which make their lives easier. They are still Bushmen in their hearts. Some of the ideas presented in his lecture might be sentimental or simplistic. The lecture, however, did create a fresh understanding of the Bushmen and their identity, which changes according to the new ways that they are represented, and also through contact and exchange with the Western world. It can thus be seen that the representation of the Bushmen to the tourists at Kagga Kamma was varied and multiple.

This representation is further complicated by how the Kruipers have chosen to represent themselves. It might be possible to argue that the Bushmen themselves identify most with a particular historical construction of their cultural identity that corresponds to the first model. This is best reflected by the manner in which the Bushmen choose to interact with the outside world. It is an indication of how they choose to represent themselves discursively and demonstrates the complexity of identity construction in that they appear to tap in to the Western stereotypical image of themselves. Danie (1999) stated that they do know about certain Western technological devices such as television, radios and personal computers, but have chosen not to use them. The Kruiper family has appeared in a number of films and advertisements such as *Red Scorpion*, *Kalahari Harry* and the Vodacom television advertisements. Gert Swart, who lives at Kagga Kamma and was present on the CMS 1999 and 2001 trips to Kagga Kamma, said, "Yes we made many, many, many films" (2001) and Hendrik Kruiper, who also lives and works at Kagga Kamma, added, "I am a film star" (2001). When asked if these films present a romantic image of the Bushmen, Danie responded in the negative and says,

"the Bushmen respond in their own traditional way. They're proud of who they are and they want to share this with others" (1999).

The Kagga Kamma group have been involved in a "selective re-creation of identity" (White, 1995: 27). During one of the tourist visits to the Bushmen (1999), one of the Bushmen told Tomaselli that they actually prefer not to wear the blankets and were only doing so because it was so cold. When a tourist wished to take a picture of them smoking a bottle pipe, as opposed to the traditional bone pipes, they refused. From these encounters, one might deduce that they wish to be perceived by the outside world as traditional and possessing an 'uncontaminated', insular culture. As White has suggested and in opposition to Buntman's reductionist reading of the discursive practices at work at Kagga Kamma, "their self-representation as primordial foragers also marks an inventive manipulation of the global cultural economy" (1995: 55).

Their control over self-representation has, of course, been relative and occurs in the context of international media image-making over which they have no control and in an enterprise under the overall management of the owners of the Kagga Kamma Reserve. It should be noted that the projection of this hunter-gatherer identity does not necessarily achieve the desired effect, as suggested by Roger Carter:

[T]hey're trying to get, to keep the world aware of the Bushmen and the Bushman plight. And everything produced and generated, it's a tearjerker... largely what it shows is this community living in the past in this sort of hidden world, almost. There's nothing in what had been shown that would really motivate people to support it because the impression is that it's a community that's surviving very happily with its little kids and everything and all is hunky dory. But it's not (2000).

- 2001

The new marketing strategy of Kagga Kamma was succinctly stated by Heinrich de Waal, one of the owners of the Reserve: "As far as we're concerned, we're going our own way now. It's not depending on them [the Bushmen] anymore" (2001). When the Bushmen all left Kagga Kamma in April 2000 after their ancestral land in the Northern Cape was granted by government, there was a short period where some local Coloureds, who

were married to #Khomani women, were asked to take their place to make handcrafts. This was soon discontinued. The marketing for and guided tours at the Reserve were modified to their absence. The new brochure for Kagga Kamma (circa 2001) features grandiose photographs of rock formations, Bushman rock art, fauna and flora, but no Bushmen. The dream is to "bring you into nature and to the solitude of the awe-inspiring contrasts of this district, to sit on a rock and look out over vast stretches of mountains, valleys and canyons" (Kagga Kamma brochure, circa 2001). Reference to the Bushmen is in terms of their historical occupancy of the land. The brochure states that the San/Bushmen "hunted and gathered here for more than 20 000 years. Their rock art, abounding amongst the caves and crevices, bears witness to their lively existence and records their nomadic lifestyle" (circa 2001). Note the similarity to the Ngwatle brochure. Romantic, flamboyant language and style is still used, but the attention has been re-directed away from 'living' Bushmen as an attraction, to natural features as an enticement. The revised Bushman cultural tour involves a guided trip to various sites of Bushman rock paintings where a guide explains about historical Bushman culture and habits and a reconstructed hut near the rocks recalls ancient living areas.

In the Hotel bar, the only obvious evidence of Bushmen presence is the modern rock art on the walls done by Doppies Kruiper, after whom the bar was named. The pin-up board, which used to show photographs of Bushmen and informative leaflets on Bushman history and culture, in 2001 only displays photographs of wildlife and is not a point of focus. The bookshelves do have some books on Bushmen as well as the old photograph albums.

An advertising leaflet (2001), indicating tariffs, at the reception desk includes a section entitled "Kagga Kamma welcomes the San back!" and describes the circumstances for their return. The leaflet explains that the Bushmen realised in the Kalahari that "land alone does not provide an income" and once "again turned to Kagga Kamma to help them make a living" (2001). The tone of the text might be interpreted as condescending, as the Bushmen are represented as not having insight to foresee development problems and as having to depend on Kagga Kamma's benevolent help. Their return is accommodated by guests having the "opportunity to make an informal

visit to the San craft centre in their free time. This is the area where the San make and sell their handicraft" (Kagga Kamma Tariffs leaflet, 2001). In financial terms, the arrangement has altered to quite a large degree. There is obviously no longer an official visit to the Bushmen and they no longer receive the R13⁶¹ per person of the gate fee. They live on the Reserve rent free (as before) and only gaining an income from selling craft to and occasionally dancing for the tourists to whom they have independent access.

This Kagga Kamma Tariffs leaflet (2001) and the postcards that are on sale at reception, show photographs of Bushmen making traditional crafts or dancing in their traditional gear. The images present an idyllic, timeless vision of Bushman life. In this way, what marketing does still exist is not dissimilar from the earlier promotional material viewed in 1999. Gary Trow (2001), a tour guide who studied archaeology at the University of Cape Town, stated that pamphlets are the medium that most commonly depicts a traditional image of the Bushmen. Similarly, the Bushmen continue to constitute themselves in terms of this image. The rustic, grass stalls in the *veld* where they sell their craft and their manner of traditional dress in skins and traditional looking beads, panders to the Western search for the exotic and the different. Gary (2001) said that they also prefer to speak Nama, which has more clicks, even though it is not actually the original Bushman language, instead of Afrikaans in the presence of tourists. Once he tried to give them glass beads for extra creative material to use in their handicraft but they refused. When the Bushmen see the tourists coming, they quickly change from Western into traditional gear and throw any litter or cans into the bushes. In other words, costumes and sets are put into place and the correct 'script' is adopted⁶². It could be argued that this is simply a commercially driven performance, which promotes Bushman agency, yet the possible negative implications should still be considered.

On a Bushman cultural tour in April 2001, at the site for the last of the rock paintings Daan Raath (2001), a guide, gave a brief background to the Bushmen who live on the Reserve and their return. He described them as modern agents who make their money through tourism, who stay in Western housing with the other workers of the Reserve

⁶¹ This fee is variously described as R11, R12 or R13.

⁶² The operation of a performance front stage and the reality back stage will be investigated in **Intercultural exchanges**.

and come and go freely. The new arrangement after their return is, Daan said (2001), a way of making them more self-sufficient. He also explained the reasons for their return in terms of development problems in the Kalahari. On the drive back to the hotel, Daan pointed out the area where the stalls are and explained that they would be there from about 14h00 onwards. Gary Trow, the other cultural tour guide, gave a much more detailed explanation of Bushman art and culture during the cultural tour and focused on the fact that "Bushmen are very spiritual beings" (2001); but he did not speak about the Bushmen who are presently on the Reserve. It is possible that our presence, after having just given us an extensive interview on the subject, might explain this omission, as we dominated the tour group, so it might have seemed as if the group as a whole was already informed. On the way back, he also pointed out where the stalls are and added that we, as visitors, should interact and communicate with them. "Don't just stare!" he instructed (Gary Trow, 2001). Gary's description of the Bushmen was sensitive. An indication of this was his assertion that the Bushmen should not be called 'primitive' but rather 'ancient'. The fact that they have taken the easiest option in terms of modernising in certain respects makes them characteristically human. This is a similar response to that of the previous guide, Danie Jacobs (1999). At the same time, Gary recognises the serious challenges that face this community and asserts that all media simply depict the stereotypes and not the real issues such as alcohol abuse, violence and prostitution.

The introductory speeches and conversations of the guides emphasise the Bushmen as active and independent participants in the tourism industry. This serves somewhat as a balance to the self-representation of the Bushmen as exotic cultural Others. Analysis of the dual nature of their subjectivity (Garland and Gordon, 1999) will be continued in **Intercultural Exchanges**.

Films are seen in a positive light as a source of income and as an historical record. Gert Swart (2001) said that when he watches films, he understands who the forefathers were. Petrus Vaalbooi agreed, but tempered his praise with the complaint that many filmmakers do not abide by agreements made, to return a copy of the film to the community:

I think film, to make a film of the Bushmen is a very good thing if you use the contract. Then you can achieve a lot through that . I mean you can build your Association and you can also build your community. You can give the younger generation better training for a better future... remember the old history, how the Bushman walked, what the Bushman did if you should get the film they promised... That's why I say a film for me is a very good thing. You are busy portraying a history, you are busy showing an original heritage to the world... And if you finished making the film it is a living image that you can store for your descendants to show them the film again. And through that you can also generate funds if people that came to make the film are honest with you, but they are very dishonest (2000).

It appears that films have validity in terms of their representation of an historically significant lifestyle set temporally by 'The Great Bushman Myth,' and not necessarily as a tool for development and upliftment by acknowledging realities.

A Closing Note

For both the Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma groups, there is evidence of the perpetuation of myths promulgated through discursive practices in ethnic politics, as well as in the media and tourism. Yet this is interspersed with examples in each field and in each place, of more textured, nuanced representations, discursive practices which reveal new and changing subject positions rather than ones only fixed in a distant space and time.

CHAPTER 3: IDENTITY IN TERMS OF A TEMPORAL LOGIC

Literary Survey

Besides discursive representation discussed in the previous chapter, temporality and spatiality are key influences in the process of identity formation (see Boloka, 2001), which is especially relevant considering globalisation's description as space-time compression (Robertson, 1992; McGrew, 1992). This section inspects the literature that applies to the role of a temporal logic in identity construction.

One of the principles of the second model of identity is that cultural identity is not viewed as a static definition of a particular common origin or common experience (as in the first model). Rather, culture is impermanent and creates a certain tension within the individual between "roots" and "routes" (Hall, 1997a: 4). Culture is understood in terms of a logic of temporality and is formed by a combination of the context of recognition of origin and "the different staging posts" that one goes through, collectively and individually (Hall, 1997a: 4). Building on this conceptualisation, identity can be defined as a combination of "different histories. Those different ways in which at different historical moments people have addressed us, have called us and the recognitions this implies" (Hall, 1997a: 11). The implication is that the identity of the individual can never be regarded as complete. It is always in the process of being moulded through time as different points of recognition are added.

This sense of process in the formulation of identity is critical. Identity is less about an historical origin and more about the process of combining historical resources, culture and language in the production of an identity (Hall, 1996a). As has been suggested, in a (post-) modern context, identity can no longer be regarded as unitary or singular, but rather "fragmented and fractured" (Hall, 1996a: 4). Identities are

multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation (Hall, 1996a: 4).

The notion of a unitary and singular cultural identity based on a particular historical origin, which forms the basis of the first model of identity, finds its correspondence in the persistence of certain myths about the Bushmen of southern Africa. These myths, as described in the chapter **The discursive approach to identity construction** in this work, exhibit both temporal and spatial components in their assertion of Bushman distance from the Western norm and isolation in space and time.

On a CMS field trip to Eastern Bushmanland in 1996, Kaitira Kandjii discovered the gulf that exists between the “dominant images of Bushmen [which] show them wearing skins, hunting, gathering and living in a ‘primitive’ way” and their actual, contemporary way of life whereby they practice subsistence farming and depend largely on tourism for their income (Kandjii, 1996: 4). Perhaps the most significant indicator of the gap between the myth of the Bushmen as a primitive, authentic and ‘untouched’ people and the convoluted reality, is the case of G/aa’o. He is the main Bushman actor in the comedy blockbuster film *The gods must be crazy* (1980) which propagates romantic myths about the Bushmen (see chapter, **The discursive approach to identity construction**). He lives in a permanent, five-bedroom house, keeps cattle and wears Western, store-bought clothing (Kandjii, 1996; see Tomaselli, 1999c).

There is obviously a discrepancy between the static model of identity based on historical origin and the apparently more appropriate, flexible model of identity which combines history with new points of recognition. In opposition to the modern conception of society and community, ethnic groups are constituted as ‘communal’ and also ‘pre-modern’, which nostalgically fixes these representatives of the traditional world in time (Langer, 1998). Beryl Langer advocates that this is indicative of a “wilful ignorance about the economic and technological changes that have fundamentally altered the conditions of identity formation throughout the globe” (1998: 170). In other words, this ignorance coincides with the understanding of conditions as chronological rather than spatial. It marks the inflexibility of tourists, for example, in being unable to recognise people dressed in western clothes, listening to a tape recorder, with access to satellite television for example, as “real” Bushmen (see Boloka, 2001). People’s negative reactions to social documentary photographer Paul Weinberg’s photographs at the

Miscast exhibition in 1996 (Robins, 1996) illustrates just such an inability to accept the unpleasant reality over the picture of the happy, pristine Bushmen that they have in their minds. Weinberg's photographs portray some of the incongruencies and social difficulties facing the contemporary Bushmen of southern Africa (Weinberg, 1997; 1996). They are an attempt to represent "a transient culture... a people in transition" (Weinberg, quoted in Bester and Buntman, 1999: 52). The Bushmen's temporal immobility in people's preconceived ideas is thereby contrasted with the temporal instability of actual conditions.

Thus, in conclusion, a key assertion in the examination of identity through a logic of temporality is that "identity is always in the process of formation" (Hall, 1991b: 47). The second model of identity reinforces the logic that identities are changing through time and not static, as reflected by the 'Great Bushman Myth.' In fact,

the extent to which these descendants have succeeded in surviving the colonial onslaught is due in part to their ability to adapt indigenous cultural strategies. The origin of such flexible strategies in pre-colonial tradition challenges the assumption that San society is characteristically static and because it was unable to adapt to changing socio-political circumstances is now virtually extinct (Prins, 2000: 6).

A dynamic view of culture is essential to the project of valuation of contemporary and future cultural efforts (St. Denis, in Katz *et al*, 1997). Bushmen children should not be led to believe that for example, "the "real" Ju/'hoan culture was "in the past," that the "real" healers were... [the] grandparents or great-grandparents" (St. Denis, in Katz *et al*, 1997: 182).

This literary survey establishes that different temporal conceptions underline Hall's (1990) two models of identity. Fixity in time corresponds to a first model of identity. Whereas, accumulation of new subject positions through time corresponds to a second model of identity.

Application of Empirical Results

Ngwatle

As has been described in the literary survey, the two different conceptions of identity epitomised in Hall's models, indicate in part two different ways of placing oneself temporally. When one understands identity solely in terms of historical origins (as in the first model), the relevance of present and constantly changing placements is disregarded. The second model of identity accommodates an understanding of culture and identity in a constant state of flux. The changing nature of Bushman culture in Ngwatle is characterised by its gradual 'disappearance' or rather its combination with new influences.

As a community, Ngwatle exhibits both traditional hunter-gatherer living and signs of modernity. In Robert Waldron's opinion:

I think the majority of the men still hunt... And many of the women, not just the older women, the younger women, go gathering... So hunting and gathering is still there. Singing is still there. They still have trance dances on occasion, not really for a particular occasion, but on the spur of the moment... [Some follow traditional Bushman religion] and others believe in a Western God or some kind of hybrid between the two (2000).

The Ngwatle houses are made from branches and brush and are more sturdy than the traditional Bushman hut. The community members keep donkeys and goats. They all wear Western clothing. Ngwatle has three *spaza* shops⁶³ from where the community members buy groceries such as flour, sugar and coffee. Hunting has been modified from the traditional hunting with bow and arrow to hunting with spears using donkeys and dogs. It seems, for some, if they had the funding they would even buy guns with which to hunt (Kaki Matlakala, 2000). Miriam Motshabise (2000), a young, educated woman from Ngwatle, said that there are many people with audio cassette players in the village. None of the community members own vehicles, although trucks and land rovers

⁶³ A small, street grocery store.

belonging to tourists, the SBB, government officials and the spaza shop owner from nearby Hukuntsi, do pass through the village. Water is supplied from a large water tank which is periodically, and not always on time, refilled by government trucks⁶⁴. Community members then use their donkeys to transport water to their homesteads. There is no electricity. In some ways, their lives resemble the ways of the old and in other ways, modernisation.

The children are educated at boarding schools away from Ngwatle. This is viewed as one of the ways in which the Bushman cultural identity is being 'lost'. Mangau Madietsane said, "And others start attending school, when they come out of those schools, they don't know the things that were done in the past. That is when we're lost" (2000). Katz *et al* (1997), through their experience of the Ju/'hoansi, examine in some detail the conflict that develops between government schooling and traditional Bushman education. This occurs in terms of the actual syllabus taught which degrades Bushmen skills to "quaint habits of an exotic people whose skills are unrelated to the needs of the contemporary world" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 72). In addition, government schooling instills a Western approach to hygiene where "village life is portrayed as filled with dirt and germs that spread diseases" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 80). A young, educated person in Ngwatle implied to feeling isolated as a result of her formal education (personal communication, 2000). On an occasion, she remarked disgustedly that she would never smoke tobacco like all the adults do because it spreads germs and causes tuberculosis. Also more practically, children spend a lot of time at school, away from an environment in which traditional cultural activities may be learnt.

The disintegration of Bushman tradition through time and in contact with other groups is highlighted by Mangau Madietsane. He said of traditional Bushmen ceremonies, "We no longer practice them. We have lost them. We have bought those of whites" (2000). Tshomu, a traditional healer who lives in Ngwatle, also commented on the state of change in Bushman culture. "...[t]hese children prefer ways of whites, and they want to work with things that are done by whites... which is a fashion. That is, we are following

⁶⁴ Boreholes are in the process of being drilled to supply the community with regular water. When the research team arrived in Ngwatle in July 2001, it had been a few days that the village was surviving with no water at all.

behind fashion. The children of today are following fashion and they have forgotten their culture" (Tshomu, 2000). His remarks appear conservative and fit in to the deterministic discourse of the first model of identity. Yet the use of the term 'fashion' is suggestive of the kind of atmosphere of change that is characteristic of the second model of identity. The fact that he himself worked as a construction labourer in Johannesburg, South Africa and still came back to Ngwatle and took on duties as a traditional Bushman healer is indicative of the possible flexibility of a Bushman cultural identity. In addition, his own willingness to develop himself and acquire economic success, despite his obvious intentions of promoting Bushman cultural identity, is evident: "Yes, where I am offered a job I will go there. Because there I will be earning something, taking the money, the money to uplift myself. Yes, so that I can buy things like meat to feed myself instead of just going to Gaborone without a job" (Tshomu, 2000).

It is commonplace that outsiders' advice to Bushmen communities is that their only hope of salvation is to return to their historical way of living. Of course, this has more to do with our own Western colonial guilt at our contamination of previously 'happy' First Peoples, as well as our selfish desire to maintain the proverbial Other to our Western Same. Wafola Nerubucha accompanied the research team from Jwaneng, Botswana on the trip to Ngwatle in 1999 for a holiday and to meet the Bushmen. He contended, "it's like they're a lost society generally, they're lost... And it's only the old people among them who can bring them back to [that tradition], because they can't take them to the modern world... It's just to pull them back to how they used to live, continue being who they are" (Wafola Nerubucha, 2000). In his opinion, their only way of surviving is to focus on a singularly historical sense of identity, fixed in time. "[T]o me the best thing is maybe they should try to go back to how they were, how they were initially. And I think that's when they'll get their identity", he said (Wafola Nerubucha, 2000). On his terms then, Bushman identity is founded only on their historical origins and lifestyle, so to remember who they are they would have to regress.

Vista Nxai from Ngwatle works as a field guide for the Safaris Botswana Bound Company. His father is the respected hunter Kortjan Nxai and he has Bushmen features. Vista called himself a "child of modern days" (Vista Nxai, 2000) yet complained about

the loss of Bushman culture. Interestingly, he spoke about an excavation of the past as well as the adaptation of culture to modern times:

I think it would be better for people to remind themselves of their culture and start practising it. To start practising it and refashioning it because today we have left our culture behind. When we started going to school we came with this small mindset of following fashion and leaving aside our culture. The Bakgalagadi like to say, "A Bushman never dies in the mind but only dies of circumstances." Bushman people used to take care of themselves using their culture... (Vista Nxai, 2000).

Although tinged with sentimental determinism, his suggestion of a "refashioning" of culture and tradition is enlightening. Those traditional elements deemed valuable should be excavated, but at the same time, it should be acknowledged that they will take on new meaning in their new context. One's cultural identity is as much about the history, the so-called 'lost' tradition as it is about the modern permutations of that tradition. As Katz *et al* state in relation to Ju/'hoan healing ceremonies, "The tradition of Ju/'hoan healing must change if it is to live" (1997: 143).

Kagga Kamma

There is evidently a discrepancy between the static model of identity based on historical origin and the more appropriate, flexible model of identity which combines history with new points of recognition. This discrepancy in the identity of the Bushmen is evident in a two page notice entitled, 'Bushmen... Their changing way of life', already described in the chapter, **The discursive approach to identity construction**. The notice exposes the 'Great Bushman Myth', which promulgates stereotypes about the Bushmen and contrasts this mythical portrayal with descriptions of the real conditions of contemporary Bushman life. The 'Great Bushman Myth', described in the text, coincides with the simplistic and static identity model which would emphasise a distinct, authentic Bushman culture. According to the notice, the myth represents the Bushmen as a "people living a happy, carefree existence in harmony with nature and far from the stresses of cities and civilisation" (Jacobs, nd, circa 1998: 1). The potential infantilism and reductionism of

this simplistic, first model of cultural identity is evident in the presentation of the Bushmen as “a people who’s history has passed by, a people preserving the lost innocence of humankind, childlike, yet profound, simple, yet subtly attuned to the animals around them and to the changing face of the desert” (Jacobs, nd, circa 1998: 1).

The notice suggests that these “Western romantic ideals” negate the existence of “real people struggling with real problems” (Jacobs, nd, circa 1998: 1). Further, I would argue that such a view of the Bushmen as cultural isolates also serves to negate the existence of a cultural identity that is in actual fact in process. The theoretical development is from one understanding of their cultural identity as “fully constituted” (Grossberg, 1996: 89) and based on a particular historical origin, to a more flexible understanding of their identity as incomplete, including both a sense of origin, but also new meaning. This is indicative itself of the relationship of identity to a logic of temporality.

The collapsing of different temporal understandings and representations of self is most evident in the experience of the Bushmen who live at Kagga Kamma. Their performative, discursively represented selves are ‘from the past’ yet their everyday, backstage selves are truly modern. They dress in traditional gear for the tourists and make traditional items for sale to tourists. They do still hunt, trance dance and tell stories around the fire. Yet they live in Western style houses with the other Hotel employees and buy their groceries from shops. In their own time, they wear Western clothing and travel by car. They earn a cash income from working in the tourist industry, acting as if they are still living in the past.⁶⁵ Describing those members of the family who have returned to the Kalahari and live off the tourist trade there, Petrus Vaalbooi’s comments are appropriate:

⁶⁵ The ≠Khomani community expressed the desire to the media, “We wanted the land [in the Kalahari] because we want to live off the land” (in Belinda Kruiper, 2000). But Belinda Kruiper says, “All they’ve been doing is sitting on the side of the road in their skin ‘cause it’s attracting tourists” (2000). Clearly, the historical, traditional hunter-gatherer living is far from a reality.

[T]he Bushman is busy making a livelihood by misleading you and pretending that they are still living like the original forefather. A little house made of grass, it looks like the Bushman's house. A Bushman that stands in front of the door or comes out that really has the dress, hair, everything of a Bushman, speaks a language that sounds like a Bushman language but that isn't the language. If you go into the house, then you find a few skins here and there. If you look inside then you see here stands a television and you hear here plays a radio, here plays a tape. If you look at the beds, then you see it's a duvet that lies there and all these things. Here hangs a beautiful suit of clothes... Tell the people it will never be like it was before. You can try depict and display everything but it can't be anymore (2000).

Vaalboo's focus here is pejorative, emphasising an element of deceit. Yet his point is made how the modern is blended into a traditional lifestyle and how the historical can no longer solely stand as constitutive of cultural identity.⁶⁶

The Kagga Kamma brochure explains the Montessori school system that operated at Kagga Kamma for a while.

In educational terms and in consultation with the Bushmen Elders a unique traditional school for the young has been established. Here the basics of reading, writing and counting are taught and combines the value of a Western with a traditional school, to help them face the future in their culture and tradition. Skills and crafts, so unique to Bushmen life, are taught by Elders and contribute to the continuation of these traditions amongst the younger generation (circa 1999).

This indicates an attempt to combine modern, Western skills with traditional, historically significant Bushmen skills, to join harmoniously the traditional, stable with the modern,

⁶⁶ Belinda Kruiper (2000) describes a meeting between Jakob Malgas and Lena Org at their road stall with a bus group of French tourists. She describes the "total confusion [of the tourists] because I think it's expectations where that moment of meeting and thinking that this is the past. And then the reality comes when you look around" (Belinda Kruiper, 2000) and see things like a plastic bucket lying there. The interactions seem to epitomise a strange meeting and interaction of different perceived temporal realities.

changing identity. Jon Kruiper, who is a #Khomani working at Kagga Kamma and future traditional leader, stated, "They are small people that have to go there [to school]. I don't want only the Western school for them, but someday they must know, as I don't know how to read a little bit. But he must also have the knowledge of the veld" (2001). This indicates the desire for a progressive education for the children that combines traditional, Bushmen with modern, Western skills. The nursery school in the Northern Cape, discussed below, is a more recent attempt at such a combination. The objective of fostering an historical, traditional identity in the young children appears to be slightly more in line with the first model of identity. Evidently in reality, however, such efforts would have to be compatible with other realities. After nursery school, many of the #Khomani children continue schooling in the government school in Welkom. The modern, Western skills are then instilled and promotion of a traditional Bushman identity is discontinued.

The elders in the #Khomani community and particularly the two elderly #Khomani sisters who are referred to as Ouma !Una and Ouma Kys, who now live in the Northern Cape, are valued as a link to the knowledge of the past. Anna Festus explained

They still have that old values, they still know a lot about which we have to learn from them. Yet currently we didn't know much about the older days. So they still have the language. They know about the plants. They know a lot about the living, about the real life of how to live like a Bushman. And therefore I think we can learn a lot from them (2000).

The efforts of the Oumas in the Northern Cape to revive the old Bushman language and Ouma !Una's statement (2000) that they want the nursery school children to start wearing traditional clothes again, are efforts to excavate an idyllic past. In this way, they hope to strengthen the #Khomani cultural identity. Of course, the signs of modern living will inevitably temper this. The Oumas are sometimes criticised for being 'Westernised' because they live in a brick, Western-style farmhouse on one of the government granted farms next to the Molopo Lodge. "But we are the ones that know about all the culture... It's nature. It's nature. This house it doesn't make the thing. The house, it doesn't make the life. Gold and silver don't make your nature" (2000),

Ouma !Una proclaimed. In their opinion, modern accoutrements can therefore mix with traditional elements without contradiction. Anna Festus suggested a combination of the old with the new: “[I]f there is any innovation then you can just mix it up with what you will get today and what the elderly people already knew” (2000).

Petrus Vaalbooi described the changes that have occurred in Bushman cultural identity and how the past is no longer a feasible mode of living:

We can represent ourselves as descendants of the Bushmen, but the original old traditional and cultural way of life of the Bushman, we will perhaps be able to give certain people an image of how it was and what was done. But to live like that... ten thousand times no, it will never be again. There will not be such a thing anymore... If you look at the fences, there weren't fences. The Bushman had space and freedom. Today this place is like... everything must go through laws and papers. There weren't papers... Today the Bushman has a surname and an identity and a passport. And his birth must be registered... He can't marry traditionally anymore. He must marry in the Western way... In other words, how can you be old times? It's not old times anymore. You must slot yourself into the modern life. And you project a traditional image, and you try to the best or strongest of your abilities to reveal a traditional life but you'll never be able to maintain it because it's not attainable (2000).

There is therefore a temporal difference between the mythical traditional life, which is enacted or displayed, and the actual, more complex reality.

A Closing Note

The traditional Bushman identity which is represented in ethnic politics and media and tourism and which is enacted for tourists is based on a fixed and distant past and corresponds with Hall's first model of identity. This essential, romanticised image is challenged by evidence of inevitable, new and modern influences on Bushman identity. The ever-changing and modernising present corresponds with Hall's second model of identity. This model acknowledges Bushmen subject positions as historical and

traditional, as well as modern and in flux. Change is inevitable and should be accommodated in the conceptualisation of identity as a combination of different histories (Hall, 1997a).

CHAPTER 4: IDENTITY IN TERMS OF A SPATIAL LOGIC

Literary Survey

Spatiality, along with temporality, is a key concept in the present context of globalisation. Knowing where one is placed is fundamental to an understanding of self. This section reviews that literature which clarifies how the logic of spatiality might influence Bushman identity formation.

Firstly, the role of spatiality in the process of globalisation will be examined. The new understanding and significance of spatiality in globalisation heralds in a new understanding of the Third World, argues Walter Mignolo (1998). The “current stage of globalisation, driven by transnational corporations, is non intentionally contributing to the restitution of space and location and to the multiplication of local histories” (Mignolo, 1998: 36). This point is extended into an argument that basically purports that this new language of spatialisation results in a rejection of the historical construction of Third World societies as ‘living in the past.’ Instead, it asserts the present as a “variety of chronological circles and temporal rhythms” (Mignolo, 1998: 37). In other words, globalisation allows for conditions to be thought of spatially rather than chronologically. Of course, the very meaning of ‘space’ and ‘spatial boundaries’ has taken on a new form in the (post-)modern world, as is argued below.

Spatialisation, according to Vincent Mosco’s (1996: 173) inference, refers to the power of capital to overcome constraints of space and time through the improvement of transportation and communication systems. It also entails the transformation of space by “restructuring the spatial relationships among people, goods and messages” (Mosco, 1996: 174). Globalisation – an allusive and mythologised term, according to Mosco – might be pinned down as the

spatial agglomeration of capital, led by transnational business and the state, that transforms the spaces through which flow resources and commodities, including communication and information. The outcome is a literal transformation of the

geography of communication and information that accentuates certain spaces and the relationships among them (Mosco, 1996: 205).

Globalisation does not entail the elimination of space, but rather its transformation, the creation of a system where increasing areas are linked through new technology, but certain nodal points where power is centralised, are strengthened (Mosco, 1996: 205). Within such a globalised system, the global order's centres are no longer the capitals of nation-states but rather "pulse points of complex networks" (Comaroff, 1996: 172). One gains a sense of 'multiple cores' (Abu-Lughod, 1991: 131).

In the cultural study of identity, Lawrence Grossberg replaces the logic of temporality, which emphasises the acquisition of new identities through time, with one of spatiality. He states, "Subjectivity as spatial... involves taking literally the statement that people experience the world from a particular position" (Grossberg, 1996: 100). The politics of space is vital to the process of globalisation (as has been argued above) and identity construction. It is especially relevant to the Bushman situation. The link in Western rationalisation between the desert, predominantly the land of the Bushmen and identity formation is long established (Bauman, 1996). "The desert... was a land not yet sliced into places, and for that reason it was the land of self-creation" (Bauman, 1996: 20) in the Western imagination.

Historically, Bushmen were nomadic and are described as having an emotional, almost spiritual bondage to a land that is understood to have no boundaries (Penn, 1996: 88; Boloka, 2001). "Land is something you don't divide," says /Kaece N//aq'o of the Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative (in Katz *et al*, 1997: 44). A similar opinion is articulated in the anonymous statement, "For years and years the Bushman have lived off the land... thousands of years... We did not buy the Kalahari. God gave it to us" (in Crawhall, 1998: 26). There is an "intimate link between their "ownership" to the land and their Bushmanness" (Prins, 2000: 5). The notion of a single system with no boundaries is piquant, as it appears to ring truer of the modern context of economic activities being conducted on a world scale than of the Bushmen themselves. A capitalist world-system requires the permeability of national boundaries to the significant flows of commodities, capital and labour (Wallerstein, 1991: 98).

In addition, “pan-Khoisan identity is quintessentially a southern African identity. The entire basis for collective identity is its location on this subcontinent” (Barnard, 1998: 54)⁶⁷. Land therefore plays a crucial role in people’s sense of belonging. Additionally, arguably, belonging is a two-way relationship between the Khoisan and the land (Barnard, 1998: 54). ‘Blood’ and ‘soil’ symbolically merge and relate to the nationalist concepts of *jus sanguinis* (exclusion) and *jus solis* (inclusion) (Barnard, 1998). As Barnard argues, “Locality and kinship [taken from Turner’s analysis] (or soil and blood) are twin pillars of identity” (1998: 54).

As has been partly indicated in **Identity in terms of a temporal logic**, the logics of temporality and spatiality play significant roles in the ‘Great Bushman Myth.’ An essential quality of Bushmen, as conceived within these myths, was that they were forever ‘vanishing’ on the outskirts of civilisation (Landau, 1996: 130). The particular nature of this ‘periphery’ placement is illustrated in examination of spatial relationships and its contingent power-flows in Botswana (Simões; 2001). The double layered conception of core and periphery (Dunn, 2001: 19; see Boloka, 2001; Thompson, 1996)⁶⁸ should be extended to a triple layer in this instance. Within the scale of the nation-state, the Bushmen are on the periphery politically, as a minority group to the Tswana and economically and geographically, as a poor rural community in relation to the more developed urban areas in the East of Botswana.⁶⁹ Within the sub-Saharan region, the relationship of South Africans (researchers, for example) to the Bushmen as citizens of Botswana can be conceptualised in terms of South Africa’s historical hegemony in sub-Saharan Africa. And then on a global scale, the relationship of overseas visitors to Bushmen suggests the construction of the core North to the peripheral South. Further, each of these spatial relationships operates not between binary opposites, but rather between ‘spheres of activity’ (see Abou-El-Haj, 1991: 143). This illustration is indicative of the complex ways in which spatiality can be conceived in

⁶⁷ The use of the Khoisan identity as a unifying symbol is dealt with in the chapter, **The discursive approach to identity construction**, in this work.

⁶⁸ Any notion of binary opposites would not do justice to the high capitalist, nuanced state of ‘spheres of activity’ (Abou-El-Haj, 1991: 143).

⁶⁹ Wilmsen (1989: 316) describes how heavy investment in the urban areas during the postcolonial period has resulted in extreme social disparity.

the contemporary context of high capitalism. In the Botswana landscape then, remote distance is just as much about ethnic remoteness from the Tswana norm and economic status, as about physical distance (Wilmsen, 1989).

Although globalisation involves the overcoming of boundaries and the relative loss of power of individual nation-states, Barker stresses how place still remains significant as an "intersection or nodal point of global flows but in unpredictable ways" (1999: 35). Place may be seen as crucial for the intersection of travelling cultures (Boloka, 2001). The conception of travel is better suited to cultures in late modernity because all locales are subject to distant locations. Interestingly, Bushman cultures have probably always been travelling cultures.

A reductionist view of spatialisation in globalisation discourse, which focuses only on the relations between the advanced societies, should be avoided (Mosco, 1996). More appropriate is the concept of a "set of hierarchical political economic and cultural relations articulated and disarticulated within and across all nations" (Mosco 1996: 206), as exemplified by the analysis of core and periphery. Doreen Massey describes the 'power-geometry' of global relations, which places different people differently (1991: 25-26). On the CMS field trip to Botswana in 1999, a satellite phone was used by Waldron in the desert, satellite dishes were observed on isolated, rural huts and a tape recorder, as well as South African soccer posters were 'discovered' in small, rural communities (Boloka, 2001; personal communication, 2000). These encounters exemplify the inclusion of the most remote and unlikely places into the global political economic and cultural world system, even if it is as part of a unified and yet entirely unequal system. Globalisation should be seen as a "matter of inserting a multiplicity of localities into the overall picture of a new global system" where the local is a "fluid and relational space" (Robins, in Hall, 1992: 319). There is much contemporary analysis of the rise in local identities and localising forces in opposition to global, homogenising cultural influences. In fact, the growth in local identities and the globalisation of culture can be viewed as complementary sides of the same historical process (Comaroff, 1996; Hall, 1991a: 27; see also Robins, 1991). Wilmsen, in resonance with Comaroff, concludes that "the global has to be interpreted and domesticated for it to have local meaning, and this in turn – the experience of globalism – underscores and reinforces an awareness of

localism" (1996: 17). This argument will be continued in the chapter entitled, **Intercultural exchange.**

The focus of this survey now turns towards how local Bushman identity is formed in relation to the land on which they find themselves. The issue of the land rights of the Bushmen and the connection of their cultural identity with the land has become significant in the aftermath of South Africa's 1994 Restitution of Land Rights Act which aims at restoring land from which people were displaced as a result of racially biased laws (see Crawhall, 1998: 29-30) and in the context of the Botswana government's designation of settlements (see Hitchcock and Holm, 1993: 318-320). Historically, the "anthropological dogma that 'Bushmen have no territories' has [often] served as justification for the involuntary removal of San speakers from lands they had occupied for generations" (Wilmsen and Denbow, 1990: 506). The South African restitution of land (begun after the 1994 changeover in government) has been limited to the period after the Native Land Act of 1913, effectively excluding most Khoe and San people who lost their land rights prior to this.

In the case of the Kruiper family living at Kagga Kamma at the time, the article "Waiting for a slice of heaven on earth" demonstrates the importance of land to their sense of identity. Dawid Kruiper asserts, "I have lived in darkness... Getting the land will allow me to stand up and say to the world: 'Here is Dawid Kruiper and here are my people'" (in *Natal Witness*, 1999: 19). "Our land is our life" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 167) can effectively be named as the fundamental vision of all Indigenous peoples throughout the world. St. Denis clarifies this connection to the land of indigenous people and the consequences of its severance:

Their struggle for self-determination is deeply rooted in their sense of place, and it is those places, those aboriginal homes, that the industrialised world seeks to exploit, tearing out the land from its roots, which are embedded in the people who first live there. As land feeds culture, the lack of land and the lack of the ability to feed and care for oneself can lead to the creation of the urban poor, the increasing condition of many Indigenous peoples (in Katz *et al*, 1997: 167).

Of course, one should not create an overly romantic vision of indigenous use of the land which, when granted, would not necessarily remain ecologically protected. But 'placelessness' would certainly be a hindrance to the development of empowered and flourishing cultural groups.

Global networking of local indigenous people into wider spheres of action and movements for empowerment is examined in **Intercultural exchanges** in this work. Such spatial relations through for example, Indigenous Peoples of Africa Coordinating Committee (IPACC) and the Working Group for Indigenous People (W.G.I.P.) enable greater strength for indigenous groups in local areas to encourage progress and development from the governments of their nation-states (see Le Fleur, 2001).

It is clear that spatiality is central to identity formation, as the expression of identity is always centred in location. This is especially true for indigenous peoples for whom a connection with 'their' land is vital. It is however, these people who have historically struggled for land rights more than other cultural groups. Further, the operation of spatiality in the contemporary, globalising context is not uncomplicated. Nevertheless, even local place still remains significant for the negotiation and interpretation of larger, global processes.

Application of Empirical Results

Ngwatle

Nomadism characterised the lifestyle of the different families who later came together to form the sedentary, more pastoral community of Ngwatle. Waldron explained:

[They] came together as two or three or more groups of nomadic families that were travelling in the greater western Kalahari region, from say the Ghanzi road to the Namibian border in the west to down towards Tshabong in the south and to Hukuntsi in the east, that area, an area of some five million hectares. Certainly the Nxai family were travelling nomadically without ever encountering other

people, apart from Bushmen until the mid '50s. Their first encounter with other human beings of another tribe, or race or culture was a Tswana person who was operating a borehole for a white rancher... [O]ften, in Bushmen communities and culture, in the drier seasons, they would conglomerate in certain areas, at a pan or somewhere where they were assured of water for a period of time, before they would go their own way... And Masetleng Pan had water for quite a while. And then there was a bore hole drilled there by the hunting and Safari Company at that time, [around the late 1960s, early 1970s]... And that bore hole the Bushmen used to get water from, until they were pushed away from there because they wanted the bore hole for the exclusive use of a handful of hunters... Then they were moved to Ngwatle where they had no water. But now they were a community. Some of them weren't capable of travelling nomadically and living off the water of the *veld* for months. And so they started forming a more pastoral community within that area (2000).

Mangau Madietsane explained the reasons for settling in that particular area and the competition for land, which is ever present:

As we are sitting here, we saw that going everywhere to rest, and tomorrow moving out and going to another place for a few days and moving away again, that is, we saw that that is a big job. It is better to settle in one place. And when we saw that places are getting smaller, because the government is taking away all the land. And we saw ourselves being left with nothing, therefore the need to settle here in Ngwatle... for it to become ours, because Zutshwa belongs to its own people... Hukuntsi belongs to its people. Now let us also settle at our own place. The people of Hukuntsi want to take our land for themselves (Mangau Madietsane, 2000).

The fixed space then called 'home' is a result of the need for security and the need to make an economic claim, to gain rights of ownership. In fact, in certain ways, it is a 'guarantor of survival' in that it results in an identifiable community, which is accessible to donations by foreign agencies and tourist investment (Boloka, 2001).

Sedentary lifestyle also brings with it disadvantages (Boloka, 2001) such as the quota system imposed by the Botswana government which restricts hunting to certain periods in the year and to certain animals only. (Miriam (2000) explained how during the six months when hunting is closed, there is no meat for the community.) Passports also become necessary, which regulate (and restrict) the movement of persons across borders. The designation of settlements and the establishment of traditional authorities⁷⁰, as well as the subsequent development of social infrastructures, is a way of the post-independence state placing previous hunter-gatherers under bureaucratic control (Hitchcock and Holm, 1993). The social infrastructure being developed in Ngwatle includes the construction of a pre-primary school, store room and guesthouse, fortnightly visits by a nurse, government trucks bringing water to fill the tanks and bore holes being dug. The settlement process is nevertheless critical “for without some form of concentration of hunter-gatherer populations, party organizations cannot perform their mobilizing function” (Hitchcock and Holm, 1993: 332).⁷¹ What remains essential is that a “San political force must emerge to challenge Tswana bias” (Hitchcock and Holm, 1993: 328). Fixed space also results in social interaction⁷² (as exemplified by modified social practices from interaction with Bakgalagadi – see **Intercultural exchanges**) and cultural infiltration (for example, the mixed blessing of our encounter with them). Changing space, as in migration, also has profound effects on identity formation (see **Intercultural exchanges**).

In the mythical representations of Bushmen, land is presented as meaningful to Bushman identity. There is some veracity in this assumption. Tshomu stated, “It [land] goes with who I am as a Bushman in that the way it was established you will find there are only Bushman people in it” (2000). At the same time, moving away from a particular geographical space and into another will not necessarily affect Bushman identity pejoratively. Tshomu explained, “I do not see how it can change who I am, because my Bushman identity is my Bushman identity. I once went to work in Gaborone

⁷⁰ Ngwatle operates with a head man and *kgotlas* or tribal councils.

⁷¹ Political participation is not yet active in Ngwatle and in fact, Tshomu (2000) made requests for us to pass on his political message.

⁷² As Doreen Massey theorises, “place is formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location (1994: 168).

and stayed there, and I did not change. In South Africa as well, I did go to work there and I did not change my Bushman identity" (2000).

The importance of a sense of place to one's identity is clear when Tshomu reflected, "I am a very old resident in this area of Ngwatle, in the sense that, this area of Ngwatle, is mine. I grew up in this area, and it is where I am going to die. As you find me here today being like this, I am in my area... where you will also notice the government they find me here" (2000). Tshomu's message is often political and his mention of the government brings up the pressure for land that the community has experienced not only from nearby ethnic groups but also from the Botswana government. On several occasions, government officials have come to instruct them to vacate the area (personal communication, 2000; see **Intercultural exchanges**).

Society is "to a large extent constituted through the buildings and spaces it creates" (King, 1991: 151). In 1995, when the CMS research group visited, the community lived together in a single kraal (Jeursen, 1995). But in 2000, the community was spread out over a large area where each homestead was at least 500 metres away from the next. Mangau Madietsane accounted for the move, "The thing is the RDP people told us they want to build houses there and bring development. Now that is when we moved to the other area to enable them to build the houses. Now here they are unable to do anything" (2000). It is ironic that empty promises of development and improvement from government have physically split up the village. If society is spatially illustrated, the picture of Ngwatle has changed radically away from a sense of togetherness – families at night are separated at a large distance from each other and group activities such as healing ceremonies are more difficult to organise.

The movement of Tshomu to acquire work in different places, is evidence of a striking example of globalisation's space-time compression – the phenomenon of migration. This has seen the unplanned implosion of the 'Rest' into the 'West' after de-colonisation. Tshomu's travels do not quite exemplify the "formation of 'enclaves' within the nation-states of the West" (Hall, 1992: 307). Yet, they are indicative of the kind of reverse action of movement of the historically underprivileged from the rural to the urban (working in Gaborone) and to the hegemonic South Africa (working in Johannesburg,

see core-periphery analysis above). Similarly, Gadiphemolwe Orileng expressed the desire to go and work on Robert Waldron's farm in South Africa, which holds out the opportunity of a better life and opportunities (personal communication, 2000). Doreen Massey (1991: 25-26) expresses the complex social differentiation within time-space compression where, for example, groups who do a lot of physical moving are often not in charge of the process at all. On a very practical level, Gadiphemolwe's opportunity relies entirely on Waldron's decision and aid.

Examples of the inclusion of Ngwatle into a global network of spatial relations include the operation of Waldron's satellite phone in the area (Boloka, 2001), Miriam needing an update on the latest occurrences in the American soap opera, *The bold and the beautiful* (which she used to watch at boarding school) and the playing of West African kwasa-kwasa music on the radio outside Tshomu's hut in a remote village in the Kalahari, Botswana. The donation of funds for development is also an example of global interaction between geographically distant regions. Through the film on the Ngwatle people made by Robert Waldron, funds were acquired by an Italian aid organisation (Robert Waldron, 2000). Links have therefore been established between the imminent Kgalagadi People's Trust in Botswana and Italy. These relations are indicative of Mosco's notion of a "set of hierarchical political economic and cultural relations articulated and disarticulated within and across all nations" (1996: 206).

Kagga Kamma

The geographical history of the Kagga Kamma group begins with Dawid Kruiper's father's, Regopstaan Kruiper, accounts of a free, hunter-gatherer lifestyle in the area of the southern Kalahari in the Northern Cape (White, 1995: 29) during the first decades of the century. As has been described in **The discursive approach to identity construction**, from the 1930s onwards after the Park and the Mier Settlement Area were declared, land dispossession resulted in white patronage and wage labour for coloured stockholders in Mier. Before going to Kagga Kamma, the group had been "squatters and farmworkers in the far northern Cape, on the southern fringes of the Kalahari desert in the region of the famous Kalahari Gemsbok Park" (White, 1995: 9).

What is interesting about many of the responses on the Kagga Kamma experience from ≠Khomani who are either at Kagga Kamma or have moved to the Northern Cape, is that they centre around the natural landscape – the land itself. The initial move to Kagga Kamma was in the face of community deprivations (see 50/50, 1990) and the 'moral' justification for it was that their ancestors had lived there. Dawid Kruiper said, "Look yes, yes, my soul is at Kagga Kamma because I saw immediately, I don't know about other people, but we traditional people, the San people, saw immediately, we won't fit in, but let me stay here because our forefathers were there" (2000). Needless to say, the family who moved there had no actual previous experience of the area. The space then, was deemed a temporary, fixed home. Its advantages were immediate relief from an unstable, landless existence in the Kalahari. Further, in practical terms, the family were united, lived rent-free and gained access to income-potential through social interaction with tourists in a particular location (Massey, 1994: 168).

Disadvantages of Kagga Kamma as a home are expressed in terms of nature and landscape. Anna Swart is an elderly lady who lives on Witdraai farm in the Northern Cape and is one of the remaining speakers of the original ≠Khomani language. She spent three months at Kagga Kamma and then had to return because of the cold weather. She said, "It's just the cold... So I said, 'Uh-uh'. Stay with your people, but I must go away. There to the sand, to the sand. To that Kalahari I must go, where the grass is. Well then I came back... so that I sit here. The Father has saved my life, so that I can blossom" (Anna Swart, 2000). Besides the weather, the physical landscape also posed problems. "It's nicer here [in the Kalahari] for me. You see this sand, it's nice for me. But there [Kagga Kamma] at the rocks... It's not nice. If you fall, maybe your foot gets caught on a stone, you fall over, your mouth is broken. If you fall here, you don't get hurt. Nothing", described Sagraan Kruiper who used to live at Kagga Kamma and has relocated to Witdraai farm in the Northern Cape (2000). Problems with Kagga Kamma are expressed in terms of tangible, physical characteristics of space.

There is a close link between traditional Bushmen activities and the natural space that they inhabit. Kagga Kamma is in some ways unsuitable for learning traditional Bushmen activities. Dawid Kruiper expressed his opinion on the issue, "[T]he children can't learn anything there because it's stone world. It's stone world and you only see one, two

spoor and then you see nothing further. That's why I want them at Witdraai, so that they can take a lizard spoor, mouse spoor..." (2000). Hunting is therefore more difficult in the terrain at Kagga Kamma. Sagraan Kruiper clarified, "No I didn't hunt there, because there are too many mountains. They are high... The dunes aren't high, it's flat dunes these. You can easily pass over there" (2000).

In March 1999, land was granted by the government to the #Khomani San of the southern Kalahari and six farms were officially and unofficially handed over to them (Anna Festus, 2000). Almost immediately, the Bushmen left Kagga Kamma to return to the Kalahari. Several months later in April 2000, some asked to return to the Reserve (Heinrich de Waal, 2001). Actual ownership of the land granted is crucial, especially considering the group's history of dispossession and powerlessness. The importance of the land was expressed by Paul Witbooi, a recently registered #Khomani who used to live at Kagga Kamma and when interviewed, was living on Witdraai farm in the Northern Cape, "We were all very happy because we've been humiliated and oppressed for years. Now to go ahead with our own things on our own land, we feel very happy" (2000).

A strong, seemingly spiritual connection is constantly expressed by the Kagga Kamma group with regard to the Kalahari: "But in the Kalahari, where we were born and raised, this pulled me early on, I must return" (Dawid Kruiper, 2000). Dawid Kruiper said of those who went back to the Kalahari and then returned to Kagga Kamma, "They came to see the Kalahari sand a bit, to tread about a bit and to live and see how the Kalahari is, to get that feeling. They did that and then went back" (2000). Although the Bushmen at Kagga Kamma are obviously physically located at Kagga Kamma, there is a spatial logic related to the desert, which informs their identity construction. Dawid Kruiper said of the people who are still at the Reserve, "They were there and their hearts also lie there, but it's there now, 50/50 they feel now, the Kalahari and the Kagga Kamma" (2000). On the field trip to Kagga Kamma in 2001, both Gert Swart and Jon Kruiper stated that their hearts are still in the Kalahari. Jon Kruiper explained, "But when we are in the Kalahari, there are many more things you know. Knowledge lies there. So the best place, I must say, my home is in the Kalahari... But the Kalahari, that is my heart. Born, grew up there. Gert also" (2001). They asserted that if the land

claim for the area of the Gemsbok Park was granted, they would return (personal communication, 2001). Gert Swart elaborated:

No see there in the Kalahari, it is the birth place where we grew up and that's where I want to be there... in the park of course, National Gemsbok Park... That's where my heart feels where I want to be. And that is how the leader [Dawid], the one who now is on the land we got, his heart still feels that way. Because the graves of the ancestors are there. And there are many places where they used to dwell, there inside the park (2001).

The ideal of attaining the space further north in the Gemsbok Park is repeated in various contexts. Anna Festus admitted, "[F]or me it's important... if maybe all our people could be settled down where they originally come from which is the Park. That can really [bring] them together, I think so. Now we are all still separated" (2000). The fact that there are members of the clan at Kagga Kamma saddens those who are in the Northern Cape (Magrietha Eiman, 2001). Anna Festus added, "Here's still hardships and that's why some of them went back, but we often feel we want to get our people back because it's officially their land for which they fought a long time and for which they had to give up a lot. And they are actually family" (2000).

Sometimes there is an isolationist stance that is taken as the means to protect and conserve Bushman cultural identity. This is often connected to the land claim for the Park. After discussing some of the problems, which face the community, Dawid Kruiper stated, "I also told them, 'I will put you in the desert, in the park where I was born and raised, in nature.' So that the children in these days of TV things and that noise, so that it's quiet. That the children listen if danger comes too. And listen to nature that roars, and yelps and the little birds in nature, where there is no noise" (2000). Jakob Malgas is a #Khomani who used to live and work at Kagga Kamma. When interviewed in September 2000, he was staying on Blinkwater farm in the Northern Cape. Although anti a lot of the development projects that Kruiper is involved with, made a similar, essentialist point, "Bushman must be this side, you understand, that's it. He's a nature person and he belongs in nature. He can't be next to the tar road you see. Bushman that's next to the tar road, you see what happened there. He starts learning Western

ways next to the tar road" (2000). Therefore, conceived of in spatial or geographical terms, cultural identity is viewed as something to be kept uncontaminated and stable and separate. In this instance, the Bushmen research partners position themselves within the framework of the first model of identity.

Despite the temporal distance from any pure hunter-gatherer existence, the absolute centrality of the land to Bushman identity is constantly affirmed. Petrus Vaalbooi asserted, "The Bushman is the same as the land. The land, the earth. The Bushman, it's almost as if he lives with the earth" (2000). In a similar vein, Vaalbooi stated that a test of a Bushman's identity would be to take him into the *veld*, "then you look at the stamina that's in that person. You can take a child... a child can survive... he always has a plan what to do to survive. Take him to the animals of the *veld*, he can identify them... At night you can take me and go drop me off in the *veld*, I can return" (2000). Ouma !Una proclaimed, "I am a Bushman, out of the earth" (2000). This simple statement indicates Barnard's (1998) notion of the symbolic merging of blood and soil in Bushman identity formation.

Belinda Kruiper agreed, "space is important to them, huge open space" (2000)⁷³. But she qualified this statement. It does not apply to everyone and some may want to forfeit space "for luxuries like electricity" which would be found in a more urban environment (Belinda Kruiper, 2000). Yet still they feel a longing for the land and cry, "*Maar ai, die Kalahari!*" [But oh, the Kalahari!]. "So they're connected to the earth and they think it's the place, but it's actually to their souls" (Belinda Kruiper, 2000). Belinda warned that the "land has also become a political ball game because it's supposed to be important to the Bushmen" (2000). She described a village in Botswana she visited where the people were very happy. Yet they did not actually own the land, compared to the Kalahari where "we have land, but we have violence and abuse and control" so the issue might more realistically be the "freedom wherever you are that you can just be who you want to be" (Belinda Kruiper, 2000).

⁷³ Paul Witbooi, for example, stated, "I'll fit in more here. Here in nature and in the Kalahari rather than a town. I won't fit in a town, or in a city" (2000).

To expand the spatial scope worldwide, evidence of participation of this locality in the global system materialises in their regular appearance in various internationally-made films through which they feed into the global interest in images of 'traditional' Bushmen. They appear on the Internet via advertising for the Kagga Kamma Reserve (see www.kaggakamma.co.za). Some members of the community travel overseas for political lobbying of First Peoples rights, for example, Petrus Vaalbooij, Dawid Kruiper and Belinda and Vetkat Kruiper. Links with advocacy organisations such as SASI and WIMSA also connect the community into wider communication networks (see Hitchcock, 1996). A resolution of the delegates at the National Khoisan Consultative Conference is "that a consultative NGO [Non Governmental Organisation] be established with a view on national and international networking" (2001) to enhance Bushman representation and global networking. The vitality of feeding into an international movement for the development of the rights of indigenous peoples is evident in John Bodley's *Victims of progress* (1982) which traces the increase in awareness of the plight of indigenous peoples and the dangers of western 'progress'. Links are already forming with other First People groups. Anna Festus (2000) described the visit of a Native American doctor who came and performed a spiritual ceremony with the community at Witdraai in the Northern Cape. He also visited Kagga Kamma and the event was covered by local and international media. Of course, their locally placed contact with international tourists also signifies their involvement in a differentiated global-local nexus. The chapter **Intercultural exchanges** deals with these foreigner-local relations and encounters in greater detail.

A Closing Note

Place is vital to Bushman identity formation in both Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma. The changing of locality does not affect the centrality of a particular place to Bushman identity and the physical landscape feeds into not only Bushman livelihood, but it would seem, their hearts and souls. Land rights is a contentious subject which entails issues of interethnic relations and competition. Both communities are also intentionally and unintentionally connected into wider networks of activity – economic, political, social and cultural.

CHAPTER 5: LANGUAGE

Literary Survey

"As the land is our life, language breathes life into our culture" (St. Denis, in Katz *et al*, 1997: 167) is a comment that eloquently expresses the salience of language – and land – to the Ju/'hoansi group studied. The category of language can therefore be added to the important aspects of identity formation that are representation, temporality and spatiality. "Language is taken to be at the heart of culture and identity for two central and related reasons: first, language is the privileged medium in which cultural meanings are formed and communicated. Second, language is the means and medium through which we form knowledge about ourselves and the social world" (Barker, 1999: 11).

Benedict Anderson's chapter entitled "The origins of national consciousness", illustrates how the combination of the capitalist development of print and the "fatal diversity of language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community" (1983: 49). Both historical embeddedness and language contribute to national identity. "Seen as both a historical fatality and as a community imagined through language, the nation presents itself as simultaneously open and closed" (Anderson, 1983: 133). His focus is on the formation of national consciousness, and national and ethnic cultural identities can also span over borders. The significance of language in identity formation is nevertheless duly noted. In general theoretical terms, identities are, "in a particular sense, not our own, for they are stories constructed from the intersubjective resource of language... Language is the tool by which we are 'made' and creatively 'make' ourselves, it is the pathway to identity" (Barker, 1999: 31).

All the surviving, original Khoe and San languages are in fact at risk of complete disuse, which is "an indicator of the general collapse of their economic and social systems" (Crawhall, 1998: 27). In South Africa, the suppression of language and cultural identity was a key component in the assertion of apartheid ideology and the justification of land seizure (Crawhall, 1998: 27). The fact that their languages were excluded from schools, they believe, contributed to the stigmatisation of their languages (Crawhall, 1998: 27).

In relation to colonial education and literary imperialism in Africa generally, it has been stated, "The bullet was the means of the physical subjugation. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation" (Thiongo, nd: 17). Although it perhaps over emphasises the victimisation of tribal⁷⁴ people, the power issues in language use are noted in the statement, "They [tribes] often speak the languages of their oppressors and have absorbed the lessons the oppressors have addressed to them" (Brody, 2000: 6). The point is later made that "[t]he resurgence of tribal voice has to do with both land and language" (Brody, 2000: 7). In Botswana, there is evidence of the power-laden values that are set up through language use. In the experience of one Mosarwa or Bushman student, "Setswana... becomes the language of development, progress and the future while Sesarwa [the language of the Bushmen] becomes the language of backwardness and the past" (Macdonald and Molamu, 1997: 331). Language use is therefore value and power laden.

The pain in the loss of a language is revealed in Petrus Vaalbooi's statement, "Here I sit without my mother's language, without my father's language. I am powerless. I only have Afrikaans. I am out. I feel sometimes like an exile. That, that is the sadness. Then you feel how painful it is, if you are without the language" (Brody, 2000: 8). An interviewee, Hendrik Stuurman, complains of a similar crisis in relation to the southern African language, Koekhoegowap or Nama that shares a similar history of suppression, "I feel... that I have drunk the milk of a strange woman that I grew up alongside another person. I feel like this because I do not speak my mother's tongue" (in *Weekly Mail and Guardian*, 1997). The emotional worth of a language is hereby signified.

"Language recognition and cultural recognition... are [also] important parts of political empowerment for indigenous peoples" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 186). In South Africa, some hope has been stirred up amongst the concerned Khoe and San people by the clauses in Article 6 of the 1994 South African Constitution that encourages the protection and development of the Khoi, Nama and San languages. Additionally, SASI began a search in 1997 for surviving #Khomani clan members, inspired to a certain extent by Elsie Vaalbooi (the then only known speaker of '*Boesmantaal*') who wanted to reclaim

⁷⁴ The word 'tribe' is a loaded term reminiscent of colonial categorising discourse, but is used in

Bushman land and language (Brody, 2000). By early 2000, fifteen speakers had been found "at the edge of coloured townships, as isolated workers in shacks beside white farms, at the margins" (Brody, 2000: 8). The importance of language to a project of identity construction is indisputable: "Through that language, encountered at mother's knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined, and futures dreamed" (Anderson, 1983: 140). Its link to a sense of self is even more vital. "The choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe" (Thiongo, 1986: 4).

Within a larger context, language is relevant in analysing impacts of globalisation which is "creating the condition for and enacting the relocation of languages and the fracture of cultures" (Mignolo, 1998: 42). Moreover, communication plays a central role in any kind of political mobilisation in which multiple languages can actually present certain challenges. Tsamkxao #Oma (a Ju/'hoan) states that, "Namibia is becoming independent, but talking together is still hard because not all of us can speak each other's languages. This is a problem when we try to work for land rights" (in Katz *et al*, 1997: 155).

The ideas that have emerged in this literary survey affirm the value of language as a creative tool to define oneself and as a tool of subjugation. Its use or loss is a sensitive, emotional topic for many. Its reclamation and encouragement can feed into political projects of empowerment, of centering previously marginal people.

Application of Empirical Results

Ngwatle

The multiple identity backgrounds of the Ngwatle community is evident in language use (Sehume, 2000). Each language spoken signifies a different story. Mangau Madietsane reported, "The language we speak mainly is !Kung [or Sesarwa, a Bushman language].

Brody's (2000) analysis.

That is Sekgalagadi we speak simply without it being our own language" (2000). Sekgalagadi, one of the Setswana languages, is learnt by the little children already at nursery school and is continued in later schooling. One extended family in Ngwatle, the Nxai family, speak Afrikaans because some of the members worked as labourers on Afrikaner-owned farms in Namibia. There are also those more educated young persons who are learning and can speak English. Miriam Motshabise, for example, who attended private schooling away from home, can converse in English. Sengologa is also spoken. And Setswana is the language used in the local *kgotla*.

Language affects the dynamics of any encounter between a visiting researcher and the local community and the results of that research. Belinda Jeursen (1999) and Keyan Tomaselli (2001) make reference to challenges experienced on fieldtrips with regard to language in interviews. Richard Katz, Megan Biesele and Verna St. Denis (1997) are careful to acknowledge the work and difficulties of the translators who aided them during their research and link the use of the orthography of the Ju/'hoan language to respecting and better understanding Ju/'hoan society.

In the interview context, language becomes crucial. The fact that I do not speak Sesarwa and that our translator only spoke Tswana and in fact, a different dialect, which is the 'language of the oppressor', is significant. The need not to waste too much time in translating meant that I often did not get to hear fully what the interviewee's response was, which in natural conversation flow would have triggered off further interesting deliberations. In one interview with Tshomu, my questions in English were being translated into Tswana by the translator, Jeffrey Sehume, which were in turn translated into Sesarwa (or Selala) by Pedris Mosthabise, a member of the community, for Tshomu and then back again. It is certain that many nuances and potential avenues for further debate were lost in this process.

Kagga Kamma

The #Khomani at Kagga Kamma speak Nama⁷⁵ as their mother tongue, as well as Afrikaans. Some speak a little English. The original Bushman language is not spoken by any of the group at Kagga Kamma. The role of language to Bushman identity is demonstrated by Petrus Vaalbooi who said that a Bushman's "language is the strongest bond to identify him" (2000). It is therefore of great sadness to him that the majority of the #Khomani community cannot speak their original language (Petrus Vaalbooi, 2000). He continued, "[the] heritage [is] important, the language of our great grandparents must be recorded, it must be made strong, it must be ploughed back into our children in the form of a school, museum, information centre" (2000). Dawid Kruiper re-iterated, "The tradition and the language are very important, but the tradition without a language, it's nothing" (2000).

A project has been initiated where the original Bushman language, the #Khomani language, is being recorded and translated by Leve Namaseb from the University of Namibia. Ouma !Una described the process, "We speak it and then he writes it, he writes it down. Then they put it through a computer and then make books for these children" (2000). But the books are "[s]o that everyone can learn" (Ouma !Una, 2000).

A nursery school has been started on one of the farms, called Brosdoring, where the two grannies live in the Northern Cape. (There is also a nursery school at Rietfontein). These two women are two of the twenty-two original language speakers who were 'discovered' in the search described by Brody (2000). The idea is that the young pre-schoolers will learn and begin to use the language spoken to them by Ouma !Una and Ouma Kys. This language acquisition is perceived as urgent. As Anna Festus stated, "Before the nursery school started, the Oumas already started speaking the original language with the small children. Because they are very concerned... one of these days they die and then the children can't speak the language yet" (2000). The older school children go to the government school at Welkom where they are taught in English and

⁷⁵ This is the most widely spoken of the Khoi languages and is most closely related to the Bushmen language (New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1980: 150).

Afrikaans. Most of the children of the adults who work at Kagga Kamma are at school in the Northern Cape (2001).

The acquisition of Afrikaans, the second language for most of the adults in the community, is directly related to work experience. Jakob Malgas' experience is indicative:

Afrikaans I got here at the Park, you understand, ... I tracked at the Park. Because my language the Boer came and said, "I must speak to the Boer in Afrikaans, so that the Boer can hear if it's a wet spoor or it's an old spoor or he's just been past here". You see I learnt Afrikaans as a language like that, you see. Because I can't with my language [Nama]. I can't, that man doesn't understand you see. I must. And you know then it was the apartheid years, then they hit. "Don't talk to me like, you don't know what... You can speak Afrikaans!" Now then you must try, even if it's stop-stop. "No *Oubaas*, it was this and it was that." Well, that's how I learnt Afrikaans (2000).

The political significance of the old Bushman language and its stormy history through apartheid discrimination, were described by Ouma !Una:

I want my father's language because we weren't allowed to speak it. If we spoke it then, when the world was full of Whites, Boers, then we would have died by their hands. But here lies the Bushmen. The Bushmen are still like they were when they started... But they said the last Bushman is buried at Tweerivier. But they lied! Here are all the Bushmen still. All of them are here... Because they don't want to hear the language. The Boer, the *Baster* and the Boer work together. They stamp out the language that the Bushmen spoke. There mustn't be a language Bushman (2000).

The link between eliminating a language and eliminating a people is evident in the activities of the apartheid government who tried to wash over individual group identity and pride and yet prevent unity between subordinated ethnic groups.

Jakob Malgas also warned against the possibility of misinterpretation and deceit when people who speak different languages are trying to communicate. He said, "But I, a Bushman, I must believe you who speak English, so you see that thing, you see. And that's where the problem comes. It's right there, there it comes you see. We can't believe each other because we speak a different language" (2000). One of my greatest frustrations during this research endeavour has been that my direct communication with people was minima as my school-level and unpracticed Afrikaans only allowed for basic communication and understanding. And as Jakob suggested, honest inter-personal connections and trust are made that much more difficult when there is not a common language.

A Closing Note

Language is a vital expression of identity. It reflects and is reflected upon by the culture of the speaker. For the groups at Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma it indicates the diverse histories of the people and tells a story about the power relations in which the group is implicated in society. Especially, for the #Khomani community it is seen as a pathway back to an historically precious, stable identity. In addition, language has a significant influence on the flow and value of communicative encounters.

CHAPTER 6: INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGES

Literary Survey

It has been shown thus far that identity is formed in circumstances of particular discursive representations and in relation to particular times and places. It has also been implied in the preceding chapters that identity is relational. In encounters with others, and especially culturally different others, one gains a more defined sense of one's own culture and identity. This section surveys that literature which investigates how intercultural exchanges might affect the identity construction of Bushmen.

"By endowing nations, societies, or cultures with the qualities of internally homogenous and externally distinctive and bounded objects, we create a model of the world as a global pool hall in which the entities spin off each other like so many hard and round billiard balls" (Wolf, 1982: 6). The notion of simplistic identities, as described above, which do not reflect the kind of intercultural exchanges characteristic of the present era, is challenged in Michael Chapman's (1997) attempt at a method of cultural analysis appropriate for South Africa in the global neighbourhood. Warning is sounded against the indiscriminate use of a 'postcolonial' method of analysis in the multi-faceted context of South Africa. In this context, "ethical humanism" (Appiah, in Chapman, 1997: 20) is distinguished as the key African consideration and the "West and Africa [are understood to] enrich and contaminate each other at levels more profound than styles of aesthetic representation" (Chapman, 1997: 21). South Africa's, and by extension Botswana's, re-entry into (or participation in) the world is understood in the context not only of "unprecedented global unity" but also "unprecedented local fragmentation" (Chapman, 1997: 21). The multiplicity and diversity of the present context is evident in the statement that "[w]hereas pre-global times were characterized by oppositions, global times are about proliferations; instead of unitary systems we have diverse modalities and rapid mobilities" (Chapman, 1997: 21). Any analysis therefore, of identity formation within the context of intercultural exchange needs to acknowledge the complexity of the historical process which combines both the rise in local identities and the globalisation of culture as complementary sides (Comaroff, 1996; Hall, 1991a: 27). In economic terms,

global capital has to operate through local capitals (Hall, 1991a: 28). In more cultural terms, "the global has to be interpreted and domesticated for it to have local meaning, and this in turn – the experience of globalism – underscores and reinforces an awareness of localism" (Wilmsen, 1996b: 17).

The notion of a social totality, and its critique, has come under review. In the light of South Africa's divided past, a postmodernist critique of totality might be dangerous (Chapman, 1997).⁷⁶ In fact, the "the language of multiplicity has in South Africa been the language of false endings" (Nixon, in Chapman 1997: 24). Nevertheless, any idea of 'wholeness' can only be seen in contradictory terms as an impermanent fixing within an unstable and relational discursive field (Tagg, 1991: 160). The salient point is that secure and single definitions of identity should be avoided. Chapman asserts, "[O]ur differentiated modernity, our hybrid condition, should ensure that we resist splitting our story into that of Africa and the West" (1997: 24). The analogy of shared story telling, for example, illustrates the impossibility of limiting a discussion of South Africa into the binary oppositions of 'African integrity' and 'Western internationalism' (Chapman, 1997). Investigation into the oral tradition reveals that "oral man is both traditional and modern, both communally oriented and individualistically inspired" (Chapman, 1997: 21). Historically then, Bushmen and African-language speakers cannot be regarded simplistically as others or essences.

The impact of globalisation on the 'insularity' of individual ethnic and national cultural identities is practically a given. "The fatality of thinking of 'local' cultures as uncontaminated or self-contained forces us to conceive of 'global' cultures, which itself remains unimaginable" (Bhabha, 1996: 54). The nature of the influence of cultures on each other is disputed in the debate about globalisation as cultural imperialism (or cultural homogenisation⁷⁷) as opposed to a more nuanced interaction and negotiation. The experience of academic researcher Gibson Boloka (2001) visiting Botswana brings this debate into sharp relief. In his experience, cultural exchange occurred quite literally. The visitors left a tape of rock and roll music and took with them tourist memorabilia

⁷⁶ This should be viewed in relation to the concern for totalising nationalist narratives (Robins, 1998: 120- 140).

that speak 'on behalf of' the Ngwatle San in a new locale. The conventional model of cultural exchange "presumes the existence of a pure, internally homogenous, authentic, indigenous culture which becomes subverted or corrupted by foreign influences" (Morley and Robins, 1995: 128). The reality, however, as argued by Boloka (2001) and Tomaselli (2001), is that every culture has, in fact, ingested foreign elements from exogenous sources, with the various elements gradually becoming 'naturalised' within it (Morley and Robins, 1995: 129-130).

In accordance with this perspective, a tape recorder used by the rural community visited for announcing events is interpreted by Boloka (2001) as an object of indigenisation. In a discussion of the tension between cultural homogenisation⁷⁷ and heterogenisation, Arjun Appadurai argues that "as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized" (1993: 328). This interpretation resonates with the statement that "[t]he transnational flow of universalizing signs demands their domestication, that they be made meaningful and salient to homespun realities" (Comaroff, 1996: 174). Contextualised technology is vital as a "technology has no inherent value outside its mobilizations in specific discourses, practices, institutions and relations of power" (Tagg, 1991: 159). In her study on Salvadoran refugees in multicultural states, Langer (1998) demonstrates how the discourse of the opposition between dominant and ethnic cultures often disguises the permeability of cultural boundaries. She speaks not of "discretely bounded 'ethnic culture' but 'life-worlds' that had to a greater or lesser extent incorporated elements of global culture" (1998: 171). This also highlights the fact that although the world seems to be drawing nearer to a global culture, local cultural forms still have agency over the way that they use, incorporate and negotiate global trends. Additionally, the 'local' and 'exotic' do find their way into the centre, albeit in a repackaged form for the 'world bazaar' (Robins, 1991). Some would argue that this is merely global capital's productive use of particularity (Robins, 1991: 28-31, 33-36; Hall, 1991a: 32) rather than any substantial cultural fight-back. There is also the implosion of the periphery into the centre through mass,

⁷⁷ Barbara Abou-El-Haj interprets homogenisation as a modern version of the colonial, quasi-scientific theory of 'vanishing races' (1991: 139).

⁷⁸ Ulf Hannerz (1991) refers to a 'periphery corruption scenario' wherein the periphery 'corrupts' the cultural flow from the centre (108).

unplanned migration (see Hall, 1992: 310-316; for example see Gilroy, 1987), but this is not directly relevant to this study.

The presence of satellite dishes in rural communities in Botswana (Boloka, 2001) denotes the infiltration of global culture. Satellite television is "free of geographical restrictions" (Paterson, 2000: 7) and is therefore advantageous to the large rural populations normally excluded from access to terrestrial channels (which have only recently been established in Botswana in terms of a national broadcaster). It does, at the same time, beg the question of content, which typically consists of "sports, American movies, and European and American newscasts" (Paterson, 2000: 7-8). This is suggestive of the damaging one-way flow of communication from the West to the Rest that is often criticised in contemporary political economic debates, as exemplified by Paterson's visual imperialistic approach. Although such arguments perform the important task of indicating biases in worldwide information flows, which need to be corrected, they ignore the possibilities for negotiation of the global within local contexts. After ethnographic examination of a Nigerian town, Ulf Hannerz writes, "Local cultural entrepreneurs have gradually mastered the alien cultural forms which reach them through the transnational commodity flow and in other ways, taking them apart, tampering and tinkering with them in such a way that the resulting new forms are more responsive to, and at the same time in part outgrowths of everyday life" (1991: 124). Concentrated analysis is required, which reveals the "set of unpredictable, disjointed and multidirectional cultural flows" rather than the "simple expansion of western institutions and cultural formations to the rest of the world" (Barker, 1999: 33).

Intercultural encounters, whether viewed as the domination of West over the Rest or as unpredictable, two-way interactions, are identity forming. "National-societal cultures have been differentially formed in interpenetration with significant others. By the same token, global culture itself is partly created in terms of specific interactions between and among national societies" (Robertson, 1991: 89). Importantly, "identities are not things but relations; ...their content is wrought in the particularities of their ongoing historical construction" (Comaroff, 1996: 165-166). The most obvious scenario for intercultural exchange is the context of the meeting between visiting tourists and local Bushmen communities. This involves a differential economic relationship as well as processes of

commodification, authentication and exhibition, relative empowerment and agency. These issues and the stereotypes that the tourists often bring with them and which in fact, often inspire their journeys, as well as stereotypes the Bushmen have of the tourists, have been discussed in **The discursive approach to identity construction**. For the Bushmen, the relevance of these visiting tourist 'others' and those ethnic 'others' with whom they interact on a more permanent basis, is that "identity depends on ... dialogical relations with others" (Taylor, 1994: 34).

Intercultural communication is experienced through ethnicity, which has already been established as a relational concept that inevitably entails power play (Wilmsen, 1996: 5; Barker, 1999: 62) and is discursively constructed. "Ethnicity can be deployed to suggest that a social formation operates with plural and equal groups rather than hierarchical racialized groups" (Barker, 1999: 63), therefore questions of power and racism should always be acknowledged. The Basarwa/Bushmen have historically and still do occupy a socially excluded position in Botswana (Nyathi, forthcoming). Speaking of the strict social hierarchy in frontier towns in South Africa, Vaalbooi notes that God is at the top, "followed by white men and women, coloured men and women (who arrived recently from the Cape), *Basters* (descendants of the colonial trekboers), Nama, and then Bushmen" (in *Weekly Mail and Guardian*, 1997). Apartheid racial mythology might well be as thriving as ever, appearing in the form of the "mythological original and authentic status for the dominant "*Black*" "*African*" "*Nguni-Sotho*" elite" in contrast with "other less authentic identities: *white*, *coloured* and *Asian*" (Crawhall, 1998, 29). Historically, both Khoe and San have been subsumed into this broader Coloured community (Crawhall, 1998; Prins, 2000; White, 1995). As Barker argues,

[Ethnicity]... must concern itself with the relations between groups which define each other in the context of power so that ethnicity is concerned with questions of relations of marginality, of the centre and the periphery, in the context of changing historical forms and circumstances (1999: 64).

Intercultural exchange occurs as a result of physical movement and changes the context of identity formation. The movement of Kortjan Nxai and his family, now residing in Ngwatle, between Namibia and parts of south central Botswana (Boloka, 2001) is

suggestive of a 'culture of migration.' This combines elements of the old parent culture (belonging to the migrators' place of origin) and the new culture (belonging to the new location), evident in the trappings of their new life (permanent housing, donkeys etc.). In the context of migration, "the people have taken with them only a part of the total culture... The culture which develops on the new soil must therefore be bafflingly alike and different from the parent culture" (Eliot, in Bhabha, 1996: 94). It could be successfully argued that migration frequently results in renewed processes of identity construction as different cultures are brought into contact with each other and old arrangements are changed and new competition occurs for the same resources (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998). The migration path of the family, its interactions and altercations with people *en route* and in their new home, the "inevitable frictions as it [the fixed space] becomes more populated" (Boloka, 2001) are indicative of the social changes that can occur on migration. The people in the photographs taken on the 1999 field trip appear culturally mixed. This would belie the assumption that there are cohesive, insular communities still in existence and assert instead the existence of the "hybrid 'cultures' that intersect through migration at the end of the Twentieth Century" (Langer, 1998: 175).

International agencies (for example, human rights and aid, religious and environmental organisations) may be regarded as the locus for relationships of international, cultural interchange. Their role however is paradoxical. They are themselves global phenomena similar to multinational capital and its state and academic subsidiaries, using new technology and communication services to strengthen solidarity amongst different groups in the world system (Langer, 1998: 172-173). Yet they also act as mechanisms which call out the specificity of the ethnic or indigenous subject. As such, they serve as forces which maintain "cultural boundaries that might otherwise be submerged" and act in opposition to the circulation of " 'homogenising' cultural and material commodities" (Langer, 1998: 172). An example is the Cambridge-based organisation Cultural Survival which addresses the plight of the Ju/'hoansi of Namibia, as described by Elizabeth Garland (1998), who came into contact with the organisation on the World Wide Web. She explains how global discourse interpellates the Web browsers as members of a "particular [benevolent] global community of people", the aid-givers and the Ju/'hoansi are established as "societies of people in need of that help" (Garland, 1998: 14). The

Bushmen have become a “locus for the mobilization of a host of actors around a collective social objective”. These well-meaning actors, a range of institutional and individual players, form “just the kind of ‘web’ or ‘network’ invoked in most current imaginings of ‘global civil society’ ” (Garland, 1998: 15). This example reveals the complexity of a situation where the Bushmen are being implicated in a global social network which seems to call out their ethnic specificity in relation to homogenising forces and yet relegates them to the outskirts of the debate about their own future (see also Tomaselli, 2001; 1999a). The glaring cavity is the absence of the voice of the Ju/'hoansi themselves. Access is a pivotal issue of globalisation.⁷⁹

The central theme in this section has been that identity is relational. Various intercultural encounters, for example, through relations with ethnic groups of differential power in society; through global, cultural and media flows; in new spaces of migration or through international agencies, involve a communicative negotiation where different meanings are exchanged which may affect one's sense of self.

Application of Empirical Results

As has been argued, identity is created largely in relation to others and in the case of the Bushmen, a primary location for this identity-forming interaction is in the tourist setting. In terms of tourism, the Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma experiences offer very different perspectives.

Ngwatle

A significant change, affecting the community's external and internal interpersonal relations, is the development of a joint tourism project in the Ngwatle area. This links Ngwatle to two nearby villages through the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust and to the Safaris Botswana Bound company.

⁷⁹ See notes on ‘Agency’ in **Conclusion** in this work.

Amber Pollock (2000) of Safaris Botswana Bound explained the company's involvement. The initial period granted for lease of the KD/1 area was three years, although it is debatable whether the Safaris Company will need to re-tender at the end of each year. In the initial tender, four different developments were planned: two hunting camps, one photographic camp and a training centre. At the time of the interview with Pollock, only the hunting camps had been established and eighty staff employed, although this number was expected to increase. Kaki Matlakala (2000), who lives in Ngwatle and is employed by the SBB as entrance guard, clarified how jobs have been created for four people in Ngwatle as entrance guard, field guides and camp cook, while others are employed at the campsites at Ukhwi and Nqwaa. The previous Safari Company, which passed through the village once a year, had brought its own employees. Amber explained how money given to the Trust in the form of "pretty steep" (2000) lease fees has provided the impetus for the communities to set up their own camp sites for which Safaris provides the service of tourist advertising (this was unattainable at the time of writing). Safaris has a social responsibility fund which the Trust monitors and they have provided for example, blankets and boxes of clothes which the Trust distributes between the three villages. Hunting license fees are paid directly by the company to the government.

In these initial phases, the venture has not been without challenges. Amber cited difficult tourists who refuse to pay the entrance guard as one of the problems, "And they're not going to convince every guy that he has to pay and... there are only four of us [from the Company] and we can't be everywhere all the time" (2000). Each village is equipped with a two-way radio for such emergencies. (Mangau Madietsane (2000) however, complained that even though a radio was brought to Ngwatle to communicate with the other villages, it did not function and was taken away). Kaki Matlakala (2000) complained about an incident when five motor vehicles with drunken visitors arrived and almost knocked over the field guide who tried to stop them and then one left in the morning without paying.

In addition, dissatisfaction is evident amongst the employees. Kaki Matlakala (2000) complained that her job of handling the visitors was supposed to be better remunerated. Miriam Motshabise (2000), who was employed as village cook and in fact, left her job

while we were there, complained that her monthly payment of 310 pula was not according to their agreement of 600 to 1000 pula. Keyan Tomaselli suggested to her that it might be because the work is commission based but if so, this was not understood. Mangau Madietsane's criticism of the SBB lies with the fact that none of its promises had been fulfilled. These included paying for burials of community members and contributing to the soccer team. He stated, "They were talking just to praise themselves" (Mangau Madietsane, 2000). 'Safaris' defence (Amber Pollock, 2000) is the difficulty of producing all the changes, especially in terms of money and jobs, in a single year when they had envisaged a five-year plan. Amber Pollock described the "initial, painstaking process of getting things working" (2000) and of course, although involved in a joint venture, Safaris is privately owned and above all else aims at profit making.

On one occasion, strolling through the village, we witnessed a buck carcass being thrown off the back of the Safaris' vehicle at one of the homesteads. Later we witnessed, at another household, a carcass suspended in a thorn tree being chopped into pieces with an axe. Apparently, this was the first time that meat had been delivered to the village in terms of the agreement which the village had with the Company. The method of cutting the meat did not seem characteristic of the detailed and respectful knowledge which Bushmen are praised of having of animals. Robert Waldron elaborated:

Bushmen have a very, very detailed understanding of every animal's anatomy that they hunt... each animal has value apart from the flesh that they eat... They understand and know where each organ is not only from a hunter's point of view, but from an anatomist's point of view. They understand the details and functions of those organs and how that animal works, probably more profoundly than most anatomists do. It's a very fine process the way that they cut up the animal, set aside the skin, set aside... all the various things that can be used from the animal for other things, so it's generally quite a refined process and it's done with a great deal of care (2000).

A possible explanation for this out of character behaviour could be hunger or lack of respect for an animal that they have not actually hunted themselves. The community

has an arrangement with the Safari Company that they deliver the meat of half of the animals hunted by their paying foreign visitors, to the three villages. The possible pejorative consequence of this arrangement on the hunting skills of the community is evident in Kaptein's remarks, "We will lose our culture of hunting because we will be thinking, 'When are they coming?' That is the time we lose our track, losing our culture" (Mangau Madietsane, 2000). Further, Tshomu described the ecological harm caused by its presence:

The way I see it, I do not see the Safari doing things the proper way. Because we used to know that a 'kukama' [buck], when you approach it, you must come near, send the dogs after it, and trap it. But now with the Safari, when they see the 'kukama' standing maybe at the water tank, a person just stands still and shoots it. Where you find that they begin to fear the sound of a rifle and that of a motor vehicle. And now there is no 'kukama' you cannot hunt with dogs. The Safari people have damaged things for us (2000).

The hunting and meat delivery system also brought up issues of discrimination felt by members of Ngwatle that Ngwatle was not receiving its fair share. Meat was supposed to have been delivered to them once a week or every second week (Robert Waldron, 2000) and the delivery marked the first time in six months that this had occurred. Kaki Matlakala asserted, "[T]he Safari said that it will hunt for the people [but] the Trust sells it over at Ukhwi. Here in Ngwatle, it does not arrive which means that there is discrimination between the people here in Ngwatle and the people at Ukhwi" (2000). This should be seen in the context of Ngwatle community members' fear of competition and discrimination by ethnic groups from other villages, as will be discussed subsequently in this section.

A consequence observed of the Safaris Bound presence in the area is the inevitable development of a mini bureaucracy. On the first morning after our arrival, Kaki Matlakala arrived with register book and locked tin moneybox in hand. We had camped on a spot to which we had been directed the previous night. It was the area where Robert Waldron and the CMS research team usually stayed on the outskirts of the village, rather than at the official tourist campsite which is several kilometres away. She

was coming to collect our entrance and vehicle fees laid out in the Visitors' brochure we had been given the previous night. It was decided after some discussion (and later, in consultation with a SBB employee who had come to pay salaries) that we would be exuded from these tariffs on account of the relationship already established with the community on previous field trips and the 'goods' we had brought as gifts.⁸⁰ Vista Nxai, who is employed as a field guide, had to ask Kaki Matlakala – who as entrance guard is unofficial, bureaucratic leader in Ngwatle for SBB – permission if he could take a drive with us to Ukhwi if we were not going to pay him for his services, even if he actually needed a lift. On arriving at the hunting camp at Ukhwi to take a look around, we were accosted by a gatekeeper who said we needed to pay an entrance fee for our presence there.

In terms of the actual interactions between locals and visitors certain points can be noted. Robert Waldron (1999) proffered a story of going on a hunt with two or three hunters from Ngwatle to Mastleng Pan which illustrates the ludicrous gap between reality and imitated myth. On arrival, Yeye (one of the hunters) started to change from his denim shorts and T-shirt into a "fancy little leather Bushman loincloth" (Robert Waldron, 1999). Waldron related the explanation Yeye gave for this:

"No, no" he says, "this is where the Safari Company comes through". Then they pick him and a few of the guys up that have now made these little loincloths. "And they take us through to Masetleng Pan and then we put on our little loincloths, and we pose there for the tourists, and then we pretend to suck water out of the water well... and go through a couple of hunting poses" (1999).

Tomaselli (1999) related a similar incident told to him by G/aq'o, lead actor in *The gods must be crazy* (1980). When tourists found him sitting in overalls outside a five-roomed house with a tin roof in Eastern Bushmanland, they promptly went and bought him traditional dress from the curio store so that they could take photographs of him as a 'real' Bushman. These incidents demonstrate the active 'dressing up' of Bushmen for the part of hunter-gatherer living in idyllic surrounds for the benefit of foreign visitors. And

⁸⁰ Keyan Tomaselli, head of the research trip, had not anticipated these costs in the budget as the

when tourists find the real version they are sometimes disappointed. Pedris Motshabise recounted:

Sometimes they are disappointed sometimes they are not. Sometimes they are alarmed to realise that they came here with great expectations to see the real Bushmen of the Kalahari only to find such people are no longer there, what remains are only the new version of the Basarwa. They say Basarwa are no longer in existence (1999).

This is an example of people being denied Bushman identity because they do not fit the stereotypical media-created image. Wafola Nerubucha's excitement and later, disillusionment after seeing the conditions of life at the rural village, considering the preconceptions he had, are an indication of how a tourist might respond:

I was still thinking about it [*The gods must be crazy*] in the back of my mind, here comes a chance to see the Bushmen. And I was excited. I wanted to see how these people are. They're still the most, I can say, basic, the most, I can say, primitive in the way they live and I would really be able to see how they live, how they interact, how they think and all that. And now that I'm here and I find, it's a bit different. It's like the picture is now, they're losing it (2000).

The media-inspired image that he had arrived with was one conceived largely in terms of the Man versus Nature theme. "I thought he's a simple man who lives in a very harsh environment, wild and harsh environment but manages to survive. And that is what I wanted to see" (Wafola Nerubucha, 2000). Expectations that tourists might have were also evident to me in responses from friends and acquaintances, to my descriptions of the trip. "Do they still move around nomadically?" and "Do they still live traditionally as hunter-gatherers?" I would be eagerly asked. And on my giving a qualified "no", people would invariably lose interest. One friend commented on seeing my photographs, "It's such a pity they don't dress traditionally any more" (2000). All of these observations register a denial of identity to 'prospective' Bushmen because they do not look the

tourism project had been established in the interim since his last trip to Ngwatle in July 1999.

stereotypical part. In other words, for these people, Bushman identity cannot change or adapt through time.

This difference between the image projected to tourists and how life really is, corresponds with Goffman's (1956) differentiation between front and back stage and MacCannell's (1976, 1989) appropriation of it. Kortjan Nxai explained the practice of dressing up for tourists, which clearly evokes a language of staged performance in the public space that is separated from private.

Now they put on these [traditional] clothes, now, now they take photos. When they've finished being photographed, then maybe they go home. They go back to being like us... But us Bushmen now, we still know the olden day times, yes, there we also had the clothes we sell here, for those who go dance, they take those clothes there, put them on and perform, perform, perform. The time that they go home, come here, they wear their clothes, easy (Kortjan Nxai, 1999).

Hunter Sixpence similarly described, "You know normally when they are going to dance in the evening, they dress traditionally, then after dancing then tomorrow they take off their clothes" (1999).

The dressing up in traditional clothes is understood as a performance for which they receive monetary compensation (Kortjan Nxai, 1999). 'White men' are the only visitors who are interested in taking photographs and their value is purely economic. The tourists "are doing a good thing because they pay... Yes, to help you with that life you didn't have" (Kortjan Nxai, 1999). The power of capital is such that the local people will, in rather an uncomplicated way, do whatever the tourist requires. "They want it like that so they can take pictures", said Kortjan Nxai (1999). Hunter Sixpence's explanation indicates this solid economic imperative in the tourist interactions and the resultant construction of a performative front stage modelled on tourist romantic expectations and the 'normal' backstage:

So immediately it will then go according to what the tourists like them to do. Because the tourist is paying money to come and see people dress traditionally.

And when they are dancing then also the tourists will like those people to wear traditional and then to go on bush walk. That is the people are willing to do because once you not do that, tourists will not come. And what you are looking for is money, so you have to accept what the tourists want you to do. So the people will dance. They will not put on their overalls or their normal clothes. They will put on skins and they will dance. Then tomorrow morning they will go for a bush walk. Then if the tourists like them to dress and to put their bow and arrow on their shoulders, then they put it and go. What the community really is looking for is money. They will like the tourists to have the historical story from the Game Park. So after that when they come back then the people will then dress normally (1999).

Before the Safaris Botswana Bound started leasing the KD/1 area, Robert Waldron and Issac⁸¹ (from the first Safari Company) were the principle visitors from the outside. Even though Waldron is often described as a friend, their value is also essentially economic:

[The]two of them were very, very helpful in the sense that whenever they come here, they buy whatever they are selling and they never complain about the prices. And the second thing is that, unlike Robert, Isaac has lots and lots of people that he carries along, and the buying power increases (Jeffrey Sehume, 1999).

In this dynamic in which economically unbalanced power relations operate, choice becomes a key factor in empowerment. Waldon asserted:

I think if the Bushmen understand and realise what can happen and they have the choice that they can see, "Well, yes, there are people who come here and want to see us in loin cloths or aiming arrows at targets when we never use arrows and poison anymore" and they can make that decision about whether to cater to that kind of tourist or not to, to provide more authentic views of their lives to others.

⁸¹ His surname is unknown.

But it would be sad if they weren't empowered with that choice themselves... (2000).

The relationship that develops between tourists and Bushmen cannot be understood in any simplistic mechanistic terms. The notion of 'choice' should not be inflated to great heights of 'agency' in an economic system that clearly defines (and restricts) certain groups to positions of subordination. It is possible, nevertheless, to conceive of Bushmen as both "objects of tourism and tourism producers" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 278), although in the case of Ngwatle they are only at the start of the process in which such relationships are formed. Waldron, as one of the first visitors to Ngwatle, recorded their total surprise that he "had bothered to come all that way to see them do what they normally do and that ...[he] was amazed, awed, thrilled and excited by it" (2000). This then served as a process of validation and revelation for them that would have been strengthened by subsequent visitors. The plan to build campsites was an attempt to manage the tourists when they enter the area (Pedris Motshabise, 1999). Mangau Madietsane stated, "With the knowledge of campsites, I know how they are managed. Those I presently work with are just kids. They do not know what are visitors, like when you guys arrived, they should know how it is done. They have not understood correctly" (2000). His comments indicate the newness of such tourist or visitor and community relations and introduces the topic of our, the research team's, interactions with the people of Ngwatle.

An important aspect of intercultural relations is, of course, the interactions between the research team and the community and the impact that our stay had on the community. Waldron's comments indicate the immediately tangible effects:

Already we see that we are creating a little micro economy here by our presence. People are coming here bringing us beadwork, skins, and various other crafts. And seeking some kind of exchange with us to get money and because our little group represents by far a huge wealth beyond probably the whole of this village, they see us as having financial potential for them. And we have created a little micro economy here, but more than that having brought the video camera in here and then on our first day we asked them if they would mind us filming them. And

then the relatively long discussion amongst the group... with the outcome being that they agreed from the initial auction being at 2 pula, they agreed on 5 pula to be divided. We see that now after a few days they may start regarding the camera as a sort of means of income, and start performing to it less naturally and simply for other motives. And the camera may start becoming a – may illicit actions and reactions that are not necessarily natural or real in terms of what I want to convey (1999).

The economic base results in payment issues becoming an important point of negotiation and communication. On the 1999 trip, "one of the guys demanded that Gibson take a picture and then demanded 5 pula... I suspect that they [Jeffrey Sehume and Gibson Boloka] were somewhat cowed into further interactions" (Tomaselli, 1999). Yet as Waldron pointed out, "they've learnt – and I think quite rightly so – to start setting a value on people coming into their communities and simply taking from them" (1999).

In 2000, the fact that we had brought with us a large amount of second-hand clothing to distribute amongst the villagers resulted in a full day of negotiation as to how this should be achieved. Kaki Matlakala is usually entrusted with such tasks of distribution on behalf of the Trust. But Miriam and Pedris Motshabise came and voiced their concerns to us on behalf of the rest of the community, that she has abused this role in the past and only given clothes and T-shirts from Safaris Bound to her close friends and relatives. The Trust (another option), which was not based in Ngwatle, would have distributed the clothes amongst all three villages. We ended up taking part in an adhoc committee which arranged representatives from each family household to stand in a line, and a garment was arbitrarily pulled out and handed to each in the presence of the community who had gathered at our camp early that day.

An additional characteristic of the relations between us as researchers and the community is the operation of a front and back stage (Goffman, 1956). When discussing the nature of the Bushman identity that is presented to us, Waldron commented:

I think that may be a façade that is presented to you... So in deeper discussion with most of the Bushmen, it seems to me that their pride and their core in their own identity still resides deeply within them and it's still something that they long for, need to want and validate. But on the surface, depending on how you present yourself, they may present a different pose (2000).

Authenticity is a difficult quality to capture and levels of performative 'fronts' may be multiple. Nevertheless, even fronts provide interesting research results.

Interaction also occurs at an inter-ethnic level. Miriam Motshabise (2000) suggested that groups such as the Bakgalagadi do not treat the Bushmen, who work at their cattleposts, well. The inferior economic position of the Basarwa/Bushmen in the Botswana economy is felt by the fact that all three of the spaza shops/street vendors in Ngwatle, from which the community buys its basic groceries, are owned by Bakgalagadi. Waldron described the Tswana people who come to Ngwatle as economically superior:

It also must be said that there've been a great deal of Tswana people moving in to that community over the last five or six years and there's been a lot of mobility between Hukuntsi and Ngwatle. And the Tswana people that do come generally bring a little bit more 'wealth'. They either bring a vehicle or access to a vehicle... or ability to brew alcohol (2000).

Community fears at being ousted by other more powerful groups are evident:

They [the community] only want Basarwa here. They don't want Bakgaladadi because if Ngwatle becomes, if the council can develop Ngwatle and it becomes a settlement, the Bakgalagadi will come and then they are going to treat Basarwa [badly]. That's why they don't want Bakgalagadi in the settlement (Miriam Motshabise, 2000)

Interactions with wealthier and more powerful ethnic groups has to some extent weakened Bushman cultural identity and some of the younger Bushmen seem to be moving towards a Tswana identity. Tryco Nxai asks, "Why should I be a Bushman

anymore? What can I possibly gain from it? We're a dying society. I will never make any money. I will never be wealthy like the Tswana, so therefore I'm not going to be a Bushman" (Robert Waldron, 2000). A similar trend is registered by Katz *et al* in relation to Western influences on young Ju/'hoansi, "Many young people can't help but feel that, in comparison with the lifestyles of these government workers, their own elders' lives seem impoverished. The orientation of these younger Ju/'hoansi is now more toward wage labor and purchased food and clothing than it is toward living from their skills on the modest support the land could once provide" (1997: 29). As is suggested later though, new orientations and evolutions in living and traditions are possible and in fact desirable, while maintaining continuity with the past (Katz *et al*, 1997: 55). As such, cultural identity may remain both dynamic and potent.

Miriam (2000) described the confusion that government officials have wrought by variously telling them that the community is recognised as a settlement and then not. In January 2000, a member of parliament came to tell them they were recognised and the drilling of boreholes began, so, she stated:

I saw that the member of parliament was telling the truth. Then the guy came on February and he told us that we are not many in Ngwatle, we are few, we are supposed to go to other villages. But if the Member of Parliament came, he told us that Ngwatle is recognised as a settlement. They are supposed to build a primary school, a pre-school and other houses... [The community] became happy when they had the Member of Parliament telling them, then the councillor came and told them that Ngwatle is not recognised as a community (Miriam Motshabise, 2000).

An overriding fear is that they will be forced to re-locate again. Pedris Motshabise (personal communication, 2000) also related how in 1997, the government had tried to move them to other neighbouring villages, but they had refused. "They want to chase us from this settlement. But we can't go to another settlement... then those who are in other villages maybe they can chase us. They don't want us in their villages", complained Miriam (2000). There is an historical explanation for this kind of anxiety. The forced removal of the community from a bore hole at Masetleng Pan (described in

Identity in terms of a logic of spatiality) is a sign of inter-ethnic competition and tension. The incident "built a core of resentment in them and mistrust ever since that event... Distrust of people who come into their territory and take away their rights. You can't get much more disempowering than someone refusing you water in your land" (Robert Waldron, 2000).

Government aid has seen certain material developments in Ngwatle (as discussed in **Identity in terms of Spatial Logic**). Yet it is still felt that government intervention is unreliable, as suggested above, prejudiced against the 'Basarwa' and insufficient. Bixgao Sixpence complained, "We are nothing in this country, we are nothing. They are not thinking about us. We don't know how is government feeling about these San people, because there are many things that are happening here really" (1999). There is a perceived inaction on the government's part, "The government does not do anything", said Mangau Madietsane (2000). Amber Pollock (2000) on the other hand, affirmed that in comparison to South Africa, Botswana is a lot more active in its development programmes.

The combination of modern, Western influences with the old traditional life is inevitable. "They kind of like the old life. But in the old life, they do want their radios and their booze and so on. So slowly the cultures are overlapping" (Robert Waldron, 2000) and interacting. One evening outside one of the homesteads in the village, West African kwasa-kwasa music was playing loudly from a radio and the young girls danced a traditional kwasa-kwasa dance they had learnt at school. Even in this remote place, there is hence evidence of a "global ecumene of persistent cultural interaction and exchange" (Hannerz, 1991: 107). This is very far from the 'billiard ball' theory of cultural interaction (Wolf, 1982: 6) and is observable in the very presence of Vista Nxai. He is the esteemed hunter and tracker who has strong physical Bushmen features. He was dressed in a T-shirt from the Safaris Botswana Bound, pants and an army-style camouflage hat. He put down his Western guitar that was tucked under his arm to kick

a soccer ball around in the sand and later spontaneously stamped his feet in a traditional Bushman dance to the Bushman music⁸² playing from Tshomu's ghetto blaster.

Tshomu suggested how old musical instruments and new technology can co-exist. This combination suggests a theory of cultural heterogenisation, rather than homogenisation:

It is not because we have abandoned those things we used to use. The tapes [radios] are used... only... [because] we like to know what is happening with the general news of Botswana. Now the other things, as you heard me say, when you come back you will find me [having] made them, playing them [Bushman instruments], playing them and then taking the radio and putting it aside. As you saw the other day we changed our clothes, but in the past we used loincloths... being our only clothes. I used to wear them. Now the problem is that they are not available today. When you return, you will find me having made the instruments and in the morning I will prepare myself to come to you wearing [traditional] clothes (2000).

His enthusiasm for both tools or sources of music indicates that even if modern technology is acquired, it is indigenised and used in ways specific to its local context (see Boloka, 2001).

Significant to the nature of the intercultural encounters with Bushmen is that in many of the situations described above I am involved in the communicative exchange. The centrality of the researcher's social and cultural position to the outcomes of the research process has already been established (see **A matter of ethics.**) My position as a white woman, as a largely Western-trained researcher who is located "amid the post-apartheid, postmodern and feminist paradigms of my own historical era" (Bregin, 1998: 30) and as an idealistic student influences the nature of my encounters on the field trips. It is crucial to qualify my experience, which would have affected any of the interpretations made in this analysis.

⁸² This was a commercially bought audiocassette, brought by Tomaselli from Ghanzi, Botswana

On the Ngwatle trip (2000), I had already had my first experience of meeting with Bushmen people in an observer-observed relation, but at Kagga Kamma (1999) this exchange was controlled and limited in time. At Ngwatle, we camped on the outskirts of the village. People would walk out through the *veld* to visit us at our campsite at their will. Some community members spent hours with us each day. Later during our stay, we ventured into the village, but only when we had someone from Ngwatle with us and even then, I felt unsure about offending anyone by entering their private space. My uncertainty was probably partly a result of the Kagga Kamma experience where private and public or visitor spaces are clearly differentiated⁸³.

On this particular field trip, my position as a woman had for me the most profound effect on research results. On the first morning, we had woken up to the sound of clicking sounds outside our tent. The community had gathered, built a fire and were waiting for us to wake up. I was enchanted by the close proximity, despite the wide-open spaces, of the people to us, especially after the strange distance that was established in the close, tourist meeting place at Kagga Kamma. Miriam Motshabise arrived that morning at the fire and walked straight around to my side and initiated a conversation with me. Miriam and Catherine Tomaselli had become friends on the 1995 CMS field trip to Ngwatle and Belinda Jeursen had interviewed Miriam at length (1995). Her attraction to me was evidently a result of my being a woman (the other researchers were all men), an English speaker (she is one of the few educated in English in Ngwatle) and in terms of her past experience of CMS visitors.

My relationship with Miriam coloured many of my interpretations. Tired of the more formal, recorded interviews surrounded by men at the campsite, we took a walk together one afternoon to her homestead. It was an interesting change in perspective to visit her home as a 'friend' who gets introduced to the family, rather than the researcher I had spent most of the week being. Our conversations revolved around school, music, boyfriends and friends. We even discussed the latest developments in the American soap opera, the *Bold and the Beautiful*, which she used to watch at

(200kms north) on the previous 1999 trip.

boarding school. My sense of her – in the brief time we spent together – was of a frustrated woman, someone whose education and experience is at odds with her remote, rural home. This kind of background information I think is important in understanding a person's opinions. I felt privileged to have had that opportunity.⁸³ My discussions with Miriam also prompted thoughts on my own comparative ease of self-betterment in an environment where ambition can easily be accommodated and the traditional and modern do not clash substantially.

The position of entitlement (Katz *et al*, 1997: 3) of the researcher is a matter which should not be left unrecognised. On the trip to Ngwatle in particular, I was constantly aware of the signs of Western convenience which were on display in our camp site and on our person – the video camera, the Sani vehicle, the boxes of food, the camp table and chairs, tents, gas lamps and our own attire. (This is despite our privileged belief that we were living humbly, 'roughing it'.) On an occasion, I was made aware of this directly by someone complaining about the neediness and poverty of the community (personal communication, 2000). Our privilege is also evident in the "implicit power, even the impertinence, that allowed us to come and go from the Kalahari at our own wish and pursue topics that fit into our own personal and professional interests" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 148-149). I also felt stingy at only being able to buy a few pieces of handcraft according to the budget that I had brought for the trip.

My participation in the local cash economy and the personal belongings I was able to leave behind, were within my individual capacity. As a research team, we brought items that we knew were needed from the previous trip (clothing and soccer balls) and in this way, the next trip will contribute in a similar manner⁸⁴. In Katz *et al* (1997), justification for the research team's 'ease of entry' is given in terms of the learning that took place and the researchers' commitment to acting as the peoples' advocates. My commitment is to continue to honour the learning, which I was afforded and to act in a manner that

⁸³ Belinda Jeursen (1995) also remembers being conscious of space and how to interact socially. She relates that two members of that team waked through the village and felt "that they had unconsciously violated a community space" (1995: 2).

⁸⁴ Our visit to the village together also opened up the opportunity for all in the research group to later take a walk with her and gain a different sensory experience of the village from what we had had up until that point.

honours the people that I met. I agree with Ngakaeaja *et al*/that the overall objective is to contribute to a body of research which serves to uplift the people in terms of a "joint search for preserving our culture and dignity whilst we are also making the inevitable transition to a modern society" (1998: 30).

The personal relations and subjectivity of the researcher is significant as part of an intercultural, unpredictable, identity forming experience. In the same way that my objectives and understandings were interrogated in the encounter with other cultural groups, it might be predicted, so might the Bushmen's.

Kagga Kamma

In contrast to the joint tourism venture in which Ngwatle is involved, Kagga Kamma is a privately owned game reserve to which the Kruiper family was invited to stay. The development of the family as a tourist attraction was unanticipated. Heinrich de Waal (1999), one of the owners of the Reserve described the circumstances out of which grew the tourist venture at Kagga Kamma. Kagga Kamma was originally a family owned park (consisting of five adjacent farms) that was basically used for sheep farming. In 1987, his father, grandfather and father's cousin came up with the idea of starting a game reserve in the area. Chalets were built and people used to visit on weekends. Then late in September, 1990,

there was something on the television on *50/50* and something on the news about these Bushmen, the Kruiper family, living on a farm... in the Kalahari, where they wanted some place... where they can again hunt and live like they did before in the Kalahari area, or their forefathers and so on also did... And at that stage of course, we already had animals here – a lot of springbok and gemsbok; and we knew about the rock paintings that's so plentiful in the area; and ... we basically thought that let's go and invite them... We told them that they can come and live here, they can do their own thing. They can live off nature as long as they [don't] hunt [the bigger] animals. Then it started to develop into a touristic organisation

⁸⁵ CMS has an on going relationship with this community.

with them. Visitors wanted to go and visit them – and that was almost immediately... We didn't have the idea that it was going to be something like that. We thought they would still be living off nature (Heinrich de Waal, 1999).

Kagga Kamma, as a tourist venture involving the #Khomani, has changed its modus operandi several times. Initially, visits to the Bushmen simply occurred on request and the Reserve bought their handcrafts to sell at the curio shop. Later visits were formalised into tours with a guide, during which the Bushmen sold their crafts directly to the tourists. They also then received a percentage of the gate fee on each visitor to the Reserve. More recent developments have resulted in the Bushmen working independently at the Reserve. There is no formal tour, but tourists can visit their stalls in the afternoon and the #Khomani group no longer receive a percentage of the gate fee. Throughout, the #Khomani have lived on the land rent-free, receive water and wood and have access to tourists.

- 1999

The importance of both mystery and the extraordinary in the tourist experience is evident in Peter Reber's – a Swiss resident in South Africa and visitor to the Reserve – thoughts on how he would manage such a cultural tourism venture, "I think my aim would be to present something which is above the level of just curiosity... [s]omething which the people come here and they say, "Wow!" and can instil some sense of awe, even for the Bushmen's lifestyle" (1999).

Another discerning (South African) tourist to Kagga Kamma in 1999, Harriet Charles, recognised both Bushman agency and economic benefits in the enterprise. When asked about her feelings on the criticisms of economic exploitation on the part of the Reserve owners or 'human zoo', Harriet Charles (South African) stated that there is no need for tourists to feel guilty, "Because they're [the Bushmen] not here against their will. They're doing it because they want to do it. They can leave whenever they want to" (1999). Peter Reber made a related point, "And the question then is really, what is this culture thing, is it just some kind of commercial business then? And that in fact is not about culture but really about economics and one way of surviving" (1999).

The meeting between visiting tourists and the Kruiper family in April 1999 was mediated by Danie Jacobs. Danie's position as an expert in the field (as a student anthropologist) was important as a marketing ploy. He was a "built in authenticator" who acted as a "validation" that the tourists were "in the presence of those who know the 'real'" Bushmen (Bruner, nd: 6, see also Buntman, 1996a: 277-278). As an extension of this role as the expert, the preparatory lecture (which has already been discussed in **The discursive approach to identity construction**) was important in terms of establishing his authority in the subject. A Swiss couple (1999), interviewed at Kagga Kamma, expressed their discomfort at invading the 'private activity' of the Bushmen in their first visit and their disappointment at the fact that there seemed to be "no feelings" between Bushmen and guide. Peter Reber also experienced this disillusionment and isolation from the Bushmen. He and Harriet Charles (1999) said that they were dissatisfied by the amount that they had learned about the Bushmen and complained that their questions had not been answered. Both of these couples were relating experiences of tours that were guided by Daan Raath, a conservationist who temporarily filled in for Danie and was not as qualified to be teaching about the Bushmen. The importance of the qualifications of the guide to the tourists' appreciation of their Bushman 'experience' is therefore obvious.

After receiving the introductory lecture, the tourists were driven to the enclosure, which was the designated meeting place between Bushmen and the tourists. Danie Jacobs symbolically introduced the tour group to the Bushmen through a show of hands to indicate which tourists come from which country. Tourists were also instructed to wait until he had symbolically asked permission before they begin to take photographs. He then continued to give a lecture on Bushmen in the enclosure while the Bushmen themselves remain seated around the fire, busy making handcrafts.

Even though tourists were instructed to interact freely with the Bushmen, this interaction remained minimal. On the visit where there were the most visitors present, communication only occurred between tourists when they wished to have photographs taken with the Bushman baby, Shien, or when they were buying goods from the 'shop' at the back of the enclosure. Keyan Tomaselli conducting a photo-elicitation with the

Bushmen or my sitting at the fire between them, inquiring about their smoking habits, did not appear to be the norm.

There is a variety of possible explanations for this lack of interchange between the Bushmen and the tourists. The first and most obvious possibility is the difficulty of language barriers. Peter and Harriet also mentioned this concern about language. It was suggested that a Bushman guide and a Western translator could be a more empowering and informative solution (Harriet Charles, personal communication, 1999).⁸⁶ Danie could however translate and no interaction was established between the other tourists and the Bushmen.

In his study of tourism in Bali, Bruner explains this distance between what he refers to as the "tourist subject" and the "native object" (nd: 8) as vital to the operation of modern mass tourism. The maintenance of separation is related to the fact that "fantasy only operates at a distance" (nd: 8). From the perspective of the 'object', the Bushmen possibly wish to maintain their sense of privacy, as much as possible. Their names, for example, were not readily given which may be a way of keeping their working lives separate from their private lives. Bruner counters the operation of fantasy with the importance of recognising real identities. He quotes Clifford, "It is more than ever crucial for different peoples to form complex concrete images of one another, as well as of the relationships of knowledge and power that connect them" (in Bruner, nd: 9). This is fitting to Bruner's avocation of a more postmodern style of tourism whereby the tourists are made aware of the mechanisms of tourist production and intercultural exchange is encouraged.

- 2001

The Reserve had to make structural and marketing changes when the Bushmen all returned to the Kalahari in 1999 on having been granted land. The tour to the Bushman rock art was renamed the 'Bushman Cultural Tour' and included information not only about the paintings but also about traditional Bushman way of living. The return of the Bushmen has been re-incorporated simply by the guide pointing out, on the way back

from the rock paintings, the place in the *veld* below the hotel where the Bushmen have constructed their stalls and tourists can visit from 14h00 in the afternoon. Tourists can wander down on their own to the grass stalls where the Bushmen arrive to hang up their crafts, sell and interact with the tourists. Jon Kruiper explained his work:

I must, when I get up tomorrow morning and bring my stuff over here [to the stall area] and put it on the line over there and then, when the guests arrive here, I must show them that I am the real man, Bushman. If maybe they feel sorry for me or they see there is something interesting then they may take it and pay for it, you see. Then I can say yes, I did receive something. Now when I leave here and go back up there, I must buy some meat. I may hunt but this place, as I have wandered around, has very little game (2001).

Gary Trow, the guide in 2001, reiterated the problem of the distance or barrier that exists between the tourists and the #Khomani group during the interactions at the stall area of which Jon Kruiper speaks above. One British immigrant described her experience with the Bushmen in terms of a combination of awe or fascination and apprehension. She was intrigued by the fact that they have "something so special" and unique (personal communication, 2001) and at the same time, did not want to be nosey or impose on them by asking too many questions. Most tourists when visiting the stalls do not interact with the Bushmen. They just ask the prices of goods, perhaps play with the baby and stare (Gary Trow, 2001). The group has complained to Gary about this (Gary Trow, 2001). They understand people's amazement but do not want to be treated like animals. Even if there is a language problem, people could still try and speak and show respect. As has been suggested, explanations for this behaviour may lie with Bruner's (nd: 8) suggestion that fantasy is essential to the operation of mass cultural tourism and Goffman's (1956: 45) analysis of mystification as an essential component to any performance. Gary has now included in his cultural tour advice to tourists that they should feel free to interact.

⁸⁶ There apparently used to be a Bushman guide that accompanied the ranger, but he was now semi-retired.

Visitors to the stalls are quick to notice those on-stage signs, which indicate a different, coinciding reality to the one presented or performed. On the first day, a British tourist was troubled by the fact that one of the Bushmen was drinking from a coke can and on another visit, a Namibian tourist noted the Western-style handbag which Vytjie Kruiper wore slung over her shoulder. A more eye-opening spilling over of the back stage into the front stage, would be the appearance of drunk Bushmen in front of the tourists, but this has been rare. Such evidence points to the role of Bushmen not just as "exotic cultural Others" but also "modernizing subjects in the throws of economic development" like at the Makuri Lodge, Namibia (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 276).

The problem is that tourists would like to believe that their experience is authentic – the paradoxical desire for the inauthentic to be cleansed into the authentic. They expect the Bushmen to be wearing skins, breastfeeding in the open and producing genuine handcrafts (Gary Trow, 2001). Probing questions such as "Do they use paint or natural pigment to make the crafts?" or "Is this rope or animal sinew?" are aimed at verifying the authenticity of the crafts and the experience. Gary Trow (2001) can himself relate to this longing for authenticity, through his initial disappointment that the Bushmen wore Western clothes and drank alcohol excessively. He now feels though that they have nevertheless retained an authentic, unique Bushman culture despite having naturally progressed to make use of easier, modern options (Gary Trow, 2001).

Front stage is where the performance is put on for tourists. Ouma !Una said, "When the people come and they need us, then we put on the [traditional] clothes. Then we attract the tourists" (2000). Back stage is where the props and costumes are put to one side and the guard is let down. Hendrik (Buks) Kruiper (2001) expressed the desire to keep Bushman public, workspace separate from private by saying that tourists must not come into their living areas, giving the reason that the other farm workers might be drunk. This then is clearly the "back region or backstage – where the suppressed facts make an appearance" (Goffman, 1956: 69). Performers try to give the impression that the role they are playing front stage is the most important one (Goffman, 1956: 83). Gary Trow (2001) suggested that the Bushmen do not invite guests to their living

quarters because then they will see that everything is fake.⁸⁷ As a group, they dislike it when any of the Bushmen meet tourists in plain clothes as this ruins the traditional image they project to visitors (Gary Trow, 2001). A “performer tends to conceal or underplay those activities, facts, and motives which are incompatible with an idealized version of himself and his products” (Goffman, 1956: 30)⁸⁸. The #Khomani performers at Kagga Kamma spend a few minutes clearing their stall area of Western products such as cans and papers before the tourists appear. Jakob Malgas, commenting on the tourism developments on Witdraai farm, said, “So if there are tourists then there must be discipline... If there are Bushmen that are drunk... then they don’t belong there. They belong there at the back” (2000). Heinrich de Waal (2001) explained that in the first six months of the Bushmen living at Kagga Kamma, tourists visited them at their homes. This system changed not only to protect their privacy⁸⁹ but also because they did not want tourists to see any drunkenness or untidiness. (Many #Khomani research partners have also commented on the cold as a motivation for the move (see also Munnik, 1992)). It is thus social, structural arrangements that separate back from front stage. In addition, “sustaining a firm sense of social reality requires some mystification” (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 93).

There is a certain amount of privilege that goes with entry to the back stage – it indicates an intimacy with the performers which allows you to see them as they ‘really’ are. This is evident in Belinda Kruiper’s pride at only ever having been back stage, “I’ve been to Kagga Kamma, but I think I’ve had the privilege not to go down to the tourist side. The only place I’ve been is right where the Bushmen lived and I stayed up there. Every time I’ve been, I’ve gone straight up” (2000). Part of Danie Jacobs’ self-authentication as a valid link between tourists and Bushmen, was his accounts of his involvement in their private lives, for example, that he was present at the birth of one of the babies (personal communication, 1999).

⁸⁷ The back region is traditionally the “place where the performer can reliably expect that no member of the audience will intrude” (Goffman, 1956: 70).

⁸⁸ The #Khomani act out scenes of simply harmony and communion with nature which tourists seek or dream of for themselves on their holidays. The happy circle of Bushmen sitting around the fire enacts a Western fantasy (see Bruner, nd: 8) and conceals a harsher reality backstage.

An intriguing extension of the front/back stage analysis is the investigation of the anthropologist (or researcher) who considers him/herself as a penetrator of intimate reality as opposed to false fronts (as would be shown to tourists). It is often very difficult to separate front from back stages. Even 'in-depth' interviews can be a "show that is based on the structure of reality" (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 95). The interview with Dawid Kruiper (2000) in the Northern Cape seemed to have a definite staged quality to it, as stories, which have probably been told to many journalists, were recited regardless of the questions asked. The setting of the interview heightened its theatrical quality as it was conducted in a take-away restaurant in the busy, modern town of Upington on a Friday evening. Katz *et al* (1997) do alert however to the tendency of Bushmen informants to answer questions uniquely in an indirect manner through story telling which often contains symbolism and metaphors. Belinda Kruiper (2000) also pointed out the centrality of story-telling in the Kalahari. Jakob Malgas, for example, described perceived inequalities amongst the group at Kagga Kamma inventively, "If I know your fire burns there and my fire is dead here, I can't understand it. If we both do the same thing, why will your fire burn and not mine? And I make my best plans so that my fire can burn" (2000). This is an example of the particular narrative, dramatic style which conversation often follows with Bushmen research partners.

Tourist interactions with Bushmen often serve as confirmation of their pre-formulated worldview. A South African tourist (2001), who had previously visited Kagga Kamma, described the old guided tours as very informative. During this visit (2001), she did ask the Bushmen questions, although her Namibian friend, who was visiting for the first time only played with the baby, Rajel. Her opinion of the Bushmen is largely framed in terms of pity and 'vanishing race'. "I find this interesting because it's a dying art. It's a dying race. And it's such a pity", she said (2001). Her understanding of them is that they are being corrupted by globalising forces and are 'clinging on' economically. Her responses to the Bushmen were framed within an ideological framework that was strengthened through her contact with them by firming up her conceptual and ever-shifting boundaries between evil, corrupting civilisation and worthy, victimised 'primitivity'.

⁸⁹ Dawid Kruiper says of the change, "[L]ook private is private. If you say private, then you're truly private. You can't allow a man, or allow anyone, at your back door after all" (2000).

Clearly, "our ways of making the Other are ways of making ourselves" (Fabian, 1990: 756).

Ella Bauer, a tour guide who regularly brings tour groups to Kagga Kamma, described the kind of expectations with which tourists may arrive. "They expect that they are going to see a completely ancient culture... They know that they're not the first people coming here, but they like to think they are going to be the first to experience this new thing" (Ella Bauer, 2001). In other words, it is required that the observed tribe be both lost and found (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 274). Of course, when "primitive" societies are "transformed into tourist attractions, they join with the modern social attractions in a new unity, or a new universal solidarity, that includes the tourist" (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 83). Nevertheless, a desire for a sense of adventure and discovery is crucial to the tourist experience. Ella (2001) explained how she feeds this desire by overplaying the dangers of the environment and the lack of luxuries that such a discovery of an ancient culture necessarily entails, so they are not disappointed when they do not have the luxuries of home (even though Kagga Kamma has many comfortable facilities). The group that she brings consists of retired American academics. The majority of the tourists is, in her opinion, sensitive and careful and worries that the #Khomani might be offended by their invasion. Few interact directly with the #Khomani. They do always ask if they may take pictures. Some even feel strongly that they should not take photographs even though they would really like to. And she said that they are often painfully aware of all the signs of prestige that they carry, for example, their clothing, cameras and the money that they pull out to pay for crafts. Their interest and curiosity in the experience is often accompanied then with discomfort and guilt.

Crucial to the appreciation of the visit seems to be the assertion that they are not seeing a performance. Ella stated that Americans enjoy spontaneity, their emphasis or interest is on the unrehearsed. "Here, it's not a choreographed show" she tells them, epitomised by her example that one night Hendrik Kruiper came forward and requested to dance for one particular group. She does explain that their lives combine the traditional, which they witness, and the western/modern in their private life. "The rhetoric of tourism is full of manifestations of the importance of the authenticity of the relationship between tourists and what they see" (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 14).

As suggested by Peter Reber (1999), the 'cultural' experience at Kagga Kamma is motivated by the need for economic survival. Ouma !Una said that talking to tourists and journalists is their work, "I've been talking since who knows when and I'm doing everything over again. But it's our work... It's our work to talk" (2000). Gert Swart said of tourists, "They are in actual fact our income because of the little ones that we are supposed to have educated... That is what they help us with" (2001). Interviews with Gert Swart (2001), Hendrik Kruiper (2001) and Jon Kruiper (2001) revealed that the Bushmen wish to go back to the old system where their interactions with tourists were supervised by staff at Kagga Kamma. The reason being that during this period, they received a percentage of the gate fee on each visitor. Gert Swart explained, "[T]here at the stall we made much more money, because see we still have the tourists that come in, they used to give us R11 per head. Well, that money counted a lot because that money we always get in the Monday afternoons" (2001). Hendrik Kruiper added, "When we lived over there [previous location under old system] we always had the money from the gate. People didn't have to worry about money there. Now we have money problems. We don't get that money any more" (2001). The new independence and self-sufficiency, which is therefore offered them (Raath, 2001), is undesirable on economic terms. From management perspective, with the old system, Bushmen were unreliable in that they often would not be there for tour visits and the regular income from the gate fee resulted in them not being as productive in terms of crafts (Andries Ras, 2001; Pieter de Waal, 2001). Gary Trow (2001) however, argued that the Bushmen always had groceries from that regular income and now they are always short. In addition, he and Greg Grant (2001), another Kagga Kamma employee, feel that at least half of the tourists, who come to Kagga Kamma, come to see the Bushmen. Dawid Kruiper said, "The eventual thing after all, it's the Bushman that he [the tourist] comes to see. While he's there [at Kagga Kamma] for two days and doesn't see animals, it's merely us they come to see" (2000). In Gary and Greg's opinion then, the #Khomani group should therefore be compensated for being one of the attractions. Gary Trow's (2001) opinion is that fault lies not with Bushman unreliability but rather with the lack of management of human resources.

Despite these problems, Kagga Kamma is still considered to be more profitable than the present arrangements in the Kalahari. Petrus Vaalbooï's (2000) comments support this. He stated, "Look people get money there. You can make money easier. It's near the tourists and in an easy way, you get money easier" (Petrus Vaalbooï, 2000). He continued later, "So I really think the people are to an extent happy at Kagga Kamma where there is sufficient money. You can really make money... to make money if you work right. If you work right" (Petrus Vaalbooï, 2000). Gert Swart agreed, "Here we make more money and quicker too. Because there are of our children who go to school there. We have to send them money because they go to school... The time we go, then we send [money] to our people there [in the Kalahari]. All our people are there. We must send them money because they get very little money there" (2001). The comparative financial benefits of living and working at Kagga Kamma are therefore obvious.

Payment for photographs being taken is only an issue for the Kagga Kamma group if tourists have not bought any crafts (Hendrik Kruiper, 2001). Similarly, Greg Grant (2001) suggested that rather than pay directly for the interviews that we conducted, we should buy crafts. Andries Ras (2001), who manages at Kagga Kamma, explained that payment for knowledge or time spent is still a grey area. His concern is that paying for information or photographs may inspire them to stop making crafts. This situation contrasts sharply to what the research team experienced in the Kalahari where negotiations about payment was a major issue and where photographs had a set price: R25 in normal clothes and R50 in traditional dress. Dawid Kruiper (2000) explained this as necessary because of the exploitation of images of Bushmen subjects for commercial gain where the Bushmen subjects get nothing. The problem is that the average tourist is not differentiated from the financially sponsored journalist, for example. In response to the issue of his request of R500 to be interviewed by a journalist (*Sunday Times Lifestyle*, 20 August 2000)⁹⁰, Dawid Kruiper stated, "Now it feels to me I sell my knowledge and I am very careful that my knowledge can be bought so easily. And then at the end of the day, I have nothing. That I didn't think about my grandchildren in the

⁹⁰ We, the CMS research team, negotiated to lower this price, as I – who was the one requesting the interview – am a student. The price was reduced to approximately R150.00.

future" (2000). The request is obviously a guard against exploitation but he does not seem aware that it potentially detracts from the integrity of the information he gives.

Financial issues also arise with regard to payment for trance dancing for tourists at Kagga Kamma. Payment is either a minimum of R10 per person or through a bucket donation. Jon Kruiper (2001) complained about an incident where they danced for a group of tourists three nights running and then got paid minimally for it. Gary Trow explained that the Bushmen had decided that some of their payment would be converted into alcohol during those three nights, but did not fully understand what that meant in terms of the actual, reduced amount that they would then receive in the end as compensation.

The interactions with management are an interesting, contentious subject. Jon Kruiper spoke of the necessity to have rectified the offensive situation where Kagga Kamma organised Coloured locals to take the place of the Bushmen when they all left for the Kalahari in 1999. His desire was to converse with Heinrich de Waal on a personal level, to discuss matters man-to-man. Jon Kruiper said:

[W]e still have to meet like men. Because you're a man and I'm a man and he is no more a man. You're a man with children. And I am also a man with children... And we should talk like two grownup men, I said to him... Then I want to know from him. I want to sit with him nicely and tell him that I'm not angry, because he looks as if he is angry (2001).

A meeting was scheduled for our last day at Kagga Kamma between the Bushmen and Heinrich de Waal, but did not take place. Gary Trow and Greg Grant (2001) believe that management and other staff at Kagga Kamma have lost interest in the Bushmen's well-being. Apparently Hendrik Kruiper regularly complains, "Ja you guys [at Kagga Kamma] think I'm a dog" (Greg Grant, 2001). Heinrich de Waal justified Kagga Kamma's lack of involvement in personal, emotional terms, "When they moved away from here, that hurt us so much... We can't afford to have something happen to us again... We don't want to rely on the fact that they're here again because we've realised that it can hurt us so much if we depend on them too much" (2001). In addition, they have had enough of

being criticised for their efforts to help the Bushmen, despite the fact that they are only a private company. The end result has been the conclusion: "We believe that they need help, but we don't want to do it ourselves" (Heinrich de Waal, 2001). It appears that the ownership and management have in fact washed their hand off the fate of the #Khomani on the Reserve.

As has been suggested by White (1995), Coloured-Bushman relations have resulted in a crucial affirmation in a traditional Bushman hunter-gatherer identity. Comments given by Jon Kruiper (2001) suggest a need for the #Khomani group to define themselves in opposition to the other farm workers at Kagga Kamma. At the same time, two #Khomani women have married local Coloured men. Further, Aubrey Beukes (2001), a government official who works for Social Services in the Northern Cape, asserted that conflict with the Coloureds in the southern Kalahari region has largely been dissolved and that the two ethnic groups are working together for the establishment of a cultural centre in the Mier district and for the land claim of the Park.

Petrus Vaalbooi (2000), nevertheless, explained the difference between the *Baster* and the Bushman in terms of blood heritage and physical characteristics. He asserted his Bushman identity in opposition to Coloured:

In the apartheid years, I acknowledged my identity because I know what my ethnicity is, because I know who I am and where I come from. But now all of a sudden I'm made a Cape Coloured. And I'm not that. And I told them, "Explain to me what is a Coloured." I don't know Coloured. I just know out of two tribes can come someone that they call a Baster, he's made up a little from all sides (Petrus Vaalbooi, 2000).

He expressed his concern about Coloured 'imposters' who have claimed Bushman identity. Paul Witbooi (2000), a #Khomani who used to work at Kagga Kamma and now lives in the Northern Cape, made a conscious decision to become Bushman. The definition of his new identity (he registered officially) seems to have been established in opposition to a Coloured one. He said, "Okay, when I started, after I decided I am a

Bushman⁹¹, I still worked amongst the Coloureds and there I felt I really have to move away from the Coloureds to be a Bushman. Then I went to Kagga Kamma and there I got my tradition and I had to prove to them what I could do" (Paul Witbooi, 2000). Some of the antagonism and power structures that exist, are evident in the following statements. "Coloureds buy the liquor and the Bushmen buy from them. And they ensure the Bushmen are drunk... Every bead that the Bushmen sell and money that they make, they must come and give the money to her [the Coloured woman] and she gives them the liquor" (Petrus Vaalbooi, 2000). Belinda Kruiper's (2000) comments about being able to discern who is the true #Khomani race by examining their social characteristics is also indicative of the need to define Bushman identity against an Other. Ouma Kys's statement indicates clearly how identity is constructed out of difference from others, "I am a Bushman because I'm not a *Hotnot*, nor am I a Tswana, nor am I a *Baster*" (2000).

A simple example of the inter-fusion of cultures in the global context is the making of bows to sell to tourists. Petrus Vaalbooi commented, "But if you look at the bow that he sells to the tourist, it's a little traditional and the other part is Western. So it's a whole mixed-up thing, man. I mean, the thing is an entire mish-mash" (2000). The 'westernised' bow is smaller so that it can fit into a tourist suitcase (Daan Raath, 2001). It is also decorated with pictures of animals to be more aesthetically pleasing, as is required of Western household ornaments. This is a sign then of integration rather than cultural domination.

My personal intercultural encounters at Kagga Kamma are especially relevant as this was my first extended field trip and my first meeting with #Khomani individuals – the first intercultural exchange to model my identity. The first field trip that I went on to Kagga Kamma in 1999 was before I had decided to do my Masters research. During discussions on the drive to the Reserve, the link or the distinction between "front stage" where performances are put on for tourists and "back stage" where the Bushmen conduct their private lives (Tomaselli, 1999c: 202) emerged as a concern to be

⁹¹ Although it is possible for him to always have been Bushman and not known it, Paul Witbooi's descriptions of deciding on and then proving his Bushman identity oppose the belief in an inherent Bushman quality, it is rather a case of socialisation.

investigated. Another related concern was that of the possibility of romantic images and historical re-enactments being “necessarily advertised and sold in a naturalizing way” (Tomaselli, 1999c: 203). As an idealistic student, I also harboured notions that conflicted with my academic training, of secret romantic longing for the discovery of some sort of essential, primitive Man.

There were three moments that were vital to the formation of my own subjectivity with regards to the Bushmen in this initial encounter. The first was my actual face-to-face meeting with the #Khomani people at the Reserve. It made no difference to my appreciation of the encounter that they had assimilated elements of so-called modern life or that they felt the need (and in fact, had the right) to equip themselves for survival in a rapidly changing, globalising, modernising world. There was a slightly uncomfortable distance between most of the tourists and the #Khomani in that small enclosure (as already discussed). I found the people, however, warm and open to conversation. My tendency to romanticise the Bushmen and hoist onto them my own notions of guilt at South Africa’s colonial and apartheid past seemed totally inadequate, especially on hearing Danie Jacobs’ lecture. This lecture constituted the second moment. Danie’s emphasis not only on the beauty and the complexity of their culture, but their right to ‘move with the times’ influenced my perceptions both of the Kagga Kamma Bushmen and myself. The third important moment in the formation of my own consciousness in relation to the Bushmen was the interview with Heinrich de Waal, one of the owners of Kagga Kamma. His responses seemed to indicate a sense from the owners of Kagga Kamma, who were originally sheep farmers, of not having been especially well prepared for the extent of media publicity and criticism as well as the tourist attention that the family would attract. Affairs operated very much on a trial and error basis, where the owners learnt from their mistakes. For example, Kagga Kamma received negative publicity about the Bushmen visiting Cape Town in their traditional attire. This was consequently discontinued, although the Bushmen themselves still chose to wear some of their ‘natural’ attire underneath their western clothes. On the basis of these three moments, my identity in relation to the Bushmen began to be moulded.

The second trip to Kagga Kamma in 2001 was executed at a time when I was well into the research process and had not actually expected to return. The encounter was totally transformed by the changed relations between the #Khomani group and the Reserve in that it was open-ended (in terms of length of time of exchanges) and informal. On this trip I was afforded the opportunity, through the kind efforts of Greg Grant, to experience a much more relaxed environment of relating with the group, away from authority. On two evenings, Chantel Oosthuysen and I sat up until late around the fire listening to the conversation and stories and just enjoying the atmosphere. Hendrik Kruiper's invitation to us during a recorded interview was, "Then one evening we can sit and talk here, sit and talk nicely around the fire, relax here again" (2001). Gert Swart mentioned the benefits of such an informal meeting, "And it is an open air and this is where the spirit of the Father comes to us" (2001). It was an encounter where I felt as if I was experiencing their non-public face yet on the physical ground where they usually interact publicly with tourists. The experience was inspiring for me and I understand Greg's exclamation that, "You feel like a different person" (2001) through relating to them. The taste of working with no immediate deadlines, of being able to relax and enjoy the company for its own sake was instructive as an example of how best to begin and proceed conducting research. My regret is that I could not follow that path within the scope of this project. The inter-relational experience was identity forming for me in that I began to muse over my own qualities and the ideal qualities and circumstances of a researcher.

A Closing Note

Bushman identity at Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma is formed significantly in relation to other cultural groups in circumstances of inter-ethnic and inter-governmental relations and particularly, through tourism. These exchanges in the tourism context occur with their patrons or employers (SBB and Kagga Kamma Game Reserve) and with foreign visitors to their respective areas. The exchanges do not follow predictable patterns and in some instances involve the promotion of a traditional hunter-gatherer identity and in other instances, question this identity and encourage a more modern, changing identity. Analysis of my own subjectivity and the changing subject positions which were set up for me through the different research trips and in encounters with different individuals and

different cultural groups, indicates how intercultural exchanges can affect the identity-forming process. In intercultural exchanges, differences between cultural groups are acknowledged and emphasised, while concomitantly and conversely, processes of integration and negotiation occur, rather than the simple repulsion of distinctive and homogenous entities.

CHAPTER 7: NARRATIVES OF THE BODY

Literary Survey

The focus in this section is directed towards the physical experience of identity – how the human body and its representations affect processes of identity construction. That literature which elucidates narratives of the Bushman body is reviewed.

Presentation of the corporeal body and how it is spoken about relates, in the most tangible manner, to an understanding of self and links to ethnic-nationalist narratives. Discursive practices which construct the body as an 'object of knowledge', have long featured in ethnic politics. The body's symbolic role is indicated by Hall who states, "In the attempt to trace the line of determination between the biological and the social, the body became the totemic object, and its very visibility the evident articulation of nature and culture" (Hall, 1997b: 244). The link between discourse and the body is clarified by Barker, "[D]iscourse and materiality are indissoluble. For example, not only is discourse the means by which we understand what material bodies are, but also, in a sense, discourse brings material bodies into view in particular ways" (1999: 27).

The Miscast Exhibition in Cape Town in 1996 displayed charts and instruments (among other things) that were used to classify Khoisan⁹² bodies during the colonial and postcolonial period. These exhibits contrasted sharply with the displays of pristine Bushmen in the South African Museum (SAM) in Cape Town. The colonial measurement of the Khoisan body is similar to the methods used in the Nazi racial studies. In fact, many Nazi racial hygienists were initially involved in Bushmen studies that were marked by a fixation with genitalia (Gordon, 1992: 215). These racial studies are indications of a Western mentality obsessed with the exclusion and elimination of the Other. Historically, the body became the focus for the discourse of racial theory that entailed the Culture/Nature distinction. The physical human body was used as the embodiment and proof of racial difference. Even today, popular discourse focuses on the Bushman

⁹² Reference is made here not only to the San/Bushmen, but also to the Khoi of southern Africa. See Skotnes (1997) for choices, motivations and difficulties regarding the Miscast exhibit.

body as a point of interest and tour guides presenting to groups before the SAM diorama, would frequently repeat "prejudices alive during the previous century, softened a little, but nevertheless representing powerful colonial stereotypes" (Skotnes, 1997: 207). Skotnes is careful to specify that the ideas repeated are not found in academic records as such, but "rather in the 'folklore' and oral tradition that is supported by the diorama itself, passed down from one tour guide to the other, from indoctrinated visitors to their friends and children" (Skotnes, 1997: 209).

The Miscast exhibition provided a public space in which memory could be accessed and the multiplicity of views on what it means to be Khoisan could be played out (see Bregin, 1998: 153-155). The arrival at the exhibition of the 'half-naked clan' of #Khomani from Kagga Kamma inspired vociferous debate which, once again, centred on the body. A representative of the Brown Movement criticised what was interpreted as the "objectification of the bodies of the 'Brown people'" (Robins, 1998: 143). The !Hurikamma Cultural Movement stated that it was as if they were "acting out the sick dramas" of the colonial past (Robins, 1998: 135). Mario Mahongo, a minister representing the !Xu San, called for the naked bodies of the Kagga Kamma Bushmen to be covered. His request is reminiscent of early missionaries in the Cape who "sought to transform the naked body through the civilising cover of clothing" (Robins, 1998: 135). Skotnes was interested by the fact that her attempt to politicise and rejuvenate knowledge about Bushmen representations, through *Miscast*, became a quasi-political furor, which encompassed Western Cape identity and racial 'authenticity' (1997: 222).

The Miscast exhibit was set up to "confront visually the dioramas" of the South African Museum (Skotnes, 1997: 215). The SAM diorama illustrates the San past within particular discursive frameworks. It has, in recent years, inspired many debates and has, in April 2001, been closed to the public and 'archived'. The diorama, according to visitor surveys, was the most popular museum display (*Events@SAM*, 2001: 1). "The technical mastery of the display and the human scale and realism of the cast figures draw viewers into an idealized representation of a past way of life" (*Events@SAM*, 2001: 1). Historically, the casts date back to 1911 when "scientists were concerned with making an exact physical record of the 'Bush and Hottentot' races, believed at the time to be near extinction" (*Events@SAM*, 2001: 1).

The construction of a narrative and its subsequent use in changing discursive contexts, is evident in the fact that although "the people who were cast were no longer living as hunter-gatherers, they were identified as being 'pure Bushmen' on the basis of appearance and language. In the Museum the casts were first shown as examples of physical types but, as the focus of anthropology shifted towards cultural ecology, they were redisplayed in the diorama to show hunting and gathering as a way of life" (*Events@SAM*, 2001: 1). Critics of the diorama see it as reminiscent of apartheid ideology as it remained with natural history at the SAM "when the colonial history collections were transferred to the South African Cultural History Museum" (*Events@SAM*, 2001: 1) in the 1960s. "[D]efenders of the diorama argue that its presence in the SAM affirms the importance of the San as the first people of South Africa and gives recognition to their way of life" (*Events@SAM*, 2001: 1).

Needless to say the response to the diorama of most of the indigenous delegates at the National Khoisan Consultative Conference (2001) was unequivocal (*Saturday Argus*, 2001: 29). "It is vulgar that our people are depicted in that way", says Lawrence Lottering, Western Cape convenor of the conference. "The diorama does not depict indigenous people as human... The Khoisan are shown as animals to Europeans", stated Basil Coetzee, Chief of the Cochoquoa. Deputy Director of SAM, Patricia Davison comments that the diorama is idealised and "presents hunter-gatherers in a pristine setting with the history of struggle and dispossession not shown". Some of the Khoisan delegates raise the issue of the need for consultation with the Khoisan leaders in such matters and that no money has been returned to the communities themselves. One of the resolutions decided on by the delegates at the National Khoisan Consultative Conference was "that following the closure of the San diorama at the SA Museum, a consultative process with the affected Khoisan groups be established and implemented" (2001).

Contemporary ethnic politics in South Africa has seen a dramatic illustration of the complex links between the corporeal body and the body politic manifested in the

Griqua⁹³ demand to have the bodily remains of Saartje Baartman returned to Africa for burial (Robins, 1998). Baartman was a young woman displayed during the 1800s in Europe, where she died after a few years. She has become a "potent symbol of the humiliation suffered by indigenous people in general and indigenous South Africans in particular" (Martin, 1996: 9). The symbolic appropriation of this female body, as well as discussions, which were inspired by the Miscast exhibition, indicate how the 'Bushman body' has become a "key site of contestation and commentary on memory and identity" (Robins, 1998: 136).

The latest developments in the ongoing negotiations between South Africa and the French government (and specifically the Paris museum where the remains are currently being held) were reported by Henry Jatti Bredenkamp at the National Khoisan Consultative Conference (2001). Bredenkamp read excerpts from a report made by Tobias on behalf of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. Tobias (according to Bredenkamp, 2001) asserts that no more academic progress can be made, but the conclusion is that the remains should be returned to South Africa on account of the personal tragedy that it epitomises, as well as its historic and symbolic value. He suggests that they be put in a sacred tomb which people can visit in suitable reverence and respect and that the outside of the tomb should reveal her illustrated history. He has faith that the government will take the issue seriously considering the great concern of Khoisan people and anthropologists on the matter.

The development of purist identity discourse is also a feature of contemporary ethnic politics. Steven Robins notes the interesting (and to an extent, alarming) fact that some Khoisan activists are not recognising mixed ancestry and cultural hybridity but rather claim a " 'pure' Khoisan identity based on notions of biological and cultural continuity" (1998: 134). Narratives of suffering are used to build narratives of national redemption and destiny, in other words, "totalizing ethnic-nationalist narratives... draw upon collective memories of suffering" (Robins, 1998: 131). In this context, the human body is seen in its social dimension. It becomes a nationalist metaphor and memorialisation, as well as narratives of the body combine in the formation of identity. The concern lies

⁹³ These are one of the Khoikhoi indigenous groups of southern Africa.

in rhetoric that singles out a particular identity and excludes others – the politics of difference is at play in the construction of identities for political objectives⁹⁴. (This would be classified by Barnard as an instrumentalist production of ethnic identity (1998: 53)).

Attention is now drawn to the tendency of humans to act out what the universe imprints on their bodies. This is theorised by Marcel Jousse (1997). He states, “Surrounded by the ceaseless mimodrama of the universe, the human composite, made of flesh and spirit, behaves like a strange, sculptural mirror, infinitely fluid and continuously remodelled” (Jousse, 1997: 91). According to Jousse (1997), this tendency to mirror and merge with the outside world is most prevalent in more spontaneous, non-western civilisations. In Western society, the “repeated constraints of social convention and our stereotypical social milieu imposed on us from early infancy... [inhibit] to some extent the universal tendency of our ocular mimemes to externalise internal gestes through our corporeal and manual musculature” (Jousse, 1997: 81). Westerners therefore use the body less expressively.

The recorded testimony of Piet Draghoender (see *Kat River: The end of hope* (1984)) is a clear example of how the body can be used to tell a narrative. Draghoender is a farmer from the Coloured peasant community at Kat River, who is protesting his community’s imminent resettlement. Edgard Sienaert claims that his emotive, captivating testimony is a “piece of historical oral testimony which shows us the anthropological basis of global oral poetry emerging” (1988: 232). Draghoender corresponds with Jousse’s *paysan* or peasant (Sienaert, 1988: 230) – and with many of the Bushmen research partners – in terms of lack of formal education and closeness to the land or environment. The testimony exhibits Jousse’s theory of interactional style which is *bilatéral*, *mimeur* and *formulaire*. In terms of mimism specifically,

When Jousse’s universal man gives outer form to his inner form, these two forms con-form... words and gestures are direct verbalizations and visualizations of feeling... Draghoender thus knows no metaphor, for things are what they are and

⁹⁴ This was somewhat evident in the politico-speak at the National Khoisan Consultative Conference (2001).

the words used express the things that are... Any mention of place, time or object is accompanied by gesture (Sienaert, 1988: 231).

In other words, the body expresses outwardly what is felt inwardly.

Tomaselli (1997) adds an extra dimension to Sienaert's analysis by pointing out that the video camera was in fact the provocation for the oral message in the first place, as Draghoender was making an appeal through the camera to absent authorities he believed the film crew represented. It should be remembered that the camera is not just a neutral window (see Ruby, 1977) – the medium itself is significant in the communicative event – and that the indeterminacy of translation between Subject and Other should be accommodated in the analysis of an encounter⁹⁵. "Oral cultures [in fact] speak a different world than those of written cultures" (Tomaselli, 1997: 93); in their world objects and forces interact rather than exist separately and in opposition.

Certain issues have emerged from the preceding literary survey. Representations of the Bushman body have historically been a corner stone in the ethnic discourse that has sought to classify and subjugate Bushmen peoples. In recent politics, it has become the focus of movements for self-determination and power to First Peoples. In addition, the body, it is argued, is also key to the communicative expression of self, especially for groups such as the Bushmen. This section therefore has surveyed texts that contain narratives about the body, as well as texts that describe narratives which use the body to narrate.

Application of Empirical Results

Ngwatle

In Ngwatle, hunting and hunting stories seem to inspire narratives of the body in which the outer and inner form converges. Robert Waldron inspired by an incident where some men recreated a hunt scene with alarming veracity for his camera in 1999, said,

I think that they tell stories to each other through acting them out. And so I think that they are naturally inclined to demonstrate through acting what they do... I think it is a natural way of them communicating 'cause they don't have any means apart from words and their body language to communicate what happened. And a lot of what does happen to them is visual, and therefore they use their bodies (1999).

I was not present for the incident of mock stalking in 1999, but did witness on an occasion (2000), an elderly man entertaining a group of children by acting out animal scenes. I was impressed by the unhuman-like fashion in which he contorted his body, which imitated almost exactly the different species of animals. If then identity is "always in part a narrative, always in part a kind of representation" (Hall, 1991b: 47), these narratives of the body create a fascinating and vital, visual expression of Bushman identity in a completely unique fashion. The means used for self-expression are more varied and dynamic than in Western society.

The centrality of the body to identity is also evident in Bixgao Sixpence's linking of the name "San" with their skin colour being the same as the sand (1999). In addition, Kaki Matlakala said that a Bushman is distinguished "[t]hrough culture and skin complexion" (2000). Identity is therefore inscribed not only in ways of living, but in the physical body.

Kagga Kamma

The diorama (at the South African Museum) seems to inspire different responses from the #Khomani whose ancestors are represented there, than the critics mentioned in the preceding literary survey. The responses focus on the body in its tangible, 'practical' form. According to Gert Swart (2001), Dawid Kruiper approves of the diorama as a means of instilling pride in Bushman heritage and in fact would like to join the casts on display when he dies. Gert on the other hand, disapproves because he feels that the

⁹⁵ Tomaselli (1997) proposes that Peirce's phaneroscopy (1958; 1931-1958) is the only conceptual

castes make the people look unwell, sickly and it therefore makes him sad to see them. But if the 'oumas' [grannies] looked good, it would be okay, he stated (Gert Swart, 2001).

In several interviews with Bushmen research partners, hand signal and gestures were an important part of the communication which would, of course, not be rendered on the audio cassettes used for recording (a limitation of the medium used). In an interview with Sagraan Kruiper, he answered a question on why he chose to come back to the Kalahari from Kagga Kamma, "It's nicer here for me. You see this sand, it's nice for me" (2000) and ran the sand through his fingers, letting it pour down to the ground. (This 'mimics' a gesture made by Piet Draghoender in reference to his land (1984)). In response to an inquiry on the dressing up for tourists in traditional clothes, he gestured in careful detail the process of rubbing their skin with a red ochre mixed with fat which makes them look more attractive. Responses are often conveyed therefore in concrete, physical and present examples. Anna Swart who was describing her feelings about the land that has been granted the #Khomani, enhanced her oral description, "Oh... my heart flowers... In my heart it does this" with the corporeal-manual gesticulation of slowly flicking her fingers apart a few times to indicate a flower opening. In this expression of emotion, Anna seemed to have those "Hands that are somewhat soul made flesh" (Rodenbach, in Jousse, 1997: 65). Ouma !Una when asked to explain what makes her a Bushman, ripped off her head scarf and rubbed her white peppercorn hair, proclaiming, "This is what the Bushmen look like" (2000). Her response demonstrates the importance of the physical body to identity. Similarly, Petrus Vaalbooi states, "Look at them, you will see... his [a Bushman's] life pattern points him out very clearly... That's the... thing you can look for on the person's body... Your skin colour is the same as the ground. That's why we believe the land is our land" (2000). It seems then that identity is not only expressed physically but is also inscribed on the body.

A Closing Note

For a Westerner experiencing Bushman culture, their merging of the material and the metaphysical in both expression and conception is fascinating. It is evident that representations of the body, stories told about and using the body are central to a unique conception of self. Identity is also most obviously visible and tangible in the physical, human form.

CHAPTER 8: PROBLEMS AND REQUESTS

This chapter is an overview of some of the problems that were observed and the requests that were made to the research team in each location. It is hoped that by specifically mentioning them, rather than concentrating on those issues which apply strictly to my theoretical hypothesis, more responsible and hopefully, useful research will be achieved.

Ngwatle

The most frequently mentioned problem and related requests in Ngwatle centre on employment and hunting. Kaki Matlakala said:

I would like that there be many jobs here in Ngwatle. When you look at the two areas, Ukhwi and Nqwaa, they are separate to Ngwatle where you will find that most of the money; Ngwatle is the area that makes a lot in terms of the visitors that come. Ngwatle is the one that receives them first. I would prefer that the Trust do something to improve Ngwatle, that the Safari do something as well to improve the lives of young girls with employment and other people (2000).

Mangau Madietsane complained that the RDP's aid in the education of the children is worthless in the end:

The benefit of the RDP is only to put the kids through school. When a kid has gone through form two, it does not give them a job, they say the kid is not learned enough. And then the kid comes and stays with us here at home. When a kid has gone through form three they say they are not learned enough, and the kid also comes and stays with us here at home. Now I see it as not being of benefit for those reasons (2000).

It is suggested that the RDP should be more involved in turning that education of the children into greater income-earning potential:

What I would like to see the RDP doing... because today there are kids that have completed their form twos and form threes, they are just left stranded by the RDP. To the extent that I think it would be better if they can be sent to VTCs [Vocational Training Centres] to receive vocational training as a way of advancing them; when it is girls they will learn dressmaking. I even have evidence that there is money for doing this in the RDP. It would be better if the RDP can empower them to work for themselves. For the boys, when they finish their form fives or form twos taking them to Kanye to gain skills in bricklaying, like leather designers, carpentry... But when a person completes their form five or form two, it just deserts that person having invested money to send them to school in the first place (Kaki Matlakala, 2000).

Many restrictions are placed on hunting by the government (to certain periods of the year and of certain game). This occurs in the context of substantially declining numbers of wildlife over the past twenty years (Hitchcock, 1996: 38). The community has given over some of its hunting quota to the Safari Company. Mangau Madietsane explained the circumstances and effects of these processes:

They [the Safari Company] are allowed to go and hunt it [buck] for us... because we don't have a rifle. We don't have anything that we can use to kill it with, we are just people only. A fox is better, we are able to hunt it with dogs [and assagais], a kudu is impossible with dogs only... In the olden days, we used to hunt kudu, catching it with a trap and then kill it. Now came reasons of the Wildlife saying "No! Do not use the trap anymore", and that is when we left behind everything. And we sat down doing nothing, and we are suffering because of that (2000).

It is also concerning that through the agreement with the Safari Company, the culture of hunting and tracking may be lost altogether. Kaki Matlakala (2000) said the community

has requested a rifle from Robert Waldron, which will help with hunting bigger buck. She claimed this introduction is practical and will not affect the culture of the people.

Tshomu hopes that we, the research team, might be able to get a message to the Botswana government, on their behalf, about their neediness. "Where we are, we are suffering. Now I was saying, since you are people from the outside, the government has failed us. In that when we ask for something, there is nothing it does for us" (Tshomu, 2000). Robert Waldron commented on the issue of government support:

They've said and it's been evident that the government has not had the interests of that community at heart for many, many years, except in the last two years or three years, when I must say the government, through its Remote Area Dwellers programme, has definitely been benefiting the community (2000).

Possible explanation for the new action lies with international pressure from First Peoples' organisations (Waldron, 2000). Significantly though, "[w]hile the degree to which RADs have access to social services has increased over time, their overall economic status has declined" (Hitchcock, 1998: 311).

Alcoholism is a possible, yet it seems as yet undeveloped problem in the community. Robert Waldron related:

Alcohol can claim even the nicest of people and I've seen it and it's tragic... I think that that is something that has to be treated. Bushmen have little or no resistance to alcohol, they've got some allergy to it. That is a fundamental that disempowers a lot of people. In Western societies, we have Alcoholics Anonymous, we have drug and whatever other kind of empowering groups. There they don't have any resource. It's regarded as some kind of weakness (2000).

Besides one account of an incident of abuse indirectly linked to alcohol abuse (personal communication, 2000), this was not an issue that arose or was observed in Ngwatle. Unfortunately, research partners from Ngwatle therefore were not broached on this

often-sensitive subject for opinion⁹⁶. The problem of alcohol abuse in Bushmen communities in Botswana generally and its link with identity construction in a modernising context is analysed by Dave Maconald and Louis Molamu:

Unquestionably identities are actively constructed out of the material culture presented during the lifelong socialization process and in the social roles. In Botswana this material culture is firmly and increasingly presented within a capitalist, entrepreneurial and democratic polity which emphasises the value of the individual, personal capital accumulation, property rights and freedom of choice... In such a context the main commodity which is manufactured, sold, bartered and exchanged within Basarwa settlements is alcohol in all its varieties, strengths and forms. It is likely, then, that for the impoverished, landless and largely propertyless Basarwa, alcohol consumption, its related economic activities and associated social and political relationships will continue to serve as a dominant cultural and emotive resource for scripting identity (1998: 332).

As suggested above, consumption of alcohol generally involves inequitable power relations with other ethnic groups who sell the alcohol and reinforces that system of inequity. Alcohol becomes a "weapon of sociopolitical oppression" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 95).

A related problem to alcohol abuse is the emotional and physical abuse of women, an incident of which was related to us (personal communication, 2000). This can be very serious in an isolated community where there are no help resources. Waldron contended though that "there's enough new input in the community for there to be checks and balances at this stage. There are also enough core females in the group who are founder members of what they believe is right and they are hell of a tough" (2000). Domestic abuse is however a serious issue and is not easily controlled especially when linked to alcoholism.

⁹⁶ This would be an important issue to raise on future research trips to open up discussion and perhaps act as a preventive measure against the kinds of dangers mentioned, linked to alcohol abuse.

Kagga Kamma

Where Ngwatle's people report general problems of unemployment and restricted hunting rights, the Kagga Kamma group has very specific claims. Quite a practical request from the #Khomani at Kagga Kamma was directed towards management and is the desire to go back to the old system of control by management, purely because they gained a higher income then and were acknowledged as a tourist attraction for the Reserve. Jon Kruiper wishes to be treated like a man and be negotiated with as such (see **Intercultural exchanges** in this work). My impression is that they feel abandoned to a certain extent without even the upfrontness of being spoken to in person.

Heinrich de Waal's (2001) appeal was to non-government and development (or any) organisations that might be able to lend support and become active in solving some of the problems which exist on the Reserve. In quite an unassuming manner he expressed the desire for the positive efforts of the Reserve, especially considering it is a private company, to be acknowledged. For most of the research partners, the feeling is that Kagga Kamma was and has been on the whole a positive, grounding and unifying experience. Petrus Vaalbooi commented:

So I tell you there occurred a great sadness⁹⁷, but there is at least a little protection given in the form of alcohol abuse. There was a little bit of control and management. It is ensured that things did not go so freely. There wasn't a carelessness. In other words, his [Pieter de Waal's] strong personality ensured that the Bushmen protected themselves by taking things away. They thought but there were rules. There were good rules. If a Bushman puts on his clothes and he's drunk then he gets punished by the chairperson of the tradition council (2000).

⁹⁷ He was referring here to a set of promises which he contends were made and not kept, for example, that land would be given after five years and also to the news that Coloureds had been exhibited as Bushmen.

The issue of there being Bushmen at Kagga Kamma, in the first place, is viewed as a problem to those in the Kalahari. Many in the Kalahari expressed their sadness that there are members of the community as far removed as Kagga Kamma and the aim is to attract them back. Anna Festus explained:

Here's still hardships and that's why some of them went back, but we often feel we want to get our people back because it's officially their land for which they fought a long time and for which they had to give up a lot. And they are actually family, it's more the younger children because the older people are dead. So we want to try to compose a policy to get them back otherwise they won't be able to make use of the land (2000).

This issue is placed in the context of circumstances on the government granted land not being ideal yet. Anna Festus said, "I think the other problems are also about developing, it's in great need here. We are still in the growing pains, our community. We are still in the growing pains. But it seems to me it's a bit too long time because really yet,... nothing goes on here, I have to be honest" (2000). She said further, "I don't think that our people are free yet. Because they've got the ground but still they cannot hunt, still they cannot have a real life. So our people are still very much poor and really yet there is no life for them" (2000). Gert Swart (2001) complained about the tensions that exist between the traditionals and the more westernised Bushmen who wish to do farming in the Northern Cape. He explained that they are not free there whereas at Kagga Kamma they can live without rules⁹⁸ and because they are a small group they can understand each other better and take appropriate direction (Gert Swart, 2001). Free choice seems to be a vital ingredient to the attraction of Kagga Kamma. Belinda Kruiper, who visited members of the group at Kagga Kamma and has dealt with the De Waals on a number of occasions, concluded, "And if I put all the things I've heard together then I think Kagga Kamma was probably one of the most positive things for the Bushmen because they did what they did by choice... They enjoyed it" (2000). She later said of development on the whole:

⁹⁸ Hendrik Kruiper said of Kagga Kamma, "I am happy... here I am of course my own boss" (2001).

And to me, that's development; they have to choose what they want to do. A lot of them want to just stay and forever work in somebody's land in the northern Cape [the cultural village, Mabalingwe⁹⁹], dancing for tourists. And they're happy because they're not being controlled by a person getting the money. They're getting the money in their own pockets. Then that's development (Belinda Kruiper, 2000).

Such a notion of choice means that development is operating well on an individual scale, but for the community in the Northern Cape as a whole certain problems persist. The 'growing pains' of the #Khomani in the Northern Cape, of which Anna Festus speaks above, relate specifically to environmental destruction of the land granted (Aubrey Beukes, 2001; Roger Carter, 2000)¹⁰⁰; the lack of or slow pace of development despite huge amounts of funding¹⁰¹; the issue of the division/unity between the traditionals and the westernised Bushmen¹⁰² and most seriously, alcohol abuse. The latter two issues will be discussed below. Magrietha Eiman, who is chairperson of the Southern Kalahari San Community Property Association (CPA), also complained of unemployment in the Northern Cape (2001).

Government does not want the more urbanised, westernised #Khomani to be excluded, asserted Aubrey Beukes (2001). Such an exclusion entails a preoccupation with the first model of identity which determines Bushman identity to be fixed, stable and solely founded on a historically validated experience – in other words, the discursively essentialist hunter-gatherer image. Community building has been initiated by government with a process of tracing bloodlines to enable registering as a way of triggering memory (Aubrey Beukes, 2001). These efforts at Bushman genealogy

⁹⁹ See website www.mabalingwe.co.za.

¹⁰⁰ People desperate for income have been chopping down wood on government granted land, to sell (Aubrey Beukes, 2001). According to Anna Festus (2000), it is still illegal for Bushmen to hunt on this land, but hunger often prevails. Proposals have been put forward for big game hunting which could generate a lot of money, but this upsets the ecological balance as animals live in terror (of vehicles) and killing is for money instead of part of a pattern of nature (Belinda Kruiper, 2000). This ties in with Tshomu and Gadiphemolwe Orileng's comments on hunting in Ngwatle (2000; see **Intercultural exchanges**).

¹⁰¹ Almost every research partner commented on this issue and many conflicting opinions were given. Needless to say large amounts of development funding have been misused which has created a lot of tension and frustration amongst the people.

coincide in some ways with a first model of identity by establishing a common past as the defining quality of being Bushman. Paradoxically, it is the second model of identity that would accommodate the inclusion of urbanised people whose accumulated subject positions differ from the stereotypical, traditional Bushmen's. Beukes' indirect appeal seems to be that outsiders, especially academics, who become involved with the #Khomani community, treat all people of #Khomani heritage as having rights to that identity. It is also important for researchers to go through the correct channels, in other words, to support the system by at least informing the CPA of their activities. Filmmakers are also supposed to pay a percentage fee to the Association, but this rule gets abused or ignored because of the division between the traditional and other people (which is manipulated for the benefit of outsiders).

Sadly, there have been many incidents recounted of disruptive behaviour, violence, abuse of women and even deaths under the influence of alcohol in the Northern Cape. The issues facing the community were clearly and almost shockingly expressed by Roger Carter, "Alcohol has become a way of life. And what you're dealing with is delta alcoholics... These people have just lost their self-respect." And later, "[W]hat we are seeing is the death knell of a society" (2000). An interesting twist in the situation is that the #Khomani in the area buy their alcohol from a bottle store on the premises of the Molopo Lodge. Anna Festus said this is a great hindrance to the community's development, "[W]e are also very unhappy with the bottle store there because it's actually the biggest problem. We can't really bring the situation under control" (2000). Roger Carter's (2000) defence was that he is simply running a business and that the people would find other means of obtaining their liquor if the store was closed down. Of course, the means are a lot easier when the bottle store is a stone's throw away from the farm, Witdraai, where the traditional community is settled. Anna Festus (2000) reprimanded the Molopo Lodge for giving an overly negative impression to visitors about the Bushmen. She did however admit that problems exist. "[T]he Bushmen are drinking a lot and the Bushmen are fighting, that type of issues. And also there's a lot of money but the people are still very poor so what are the people there doing with the money" (Anna Festus, 2000). Jakob Malgas said of the community's drinking problems, "I can't

¹⁰² This conflict is discussed by Andrew Steenkamp (*Xpressions*, 2001).

sit and collect bottles instead of people you see. That is not gathering the community together. Look at that bunch... it's just drinks that are collected" (2000). The pejorative effect on the community's well-being is therefore revealed.

Alcoholism and related problems of violence and abuse of women are also concerns at Kagga Kamma (Heinrich de Waal, 2001; Gary Trow, 2001). Hendrik Kruiper described drinking problems, "He [Satan] in fact stands next to you so that you actually jump towards the bottle, then you just take [drink]. Then it helps [you] into the shit. Then he laughs at you" (2001). In the old system at Kagga Kamma there was greater control over alcohol abuse (Petrus Vaalbooi, 2000). At Kagga Kamma presently, the self-initiated efforts of Gary Trow and Greg Grant may go some way to appeasing the problem. They have started a system of punishment of holding back the alcohol allowance when there is bad behaviour. This occurs in the context of a relationship of friendship and mutual respect. Yet even if their actions are motivated by sincere concern, warning bells for paternalistic control are sounded. Alcohol can also be acquired by other means and this is not necessarily dealing with the causes of the drinking. "The loss of languages, and cultural identity often leads to cycles of alcohol and drug abuse, family violence, and sexual abuse among adults" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 77). It is important to not view alcoholism as "another excuse to blame the victim but as a symptom of oppression" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 100).

There is an international pattern to the struggle of indigenous communities against alcoholism which follows

[a] cycle that runs almost inevitably through a period of denial to the recognition that people and the community have hit "rock bottom," where nothing worse can be imagined. Often starting with one or two individuals, there is then a turning point, a refusal to continue on the path to further destruction and a courageous stand against the forces of oppression that nourishes the community's ties to alcohol. With dedication, honesty, and humility, these few individuals fan the spark in others. With much pain and patience and often strengthened by a revitalized traditional spirituality, the weight in the community eventually begins to

shift towards sobriety. A sober community becomes a possibility (Katz *et al*, 1997: 100).

The efforts of Anna Festus and Belinda Kruiper (although an 'outside insider' to the community) might well constitute the preliminary steps towards healing the community. Blinkwater farm, where Belinda Kruiper was staying, was envisaged as an outreach, a heritage to everyone, where there would be no alcohol, abuse, politics etc. (Belinda Kruiper, 2000). Anna Festus was honest about the problems of alcoholism of the people and asked us as a research team to aid by giving payments in kind rather than cash (personal communication, 2000). These are signs that individuals in the community are trying to create solutions. If these solutions begin to take effect, it is unclear how the Kagga Kamma group would be affected by changes in the community in the Kalahari.

Roger Carter's suggestions for the Bushmen are pragmatist but paternalistic:

But if we don't get the businesses going and if we don't create the job opportunities for them, you might as well throw the traditions away because there is going to be no one here to worry about the traditions. They are going to be dreams sitting in the South African cultural museum. I think that is the kind of reality and why I sit and sometimes get frustrated when these people [academics, media and development workers] come in here and say that they sat on the dunes and they had a fantastic mystical experience. Quite frankly, bugger the experiences, save the people (2000).

There does seem to be the problem of writers continuing to over-sentimentalise the experience of meeting with the Bushmen and ignoring actual, very real and threatening, problems. As has been discussed (in **The discursive approach to identity construction**), this links to the needs and desires of the observer rather than the observed. As Belinda Kruiper proclaimed, "But we've lost that [spontaneous happiness] so we [in the West] want to find it back, but then we want to tell them [the Bushmen] how to do it" (2000).

Dawid Kruiper complained, "I walk among the people, I walk like that today among them and tell of what I see, of souls getting lost at Witdraai" (2000). Anna Festus (2000) also noted a lack of spiritual unity in the community. A foundation to many comments given by research partners is the hope for the land claim for the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park to be granted. Simon Kooper said that the "men of the wild" will return to the park and Dawid Kuiper says, "our hearts remain in the park" (*Xpressions*, 2001).

A Closing Note

Problems that have emerged relate to employment, education and hunting in Ngwatle and lack of development in the Kalahari, problems with the Reserve management, disunity amongst the #Khomani and alcohol abuse at Kagga Kamma. Importantly, appeals are made to outsiders to follow community-directed and officially approved systems of interaction with the communities.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

Agency

A central issue that has been dealt with indirectly through all areas of examination is that of agency of the Bushmen. Besides the pitfall of the "so-called pornography of the poor" whereby details of Bushman life are either misrepresented or shown out of context, there is the danger of portraying people as voiceless and "acted upon" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 158). Hall asserts the need for the subjects of the local, of the margin to "try to retell the story from the bottom up, instead of from the top down" (1991a: 35). The Miscast exhibit (1996) may have been a step towards the margins reclaiming representation for themselves "as for the first time the voices of the subjects – whether for, against or in between – were emphatically heard" (Tomaselli, 1999a: 132). It did not go quite far enough however, as the Miscast publication (Skotnes, 1996) displays a noticeable silence of indigenous voice. Possibility abounds nevertheless:

[T]he fragmentation of grand narratives in the postmodern age has created discursive spaces whereby these can be engaged and mobilized by indigenous communities seeking home-grown interpretations of themselves and their respective places within the world (Tomaselli, 1999a: 131-132).

Greater agency may be possible for Bushmen participants in the meta-touristic project (Garland and Gordon, 1999) as discussed in **Discursive practices in the media and tourism**. Bushmen participants are accorded choice as to the extent to which they will emphasise their role as cultural others or their more modern identities. In other words, "the power to determine what meanings are exchanged during the encounter is determined by the subjects" (Tomaselli, 1999b: 192). Belinda Kruiper described the situation of the #Khomani group, "It's the best time this family has ever had. They're doing exactly what they want. And this to me is development. They're choosing now" (2000). Choice and agency are therefore essential to any kind of worthwhile development. Tourism can also be interpreted as an empowering device that facilitates greater access to the international circuit for promoting their objectives.

Besides agency within the fields of tourism and development, there is a general need for the Bushmen to have greater decision-making power in matters of cultural heritage (Prins, 2000: 7). The retelling of the Bushman story about the “real issues regarding the relationship which results in the petty commodity exchange of small amounts of video and photographic images and cultural artefacts” (as opposed to more sustained, self-directed development) is only possible through capacity building for Bushmen to film themselves (Tomaselli, 1999b: 192). As stated in an interview, “We [the observed] also want to do things for ourselves. This is what I call development” (in Tomaselli, 1999b: 192). The discussions held at the National Khoisan Consultative Conference (2001) and its report on the draft plans for a National Khoisan Legacy Project (lead by the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology) are signs that Bushmen-controlled representation and development is becoming more of a possibility. One of the resolutions of the Conference delegates was “that every such project [of media coverage] result in training and capacity building of the Khoisan People, especially women, the youth and the unemployed” (2001). Such a strategy would have to be executed through a strong system of enforced contracts for media agents working with Bushmen communities.

Realisations

A theme which runs through all the realisations is the applicability of Hall’s first or second model of identity (1990). The first emphasises identity as being based on a common origin or historical experience and unchanging. The second claims that identity combines old and new experiences and is constantly changing.

The discursive approach to identity construction

The Bushmen at both Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma fit into a discursive context, which categorises them ethnically and invests this category with certain qualities like natural mystique, primitiveness and unity with nature. The lesson that should be rendered

through an analysis of 'Discursive practices within ethnic politics' is that from a Western perspective, what becomes essential is "to explain ourselves to those we meet as we ask them to explain themselves to us, not as others isolated in mutual alterity but as confrères in a sustaining landscape of diversity. To decolonise minds we must reseed a landscape of shared respect" (Wilmsen, 1996: 189).

Besides a few exceptions, media and tourist discursive practices (based on theories and beliefs of ethnic politics epitomised by the 'Great Bushman Myth') constitute Bushmen in terms of the first model of identity whereby identity is seen to exhibit a fixed essence (Hall, 1990: 226). The Bushmen have not been in a position to alter or author new representations feeding into this media and tourism discourse. They have, however, some degree of control over how they choose to understand the images they encounter of themselves and how they choose to represent themselves in everyday encounters. In other words, do they interpellate the subject positions offered them?

Ngwatle, as a place and people specifically, is under-represented in terms of media and tourism discursive practices, although general practices of ethnic politics and media and tourism constitute the context of their identity formation. There is indication that they recognise the discrepancies between myth and reality as it appears in the media, yet have faith in the potential healing, empowering action of media. There does seem to be the possibility of greater agency (than at Kagga Kamma) certainly in terms of involvement in a joint tourism project where tourists have largely unmediated access to the Bushmen and through their affiliation with Robert Waldron (in his capacity as filmmaker). The potential lies with Ngwatle to present a more realistic representation of self to the world at large, as they seem to be pre the decision of whether to constitute themselves in terms of the first or second of Hall's identity models.¹⁰³ Yet this is in the context of minimal media and tourism contact as compared to Kagga Kamma.

Kagga Kamma's discursive context has changed somewhat with changing economic arrangements at the Reserve. The overall application of a stylised image of the hunter-gatherer however, seems unchanged. In a state of almost over-exposure in media and

academia, this group chooses to identify with subject positions offered to them by the Western media which has appropriated academic theory. Opportunities to strip away the 'romantic hunter-gatherer' façade seem improbable and economically undesirable for these #Khomani. They are involved in a process of excavating a common, historical culture (as is characterised by the first model of identity). White infers from Fredrik Barth that "affirmations of cultural identity and difference have less to do with primordial divisions between culture groups than with processes of creating, maintaining and transforming social boundaries, processes in which cultural markers are selectively invoked and assigned meanings that they do not inherently possess" (1995: 28). Their image of themselves therefore "should be understood not as a primordial essence, but as a fiction, an artifice" (White, 1995: 27). Identities can in fact be seen to arise from the "narrativization of the self, but the necessarily fictional nature of this process in no way undermines its discursive, material or political effectivity" (Hall, 1996a: 4). The discursive 'story' which the Bushmen tell about themselves actualises a particular identity.

Identity in terms of a temporal logic

Both Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma Bushmen exhibit signs of traditional and modern (and even post-modern) living. Formal government education in Botswana and South Africa usually results in the repression of Bushman cultural identity. Yet previously at Kagga Kamma and presently, in the Northern Cape nursery school there were and are attempts at combining historically significant as well as modern activities and skills-training.

At Ngwatle, tradition is seen as being lost. New points of recognition, in terms of Hall's second model, which indicate a more modern rather than traditional existence, are emphasised by community members. The #Khomani who were and are at Kagga Kamma choose to define themselves to the outside world with a traditional image based on a particular historical setting (as in Hall's first identity model). Yet what constitutes them as Bushmen includes this image as well as all their other modern and accumulated subject positions (as in Hall's second identity model). For this group, tradition has been

¹⁰³ Of course, it should be borne in mind that agency over self-representation is limited by control of

recreated. Belinda Kruiper contended that "what's happening at Witdraai is... not untrue, it's true. What's happening there is happening there. These Bushmen are forming a tradition which is connected to a [animal] skin, which is connected to land claim, which is connected to power" (2000). White makes a similar point by saying that the heritage which is articulated in the Kagga Kamma Bushmen discourse and performances "falls within the category of what Hobsbawm (1983: 1-2) terms "invented traditions" which construct a largely factitious continuity with the historic past" (1995: 26).

Both contexts indicate the (necessary) flexibility of cultural identity. It is clear that definition of identity solely in terms of a specific, shared historical origin (as in Hall's first model and the 'Great Bushman Myth') will result in the 'death' of the Bushman since the stereotypically traditional, pure Bushman cannot live in isolation unaffected by the modern world. Cultural identity needs to incorporate a component of temporal change so that 'real' Bushmen are allowed to live in the present, so that old and new subject positions are granted 'Bushman' status.

Identity in terms of a spatial logic

A sense of physical space is important to identity formation for both groups and is often expressed in spiritual and corporeal terms. Katz *et al*/assert that "Ju/'hoan people, and hunter-gatherers in general, feel uneasy if they are far from their home areas. Their ecological adaptation is a finely honed instrument, utilizing a great fund of specialized knowledge about a given area" (1997: 50). This may well be true evidenced by the challenges (of the natural environment) described by the Kagga Kamma group. Nevertheless, it seems that the relation to land is understood as flexible according to changing needs of income and suitability of living. Physical movement is often required economically. A flexible approach to identity informed by spatiality coincides with the non-essentialist stance of Hall's second model of identity. The Ngwatle group's identity is expressed through a local and actual present space. (Yet Tshomu's (2000) responses

the media by hegemonic classes or groups in society.

indicate the possibility of flexibility in this). The Kagga Kamma group asserts identity through a spatial logic, which combines a distant and an actual location.

For both groups, land rights is a highly political issue which relates to interethnic competition and survival. The spatial discourse engaged by some members of the Kagga Kamma group fits into a political framework where authentication of a particular mythical, traditional Bushman image is essential for 'bargaining' power and ties in with Hall's first model of identity as a 'fixed essence'. It seems the Ngwatle group has not yet reached this level of reconstruction or invention.

Remoteness in the global context does not mean exclusion from global political, economic, social and cultural networks, although in Africa, it might well coincide with subordination. Global social interaction is perhaps less active in Ngwatle and therefore they have potentially less agency. The new technology of communication is lauded as providing new and unlimited possibilities of access to people from different temporal and spatial zones to the 'joys' of the modern world. The greater potential which it offers is countered with the reality that this will not be available to all, especially in Botswana (Kasoma, 1992).¹⁰⁴ Boloka states that the "absence of high technology denies [the Bushmen] the opportunity to see the impact that they make to the outside world" (2001). It could be further argued that the absence of high technology also restricts their control over that impact.

Language

Language use indicates that the Kagga Kamma group is potentially a more cohesive community than Ngwatle where multiple languages are in use. At the same time, in Ngwatle original dialects are still spoken which indicates greater proximity to a Bushman "pathway to identity" (Barker, 1999: 31). The Kagga Kamma group is active in their

¹⁰⁴ The country's expansive territory and scattered population makes telecommunication installation and adequate transportation, essential for access and participation, difficult. Such services and the benefits they bring are therefore concentrated in the eastern urban areas of Botswana. Access to electronic media, for example, remains an elitist privilege in Third World, as well as First World countries.

efforts to revive the original Bushman language, which is considered integral in the development of a #Khomani Bushman cultural identity. For both groups, use of national languages (Setswana and Afrikaans) is significantly power laden and relates to positions of inferiority in education and employment. Languages are a link to the past and as such, form part of the common historical experience on which Hall's first model of identity is based. Additionally, language is a quality or skill that can be learnt or acquired and can therefore contribute to new subject positions being accumulated, as in Hall's second model of identity.

Intercultural exchanges

Examination in this area is focused principally on tourism. For both Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma, it is clear that the intercultural exchange involved in tourism is strongly economically motivated. Kagga Kamma is far more developed as a structured tourist venture than Ngwatle and the tourist-local encounter as a setting for intercultural exchange could be examined in greater detail.

Relations between Bushmen and tourists at Kagga Kamma are characterised by the ingredients of performance – the need for mystification and the operation of a front and back stage. On the front stage, Bushmen choose to enact the stereotypical 'remnant original man' role as a means of gaining an income. The principle motivation for this appears to be economic. Their participation in this theatrical undertaking is evidence of an active "construction and reconstruction of identities" (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998: 101) through the "encounter with the assumptions of the encompassing culture of the society at large" (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998: 174). Even in Ngwatle where the tourist 'show' has not developed into a full-scale performance (in the present arrangements with Safaris Botswana Bound), interactions with visitors do have self-validation potential. The operation of a front and back stage indicates the dual role of Bushmen as exotic hunter-gatherers or passive tourist attractions, and producers or free agents manipulating the global market (Garland and Gordon, 1999; White, 1995). If identity is the "product of marking of difference and exclusion" (Hall, 1996a: 4), the tourist-Bushmen encounter provides a venue for self-definition of both parties where the elements of each role are accentuated.

Considering that "identities are not things but relations" (Comaroff, 1996: 165-166), interactions with different tourists result in different subject positions being constituted through the expectations of other cultural groups. An important admonition is that tourist reaction to the Bushmen does not necessarily indicate a predictable pattern, as laid out in many academic accounts. For many intellectuals, the term 'tourist' is "increasingly used as a derisive label for someone who seems content with his obviously inauthentic experiences" (MacCannell, 1976, 1989: 94). Some tourists or visitors arrive with and remain unchanged in their essentialist perceptions of Bushman identity. There is the issue of tourists and the general public not granting Bushmen, who do not conform to their essentialist vision of the traditional Bushman, Bushman identity. This promotes an idea of indigenous cultures as pure and internally homogenous (as in Hall's first model) rather than having ingested and 'naturalised' foreign elements (Morley and Robins, 1995: 128). Yet, evidence at Kagga Kamma indicates that many visitors show concern, respect and insight into the multifaceted reality of the Bushmen. In other words, they are able to recognise the incompleteness of Bushman identity (as in Hall's second model; see Tomaselli, 2001b). This seems to be especially the case in the presence of guides (Danie Jacobs, Gary Trow, Ella Bauer) who alert the tourists to the necessarily inconstant nature of Bushman tradition. In this context, authenticity is perceived as having no fixed content and a meta-touristic project, which encompasses changing cultural elements in the community observed and changing needs of the tourist, emerges. Under these circumstances, Ngwatle might be pointed in the direction of offering tourists an authentic journey into their lives, rather than a journey obsessed with proving authenticity.

For both Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma there is the semblance of independence and self-management even though the systems of operation are slightly different. (There is a joint tourism venture at Kagga Kamma where the community resides on its 'own' land and a patronage system at Kagga Kamma where the group live on privately owned land). In both cases though, relations with the privately owned enterprises (Safaris Botswana Bound and Kagga Kamma Game Reserve) are hierarchical and contentious. There is often misunderstanding and dissatisfaction due to lack of communication or no clearly defined or understood rules and systems of payment. At Kagga Kamma in

particular, the role of personal feelings defines negotiation (or the lack thereof). Mangau Madietsane (2000) of Ngwatle expressed his frustration that money from tourism is first channelled to the Trust and then redistributed, which means less control by the community. Yet the experience of Kagga Kamma shows the paradox that so-called 'greater autonomy' is not necessarily advantageous financially. The Kagga Kamma situation is however possibly evidence of the ownership of the Reserve using the term 'independence' to justify a system whereby less capital is spent by the Reserve while the Bushmen still act as tourist attractions.

Government involvement in the Bushman situation has resulted, in Ngwatle, Botswana, in certain material improvements being obtained, yet the signs exist that the Bushmen are being incorporated into a bureaucratic and political system where their needs, especially economic, will not be sufficiently met. Government action is still met with apprehension and mistrust. At Kagga Kamma, government involvement has affected their circumstances indirectly in terms of the actions towards the #Khomani community in the Kalahari (land being granted, ongoing claims, development money, support given to the Khoisan Consultative Conference, organisation of ethnic registration).

Interethnic relations have defined Bushmen in Ngwatle in a textured, uneven fashion – aligning them with other rurally poor, as well as weakening their faith in the value of Bushman identity and creating a feeling of cultural threat. In the face of a general, historical South African trend of the merging of the Coloured and Bushmen communities, interethnic relations at Kagga Kamma appear to result in a strengthening of cultural identity. Identification in this instance can be said to "involve discursive work, the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries" (Hall, 1996a: 3). The #Khomani identity is hence strengthened in its definition against ethnic others.

My relations with community members brought certain individual experiences of value to the research process. But moreover, they illuminated my own sense of self and forced consideration of issues about my femininity, education and position of privilege. As Charles Taylor considers, "People do not acquire the languages needed for self-definition on their own. Rather, we are introduced to them through interaction with others who

matter to us" (1994: 32). Such was my experience with the people I met and interacted with at Ngwatle and at Kagga Kamma.

Narratives of the body

For both Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma, the assertion that humans are "in essence in all their fibres: global and universal mimodramatists" (Jousse, 1997: 82) seems particularly appropriate. The body tells a narrative in its very physical form, which marks difference from other ethnic groups. But the body is also a useful and often neglected, in Western society, tool for expression of self. The instinct to mime indicates a receptiveness and willingness to give to the surrounding environment and universe and occurs in the context of a "dynamic, extremely complex form of interactions" (Jousse, 1997: 80). It could be argued that the quality of mimodrama forms part of an authentic, original and historic Bushman cultural identity as per Hall's first model. It is however my contention that changes in the way that the body is represented discursively (as reviewed in the literary survey) and the body's usefulness as a communicative tool, indicate a more dynamic process of identity formation. Narratives of the body call for an understanding of identity which is not only about an essential, historically originated characteristic, but also about how the ever changing present demands changing narratives of interpretation or explanation. Jousse's (1997) theory of mimodrama suggests an openness and receptiveness to the universe which suits Hall's second model of identity in which identity is both relational and incomplete.

Problems and Requests

The requests of the people at Ngwatle are principally aimed at the government and relate to improved conditions of employment and hunting. Deficiencies in both areas have resulted in a position of neediness on the part of the community. In this research context, we were seen as potential vehicles of change because of our status as outsiders. The pitfalls of alcohol abuse are just beginning to emerge and may present dangers because "alcohol travels quickly into a people's heart" (Katz *et al*, 1997: 95).

Requests made by #Khomani at Kagga Kamma aim at improving directly the economic system in operation on the Reserve which paradoxically gives them greater agency yet seems to disregard their humanity by there not being person-to-person negotiation and communication and not being paid for the function they serve on the Reserve. A plea is made indirectly by this group and by the community in the Northern Cape to the government for acknowledgement of their land rights in the Park. This is held out idealistically as the one thing that will unite the people and solve their problems.

The greatest challenge facing the community at Kagga Kamma and in the Northern Cape is alcohol abuse. For Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma, alcohol consumption coincides with the development of a Western, individualist, materialist culture but without the balancing resources of Western societies. Importantly, one "consequence of alcohol abuse among the Basarwa [or Bushmen] is that it continues to be a barrier to politicisation or 'conscientization', and thus the achievement of a true collective 'San' identity, as well as to the level of sobriety needed to fully participate in the development process" (Macdonald and Molamu, 1998: 331). This is where academic energy should be focused but without targeting specific individuals or detracting from the community's own potential for self-directed change. Such problems, which affect many local peoples of different ethnicities in the face of an increasingly globalising economy, need to be brought out into the open and tackled jointly (Katz *et al*, 1997: 175).

A New Understanding

Encounters with Kalahari Bushmen of southern Africa living in the communities of Ngwatle and Kagga Kamma in southern Africa have been analysed in terms of different areas that affect identity construction. Such an investigation is a good illustration of the disparity that exists between the concept of a single, insular cultural identity (which corresponds with popular myths about 'Bushmen') and one that is 'contaminated' and incomplete. The areas concerning identity formation, which were examined, are: discursive practices in ethnic politics, media and tourism, the logic of temporality and spatiality, language, intercultural exchanges and narratives of the body. Out of these

encounters with the communities certain social problems and requests have emerged. What becomes most evident is that limiting understanding of identity to a first, essentialist and historic model of identity (Hall, 1990; see Grossberg, 1996), results in the illusory construction of an image of the Bushmen, which does not and has never existed and results in further social problems and dependency. A model of identity that represents the notion of process appears appropriate to the Bushmen.

Identity in terms of the second, non-essentialist, strategic model (Hall, 1990; see Grossberg, 1996) allows for a progressive and dynamic context of identity construction which recognises all those who choose to call themselves Bushmen (for various reasons)¹⁰⁵. It also recognises some of the real and threatening conditions facing the Bushmen as a result of one of their newly acquired subject positions – the modernising subject. The situation is somewhat complicated by the self-perception of some Bushmen strictly in terms of a first model of identity (in Ngwatle, but especially at Kagga Kamma). It should be recalled that images of unity in terms of the first model of identity “offer a way of imposing an imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation” (Hall, 1990: 224). In this way, conceptualisation and construction of identity in terms of the first model can be entirely beneficial as a unity building exercise. The reconstruction of essentialist identities also occurs as an income-generating activity in terms of development funding and tourism (for both of which the label of ‘Bushman’ is valuable). For this reason, an excavation of the past in search of a stable identity is not invalid. However, it may be dangerous in the sense of operating on a basis of exclusion (of people who have rights to this identity) and of not accommodating the new, inevitable and constantly shifting subject positions, which makes the field of identity construction so complex.

A spirit of understanding therefore needs to be fostered which places emphasis on choice and freedom. The choice to assimilate modern elements or to revive a more traditional lifestyle should be accommodated amongst those who choose to call themselves Bushmen (or San or Basarwa). Relative empowerment for the Bushmen lies with the choice of how to represent themselves to the outside world and developing

greater agency to be able to present a more authentic view of their lives, if they so choose. Of course, the greatest possibility for change lies with changes in the overall political, economic and social system that oppresses Third World, indigenous, rural peoples. Responsibility does lie with us, as outsiders, to treat with respect their efforts at empowerment and their need to survive with dignity and agency in a rapidly globalising, capital-driven, commoditising world, which affects all of us. In more practical terms, development needs to be perceived as a provision of resources to equal, responsible and ultimately powerful agents whose role as traditional hunter-gatherers is just as authentic and completely compatible with their roles as modern subjects.

¹⁰⁵ "According to Prof Bredenkamp, the Khoisan comprise all people who choose to define themselves as Khoisan" (*The Mercury*, 2001: 5).

GLOSSARY

Researchers/ Interviewers

Name	Description	Trips
Gibson Boloka	Ph.D. student	Ngwatle, July 1999; Ngwatle, July 2000 (unfortunately did not complete trip with group)
Wafola Nerubucha	Kenyan mechanic	Ngwatle, July 2000
Ntokozo Ndlela	Masters student	Northern Cape, September 2000
Nelia Oets	Friend and translator	Kagga Kamma, April 2001
Chantel Oosthuysen	Researcher, interpreter and translator	Northern Cape, September 2000; Kagga Kamma, April 2001
Deanna Powers	Masters student	Kagga Kamma, April 2001
Merrideth Regnard	Australian niece to Tomaselli, not a researcher	Kagga Kamma, April 1999
Jeffrey Sehume	Ph.D. student, interpreter and translator	Kagga Kamma, April 1999; Ngwatle, July 2000
Alexandra von Stauss	Masters student	Northern Cape, September 2000
Keyan Tomaselli	Director of Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media Studies	All field trips
Caleb Wang	Honours student	Ngwatle, July 2000

Research partners/Interviewees

Name	Description	Location
Ella Bauer	Tour operator/ guide	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 2001

Aubrey Beukes	Government official; works for Social Services in the Northern Cape	Interviewed at Oudshoorn, April 2001
Roger Carter	Manager of Molopo Lodge, Northern Cape	Interviewed at Molopo Lodge, Northern Cape, September 2000
Harriet Charles	South African tourist	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 1999
Magrietha Eiman	Chairperson of the CPA	Interviewed at Oudshoorn, April 2001
Anna Festus	Assistant to traditional leader, Dawid Kruiper; her mother is ≠Khomani and her father is Ovambo from Namibia; studying to get a diploma in human resource management	Interviewed in the Northern Cape, September 2000
Greg Grant	Kagga Kamma employee	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 2001
Danie Jacobs	Guide at Kagga Kamma; anthropology student	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 1999
Belinda Kruiper	Ex-SASI worker, married to Vetkat Kruiper	Interviewed on Blinkwater farm, September 2000
Dawid Kruiper	≠Khomani traditional leader living in the Northern Cape, used to live and work at Kagga Kamma	Interviewed in Upington, Northern Cape, September 2000
Jon Kruiper	≠Khomani living and working at Kagga Kamma	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 2001
Hendrik Kruiper	≠Khomani living and working at Kagga Kamma	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 2001
Pien Kruiper	≠Khomani living and working at Kagga Kamma	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 2001
Sagraan Kruiper	≠Khomani, used to live and work at Kagga Kamma	Interviewed on Witdraai farm, Northern Cape, September 2000

Jakob Malgas	≠Khomani, used to live and work at Kagga Kamma	Interviewed on Blinkwater farm, Northern Cape, September 2001
Mangau Madietsane (Kaptein)	Ngwatle community leader	Interviewed at Ngwatle, July 2000
Kaki Matlakala	Ngwatle community member and works as entrance guard for Safaris Botswana Bound	Interviewed at Ngwatle, July 2000
Miriam Mosthabise	Ngwatle community member; had been employed as village cook for SBB; has not completed high school, but well-educated and can communicate in English	Interviewed at Ngwatle, July 2000
Pedris Motshabise	Ngwatle community member	Interviewed at Ngwatle, July 2000
Baba (Kortjan) Kies Nxai	Ngwatle community member	Interviewed at Ngwatle, June 1999
Vista Nxai	Ngwatle community member, works as field guide for Safaris Botswana Bound	Interviewed at Ngwatle, July 2000
Gadiphemolwe Orileng	Ngwatle community member, works as tracker for Safaris Botswana Bound (2000)	Interviewed at Ngwatle, June 1999 (and informally, unrecorded at Ngwatle, July 2000)
Ouma !Una and Ouma Kys	≠Khomani sisters, speakers of original language	Interviewed in Northern Cape, September 2000
Amber Pollock	Part-owner of Safaris Botswana Bound	Interviewed at Ngwatle, July 2000
Daan Raath	Guide at Kagga Kamma	Present at Kagga Kamma, April 1999 and April 2001
Andries Ras	Manager at Kagga Kamma	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 2001

Peter Reber	Swiss immigrant and tourist	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 1999
Hunter Sixpence	Community activist; works for Kuru Development Trust	Interviewed at D'Kar, Botswana, July 1999
Bixgao Sixpence	Resident of D'Kar; wife of Hunter Sixpence	Interviewed at D'Kar, Botswana, July 1999
Anna Swart	≠Khomani, used to live and work at Kagga Kamma, one of speakers of original language	Interviewed on Witdraai farm, Northern Cape, September 2000
Gert Swart	≠Khomani living and working at Kagga Kamma	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 1999 and April 2001
Tshomu **	Ngwatle community member and traditional healer (Unfortunately, no surname known)	Interviewed at Ngwatle, July 2000
Gary Trow	Guide at Kagga Kamma; studied degree in botany, zoology and archaeology	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 2001
Petrus Vaalbooi	≠Khomani activist, ex-chairman of CPA	Interviewed in the Northern Cape, September 2000
Heinrich de Waal	Part-owner of Kagga Kamma	Interviewed at Kagga Kamma, April 1999 and April 2001
Robert Waldron	Creative director of advertising company, Klatzko and Waldron; filmmaker and long time visitor to Ngwatle	Interviewed in Durban, October 2000
Paul Witbooi	≠Khomani, used to live and work at Kagga Kamma	Interviewed on Witdraai farm, Northern Cape, September 2000

Note:

- A selection of unnamed tourists were interviewed informally (not all of these interviews were recorded) at Kagga Kamma (1999 and 2001). Some

information has also been included from interviews on field trips in 1995 to Botswana (see **Bibliography**).

- The research team used the names with which people introduced themselves. On future research projects, I think it would be important to learn and emphasise the mother tongue names of the research partners.

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