

Heritage-making at the Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Tourism Centre,
Northern Cape: an exploration.

By

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Declaration

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of a PhD at the Centre for Communication, Media and Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

I, Shanade Bianca Barnabas, declare that:

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced
 - b. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks, and referenced.
5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References sections.

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Abstract

This study explores practices of heritage-making at the Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Tourism Centre in South Africa's Northern Cape. The research is informed by an African cultural studies perspective, employing ethical reflexivity to populate the work with research participants rather than research objects. The !Xun and Khwe San groups are the hosts at Wildebeest Kuil. Historically, San peoples have been violently subdued while recent history has seen them incorporated into rhetoric of national unity, simultaneously placating competing nationalisms and legitimising a dominant ideology. Negotiations of representation, heritage valuation, challenges to community participation and custodial failings are explored in regard to the hosts' engagement with the heritage resource at Wildebeest Kuil. The thesis responds to a call for critical thought into the uses of rock art sites within heritage and the dearth of research into heritage tourism in the developing world, knowledge of which is decidedly vital for heritage preservation and sustainable tourism.

The qualitative study, conducted between 2010 and 2014 via regularised field trips, was indebted to relationships built over time with various stakeholders. Data collection included desktop research, interviews and participant observation within the ambit of an interpretive case study. Multivocality is widely endorsed as a panacea to complexities of identity and heritage politics. The thesis pursues principles for thinking about multivocality from a cultural studies perspective, through which critical questions are raised about heritage construction, mutability, democratic responsibility and counter-hegemonic responses.

Challenges at Wildebeest Kuil were found to be indicative of socio-political concerns in the South African heritage sector. The thesis does not dismiss attempts at reformation in the

sector; instead it engages with a pervading disquiet that necessitates continued criticism. Heritage is not autochthonous, nor is it harmonious, originally present, and outside of human constructedness. Findings of the study reiterate that heritage is made by social processes and historic developments. It is invented, assembled, mutable, emotionally and politically charged. When viewed as such, heritage narratives valorising national and elite agendas become open for critique.

Key Words: African cultural studies, heritage narratives, heritage resource, heritage tourism, San, ethical reflexivity, museology, interpretation, rock art, multivocality.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the generations on whose shoulders I have stood and from whose hard work I have prospered and to all those who instilled in me a love of learning, particularly Samuel M. Barnabas who at 92 years old remains the sprightliest student I know.

Blessed is the one who finds wisdom and the one who gains understanding, for the gain from her is better than gain from silver and her profit better than gold—Proverbs 3:13–14.

Acknowledgements

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I thank other colleagues who read chapters, offered insights, suggestions and encouragement. Thanks go to the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein, particularly community leaders Mario Mahongo and Zeka Shiwarra, for access to the community and support offered. I especially thank David Morris, Bafana Ndebele and Petrus Wilson of Wildebeest Kuil, for their time, patience and willingness to participate in the study. Additional thanks go to personnel at the South African San Institute (SASI), the McGregor Museum, and numerous others who acquiesced to an interview. While it is not possible to list everyone by name, I am sincerely grateful to those whose assistance helped to further this thesis. A heartfelt thank you to Johann and Elsabé for their hospitality during my many stays in Kimberley. Their warm hearth made bearing the Northern Cape winters considerably easier. I am indebted to my family for their enduring support and to my friends for encouragement along the way. My greatest gratitude is unto God, for every accomplishment is only by grace.

*** Soli deo gloria ***

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Acronyms

AIDS – Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC – African National Congress

CCMS – Centre for Communication, Media and Society

COP17 – 17th Conference of the Parties

CPA – Communal Property Association

CPAMC – Communal Property Association Management Committee

CMS – Cultural and Media Studies

DEAT – Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism

DEDT – Department of Economic Development and Tourism

DG – Director General

DIA – Department of Indigenous Affairs

DLA – Department of Land Affairs

DVD – Digital Video Disc/Digital Versatile Disc

EIA – Environmental Impact Assessment

FBDM – Francis Baard District Municipality

FIFA – Fédération Internationale de Football Association

GNP – Gross National Product

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus

ICOMOS – International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites

ID – Identity Document

IDP – Integrated Development Plan

IOL – Independent Online

ISS – Institute for Security Studies

KZN – KwaZulu-Natal

KZNDAC – KwaZulu-Natal Department of Arts and Culture

LDC – Least Developed Country

LSA – Later Stone Age

MEC – Member of the Executive Council

NDT – National Department of Tourism

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

NHCTS – National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy

NHRA – National Heritage Resources Act

NTSS – National Tourism Sector Strategy

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme

RSA – Republic of South Africa

SABC – South African Broadcasting Corporation

SADF – South African Defence Force

SAHRA – South African Heritage Resources Agency

SAM – South African Museum

SAMORA – South African Museum of Rock Art

SANParks – South African National Parks

SASI – South African San Institute

SWAPO – South West African People’s Organisation

TRC – Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UNCTAD – United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNFCCC – United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

US/ICOMOS – United States International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of
Monuments and Sites

Wits – University of the Witwatersrand

WIMSA – Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa

WHC – World Heritage Committee

A note on pronunciation

The descriptions below are to assist in the pronunciation of vernacular terms used in the thesis:

The ‘!’ is a cerebral click.

“An alveopalatal or palatal stop, produced by pulling the tip of the tongue sharply away from the front hard palate. When made with lips rounded, it sounds rather like a cork popping from a wine bottle”.

The ‘≠’ is an alveolar click.

“An alveolar stop, produced by pulling the blade of the tongue sharply away from the alveolar ridge, immediately behind the teeth”.

The ‘//’ is a lateral affricate.

“Produced by placing the tip of the tongue on the roof of the mouth...and releasing air on one side of the mouth between the side of the tongue and the cheek. More simply, the clicking sound film cowboys use...to make their horses go”.

Adapted from Barnard (1992:xix).

The Fieldwork Site

Figure One



Figure Two

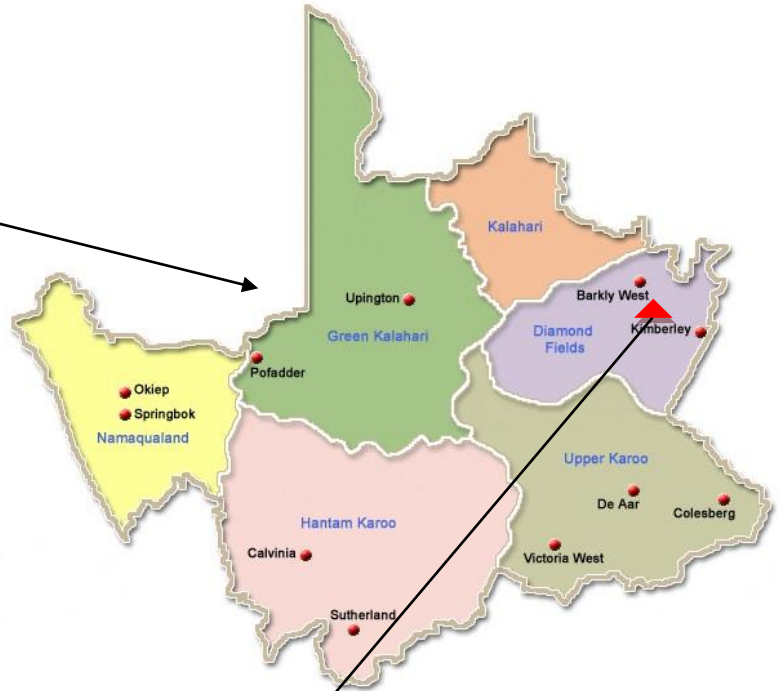


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http://www.platinumweekly.co.za/images/SA_Main%20Map_NorthernCape.png

Accessed: 01/11/14

Figure 2: Map of the Northern Cape Province, adapted from:

<http://www.scielo.org.za/img/revistas/sajae/v41n1//05f01.jpg>

Accessed: 01/11/14

Figure 3: Map of the R31 showing Wildebeest Kuil, adapted from:

[https://www.google.co.za/maps/place/Wildebeest+Kuil+Rock+Art+Centre/@-](https://www.google.co.za/maps/place/Wildebeest+Kuil+Rock+Art+Centre/@-28.66719,24.65055,53527m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x1e9b0ef6eb407107:0x8fc9db08c)

[28.66719,24.65055,53527m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x1e9b0ef6eb407107:0x8fc9db08c](https://www.google.co.za/maps/place/Wildebeest+Kuil+Rock+Art+Centre/@-28.66719,24.65055,53527m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x1e9b0ef6eb407107:0x8fc9db08c)

[c98996b](https://www.google.co.za/maps/place/Wildebeest+Kuil+Rock+Art+Centre/@-28.66719,24.65055,53527m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x1e9b0ef6eb407107:0x8fc9db08c)

Accessed: 01/11/14

Chapter One

The context of the study

What is heritage and who benefits from it? This is a question underlying the study. Is heritage a construct, a discursive practice, a resource for politicking, economic growth, shaping identity, claiming rights, fashioning inclusivity or its counterpart? The study is an effort to engage these issues with particular attention to complex negotiations in regard to heritage-making and multi-vocal practices at the Wildebeest Kuil¹ Rock Art Tourism Centre located approximately 12 kilometres outside the Northern Cape city of Kimberley. This is particularly relevant to a South African context where crucial debates unfold concerning heritage-making. The chapter outlines the parameters of the study, including reasons for the choice of topic; it describes the fieldwork site; problematises the key ideas and offers a synopsis of the chapters to come followed by a proviso on indigenous naming practices.

Parameters of the study and contribution to the field²

2014 marked South Africa's 20th anniversary of democratic governance. Commemorations included increased promotion of indigenous heritage in the public sphere. The indigenous perspective has been globally popularised since the rise of indigenous rights in the early 1990s, and this has been paralleled by transformations in museology. Processes of democratisation, however, particularly in South Africa, are still underway and there remains much to be achieved. Nevertheless, that these processes were begun at all is an indication of progress. The thesis does not seek to dismiss attempts at reformation in the South African heritage sector; certainly a great deal of democratisation has taken place. The aim here is to engage with a pervading disquiet in the sector that necessitates continued criticism. Roshi Naidoo (2005:37) describes this engagement as such:

¹ 'Wildebeest Kuil' is an Afrikaans appellation. The *wildebeest* (literally 'wild beast') is a large antelope described in English as a gnu. The *kuil* or 'water pit' near the hill on which the engravings lie could hold water for months after plentiful rains, making for a surrounding veldt rich in plant food and wildlife. This abundance in an otherwise arid landscape could have made the place one of importance for hunter-gatherers who lived there (cf. Morris & Blundell, 2004).

² Parts of this section are adapted from "Biesje Poort as a Rock Art Resource: Conservation and Tourism" (Barnabas, 2013).

Rather than simply letting out a sigh of relief because museums are now sensitive to those they have historically trammelled, we need to examine more closely and critically how ‘ethnicity’ and ‘race’ are mobilised, how communities are engaged with, and how a world view in tune with the neo-liberal nation can be shored up rather than undermined in these new, more ‘sensitive’ approaches.

A question fundamental to the study is ‘what is heritage and who benefits from it?’ To this we may add ‘whose heritage?’ (cf. Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). Through investigating practices of heritage-making at Wildebeest Kuil the study illuminates politics, culture, tourism and museology as key sites of heritage-making out of which answers to the above questions may proliferate. The thesis deals with these sites as they relate to Wildebeest Kuil and the larger South African context.

The country’s colonial and apartheid past has played a significant role in shaping its heritage identity, one fraught with contesting narratives (cf. Herwitz 2012; Marschall 2010; Tomaselli & Mpofu 1997; Shepperson & Tomaselli 1997; Coombes 2004). The thesis responds to controversial issues of heritage in a postcolonial, post-apartheid, developing world context at a time when heritage is most topical in terms of the country’s official commemorations and discussions in the public domain. Developing countries are often described as lacking the monetary and skills resources to best care for their heritage. Where there is a rich array of heritage, a lack of human resources and economic constraints disallow a large sum of that heritage to be conserved (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009b). Coupled to this is a lack of cooperation between government departments in the coordination and administration of projects which have an impact on heritage; this has been a concern in South Africa. Further challenges include environmental pressures, uncontrolled urban development as well as urban decay, communal conflicts, warfare, poverty, lack of political will, lack of awareness of heritage value, trafficking, and inadequate funding (Eboreime, 2009). Top-down legislation or isolationist conservation practices, where local communities are side-lined from the running of sites, often result in neglect, looting and vandalism (ibid). South Africa’s past of displacement and marginalisation has fostered a lack of concern for heritage sites in groups that once shared a rich history with such locales. Vandalism and theft, for instance, have been a concern at Wildebeest Kuil, positioning the site within a costly state of perpetual repair (cf.

Chapter Four). Further, Eurocentric heritage management on the continent has disempowered local communities (Eboime 2009; Hall 2009; Munjeri 2009).

The thesis contributes to research on the !Xun and Khwe of the Northern Cape who unlike their regional neighbours, the ≠Khomani San, have not been subject to extensive research.³ Essentially interlopers in the scramble for land rights, the !Xun and Khwe occupy a unique place in the country's heritage discourse. Originating in Angola and Namibia respectively and having made their home in South Africa for over two decades the ways in which they negotiate their place as hosts at Wildebeest Kuil and their affinity to the rock engravings exclusive of direct descendancy from the engravers is a point of interest unique to the case study. (Wildebeest Kuil is one of three rock art tourism centres in South Africa and is the only one that boasts a host community). These negotiations of identity and representation are especially pertinent in a country in which San peoples have been violently subdued yet valorised as First People and incorporated into rhetoric of national unity as a pervading symbol of South African origins, simultaneously placating competing nationalisms and legitimising a dominant ideology.

The !Xun and Khwe enjoy an indigenous status in South Africa due to the state's recognition of them as 'San'. Nevertheless, they are "tolerated" as are other marginalised indigenous groups, and considered an "inconvenience" in their dependency on government and aid resources (Coates, 2004:15). As marginalised indigenous, they are "[r]educ[ed] in the minds of most to caricatures, stereotypes, and museum exhibits... find[ing] themselves fighting for acceptance and survival in a rapidly changing world that shows little respect for their rights or unique histories" (2004:16; Saugestad 2001a, 2001b). Community-based museums and interpretive centres, such as Wildebeest Kuil, could possibly urge autochthonous participation and encourage communities to voice their stories in public fora. These spaces could potentially develop into platforms that foster inclusion, acknowledgment and respect described above as lacking. Studies of this nature thus prove imperative to understanding the dynamics at play at such sites.

³ Research conducted among the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein has included topics relating to resettlement, art, health communication, self-imaging in participatory video production, the politics of cultural distinction, community radio and development (Den Hertog 2013; Tyali 2012; Dicks 2011; Dockney 2011; Hart 2011; Barnabas 2010, 2009; Mhlanga 2010, 2009, 2006; Robbins 2007, c. 2004; Soskolne 2007; Van de Weg 2007; Stephenson 2006; Uys 1993; Douglas 1996). Nevertheless, this research is minimal in comparison to collated research conducted among the ≠Khomani San.

Previously the preserve of specialists, enthusiasts and the heritage sector, “some of the agendas and narratives concerning rock art sites are now... set by the tourism industry... education authorities, or those determining policy on the uses of heritage sites” (Morris, 2012:232). David Morris, head archaeologist at the McGregor Museum and the director/curator of the interpretive centre at Wildebeest Kuil, warns that care and critical thought must go into “the ways in which rock art sites are understood and incorporated in these spheres” (ibid; Weiss 2007; West & Carrier 2004). The study is a contribution to this necessary ‘critical thought’. It engages with prior research conducted at Wildebeest Kuil having analysed the site as significant for heritage conservation and tourism, with a focus on archaeology (cf. Morris 2012; Weiss 2012; Morris, Ndebele & Wilson 2009; Smith 2006), and heritage-making—although Lindsay Weiss’ (2007) application in this regard is centred on archaeological remnants of an era subsequent to the rock engravings.

A large corpus of work exists on heritage management while heritage in tourism “occupies so far only a minor position in the growing academic literature on tourism both in South Africa and the wider region of [s]outhern Africa” (Van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2013:156; cf. Rogerson & Rogerson 2011; Rogerson & Visser 2011; Visser & Hoogendoorn 2011). The knowledge gained from such research in the developing world is arguably vital for heritage preservation and sustainable tourism in those destinations (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009b). The thesis responds to the scarcity of research and seeks to contribute to the growing body of knowledge in its focus on a site of cultural heritage tourism, specific to the heritage of San peoples both past and present, fraught with tensions and challenges.

In response to the shortage of empirical data and subsequent conjecture on the topic, Linda Richter asserts that “[c]ase studies are needed to probe who gains and loses from heritage tourism” (2005:269). While outcomes in practice may not be as Manichean as Richter’s comment implies, nuances of gains and losses are relevant to a South African context where heritage is increasingly politicised and used as a resource for redress. Indeed, Weiss describes rock art sites as “restitutional” (2012:218). The particulars of this restitution are made evident in Chapter Three where shifting modes of interpretation and presentation of San peoples (their culture and heritage) and the historical precedent are explored.

Restitution and reconciliation are themes pervading all sectors of the South African example. Coupled to this has been an interdisciplinary valorisation of multivocality as opposed to a single heritage narrative. Multivocality is simply to be ‘many-voiced’. Born out of postmodern relativism and the post-structural deferral to a multiplicity of meaning in the text and change of meaning over time, multivocality promotes the co-existence of diverse perspectives and provisions a place to provoke thinking, learning and emotional connection to heritage (cf. Fawcett, Habu & Matsunaga 2008; Silberman 2008; Tilden 1977). In the heritage sector multivocality may be used as a tool to “...challenge dominant interpretive narratives and to create spaces and structures at heritage sites that will promote the co-existence of potentially conflicting approaches and perceptions of the site’s significance” (Silberman, 2008:141). This definition compliments processes of democratisation underway in the South African heritage landscape. The thesis concludes by building on this definition in pursuing principles for thinking about multivocality from a cultural studies perspective in terms of heritage narratives in the South African context (cf. Chapter Six).

Research tracks and access to the community

Access to various sources and informants, notably the South African San Institute (SASI) in Kimberley, the management and staff of Wildebeest Kuil and Platfontein community members, was obtained during previous research conducted with the !Xun and Khwe at Platfontein since 2008 (cf. Van de Weg & Barnabas 2011; Barnabas 2010, 2009). Engagement with the above sources included participation in the “Heritage in Tourism Week” seminars held in Kimberley in September of 2009 and 2010. The seminars were a cooperative initiative between the Partnerships and Industry Development Business Unit of the Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture, the McGregor Museum and the University of KwaZulu-Natal’s Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). The seminars functioned as a critical space for interdisciplinary and intercultural dialogue relating to tourism, heritage and culture.

Further insight into the discourses surrounding cultural heritage tourism developed through participation as a research assistant in drafting the book *Cultural Tourism and Identity: Rethinking Indigeneity* (Tomaselli, 2012). This, in part, resulted in my co-authorship of chapters in that compilation and others (cf. Finlay & Barnabas 2012a, 2012b; McLennan-

Dodd & Barnabas 2012). Participation in the multi-disciplinary, inter-institutional “Biesje Poort: KhoiSan Rock Art Recording Project” further established a heritage tourism background to the study (cf. Lange, Magongo & Barnabas 2013). Funded by the National Heritage Council, the project focussed on the recording of previously undocumented rock engravings and multiple interpretations of the art, associated artefacts and landscape. This later developed into the book *Engraved Landscape: Biesje Poort, Many Voices* (2013) in which I contributed a chapter relating to Biesje Poort as a heritage resource (cf. Barnabas, 2013). The current study was conducted over a period of four years (2010–2014). The location, participants and framing are discussed at length in Chapter Two.

The fieldwork site

Situated in the Northern Cape’s semi-arid region bounded by the Vaal and Orange Rivers, Wildebeest Kuil was developed and opened for public access as the Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Tourism Centre in 2001 and is a declared Provincial Heritage Site. The servitude is a little over 23 hectares in size and is located along the R31 auxiliary road between Kimberley and Barkley West. Dominated by farm lands, the area is close to the Platfontein and Galeshewe peri-urban settlements west of Kimberley. Kimberley’s McGregor Museum had plans to develop the site for public access in the mid-1990s. These plans were shared with the !Xun and Khwe Communal Property Association⁴ (CPA) when they took ownership of the farm (Morris, 2012). While the !Xun and Khwe own the farm, the rock engravings form part of the national estate. In 2000, due to efforts of the Rock Art Research Institute,⁵ funding became available from DEAT for public rock-art site development. Stakeholders in the project included the McGregor Museum, the Rock Art Research Institute, members of the !Xun and Khwe, and other Khoe-San organisations. The Northern Cape Rock Art Trust⁶ grew out of this committee; the museum manages Wildebeest Kuil on behalf of the trust and provides a monthly subsidy towards guide salaries (Morris 2014, 2012, 2004).

⁴ The CPA is an internal body which manages land owned by the !Xun and Khwe.

⁵ “[D]edicated to developing an understanding of rock art”, the Rock Art Research Institute is “active in rock art conservation and in the development and management of rock art tourism in South Africa” (www.sarada.co.za).

⁶ The trust was originally intended as a resource for the development of multiple sites in the region. These were to be incorporated into an archaeological tourism route yet to be developed (Morris, interview, March 2011).

On opening, the tourism centre included a craft shop (a retail outlet for contemporary !Xun and Khwe arts and crafts), a modest exhibition room of Stone Age tools and other archaeological finds on the site, and a small auditorium in which visitors view an introductory film on the history of the site and its hosts. A second exhibition room was constructed in 2012, to house military paraphernalia and to interpret the story of !Xun and Khwe soldiers in the South African armed forces. Beyond the tourism centre the site boasts over 230 engravings⁷ and more than 400 human markings (Morris, 2012). Subject matter of the engravings includes animals such as the eland (a popular image in South African rock art), hartebeest, rhinoceros, elephant and ostrich (cf. Lange 2011, 2006; Low 2009; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004; and Marshall 1962 on the significance of these animals in San cosmology and folklore). Engravings are particularly concentrated in this region (Parkington, Morris & Rusch 2008; Fock & Fock 1989). Radiocarbon dating suggests that some of the engravings at Wildebeest Kuil were made by LSA [Later Stone Age] occupants over a thousand years ago (Morris, 2012). The /Xam speaking San of this region are known as the last of the engravers:

...caught up in the vicious advance of the frontier across the karoo. Many were killed in the relentless conflict, most were incorporated as farm labourers or domestic servants, a tiny few were able to leave their imprint on the historic record. The descendants of these residual hunters and gatherers live on today as the impoverished shepherds, labourers, servants and unemployed township dwellers on the vast karoo farms and in dusty karoo towns. Culturally extinct, but genetically extant, they no longer speak /Xam and no longer have access to their story telling traditions. (Parkington *et al.* 2008:55)

While the engravings at Wildebeest Kuil were considered insignificant according to early nineteenth-century perceptions of rock art (Wilman, 1933), the site became a place of interest to historians for its other points of archaeological richness from the colonial era (Morris 2012; Beaumont & Vogel 1989). Today, the site beyond the interpretive centre is divided into 10 stations marked by information boards. Engravings are concentrated on the central rise at

⁷ The engravings at Wildebeest Kuil and others in the region have been created using the ‘pecked’ technique which involves the use of a hard stone to penetrate the outer crust of the rock thereby exposing the usually lighter coloured rock beneath (Parkington *et al.* 2008).

station eight. Incorporating multi-layered histories, these stations provide visitors with general knowledge of the site and its various inhabitants.

A background to the hosts at Wildebeest Kuil

The ‘Sanness’ of the hosts at Wildebeest Kuil is noteworthy in terms of the genocide of San peoples in South Africa’s past and their related museological representations (cf. Chapter Three). The !Xun are part of the Northern !Kung,⁸ a large group broadly distributed in a forested area of southeast Angola and known as *Vasequela*—the ‘Forest San’ (Robbins 2007; Barnard 1992). They speak !Xûntali, “a linguistic sub-dialectic of the !Kung family of languages” (Hart, 2011:17; Robbins 2007). Many of the Khwe, from the Eastern Caprivi Strip, were identified as *Baraquena* (Water Bushmen) (Robbins 2007; Uys 1993). They are taller and darker in complexion than the !Xun and other San groups and have been referred to as ‘black Bushmen’ (Robbins, c. 2004:6). The Khwe speak a Tshu-Khwe linguistic dialect known as Khwedam. Like the !Xun, they speak Afrikaans and (little) English along with a variety of other languages indigenous to Namibia, Botswana and Angola. By the 1900s, due to contact with European, Afrikaner and Bantu-speaking groups, the !Xun and Khwe had become subsistence farmers (Robbins 2007; Sharp & Douglas 1996).

In Angola the San were victimised and displaced by migrating Bantu-speakers (Robbins 2007; Sharp & Douglas 1996). In response to this, during the Angolan War for independence, the San aligned themselves with the Portuguese whose influence in Angola stretched back to the 1480s. By the late 1960s !Xun men were serving as trackers for the Portuguese military. Known as *Flechas* (Portuguese for ‘arrows’), these soldiers became a formidable tactical arm of the Portuguese military. Matoka Matheus, a San recruit, observed that they would be sent into the bush to flush out the enemy. He noted further that they were given no radios and had no command structure (in Uys, 1993). They were told only “to go kill blacks” (1993:5). Moreover, the soldiers were told by the Portuguese that these “...were bad blacks who used pangas, knobkieries and grenades, and that they wanted to use them against these people”

⁸ Alan Barnard (1992) distinguished between the Southern, Central and Northern !Kung. The Southern !Kung are those who in the 1950s had captured the imagination of Laurens van der Post, and who occupied the arid Kalahari regions of central Botswana. The Central !Kung live to the west of the Okavango Delta in a swathe of desert astride the Namibia/Botswana border. The Northern !Kung are discussed above. Nevertheless, others note disharmony between the !Xun and !Kung (cf. Marschall & Ritchie, 1984).

(Uys, 1993:3). After Portugal's *coup d'etat* in April 1974, it was decided that forces would be withdrawn from Angola and the country handed over to the liberation leaders (ibid). During Angola's liberation struggle "[o]ver 130 Bushmen were shot in a bloodbath at Mavinga and it was estimated that fully 25% of all Angolan Bushmen were killed during this period" (Uys, 1993:11). Fearing discrimination and possible death, those who had previously assisted the Portuguese fled the country. !Xun soldiers, together with their families, sought asylum in South West Africa (now Namibia) and Botswana (Robbins 2007, c. 2004).

The soldiers who had crossed the border into South West Africa were recruited by the South African Defence Force (SADF) in South Africa's incursion into Angola. The Khwe, situated in Eastern Caprivi, found their region embroiled as a major zone in the Namibian War of Independence (Robbins, c. 2004). Finding themselves in an increasingly hostile and dangerous position, the Khwe were likewise recruited by the SADF. In September 1976, 31 Battalion also known as the 'Bushman Battalion' was officially recognised (Uys, 1993). The !Xun and Khwe were segregated because they did not live harmoniously together and both were separated from their white counterparts. With the large civilian population under the military's bureaucratic administration, prevailing circumstances produced a condition of extreme dependency (Felton & Becker, 2001).

There has been some debate regarding the recruitment of San soldiers by the SADF. In 1980, anthropologist Richard Lee, who had worked with the !Kung for 17 years, stated that the San were "being ground to death by the South African war machine" (cited in Uys, 1993:101). Lee argued that South Africa was using the San much like the United States had used the 'hill tribes' in Vietnam, "to fight a white man's battle at the expense of their culture" (ibid). In contrast, the famed writer/explorer Laurens van der Post observed that life in the army would complement the 'hunter-gatherer' lifestyle, possibly saving the San from annihilation and providing a sense of protection and belonging (Uys, 1993). David Robbins notes that "...the !Xun soldiers and their dependents from Angola were indeed saved from an uncertain future (to say the least) by an SADF keen to do three things: to use the San skills; to display the army's humanitarian qualities; and to show that South Africans (the racist pariahs of the world) harboured no real racist tendencies" (c. 2004:11). This notwithstanding, the admittance of non-whites into the SADF was primarily to do with the apartheid state's

(paradoxical) attempts to prevail against what it considered the twofold threat of Communism and African nationalism (Harmann, 2006).

In the process of South West Africa becoming an independent Namibia, the !Xun and Khwe found themselves in a similar predicament to the one they had been in when the Portuguese withdrew from Angola. During the negotiated withdrawal, the SADF attempted to facilitate the San soldiers' re-alignment with other San groups in Namibia, primarily undertaking to persuade the soldiers and their families to stay in that country. The South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO)⁹ leader and president-elect, Sam Nujoma, assured the soldiers of their safety in Namibia; nevertheless, they were given the option to relocate to South Africa. Approximately 50 per cent took up this offer (Robbins 2007; Douglas 1996; Uys 1993). According to John Sharp and Stuart Douglas (1996), motives behind their move to South Africa remain unclear. Further, Sharp and Douglas (1996) question whether or not their decision to move was voluntary. In discussions with !Xun and Khwe participating in an art project, artist Katharina Meyer observed that, "[t]he army had told them that Swapo [sic] would have killed them had they stayed in Namibia" (in Robbins, c. 2004:26). Anna Maria Mahongo, the wife of Mario Mahongo, similarly noted, "[t]he army told the minister to move because SWAPO were going to kill us... [w]e were shown videos and books on how SWAPO killed people" (cited in Uys, 1993:250).

The soldiers' reasons for their decision to resettle in South Africa included: their trust in the SADF, dependence on the army for salaries, their fear of retribution from ex-SWAPO fighters and the fact that their land in the Caprivi was not guaranteed (Uys 1993; Robbins 2007, c. 2004). Those who decided not to relocate to South Africa could remain in Omega, relocate to Botswana, East Caprivi or return to Angola. The social security offered by the SADF was no small factor. Moreover, having relied on the SADF for their livelihood for so many years the prospect of losing that support would have been daunting. According to Robert Gordon (1992) the refugee-status of the San soldiers precludes an argument for their having 'volunteered' as recruits for the SADF. Put simply, they had little choice but to volunteer. Their decision to move to South Africa may be seen in a similar light.

⁹ SWAPO was a guerrilla force fighting for the liberation of South West Africa (now Namibia). For more on the involvement of San soldiers in this war, see Uys (1993) and Robbins (2007, c. 2004).

The San were promised housing after the initial move to a tented camp at Schmidtsdrift. Within the first year of relocation talks towards a housing project had begun. These plans were soon overshadowed by an uncertain political climate. In February 1990 then state President, F.W. de Klerk, announced the unbanning of all liberation movements and began a programme marking the abolition of apartheid. Nelson Mandela was released from prison in that same year and as Robbins observes, it was a time when:

[v]iolence rocked the country; crime dramatically increased; and political nerves were stretched taut across an uncertain future. A few thousand San sitting in tents in the blistering heat and intense cold of the Northern Cape seasons hardly mattered in the national scheme of things. (c. 2004:22)

Political negotiations led to the disbanding of various military units, including 31 Battalion. Some of the soldiers were transferred to units in different parts of the country leaving their families at Schmidtsdrift. This was cause for an increased sense of instability and alienation. The disbanding of the unit ended plans towards a housing project and with the military gone and an increase in political debate about their presence in South Africa the !Xun and Khwe found themselves once again on the brink of upheaval. Proposals were made by politicians to send them back to Namibia and they were viewed by many as “refugees who had fought... against democracy” (Swart cited in Robbins, c. 2004:25).

In their time at Schmidtsdrift, the !Xun and Khwe experienced a pervading sense of temporality which in combination with the acuity of being unwelcome in South Africa created “serious dimensions of anger and mistrust, both towards the military and the South African government” (Robbins, 2006: 25). These destructive emotions were turned inward in a time that, for many others, was a period of celebration of democratic freedom:

[t]he period immediately after the 1994 elections was one of a collapse of personal and communal vision. Uncertainty had turned to paranoia and depression. The incidents of rape, attempted suicide, extreme domestic violence, and alcohol and substance abuse increased dramatically, leading to more and more social negativity. (Robbins, 2006: 25)

There was an increase in poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment together with a sharp increase in teenage pregnancy and alcohol abuse during pregnancy (Robbins, 2006). Alcohol abuse is said to have promulgated in the military camps (Uys, 1993). Alcohol was smuggled into the camp by drivers and on occasion the San soldiers would “drink and dance through the night, then be useless for duties the following day” (Uys, 1993:61). Andre Gerber, an officer at Omega, recognised the army’s role in this, saying, “[m]any mistakes were made, for example, they wanted to brew their low-potency beer... and were forbidden to... [i]nstead they learned to drink our more alcoholic beer” (cited in Uys, 1993:68). Alcohol abuse remains a concern in the community today (Fieldnotes, June 2011; September 2012).

In her observations of the community in the sixteen months in which she lived in Schmidtsdrift, Meyer recalled “an atmosphere of ruthless self-destruction, the picking to pieces of each other” (in Robbins, 2006:26). Incidents of aggression between the !Xun and Khwe increased as the anger felt concerning elements out of their control was turned inwards. This ‘picking to pieces’ is evident in the treatment of women by the !Xun and Khwe men. In the tented camp, the women were regularly beaten by their husbands (cf. Felton & Becker, 2001). The division was widened by economic opportunities. While unemployment was rife, what job opportunities there were went to the men, while no such opportunities existed for the women. Gender-based violence and negative gender attitudes remain prevalent among the !Xun and Khwe today (Becker, 2003).

Reappropriation of the Schmidtsdrift territory resulted in the !Xun and Khwe’s forced relocation.¹⁰ In 1997 the farms¹¹ Platfontein, Wildebeest Kuil and Droogfontein were purchased by the then Department of Land Affairs in the name of the !Xun and Khwe Trust (Robins, Madzudzo & Brenzinger, 2001). Due to delays and stalled negotiation the title deeds were handed over two years later. Further complication included “opposition from certain ANC [African National Congress] provincial leaders who were against former apartheid soldiers being given preferential treatment” (Robins *et al.* 2001, cited in Robbins, c. 2004:31). Construction of the settlement at Platfontein began in late 2002 with 805

¹⁰ Schmidtsdrift was named a ‘native’ area in terms of the Native Land Act of 1913. In 1968, the Batlhaping, known to have settled there since the 1880’s, were removed from that land and relocated north of Kuruman. In 1992 they successfully lodged a land claim for the reinstatement of Schmidtsdrift (Gontle, 2006).

¹¹ The community itself is not involved in large-scale farming; what farming there is occurs infrequently on small plots in individual yards. Some revenue is received from land leased to outside farmers (Shiwarra, interview, September 2012).

rudimentary Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) pattern houses and 120 privately-owned houses with external pit-style lavatories and a single tap in each yard (Robbins 2007; Sharp & Douglas 1996). In some instances families of more than ten live in these three-roomed houses (Dicks, 2011). Platfontein is an Afrikaans name which translates to 'Flat Fountain'. The settlement is indeed flat, however, in contrast to the second half of its name the area is dry with sparse vegetation. In the dry season, red dust from the dirt roads whirls around the settlement while in the wet season these roads are often water logged. In 2012, for the first time, Platfontein acquired road signs. Many of these new signs had been vandalised by June of that year. I was told by Piet Jonas, a young man from the community, that this was the work of drunken, and often jobless, youth (Fieldnotes, June 2012).

The entire Platfontein community is serviced by two outsider-owned supply stores along the main road, as well as smaller, resident-owned tuck shops within the community. Between them, the stores on the main road sell items of clothing, a small selection of canned foods, bread and package-sealed items like biscuits and sweets. For household groceries community members travel to a franchised grocery supplier on the edge of Kimberley while some residents walk to the city's nearby landfill in search of food (Fieldnotes, September 2012; Dicks 2011; Soskolne 2007). According to Platfontein community member, Billies Pamo, no minibus taxis or buses operate between Platfontein and Kimberley (Email, 9 April 2013). Private vehicle owners from Platfontein charge a R20.00 fee to drive people to and from the Spar on the outskirts of Kimberley, approximately two kilometres away (ibid). The lack of public transport greatly impacts the community's access to employment opportunities within the greater Kimberley area.

There exist tensions within the community which manifest in a variety of ways. Currently, there are approximately 4000 !Xun and only 2500 to 3000 Khwe living in Platfontein (Windschut, interview, June 2011; Pamo, email, 9 April 2013). When occasions arise which necessitate the division of goods there is often an argument from the !Xun that they should be given more than the Khwe. This leads to conflict between the two groups. Diana Shiwarra, a young woman from Platfontein, revealed that many of the group conflicts often begin with an argument between individuals in a drunken state (Field notes, June 2010). When others join in, these road-side brawls escalate into quarrels between the two groups (ibid).

According to community leader, Zeka Shiwarra, tensions between the leadership from the different sides of the community generally arise from arguments between inter-married couples (!Xun and Khwe inter-marriage) (Interview, July 2012). These familial conflicts often escalate into community disputes. Leadership of the !Xun and Khwe is divided into two constituents, these are traditional and community elected. While traditional leadership is hereditary (each chief chooses his successor from within the family), community leadership is determined by democratic vote with re-elections taking place every four years. Ten leaders are chosen from each of the !Xun and Khwe groups and from those ten a chairman, deputy and secretary are chosen. In addition, each traditional house chooses three of its members to serve in the community leadership. The combined !Xun and Khwe community leadership, also known as the community development committee leadership, consists of twenty-six members (ibid).

The role of the traditional leadership is to address internal community affairs while the leadership ascribed by the community are tasked with community development concerns and meeting with government and other parties (Shiwarra, interview, July 2012). The chairman, deputy and secretary of each side of the community leadership, six in all, together form the CPA. The CPA manages community-owned land; receiving an income from land hired out to farmers, as well as a monthly payment for the telecommunications tower erected on Platfontein. The CPA financially supports the two development committees (one !Xun and one Khwe) which in turn support the traditional houses. There are constituents calling for a democratic vote of the traditional leaders citing the fact that the community now lives in a democratic nation. Shiwarra expressed his concern that these individuals want to seize control of both the traditional and development committee leadership for personal gain (ibid).

Describing the !Xun as deeply disturbed and the Khwe as reclusive, Robbins (c. 2004) asks if Platfontein could ever atone for the sense of dislocation and homelessness that pervades the San soldiers and their families. Many people were happy with the move and were proud of their houses (ibid). Nevertheless, the impact of the move to South Africa "...coming on the heels of centuries of gradual loss, of the shocks and brutalities of the death throes of Portuguese colonialism, and of the decade and a half of relative stability at Omega—was a frightening burden for the !Xun and Khwe to shoulder" (c. 2004:20). Community members have been known to lament the loss of space and freedom of movement. Batista Salvadore, a

Platfontein community member and onetime Wildebeest Kuil member of staff, was noted as having described the environment at Platfontein as a kind of prison (Ludman, 2003:np). In comparison, at Schmidtsdrift men would walk to the nearby river to fish; they would construct a make-shift hut near the river bank in which they lodged during their fishing expeditions (ibid). The limitation of the landscape at Platfontein remains a source of anguish for many community members (cf. Soskolne 2007; Robbins c. 2004; Uys 1993). Today these San are South African citizens, having received South African Identity Documents as part of their relocation. It has been a hard-won citizenship of particular interest to the study.

Synopsis of the study

The thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter One has described the research focus, outlined the main tenets, and provided a background and rationale for the study. Chapter Two describes the methodological approach framing the research. The procedures, methods and techniques used in the data collection process are explicated and the reliability and breadth of the data collection techniques are examined. Various limitations and challenges faced in the field are discussed and complex relations between researcher and researched are explicated.

Chapter Three constitutes a critical exposition of the South African heritage landscape as specifically related to interpretation and presentation of San peoples and rock art. Heritage is conceptualised, debates in the field considered, and the constructedness and mutability of the concept brought to the fore. Impacts of the socio-political contexts of colonialism and institutionalised apartheid on the conceptualisation of heritage and its valuation are explored in terms of historic shifts in perception in the broad fields of rock art and San studies (with a focus on valuations of Wildebeest Kuil). Democratisation of the museum space is explored along with the country's progressive legislation and contemporary commitment to heritage management. Critical themes explored in this chapter include: heritage as constructed within museology and popular culture and as relationally bound together with legitimising efforts, cultural capital and dominant ideology (cf. Graham *et al.* 2000).

Chapter Four offers an examination of the challenges and concerns at Wildebeest Kuil as they relate to heritage-making, preservation, interpretation and presentation. Strategies of presentation and interpretation at Wildebeest Kuil are explored in terms of the Wildebeest

Kuil introductory film and the *Angola to Platfontein: !Xun and Khwe and 31 Bn [Battalion]* military exhibition. Further areas of discussion include vandalism, theft, the host community's seeming apathy and processes of decision-making which may have widened the gap between community ownership and partnership at the site. Present-day heritage-making at Wildebeest Kuil is shown to vacillate between progressive and historically static. Challenges at the site highlight that community-based museology, if genuinely sought, is a practice of constant striving. The chapter illustrates that policy and representation alone do not constitute heritage, but that events unfolding "...behind the scenes at an institution [are] also crucial to the way meaning is created, change occurs and ideologies are produced" (Littler, 2005:13).

Chapter Five builds on the previous chapters with a focus on heritage in tourism. National tourism trends, the provincial branding strategy and national tourism strategies are examined and their intersection or divergence from on-the-ground activities at Wildebeest Kuil explored. A number of on-site challenges are interwoven with prevailing concerns of the hosts. Dispossession, displacement, poverty, unemployment and substance abuse are factors that plague this community and confirm these groups as under duress. Exceedingly low visitor numbers, on-going vandalism, host community concerns and an overall lack of government support concerning infrastructure for tourism and heritage preservation are critically analysed and possible site improvements described. An argument is made for tourism as dependent on the efficiency of other sectors and the relationship between policy and praxis (as it relates to heritage) is problematised.

Chapter Six explores the question posed in the Introduction: What is heritage and who benefits from it? Key issues of culture, tourism, politics and museology (expounded upon in the previous chapters) are discussed in relation to ways in which they intersect in the process of heritage formation. Discussion of the country's national heritage narrative is consolidated and issues of inclusivity and exclusivity are explored. The concept of multivocality, propagated in academic and popular spheres, is critically examined and a decolonising multivocality is presented as a step further in progressive heritage-making. A critical reflexive space is encouraged where heritage makers and consumers are forced to ask pivotal questions about heritage construction, mutability, democratic responsibility and counter-

hegemonic responses. The theoretical outcomes are considered applicable to broader implications in the South African heritage sector.

Finally, Chapter Seven draws together the main themes explored in the thesis, reiterates the significance of the research, describes limitations of the study, and includes recommendations for further areas of scholarship.

A note on indigenous naming practices¹²

In recent decades, culture and identity politics have become highly contested and problematised “[w]ithin these debates the names of indigenous peoples are particularly protested” (Hall & Fenelon, 2009:14–15). Contestation over the naming of indigenous groups do not belong wholly to academics; such debates are articulated within indigenous groups themselves and vehement responses are offered to researchers as manifestations of historic researcher-researched relations. Interviews reveal contending opinions among the !Xun and Khwe pertaining to group designation (Barnabas 2010, 2009; Taplin 2006). /Thaalu Bernardo Rumao noted, “[t]he people say they are not Bushmen anymore. They do not wear skins and they do not live in the bush. They say they are now the San” (cited in Winberg, 2001:128). In contrast is Freciano Ndala’s emotive response: “I’m already a Bushman, I will not change... other people thought we were baboons, that’s why they called us Bushmen, I’m a real Bushman, I’m not a baboon” (cited in Barnabas, 2009:10). ‘San’ and ‘Bushman’ now represent “ethnic self-designations” and “pan-ethnic identities” (Taplin, 2006:15). The above speaks to the complex meaning behind names and their historical contexts.

Having derived from the Dutch *Boesjesman*, ‘Bushman’ is said to imply the “deplorable practice of cunningly concealing themselves in the bushes before springing out on the unwary traveller” (Lewis-Williams, 1983:13). The term is also expressively masculine. Commonly employed as a benign alternative, ‘San’ is believed to be derived from the Khoe *Sonqua* and translated as ‘forager’ (cf. Barnard, 1992). There is evidence, however, to suggest that ‘San’ may be interpreted as ‘bandit’ (Gordon, 1992). Both ‘San’ and ‘Bushman’ are terms open to criticism; firstly as homogenising designations of groups with divergent mythologies and cultural practices, and secondly as externally-ascribed colonial constructs “created to control

¹² This section is adapted from Barnabas (2009).

subjugated peoples in manageable, depoliticised, arbitrarily bounded enclaves of homogeneity” (Wilmsen, 1996:188). There are those, however, who are re-claiming and re-defining these allotted names while rejecting the previously ascribed bestial connotation (Barnabas 2009; Francis 2007; Bregin & Kruiper 2004; Dyll 2004; McLennan-Dodd 2003b). This is possibly attributed to a “new sense of empowerment” (Hitchcock, 1998:303).

Capitalisation and the use of single quotation marks in the thesis are reminders that names and categories are constructed, ephemeral, prone to change and subject to stereotype and myth (cf. Errington, 1998). The surnames of many respondents are used in-text and during a more informal interview with a group of youth from Platfontein, first names were used. Where respondents offered particularly sensitive information anonymity was preferred. Specific group names are utilised but where there is need for an all-encompassing term, for conciliation (a respected traditional leader from the subject community has expressed his offence at the term ‘Bushman’) and the sake of expediency, ‘San’ is preferred unless otherwise quoted. The ‘Platfontein community’ is another term used here to describe dissimilar constituents, geographically indistinct and brought together by daily struggles against on-going challenges.

There are multiple spellings and variations of the term ‘Khoe-San’, for example: Khoisan, KhoiSan, Khoesaan, and Khoesan. Unless otherwise quoted the variant used in the study is ‘Khoe-San’ as recommended by WIMSA with reference to “the common gene type of the indigenous peoples or to the language stock” (www.sanculture.org.za). The terms ‘autochthonous’ and ‘indigenous’ are used when discussing First Nation groups that face similar challenges and share common experiences (see Tallbear 2001 and Francis 2007 for more on the accessibility of the term ‘indigene’). A challenge arising is that there is little consensus over meaning (Coates, 2004) and these terms (including ‘San’ and ‘Bushman’) suggest a conflation of varied groups of people with dissimilar cultures and histories (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). Nevertheless, there are a number of key characteristics and historical circumstances shared by numerous groups described as ‘indigenous’ (cf. Coates, 2004). Indigenous groups have been dispossessed and marginalised under institutionalised forms of control and have had violence perpetrated against them. They have also been the perpetrators of violence, dispossession and subjugation. The term ‘indigenous’ has been ascribed to groups from the outside often in legalistic and patriarchal ways. There is little in

terms of self-identification in this process (ibid). The use of ‘indigenous’ in this study is applied not as essentialist rhetoric but rather in accord with the South African government’s valorisation of San peoples as First People.¹³

¹³ Dyll-Myklebust (2011) describes the ≠Khomani San in similar terms.

Chapter Two

Research Methods in Context

The study analyses interactions between the management and hosts at Wildebeest Kuil in the process of heritage-making and multi-vocal practices. This chapter is an account of the methodology employed in the investigation. The approach is qualitative, interpretative and derived from cultural studies. Methods of data collection included face-to-face interviews and participant observation written in an interpretive case study design. Methods of documentation comprised of fieldnotes and audio recordings of interviews that were later transcribed. The above were supplemented with sustained email contact with certain key informants. Procedures, method and technique used in the data collection process are detailed at length in this chapter. Concerns central to the research (epistemic, phenomenological and ethical) are contextualised within the field and challenges, limitations and outcomes of the research design are discussed.

Location of the study, participants and framing

The fieldwork was conducted over a period of four years (2010–2014) at the Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Tourism Centre in South Africa's Northern Cape Province, and with research participants from site management, employees and the host community. Since Wildebeest Kuil is a satellite of the larger McGregor Museum, site management includes David Morris (Wildebeest Kuil curator/head archaeologist at the McGregor Museum), Colin Fortune (then manager/director of the McGregor) and the Wildebeest Kuil Steering Committee (discussed later in the chapter; cf. Chapter Four). The !Xun and Khwe San communities are attributed as the hosts at Wildebeest Kuil (expressed as such in the Wildebeest Kuil introductory film). They own the farm on which the engravings lie and have been identified by the McGregor as the San peoples to which the site (and interpretive centre) is linked. !Xun and Khwe art and craftworks are displayed for sale at the centre's craft shop and in the past community members were trained as site guides and shop attendants. Members of the !Xun and Khwe thus once hosted tourists at Wildebeest Kuil, however, they are currently infrequently

employed on-site. The Platfontein community's role as 'hosts' at Wildebeest Kuil is strongly founded on their capacity as custodians of the site.

Morris, Bafana Ndebele and Petrus Wilson were key informants as were Platfontein community leaders Zeka Shwarra (Khwe leadership) and Reverend Mario Mahongo (!Xun leadership). Originating as an ethnographic research method and now widely used in other social science research, the key informant technique depicts the use of qualitative, in-depth interviews conducted with informants who are expert sources of information (Marshall 1996; Burgess 1989). Otherwise described as 'strategic informants', key informants have first-hand knowledge of a topic/area of study and "as a result of their personal skills, or position within a society, are able to provide more information and a deeper insight into what is going on around them" (1996:92).

As the curator at the site, having worked in the South African museum sphere for a number of years and having published on the topic of rock art in terms of heritage and on Wildebeest Kuil in particular, Morris was a valuable source of information. Ndebele and Wilson's years as employees at Wildebeest Kuil meant that they possessed an acute understanding of the everyday functioning and goings-on of the site. Community leaders Shwarra and Mahongo are members of the Wildebeest Kuil Steering Committee as well as the !Xun and Khwe Communal Property Association. Their involvement in multiple areas of leadership meant that they had access to much community-related information. An important note is that the research differs from pure ethnography in that it does not fully satisfy the requirements of long-term anthropological study. Rather, regularised research trips provided a manner in which to engage in a longitudinal study and contend with the institutional and economic challenges of the global South (cf. Dyll-Myklebust 2011; Tomaselli, Dyll & Francis 2008). Visits to the field included short-term trips, approximately every six months.

Fieldwork was conducted under the auspices of the Centre for Communication, Media and Society's (CCMS) Rethinking Indigeneity Project in which researchers participate in fieldtrips to the main subject communities (the !Xun and Khwe, the ≠Khomani and the !Xoo). Since its inception in 1995 the project has involved nearly 230 postgraduate students from the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a number of local and international affiliates in a range of

research topics¹⁴ explored together with indigenous communities. Research themes include representation, identity construction, and development of marginalised communities (cf. Tomaselli 2012, 2001, 1999). For a number of years the focus had been predominantly on the ≠Khomani of the Northern Cape and to a lesser extent the !Xoo of Botswana as subject communities. Research on the !Xun and Khwe began much later in the project, the earliest of which was conducted in 2006 (cf. Hart 2006; Mhlanga 2006). The research output of the larger project aims, among other things, to include both researcher and researched “in elaborating perspectives that are always in dialogue with each other” (Tomaselli *et al.* 2008:368). Research subjects/participants are written into the text and reference is made to ways in which they engage with researchers and by extension the research (Dyll 2003; McLennan-Dodd 2003a). The contradictions of academic discourse and knowledge production are exposed in open discussion of the research process, therefore drawing attention to the impact of interactions and encounters with informants in shaping and structuring “texts, argument, and explanations” (Tomaselli *et al.* 2008:353; Mboti 2012).

Paradigms and approaches framing the study

The qualitative research methodology employed in this study involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach to the subject matter. Empirical data was collected by means of interviews, interactions and observations within a case study design. With its ability to provide rich insight into human behaviour, qualitative data is often used to evidence the epistemic and ontological underpinnings of subjects’ actions, behaviours, thoughts and processes of meaning-making (cf. Denzin & Lincoln 2005). Certainly, qualitative data is “useful for uncovering emic views” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:106); more specifically, it is the ontological objective of qualitative research to understand the complex world of lived experience from the emic point of view. In this way qualitative methodologies may redress the disjuncture between grand theories and local contexts—the etic/emic dilemma where the proposed hypothesis of the outsider investigating a group or community may have little or no meaning/bearing on the emic (insider) perspective (cf. Denzin & Lincoln 2005). The provision of contextual information offered within qualitative data may also redress the imbalance that occurs with ‘context stripping’ in which selected variables and sub-sets are the

¹⁴ The combined project “encompasses a number of topics, including representation, cultural tourism, development, media, identity, marginalization, and auto-ethnographic methodology as a topic in its own right” (Tomaselli *et al.* 2008:351).

foci in an exclusionary and controlled quantitative design (ibid). Qualitative research is organised by certain key paradigms: positivism, post-positivism, constructivism and critical theory to name a few (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This research has been conducted from a constructivist/interpretivist perspective which holds that meaning is found in interpretation and that to prepare an interpretation is to construct a reading of the meanings research subjects/participants attribute to phenomena (ibid). The final work is thus a self-aware “construction of the constructions of the actors one studies” (Schwandt, 1998:223).

The research tracks paradigm changes within an institutional setting concerning practices of heritage-making, interpretation and presentation. The trajectory of these institutional changes is pursued in relation to a southern African approach to cultural studies. The following section offers a discussion of cultural studies, the prevailing approach of this study, which by virtue of its abiding concerns is inherently interpretivist. The study objectives include an exploration into the host community’s engagement and presentation at Wildebeest Kuil; negotiations of this presentation; power relations between the hosts and site management in this regard; obstacles to community involvement; and the role of the project at Wildebeest Kuil in the life of the community at Platfontein. Power structures, representation, belonging and identity politics are themes central to the focus of cultural studies.

The cultural studies paradigm

Cultural studies “designates a wide-ranging and expanding domain of research questions concerning processes and structures of sense-making and, more specifically, the way in which ‘sense’ becomes ‘lived’ in practices of everyday life” (Van Loon, 2001:273). Having splintered from the discipline of English, present-day cultural studies is multi-disciplinary¹⁵ in nature, borrowing method and theory from disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, political science, psychology, and development studies. The Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies became the crucible of this field of study with an interest in resistance forged in the 1970s; the Centre focussed on contemporary society and their associated popular cultures considered by most disciplines at the time as unworthy of academic enquiry (cf. Hartley 2003; Saukko 2003; During 1999). Cultural studies “was on

¹⁵ Method as technique, approach, commitment and epistemology do not belong to any one discipline. Even while some methods are developed in certain disciplines these are often taken up by others and used as and where appropriate. Therefore, regardless of epistemological differences the “methods by which we collect and analyze our data belong to everyone across the social sciences” (Bernard, 1998:14).

the lookout for the workings of power, curious about the everyday as a symptom of something else—struggles, ideologies, oppressions, [and] power structures” (Hartley, 2003:121). The cultural studies approach to empirical research is often characterised by an interest in the interplay between lived experience, discursive mediation and the socio-political landscape arising out of the humanism, structuralism and new leftism of the 1970s (cf. Hartley 2003; Williams 1995; Hall 1990). These currents:

...enabled cultural studies to articulate a mediating space between right-wing optimism and left-wing pessimism that allowed the paradigm to examine how people’s everyday life was strife with creative and critical potential, while their lives and imagination were also constrained by problematic cultural ideologies as well as structures of social inequality. (Saukko, 2003:13)

This mediating space in an otherwise polarised setting was not without its problems. Discrepancies arose between a desire to understand the life worlds of other cultural groups and a “distanced, critical structuralist interest in ‘analysing’ linguistic tropes, which guide people’s perceptions and understanding” (Saukko, 2003:13). Furthermore, interest in the cultures and language that mediate our perceptions of reality is in contradiction with the tendency to make statements about the social and political situation “which is always, to an extent, wedded to a realist quest to find out how the world or reality simply ‘is’” (ibid). The positivist notion of scientific objectivity, while placating these concerns during the early days of cultural studies, proved less helpful in the face of developments often grouped under postmodernity, poststructuralism, postcolonialism, late capitalism, globalisation and neo-liberalism (cf. Rose 1999; Tomlinson 1999; Jameson 1991; Baudrillard 1983).

Three historical and social developments have indirectly worked to form present-day cultural studies, giving rise to innovative research and methodological orientations. Firstly, since the 1960s institutions such as the state, the media and educational bodies have been accused of institutionalised discrimination (Saukko, 2003). Researchers have been criticised for depicting marginalised and minority groups in ways that validate already established western theories (cf. Welsch & Endicott, 2003). Secondly, a critique of technologically advanced societies’ experience is that there exists a loss of the distinction between public and private

space, thus ‘imploding’ a subject-object distinction (Best, 1995:51) in a hyperreal¹⁶ space “where everything is exposed to the harsh and inexorable light of information and communication” (Baudrillard, 1990:130). The ‘real’ is therefore “no longer real” (Baudrillard, 1988:np) since *simulacra* (copies without a referent) have become abiding artificial referentials (Baudrillard 1988, 1983). This phenomenon has advanced critical discourse on objectivity (Saukko, 2003). Thirdly, the collapse of state-run socialism in Eastern Europe and the rise of Western democracy across the globe brought a:

...new division between an exhilarated talk about multiculturalism and the possibilities of creating and disseminating alternative, previously silenced knowledges [sic] and cultures, and steep inequalities and mistrust and feuding between different groups of people. (Saukko, 2003:14; cf. Castells 1996, 1997, 1998)

African cultural and media studies (CMS) followed with its own critical explorations of race, struggles for democracy, post-colonialism, popular participation and issues of indigeneity (cf. Tomaselli & Wright 2010; Wright 2004, 1998, 1996; Ngugi 1986, 1981; Fanon¹⁷ 1967, 1963). Described as a variant of African CMS (Tomaselli & Mboti, 2013), the Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal was founded in 1985 as the Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit at the then University of Natal. The teaching and research output of the centre was originally based on the work of the Birmingham Centre but developed a critical indigenous approach over time (Tomaselli, 2012). Cultural studies at the time arose from “Marxist reworking of literary criticism, to develop a broader and less economically dogmatic form of social and political criticism” (Shepperson, 1996:np). Popular and varied forms of expression were studied as texts in relation to wider socio-political trends. While this presented innovative means of theorising about the Global North, cultural studies in the South African context had to contend with conditions “rooted in a much more violent history of dispossession and exploitation than existing cultural studies approaches were able to explain” (ibid). The approach developed by CCMS during the 1980s took on an activist role, critiquing the dominant discourse of the apartheid government and providing “a fertile ground for an Africanisation of cultural and media studies within the Southern African context” (ibid; cf. Tomaselli 2001, 1998a, 1998b).

¹⁶ Baudrillard defines the hyperreal as “a real without origin or reality” (1983:2).

¹⁷ Although not a cultural studies scholar himself, Frantz Fanon’s work has been influential in this field and others where studies of anti- and post-colonialism are pursued.

In the post-apartheid era, the Centre's approach had moved from one of resistance to reconstruction.¹⁸ The Rethinking Indigeneity area of study includes the analysis of failed development projects in indigenous communities where implementations were based on neoliberal Western models (cf. Dicks 2011; Dyll-Myklebust 2011; Finlay 2009a, 2009b). Where Western methodologies are found lacking in the African context such a perspective offers a critical analysis and re-making of dominant literature and theory (Tomaselli, Rønning & Mboti, 2013). Research is conducted together with a number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and tourism institutions across the country and is geared to “shaping outcomes along the way... and cautioning power” (2013:12). Critique is focussed on host, subject and partner community beneficitation while simultaneously “retaining a critical distance from new hegemonies, and recognising the value that indigenous ontologies, essentialist as they may be, can bring to the academic table” (ibid).

The present study utilises cultural studies as an “umbrella discourse for undertaking a critical approach” to heritage tourism as it is employed at Wildebeest Kuil (Ryba & Wright, 2005:201). Since the case study details heritage-making at a site with a host community previously disadvantaged and presently under economic strain there is a critical concern pertaining to “the historical, social and political commitments of those discourses that direct people's, including scholar's, understanding of themselves and their projects” (Saukko, 2003:14–15). Borrowing from ethnography has proven useful to the task. Typically dated to the Pacific Island studies of Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) and Margaret Mead (1949), the scientific tradition of ethnography is evidenced by a researcher:

...participating overtly or covertly in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions—in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned. (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:2)

Primarily, the influence of cultural studies on ethnography has been that the latter has become both a subject and an instrument of “a continuous process of critical engagement with our own being-in-the-world, beyond the taking for granted of that which already exists” (Van

¹⁸ In light of the growing civil unrest in South Africa in recent years, the centre may find itself on the side of resistance once more.

Loon, 2001:273). In giving voice to the indigenous in the academic text, re-working models based on autistic economic theory, and engaging with theory from the southern African context the work of southern African CMS decolonises “cultural studies’ tendency towards synchronic theoreticism”, ensuring that the oftentimes marginalised Other is not abstracted into First and Second World theory to the point of erasure (Tomaselli, 2005:38). Ethnographic elements are present in the methods employed and descriptions from the field. These field descriptions are written in a reflexive form which helps to reveal processes of conducting research with indigenous communities that are often concealed from the academic text (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011). The result is a “process of civil, participatory collaboration that joins the researcher with the researched in an ongoing moral dialogue” (Mhiripiri, 2009:81; cf. Tomaselli *et al.* 2008; Denzin & Lincoln 2005).

Research within the Rethinking Indigeneity Project, in which the present study is situated, subscribes to an indigenous epistemology (cf. Tomaselli *et al.* 2008). Such an epistemology, postcolonial in nature, is driven by a process of decolonising research which involves “conducting research in such a way that the worldviews of those who have suffered a long history of oppression and marginalisation are given space to communicate from their frames of reference” (Chilisa, 2012:14). A postcolonial indigenous research paradigm is a framework of belief systems emanating from the lived experiences, histories and values of those marginalised and subordinated by Euro-Western research paradigms. Such a paradigm “articulates the shared aspects of ontology, epistemology, axiology, and research methodologies of the colonized Other” and acknowledges the “colonizing effect of Eurocentric research paradigms” (Chilisa, 2012:19–20).

Research design and methods of data collection

Having discussed the epistemological orientation of the study, the chapter now moves to critical descriptions of the design and data-collection methods with due recognition of their limitations and strengths. Data collection included desktop research, interviews and observations written in an interpretive case study design.

The interpretive case study design

A case study is an object or unit of study, be it an individual, organisation, group, decision, event, place, or time period about which researchers seek to understand nomothetic and/or ideographic¹⁹ explanations of phenomena (Patton 2002; De Vaus 2001). While the case study design has positivist origins, within an interpretive approach, a case study tells a story, perhaps more so than other types of empirical research as it fosters deep understanding by presenting a rich description of the context under which interpretations were made. Within qualitative research, rich description may be described as ‘thick description’. This is “[o]ne of the most important concepts in the lexicon of qualitative researchers” (Ponterotto, 2006:538). Originating in the work of British metaphysical philosopher Gilbert Ryle (1949, 1971), the term is most widely attributed to Clifford Geertz (1973) who adapted it from Ryle to describe the work of ethnography. For Ryle (1971) thick description involved the interpretation of behaviour in context and ascribing intentionality to behaviour. Geertz (1973) believed that the credibility of the ethnographer’s interpretations could be independently verified by readers of the text only when the context under which those interpretations were made are richly and thickly described (cf. Ponterotto, 2006). Norman K. Denzin (1989) extensively elaborated on the concept, describing eleven different types of thick description. For the purpose of this study it is sufficient that ‘thick description’ is acknowledged as rich detail within the research, expressed to provide a complex and textured analysis (Geertz, 1973).

A criticism of the case study design is that the study of a small number of cases can offer little or no grounds for “establishing reliability or generality of findings” (Soy, 1997:np). Nevertheless, the study of typical cases may reveal the existing state of affairs of a phenomenon (Mabry, 2008). Atypical cases offer in-depth understanding of specific phenomena and may “challenge and assist theorizers to account for enigmatic counterexamples [sic] at the margins of generalized explanations” thereby presenting opportunities to advance “abstracted representations of social phenomena” (Mabry, 2008:217). Instead of searching for data to verify or refute *a priori* theory or hypotheses, a case study is expected to flow from data to theory, following data wherever it leads. This is known as emergent design which together with progressive focus (focus on features of the study which gradually appear more significant) and expansionism (the expanding of datasets

¹⁹ Ideographic approaches refer to methods highlighting unique elements of individual phenomena. Nomothetic approaches, in contrast, provide generalised social statements usually by emulating the methodology and logic of the natural sciences (Marshall, 1998).

as new sources emerge) constitutes key characteristics of the case study design. These characteristics position the case study design to “contribute substantively to social science by offering intense focus on cases of interest, their contexts, and their complexity” (2008:216). The case study proves important in its exploration of the negotiations of the uses, interpretation and presentation of heritage at a site relevant to the lives and experiences of present-day San peoples.

Interviews

Semi- and unstructured face-to-face interviews allow for probative follow-up questions and an exploration of topics unanticipated by the interviewer (Mabry, 2008). Over the course of four years, a number of such interviews were conducted with the management and staff of Wildebeest Kuil. Further interviews were conducted with staff members of the South African San Institute (SASI), the Francis Baard Municipality, the McGregor Museum, the Northern Cape’s Department of Tourism, the Sol Plaatje Municipality, and the Northern Cape Economic Development Agency. Many of these organisations were involved in a steering committee convened to oversee a landscaping project at Wildebeest Kuil in 2011/12. Interviews were conducted with Platfontein community leaders (notably Zeka Shiwarra (Khwe) and Mario Mahongo (!Xun)), while informal discussions with community members are referenced in-text as ‘fieldnotes’.

Depending on the location of respondents, interviews were conducted at Wildebeest Kuil, in Platfontein or Kimberley. Where possible, email correspondence was used for follow-up questions and to maintain contact with certain research participants. Primary interviews with the above respondents were conducted in order to acquire in-depth information concerning the museological and other workings of Wildebeest Kuil and community engagement at the site. These interviews were between 45 minutes and two hours in length. Many respondents willingly elaborated on their answers, which made for lengthy interview sessions. Interviews (together with observation) highlighted the greater challenges and concerns on site and within the provincial and national contexts.

Interviews conducted with Platfontein community members²⁰ were semi-structured. Many discussions were informal and spontaneous while in other instances a formal (yet still conversational) interview was conducted. These interviews were often bilingual, vacillating between English and Afrikaans. Afrikaans is widely spoken in the Platfontein community and is the dominant language of the Northern Cape. For the most part I was able to converse with respondents in Afrikaans but where I faulted they graciously suggested that I pose the question in English. Able to understand questions posed in English, respondents went on to answer in Afrikaans (and sometimes English depending on their preference). Conducting interviews in English and Afrikaans eliminated the need for a translator and allowed for more direct interactions with respondents.

Sampling techniques used included purposive and convenience sampling. Purposive sampling, also referred to as nonprobability, purposeful or qualitative sampling, involves the selection of units (individuals, groups or institutions) or cases “based on a specific purpose rather than randomly” (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003:713). The study relies heavily on male respondents from within and without the community. This demographic bias was due to the selection of individuals based on the gradual selection principle of sampling. This involves “the sequential selection of units or cases based on their relevance to the research questions, not their representativeness” (Teddlie & Yu, 2007:80; Flick 1998).

A critique of non-probability sampling is that, in comparison to probability sampling, it is less likely to produce representative samples (Brink, 1996). On the other hand, through purposive sampling the researcher is able to deliberately select “particular settings, persons, or events... for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices” (Maxwell, 1997:87). The researcher’s judgment in terms of selection is thus particularly significant. Careful selection is essential. In terms of purposive sampling, a small number of carefully selected cases leads to “greater depth of information” (Teddlie & Yu, 2007:83). An economical and convenient technique, purposive sample was used in the study to select respondents particularly associated with Wildebeest Kuil. These included the staff and management of the site and Steering Committee members. Several other respondents

²⁰ Respondents were not paid for their time. I mention this because of the sometimes negative impact of the introduction of money to the researcher/researched relationship (cf. Dockney, 2011). Particularly in research with marginalised communities, this often turns the emphasis of the knowledge-producing process away from research and knowledge-based values to one of monetary transaction.

were selected based on i) work in local tourism in the area, ii) knowledge of provincial and local challenges, iii) work in local government, and iv) work with the Platfontein community.

The above notwithstanding, interviews with Platfontein community members arose where the opportunity presented itself. Convenience sampling is a nonprobability sampling technique that involves "...drawing samples that are both easily accessible and willing to participate in a study" (Teddlie & Yu, 2007:78). This sampling technique was specifically applied within Platfontein in terms of volunteer samples. Working in Platfontein is often a practice of finding and seizing opportunities. In the process of gaining access to a subject group "...the social researcher, particularly in the role of ethnographer, is heavily dependent on luck" (Gillham, 2008:42–43). In some instances I have experienced what I prefer to call a *providential stumbling into the right place*. This occurred when the research was already gaining momentum; a chance meeting would procure what would later become a pivotal interview or a casual conversation would uncover significant data. The above does not imply random sampling, but rather describes certain occurrences of sampling within an already established sample group. The mitigation of limitations is discussed further in the chapter.

Interviews were held wherever was most convenient for the interviewees; at times this meant sitting in someone's yard, home or place of work. Conducting interviews in environments where respondents feel comfortable may assist to ease some of the tension of a researcher/researched interview set up, especially at times when audio recording takes place (cf. Bickman & Rog 1998; Hillway 1964). Interviews are much like confessionals and respondents prove this time and again in contrast to academic descriptions of the interview format as an intimidating space of unequal power relations (cf. Jacobs, 2006). Some respondents from Platfontein, beaming at me as they accepted the request, seemed to feel a sense of pride at being asked for an interview. Interviewees were intuitive and often made it clear that they could speak only from their own experiences and not for the community as a whole. This is in contrast to perceptions of communal consensus when conducting research within small, indigenous (and usually marginalised) groups.

Audio recording during the interviews was often adjunct to note taking. The apprehension over possible technical failure and the possibility of respondents accidentally switching off

the device (some respondents preferred to grasp the recorder as if it were a microphone)²¹ were some of the concerns supplementing the preferred immediacy of pen and paper. Key quotations were often immediately transcribed and/or summarised. Later transcriptions and summaries emerged from listening to the recorded interviews away from the field; it was only those passages perceived to be significant to the key research areas that were transcribed. At other times the context of the interview was summarised and written into the main text directly from the audio recordings. Notably, whether or not the data had been transcribed beforehand or written directly into the text from the audio recordings the process of deep listening, analysis and interpretation remained unchanged.

It is possible that the presence of a notepad amongst alliterate research participants may be intimidating and therefore an impediment to in-depth data collection. In my experience respondents have requested that certain information (such as feelings divulged about colleagues and fellow community members) not be transcribed; this is interesting in light of the fact that by this time the information had already been recorded. This often precipitated a discussion about the nature of that particular piece of information. Moreover, it brings to light the camouflage in free speech where respondents may fail to remember that documentation is in progress (via audio recording), perhaps uttering what they might later regret. Subsequent interviews, in this regard, prove helpful to not only clarify issues and gain further understanding, but also to reify responsible handling of sensitive information.

While the majority of interviews were face-to-face, some of the subsequent interviews (where the initial interview/s had been conducted face-to-face and a working relationship formed with the informants) were conducted via email because of the distance between Kimberley (the research site) and Durban (the write-up site). With reference to the above, email correspondence is a practical and cost-efficient interview method (Mann & Stewart, 2003). Email interviews were possible with the management of Wildebeest Kuil and a few SASI Platfontein employees with access to the internet at the SASI offices.²² There is a higher risk of deception with email correspondence since the researcher is less able to access the non-verbal communication of the interviewee. This text-based research technique may deprive

²¹ In this way respondents had taken control of the means of recording, actively engaging with the mechanism instead of being subject to its function.

²² These are stakeholders in positions of power. The research trips to Platfontein were thus significant to ascertain the thoughts and feelings of the community at the grassroots level.

research of an ethnographic context. In contrast, email correspondence allows researchers to physically distance themselves from ideological camps thus reducing the possibility of mistrust and intimidation that might alienate some participants (ibid). Email correspondence has been used in this study as supplementary to face-to-face interviews and frequent visits to the subject community. In this way a connection to the field was maintained and the risk of deception was lowered by cross-referencing interview responses.

To return to a discussion of relational inequality in the interview format, a concern is that informants may feel compelled to appropriate prescribed classifications to define themselves. Pieter Jolly discusses a San informant whose statement, “I am not a black man and I am not a white man. I must be a Bushman”, reveals this sense of prescribed classification (1996:207). Jolly describes the various contexts at play in this interaction (ibid):

...the manner in which ‘Bushman’ has been defined historically; the interview situation, and the perceptions of certain of their interviewers concerning the ethnic identity of the informants and their relations with other groups in the area; remarks made by this informant ... [and some others] from the area concerning their Bushman identity; and the increase in the value of ‘Bushmanness’ in recent years.

Prescribed classifications as historically entrenched markers of identity remain active today in some form or other. The research process thus remains limited by inherited dichotomies such as that created by colonial rule of “the colonizer as knower and colonized as ignorant” (Chilisa, 2012:34) and the further fracture among the colonised themselves between those with and without a formal education. Because of the prioritising of assimilated cultures the researched are “more likely to suppress indigenous knowledge in favour of knowledge acquired from the media and Euro-Western paradigms” (ibid). On the other hand, the researched are also in a position to control and sometimes manipulate encounters with researchers thus shifting perceived nodes of power in the encounter.

Lauren Dyll (2003) describes one such encounter between herself, another researcher and a ≠Khomani respondent, Silikat van Wyk. In this “visual/verbal skirmish” Van Wyk engaged the researchers in what he described as a ‘Bushman’ game but what seemed to be a game of his own devising. Drawing a circle in the sand he invited one of the researchers to stand

inside it, after which he demanded cash, claiming that upon standing in the circle the researcher had taken away his land and therefore owed him recompense. Van Wyk's spirited manipulation of the researchers for money while subtly playing on the discourse of colonialism and unjust land appropriation also highlighted his innovative use of San ontology in creating a game from which to make a profit (cf. Mhiripiri, 2009). On a different occasion Van Wyk informed a researcher that he had had a dream about her and the seven stars and that her San name was 'Morning Star', adding "...look, here is a necklace with stars on it for only R20..." (McLennan-Dodd, 2003b:463). Instead of being perceived as deceptive promotional strategies these examples may be viewed as incorporating:

...innovative marketing skills in which business and ontological strategies are combined, culminating directly in what the tourists are looking for: devices through which the culture of the Other may be observed, and material artefacts to take home, to help them remember the experience and/or share it with others. (Dyll, 2003:139)

The tourist-cum-traveller-cum-popanthropologist may observe these strategies and simultaneously enjoy the encounter, so too might the researcher unencumbered by inverted roles of power and control in the field. A further concern is that it is sometimes unknowable if informants are lying. There may be numerous reasons to withhold the truth and a lie may be born out of mistrust toward the researcher; concerns over the appropriation of their knowledge and its use for commercial gain; and at times a penchant to play on the researcher's expectations. Having learned predictable, conventional responses over time, respondents may offer what they imagine researchers desire to hear; this is described as "anthro-speak" (cf. Tomaselli *et al.* 2008:349–50). In addition, respondents may be unknowingly incorrect or they may avoid discussing sensitive subjects. Anthro-speak, untruth, partial and misinformation could be the undoing of research validity and are perhaps increasingly prevalent when visits to subject communities are intermittent. The above notwithstanding, the question of validity of research is long-standing and debates are often based on paradigmatic differences.²³

The issue of informant accuracy was systematically studied in the 1970s and 1980s (Trotter & Schensul 1998; Freeman & Romney 1987; Romney, Weller & Batchelder 1986; Weller

²³ The famous Mead–Freeman debate in anthropology is one such example (cf. Shankman 2009, 1996; Marshall 1993; Paxman 1988; Scheper-Hughes 1984).

1984; Bernard, Killworth & Sailer 1982, 1980; Killworth & Bernard 1979, 1976; Bernard & Killworth 1977). The findings concluded that data from informants prove erroneous approximately 50 percent of the time but that the data, in context and with regard to the life story of the particular individual who reported it, was important in its own right. The concept of triangulation provides an effective way to ensure the validity and reliability of data.

There are at least five different types of triangulation. These include methodological triangulation, analyst/investigator triangulation, theoretical triangulation, analysis triangulation and the triangulation of sources (cf. Denzin, 1978). The latter, also referred to as data triangulation or data sources triangulation, was made use of in the study. This type of triangulation involves the use of multiple data sources from within the same method for purposes of consistency and validation. According to Norman K. Denzin (1978), there are three categories of data triangulation; namely, time, space and person/perspective. These three subsets evolved from the notion of the variability of data based on the time collected, the setting from which it was collected (for example, public or private space), and the people involved (the comparability of different points of view) (Begley 1996). Two of the three subsets were used in the study. The longitudinal nature of the study allowed for data collection over the course of four years. Verification of data was therefore possible at different points in time. Data was similarly verified by comparing information from people with different points of view.

A form of methodological triangulation was also used in the study. Two categories of methodological triangulation occur; namely the between- and within-method type of methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1978). While the former depicts triangulation across the qualitative and quantitative paradigms, the latter implies the use of multiple and complementary methods of data collection/analysis within a single paradigm (ibid). It was this latter within-method category that was used in the study. A form of internal crosschecking thus took place in the use of face-to-face interviews, emails, and participant observation. It is hoped that the multiple and complementary methods used in this research have produced data which is both comparable and confirmatory.

Ultimately, the use of interviews within the context of this research proved instrumental in gaining descriptive information that developed and grew more nuanced over time. Building

long-term relationships with research participants is a possible solution to many of the limitations described above. This will be discussed at length further on in the chapter. The discussion now moves to observation as complimentary to the use of interviews in the data collection process.

Participant observation

Observation is a significant and complementary method of data collection simply because respondents' spoken responses do not always account for their behaviour and actions. The study of behaviour, therefore, "reflects those elusive internal states that underlie what people do, and of which they may not be fully aware" (Gillham, 2008:18). Embedded in social contexts, participant observation is capable of in-depth analysis of meaning (cf. Gillham, 2008). The observation of this study was overt in that the subjects were aware of the observation and had knowledge concerning the research taking place. Critical self-observation, described in this study as reflexivity, provided one way in which to make the process of observing respondents more systematic and analytical (ibid).

Observations made during interviews and encounters have been transcribed as fieldnotes. Note-taking occurred within the field, in transit and at the end of research trips. Fieldnotes constitute the principal method of capturing data from participant observation which is a method that entails "establishing a place in some natural setting on a relatively long-term basis in order to investigate, experience and represent the social life and social processes that occur in that setting" (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2001:352; Dewalt & Dewalt 1998). Even so, while participant observation is widely accepted as cultural anthropology's defining research method, consensus over a single, agreed-on definition is yet to be reached (Dewalt & Dewalt, 1998). For many writers the term constitutes a broad description of fieldwork in ethnographic research (cf. Agar 1996; Van Maanen 1988; Spradley 1980). Another view is that it is one among a number of methods used in anthropological fieldwork requiring a particular approach to the recording of observations (Dewalt & Dewalt, 1998). Seen in this way, participant observation is both a method of data collection as well as an analytical tool. Ultimately, the goal of this method of immersion is to learn of the tacit and implicit aspects of a culture otherwise unknowable to the outsider; it is the "embodiment of tacit cultural form" which also "informs interpretation of meaning" (Dewalt & Dewalt, 1998:265).

There are varying degrees of researcher participation. Modifying categories created by James Spradley, Kathleen and Billie Dewalt designate four types of participation, namely; nonparticipation, moderate participation, active participation and complete participation (Dewalt & Dewalt 1998:262; Spradley 1980). Nonparticipation is when cultural knowledge is acquired with no active interaction with the subjects of study. This may be done, for example, through archival research, reading newspapers and/or watching television. Active participation occurs when the researcher engages in almost every activity of their subjects of study to enquire after the cultural rules of behaviour for that particular group. Complete participation occurs when the researcher “is or becomes a member of the group that is being studied” (Dewalt & Dewalt, 1998:263).

The degree of participation for this study is best described as moderate. Moderate participation occurs when the researcher “is present at the scene of the action” but when active participation or interaction occurs only occasionally (Dewalt & Dewalt, 1998:262). This is also the case with researchers who, while they remain in the field for long periods of time and engage in many of the everyday activities of their subject group, do not live in these subject communities but rather commute to the field. While the length of time spent in the field does influence the depth of the final report, it is believed that, irrespective of the degree of involvement, the practice of participant observation enhances not only the quality of the data obtained during fieldwork but also the quality of the interpretation of that data. Participant observation is thus a complimentary method of data collection which assists in providing a comprehensible and defined context to the findings (ibid).

Nevertheless, there are certain ethical considerations raised by the use of this method. Participant observation may be considered “interactionally deceitful” (Ditton, 1977:10). Informants are rarely reminded, and may forget, that a passing comment or action constitutes research data. To alleviate the unease of this deception, researchers will often protect the identity of informants. Note taking in the presence of informants also works to reinforce that the researcher is there to collect data. On the whole, however, these strategies remain incomplete. Another point of ethical consideration is in the researcher’s decision to intervene (or not) in the lives of the researched. The significance of an intervention may be of more consequence for some than for others, as in the encounter described by Kenneth Good (1991), who, during his time in the field, witnessed a woman being overpowered by a group of

teenage boys. Good noted that rape was an expected behaviour in his research community and that while he did not agree with “everything they did; [he’d] come to study them” (1991:102–103). He made the difficult decision to refrain from intervening. He chose to intervene later on in his time in the field when a similar situation occurred. While my considerations of intervention were far less significant to the immediate health and well-being of respondents I have considered the possible effect on the outcome of the research of advice given as a friend and confidant. In addition, becoming emotionally involved with the subject community does problematise objectivity (discussed later in the chapter).

Another cause for ethical concern evoked by participant observation is the implied long-term commitment to the researched. The transience of the fieldworker/researcher is not always recognised and may not be an expectation of the subject community (Dewalt & Dewalt, 1998). Often, when researchers move on from a research site, they may leave the community distressed by the loss. The establishment of ongoing relationships through long-term projects and partnerships with research groups helps to alleviate this sense of loss and abandonment. The dilemma, however, is not easily solved, as is evident in complaints CCMS researchers receive about themselves and others from subject communities. While an attempt is made to maintain positive relationships with research partners, at times upon our return after a lengthy absence we are met with mixed emotions (particularly among the ≠Khomani); there is gladness at our return but also frustration over the long absence and over the idea that we have profited in some way from their knowledge. There have been similar complaints from members of the Platfontein community with reference to researchers and business people who have taken traditional artefacts, artworks and knowledge from the community, using their indigenous status to generate profit (cf. Barnabas 2010, 2009). All ‘outsiders’ (researchers and development workers alike) are viewed in the same light; if this view is negative it complicates the process of gaining access to the community.

The underlying ethical dilemma is that researchers do profit from their research participants. In particular, student-researchers produce theses and dissertations, receive degrees and acquire employment, essentially progressing with their lives while the lives of their respondents remain unchanged. In response to this ethical dilemma an aim of the thesis is to produce research that will aid the community in some way, be it via social development (in having the voices of community members heard and their stories told) and/or in influencing

development projects and policy implementation. Further ethical concerns will be discussed in the latter parts of the chapter. The discussion now moves to concerns of data analysis.

Data analysis

Following an ethnographic approach to research there is no structured linear process between data collection and analysis; instead analysis of the data occurs organically together with data collection. Thus in the semi- and unstructured interview formats follow-up questions are often born out of analysis of responses to previous questions; in participatory observation, analysis occurs simultaneously with the observation, analysis also occurs in the ongoing process of researcher reflexivity. Therefore, processes of hypothesising, theorising, data collection and analysis occur together in an inherently flexible research process that is able to materialise according to circumstances (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

Analytical interpretations were developed from data collected over the period of study via interviews and observations as described above. This was employed to focus research questions for further data collection and inform the developing theoretical analysis (cf. Charmaz, 2000). Research themes were garnered through a systematic identification of points of reference via an on-going review of literature, prior experience in the field with the subject communities, and local commonsense constructs (cf. Ryan & Bernard 2000; Bulmer 1979). These themes, through which research findings were analysed, additionally manifested in the structure of chapters and their content. Therefore ‘coding’ of the empirical data was not markedly structured but was used to inform structure.

The data gathered in the course of the study is noteworthy since there is a scarcity of consolidated research on i) cultural heritage tourism in the developing world (Timothy & Nyaupane 2009a; Richter 2005); and ii) the !Xun and Khwe communities of the Northern Cape. The data is compared to historical records of rock art and San representations in the South African museological context. The knowledge gained from case studies of this nature is arguably vital for further development of progressive heritage interpretation and presentation, host community relations, and cultural heritage tourism in the developing world. The research is thus promising for future policy implications. Since the data is invariably influenced by the researcher/researched interaction and as Jay Ruby suggests, the social

science researcher has an “obligation *not* to be objective” (Ruby, 1977:3), the following sections explore the role of reflexivity in the research process.

A reflexive disclosure of subjectivity

Epistemological imperatives of the Humanities include research and data-gathering techniques which mention both researcher and researched “...and involve interpretation, nuance, historicity, sociality, multivocality, density of meanings and ambiguity” (Mboti, 2012:57). Reflexivity is a mode through which strained ethical considerations can be foregrounded; it is the “inclusion of the observer in the subject matter itself” (McCall 2006:3; cf. Mboti 2012). Typically, in studies with San communities, the position of the researcher is that of the non-indigenous conducting research on the indigenous. In explicating the complexities of that relationship, some of these researchers reveal a sense of guilt over the colonial and apartheid past. I found myself in a different set of circumstances.

My initial experience when engaging with San groups was one of reversed roles. Leaving Durban, where I am one of many South Africans of Indian descent, we travelled to Platfontein, then Witdraai and finally Ngwatle in Botswana where I became the exotic Other. Initial engagements with the Platfontein communities proved less exaggerated in terms of othering of researchers (our presence elicited stares from community members); this may be attested to the !Xun and Khwe having lived in less isolation than other San groups in southern Africa. In July of 2008, during my first visit to Botswana, a group of !Xoo children spent the day at our camp site in Ngwatle. The older girls stood around me and stroked my plaited hair²⁴ speaking animatedly to each other in their vernacular as I sat playing with the younger children. On a later trip in 2010, upon seeing me for the first time one of the ≠Khomani men working at !Xaus Lodge in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park exclaimed, “I am a Bushman, he is an Afrikaner [referring to the then manager of the lodge] but what are you?”, this was later followed by what seemed to be a marriage proposal. Fellow researcher, Sertanya Reddy, also of Indian descent, was surprised by another ≠Khomani man who asked if she was from

²⁴ A droll note on representation and identification: I wore my long hair in two plaits for most of the field trip that year and a fellow researcher in our group noted that I looked like a ‘Red Indian’. He then renamed me ‘Little Wing’ and the name stuck for the duration of the research trip. My response to this (in jest) was to announce that I was one-sixteenth Navajo. I weaved a tale of generational inter-marriage and found myself unquestioned. By the end of the trip I had many of my fellow researchers believing that I was indeed one-sixteenth Navajo or so confused about my origins that they were unable to say for sure if I was telling the truth.

Arabia. In a later communication to me she said, “I told him that, no, I was from South Africa, just like he was... he seemed a little disappointed, which just goes to show that I think the Bushmen ‘othered’ me, more than I ‘othered’ them!” (Email, 14 November 2011). It has been my experience that upon first meeting with community members in the field it is the researcher who becomes the researched. Questions posed to me were often not subject to propriety or sensitivity; ranging from: ‘Van waaran kom jy?’ [Where are you from?]; to ‘Hou oud is jy?’ [How old are you?]; and at times ‘Het jy ‘n man?’ [Do you have a man?]. It is frequently the case that fieldwork:

...though often portrayed as a classical colonial encounter in which the fieldworker lords it over his/her respondents... usually does not feel much like that at all. More often it is a curious mix of humiliations and intimidations mixed with moments of insight and even enjoyment. (Thrift, 2003:106)

Certainly, the researcher’s culture, religion, race, class, age and gender play a role in the way in which they are engaged by the subject community. During introductory visits to the field, male researchers in the group were frustrated by the community’s lack of response. One of my colleagues expressed disappointment that the women in the community would not answer his questions or even reciprocate his greetings. As a female researcher of colour I believe I had less of a problem initiating relationships with respondents in the early days of research. Nonetheless, the sense of dismissal discussed above is not uncommon with respondents from Platfontein, as my fellow researchers and I have discovered. On occasion, we have had to search for respondents who had promised to avail themselves for an interview at an agreed upon time and location. Elsewhere I attest this to a sense of flexibility of time one feels in Platfontein (Barnabas, 2009). Of course it simply may be a case of evading irksome researchers. A continued presence and ongoing visits to the community succeeded in changing the initial lack of response.

It is the responsibility of researchers to illuminate and problematise the Self/Other relationship thus making “accessible the normally unexamined assumptions by which we operate and through which we encounter members of other cultures” (Marcus & Fischer, 1999:ix). Researchers are to document the ways in which typical researcher/researched relations are challenged by their research partners and to “record their understanding of how

they fit into, accept, shape or resist, determining processes and structures” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012:44). In this way communities may interpret their own cultures via researchers “who reflexively analyse these nuances in the field, putting theory to the test” (Tomaselli *et al.* 2008:364).

During the regularised research trips while visiting Wildebeest Kuil together with students, I found myself occupying the space of researcher/tourist, consuming the products on offer (the film and the tour) as a tourist while also acting as researcher. This proved helpful to the current study in that I was able to experience Wildebeest Kuil as a visitor while also carrying out research in/on the backstage²⁵ (see Tomaselli & Causey 2012 for more on the researcher-tourist). A prevailing argument is that the further one delves into the backstage the greater the possibility of declined analytic distancing. The dilemma is posed as having no satisfactory solution (cf. Jacobs 2006; Harrington 2002; Goffman 1959). Nonetheless, reflexivity acknowledges levels of bias in the research process, highlighting the researcher’s identity in relation to the subject of study (Taylor, 1994). The relationship between researcher and researched is also brought to light along with its measure of power and struggle (ibid).

Challenges: relationship building and ethical concerns

An on-going argument is that research is either concerned with policy-orientated commitments or giving voice to research subjects/participants. Michael Crang claims that this is a “false opposition of committed, ‘real world’ versus ‘inaccessible’, theoretical research” (2005:231). Empowerment, he asserts, does not always have to come from the giving of voice; “silences can also point to significant moments of resistance, both in society and to the process of research” (ibid). For example, the ≠Khomani’s mistrust of new researchers is indicative of their position as an over-researched, alienated, marginalised ‘resource’ (cf. Tomaselli 2012; Grant 2011). The Platfontein community have begun to show similar signs. After an agreeable two-year working relationship with members of the community, I returned

²⁵ The researcher/tourist duality is not unlike that of the growing anthro-tourist trend; a form of travel that incorporates anthropology, tourism and backpacking. An anthro-tourist is a traveller “who makes the conscious effort to learn about the culture in which he or she is traveling” (anthrotourist.com). Backpacking is the choice of the traveller with a flexible itinerary who inadvertently makes contact with the local people on a deeper level than the average tourist; utilising the local public transport, living in and frequenting places other than the traditional tourist places of interest. Present-day travellers looking for a more holistic travel experience are opting for anthro-tourism.

in the third year to community members (not my regular respondents) who exuded a palpable displeasure at the presence of myself and two other researchers. That same year I conducted an interview with a community member working for a non-profit organisation who reluctantly answered my questions with both eyes fixed firmly on his computer screen. On that trip I asked to take a photograph of a printed cloth hanging on a fence to dry;²⁶ after a long conferral between neighbours, the tones of which did not sound pleasant, I was informed that I could not take the photograph. The elderly woman who made the final decision sat rigidly in profile having not once made eye contact with me. Proficiency in Khwedam was not required to understand that what she had said was not pleasant: I was unwelcome. Disheartened, I retreated out of her yard (Fieldnotes, June 2010). To return to Crang's argument, further research suggests that any hostility and mistrust towards researchers may be seen, not as a barrier to overcome, but rather as "an instructive part of the research process" (Mountz, Miyares, Wright *et al.* 2003:39).

This research relied on relationships built over time between the research cohort and subject community. I have worked with members of the community since 2008; recurring visits to the community for my Masters dissertation were well received by the community members with whom I worked. This was made possible by the relationship of trust and mutual respect already established by my colleague Thomas Hart who began his research in Platfontein in 2006 and had become a familiar face by the time he introduced new researchers to community members. A few of Thomas' own informants became translators and key informants to new researchers thus ensuring a continuity of partnerships. Sponsors and key informants are integral to the research process. A sponsor is able to validate researchers and allow them entry into the subject group while key informants allow researchers to pose difficult questions, gain clarity, and stay generally informed (Gillham, 2008).

Trust and acceptance are also facilitated by an endeavour of reciprocity on the part of researchers. Our researcher group send their completed dissertations, theses and other publications to subject communities. Photographs taken the previous year are also sent together with other promised items (see Grant 2011 for more on the significance of a show of trustworthiness on the part of the researcher). In on-going work with the ≠Khomani San in

²⁶ The design on the cloth was reminiscent of abstract artworks (made by Platfontein artists) I had come across during my previous research.

the upper Northern Cape, for many years Keyan Tomaselli had been acknowledged as the research leader. His successor was Julie Grant who had conducted her doctoral research within the community and is working for an NGO among the ≠Khomani. In Platfontein Thomas Hart took on that role. The presence of a research leader assists in establishing long-term relationships within communities and offers communities involved a sense of continuity and research commitment (Tomaselli *et al.* 2008). The research relationship with the Platfontein community, however, is still in its infancy when compared to long-standing relationships with other subject communities fostered by the larger project. In order for the relationship to grow and develop it is imperative that a research presence remains and that completed writings are returned to community members/key informants along with photographs and certain other audio/visual records.

A methodological concern “is how to write an analysis of a situation and a people who have come to take us seriously but who may not appreciate our analysis, our critique, and our logic” (Tomaselli, *et al.* 2008:361). The working relationship with SASI and the management at Wildebeest Kuil formed prior to my entering into the project posed its own set of challenges. It became necessary to balance possible negative views held about these constituents by the Platfontein community, logistic failures which may show them in a bad light, and the research relationship already fostered. Tomaselli, Dyll and Michael Francis describe this complex research space as such:

[We are seen] both as insiders and outsiders and as purchasers (of information, crafts and skills). We are givers (of donated goods) and sometimes accused of being exploiters (of knowledge). We are also seen as heroes and villains, and as reporters, we evaluate the said in terms of the more usually unsaid. This is not an easy set of relations through which to negotiate. (2008:351)

Diplomacy in research is a necessary requirement. The case is one of a constant striving between the emotional involvement of participation and the detachment of observation. During a field trip to Platfontein in September 2012 I became the victim of an attempted car hijacking. I did not involve the police, but instead held a meeting with community leaders to inform them of what had occurred. They expressed shock at receiving this news and assured me that this was the first time such a crime had been committed in Platfontein and to their

knowledge crime and violence was perpetuated laterally within the community (Fieldnotes, September 2012). The dangerous situation in which I found myself while conducting fieldwork has added a level of lived reality to my data. Certainly, there is little like first-hand experience to bring such lessons “into sharp focus” (Gillham, 2008:54). Later on, in a therapy session, I learned that the way in which I handled the situation and my calm reaction to the knife-wielding attacker (having never before experienced such immediate violence) was partly due to a strong desire to protect the community. The incident was a reminder of the challenge endemic to self-reflexive examinations of participant observation in which there remains a continuous “strain to try to sympathize with others and at the same time strive for scientific objectivity” (Paul, 1953:69).

The optimum goal is for the researcher to strike a balance between immersion and neutrality (Jacobs, 2006). This is the well-worn subjectivity/objectivity debate in its form within the field. A balance must therefore be attained between polemic categories which include emic and etic perspectives, ideographic and nomothetic interests, descriptive and explanatory aims, inductive and deductive reasoning, tacit and explicit sorts of cultural knowledge, and subjective and objective aspects of actions to name a few (McCall, 2006). Carl Ratner (2002) purports that the subjectivity of the researcher acts as a guide through which to grasp an objective reality. Further, it is a reflexive research process, born out of subjectivism, which leads the researcher to “reflect on the values and objectives” they bring to the research “and how these affect the research project” (2002:np). Thus in the process of questioning one’s own subjectivity, distorting values and misinterpretations can be replaced. In this way the researcher’s subjectivity is a tool purposed to comprehend the world as it exists and objectively understand research subject/participants’ experiences and feelings. The interplay between objectivism and subjectivism here is thus a syncretic working together rather than in contradiction to each other. The thesis endeavours to strike such a balance.

Summary

This chapter sought to describe the methodological approach framing the research questions. It explored the process of fieldwork and the concerns and difficulties of the work within the subject community, simultaneously defining and adding thick description to the case study. The procedures and methods used in the data collection process were explicated and the

reliability and breadth of the data collection techniques examined. The research was shown to rely on relationships built over time between the research cohort and the subject community. Long-term relationship building is essential in combating the limitations of the different methods of data capture described above. Moreover, reciprocal relationships between researchers and research participants include these participants in the knowledge making process, affording them an active role and promoting self-determination. This is also fundamental in limiting and potentially resolving the ethical concerns that surface in research with marginalised and previously oppressed groups.

An ongoing effort within ethically reflexive research processes is to populate the work with bona fide subjects rather than research objects. This speaks to multifarious ethical and political concerns, the implications of which have been carefully considered in the field and write-up process. Complexities of the Self/Other relationship have been detailed together with the possible ways in which this may affect the research dynamic. Reflexive writing, significant in the context of this particular study, works to reveal these multifarious relations as well as processes of conducting research with indigenous communities often concealed from the academic text. The overall aim has been to utilise methods in combination to achieve balance and scientific rigour.

The following chapter contextualises the Wildebeest Kuil case study via a critical exploration of the South African heritage landscape with specific reference to representations of San peoples and the valuation of rock art and how these have changed over time.

Chapter Three

The South African heritage landscape with a focus on rock art and San peoples

Socio-political impacts of colonialism and institutionalised apartheid within the South African context have played a major role in the way in which heritage is constituted and engaged in the new democratising state. The above developments make manifest the nature of the heritage landscape in which Wildebeest Kuil is situated. The interpretation and presentation of heritage is significantly wrought with socio-political and cultural tensions; the chapter offers a context to debate and theory in the field. While heritage in tourism is explored in Chapter Five, beginning with conceptualisations of heritage and its political motivations, the current chapter discusses heritage in the museum space, theoretical underpinnings of interpretation and presentation and shifting perceptions of rock art and San peoples and how these have influenced their museological presentations. The chapter concludes with an exploration of the Didima and Main Caves rock art interpretive facilities and Game Pass Shelter as South African examples of rock art heritage sites through which to contextualise the Wildebeest Kuil study.

Heritage conceptualised

It is widely held that heritage is derived from or constitutes the use of history for contemporary means (Timothy & Nyaupane 2009a; Timothy & Boyd 2003; Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge 2000; Lowenthal 1997). While history is understood as a scholarly activity, “a means of producing knowledge about the past”, heritage is perceived as “a means of consumption of that knowledge” (Cassia, 1999:247). In other words, history “is what a historian regards as worth recording and heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and to pass on” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:6). History may be regarded as an act of story-telling, in this way it is an activity, but it is also the story itself, it is the story we tell ourselves in order to explain how we came to be where we are, or where we think we are (Brett, 1996). This is a function of self-definition (ibid). From this perspective heritage

includes a selective choice of inherited relics and legacies influenced by and capable of influencing politics of the past and present (Timothy & Nyaupane 2009a; Timothy & Boyd 2003). This 'selective choice' may include:

...wildlife and scenic parks, sites of scientific and historical importance, national monuments, historic buildings, works of art, literature and music, oral traditions and museum collections and their documentation which provides the basis for a shared culture and creativity in the arts. (DAC, 1996:np)

Influenced by Robert Hewison's (1987) seminal critique of 'the heritage industry', purist historians have rejected 'heritage' as a terrain of erroneous myth-making. This consideration of heritage sees it as:

...a set of imprisoning walls upon which we project a superficial image of a false past, simultaneously turning our backs on the reality of history, and incapable of moving forward because of the absorbing fantasy before us. This is the meaning of the heritage industry. (Hewison 1987, cited in Hamer, 2005:164)

The modern rise of the 'heritage industry' was rooted in post-Second World War de-industrialising England (Urry 1995; Dann 1994; Hewison 1987; Davis 1979). The large-scale export of production of this time resulted in the abandonment of factories and their associated technologies, making ghost-towns out of places once bustling with industrial activity. The dereliction was widespread and, juxtaposed against modern architecture, came to reinforce a sense of the passing of an era for many Britons. This coupled with the ominous present inspired a sense of loss and longing for the past. The rise of the heritage tourism sector was coterminous with the rise of nostalgia in England at the time. For Hewison (1987) these processes were what brought on the rapid 'museumisation' of the time. Heritage museums, a phenomenon of the 1980s, were a by-product of Thatcherite policies directly relevant to cultural and financial realities of the time (Reas & Cosgrove, 1993). Institutionalised cheap labour and other financial incentives encouraged entrepreneurship. Old lots were bought and relics of Britain's 'glorious' industrialised past were turned into sites for the consumption of heritage. Within such a milieu, debates concerning commercialisation, authenticity, nostalgia, and representation in heritage and independent museums persisted bitterly over two decades.

Hewison did argue, however, that it was necessary not to avoid or reject heritage but to “develop a critical culture which engages in a dialogue between past and present” (cited in Hamer, 2005:165). As a counterpoint to the purist argument, historian Ciraj Rassool asserts that heritage “can be seen as an assemblage of arenas and activities of history-making that is as disputatious as the claims made about the character of academic history” (2000:5). In the same vein debate concerning the authenticity of heritage is futile. Heritage is a construct that is both mutable and ever-changing (cf. Graham *et al.* 2000). Similarly, Jo Littler describes the preoccupation with authenticity within heritage debates as relying on a “sterile binary opposition between ‘real’ and ‘fake’ representations of the past” (2005:4). In the last decade of the twentieth century the South African public sphere became inundated with visual histories in the form of tourism, museums, monuments and the televised Truth and Reconciliation Commission. According to Rassool, these visual histories, suppressed under apartheid, are fundamentally reconstituting the discipline of History in the country, presented as they are as “revelations of hidden heritage” (2000:5). It is within the domain of heritage and public history that new narratives, categories and imagery of the post-apartheid nation are fashioned. Such radical reconstitution merits critical examination (*ibid.*). Upon the country’s recent celebration of twenty years of democracy, questions arising from the politics of history, heritage and national identity formation are as pertinent as they were in 1994.

The parameters of heritage change over time. Certainly, “[w]hat is circumscribed as ‘heritage’ is historically specific, culturally contingent and philosophically debatable” (Littler, 2005:2). Used in medieval religious discourse, the term marked the elect of God (Samuel, 1994), while it later corresponded with nobility, power, ownership and wealth through industrial modernity, the rise of capitalism, imperialism, and the nation-state (Littler, 2005). The conceptualisation of ‘heritage’ as a natural right of wealthy elites—perpetuated as such by upper class and upper-middle-class white males—elicited (or demanded) veneration from the lower classes and implicated this latter group as lacking heritage and thus the power it imbued (*ibid.*). Littler notes how these long-standing conceptualisations of heritage and associations with power and wealth “explain how it became available to become linked to racialised discourses” (2005:3). While Littler’s argument is based on the British heritage landscape, the same can be said of its postcolonies.

South Africa was developed as a European enclave. In the intervening years of colonialism, the subjugation of indigenous communities manifested in misplaced identities, a sense of cultural loss, lack of self-determination and a greatly diminished degree of social esteem (Timothy & Nyaupane 2009b; Mané-Wheoki 1992). In this process, local heritages were “suppressed, and in some cases eliminated, in favour of replacement ones” (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009b:25). The segregation and oppression of institutionalised apartheid—in which the majority of the country’s population were denied basic human rights and freedom of movement between places was highly restricted—proved a further barrier to the evolution and dissemination of heritage and culture. These oppressive circumstances together with the country’s isolation from the international community were limiting factors to the overall development of the country’s heritage landscape (Cornelissen, 2005).

As a postcolony, South Africa continued to follow the British example. Amendments to South African heritage legislation, modelled after that of the British Monuments Board, increasingly gave precedence to the built environment. In the 1960s, for example, British colonial and Cape Dutch architecture were high on the list of heritage priority along with sites associated with “the Afrikaner struggle for Self-determination” (Marschall, 2010:21). Accordingly, in 1992, 97 percent of all declared national monuments related to the cultural heritage of the white minority (Frescura 1992, cited in Marschall, 2010). Sabine Marschall observes that the implications of such a skewed heritage landscape were that the black majority had not produced material culture worthy of conservation, that they were deficient in “a record of achievement” and perhaps most severe, that “they have in fact ‘no history’” (2010:21). Beliefs concerning racial hierarchy and the justification of racialised domination were fuelled by such implications. These beliefs were prevalent from white explorers’ first encounters with the country’s indigenous populations; they were strengthened, popularised and institutionalised in the era of apartheid. Current heritage legislation, however, has come a long way from its predecessors (the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) No. 25 of 1999 is discussed later in the chapter).

There has been a similar turn in global heritage perspectives. In 1995, the World Heritage Centre assembled experts from thirteen African countries to examine the imbalance of the World Heritage List (Eboreime, 2009). Their findings stressed the interweaving of nature and culture in African societies, highlighting the links between material (tangible) heritage and

that of the spiritual/emotive (intangible). Certainly, with all heritages, the tangible is rendered meaningless without the intangible.²⁷ Acknowledging the encroachment of modern technology on traditional skills, knowledge and practices, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) adopted the *Intangible Convention* at its 32nd General Conference in 2003 (UNESCO, 2003a). This convention highlighted certain categories to be associated with intangible heritage, namely: oral traditions and expressions, social practices, traditional craftsmanship, performing arts, rituals, festive events, and knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe (cf. Eboreime 2009; UNESCO 2003b). The 25th sitting of the World Heritage Committee (WHC) in June of 2001 also featured the interweaving of intangible and tangible elements of heritage as being in many instances inseparable (cf. Eboreime 2009; WHC Report 2001). In the South African context the intangible is described as ‘living heritage’ in terms of both the NHRA (1999) and the National Heritage Council Act (1999). Intangible heritage may include cultural tradition; oral history; performance; ritual; popular memory; skills and techniques; indigenous knowledge systems; and a holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships (RSA, 2012a).

These paradigmatic shifts are significant as often it is the associative cultural landscape that is of importance to heritage sites in Africa. This associative landscape is one of “powerful religious, artistic or cultural association of the natural elements rather than material cultural evidence which may be insignificant or even absent” (UNESCO-World Heritage Committee, 2008:86). Acknowledgements of cultural landscapes and spiritual elements of heritage have helped to broaden the concept of cultural heritage in recognising “the relativity, diversity and dynamism of heritage” (Eboreime, 2009:4). This has proven significant for the adaptation of legislation (detailed later in the chapter).

It is noteworthy that incomplete perspectives of history, heritage and race as expressed in the colonial and apartheid contexts (see above) were not unopposed. Controversy surrounding the 1952 Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival is an example. In among the carnival-like revelry celebrating the landing, settlement and attributes of the Dutch East India Company’s first commander to the Cape, the festival was about “settler nationalism asserting ideological

²⁷ This Cartesian split between the spiritual and the material was also evident in the overlooking of (or residual attention given to) spiritual (intangible) aspects of European heritage sites. This perspective was significantly influential in the enlistment of properties into the World Heritage List by the World Heritage Committee (cf. World Heritage Committee Report, 2001).

and political control over blacks at a time of emerging resistance to white rule” (Rassool & Witz, 1993:449). Van Riebeeck was transformed by the ruling elite into a central figure of white South African history. He was “the son of Europe, the father of white South Africa, the original bearer of civilization, whose spirit endured in the emerging policy of apartheid” (ibid). At odds with this ideological discourse, resistance movements used the tercentenary to launch their own campaigns. Non-white groups boycotted the festivities, black and coloured choirs and bands refused to participate in the two-day street parade and the festival was re-constructed as a celebration of slavery and a racist insult to the larger South African populace. According to Rassool and Leslie Witz, “[i]n the narrative which was constructed, both by those seeking to establish apartheid and by those who sought to challenge it, Van Riebeeck represented the spirit of apartheid and the beginnings of white domination” (1993:466). South African history books began with Van Riebeeck’s arrival at the Cape “and hence Cape Town has been called—and remains—the ‘mother city’, the first city where ‘our’ [read ‘white’] history began” (Coetzee, 1998:114). Cape Town continues to maintain a tenuous relationship with the rest of the country, Van Riebeeck remains part of its ‘foundational’ history, and the debate has not progressed beyond conflicts pertaining to “his moral qualities and his legacy” (Rassool & Witz, 1993:466).

Nonetheless, icons of heritage and national narratives are subject to change. The last Transvaal president, Paul Kruger, described by British Colonel Stevenson-Hamilton as having “never in his life thought of wild animals except as biltong”, was “recoded as national hero and champion of the animals” in the establishment of the Kruger National Park (Rassool & Witz, 1996:350).²⁸ As dominant political forces in South Africa have changed so too have the discourses surrounding their histories. An example of what Rassool calls “resistance biography as heritage” (2000:14) is the growing number of monuments and declared national heritage sites made of the homes, places of work and burial sites of prolific members of the anti-apartheid liberation movement. In an interesting example of recoding, at the unveiling of a momentous statue of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko, then president Nelson Mandela used the occasion to “call for unity among black political parties and organisations” (Rassool, 2000:14). Having been “taken out of a paradigm of resistance and black

²⁸ In 2003 South African National Parks (SANParks) identified a monumental bust of Kruger situated at the Kruger gate, an entranceway into the park (along with two other apartheid-era busts) for removal. The proposal was based on scholarship which suggested that Kruger was not a visionary conservationist after all. Nevertheless, after much argument over the matter, the monuments remain (Dubin, 2009).

consciousness”, Biko was reappropriated “within the sphere of reconstruction, reconciliation and nation-building as one of its pre-eminent symbols” (2000:14–15). A common trend across most countries is the claim that heritage resources belong not only to the specific communities from which they emanate but to the nation as a whole. Heritage thus acts as a reflection or symbol of national unity and the state as the keeper of the ‘national estate’ becomes the embodiment of this unity as well as “a tool for cohesion and for reducing the threats of ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of national communities that might outweigh the unity of the nation” (Négri, 2009:9). It may be that the state seeks to “build a national identity common to the different ethnic groups” or rather that it seeks to promote a dominant national culture “that will compel recognition among the various communities of the state” (2009:8). It is thus comprehensible that when “closely linked to politics, cultural heritage becomes a vehicle for transformation of society” (ibid). Heritage is thus shown to be an inherently political entity (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009a).

Politics of Indigeneity

Indigenous politics play a central role in the heritage landscape of a country. Toward the end of apartheid San peoples began to reassert their rights in a political awakening that coincided with the United Nations’ nomination of 1993 as the Year of Indigenous People (Van de Weg & Barnabas 2011; Guenther 2003). The following year marked South Africa’s entry into democracy with Mandela’s presidential inauguration. As an internationally acknowledged symbol of reconciliation and the country’s new democracy, Mandela’s presidency centred on national unity and reconciliation. Succeeding Mandela in 1999, Thabo Mbeki’s contribution to the presidency focussed on the notion of an African Renaissance. A sympathetic definition of the concept might describe it as a pan-Africanist philosophy “attempting to identify and harness potential alliances (economic, political, and intellectual) from within the African continent as a means of shifting the axis of power away from a neo-colonialist dependency on Western democracies” (Coombes, 2004:3; Makoba 1999).

By this time, the United Nations’ nomination of 1993 as the Year of Indigenous People had been extended to the Decade of Indigenous People which saw San peoples “staking out long-denied political, civic and territorial rights and claims” (Guenther, 2003:96). In 1995, the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) was formed followed

by the South African San Institute (SASI) in 1996; these are non-profit organisations through which San groups are able to participate in socio-political debate (Francis & Francis 2010; Van de Weg & Barnabas 2011). Within this milieu, Mbeki unveiled South Africa's new coat of arms on Freedom Day, 27 April 2000, replacing that which had been in effect since 1910 and introduced as a reflection of the country's long-sought democracy and the nation's revived patriotism (Ndlovu, 2012). At its centre are two human figures derived from the Linton Stone,²⁹ a renowned example of South African rock art. The figures are depicted facing one another in an attitude of greeting which is meant to symbolise unity and the individual's "transformation into the greater sense of belonging to the nation and by extension, collective humanity" (www.thepresidency.gov.za). Situated in semi-circular fashion, foundational to the coat of arms and symbolically foundational to the country, sits the national motto *!ke e: /xarra //ke*, from the ancient /Xam³⁰ language which is said to mean 'diverse people unite'. The motto calls for the nation to unite "in a common sense of belonging and national pride" (ibid).

The use of San rock art imagery and the /Xam language attests to an acknowledgement of San peoples as the oldest known inhabitants of South Africa and calls for the recognition of "our common humanity and heritage as South Africans" (www.thepresidency.gov.za). In this way the /Xam of the Northern Cape, "who have now all died, represent both South Africa's ancient past and the pan-ethnic national unity now fostered by government and opposition parties alike" (Barnard, 2003:3). Premium visibility in what is arguably the "highest visual symbol" of the nation "placed rock art and the San at the heart of the new South African identity" (Ndlovu, 2012:282; Mguni 2002; Smith, Lewis-Williams, Blundell *et al.* 2001).

On heritage management, preservation and legislation

While rock art has been made significant in the national rhetoric, its management and protection remain a point of contention at the local level. Around the world legislation has been set down in an attempt to protect and preserve sites of national and international

²⁹ The Linton Stone is a panel of rock art removed from a farm called Linton in the Eastern Cape Province in 1917 (Barnard, 2003). It is housed and displayed at the South African Museum in Cape Town.

³⁰ The /Xam were a southern Bushman group that once inhabited an area of the Northern Cape. According to Alan Barnard, the /Xam "no longer exist as a people, though their descendants may be counted among the people once called 'Cape Coloured'", many of whom now prefer the reference "of Khoisan descent" (2003:19; cf. Bredekamp, 2001). These descendants "today speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue" (Barnard, 2003:20).

heritage value. Regardless of legislation and stricter laws, however, it seems that vandalism and other types of damage to heritage sites persist. Countries of the South tend to boast a rich array of heritage resources, the sheer number being a possible factor endangering their conservation and protection. Multifarious threats to heritage conservation in Africa include: environmental pressures, uncontrolled urban development and decay, communal conflicts, warfare, poverty, lack of political will, lack of awareness of heritage value, looting, trafficking, inadequate funding, expertise and equipment to name a few (Eboreime, 2009). Two challenges universally affecting the implementation of cultural legislation are the lack of community involvement and inadequate enforcement of the law (Ndlovu, 2005). Working in opposition to effective implementation, these challenges are yet to be satisfactorily addressed by heritage authorities. The law, it seems, is insufficient in the protection and preservation of these sites. This concern is explored here along with the variance between policy and praxis. Discussion of the challenges of heritage management in the African continent offers a broader perspective to the South African case study.

In the less-developed world it is not uncommon for the protection of ancient monuments and historic buildings to be perceived as impediments to modern development (Timothy & Nyaupane 2009a; Sadek 1990). Coupled to this is the lack of cooperation between government departments in the coordination and administration of projects which have an impact on heritage. Developing countries are described as lacking the monetary and skills resources to best care for their built heritage. It seems that where there is a rich array of heritage resources, a lack of human resources and economic constraints disallow a large sum of those resources to be conserved (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009a).

Top-down legislative and management frameworks have proven disempowering to the primary owners of heritage. Local stakeholders, even when cosmetically consulted, “lack the capacity and power to manage the sites and monuments in their localities” (Eboreime, 2009:2) and are thus unable to thwart neglect, looting and vandalism of heritage sites. Discussing the incorporation of indigenous management at rock art sites in KwaZulu-Natal’s (KZN) uKhahlamba Drakensberg region, Ndokuyakhe Ndlovu (2005) a once Amafa³¹ employee, highlights two paradigms of rock art management: the preservationist and

³¹ Established as a statutory body in terms of the KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Act of 1997, Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali, commonly known as ‘Amafa’, is the KZN provincial heritage conservation agency (www.heritagekzn.co.za).

participatory approaches. According to Ndlovu (2005), the current 'top-down' and preservationist approach to rock art management is based on a Western paradigm that is fundamentally at odds with management in an African sense. The preservationist approach has been in existence since the need for management of rock art sites was first recognised and although consistently unsuccessful it is yet to give way to a more participatory one, as has been the case in countries like Australia, Canada, and the United States where autochthonous communities have been in active partnership in the management of cultural resources pertaining to their heritage since the 1970s (ibid; Worboys, Lockwood & De Lacy 2001). The lack of a local participatory approach has led to the failure of South African heritage management to effectively protect rock art from human threats. The top-down approach may be attributed to the erroneous view that San have been extinct in the uKhahlamba Drakensberg since the early 1870s. Together with the disproval of this notion as well as the fact that the preservationist approach in rock art management has not yielded tenable results, Ndlovu (2005) recommends a more holistic approach which includes both preservationist and participatory views working toward common goals.

South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) of 1999, among the most recent heritage legislation in Africa, is informed by contemporary developments and debates in heritage management worldwide (Ndoro, 2009). The NHRA (1999) replaced the National Monuments Act of 1969 which in turn dissolved the National Monuments Council and replaced it with the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), a statutory organisation with the objective to co-ordinate the identification and management of the national estate and responsible for the protection of the country's cultural heritage. SAHRA resides at the top of a three-tier system (national, provincial and local). Because the NHRA (1999) promotes the management of cultural resources at the local level, provincial and local heritage resource management remains the responsibility of authorities on those respective levels; where management capacity does not exist in municipalities, the responsibility moves to district and provincial levels where applicable (Ndlovu 2005; Deacon & Deacon 1999).

The NHRA defines a heritage resource—within a minimum age limit—as “any place or object of cultural significance” (Section 2(xvi), 1999).³² Protection is also provided for living heritage attached to tangible sites. This comprises intangible aspects of inherited culture, including: oral history, popular memory, skills and techniques, and indigenous knowledge systems. These broad identification criteria highlight the country’s history and wider cultural heritage. Definitions of heritage by most other African countries use three main categories: antiquities, ancient monuments and relics (Ndoro, 2009). These definitions make only limited inclusions possible within the legal definition of heritage. The scope of South African heritage law distinguishes it from other countries as it is inclusive of “the intangible, non-material places of memory, the traditional/customary, and the modern historical developments in the types of heritage under its protection” (2009:30).

A criticism of legislation advocating broader inclusivity is that it may suffer from a lack of detail (Ndoro, 2009). Where broad definitions apply it is significant that “protection is provided in practice as well as theory” (2009:34). The penalties for damaging rock art in South Africa include a jail sentence of up to five years and fines of up to R500 000 (NHRA, 1999). In 1993, Janette Deacon noted that since 1934, there had been only three court cases against people who have damaged rock art sites (Deacon, 1993). Of course the legislation in 1993 was not as strict as that since the NHRA (1999). Since the implementation of the new Act, however, there were only two court cases in 2002; one concerning the illegal removal of graffiti in the Bergville District, which was settled out of court, and the other concerning markings of paint made along the path to and on a rock art site in the Southern uKhahlamba Drakensberg. The case concerning the latter fell apart and no prosecutions were made (cf. Ndlovu, 2005). Other cases have involved the cessation of work in instances where such work was in contravention of the provisions of the Act (cf. *Oudekraal Estates (Pty) Ltd v The City of Cape Town and others* (25/08) [2009] ZASCA 85; *Qualidental Laboratories v Heritage Western Cape* [2007] ZASCA 170).

While the cases for cessation of work were won by the respective heritage authorities, with reference to ongoing vandalism and the overall disrepair of heritage sites across the country, praxis seems lacking in terms of heritage protection and conservation in South Africa (cf.

³² According to the NHRA (1999), objects and sites have to be no less than 100 years old to legally qualify as a heritage resource. Sites and object with a military history have to be no less than 75 years old. A minimum age limit allows for “heritage to be protected automatically without necessarily declaring it” (Ndoro, 2009:30).

Ndlovu 2011; Strecker & Taboada 1999). Citing examples from Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa, Ndlovu (2011) states that due to lack of funding, staff shortages, lack of political will, community support and other challenges (endemic to Wildebeest Kuil) legislation is rendered ineffective (cf. Strecker & Taboada 1999; Odak 1991; Clarke, Den Hoed & Starreland 1976). He observes that a lack of community involvement and the difficulty of enforcing the law are the two primary challenges to the implementation of heritage and cultural legislation around the world.³³ In South African, while amendments over the years have made for progressive laws with regard to heritage, legislation has proven deficient in combating human threats to heritage resources and little has been done to overcome them (Ndlovu, 2011).

A further challenge is that when heritage authorities take on the role of protector, local communities may feel themselves isolated from the process. Especially when legal jargon is employed, communities may feel threatened, ousted, silenced and marginalised in what should be a practice of custodianship and community involvement. Legislation, in this regard, should be a last resort (Ndlovu, 2011). Others have similarly argued that it is not stricter laws but rather understanding and support from the public that could work towards active protection of cultural heritage (Mazel 1988; Flood 1979; Lippe 1977). Custodianship as described in the NHRA (1999) includes a moral obligation in which aspects of culture and landscape (tangible and intangible) fall under the protection of a community and are passed on to future generations thus serving the need for a sense of identity and belonging (NHRA Section 5(b), 1999). Described thus under the Act, custodianship is expressed as an action and a function. In its two-fold expression of action custodianship depicts protection and inheritance. This action on the part of communities is then translated into custodianship as function; that is to serve the community's need for a sense of identity and belonging. The study explores custodial failings at Wildebeest Kuil in terms of the above actions and function (cf. Chapter Four).

³³ For example, under Western Australia's Aboriginal Heritage Act of 1972 the penalties include imprisonment between nine months and two years as well as fines ranging from \$20,000 to \$40,000 (cf. Laurie, 2011). In 2010, a cement company agreed to pay \$280,000 in remediation after admitting to having damaged rock art during quarrying operations on Australia's Burrup Peninsula; an area with the largest concentration of rock engravings in the world, with etchings of humans, birds, mammals, fish and abstract patterns believed to have been carved by Aboriginals between 6000 to 20,000 years ago. Vandalism in this area remains a concern (ibid).

Section 5(4) of the NHRA establishes the rights of communities over heritage resources, their right to be consulted on heritage matters and to be involved in the management of sites (cf. Hall, 2009). It is the State's obligation to manage heritage resources in the interests of all its citizens (NHRA Section 5(b), 1999) and further the Act calls for the participation of communities in the management of those resources. Effective management is said to include development of the skills and capacities of persons and communities involved in heritage resource management. In agreement with the prescriptions for local community involvement of UNESCO's 1972 *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, provision is to be made for "the ongoing education and training of existing and new heritage resources management workers" (NHRA Section 5(2) (b), 1999). The general principles for heritage resource management, under the NHRA, state that it is the moral responsibility of every generation to act as "trustee of the national heritage for succeeding generations" (Section 5(b), 1999). While this legislation operates sufficiently for those communities taking an active interest in heritage it is doubtful that it is able to enforce obligations to protect heritage sites onto communities in distress. Unto whom does the responsibility fall to teach communities to guard and care for these sites? How is custodianship fostered in the face of the abuse of resources stemming from an immature sense of ownership?

Further contention exists in that under the NHRA, heritage authorities are required to assist communities to gain 'reasonable access' to heritage resources (Section 25(d), 1999). Constituents of what is 'reasonable', however, are not stipulated. Is it reasonable for traditional healers to collect paint scrapings from ancient rock art images for healing and other practices?³⁴ These actions are positioned within a paradigm of re-articulation instead of meticulous preservation. Progressive legislation aside, it is imperative for ongoing communications to be maintained between local/host communities and the management of heritage sites with reference to 'reasonable access', preservation and custodianship.

³⁴ Some traditional healers, believing the paint to be imbibed with spiritual potency, "scrape paintings off of the rock faces to collect the paint for healing, general luck and rainmaking and lightning prevention medicines" (Francis, 2007:129).

Heritage and museums

Wildebeest Kuil is one of several satellites of the McGregor Museum. Established in 1907, the McGregor³⁵ is one of the Northern Cape Province's primary research institutes in the fields of natural and cultural history, ranging from South African history to anthropology, archaeology, botany and zoology. The museum's activities include educational outreach programmes to local communities and throughout the province. While it boasts an illustrious past, the history of the McGregor is steeped in controversy (as is evident with museology in general). Palaeontologist Robert Broom was known to store many archaeological skeletons here, including those of San peoples, some of which were 'fresh'. In a letter to a colleague in 1925, Broom revealed his dubious methods:

If a prisoner dies and you want his skeleton, probably two or three regulations stand in the way, but the enthusiast does not worry about such regulations. I used to get the body sent up... then the remains would be buried in my garden, and in a few months the bones would be collected. (From Findlay 1972, cited in Morris, 1996:73)

Prior to major philosophical shifts in museology the notion of museums as "objects of pride and prestige" (read as 'colonial') had been well entrenched long before Hewison articulated it (1987:84). Looting, described in the previous section as a threat to heritage, formed part of the centuries-old systematic plunder of cultural property. The acquisition of treasure in the colonial era "motivated many expeditions to travel deep into unknown territory" (Simpson, 2004:200). In the nineteenth century European powers such as Britain and France "raced to strip artifacts from conquered countries and add them to their own museums" (Roehrenbeck, 2010:192). The museum has had to re-articulate itself from the curiosity cabinet or sixteenth-century *wunderkammer* and it has done so with a global advancement of community-based museology (cf. Gordon, 2005). In the South African context, this translates to museums becoming increasingly active in the larger imperatives of reconciliation and nation-building (perhaps also attempting to atone for their pasts).

³⁵ The museum was originally known as the Alexander McGregor Memorial Museum (eponymous to a previous Mayor of Kimberley after his passing). Governed by a board of trustees, the museum was aided financially by the municipality until the 1950s, then by the Cape Provincial Administration and, today, by the Northern Cape Administration through the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture (www.museumsc.co.za).

Expressing far reaching conceptions of the museum space, Donald Preziosi (2007:82) describes the museum as:

...an invention, an institution, a technology, indeed an agency of extraordinary power and brilliance. The museum is a theater [sic] of anamorphic and autoscopic dramaturgy; a place in which it is not so easy to tell which is the spider and which the web, which the machinery and which the operator. It is a place at the center of our world, our modernity, in the image of which those worlds continue to proliferate.

Less exultantly than Preziosi, John Wright and Aron Mazel (1991), citing David Meltzer's (1981) formulation of the museum as Althusserian *ideological state apparatus*, argue that the museum is a space not ideologically neutral. Nevertheless, such a view is disused for its reductionism while J.B. Thompson's (1984) articulation of ideology is preferred. In this view ideology is conceived of critically as having to do with "the ways in which meaning (or signification) serves to sustain relations of domination" (1984:4). Grounded in historical processes and constructed as it is by relations of power, ideology is thus a product of political processes rather than a fixed "ready-made structure" (Wright & Mazel, 1991:62). Applying Thompson's approach to visual symbols of the museum, Wright and Mazel analyse the role played by museum displays in the Natal and KwaZulu areas in the early 1990s (the province of KwaZulu-Natal was formed in 1994) in propagating sustained relations of domination.

The museum for Wright and Mazel is the secular temple where the 'official' version of the past is "visually symbolised in a standardised and simplified way in the form of displays intended for popular consumption" (1991:60). That past or 'history' is not a set of facts but rather a set of ideas about the past carried in the mind of the historian in the present. These ideas about the past are a product of their society, particularly the conflicts within. Such a constituted past is used by social groups to inform their identity, to identify others (opposing groups) and to justify their policies (collective views). History is thus conceived of as a struggle between dominant and dominated and the museum is a significant purveyor of this history (ibid). By way of Foucault's observation that "[t]here is no power relation without the relative constitution of a field of knowledge nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute... power relations" (1977:27), Stuart Hall identifies collections (historical or aesthetic) as related to the exercise of power; "the symbolic power to order knowledge, to

rank, classify and arrange, and thus to give meaning to objects and things through the imposition of interpretive schemas, scholarship and the authority of connoisseurship” (2005:24). Heritage as a preservation for posterity of things of value is thus shown to be one part of a larger exercise in power.

Wright and Mazel argue that museums are “bastions of ideology” (1987), and state further that the literature on museums and museology offers little attention to the notion that museums “operate to uphold the dominant social order” (1991:76). Over a decade later Philip Gordon (2005) writes that the classic museum, symbol of the Empire, is no longer viable. In the years following Wright and Mazel’s argument it seems that there was indeed a change not only in the focus of the literature but in the practice of museums. The museum as space of imperialist acquisition has purportedly given way to a democratised space in which the construction of knowledge and public education is a primary function. Architecturally, Wildebeest Kuil exhibits a new-museological move toward the modest, contrary to the monumental and palatial reinforcement of the establishment’s authority as evident in older, larger (and more influential) museums. Of course it would be erroneous to accept the philosophical shift of new museology as definitive of a total shift in praxis and transformation in perceptions of museum staff and visitors and their conceptions of the space.

In 1994, Nomvuso Tembe, then public relations officer at the National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria noted that “[r]esearch has shown that many African people don’t visit museums because they don’t feel part of them. They don’t think that museums preserve their past” (cited in Coombes, 2004:166). A further challenge is a concern that in many instances of museum preservation the indigenous perspective is a bleak and scathing one, at times felt as “tantamount to keeping a brain-dead body artificially alive on a life-support system; tantamount to freezing the corpse; tantamount to placing one’s dead grandmother’s body on a permanent exhibition” (Mané-Wheoki 1992, cited in Timothy & Nyaupane 2009b:26). In November 1994, the conference *Museums and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)* held at the Willem Prinsloo Agricultural Museum outside Pretoria became one of the first post-democratic election forums dialoguing about the significance of museums in the new dispensation. The proposed objectives were described in a document entitled “Revitalising the Nation’s Heritage” (Küsel, De Jong, Van Coller *et al.* 1994) which highlighted that museums were to incorporate the key principles of the government’s

Reconstruction and Development Programme. The principal mission of museums, as laid out in the document is to “aid in the protection and sustainable utilisation of our country’s natural and cultural heritage” (cited in Coombes, 2004:160–161). The argument was in favour of a holistic, ecologically-minded museum practice. From such a perspective community pride and individual and social empowerment could be made manifest in the process of accessing and utilising community knowledge and history within a museum space. In this way heritage becomes a resource for social cohesion on a local level.

The museum space is increasingly viewed as a venue for building social capital. Social capital is a term which refers to “social connections or networks that have an innate value, not necessarily a monetary value but some kind of shared esteem for humankind” (Timothy, 2011:327). Social capital is produced when “educational facilities are created for locals, civic pride is enhanced and standards of living improved” (ibid). Manifestations of social capital are: social cohesion, community support for a cause, and personal investment in a community. Museums are best able to work as crucibles for social capital when they are embedded in local communities (ibid). The Australian Museum is an example of an institution involved in processes of democratisation and participation with indigenous communities in the preservation and interpretation of their cultural materials (Gordon, 2005). This was begun through two major implementations: i) the employment of Aboriginal people within museums; and ii) assisting communities in the establishment of ‘keeping places’/community museums. Keeping places (or community museums) constitute sites/museums “where Aboriginal communities can hold onto artefacts created by their ancestors and a place where their contemporary cultural practices can be displayed” (www.oranaarts.com). The priority has turned from tourist to community-orientated development. This foregrounded the importance of dialogue with Aboriginal peoples pertaining to the representation of their cultural materials, where they were to be represented and what were in the museum archives and catalogues. In this the museum has had to turn away from classic museology’s “basic premise of the sanctity and primacy of the object (something deep in Western culture)” (2005:359).

Gordon maintains that community museums/keeping places developed in unique response to the desires and needs of each community (with a comprehensible community mandate) are more likely to be useful to the community and therefore successful (2005:359). Gordon,

however, does not describe what is meant by ‘success’ nor does he discuss if these sites are meant for visitors/tourists or mainly as places for the community. He does note, however, that one of the reasons communities may desire to have a museum of their own is for the promotion of local employment. Another reason is for the protection of a marginalised culture from being assimilated or quashed by the prevailing dominant culture. While describing these as legitimate desires and stating that museum professionals are to work together with the community toward solutions that meet the community’s wishes, Gordon concedes that “[t]his is not always an easy task” (2005:364).

According to Andrew Newman (2005) the contribution of museums and galleries to individuals and the broader community is couched in identity. This is potentially significant as “[a] stronger sense of self might foster personal or community development and could be a precursor to inclusion, although more research is needed” (2005:331). Inclusion and exclusion are points of great contention in the South African context where the creation of a ‘new’ South Africa has been immeasurably complicated by internalised “prejudices and discriminations encouraged and enacted under apartheid” which in turn has had an impact on the degree to which cooperation is possible between different constituencies (Coombes, 2004:3). The above necessitates examination in order to appreciate the weighted considerations “in the struggle for historical memory and public history in South Africa” (ibid). Efforts to broaden participation at all levels in the public heritage sector will always come up against these fissures. Apartheid and colonialism have contributed to certain forms of community and artificially constituted homogeneous ethnic constituencies (2004:4). Despite local awareness of this “the single most frequently used justification for much government expenditure in the public heritage sector is a much vaunted recourse to an ideal of ‘community’” (ibid):

The ideal of ‘community’ on these occasions is not necessarily the same for those in whose name and interests it is invoked. Paradoxically, exclusion is therefore, to a certain extent, part of the logic of the way ‘community’ is often mobilized in official rhetoric. Similarly, because it is a concept that is seen to provide leverage in official circles, it can precipitate problematic essentializing gestures as a means of authenticating a claim to ‘community’. (Coombes, 2004:4)

During South Africa's transition to democracy, the concept of 'community' was used in official rhetoric as part of a strategy of national unification. At the same time, the question of citizenship and belonging was hotly debated in the press. Almost two decades have passed and these conflicting dialogues of community and belonging are still at play in public discourse. Events in recent years speak to the unremitting tension at grassroots level. In 2008 xenophobic attacks broke out across the country (*Mail & Guardian*, 31 May 2008:np). The violence escalated as thousands protested against what they believed were job losses due to foreign infiltration. Africans from neighbouring countries had entered the country and set up shops and taken other employment. The extreme violence against these immigrants and refugees was a sharp irony considering that many African countries had banded together in support of oppressed South Africans during apartheid. Moreover, African migrant labour was a cornerstone of the South African economy since the discovery of diamonds and gold. In addition to increased xenophobia, conflicts between groups within the country have grown in the last decade.³⁶ The construct of community is thus shown to be temporal and ethereal at its best. Moreover, while the national identity may be publically re-articulated, on-the-ground perceptions take much longer to change if at all (Davison, 2005). This is certainly true within a fractured South African society, where tenuous race relations exist under the mantle of 'unity in diversity'.

The official rhetoric of Mandela and Mbeki in their respective presidencies utilised a language of decolonisation that sought to subvert the apartheid use of ethnicity towards subjugation. The Rainbow Nation was described by Mandela and Mbeki after him as strengthened by its diversity; ethnicity in terms of the 'new' South Africa was thus to be celebrated (cf. Herwitz, 2012; Barnard, 2003). While officially claiming inclusivity for all South Africans, such rhetoric did lend itself "to a more fundamentalist ethnic absolutism" (Coombes, 2004:3). Controversial journalist, Max du Preez (1999), sparked a media row, and came under fire following an article in which he warned against reconstructing the racial categories of apartheid, arguing that both presidents' reference to 'whites, coloureds, Indians and Africans' "implies absolutely that whites, coloureds and Indians can't be Africans" (cited

³⁶ These conflicts are often fuelled by political differences and ethnic hostilities such as the ongoing antagonism between Zulu and Xhosa in the KwaZulu-Natal Province which is inseparable from antagonism between the African National Congress and the InkathaFreedom Party.

in Coombes, 2004:2).³⁷ What followed in the press was a series of scathing responses concerning who had the right to call themselves ‘African’ (cf. Coombes, 2004).

Divisions of the 1990s were counterpoised to a re-presentation of San peoples in South Africa in which they were constructed in the media as a site of cultural recuperation (Tomaselli, 1995) and in such a way as to de-centre and negotiate contending nationalisms (Blundell 1998; Masilela 1987). San peoples were heralded as the ‘First People’,³⁸ a link to the Country’s common past and therefore a way in which to transcend its present divisions. Positioning the San as the First People was part of an attempt to redefine South Africa’s national history. Through the San all South Africans were to find inclusion and through this sense of belonging citizens were to work toward social cohesion and the betterment of the country. The above is an example of social capital re-constructed on a national scale. The creation of national heritage is thus shown to be a discursive practice:

It is one of the ways in which the nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory. Just as individuals and families construct their identities by ‘storying’ the various random incidents and contingent turning points of their lives into a single, coherent, narrative, so nations construct identities by selectively binding their chosen high points and memorable achievements into an unfolding ‘national story’. (Hall, 2005:25)

The single national heritage narrative described by Hall is seldom wholly agreed upon by all citizens. Certainly, competing nationalisms and divisions persist. Recognising this, what Hall (2005) and others suggest is a discursive practice (note the Foucauldian influence), a heritage conversation (Herwitz, 2012), or what is otherwise described as an attempt in heritage presentation toward multivocality (cf. Lange, Müller Jansen, Fisher *et al.* 2013; Morris 2013, 2012; Weiss 2012, 2007; Witz & Rassool 2008). Multivocality is explored at length in Chapter Six and a decolonising multivocality is put forward as a step further in developing reflexive interpretations in progressive heritage-making.

³⁷ Max du Preez, 1999. “I am an African... and Afrikaner” *Star*, 17 June 1999.

³⁸ For San peoples this concept has become a political tool, much like the term ‘indigenous’ had become for the Australian Aboriginals “precisely because they have successfully managed to redefine the label as a useful political tool for getting more or less recalcitrant white governments to acknowledge their prior claims to land and resources before white settlement and colonization” (Coombes, 2004:207).

Interpretation and presentation of heritage

The above has highlighted the discursive nature of heritage. Its constructedness is further explored here in relation to interpretation and presentation. According to Ivanovic:

...[*presentation*] concerns the selection, evaluation, preservation and conservation of important heritage objects (in museums) and heritage sites by facilitating public access to and enhancing public appreciation of heritage... [while *interpretation* concerns] the different methods of communicating the meaning and value of cultural heritage artefacts and sites to visitors... [educating] the public about the significance of heritage through both formal and informal learning. (Ivanovic, 2008:166)

Marked by three historic developments—the nineteenth-century World Exhibition concept, the open-air museum and the development of national parks (Ivanovic, 2008)—interpretation is telling the story of a place, artefact, person or event. Good interpretation is telling that story in such a way that visitors “will want to learn and perhaps return” (Timothy, 2011:228). High-quality interpretation adds value to a heritage site and forms a significant part of the experience, the primary goal of which is to convey the significance of the heritage resource thus aiding its preservation (Ivanovic, 2008). Described as the father of heritage interpretation, Freeman Tilden (1977) formulated what became known as the three golden rules of heritage interpretation: through interpretation comes understanding, through understanding comes appreciation and through appreciation comes protection.³⁹

The above golden rules are based on Tilden’s two founding principles: that of *revelation* and *provocation*. The first principle states that “interpretation is the revelation of a larger truth that lies behind any statement of fact” (Tilden, 1977:8). The implication is that heritage interpretation is not only to do with the provision of factual information but is an educational activity aspiring to reveal meaning and relationships significant to the site’s history and culture. The second principle asserts that interpretation should “provoke thinking, learning and emotional connection to heritage in order to provide meaningful experience to visitors” (Ivanovic, 2008:93). These two principles are evident in the interpretive offerings at Wildebeest Kuil. In reference to the principle of revelation, the introductory film and outdoor stations, for example, highlight the layered histories of the site and the ways in which

³⁹ These were not Tilden’s own words but those of an anonymous North American. National Park Service ranger quoted by Tilden and on which he built his manual *Interpreting Our Heritage* (1977) (cf. Ham, 2009).

different groups of people have related to it (cf. Chapter Four). Images of contemporary San peoples in the film and anecdotes shared by site guides work to contest stereotypes of San peoples as locked in a primitive state (cf. Chapter Four). This is an example of the principle of provocation at work.

Tilden went on to formulate six fundamental principles of modern heritage interpretation: i) heritage interpretation is an art; ii) its objective is provocation instead of instruction; iii) it is not merely information but revelation upon information; iv) it should present something holistic rather than partial; v) it should attune its approach for different market segments; vi) and following this it should relate that which is on display to something within the personality or experience of the visitor (ibid). Tilden's work took into consideration the informal educational role of heritage interpretation in tourism consumption and was a significant overture to the protection and conservation of heritage resources (ibid).

Since the 1964 Venice Charter, the first International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) had begun a process of delineating and defining the principles and practices of cultural heritage interpretation and presentation. The Ename Charter of 2004 outlines seven principles for the interpretation of cultural heritage sites, these include: access and understanding; information sources; context and setting; authenticity; sustainability; inclusivity; and research, evaluation and training (cf. ICOMOS, 2004). The principle of access and understanding involves interpretation effective in providing insight and establishing an emotional connection in the visitor towards a site. The audiences should be assessed demographically and culturally, with interpretive programmes created around these assessments in order to facilitate better understanding and connection with the site. The information sources principle states that a multi-disciplinary and accurately resourced and referenced approach must be taken in the process of designing the interpretation programme. Along with the documentation and archival of sources of information, the difference between hypothesis and scientific proof must be clearly distinguishable. The principle of context and setting affirms the inclusion of all cultural, artistic, spiritual, historic, social and political contexts of the site. The surrounding landscape must also be considered as part of the interpretation, with a respectful account of the contributions of all those associated with the site (ibid).

The authenticity principle affirms that the authenticity of a cultural heritage site should be conserved by and its significance described within the interpretation (cf. ICOMOS, 2004). Cognisance should be paid to the design of a heritage interpretation programme to safeguard and respect the traditional social functions of the site and the cultural practices and dignity of the hosts and associated communities. The sustainability principle involves the development and implementation of the interpretive process as part of the overall planning and management process. The scale, expense and technology of interpretive programmes should be appropriate to the available funds and facilities while also considering the expense of upkeep in relation to projected visitor numbers. The principle of inclusivity acknowledges the interests of all stakeholders in the interpretation process as well as the rights of the host community, property owner and other concerned parties. Interpretive activities must be beneficial to the host community at all levels and must be open to public comment. The research, evaluation and training principle simply acknowledges that the interpretation of cultural heritage is an ongoing process and that explanation and understanding must evolve with continued research, training and evaluation. Taken together these principles aspire to “encourage a wide public appreciation of the cultural heritage sites as places and sources of learning and reflection about the past as well as valuable resources for sustainable community development and intercultural and intergenerational dialogue” (2004:2).

Following the above, significant progress was made in 2005 at the eighth ICOMOS International Symposium, *Heritage Interpretation: Expressing Heritage Sites' Values to Foster Conservation, Promote Community Development, and Educate the Public*. The conference proceedings are known as the *Charleston Declaration on Heritage Interpretation* (US/ICOMOS, 2005), named so after the city in which it took place. A definition was proposed which recognised heritage interpretation as “the totality of activity, reflection, research, and creativity stimulated by a cultural heritage site” (cf. US/ICOMOS, 2005:2). In addition it was agreed that essential to interpretation is the input from diverse stakeholders (including local communities and visitors) of all ages and educational backgrounds. This stakeholder involvement assists in the transformation of sites “from static monuments into places and sources of learning and reflection about the past, as well as valuable resources for sustainable community development and intercultural and intergenerational dialogue” (ibid)

The Charleston Declaration (US/ICOMOS, 2005) recognised the conceptual and operational differences between the *presentation* and *interpretation* of cultural heritage sites. The definition put forward regarding interpretation is discussed above. According to the Declaration, presentation “...denotes the carefully planned arrangement of information and physical access to a cultural heritage site, usually by scholars, design firms, and heritage professionals” (2005:2). The primary operational difference is thus that while the input and involvement of different stakeholders is essential for interpretation, presentation is “largely a one-way model of communication” (ibid).

The presentation of cultural heritage is inextricably linked to the interpretation of that heritage in effective visitor communication. Cultural heritage presentation, “encompasses design of the site, the way in which objects are themed, selected and grouped as representative samples of heritage, and includes the means of access to the site” (Ivanovic, 2008:195). The heritage should be displayed in such a manner as to enhance the visitor’s experience which is to be accomplished by enhancing the authenticity and unique attributes of the heritage on offer. The following three requirements are to be fulfilled in the presentation of heritage sites: “[t]he criteria for the selection of exhibits must be based on their authenticity; [e]xhibits must be presented in an attractive way so as to compete with the imaginative presentation of theme parks; [p]resentation must be developed individually with the unique storyline that enhances the authenticity of the particular exhibits and sites” (2008:196). Because authenticity and uniqueness are different at every site and because these differences are almost impossible to measure and equate unified standards of heritage presentation have not been developed.

South African history is being re-written, aestheticised, commercialised and nationalised in processes of democratisation and economic reform. No less operative has been the politics of indigeneity in effectual modalities and transformation of heritage, its presentation and interpretation in the country. Since 2001 funding was made available from the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) which led to the construction of two rock art centres, Wildebeest Kuil in Kimberley and the Kamberg San Rock Art Interpretive Centre in the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park (Ndlovu, 2012). Funded through a variety of contributors, a third centre, Didima Rock Art Centre, was opened on 24 September (Heritage Day) in 2003. Additionally, in 2006, then President Thabo Mbeki opened the South African Museum

of Rock Art (SAMORA), situated at the Origins Centre at the University of the Witwatersrand. SAMORA “is the world’s largest rock art museum and is considered to be the welcome centre for visitors preparing to tour rock art sites in the country” (Ndlovu, 2012:284; Mguni 2002). These centres receive few visitors per month, highlighting the fact that rock art tourism has not reached its potential in the country (Ndlovu, 2012). Their very construction, however, affirms a positive transformation in perceptions of rock art as described below.

Shifting perceptions of rock art and interpretation

The shifts in perception and valuations of rock art described below should be read in the context of changing valuations of San peoples and underlying socio-political circumstances as explored later in the chapter. The use of San rock art imagery and the /Xam language in the national coat of arms is noteworthy in terms of shifting perceptions of rock art. Until the 1960s southern African rock art was regarded widely as a documentation of the past; it was viewed as a record from which could be learned how San groups utilised artefacts such as the bow and arrow (Jeursen 1995; Dowson 1994; Barnard 1989; Voss 1987). Thomas Dowson argues that southern African rock art has been viewed through a strictly sectional history, which is itself “a product of a kind of thinking that, in a segregational South Africa, was designed to perpetuate ethnic divisions (‘tribes’)” (1994:342). Rock art was valued in terms of style, sequence and aesthetic qualities. Critiqued under these modes of categorisation Wildebeest Kuil proved unimpressive to the then doyenne of South African rock engraving research, Maria Wilman.⁴⁰ Visiting the site in 1906, Wilman removed what she believed to be the best of the engravings (approximately eight) for display at SAM⁴¹ and dismissed the remainder as “not of great importance” (Wilman, 1933:5). The above ‘removal’ and ‘dismissal’ speaks to a legacy of scientific colonialism in the museum sphere (touched upon earlier in the chapter). Wildebeest Kuil went on to receive “little more than a footnote mention” in Wilman’s tome on the rock engravings of southern Africa (Morris, 2012:231).

⁴⁰ In 1908, Wilman became the first director of the McGregor Museum, which now manages Wildebeest Kuil on behalf of the Northern Cape Rock Art Trust. Friend to Dorothea Bleek (daughter of the philologist Wilhelm Bleek of the famed Bleek and Lloyd Archive of !Xam and !Kun texts), Wilman’s long-term interest in rock art led to her major archaeological publication *The Rock Engravings of Griqualand West and Bechuanaland, South Africa* (1933).

⁴¹ At least two of these engravings were later secured by the British Museum (Fock 1965; Wilman 1933).

Wildebeest Kuil became a place of interest for its other points of archaeological richness. Stone circles and clearings around the hill, containing evidence of Later Stone Age (LSA) activity noted by geologist and ethnologist George Stow who made the first record of engravings at Wildebeest Kuil in the early 1870s, were of interest to archaeologists such as Peter Beaumont who found LSA lithics when excavating near the crest of the hill in 1983 (Morris 2012; Beaumont & Vogel 1989). J.H. Power found a pressure-flaked, barbed and tanged stone arrowhead on the hill, an artefact now interpreted as a stone skeuomorph of iron origins, a product “of a more complex social landscape at that period in the subcontinent” (Morris, 2012:231; Mitchell 2002; Burkitt 1928). Ruins and middens linked with twentieth-century farm workers as well as the Kimberley diamond rush occur on the fringes of the hill and continue to attract archaeological attention.

Rock art research in the 1960s took a different turn from the previous valuation of the art—in terms of style, sequence, aesthetics and documentation of the past—seeking rather to find the meaning behind rock art images (Lewis-Williams 1981, 1972; Vinnicombe 1976). Studying the art through nineteenth and twentieth-century San ethnography showed that both ambiguity and polysemy “ran through myth, ritual and art” and that both the mythology and art shared symbols and metaphors (Dowson, 1994:332). This gave rise to interpretations of the rock art as based on a theory of shamanism, proposed by the South African scholar David Lewis-Williams (1981), which holds that the San artists of old were shamans (spirit mediums/priests), who saw images while in a state of trance and who, once they emerged from these trances, went on to reproduce those images on cave walls (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989; Lewis-Williams 1981). This theory has impacted interpretations of rock art the world over.

The 1990s saw the emergence of rock art research—once largely the preserve of amateur enthusiasts—as an important contributor to “discussions of epistemological and ethical issues in archaeology”; also becoming a primary focus of undergraduate and postgraduate curricula (Dowson, 2007:49). A debate emerged in this time that centred on the appropriateness of interpretations of rock art as based on Lewis-Williams’ theory (*ibid*). Feminist and context-specific readings of the art have emerged in opposition to the shamanism model (*cf.* Solomon

1999, 1997, 1995; McCall 2007). Others have suggested that the Bleek and Lloyd archive⁴² “has been understood in a very limited way as a system of linguistic and cultural documentation and which has been mined for a lost, extinct authenticity” imbibed from notions of cultural salvage and creating “a kind of cult out of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd” (Rassool, 2010:93; cf. Bank 2006). Nevertheless, Bleek and Lloyd maintain pride of place in the historiography of San peoples and the theory of shamanism remains central to the way in which rock art is interpreted today.

Currently, the tourism centre at Wildebeest Kuil offers a perspective on the site based on aspects of earlier archaeological finds as well as an interpretation of the engravings “broadly acknowledging a shamanistic context” and the importance of cultural landscapes (Morris, 2012:232; 2003, 2002; Taçon & Ouzman 2004). Given a shamanistic interpretation, the engravings may relate to beliefs about the rain and rain-making especially since they are situated at a vantage point from where the nearby pan can be seen (Morris, 2004). Dowson cites records which show that “Bushman shamans [in the south-eastern mountains and adjoining areas of the sub-continent] made rain not just for their own people but also for their agropastoralist neighbours and were, at least sometimes, rewarded by being given cattle or a portion of the farmers’ crops” (Dowson, 1994:334; cf. Prins 1990; Stanford 1910; Hook 1908). Most research on the rock art of the period of contact between San and Bantu-speaking groups “has maintained an exclusive emphasis on Bushman ethnography and has thus interpreted the images from a Bushman perspective only” (Dowson, 1994:333). Dowson cites Thackeray (1985; 1988) as the only exception to this. According to Dowson (1994:342):

...[i]f the long-accepted colonial histories of southern Africa are to be righted, as indeed they must be, the process of reconstruction would do well to begin with the subcontinent’s rock art that, in its imagery, production, consumption and negotiation of power relations, implicated the subcontinent’s various communities.

Dowson’s argument speaks to the ‘unity in diversity’ that was present in San rock art from “from the beginning of the seventeenth century, or earlier” (1994:341). This is a possibility

⁴² Lewis-William’s theory relied heavily on the work of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd (1911) (cf. Wessels 2008; Bank 2006; Bleek, 1929). In 1870 the library curator, Wilhelm Bleek, persuaded the new governor of the Cape, Philip Wodehouse, to allow him guardianship over a few San prisoners who he received into his home as servants. Bleek and Lloyd spent the next few years “recording thousands of pages of folklore, mythology, and other texts from a succession of /Xam informants” (Barnard, 1992:79).

that is overlooked in the argument that San cultural resources have been taken up as a unifying factor due to the widespread belief that there are no direct descendents to lay claim to the heritage resources in use (proponents of this argument include Ndlovu 2012, 2005 and Jeursen 1995). Nevertheless, the argument does have its merits, especially when considered in respect to the denigration of San peoples in history. Rock art images have been widely appropriated, adorning wine bottles and directions to restroom facilities (cf. Ndlovu 2012; Dowson 1996). I have seen a large mural depicting archetypal San imagery painted on a wall leading to the rest rooms at a popular rest stop and eatery in the Northern Cape as well as San imagery as directions to restroom facilities at a Kalahari lodge. The exploitation of San heritage coupled with a lack of cultural sensitivity is deeply embedded in cultural stereotypes propagated in South Africa and abroad (cf. Buntman 2002, 1996; Blundell 1998; Dowson 1996; Tomaselli 1995). Groups from around the world that have been similarly exploited include the Innu of Canada and the Indonesian Papuans (Ndlovu 2012; Monbiot 2006).

At Wildebeest Kuil today, significance is placed on meaning and the rock art's embeddedness in the socio-political milieu of the past and the present (Morris, 2012). Wildebeest Kuil is recognised as an archaeological site of cultural and historic significance. Morris argues that whereas Wilman in another era "sought to take the art to the people" by removing selected engravings for museum display (a disputable notion based on imperial acquisition), the aim at Wildebeest Kuil today is to "take people to the art"⁴³ (2012:232). The view of the engravings in their surviving material setting together with "fragments of regional histories" and contemporary politics is intended to add "vastly to the interest of the experience, while also complicating or destabilising the narrative" (ibid). The engravings are no longer judged against those at other sites, and in terms of style and aesthetics. In addition, Wilman's placement of the rock art in a museum space offered viewership to a privileged few (in an era of canonical imperialism) while Wildebeest Kuil now aims to open the site to the wider public. From the above it is clear that heritage is made meaningful over time and multiple layers of meaning intersect at sites of importance. Moreover, the perceived value of sites has shifted in congruence with changing terms of valuation of rock art especially since its inclusion into the academy.

⁴³ This is possible at Wildebeest Kuil because of the relative ease of access to the site (it is situated on a main road, just outside Kimberley).

Heritage as mutable

The intrinsic constructedness of heritage, a key tenet of the thesis, is explored in this section as it is made manifest in shifting modes of interpretation and presentation of San peoples in the South African museum (SAM) context. In addition to showcasing change over time in the heritage sector, the mutability of the diorama at SAM is explored in terms of a nationally institutionalised presentation of 'The San'. Such presentations, in the academic or populist sense, form a significant node of representation in social consciousness and impact all present and future presentations of San peoples. The following exposition is thus central to understanding the concerns and challenges of interpretation and presentation of San peoples, their heritage and culture at Wildebeest Kuil.

(Ig)nobility of the Savage

In the process of European expansion from the fifteenth century onwards indigenous societies encountered were often delegitimised and/or “denied the status of society or the existence of culture” (Short, 1991:22; cf. Coates 2004). Proponents of this perspective argued for the displacement of indigenous groups of people simply because the lack of an agrarian system rendered them incapable of claiming rights to the land. Simply put, because the land was considered ‘wilderness’ it could be claimed by anyone and the victor was often the one in possession of a gun. In these circumstances the use of the term ‘wilderness’ became “part of an attack on the inhabitants, their culture and their rights” (Short, 1991:22). The onset of Social Darwinism in the nineteenth century, by which the physical attributes of peoples such as the San were scrutinised as primitive “characteristics of ‘inferior’ branches of the human race”, further entrenched the European sense of supremacy and propagated the existing notion of the ignoble savage (Barnard, 2007:18).

The concept of ‘savagery’ is intricately connected to the idea of ‘wilderness’. The latter had taken shape in agricultural societies where there became a marked difference between cultivated and uncultivated land, and domesticated and wild animals. This is in contrast to hunting and gathering societies in which “there was and is no distinction between wilderness and the rest of the environment” (Short, 1991:5). Rodney Nash (1982) offers an intriguing anecdote to illustrate this point. When given the opportunity to talk with a Malaysian hunter-gatherer (via the aid of an interpreter) Nash attempted to discuss the concept of wilderness. Frustrated by the lack of an equivalent word for wilderness in the man’s language, Nash

asked for the way to say 'I am lost in the jungle'. After an exchange between the hunter and interpreter Nash was informed that the man did not get lost in the jungle. The query was as fatuous as that of inquiring from a city dweller "how he said 'I am lost in my apartment'"; "[l]acking a concept of controlled and uncontrolled nature, the Malaysian had no conception of wilderness" (Nash 1982, cited in Short, 1991:5).

As agricultural societies developed so did their idea of the 'wild' and its inhabitants. Interestingly, the word 'savage' means "pertaining to the woods" from the Latin root 'silva' meaning "wood" (Short, 1991:8). Fear of the wilderness was in part a fear of the uncontrolled as much as the unknown and this included those who lived in the wild since they existed both spatially and socially outside of the prevailing formalised order. The idea soon became entrenched that those residing in the wilderness were a threat to the 'civilised'. At the same time there was the fear of the effects of the wild on civilised people as "[c]ontact with the wilderness was contact with the wild unconscious" (ibid). The wilderness soon turned into an "environmental metaphor for the dark side of the psyche" (ibid). The act of being in the wild, therefore, came to be a catalyst for deviant change in a person, and in cases of prolonged exposure would lead to a kind of dark regression, the likes of which are presented in folklore and contemporary media such as the Reality Television cult success *Survivor*.⁴⁴

In contrast to the classicist born notion of the ignoble or primitive savage was that of the romantic tradition from which the belief arose that an appreciative contact with the wilderness was commensurate with a 'sublime dignity' (Short, 1991:16; Tomaselli 1995). Themes of this motif include ecological sensitivity, custodianship, innocence, beauty, humanness and harmony (Guenther, 1980). The romantics saw 'uncivilised' communities as remnants of a "golden age" (Short, 1991:22). Their view of industrial progress could be summed up in Jean Jacques Rousseau's famed dictum "Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains" (1997:41). The noble savage motif thus became antithetical to the industrial onslaught, "the tyranny of the clock", the excesses of materialism, consumption and its exponential uncertainties (Short, 1991:23). This resulted in groups such as the Pacific islanders, Australian Aborigines, North American Indians and San of the Kalahari "presented

⁴⁴ The success of *Survivor* established the show as the archetypal format for contemporary Reality Television, thus perpetuating the development of reality shows proffering the "promise of a return to a natural and implicitly more traditional (even, at times, tribal) environment" (Andrejevic, 2004:195).

as exemplars of a more ecologically sound, spiritually richer, freer, and less alienated society than our own” (1991:23–24).

While seemingly incongruous, themes of the noble and ignoble savage have existed alongside each other for centuries. In times when the noble savage motif grew in popularity there were those who, for example, distinguished between two kinds of San groups, firstly “the marauding bands of runaway slaves, escaped criminals (often of mixed ancestry) and other malefactors”; and, secondly, the ‘true Bushmen’ (Barnard, 2007:17). Making his own distinction, the French traveller and illustrator François le Vaillant⁴⁵ (1790), called this latter group *Housouanas* after a Khoe name for them. Le Valliant offered a sympathetic portrayal of the Housouana. His writings and paintings are imbued with a moral discourse, emphatically in contradiction to the argument for colonisation. Resisting the charge of the Housouana as beastly and offering reasons for, if not rationalising, their banditry, Le Valliant rendered white colonists the real slaughterers and thieves. It is little wonder then that his work was largely ignored in terms of what Ian Glenn (2010) calls the ‘great South African texts’. Glenn describes Le Valliant’s portrayals of San peoples as “less racist, [and] more interested in the political and personal reality of indigenous persons in South Africa than later writing would be” (Glenn, 1996:49) and most acutely “...rather too sophisticated and morally troubling for White South African comprehension [of the time]” (1996:42).

Essentialist representations of San peoples have been taken up by filmmakers and documentarists alike. By the 1950s San living as hunter-gatherers had entered the realm of myth, themes of which include San peoples as remnants of a golden age; a time of purity, innocence and harmony with nature (Guenther, 1980). San peoples as subjects of documentary and popular film have been ‘directed’ in correspondence with this myth. The romantic musings of Laurens van der Post (1958, 1961) have been echoed in publications as recent as March 2013, when Paul John Myburgh (2013) published *The Bushman Winter Has Come*, a book popularised as “[t]he true story of the last band of /Gwike Bushmen on the Great Sand Face” (front blurb) but one that documents Myburgh’s own spiritual awakening. Readers are encouraged to journey with the author “towards a place where we may, once again, know who we are in the context of our life on this earth... towards a time when we

⁴⁵ Le Vaillant was among the first to popularise a romantic image of Africa and the San. His watercolours, presenting an autochthonous idyll, captivated European audiences so much so that his books were promptly translated into English, German, Dutch, Russian, Swedish, Danish and Italian (Barnard, 2007:17; Lloyd 2004).

may answer the /Gwikwe's morning greeting, *Tsamkwa/tge?* (Are your eyes nicely open?) with a confident Yes" (penguinbooks.co.za). The /Gwikwe in this regard are the focus of a postmodern new age spiritualism. Readers-cum-disciples are encouraged, through a safe and mediated experience of them, to search for harmony, wholeness and meaning.

Whether deliberate scene-setting, such as in anthropologist John Marshall's documentary *The Hunters* (1958), a fact to which he admitted after almost forty years (Tomaselli, 2003a), or the product of the awe-struck anthropologist/filmmaker/documentarist/writer such 'direction' highlights a desire to mediate and perpetuate the myth (Tomaselli 2003a; Gordon & Douglas 2000). This speaks to a deep sense of longing by Westerners (and tourists) for the temporary recovery, at least, of the innocence and simplicity dangled by interactions with pre-modern societies. This return to 'nature' (the lost apartment) from where we once came, may partly explain why the original *Gods Must be Crazy* films (1980, 1989) were so popular at their times of release (cf. Tomaselli 2006; McLennan-Dodd & Tomaselli 2005), offering, as they did, a means to recover 'the wilderness' in an unthreatening way.

Whether, noble or ignoble, the concern is that such a view perpetuates an essentialised primitive archetype which serves to relegate already marginalised groups to discourses of conservation and paternalism. In this sense, the silencing of the subaltern (cf. Spivak, 1985) is further entrenched. Nevertheless, strides have been made pertaining to the rise of indigenous rights worldwide (cf. *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 2007). This increased politicisation, coterminous as it was with a global shift in perspective of museological practice, prompted re-workings of out-dated modes of interpretation and presentation of indigenous peoples within the museum space. The following sections highlight the specific changes that occurred in the presentation and interpretation of San peoples in the South African context. Exhibition practices are explored as they relate to political changes at the time.

Historic presentations of San peoples

In colonial South Africa, San peoples were depicted as depraved, a scourge, and hierarchically lower than human beings (Finlay & Barnabas 2012b; Chidester 1996; Watson 1991; Van Zyl 1980). By the 1850s many San had concealed their genealogical origins; leaving behind a hunter-gatherer lifestyle they sought employment as servants and labourers

on white-owned farms (Watson, 1991). Dispossessed and hunted, they were considered virtually extinct, victims of genocide, by the end of the nineteenth century (Saugestad 2004; Skotnes 1996; Watson, 1991). Nevertheless, an image of people described as San or Bushmen had been used historically in instances of political sensitivity to build an image of South Africa as developing beyond merely another British outpost (Coombes, 2004). An example of this was the incorporation of San people in exhibitions intended to portray South Africa “as an emerging country with its own particular cultural and economic contribution to make within the British Empire” (2004:210). In the Union Pageant of 1910 a group of San appeared as part of a battle re-enactment. In 1936 at the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg another group featured in a diorama called the ‘Bushmen Camp’ at the same time as there was a public campaign to set up a San reserve in the Kalahari Gemsbok Park (Dubow, 1995).

This aligned satisfactorily within the *volkekunde* tradition, an Afrikaans brand of cultural anthropology that had risen to prominence in the 1940s and which formed the basis of much anthropological training in South Africa at the time (Coombes 2004; Van Rensburg & Van der Waal 1999; Witz 1997; Marais 1993). Serving the objectives of the apartheid state, the perspective held that mankind was divided into races/ethnic units (*volke*) and that each of these had its own particular culture (Sharp, 1981). Segregation was described as a way to ensure that each race was free to develop its own way of life without the risk of miscegenation creating undesirable impurities. More specifically, this would ensure the strengthening of the white (Afrikaner) ‘race’ (ibid).

In 1952 San performers featured as part of the Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival, a celebration of three hundred years of white settlement in South Africa. During this time apartheid was under considerable international criticism and the San’s involvement in the festival was intended to portray a culturally sensitive and responsible government making efforts to protect and preserve a race on the edge of extinction (Witz, 1997). Details of how San peoples came to be so close to disappearance were omitted; by and large the presentation of their history in this festival was highly selective, their dispossession and genocide passed over. They were cast in the role of a people close to nature and threatened with extinction by incursions of the modern world. The ‘Bantu’ races at the festival were shown engaged “in ‘productive labour’ and benefiting from the ‘clean’ and ‘modern’ conditions provided for them in the Transvaal Chamber of Mines pavilion, thus emphasising the apparently,

‘progressive’ changes wrought by the South African government” (Coombes, 2004:211). Less progressive were the crowds at the festival whose offensive behaviour (gaping at and physically mishandling the San—at times lifting up their clothes for a better view of their bodies) incensed the performers and caused them to leave the festival early. Likening the white spectators to baboons, the San refused to perform on demand. The liberal press, already critical of the representation of San peoples at the festival, picked up on this and began a dialogue concerning questions raised about the preservation of their race and “the fundamental assumptions of the ‘white nation’s’ claim to modernity” (Witz, 1997:298; cf. Dubin 2009). This dialogue was quelled, however, by the much louder voice of the state.

Earlier in 1949, at the inauguration of the Voortrekker Monument, on the eve of the apartheid state, the opening speeches described the presence of San peoples in South Africa as a fact to be reconciled with Dutch colonialism (Coombes, 2004). Encountered by the Dutch expansion eastward the San were recognised as the “real aborigines of Southern Africa” (Rousseau 1949, cited in Coombes, 2004:213). Pursued, captured, sold and slaughtered, the remnants succumbing to the outbreak of smallpox in the first half of the eighteenth century, they were no longer a threat to Dutch expansion. Thus they could be:

...safely claimed as both the legitimate inhabitants of South Africa—the first South Africans—and a primitive version of early man, which necessarily gave way to the superior civilization of the European but whose historical and anthropological significance also lent status to the new republic in scientific terms. (Coombes, 2004:213)

Anatomical dissections in the nineteenth century and the trafficking of San skeletons and human remains fuelled by anthropological fascination are proof of the abject discriminatory and often violent ways in which San peoples were treated. Specious conceptions of science were rife in this period and a certain number of widely held beliefs in the European scientific community became the bedrock on which many museums were founded. At the same time as modern theories of racial segregation were beginning to be examined on a political level, physical anthropology became a dominating force in South Africa perpetuating a belief in the direct correlation between physical type and evolutionary status (Coombes 2004; Dubow 1995). In the early nineteenth century groups of San were exhibited as part of many European

travelling ‘freak’ shows as well as other exhibitions with more ‘scientific’ pretensions. Mathias Guenther (1980) cites a number of nineteenth-century examples in which San peoples are explicitly equated to animals. There is evidence to suggest that the Dutch term, *Bosmanneken* from which Bushman is derived, was a literal translation of the Malay word *OrangOutan* meaning ‘man of the forest’ (ibid). What is evidenced by the above is the notion of San peoples as uncivilised and less than human.

Museological presentations

Founded in 1825, the South African Museum (SAM) situated in Cape Town, is the foremost natural history museum in the country (Coombes 2004; Davison 1993). In the early 1900s San peoples became a primary research focus of the museum. In 1905 the British and South African Associations for the Advancement of Science held a joint annual meeting in South Africa. Prescriptions emerging from this meeting included the imperative to gather as much data as possible on the fast dwindling ‘prehistoric’ San. This coincided with a shift toward physical anthropology in the country at the time and significantly influenced the data accrued. The majority of the remaining San were dispersed among the country’s prisons (many were incarcerated for petty crimes that were most likely the result of their dispossession and displacement). Louis Peringuey, director at SAM, obtained access to these individuals and responded to the above imperative with a project that spanned seventeen years (1907 to 1924) (Coombes 2004; Davison 1993).

Pureness of race was a priority and ‘purebred’ San were sought out based on physical criteria such as steatopygia in women. Precise measurements were taken of physical attributes involving what was in all probability a “hideous degree of humiliating scrutiny and manhandling” (Coombes, 2004:217). Approximately eighty-eight body casts were made. They were later painted in the museum studio and some were put on display. Even into the late 1920s when it was challenged in anthropological circles the emphasis remained on physical anthropology with a comprehensive eschewal of complex social and cultural networks. The casts were recorded by registration number in terms of racial type, sex and location in the museum records. Consequently the individuality of each subject was lost (Dubin 2009; Coombes 2004). The label on the display case read as follows:

Cape Bushmen:

The Bushmen of the Cape appear to have been the purest-blooded representatives of the Bushman stock, much purer than those of the Kalahari and other more northerly districts. They are now practically extinct. They were light in colour and of small or medium height; the prominent posterior development (steatopygia) of the women was a characteristic of the race. To anthropologists the Bushmen are one of the most interesting races in the world. There are strong grounds for suspecting that they are of the same stock as the remote Upper Palaeolithic period. This cannot yet be definitely asserted but recent discoveries in North and East Africa have tended to strengthen the probability considerably. (cited in Davison, 1993:179)

The use of the past tense implicitly historicises these San, while the text states this unequivocally. As a consequence, San are portrayed as a past people and are relegated to the record books. This is in contrast to the Museum having been actively engaged in seeking out San for the process of casting. The label, describing their skin colour and height, highlights the emphasis on physical characteristics prominent in anthropology at the time. In a somewhat paradoxical turn, it was during the 1950s, the first decade of apartheid, in which plans were laid out to incorporate the casts into a diorama to portray the figures as part of a multifaceted social and cultural network. Loosely based on *African Scenery and Animals 1804–5*, an aquatint by the English artist and draughtsman Samuel Daniell (1805), the scene depicts the figures going about their everyday tasks at a campsite. The label accompanying this new arrangement read as follows (cited in Davison, 1991:159):

A Cape Bushman Camp in the Karoo:

This diorama shows some activities of hunter-gatherers. The viewer should imagine that a large flock of birds has flown overhead and attracted the attention of the group. With the exception of a few in Gordonia, there are no Bushmen living in the Cape. The figures shown here are PLASTER CASTS [sic] of living people aged between 18 and 60, excepting the man making fire who was alleged to have been about 100. They were nearly all living in the Prieska and Carnarvon districts. The casts were made by Mr. James Drury, modeller at the Museum from 1902–1942.

While an improvement to its predecessor, the display nevertheless lacked “specific historical temporality” and engendered a narrative of a disappeared people (Coombes, 2004:222). Apart from misrepresentations of San groups both past and present, Annie Coombes proposes that

the most significant concern was that the body casts represented the physical traces of persons who had since died, the circumstances of which were often reprehensible (ibid). The figures have a “visceral association with death and dissection”; they cannot be separate from this fact of their origin and, in this lies the primary concern of the casts on display (ibid). Nevertheless, the diorama had become entrenched in communal knowledge, even printed onto postcards and sold at tourist venues around the city of Cape Town. In 1988, recognising the potential of the diorama to increase public awareness of museum practice and facilitate visitor participation, the museum took further steps to improve its representations beginning with a changed label which now read (Davison, 1991:163):

In the early nineteenth century /Xam hunter-gatherers lived in the semi-desert Karoo. From hilltop camps they could watch the movements of game on the plains and spot the approach of enemies. Their way of life was shaped by the seasonal availability of edible plants, water and the movements of game. To avoid overusing food and water supplies /Xam bands ranged widely within hunting territories which were defined by recognised landmarks. By the mid-nineteenth century most hunter-gatherers in the Karoo had been killed in fighting with advancing colonialists and displaced Khoikhoi. The survivors were drawn into colonial society as labourers and servants.

Thus began the re-imagining of the diorama. Storyboard panels were set up adjacent to the display in a style evoking its unfinished nature, making an implicit statement about the production and re-production of myth (about San peoples in particular). Information about the casting process was added along with the names of individuals who were cast as well as archive photographs of these individuals. Perhaps most striking was the additional cast of a San woman set against a picture of the diorama and dressed in ‘modern’ attire—headscarf, shirt and long skirt—which would have been her daily wear at the time. With these additions, the diorama is shown to be a construct of its time. Later, further additions were included to highlight the methodological and ideological framework on which anthropology was founded at the time of casting. The mainstream focus on physical anthropology is further offset by additional information on the work of Bleek and Lloyd (1911).

Having worked on the expansion of the display, Patricia Davison identifies the need to find “new ways of displaying objects, a new display vocabulary, so that the visual rhetoric will encourage an awareness of multiple views and not reduce the complex presence of an artefact

to a single, authoritative interpretation” (1991:184). Because of the nature of interpretation, however, it is common for divergent readings to be formed. Certainly, the dominant reading, intended by the makers of a message, is not always the reading that viewers will take away with them (cf. Hall, 1980). From October 1989 to January 1991 SAM conducted a survey of visitor responses to the diorama (Coombes, 2004). The limited number of responses made it difficult to explore central themes in visitor interpretations rendering the project fairly unproductive. Visitor responses vary between those who enjoy the diorama for its detailed and life-like depictions; others who find the juxtaposition of the display to those of dinosaurs and other ‘extinct’ animals distasteful and alarming; those who enjoy the display for its historic quality but who wish to see it in terms of cultural and societal change, with more information on present-day San; and yet others who criticise the display as an attempt by “whites” to preserve in glass a representation of that which they have already “exterminated” (Coombes, 2004:230). Davison went on to describe the display about the diorama as having been “largely, though not entirely, unsuccessful” (1991:191).

Writing at the same time as Davison, Wright and Mazel (1991) found the representation (if at all) of pre-colonial histories to be overtly static, stating further that such a perception was pervasive even amongst museum curators. What displays of pre-colonial histories there were, were of San and/or Zulu groups alongside natural history exhibits. Instead of being rooted in the histories of the represented groups, these ethnological displays had been informed by ideas derived from i) a British tradition of African anthropology—which played a part in colonial divide and rule policies; and ii) ideologies of ethnic separatism. As such the ‘absences’ in the displays were as pointed and significant as the ‘presences’. Further, the timeless ethnographic representation of pre-colonial peoples provided no room for readings of in-group struggle and conflict. The same criticisms could be made of the SAM diorama. This notwithstanding, Dawid Kruiper, now late traditional leader of the ≠Khomani San, had expressed his wish to be cast and placed within the diorama upon his death (Simões, 2001).

Following protests from Khoe-San organisations and others who argued that the SAM diorama showcased San peoples as specimens in a natural history museum, the exhibition was archived in 2001 after 42 years on display (*News24*, 3 April 2001). Chief executive officer of Iziko Museums, Jack Lohman stated that the decision was in line with the process of democratisation of museums (ibid). Nevertheless, the Cape Times reported that a group of

southern African San, who had gathered in Namibia for a meeting of the San Cultural Heritage Committee, had condemned the closure (ibid). Notably, San dioramas in East London and Bloemfontein received none of the attention given to the SAM diorama. Possible reasons for this could be a lack of media attention, indigenous group organisations and “militant” visitors in these smaller locales (Nuttall in Dubin, 2009:72).

The *Miscast* Exhibition

In April 1996, South African artist and scholar Pippa Skotnes curated an exhibition titled *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of Khoi and San History and Material Culture* at the South African National Gallery. The title invokes an association with the body casts at SAM, but is not limited to those figures, rather taking up a long held debate about the misrepresentation of San peoples as timeless and homogenous. *Miscast* ran at a time of increased dialogue for reparations concerning South Africa’s persecutory past and increased sensitivity of such persecution. The country’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was convened and the South African government was in the process of negotiations with the French for the remains of Sara Bartmann⁴⁶ for burial in her native country (Dubin, 2009). In the Introduction to the exhibition’s accompanying anthology Skotnes states that *Miscast* was “not, strictly speaking, about ‘Bushmen’ [but was rather a] critical and visual exploration of the term ‘Bushman’ and the various relationships that gave rise to it” (1996:18). A further aim was to make viewers of the installation aware of themselves as complicit in all that was perpetrated against the San. Intended as a “critical engagement with the ways in which the Khoisan were pathologized, dispossessed, and all but eradicated through colonialism and apartheid” the exhibition was extremely controversial and received mainly critical reviews both locally and internationally (Coombes, 2004:230).

The idea for *Miscast* came out of Skotnes’ insight into museum practice in which she noted a high evidence of archival and non-exhibition of material objects. Two possible reasons for this include i) museums’ fear of public censure (since there have been incidents were

⁴⁶ Sara (Sarah, Saartjie or Saartje) Baartman was a Khoe woman known as the Hottentot Venus, and put on public display in London and New York between 1810 and 1815 when she died. Her display continued posthumously for many years (Crais & Scully 2009; Robins 1998). Debate over the life and narrative of Bartmann has been controversial. Khoe-San community activist Jean Burgess notes that “the educational system ensured that we divorced ourselves from this... ugly woman with big bums, a prostitute, who deserved to die” (cited in Dubin, 2009:99). Steven Dubin (2009) states that *Miscast* marked a turn in the discourse surrounding Bartmann in the 1990s.

indigenous groups/organisations have demanded repatriation of cultural, religious, and traditional items, preserved human bodies and parts of bodies for proper burial); and ii) a caution over inadequate contextualisation—where past indignities might possibly be perpetuated. Skotnes (2002) cites these reasons as likely rationalisations for the guarded way in which the British Museum conducted itself in regard to its collection of San ‘trophy heads’ collected in the nineteenth century. While it allowed viewing access, the museum refused Skotnes permission to photograph or sketch the heads. It later ignored a formal request for photographs of the heads for inclusion in *Miscast*. News of the possible inclusion of the shrunken heads reached the media and created controversy around *Miscast* in the run up to its opening (Dubin, 2009). Furthermore, the exhibition was to contend with the fact that the historical documentation of San peoples, including interpretations of rock art, comprises an archive predominantly (if not wholly) from a European perspective (Skotnes, 2002:263). Reviewer, Anthony Morphet (1997) picked up on this when he noted:

The sad truth which sits in the shadows of the main exhibition is that there is no independent Bushman archive—and there is no access to an untouched historical current of brown or black experience... no privileged inheritance through blood or culture... The Bushman archive was the land itself—fragments of it still exist in the rock art—but as a coherent source of record it is no more”. (cited in Skotnes, 2002:263)

The exhibition consisted of three inter-leading rooms. The first of which greeted the viewer with a quotation running along the top of its walls which read: “No-one can hope to [act as] mediator... Nor can anyone speak just for the one, just for the other. There is no escape from the politics of our knowledge, but that politics is not in the past. That politics is in the present” (from Denning,⁴⁷ 1992:178–9). Archive photographs of San at various historical events in which they formed part of a spectacle were on display along with photographs of group hangings, youth fettered by the neck and San in loincloths as well as Victorian dress. Artefacts set in recessed display cases related to individuals who aided Bleek and Lloyd in their search for San folklore. Some of Lloyd’s personal effects were displayed along with the others in an attempt to facilitate the viewing of both sets of artefacts as equally significant

⁴⁷ The quote used by Skotnes is taken from Greg Denning’s *Mr Bligh’s Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (1992). Denning is an Australian historian who has spent decades researching the European invasion of the Pacific.

and their owners as co-producers in the production of the historic record. This was also a deliberate invocation of the “genre of display associated with the ‘treasures of the collection’ mode in either art or ethnographic museums” (Coombes, 2004:231). Carmel Schrire describes the display in this first room as:

...a dark vaulted chamber pierced by glowing shapes and jewelled cabinets. Rifles cluster around a green flag. Pedestals are topped with golden bodies. Behind the viewer a dim wall is stacked with dull cardboard boxes. Beyond, scarlet and grey display cases house creamy-brown artefacts, and above them all, huge scarlet letters proclaim Greg Denning’s words: ‘There is no escape from the politics of our knowledge’. (1996:np)

Reminiscent of the body casts at SAM, the casts displayed in this first room—body-less heads, the bust of a young boy, full casts of a man and woman—were at the centre of much critique. The floor of the second display room was covered with vinyl prints of articles from scientific journals, police reports, posters and flyers for shows featuring San people (most of which expressly derogatory). These were to be in direct contrast to the wall-hung photographs, taken between 1984 and 1995 by Paul Weinberg and in co-operation with San groups, depicting scenes of everyday life of groups from Botswana, Namibia and the southern Kalahari. Video cameras encased in glass display cases and set on the floor of this room were used as a device to highlight the act of looking, perpetuating the intention of self-reflexivity in the installation itself as well as stirred up in the viewer. The third room made available a selection of research material used in putting together the exhibition. Historical copies of rock paintings produced by Joseph Orpen (1874), Patricia Vinnicombe (1976), Thomas Pringle (1834) and George Stow (1905) hung alongside watercolours of animals and spirits made by San informants of Bleek and Lloyd. Beyond this was a screening chamber where a film looped with images of San to the sound of traditional instruments.

In a sympathetic exposition, Coombes describes divisive views of *Miscast* as “misunderstandings” (2004:237). Similarly, Schrire argues that the exhibition steps:

...right out of the mould of mannered dioramas and curated collections by exhibiting these same objects in an utterly different way. It does all this by dint of artistic creativity and sheer bravado, offering a series of images that catapult right into the darkest heart of the anthropological venture, to conflate science and sorrow, archives and agony, and to invest museums and their tidy displays with the cold, sour stench of the mortuary. (1996:np)

Indeed, *Miscast* may have been a provocative platform for critical debate surrounding the use of museum space and the ways in which artefacts are exhibited to represent historic events. However, for those not already familiar with such debates, which included the majority of patrons having visited the exhibition, *Miscast* did little more than perpetuate the (often) white, dominant voice speaking on behalf of the indigene while having not sought their permission or included them in the process.

According to Davison (2005), Skotnes' did not problematise her role as curator nor had she anticipated the vehement responses of Khoe-San groups who spoke out against the exhibition. In an interesting turn of events these groups favoured the SAM diorama; perhaps because in it San hunter-gatherers were not represented as victims. The irony of *Miscast* was lost on these groups who saw it only as a painful reminder, a re-trampling on the history of San peoples (Davison, 2005). This 're-trampling' became materially evident when some groups expressed that walking the floor of the second display room, its tiles covered with images of San peoples, was disrespectful to the dead. Describing her frustration at the meeting held after the opening of the exhibition, historian Yvette Abrahams spoke of a general "sense of offence at the exhibition of [her] ancestors in such a state" (1996:np). Her first-hand observations merit the lengthy quote:

The moment which brought tears to my eyes and a murmur round the hall was when the man from Smitsdrift [sic] stood up to tell of his grandfather's stories of the time they were taken to Cape Town for the making of the casts. Up to that point it had been history to him. What Skotnes had done was to renew that dishonour in the present.

Perhaps the climax of the meeting was when the girl from Namibia spent much time trying to explain how we felt, in words of one syllable so that even whites could understand. At times she despaired but at length she said ‘if you had known our culture, you would not have done this thing’. A fitting comment on over a century of Khoisan studies! I saw how wide was the gulf between ourselves and the researchers who had come to study us, that in all this time none had come to understand what so united us. That gulf was not of our making. Rather, I would argue, it arose out of a constitutional inability to see us as other than objects.

I realised this when I stood up to speak. My people had left little for me to say, so all I wanted to do was to ask Skotnes to remove the casts. I could hardly believe my ears when I heard her begin to enumerate reasons why she could not. Instead she offered to add the recording of our protests to the exhibition. I could not believe what Skotnes had just said. Our deepest emotions were to be turned into instant art. The response to our attempt at empowerment was to immediately disempower us by, yet again, making us part of the objects on exhibit. For over two hours we had stood up to say ‘we are people, we have feelings, and what we feel right now is deeply offended’. Not a word, it seemed, had sunk in. The meeting became loud and unruly after that. I know little of it because by that time I was emotionally exhausted and had left... (1996:np)

Abrahams (1996) highlights Skotnes own admission (in a seminar held at the University of the Western Cape) that she was refused permission to use the word ‘Bushman’ in the title of the exhibition by the director of the National Gallery due to the pejorative nature of the Afrikaans *Boesman*. This is why the title of the book differs to that of the exhibition. Afrikaans is widely spoken in the Cape among many people of Khoe-San descent who would thus be aware of the negative connotations of the term (cf. Skotnes, 2002). Abrahams asserts that Skotnes’ submission to the Gallery’s disapproval but not those of San descendants concludes that she continued to strengthen instead of challenge “relations of power that have victimised the Khoisan” (1996:np). Voices of dissent, in the form of reviews and newspaper articles, have been included in the official *Miscast* archive and made publically available on the University of Cape Town’s website. Even so, Abrahams observes that to include these voices, to officially make them part of the dialogue surrounding the exhibition, is not necessarily to respond to them, or listen to what it is they have to say (ibid).

Skotnes retrospectively expands on the intent of the exhibition in a contribution to the anthology *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (2002), stating that as curator she had wanted the exhibition to talk to the concerns of archive and representation. Therefore the principal aims of the exhibition—goals which Skotnes believes to have achieved—included putting the archive on display, challenging the ‘ahistoricity’ of the SAM diorama, and deflecting its easy projections (2002:268). In light of comments from the visitors’ book, Skotnes describes the latter aim as a ‘complication’ that “[s]ome evaluations of *Miscast* appeared to regret” (2002:270). Skotnes’ envisioned break with the past was thus compromised by the fact that the South African present is encumbered by its colonial past (Jackson & Robins, 1999). This continuity with the past made for the distress and outrage expressed by some visitors who were unable to apply objectivity to an exhibition of subjects with whom they could so keenly identify (ibid). It seems that the exhibition was a receptacle for regret, *misreading*, *miscommunication*, outrage, and other strong feelings related to the politics of identity, genocide and injustice.

Skotnes (2002) describes the discomfort of some visitors with the display of the nude body casts, even with the idea of such a display as per the responses she procured from San organisations and groups in the planning phases of the exhibition. She mentions very briefly that this discomfort is incongruent in the gallery setting. What Skotnes alludes to here is the normalisation of the naked human body in the setting of an art gallery where eroticism, relations of power, conflict and emotion are captured, displayed and discussed. Concurrent to *Miscast*, an exhibition in an adjacent gallery featured the naked body of a white woman. No adverse reactions were elicited by this exhibition. Steven Dubin (2009) observes that visitors to that part of the museum would have been familiar with the theme of the unclothed body as item of display. As an artist herself Skotnes is adept at such a discourse and may have assumed too much of her audience. Dubin (2009) states that installation art was rather new when used as the medium for *Miscast*. Skotnes later noted that (2002:268):

Very few people understood the exhibition as installation art. My intentional references in the spatial arrangement and colour relationships to installation artists such as Greenaway, Kosuth, and Haake, were entirely sidelined, and hardly anyone invoked any art-historical precedents in analysing the exhibit.

While the semiotics of the exhibition as installation art had been misread (or not read at all) the discourse of art gallery and museum had been conflated. This conflation in the academic sphere is revealed in statements about the exhibition such as: “There are two museums in South Africa competing for representation and commentary on ‘who are the Bushmen?’—namely The South African Museum and the South African National Gallery” (Jackson & Robins, 1999:69). For many of the over 700 people who attended the exhibition’s forum the confluence of art gallery and museum display only reiterated the imperial, strikingly European accession of the San image. The exhibition had such a jarring effect on visitors that some went away having seen things that were not there, such as genitals preserved in glass bottles. These chimeras were the product of intense emotional reactions not anticipated by the curator (Dubin, 2009). The outcry resulted in Skotnes receiving threatening phone calls and a lambasting in the academic and public spheres (ibid). Long-worn debates over cultural ownership and spokespersonship were once again illuminated. What right did Skotnes have (as a white woman) to represent San peoples? What right did she have to try to speak for them? In raising these “increasingly familiar questions” concerning the right to representation, its form, function and subject matter, Dubin states that “*Miscast* and the responses it garnered... brought people together as well as drove them apart” (2009:69). For example, the Kagga Kamma⁴⁸ San who attended the opening of the exhibition were criticised by other San groups for donning traditional attire which was seen to rouse crowds in similar fashion to colonial era exhibition spectacles.

Appraising *Miscast*, Skotnes notes that in an attempt to engage representation from the perspective of those represented, “you can consult until the cows come home, but at the end, your vision is the kind of exhibition you are going to get... You can’t consult on how people are going to respond to something” (cited in Dubin, 2009:78). She endorses a belief that the legacy of *Miscast* was in its provision of a public forum and facilitation of a debate that “might have only happened differently and later” (ibid). In terms of transformations wrought in the museum sphere, Davison considers *Miscast* as having provided a key indication marker in terms of museological concerns such as spokespersonship and interpretive perspective (in

⁴⁸ The cultural village at the Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve in South Africa’s Western Cape Province was a cultural tourism venture that played host to many San in the 1990s who were patrilineal kin of #Khomani leader Dawid Kruiper (White, 1995). Kagga Kamma provided visitors to its lodge with a San experience that included traditional dance, craft making and a showcase of tracking skills. Critiques of Kagga Kamma include arguments of paternalism, exploitation, and a reinforcement of colonialism (Tomaselli 2012; Dubin 2009; White 1995). These critiques are not far removed from those of *Miscast* or the SAM diorama. It is thus little wonder that the Kagga Kamma San had caused the uproar that they did at the opening of *Miscast*.

Dubin, 2009:75). She remarks, “I just think nobody would exhibit in this way again” (ibid). Nyasha Mboti argues that *Miscast* “failed to free the San from the vitrine effect” in that it was unable to draw attention to the “anomalous relationship” between itself and exhibitions of “privilege and traumatic-institutional power over the San” (2014:477). In effect, *Miscast* had “managed to leave everything as it had found it” (ibid).

After Miscast

A year after *Miscast*, in his speech on Heritage Day at the inauguration of the Robben Island Museum, Mandela delivered a scathing critique of museums in the country (Dubin, 2009). Stating that redress had barely begun in the museum sector, he added, “[h]aving excluded and marginalised most of our people, is it surprising that our museums and national monuments are often seen as alien spaces?” (1997:np). He went on to say that (ibid):

Our cultural institutions cannot stand apart from our Constitution and our Bill of Rights. Within the context of our fight for a democratic South Africa and the entrenchment of Human Rights, can we afford exhibitions in our museums depicting any of our people as lesser human beings, sometimes in natural history museums usually reserved for the depiction of animals? Can we continue to tolerate our ancestors being shown as people locked in time?

While some museum personnel found Mandela’s criticism to be “timely and on target”, others felt that his comments pandered to the masses while debate and transformation had been taking place in the museum space for some time prior to the democratic elections (Dubin, 2009:3). The late 1980s saw the beginnings of earnest discussion towards a radically new democratised heritage landscape in South Africa. Declared the Year of the Charter, 1980 marked the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter (1955). The rest of the decade was a time of mounting opposition against the apartheid government. Both external and internal pressures forced reforms which, instead of quelling the growing unrest, gave further impetus to resistance movements (cf. Clark 2011; Deegan 2011). According to Rassool (2010) the field of social history in South Africa in the 1980s was subject to the rise of democratic inclusions of ‘history from below’ and oral testimony of ordinary people as an emerging counter-narrative to domination, power and subjugation. This was an approach to

resistance founded upon ordinary experience, eliciting previously unwritten underclass experiences to challenge “hegemonic interpretations of the past” (2010:82).

In 1987 John Kinard, director of the Anacostia Neighbourhood Museum in Washington, gave an address at an annual conference of the Southern African Museums Association held in Pietermaritzburg. Kinard encouraged museums to broaden their narrow cultural focus and become vehicles of social change. He slated South African museologists for knowing “less about African people than... about African animals” (cited in Dubin, 2009:3). Kinard’s challenging critique was met with opposition from Eugene Louw, administrator of the Cape Province (1979–1989), who condemned Kinard from the podium and threatened the possible stoppage of government funding as a result of further harangues from invited speakers. In defiance “more than 70 of the 200 delegates walked out on the official” (ibid). Transformation in the heritage sector has been a long-worn topic of debate and praxis. Transformation in this regard refers to “undermining those exclusive social structures, and the myopic modes of thought and behaviour, which were spawned in an earlier era... [b]y design, transformation entails constructing new ways of thinking and doing and understanding” (2009:6).

Processes of democratisation have played a major role in transforming dominant conceptualisations of heritage. “History from below” (Urry, 1990:121) became a significant concern of left historians who sought out the expansion of heritage in alternative histories to that of the upper classes (cf. Samuel, 1994). Through these processes “[i]t thus became more acceptable for ‘heritage’ to mean the past of the working as well as the upper classes” (Littler, 2005:3). Shortly after South Africa’s first democratic elections in 1994 these discussions intensified in the public sphere and manifested in a “surge of conferences and workshops, articles in newspapers, magazines and academic journals” (Marschall, 2010:22). This was part of a larger revival and promotion of indigenous heritage and history occurring in the country at the time (Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

The National Legacy Project, adopted in 1997, was significant to the change of perspective. The project comprised of nine high-priority heritage development projects, of which a Khoes-San heritage route (predominantly in the Western Cape) was one (Marschall, 2010). The purpose of the Legacy Project was to address the influx of requests from individuals and

organisations for recognition of the heritage of previously marginalised groups and groups involved in the country's liberation struggle. It was also born out of the need to re-interpret existing heritage sites, memorials and monuments in terms of their associated historical narratives (Marschall, 2010). The Portfolio of Legacy Projects discussion document (1997) acknowledged the country's San heritage as a significant non-renewable resource. The selection of a rock art site for development was proposed and emphasis made to the necessary practical and material repatriation required, since San peoples are "the most neglected section of the country's population, who have furthermore been stereotyped and caricatured, their culture cast as frozen in time" (Marshall, 2010:198). Marschall notes that more than a decade later the Khoe-San project is the only one of the nine components of the National Legacy Project "not yet implemented or near completion" (ibid). A primary reason for this delay is "the fraught issue of community consultation and the difficulties in defining who can legitimately claim to represent the Khoe-San [sic]" (ibid). Heritage, belonging and tenuous group identities all collide in the maelstrom over material benefits. Consensus could not be reached regarding how Khoe-San heritage should be represented and as Marschall observes: "[u]ltimately, the stakeholders in the Khoe-San project were far less powerful than the stakeholders in any of the other components of the Legacy Project, and therefore unable to ensure a swift materialisation of 'their' project" (2010:198). This setback was a reflection of "existing demographic trends and power relations in the new democratic order" (ibid).

A similar reflection of power relations in the new order is that of the controversial undertaking, in recent years, to rename places and streets. This highlights a move to reclaim spaces of political struggle in both the physical area as well as the sphere of political dialogue. This kind of eraser is not new in world history; following the collapse of communism in the early 1990s, the new governments of Eastern Europe renamed streets and demolished certain monuments in an effort to veil or expunge the communist past (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Returning to the South African context, prevailing power relations are evident in the under-representation of women's contributions in national and local heritage commemoration (Marschall 2010; Coombes 2004) where, created under the weight of patriarchal and racialised narratives of history, what representations there are prove problematic (Marschall 2010; Cloete 1992). The proposed inclusion of the Sara Baartman Memorial to the Legacy Project is an example. Baartman's remains—returned from the Musée de l'Homme—were interned at Hankey in the Eastern Cape. Conventional

memorialisation in South Africa often includes a life-size bronze statue. This would be controversial in terms of the historic misuse of Baartman's body (Marschall, 2010). Construction of the Saartjie Baartman Centre of Remembrance is currently underway.

The call for the return of Baartman's remains was symbolically linked, appropriated and engaged with issues of Khoe-San and Coloured ethnic nationalisms as well as a national preoccupation with burial and return (Robins, 1998). Baartman's funeral was scheduled for August 9th 2002, the date coincided with the International Day for Indigenous Peoples and National Women's Day—commemorating the 1956 event “when an estimated 20,000 women marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to specifically protest extension of the despised pass laws to women, and to condemn gender oppression more generally” (Dubin, 2009:105). Steven Robins states that the appropriation and reclamation of the Khoe-San female body reveals the “symbolic potency of links between the corporeal body and the body politic” (1998:131). This reiterates the controversy of *Miscast* and the SAM diorama.

Post-apartheid South Africa has based its foundational myth on the anti-apartheid movement. The country's public cultural memory is primarily constituted by apartheid, colonial and resistance memories which form the basis of broaching questions such as ‘who are we?’ and ‘from where do we come?’ (Marschall, 2005). The concept of the ‘foundation myth’ “is linked to the notion that every story has a beginning” (2005:2). So deeply engrained is this idea in our individual and communal consciousness that it is “imported unnoticed into memory and practices of commemoration” (ibid; Lambek & Antze 1996). The individual and nation are thus similarly in search of a foundational moment, a root of narrative from which to derive meaning. In September of 2013 acting Cabinet spokesperson Phumla Williams announced a call from Cabinet for “all South Africans to commemorate our history and celebrate our diverse cultures during Heritage Month” (South African Government News Agency, 2013:np). Citizens were encouraged to visit heritage sites to “reflect on the journey the country has travelled since 1994” (ibid). In that same month, as part of the ‘20 Years of Freedom’ campaign, in partnership with Lead SA and Proudly South African, government launched ‘Freedom Fridays’, a campaign encouraging “people to wear anything that makes them feel South African each Friday” (ibid). Williams stated that the campaign would provide South Africans with a platform to “cherish our hard-fought freedom to ensure that future generations are able to benefit from our developmental democracy” (ibid). The above

is an illustration of post-apartheid South Africa's national heritage narrative, what Hall calls 'the Heritage', an "embodiment of the spirit of the nation..." a collective representation of tradition and a concept pivotal to the lexicon of the nation's virtue (2005:24).

At the 2010 Heritage in Tourism seminars, hosted by DEAT, the disrepair of various heritage monuments in and around the city of Kimberley was discussed. Discussion participants included members of the public and local tour guides who expressed frustration at the lack of concern from local government pertaining to the destruction,⁴⁹ vandalism and degradation of war memorials and monuments in and around the city. Many participants expressed the belief that this lack of concern was due to the fact that these monuments were commemorative of Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) history and therefore markers of a racialised past that the current administration had little intention of memorialising. It should be mentioned that vandalism and degradation has also affected monuments, gravesites and heritage sites in honour of liberation heroes. Examples of this include the vandalism of Pan-Africanist hero Robert Sobukwe's grave⁵⁰ in Graaff-Reinet and the degradation of the Craddock Four Memorial just outside Craddock (cf. Mkokeli 2001; www.heritageportal.co.za). While the comments of the discussion participants were speculative it is certainly true that "one person's landmark may be an object of... hostility to another" (Tunbridge, 1984:171); furthermore, the process of nation building is often "as much about forgetting the past as commemorating it" (Graham, 2000:77). Practising disavowal of certain histories, however, may be viewed as a contravention of the nationally prescribed view of heritage as a unique and valuable resource with the potential for nation building via education (NHRA Preamble, 1999). Heritage is said to have the capacity to facilitate healing, materially and symbolically, encouraging us to empathise with the experiences of others and shaping our national character (ibid). The celebration of heritage, in this regard, is significant in defining and not neglecting cultural identity.

The election to exclude some aspects of the past is the work of a deliberate forgetting by entire societies, constitutive of a collective amnesia (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). This forgetting is often due to the embarrassing or uncomfortable nature of that history and the exclusion is

⁴⁹ Participants described one site which was destroyed piece by piece by community members from a local settlement who removed materials for their own building needs (Fieldnotes, September 2010).

⁵⁰ Sobukwe's gravesite has since been repaired and cleaned. A monument has been set up at the site and the grave is now a declared heritage site (cf. Daily Dispatch, 2014).

frequently racialised. This is an act of “disinheritance” whereby certain groups of people (social or ethnic) are written out of history (Ashworth, 1995). Worldwide, many diverse heritages have been excluded from conservation, representation and interpretation (cf. Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Robinson 1999; Powell 1997; Graham 1996; Boniface & Fowler 1993; Leong 1989). In the United States, for example, until fairly recently, the African presence and the history of the slave trade was deemphasised, but with changing structures of power and pressure from African-American groups, African/slave-related heritage now features more prominently (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Great Britain also has an African/slave history which remains understated. In Nazi Germany, thousands of museums were built “to reinforce the myth of the super-race” (2003:262). That history has now been re-written. Likewise, South Africa’s own history is being rewritten.

Rock art heritage sites in South Africa

Shifting perceptions of rock art and San peoples in South Africa and its effects on interpretation and presentation makes evident the constructedness of heritage. In relation to the above, the discussion of rock art heritage sites below offers a contextualisation to the Wildebeest Kuil case study. The sites under discussion here, namely the Didima Rock Art Centre, Game Pass Shelter, and Main Caves at Giant’s Castle, are all situated within the 242,813 hectare uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park, one of 23 designated World Heritage Sites declared as such in November 2000 for its cultural and natural significance. Together with Lesotho’s Sehlathebe National Park the site makes up the trans-boundary Maloti-Drakensberg Park. UNESCO has lauded the site for “its spectacular natural landscape, importance as a haven for many threatened and endemic species, and for its wealth of rock paintings made by the San people over a period of 4000 years” (whc.unesco.org). The Park contains numerous caves and rock-shelters “with the largest and most concentrated group of paintings in Africa south of the Sahara” (ibid).

Didima Rock Art Centre

Situated in Cathedral Peak and adjacent to a camp named after a nearby gorge (Ndedema), the Didima Rock Art Centre is one of three rock art tourism centres in the country. It is the product of the collaborative efforts of Amafa, Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife (Natal Parks Board), the Wits Rock Art Institute, and archaeologists from the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg

(Storey, 2006). Funding was made available largely from the KwaZulu-Natal local government, with generous donations through the KZN Conservation Trust and from the National Lottery, Anglo American, De Beers and First Rand (Storey 2006; Hughes 2004). The Ndedema Gorge holds the most painted sites in the uKhahlamba Drakensberg (Storey, 2006). The rock art centre consists of friezes, displays, a preview area, and an auditorium—a replica of a regional sandstone cave. Artefacts, text and photographs constitute the interpretive elements. The auditorium makes use of audio-visual elements in the form of edutainment, disclosing the significance of the eland to the San of the region. Ndlovu describes the audio-visual presentation as “inspiring, provocative, highly creative and educational” (2012:284). Located within a luxury camp featuring a conference and function centre, Didima has possibly the best positioning of the three “rurally based” rock art centres (2012:287).

Amanda Storey (2006) conducted a critical evaluation of the intersections of tourism, heritage conservation, and visual communication at Didima, with a focus on the methods of display at the Centre in an attempt to evaluate the efficacy of its strategy to promote the conservation of rock art via education. The analysis of the display media included a critical evaluation of “the interpretive data, photographs, objects and artifacts [sic], the transcribed rock art panel, the audiovisual [sic] presentation, and simulated cave environment” (2006:64). Storey describes the setting up of the Didima Centre as a result of a national concern over the plight of rock art (due to ignorance and misconception on the part of visitors to rock art sites). As such, education and the fostering of appreciation are a central aim of the Centre. Centres such as Didima play a role in educating the public about the archaeological and heritage value of such sites, fostering respect, and (potentially) re-presenting the makers of the rock art in ways that rectify misconceptions and debunk prevailing stereotype. Further, costly on-site management requirements may be reduced by the public’s newfound knowledge and appreciation of such sites (Storey, 2006).

While the San of this region have been absorbed into other cultural groups, in the recent past (coterminous with the rise of indigenous rights) there has been a resurgence of groups, such as the Duma⁵¹ (Abatwa) from the Kamberg region, claiming San ancestry (cf. Prins 2000;

⁵¹ The Duma live in Mpofana adjacent to the reserve, having been relocated in 1990 when the then Natal Parks Board expropriated the Game Pass farm (Francis 2007; Storey 2006).

Francis 2007). Members of the Duma family were involved in the construction of the artificial sandstone shelter at Didima and have assisted researchers seeking ethnographic knowledge of San descendants in the region. The presence of contemporary San descendants proved critical to interpretive efforts at Didima. While nostalgia is evident in the displays, there was need for an interpretation that would satisfy visitor experience while “remaining sensitive to the interpretation and presentation of the cultural heritage of the Southern San in the ethnographic present” (Storey, 2006:28). The study found that Didima negates a pan-San representation, focussing rather on the San of the Drakensberg, and drawing on the significance of the eland for that particular grouping. The overall representation of these southern San “was productive in encapsulating [their] material culture and customs” (2006:65). The research reiterated that “issues regarding visual communication, such as perceptions created by the means of visual media for the public have a strong influence on tourism and heritage communication” (2006:64).

Didima’s success in this regard lies in its localised heritage offering and subsequent challenge of a pan-San stereotypical archetype. As an interpretive centre for the rock art in the surrounding area people are encouraged to visit the Centre for a comprehensive ‘feel’ of the nearby art without the typical endangering human traffic on vulnerable sites. This is a further success of the site. Interpretive centres of this nature thus assist in the preservation/conservation of non-renewable heritage resources while also promoting and becoming an active part of tourism in the region. Because of an increased threat to rock art, centres such as Didima may be prototypical for future sites.

With reference to community engagement with rock art sites, Ndlovu argues that “[t]he emergence of people claiming San descent in the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg has had an impact on the presentation of rock art” leading to tension between the ‘physical’ and ‘spiritual’ management of sites (2012:285). Ndlovu believes South African heritage legislation and heritage management principles to be Eurocentric in their physical conservation focus, posing a challenge to the spiritual management of sites. There have been conflicts between the Duma family and Amafa, for example, over the use of rock art sites for continued practise of rituals. Within the non-Western philosophy of cyclical time what was before will be again and remains available to those in the present, thus a person in the present may converse with long-death ancestors. Rock paintings may be painted over to retain their

spiritual potency and libations may be poured over ancient engravings (cf. Mowaljarlai & Watchman 1989; Mowaljarlai & Peck 1987). According to Ndlovu, the problems caused by these ideological differences may be “successfully addressed by the transformation of the heritage management sector” which includes a “more representative social profile amongst the management authorities” (2012:287). Ndlovu believes that a shared cultural background between those in management and local communities will better aid the balance necessary between conservation and continued use. He does not, however, address the fact that it is not always possible for management and communities to have a shared cultural background. Moreover, a shared background will not necessarily guarantee critically balanced action on the part of those in heritage management.

Ndlovu recounts a time when as the manager of Didima, he received complaints from San descendants who challenged the fact that no funds were allocated to their organisation “to enable them to have more extensive social responsibility programmes” (2012:286). Ndlovu’s opinion was that “they should be pleased with the respect given to their rich heritage in such centres and by the rewriting of the history books of the country” (ibid). He went on to say that “this is more appropriate than keeping the San in ‘human zoos’ to perform and have photographs taken by tourists” (ibid). Nevertheless, the question remains regarding direct beneficiation accrued from sites such as Didima to San descendants. It is further compounded by the impossibility of identifying a select grouping or community to which these benefits (monetary or other) may be made available.

Game Pass Shelter

The uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park’s World Heritage Site Status has increased tourism in the area which in turn has “increased the relevance of the area for the local communities, and hence their claims and contestation with management” (Ndlovu, 2005:np). Wildebeest Kuil was developed “in tandem with the Game Pass project” and sustainability at both sites has proved challenging (Morris, 2014:3; cf. Duval & Smith 2012). Situated above the Kamberg camp, Game Pass Shelter is a major rock art site (with a visitor facility) under the protection of Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife. While the dominant interpretation of rock art purports the essential spiritual and religious nature of the art, Ndlovu (2012, 2005) argues that contemporary San descendants and local communities are contradictorily disallowed access to these sites for the purpose of ritual practice. Under the World Heritage status of the site,

international standards of heritage management are to be followed in the process of site administration. Ndlovu implies that these standards are paternalistic and parochial, arguing that the ‘physical’ management of the site is in contradiction to its ‘spiritual’ appreciation. Moreover, local indigenous communities are not included in the management implementation. Ndlovu condemns the fact that while tourists are left unsupervised at these sites—able to litter, uproot protected flora, vandalise rock art, or unintentionally harm a site—the Duma seeking to perform a ceremony⁵² at Game Pass Shelter had to be supervised. In his earlier research, however, Ndlovu (2005) states that visitor access to the shelter is allowed with a trained community guide and that the site is regularly monitored.

While Ndlovu’s criticism is valid, he does not address the possible ways in which such rituals may harm a site. In the activities of certain rituals concerning the use of blood, beer, the fat of animals, and burning of incense, for example, at or near the rock face, there is concern regarding the possible damage to rock paintings. Michael Francis (2007) interviewed Duma respondents who expressed dissatisfaction at having to be supervised at their Eland ceremony, saying that they understood the importance of the rock art and would do nothing to harm the paintings. The Duma, though they are traditional healers, do not scrape off the paint as other healers have done. I have discussed this elsewhere:

Later Francis mentioned that the Abatwa [Duma] wished to be able to use certain rock art sites for the continuation of their rituals, hoping to be allowed to paint on the rock face (Personal communication, May 2009). This again shows a difference of opinion concerning the rock art. It displays a different paradigm that favours continuation and re-articulation of cultural objects over preservation of those objects. In the case of the Abatwa, however, this is not plainly so; while they do propose preservation they believe that it does not obviate the use of the site. It would be interesting to consider the impact on tourists had they to witness the remains of fresh eland meat, blood, traditional beer and money at these rock art sites. Does this kind of thing desecrate the site or does it display a continuation of culture and a renewal of the significance of the site? The answer to such questions depends, again, on the paradigm from which one responds. (Barnabas, 2009:89–90)

⁵² Francis describes the Duma’s newly created Eland Ceremony as a synthesis of “an imagined past with an idealised image of themselves as they seek their position in the new South Africa” (2007:132).

The concern to physically preserve a site and the desire to re-use and re-articulate cultural sites seem ill-disposed to compromise. Nevertheless, the quote above illustrates the slippery nature of preservation. There seems to be contending philosophies at play, that of the preservation of culture through the use of cultural objects and that of strict physical preservation of those objects. Could there ever be a marriage of these contending philosophies? At best their compromise may be ill-fitting but necessary, at worst it may be a constant jostling for the upper hand.

Giant's Castle, Main Caves

Main Caves at Giant's Castle is the primary stop for general visitors and educational groups. While the interpretive facilities have since been upgraded, the earlier installations have been harshly criticised. The podiums presenting written text were said to inhabit the same visual space as the rock art, vying for the attention of visitors instead of facilitating their viewing of the art (Blundell, 1996). The interpretive facility has been criticised for providing poor and outdated information along with a diorama that likewise vies for attention and presents a stereotypical image of 'Sanness'. Casts of San people set in staged degrees of action re-affirm a historic 'casting' of San peoples for the purpose of entertainment and physical anthropology. Moreover, these casts have been criticised for possibly creating false responses in the visitor regarding authenticity of 'The San'. The diorama has undergone some changes over the years, the addition of clothing, for example, indicates contact with black agriculturalists. This change highlights a critical application of representation by site management in terms of Khoe-San histories.

While representation of San groups as indigenous hosts at cultural tourism ventures has been well documented, it remains a concern at Wildebeest Kuil because of the auratic influence of the museum space on the perceptions of visitors. Unlike the work of art, the aura of the museum has not been lost. As such it is imperative that the responsibility for informative museum interpretation be coupled together with culturally sensitive practice. The same is true for cultural tourism ventures such as those described above. The concern of any diorama is that it de-activates a continuous history, asserting a 'frozen-in-timeness'. When such a diorama also reinforces archetypal tropes of the indigenous, they are relegated to a state of pastness which has a bearing on the ability of living descendants to articulate themselves as part of contemporary society. In conversation with non-academics about the nature of my

research, people who have been to sites such as Giant's Castle and/or been influenced by film and television offerings on San peoples have often regurgitated information abounding with stereotypes and outdated modes of thought. Very often these remarks are entrenched in a clear demarcation between 'Us' and 'Them'. It is the responsibility of modern-day museums and interpretive centres to undo these damaging tropes.

Summary

To a large extent heritage includes the selective use of the past for contemporary means. For a long time the dominant view of heritage and cultural heritage in particular in Africa has been Eurocentric. South Africa's own colonial and apartheid past has played a role in shaping its heritage sector. Together with the country's first democratic elections came a wave of social and legislative changes in which attempts have been made to write the previously excluded back into history. Public heritage and history has been reconstituted in terms of amelioration of the country's past. Museums, interpretive centres, and declared heritage sites play a significant role in this reconstitution. As indigenous groups worldwide have claimed increased agency in recent decades it has become the task of museums to employ community-based museology such that the once scorned indigenous perspective is now crucial to the interpretive process. Nevertheless, because of its inextricable link to history, heritage is often fraught with socio-political tensions. Issues arising in the intersection of heritage, tourism and museology will be explored in the following chapters in relation to on-the-ground activities at Wildebeest Kuil. The next chapter focuses on interpretation, presentation, custodianship and broader challenges on the site.

Chapter Four

Interpretation, presentation, custodianship and preservation: challenges at Wildebeest Kuil

This chapter offers a critical overview of challenges and concerns at Wildebeest Kuil as they relate to broad themes of heritage interpretation and presentation, preservation, and custodianship. The chapter begins with an analysis of the interpretive tools used at WBK, namely the outdoor stations, tour guides, the introductory film, and panels (of text and photographs). Critique applied to the introductory film and panels of the 31 Battalion exhibition in particular brings to light ways in which heritage-making at Wildebeest Kuil vacillates between the democratised and the parochial. The chapter then turns to a discussion of micro-level challenges at Wildebeest Kuil, indicating ways in which heritage-making is challenged by concerns such as vandalism, theft, and top-down processes of decision-making which may have further widened the gap between community ownership of the site and partnership in the heritage-making process.

Interpretation and presentation at Wildebeest Kuil

Initial attempts at interpretation and presentation at Wildebeest Kuil included largely generalised representations of San peoples (Morris, interview, May 2013). Since there was a lack of photo-documentation of Khoe-San peoples of this area, photographs which showcased San groups from Botswana were borrowed from the Duggin Cronin Museum⁵³ in Kimberley for exhibition at Wildebeest Kuil. Interestingly, possible descendants of the makers of the rock art may have been found as close as Roodepan, Barkley West and surrounds (Morris 2014, 2012). Funding made available from the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism for the setup of the interpretive centre was contingent on the involvement of a host community. By that time the !Xun and Khwe, while still living in Schmidtsdrift, had acquired the land. It was unlikely that descendants of the makers of the rock art would be found in the 12 months stipulated to bring the project to completion. It was equally unlikely that such

⁵³ The Duggin-Cronin collection includes photographs taken in the 1930s of San peoples in Botswana.

descendants—if at all traceable—would constitute a ‘community’ as was required in terms of the funding. The !Xun and Khwe, part of a larger San genealogy, were identified by the McGregor Museum as the ‘group’ that would be linked to the site as a host community. Their already constituted group structures and established leadership made for a swift communication process as well as less complication in terms of representation. Archaeologist and curator at Wildebeest Kuil, David Morris, reiterates that the process of finding and representing a host community had the ‘true’ descendants been sought would have been complex and possibly so large that it would have stalled the opening of the site (Interview, May 2013; Morris 2014). In addition, without a specific group of people and no central leadership, representation would have been a nearly impossible task (Morris 2014, 2012). The following sections explore interpretation and presentation on-site.

The display room and outdoor stations

The Duggin-Cronin photographs encouraged a homogenising perspective in which the histories, traditions and beliefs of divergent groups were conflated into a single caricature of Sanness. Perceiving the gross inaccuracies of such a display, the McGregor Museum had these photographs removed (Morris, interview, May 2013). At present the first display room includes vitrines filled with Stone Age tools and nineteenth-century archaeological finds from the immediate surrounds. The walls of this room are covered in a photographic timeline, beginning with pictures and information blurbs on Stone Age San, and leading to a modern history of the !Xun and Khwe with further site-specific introductory comments. Morris admits that there lacks a historical connection made between the items exhibited in the cases and the rock art history of the site (Personal communication, 9 July 2008). Lindsay Weiss describes this as ‘provocative’ and implies that this lack of authorial connectivity, or a grand narrative, allows for considerations “in a meta-historical sense, rather than something that occurred as a series of events in one place” (2012:223). Chapter Six takes this up in a discussion concerning genealogies of power in relation to history-making and multivocality.

Interacting, converging, or related only by their having taken place at the site, parallel histories at Wildebeest Kuil are not easily ordered for museological consumption. Nevertheless, an attempt is made on the site tour to introduce visitors to these histories via their inclusion in the stations set up on-site. Each of the 10 stations has an information board which describes that particular section and its significance. Station two, for example,

describes the ash-heap and rubbish midden as archaeological remains of twentieth-century farm-worker life, thought to be descendants of the “last independent San and Khoekhoe people of this region” (Morris & Blundell, 2004:5). Station three describes the remains of stone kraals (enclosures) built in the colonial era, believed to be constructed by the first settler farmers in the area. These stations are significant in that they incorporate historic information of San descendants and other settlers in the area, providing visitors with broader knowledge of the site and its various inhabitants.

Commentary along the path at Wildebeest Kuil concludes with a stop at an unassuming stone memorial to a nineteenth-century Khoe-San resistance leader who fought against colonial encroachment. Missionary testimonials refer to ‘Kousop’ and those he led as “possibly, the last independent Khoe-San occupants of the Wildebeest Kuil hill” (Morris, 2012:236). Morris notes that a reference to a named individual from this era (“the terminal later Stone Age in South Africa”) is rare (ibid). Visitors learn that Kousop and 130 of his followers were eventually killed in a counter-attack along the banks of the nearby Vaal River in 1858. Morris states that, “[t]he story of Kousop brings visitors, at the end of their walk, face to face with the conflict of the colonial era and the closure of the frontier that followed swiftly upon the discovery of diamonds around 1870” (2012:236). The above is a testament to Wildebeest Kuil’s attempt at multivocality.

Wildebeest Kuil initially included audio tours of the stations. Visitors would be given an audio device and would listen to a narration put together by archaeologists Morris and Geoff Blundell (2004) as they walked the site. Audio tours are a form of non-personal media used in heritage tourism. Since they are self-guided, the most beneficial aspect of audio tours is the fact that visitors can take in the heritage at their own pace, re-playing or skipping over information as they desire (Timothy 2011; Light 1995). Multi-lingual audio tours are especially beneficial if a site frequently receives foreign visitors (Light, 1995). Of course, the obvious disadvantage is that questions cannot be answered and supplementary information cannot be acquired on the spot. The audio tours were stopped when it was found that some of the rocks were vandalised and some visitors complained that they had questions that could not be answered by the recordings. Moreover, some visitors had tampered with the recordings and taped their own voices over the narration. The cost to replace batteries for the recorders also proved excessive.

Tour guides, a modern and personal interpretive tool (Timothy, 2011), were then employed (initially from Platfontein) and trained. Not only could they field questions but they could monitor visitors on-site. Guided tours are best suited to the dissemination of a great deal of information. The guide is able to enter into deeper discussion about certain topics that may be of more interest to visitors. More than a source of information, the tour guide is a knowledge producer and an “essential interface between the host destination and its visitors” (Ap & Wong, 2001:551). Depths of knowledge, previous experience and personality of the guide all have a great impact on the visitor (Timothy, 2011). Batista Salvadore, an early tour guide at Wildebeest Kuil, was said to be informative and entertaining.⁵⁴ Not only did he inform visitors about the histories of the site but he also wove in stories of San peoples framed within his own identity as San (Wilson & Ndebele, interview, March 2011).

Guides at Wildebeest Kuil at the time of research (2010–2014), Bafana Ndebele and Petrus Wilson, while not claiming San descent, did their best to interlace such narratives. As mentioned, Ndebele and Wilson both have in-depth knowledge of the site and its histories. They also have a friendly manner and field questions well. I was able to watch both these men act as guides to the students from CCMS who participated in the annual Rethinking Indigeneity research trips.⁵⁵ On several of these occasions I noted how Wilson and Ndebele used anecdotes about their experiences with previous visitors to challenge prevailing stereotypes about San peoples. Once Wilson noted that both South African and foreign visitors have claimed that the !Xun and Khwe do not look like “Bushmen” (Fieldnotes, September 2012). They claim that these people are too tall and too dark in complexion (ibid).⁵⁶ He later said that such comments are often heard from uninformed visitors while the majority of visitors (be they academics or rock art enthusiasts) are generally informed regarding the politics of San representations (ibid). In an interview in 2011, Ndebele (a isiXhosa speaker) observed that there are often Setswana-speaking learners in the school groups that arrive annually at Wildebeest Kuil (Interview, July 2011). Wilson, who is able to speak Setswana, will often translate and simplify difficult archaeological concepts for these learners (ibid). Setswana is the second most frequently spoken home language in the Northern Cape followed by isiXhosa, while Afrikaans is the most dominant language spoken

⁵⁴ Salvadore has since passed away.

⁵⁵ Due to low visitor numbers at Wildebeest Kuil, I rarely experienced being at the site at the same time as other visitors. I therefore experienced the guides on site via our research cohort as a ‘tour group’.

⁵⁶ The Khwe are taller and darker in complexion than the !Xun.

in the province (Statistics South Africa, 2006). The mother-tongue conveyance of knowledge about the site and its associated histories is immensely significant not only for the learners' education but for the future of heritage conservation.

The stories (or alternative narratives) told by Wilson and Ndebele add another layer of meaning and further nuance to the official site guide narrative. In taking visitors along a pre-determined trail the official site narrative provides the conceptual pre-determined pathway. The addition of personalised anecdotes are a way to take visitors 'off the beaten track' into tangential mind-paths. While representing and making connections between parallel mind-paths and histories endeavours toward the creation of a holistic perspective of the site, care is taken at Wildebeest Kuil that such 'connections' do not conflate these histories into one. The introductory film is one such example.

Filmic presentation at Wildebeest Kuil

Visitors to Wildebeest Kuil are encouraged to watch a short film (in the modest auditorium) which serves as an introduction to the rock engraving site and documents a history of the two groups at Platfontein. The film includes perspectives, both indigenous and academic, on the rock art, its makers, and aspects of San cosmology. It conveys a sense of wonder, mystery, and the importance of the art without compromising scholarship (cf. Taçon, 2012). Paul Taçon states that film has an advantage in communicating "[t]he dynamic nature of rock art imagery, production, study and interpretation" since this is best done in "non-static ways" (2012:213). It is in this introductory film that the !Xun and Khwe are described as the hosts at Wildebeest Kuil (*Wildebeest Kuil*, 2001). Morris describes the film as having evolved through a number of discussions and consultations with archaeologists and historians; articulating a concern that the project not conflate San histories into one as past popularised filmic attempts have done (Interview, May 2013).

The film works to challenge long-held perceptions in a number of ways. It begins with the image of silhouetted figures carefully moving across a rocky terrain (presumably that of Wildebeest Kuil) against a clear night sky. Accompanied by ambient music, the representation is one of romance and mystery. The scene changes with an introductory voice-over that states, "[b]efore man walked on Wildebeest Kuil there was fire" (*Wildebeest Kuil*, 2001). The romantic imagery is interrupted by that of molten lava spewing out of the earth. A

musical change (now with a Baroque sound) augments the dramatic imagery. This is followed by an aerial panning of modern-day Wildebeest Kuil and the Schmidtsdrift tented camp. The narrator announces that “[t]his is the story of Wildebeest Kuil and the San people who own it” (*Wildebeest Kuil*, 2001). Cross-cutting is a filmic technique used here to show the relationship between different sets of actions, events, and people as they converge at Wildebeest Kuil (cf. Weiss, 2012). Weiss describes the auditorium as eliciting “reflexivity regarding the narrative form in the presentation of history” (2012:224). The use of montage to juxtapose different historical trajectories as they intersect on-site affords visitors an opportunity to “extrapolate from the present complexities of modernity to those same complexities as they continue to inhabit the rock art site throughout time” (ibid). While the narrative form may not altogether resolve the seemingly incongruous histories and epistemological concerns converging at Wildebeest Kuil, it stirs a reception to “elicitations of the oftentimes perplexing heterogeneity of all the site’s genealogies” (2012:225).

Interviewees look off camera in conversation with the unseen interviewer. Their names appear on-screen and a voice-over provides an English translation for San interviewees. Extreme close-ups (full face) are used for !Xun and Khwe community members while the community leadership, archaeologists, historians, linguists, geologists, and others are framed in medium-shots (head and chest). Close-up shots, where the subject framed by the camera fills the screen, strongly suggest intimacy, “of having access to the mind or thought processes (including the subconscious) of the character” (Hayward, 2013:332). These shots stress the importance of the subject, placing them central to the film’s narrative (ibid). The close-up shots of San respondents in the *Wildebeest Kuil* introductory film is symbolic of their central place in the direction of the film’s narrative and the overall narrative of the site, intimating that it is with these ordinary community members that the most poignant narratives lie.

Community leaders are shown seated with the tented camp in the background, connoting a sense of distance between themselves and the community at large. This is in contrast to ordinary community members who (external to the interview) are shown to be seated within the tented camp in their daily living areas. Intimacy is thus solely afforded to ‘ordinary’ !Xun and Khwe community members while their leaders are shot in ways similar to that of the academics and other non-community interviewees. Medium-shots, where the subjects are shot from the waist or knees up, include sufficient distance such that the subject is viewed in

relation to their surrounds. The academics interviewed are depicted on-site at Wildebeest Kuil or similarly out-of-doors, while others are shown at their work desks or within a research facility (the Wits Rock Art Centre). In general, interviews are conducted in the outdoors. The open air is a trope inter-woven within the abiding narrative of San peoples as spiritually connected to the natural landscape. Academics in the film symbolically point to places where meaning is made; the natural landscape giving source to ancient knowledge.

Other filmic techniques include the use of sepia and black and white filters for scenes depicting historic San peoples. A sepia filter, for example, is used in a scene where a lone hunter walks through the veldt dressed in skins. Alternating black and white and sepia filters are used in depictions of !Xun and Khwe in the military camps of Namibia. These images are grainy—possibly due to the age of the film reels from which they were sourced yet simultaneously symbolic of the pastness of their representations. This is especially so in contrast to the bright and colourful shots of contemporary San peoples.

The first person on-screen is a San woman, Baita Dumba, who begins a discussion of the transition from ancestral worship to Christian monotheism. Religion is thus the first (and abiding) theme discussed. Comments from various community members include a positive acceptance of the Christian God; a disavowal of “the San god”; disappointment at this disavowal; and ambivalence (*Wildebeest Kuil*, 2001). The film discusses ancient San religious beliefs and how these relate to the rock art and contemporary customs of the !Xun and Khwe (by describing the art as essentially religious, archaeologist Janette Deacon validates the Shamanism theory discussed in Chapter Three). Shifting perceptions of rock art are addressed in relation to specific examples of images at Wildebeest Kuil. Morris draws the viewer’s attention to the image of an incomplete rhinoceros (ibid). He notes that it was initially believed that this was an unfinished image but it is now considered to have been purposefully half-etched. Stemming from the Shamanism theory, this perspective holds that the rhinoceros seems to emerge out of the rock, symbolic of it inhabiting both the spiritual and material worlds. In contrast to generalised, child-like, primitivising representations of San peoples and their art, the film highlights the precision with which the engravings were

created.⁵⁷ Archaeologist Peter Beaumont, describes San artists as “Van Goghs... in the *koppies* [hills]” (ibid) illustrating the skill with which the engravings were created and portraying these cultural groups as complex and dynamic. Describing rock art sites as sacred, Jatti Bredekamp, a patron of Khoe-San heritage, emphasises the significance of sites such as Wildebeest Kuil in terms of heritage preservation (ibid).

While the film differentiates between the ancient makers of the rock art and the contemporary !Xun and Khwe now inhabiting the land, it maintains that echoes of the old ways are still manifest in these contemporary peoples, thus valorising their Sanness. This Sanness is significant in terms of their affinity to the rock art at Wildebeest Kuil and in terms of more political and social motivations regarding belonging and identity. One of the San men interviewed in the film says, “[t]his art was made by our grandparents’ parents. Yes they made it...” (*Wildebeest Kuil*, 2001). Another community member says, “...I’m always glad in my heart when I see the rock art at Wildebeest Kuil. But my spirit has questions. I ask, ‘Where are these people now? Are they still alive somewhere? Because when I look at this art I know in my soul that it was my people who made this’” (ibid). The above reflections suggest that the !Xun and Khwe “see in the art a link (as do other Khoe-San descendants in the region) to a broad Khoe-San cultural inheritance in Southern Africa” (Morris, 2004:3). Even so, the film advances an argument for diversity, reiterating that it is a common misconception to think of San peoples as a homogenous group.

Wildebeest Kuil (2001) highlights the need for a transition of perception. In the film historian John Wright warns against viewing contemporary San peoples as remnants of a romantic past, stating rather that they are a people part of modern history. The film goes on to discuss a transition of perception on both a personal and public level for the San to overcome entrenched stereotypes and myths about themselves. !Xun and Khwe community members describe their wish to contribute to and be part of contemporary society. In one scene, a woman, speaking in her native tongue, expresses the importance of learning to use a computer. Morris observes that this is a representation of a culture not “frozen (and flawed) in some imagined past, nor fixed in an essentialised expression of present-day ‘authenticity’, but 21st century people addressing 21st century issues” (2012:238). Their struggles and

⁵⁷ The pecking technique “is achieved either by direct vertical percussion, or by removing small chips at an angle to the surface using a punch of some kind. It is likely that sharp stones were again the preferred tools here” (Parkington *et al.* 2008:41).

challenges are not overlooked; their journey from the South African Defence Force (SADF) military bases is documented along with their time in Schmidtsdrift. The audience is made aware that this is not a group of San living in a primitive idyll but a contemporary people facing modern, real-world challenges.

The film ends with the same imagery with which it began—silhouetted figures carefully moving across a rocky terrain. A closer look reveals that the figures are wearing modern-day apparel; pants and sandals can be made out as the darkened figures walk across the rocks. This echoes the film's common trope, that contemporary San peoples are modern-day peoples and should not be locked into a state of romantic primitivism. The film ends positively, highlighting the community's hope for future development and their pride as the hosts at Wildebeest Kuil.⁵⁸ This kind of filmic representation is exemplar of progressive attitudinal changes in terms of representing the San (especially in light of nostalgic representations of San peoples as discussed in Chapter Three). Similarly progressive perspectives were not to be found in the recent military exhibition at the site.

The 31 Battalion Military Exhibition

On the 18th of May 2013 the exhibition opening of *Angola to Platfontein: !Xun and Khwe and 31 Bn [Battalion]* was held at Wildebeest Kuil. Over a hundred people were in attendance, many of whom were former members of the SADF, including some current army and naval personnel. San members of 31 Battalion were also present along with a small number of journalists. Extensions for this wing began in March 2012 with funding provided by the National Lottery. The McGregor Museum's conflict historian, Sunet Swanepoel, was responsible for putting together the exhibition. One time 31 Battalion Commanding Officer Scholtz van Wyk was instrumental in the inception phase of the project, further loaning the museum a few items of his personal collection for exhibition (Morris, interview, May 2013). The exhibition consists of wall panels with script and photographs depicting soldiers in pose, scenes from the military camps and paraphernalia such as flags and medals. One of the panels reads “[t]o assist the !Xun and Khwe in adjusting to their new environment, the military built a community centre, opened on 26 May 1992. It provided basic adult education as well as needlework and cookery classes. An art project was also started” (Swanepoel, 2013). The

⁵⁸ The film was made in a time when that hope was alive.

paternalism evident here persists throughout the exhibition and is pointedly emphasised in the final sentence of the last panel which reads: “[f]inally in December 2003 military vehicles brought the majority of the !Xun and Khwe to their newly-built homes at Platfontein” (ibid). The military vehicles, and not the !Xun and Khwe, are the subject of this sentence. The San are in fact the object upon which the act of ‘bringing’ is applied.

In its abandonment of sources (a tenet of heritage presentation), the information provided is conveyed as fact. The narrative thus becomes, not a particular version of history, but The History. This is in addition to the lack of voices of San soldiers and their dependents who had experienced life in the military camps and who are now living at Platfontein. In this disavowal, the treatment of the San as under the care and authority of the white military leadership is perpetuated. The San are narrativised as supporting cast members to the story of their white superiors and the exclusion of !Xun and Khwe voices and perspectives is critically evident. An aspect of this exclusion is the fact that, to garner their consent, copies of the information panels were sent to community leaders in English, a language in which they are not fully adept. Afrikaans copies were later put into booklet form for the community when the exhibition was ready to be launched. Under two-hundred booklets were made; some of these copies were also available at the opening ceremony (Fieldnotes, May 2013).

During a visit to the exhibition my colleague Julie Grant called my attention to a photograph of three children sitting in a field together with an SADF aeroplane in the distance (Fieldnotes, May 2013). The caption read, “Zelrine van Wky, daughter of Scholtz van Wyk, the last officer commanding 203 Bn, playing with San children oblivious to the momentous processes of re-settlement going on around them” (Swanepoel, 2013). The white child and her father are named, thus securing her identity, while the San children remain unknown and unknowable. They sit with their backs to the camera while the Van Wyk child faces the lens; they are secondary to her and, through their non-individual status and homogenous treatment, become representational of all San children at the army camps. This is in contrast to the exhibition’s title which foregrounds the !Xun and Khwe and suggests that the narrative is theirs. The exhibition is also largely fact-based with information easily gleaned from reference books; clearly absent are the personal stories of still-living San soldiers or their dependents who remember life in the military camps. This is antithetical to Freeman Tilden’s (1977) proposition of revelatory heritage interpretation (cf. Chapter Three) which underlines

that the interpretation should be more than merely factual but rather that it seek to reveal meaning and relationships particular to the history and culture on display.

The exhibition likewise ignores the experience of women in the camps, impacts of the moves across national borders, the effects of war on the community, and family life within the camps. David Robbins (2007, c. 2004) and Ian Uys (1993) have described some of the impacts of camp life on !Xun and Khwe women and families (cf. Chapter One). A cultural breach was beginning to develop between the soldiers and children on the one hand, and the women on the other (cf. Uys, 1993). While boys in the camp were learning “bush crafts” the girls were taught knitting and needlework marking the beginnings of the camp’s home industry (1993:47). At the Omega camp, while a few of the women were involved in the home industries, camp hospital and kitchen, the majority continued to live much as they had always done while their husbands and children were becoming increasingly ‘modernised’. Annatjie Boets, wife of the commanding officer at the time, said in an interview with Nico Roos, that the San “are an interesting nation. The woman is the leading person in the house. The men are very frightened of their women, unless they have some Dutch courage” (cited in Uys, 1993:111). Sergeant Sam Betteridge of 201 Battalion echoed this when he noted that:

The younger children are ahead, then the soldiers then the women. This has caused a problem as the woman is normally the head of the house. Now she finds that her child speaks Afrikaans and English, her husband has a rifle and drives a vehicle and she stays where she is. She feels that her status is being threatened. (cited in Uys, 1993:112)

This change in household hierarchy is evident in Platfontein today. Describing a meeting held with parents of the children responsible for a fire that caused extensive damage to Wildebeest Kuil’s rock art area and boardwalk in 2010 (discussed further in the chapter), Morris noted that the children, all younger than thirteen, do not attend school and are from single-parent households where they act as an interface with the outside world for their mothers who are illiterate and speak no Afrikaans (the language most widely spoken in the Northern Cape) or English (Interview, March 2011). The fathers were not present; according to his impressions at the meeting, Morris observed that they were “possibly not known” (ibid). In an act of neo-gathering some !Xun and Khwe women frequent the nearby city landfill in search of food and

clothing (cf. Dicks 2011; Soskolne, 2007). While food poisoning and sickness are a concern, these women feel they have no alternative to feed their hungry families. An argument could be made for this act as a show of agency, nevertheless, it is quickly annulled by the counterpoint that these women and the extended community express a sense of limited control of their lives; it is possible that “[t]hey have been conditioned for dependency on people they perceive as stronger” (Uys, 1993:11).

Once in Schmidtsdrift, the San became disillusioned with the military. They complained that the promise of housing was not fulfilled. They now had to make do with canvas tents while they had left timber dwellings back at Omega. As described in Chapter One, Anna Maria Mahongo, wife of !Xun community leader Reverend Mario Mahongo, had this to say:

The army told the minister to move because SWAPO [the South West African People’s Organisation] were going to kill us. We were shown videos and books on how SWAPO killed people. It is good that we were brought here as we are still alive, but I was not happy to leave my possessions and home behind. Now I have nothing but a tent and after I clean everything it soon becomes dusty and dirty again. (cited in Uys, 1993:250)

Thirteen years after the relocation to South Africa, Hennie Swart⁵⁹ was witness to a particularly unsettling exchange between community members:

I found some photographs that had been taken at Omega and showed them to a group of !Xun and Khwe. At first there was some excitement. Young men and women recognising themselves as kids; or a relative who had since died; and so on. And then—it was shocking—one by one they began to weep. I had never known what it must be like to be homeless. Then I knew. Omega meant so much to them, that dismal army camp, and the wrenching away from it was so awful. They showed me one young girl in the photographs. Her baby had died just hours before the aircraft left.⁶⁰ She was too terrified to speak. She flew all the way to South Africa, and came all the

⁵⁹ Hennie Swart was a teacher and educational psychologist who worked at the school in Schmidtsdrift and later moved to Platfontein to manage the affairs of the Communal Property Association. At the time of writing Swart was contracted as a project manager at SASI.

⁶⁰ !Xun community leader, Mario Mahongo, has queried the accuracy of this statement, saying that he was not aware of the event (in Robbins, c. 2004:19). He did, however, concede that, since the people were moved in several groups, the burial of the baby could have taken place in Schmidtsdrift without the knowledge of community leaders (ibid).

way down to the tents at Schmidtsdrift with the dead baby clutched in her arms. To catch sight of such dislocation is almost unspeakable. (cited in Robbins, c. 2004:19)

The community's sense of dislocation was deepened with the disbanding of the battalion. Some of the soldiers were transferred to other units in different parts of the country, leaving their families at Schmidtsdrift. This was cause for a greater sense of loss and alienation. While life in the tented camp went on, it remained a life of instability; the community were "left without a centre, without a purpose, certainly without houses, and perhaps without hope" (Uys, 1993:23). More than two decades later a similar sense of hopelessness pervades. Uys (1993) and Robbins (2007, c. 2004) have documented fierce debates around the conscription of the San soldiers by the SADF. Nevertheless, the exhibition at Wildebeest Kuil is celebratory and none of the above is mentioned. A colleague of mine, a Chinese national, observed during a visit to the exhibition that the !Xun and Khwe had had a "glorious past" because "they were soldiers" (Personal communication, 9 June 2014). Military life is romanticised in the exhibition in a nostalgic gazing upon the past. This corresponds with a selective history promoted by typically patriarchal power bases that focus on 'great men' and overlooks "women, children, disabled groups and ethnic minorities, who are typically depicted (if at all) as lending support to the male, central figure" (Timothy & Boyd, 2003:262; cf. Hubbard & Lilley 2000; McLean 1998).

Heritage, as an essentially political phenomenon, is thus the story of history recounted from the perspective of the controlling, dominant power base (Hall 2000, 1997, 1994). It is a history of "hegemonic notions about class, ethnicity and gender" (Timothy & Boyd, 2003:262; Waite & McGuirk 1997). Museums, monuments, historic buildings, tourism landscapes, and other public spaces are thus crypts for the conservation and representation of particular ideologies (Hall, 2005). Heritage is shown to be about power and control, and is often utilised by governments "to achieve some measured ends and to demonstrate their authority over people and places" (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009c:44; cf. Kim, Timothy & Han 2007; Timothy 2007; Timothy & Boyd 2003).

The opening ceremony of the military exhibition was steeped in this spirit of remembrance. The San soldiers expressed a sense of personal pride at their involvement in the military. However, when interviewed a few days after the opening ceremony, a community leader

brought to light his own sense of censorship when he said that he would not want the exhibition to include stories of how some of the San soldiers were ill-treated by white military leadership in the camps (Anon, interview, May 2013). The San soldiers' relationship with the military is thus one of conflicting and competing sentiments. During his speech at the opening ceremony !Xun traditional leader Reverend Mario Mahongo expressed an array of emotions. There was pride over the exhibition and gratitude to those involved in its creation but there was also tension and unease. Mahongo noted that he considered the term 'Bushman' to hold negative connotations. *Boesman* [Afrikaans for Bushman] used in the camps as a prefix when describing a certain captain or sergeant was a painful reminder to him of the still prevalent racial separation in the army—a much contested perspective in some circles. He went on to say that the !Xun and Khwe are viewed by the South African government as foes having fought for and not against apartheid. His entreaty was that this view should be changed; the San should be remembered as having fought for the country. He urged the military to remember their San colleagues suffering in Platfontein and ended his speech by saying that “the war is now over, it is a time for peace and all must partake in this peace” (Fieldnotes, May 2013).

This speech, while rife with tension, received a hearty applause. After the formalities, standing in line at the buffet table, I noticed a veteran San soldier who was having difficulty keeping food from falling off of his piled-high plate (Fieldnotes, May 2013). I saw another veteran San soldier across the room similarly struggling with his buffet plate. Whether their motivation was hunger or food insecurity, their 'difference' was marked by their piled-high plates, a reminder that beyond the pageantry and ceremony of the event these soldiers and their dependents constituted a poverty stricken people. At the same time, dependency on the military and/or state has, to a large extent, stripped this community of agency.

Both the introductory film and the exhibition leave the visitor with a sense of the !Xun and Khwe coming to terms with the past and forging ahead to a better future. Roshi Naidoo refers to such presentation as 'sleight-of-hand' such that “the project of modernity appears alive and well and functioning for the gradual betterment of all” (2005:41). Consumers of such an interpretation are encouraged to view the present condition of the !Xun and Khwe as stable and possibly content. The exhibition (more than the film) reinforces the idea that the upheavals of war have been all but resolved for the !Xun and Khwe and that the SADF

played a principal role in making this happen. In this way political ideologies and prevailing structures are not only left unassessed but are celebrated.

Wildebeest Kuil: broader challenges

Having explored museological concerns on site, the chapter now turns to broader challenges. As described in Chapter Three, a growing political and cultural recognition of San peoples which led to the use of rock art imagery and the ancient /Xam language in South Africa's new coat of arms gave rock art and San groups premium visibility in the re-imaging of the country. Opportunities were made available for rock art tourism and the interpretive centre at Wildebeest Kuil became one of three rock art centres established in the country. After initial projections for tourism and employment opportunities failed (cf. Chapter Five) two posts were made available by the McGregor Museum for a guide and caretaker at the site. Community members were to be trained in these posts; however, many proved unreliable, working for a few months and later absconding leaving their training unfinished. One member of staff, considered an excellent guide and the community member longest in the employ of Wildebeest Kuil, would not adhere to the official opening and closing times, sometimes leaving the centre closed to the public for most of the day.

Wilson and Ndebele, neither of whom belongs to the Platfontein community, are the longest-serving workers at Wildebeest Kuil having begun as casual workers for the McGregor Museum in 2005. Wilson began as a guide and Ndebele as a caretaker who went on to conduct tours; both are well-informed about the site, Platfontein and the history of Kimberley. Wilson has been simultaneously pursuing a degree in archaeology. His interest in this field began during his work at the McGregor Museum. Wilson and Ndebele both live in settlements no less than fifteen kilometres from Wildebeest Kuil; they cycle to work every day. Although the Platfontein community live in proximity to the site and are tasked as its custodians, past employees from this community have not shown the same measure of commitment. Even so, there is some resentment over the fact that the two longest-remaining workers are from outside the community (Fieldnotes, September 2012).

At the beginning of 2012 the provincial MEC (Member of the Executive Council) of the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture announced a departmental budget cut. The McGregor

Museum which assists in the upkeep of other regional museums was hard hit by the cut.⁶¹ There are twelve museum sites in total over which the McGregor presides. Of the twelve sites, four have been closed due to staff cuts, and only one had an adequate amount of staff. The rest are understaffed and many of these sites are now run by caretakers and garden staff (Kemp, 2013). During a few of my visits in 2013 and 2014 Wildebeest Kuil was under the care of Amos Makau, a gardener at the McGregor Museum. The provincial department had called for a ratio of staff to output such that 40 percent of staff would maintain a 60 percent output of work (Fortune, interview, September 2012). It remains the employ of one man (Wilson) to oversee the entire Wildebeest Kuil servitude.

Colin Fortune, then manager/director of the McGregor Museum and its satellites, had planned to close down Wildebeest Kuil because of the staff cuts as well as the constant vandalism of the site in 2012 (Interview, September 2012). When interviewed, he noted that over the R11 000 income estimated from Wildebeest Kuil per annum, the museum has to spend R108 000 for the general upkeep of the site. Insurance for the site is also increasing as the frequency of claims increases. The insurance safety net provided by the museum was especially significant in 2008 when the theft of a water pump and some R30 000 worth of electrical cables at Wildebeest Kuil could have crippled the centre (Morris 2014; Morris, Ndebele & Wilson, 2009). In an effort to keep the site open it was maintained that Wildebeest Kuil, which had been previously run by two staff members, would be run by one person and would have to be closed on weekends⁶² and public holidays (including periods when the staff member is on leave or off work).

The Wildebeest Kuil steering committee

Low visitor numbers at Wildebeest Kuil prompted an upgrade project in February 2011 in the hopes to attract potential visitors. A steering committee was formed as part of plans toward the 2012 landscaping project. The project focussed on the front facade, the area was landscaped, and picnic, *braai* [barbeque] facilities, and a jungle gym were added to entice

⁶¹ An incongruent development was that together with museum budget cuts came increased funding for tourism in the province (Fortune, interview, September 2012).

⁶² Wildebeest Kuil guide, Petrus Wilson, noted that prior to its closure on weekends, much of the foot traffic occurred during weekdays, since besides the Big Hole, “everything is closed on weekends in Kimberley” (Personal communication, 25 September 2011).

families to stop off at the site if not for the heritage experience then as a rest stop. One of the stipulations of the project was that the landscaper had to source their workforce from within the Platfontein community. !Xun and Khwe workers received a certificate highlighting their on-the-job training on completion of the landscaping project. The steering committee included a representative from the South African San Institute (SASI),⁶³ the Francis Baard Municipality, the Northern Cape Economic Development Agency, the Northern Cape provincial Tourism department and the Wildebeest Kuil management. There are four community leaders on the committee consisting of two !Xun and two Khwe representatives (sometimes joined by a fifth !Xun member). Mario Mahongo, Markus Jetembo, Zeke Shiwarra, Wentzel Katjarra, and Vasco Serveo have been elected by the community to serve as community leaders (see Chapter One for a discussion of the leadership roles in Platfontein).

Committee membership arose from groups/institutions that had already established a relationship with the site and who were concerned about its future. While Morris noted that this was true of the majority of members he bemoaned the absenteeism of certain civil servants at committee meetings (Email, 4 March 2015). On average the committee meets fortnightly but this varies according to the particular phase of planning and activity (ibid). Beyond the landscaping project the committee has a long-term commitment to capacity building at Wildebeest Kuil. In separate interviews various committee members responded similarly to questions concerning expectations for the future of Wildebeest Kuil (Fieldnotes, June/July 2011). This implies that individual constituents are familiar with the overall objectives of the larger committee, nevertheless, motivations differ. Committee members of the !Xun and Khwe leadership focussed much of their attention on the potential income generation of the site for artists and crafters in the community and as a possible future source of employment for Platfontein youth, while remaining committee members focussed their attention on the site as a heritage resource and tourism destination.

Khwe community leader, Markus Zetembo (Interview, July 2011) and !Xun leader, Mahongo (Interview, June 2011) both expressed discontent that there is no-one from Platfontein currently working at Wildebeest Kuil. They reiterated that the site belongs to the community, but more specifically that Platfontein suffers from a high unemployment rate. Job creation is

⁶³ Meryl-Joy Scheepers, the director of SASI sits on the committee.

thus high on the agenda of community leadership. When met with the fact that Platfontein members had worked previously at Wildebeest Kuil but had left of their own choice, Zetembo stated that of concern had been the distance between the site and Platfontein⁶⁴ as well as the low wage earned at Wildebeest Kuil. On the other hand, Mahongo observed that the lack of work at Wildebeest Kuil was the fault of Platfontein's own community members. He noted that attempts to explain the greater significance of working on the site (for the protection of the heritage resource under the care of the community and dissemination of their cultural offerings) were unsuccessful. Furthermore, the youth were unresponsive to the offering of bursaries to study rock art (the source of this proposal was unclear). Mahongo admitted that perhaps many were unable to meet the criteria for application. He reiterated that the onus was on the leadership and parents to impress on the youth the importance of heritage and to stir in them a willingness to work at Wildebeest Kuil (Interview, June 2011).

Shiwarra provides a possible explanation for the lack of response from Platfontein community members to work outside of the settlement (Interview, July 2012). The youth, according to him, are frequently mistreated when they venture outside of Platfontein. Their language is mocked and they are marginalised and treated unfairly. He described a particular occurrence in which a group of youth went to Kimberley for the purpose of studying and were mocked for the sound of their language; “...*die mense het gese hulle klink soes voeltijes*” [the people said they sound like little birds] he said (Interview, July 2012). Shiwarra expressed that most of the youth who go out for work return to Platfontein jobless and with a sense of defeat. In June 2011 I interviewed a group of youth between the ages of 19 and 21. The group constituted of one female and five males. The group demographic was ‘imbalanced’ due to the fact that the males were members of a hip hop dance group practicing together while the female respondent was the neighbour of one of the boys at whose house they practiced. They debated amongst themselves about the concern of joblessness in Platfontein. Robert said that young people in the community merely sit around waiting for jobs to come to them because they are nervous and fearful of speaking in English or Afrikaans and lack the confidence to seek out work. Rina disagreed, saying that while people

⁶⁴ Wildebeest Kuil is approximately a 15 minute walk away from Platfontein either through marshlands (which may increase the walking time) or via the R31, a busy road with no pedestrian walkway. A lack of access to transportation is a challenge regarding the high levels of unemployment in Platfontein and greatly affects other spheres of life such as access to medical assistance.

go out in search of work, jobs are scarce and finding work is difficult. The group noted that job creation within the community is essential (Youth, interview, June 2011).

Following his earlier comments, Mahongo stated that employees at Wildebeest Kuil external to the Platfontein community conduct their work “nie uit sy hart nie” [not from their hearts] (Interview, June 2011). This is in contrast to the passion for the site demonstrated by long-standing workers Wilson and Ndebele. Ndebele expressed displeasure at not being invited to attend committee meetings (Interview, July 2011). He went on to say that since he was at the site on a daily basis (and privy to all its on-goings) he was able to make relevant recommendations. He gave an example of weeding required at the front façade after the landscaping was complete. Seeing the need for maintenance he initially did the job of weeding but asked who would continue to maintain the new garden. In a later discussion with committee members it was apparent that funding for continued maintenance had not been considered (Fieldnotes, July 2011). Ndebele’s response was, “I just accept it, because I’m not important” (Interview, July 2011).

When asked for their opinion regarding the workings of the committee, members noted a general amicable atmosphere (Fieldnotes, June/July 2011). Each of the Platfontein committee members with whom I spoke was able to express themselves eloquently. They spoke a higher level of Afrikaans to that of the community at large and were able to converse at length regarding complex issues at Wildebeest Kuil and Platfontein. Their role as the leadership was palpable. Informed by the above impressions I submit that in engagements with remaining committee members (SASI, tourism, local municipality and the McGregor Museum) these indigenous representatives are far from disempowered. Of course some disempowerment remains, particulars of which are discussed in the following section concerning the !Xun and Khwe Communal Property Association (CPA). The earlier claim of amicability notwithstanding, Zetembo mentioned that the Khwe were dissatisfied that at present crafts sold at Wildebeest Kuil are those of the !Xun (Interview, July 2011).⁶⁵ Nevertheless, he observed that the two communities had walked a long road together and should thus strive to work together; the leadership, he said, plays a pivotal role in this endeavour (ibid).

⁶⁵ I was unable to determine the validity of this statement, however, its significance as perception remains pertinent to the discussion.

Community engagement: ownership, site usage and participation

While the !Xun and Khwe own the Wildebeest Kuil land and while some community leaders form part of the steering committee, the community has not been directly involved in the management of the site. Lacking in-depth knowledge of tourism development and heritage preservation, they are ill-equipped to do so. Further, the responsibilities of management and planning have proven problematic for this community (Robbins, c. 2004). The !Xun and Khwe Trust, for example, was activated in 1996 with the initial task to locate a place for resettlement of the Schmidtsdrift San. Large sums of money were spent on consultation fees for land assessment and settlement planning. The Trust soon found itself in a financial crisis made worse by the newly formed CPA. The !Xun and Khwe CPA is made up of six members; a chairman, deputy and secretary from each side of the community leadership. The CPA financially supports two development committees (one !Xun and one Khwe) which in turn support their respective traditional houses (Shiwarra, interview, July 2012). The CPA receives an income from community-owned land leased to farmers and monthly subsidiary revenue for the telecommunications tower erected on Platfontein. The !Xun and Khwe CPA incurred nearly a million rand worth of debt before the situation was brought under control. Swart, a teacher and educational psychologist who had become well acquainted with this community and who worked at the school in Schmidtsdrift, resigned from his teaching post at Schmidtsdrift and moved to Platfontein to manage the affairs of the CPA (Robbins, c. 2004).

Mismanagement and poor planning remain consistent shortcomings of CPAs; however, this is not entirely their own fault. As pertaining to South Africa's Communal Property Associations Act of 1996, collective ownership of land must be secured through a CPA or legal trust. While these organisations are expected to efficiently manage land use, no provisions have been made toward training, support and capacity building. As a result, many CPAs and trusts have "failed to meet legal obligations and some have collapsed altogether" (Grant, 2011:220–221; cf. Lahiff 2008). The ≠Khomani of the Northern Cape are one such example:

Since its institution in 1999, the †Khomani CPAMC [Communal Property Association Management Committee] has not been able to effectively manage the land for which they are responsible. Issues regarding financial management have been particularly challenging for the CPAMC. By early 2000, a formal audit of the †Khomani finances was called for by the DLA [Department of Land Affairs]. This revealed improper financial dealings in excess of R150 000, for which the CPAMC could not account. The DG [Director General] of the DLA declared that lack of capacity and skills was the main contributing factor given that the financial manager at the time only had schooling up to standard four (approximately age 9 or 10) (South African Human Rights Commission 2004:14). (Grant, 2011:222)

The above highlights the need for capacity building, training and support for all CPAs and community trust committees. Education levels in Platfontein are higher than those in the Kalahari; nevertheless, language proficiency is a concern. Many of the community members lack the ability to converse fluently in Afrikaans.⁶⁶ In an interview, Khwe community leader, Zeka Shiwarra stressed that the Platfontein community needs capacity building in order to hone the skills necessary to adequately support themselves. He expressed his discontent over a comment made by a former Northern Cape Premier that “Platfontein is not an island for the government to come and drop things here” (cited by Shiwarra, interview, July 2012). According to Shiwarra this was an affront to the community since it was not their intention to ask alms of the government but for the government to assist them to become self-sufficient.

Related to this is the fact that communities are often identified by the state as custodians of a heritage site; however, they are expected to take on this role with little or no guidance, training or education concerning the significance of that heritage and their responsibilities toward it. As described in Chapter Three, Section 5(4) of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA, 1999) establishes the rights of communities over heritage resources, their right to be consulted on heritage matters and to be involved in the management of heritage sites; however, the role of guiding and educating custodians is unoccupied, either by the state or community leaders. Furthermore, while the encouragement of custodianship proves

⁶⁶ Women in the community are the least proficient in Afrikaans. Some elderly people, not fluent in Afrikaans, English or any other indigenous South African language, are similarly disadvantaged. Zeka Shiwarra noted, “even now we have this problem with the ID [Identity Document] books... the old people go to the offices and they are given forms and told to have their children help them to fill out the forms but their children also are confused about certain things in the form” (Interview, July 2012).

successful with those communities taking an active interest in heritage it is doubtful that such legislation is able to enforce obligations onto select groups or the public to protect sites.

Platfontein community leaders make periodic use of the auditorium at Wildebeest Kuil for meetings. Few other community events take place at the site. Events held on site, such as the opening of the military exhibition, are predominantly attended by community leadership. Morris alluded to the fact that the site may be one of elites, further purporting former notions of the museum as authoritative space (Fieldnotes, July 2010). Nevertheless, it is logistically easier to hold events such as Heritage Day celebrations at the Platfontein settlement. Typically these events are held at the school or outside the radio station—both of which are central locations to which the community have ease of access.

The above situation is unlike that at rock art sites in Central Mozambique's Vumba Mountains and KwaZulu-Natal's Drakensberg Mountains, for example, which are actively used by local communities for monitored ritual practices such as rain-making, divining and healing. Some of these communities include mixed-race San descendants as well as those who share no direct relation to the San. Their ceremonies are rooted in San cosmology and their ritualistic use of sites reflects traditional continuity with the makers of the rock art (Jopela 2010; Francis 2007; Ndlovu 2005; Sætersdal 2004). This creates a different set of challenges and concerns to those at Wildebeest Kuil. Traditional practitioners in Platfontein seem not to use rock art as part of their rituals. In discussion with traditional practitioners from the Khwe side of the community concerning significant elements of their practice, it was noted that predominantly plant-based potions and medicines as well as methods such as mirror gazing for divination are used (Fieldnotes, June 2014). Shiwarra noted that to his knowledge traditional practitioners in the community did not use rock art—at Wildebeest Kuil or elsewhere—for the purposes of their craft (Interview, June 2014). In consideration of its current challenges, it is perhaps fortunate that Wildebeest Kuil does not additionally suffer the complications of heritage preservation in opposition to continued ceremonial use.

The practice of rock engraving does not form part of !Xun and Khwe traditional practice, instead the community has a strong tradition of dance (and story-telling which often occurs through dance). The community's connection to the engravings is in part due to their ownership of the land and a sense of kinship with the ancient engravers stemming from a

deemed greater link between all San peoples. A prevailing concern has been the increased incidents of on-site vandalism (rising steadily between 2010 and 2012). Much of this vandalism has been caused by children from Platfontein who frequent the site. A particular group of children are believed to roam the area rather than attend school (Wilson & Ndebele, interview, March 2011). Wilson and Ndebele cite hunger and boredom as the primary reasons these children frequent the site. Wildebeest Kuil has become a site for hunting, scavenging and playing. As a result the bins outside the centre are sometimes found toppled over. The nearby rest-stop⁶⁷ across the road has become another frequented site. When I passed by in September 2012 I found the place overrun with litter. This new 'dumpsite', with its discarded food containers, attracts hungry children from the settlement.

Many of the newly replaced station boards at Wildebeest Kuil have been vandalised; there are puncture holes from hurled stones, scratches and graffiti. After the 2010 fire that destroyed the boardwalk (discussed later in the chapter) the guides found graffiti on rocks at the engraving site; the now opened area allows for easier access to the engravings. Moreover, the children who frequent the site have taken to using a newly made bicycle route to make their fires. Between May and June of 2012, two of the tourism centre's windows had been shattered; moreover, vandalism increased during school vacations (Wilson & Ndebele, interview, June 2012). Some instances of vandalism are discovered only when Wilson or Ndebele take visitors onto the site. Ndebele noted that he had found damaged and torn down station boards while taking visitors on a guided tour. He explained that when this happened he did not hide the fact of vandalism from visitors (ibid).

With the arrival of a renter at the cottage on the grounds of the servitude there was a considerable decrease in vandalism on the site. This is due to the renter's two dogs that roam the servitude in the evenings. Wilson remarked that the children are afraid of the dogs and have stopped playing nearby (Interview, June 2013). Prior to this, an on-going concern had been the puncturing of holes in the pipe leading from the water pump to the visitor's centre. In the summertime children from the settlement would create a make-shift sprinkler out of the punctured pipe to use in water games (Fieldnotes, July 2010; June 2011; September 2012). Older women have also been seen drinking from the punctured holes at the water pump and

⁶⁷ This is a small parking area adjacent to the road, found on long stretches of motorway for road users to safely pull over during periods of rest.

two were noted as having said that a tap should be placed there for their convenience (Fieldnotes, September 2012). A dam adjacent to the water pump and independent of the tourism centre had been used as a swimming pool by children from the community as well as a place for washing clothes during times that the settlement's water supply had been cut off. The draining of the dam in 2012 has meant that this is no longer an attraction for the children "who would previously swim there and then move on to the site to make mischief" (Morris, email, 9 April 2013). In addition to these concerns, the community frequent the site during the winter months to forage for firewood thus contributing to a marred aesthetic. Many households in Platfontein rely on outside fires for the cooking of meals. During winter these fires burn for longer periods of time providing warmth against plummeting temperatures, with an increasing need for fuel-wood the community must search further away from the settlement, a fact which leads them to Wildebeest Kuil (Fieldnotes, September 2012).

In a presentation titled "On-going chapters at Wildebeest Kuil 2007–2011: Trauma and Change" shared with a research cohort from the Centre for Communication, Media and Society on 17th June 2011, Morris, stated that the McGregor Museum had spent over R150 000 in replacing stolen cables and the insurance company subsequently refused to cover claims for future cable theft on the property (Fieldnotes, June 2011). Thereafter, the museum announced that it no longer had the budget to repeatedly make repairs on the property; in addition, damages outside of the building are no longer covered by insurance (Morris, email, 9 April 2013). Even so, Morris notes "we somehow manage to get the things fixed"; this includes "repairing frequent lightning damage to the pump and electrical infrastructure" (ibid). Wilson, Ndebele and Morris believe that the cable theft was not committed by members of the Platfontein community but rather by outsiders skilled in such extraction (Fieldnotes, June 2011; September 2012).

In his presentation, Morris described the damage done to the site by a mentally challenged individual from Platfontein. This individual frequently starts fires in the fields surrounding Wildebeest Kuil as well as along the R31. He creates 'installations' on the wire fences along the roadside with refuse he collects lying nearby and sometimes sets fire to these creations. While Morris called these 'installations', passers-by would not be blamed for believing the sight to be windswept refuse caught in the fence. While many of these activities have not directly involved Wildebeest Kuil, on one occasion, having gotten hold of tins of old and ill-

stored paint, the individual proceeded to paint the rusty vehicle that forms part of Wildebeest Kuil's Station Two. The station's newly replaced information board was also paint-damaged while another station board was removed altogether (Fieldnotes, June 2011).

Vandalism on the site has also been perpetrated by members of the public. Before guides were employed at Wildebeest Kuil, visitors would be given an audio device and would listen to a narration put together by archaeologists Morris and Geoff Blundell (2004) as they explored the site. The audio tours were stopped when it was found that some of the rocks were vandalised and some visitors had tampered with the recordings and taped their own voices over the narration.⁶⁸ The vandalism of rock art sites is a global concern. In March of 2011, cases of vandalism—scratches made into the rock—were found on Australia's Burrup and nearby areas (Laurie, 2011). Jane Balme of the Centre for Rock Art Studies at the University of Western Australia noted that “[v]andalism and dust from busy roads are now two of the biggest threats to rock art in the north of the state”; furthermore it was noted that increased human traffic in remote parts of the Pilbara and Kimberley (Australia) areas proved a major threat to rock art (cited in Laurie, 2011). Rangers installed on the site and cultural programmes set up to educate people about the significance and heritage value of the art were possible solutions proposed (Laurie, 2011). Vandalism of heritage resources and accompanying conciliatory attitudes occur in both the developed and developing world thus highlighting that poverty and a lack of development are not always the primary causes of apathy toward heritage and other social resources.

While rock paintings and engravings differ in style and method of creation (cf. Lewis-Williams, 1983) some common challenges to rock art sites include environmental damage and natural disasters (see discussion of a fire at Wildebeest Kuil later in the chapter), human traffic, uninformed use of sites, pollution, and vandalism. Environmental damage is a factor that is almost impossible to control and unless a site is well maintained and ardently supervised natural disasters may prove fatal. Human traffic—walking over rock engravings or touching paintings and engravings on the rock surface—can cause accelerated weathering of the art and surrounds. The uninformed use of sites poses another challenge. Visitors have been known to throw liquids on rock paintings or trace the grooves of engravings with chalk

⁶⁸ In addition, some visitors complained that they had questions that could not be answered by the recording and the cost of batteries for the recorders also proved an excessive expense.

in order to enhance the image for their photography. Another concern is pollution which mars the aesthetic of sites and expresses a disrespect of the heritage on offer, depreciating the experience for the next visitor. Vandalism, as discussed above, is an enormous concern.

In an article titled “Abusing the Bushmen’s canvas” (Cordes, 2012), rock art enthusiast Victor Briggs described his experience of vandalised rock art shelters over the forty-year period of his documenting the art at sites around South Africa. Briggs described an occasion in 2002 in the Cedarville area of KwaZulu-Natal where a school teacher scrawled her name and the names of her accompanying students in a rock art shelter. On a different occasion, a student scratched his name into the cave wall of a rock art shelter in the Cathcart area while Briggs gave a talk on the need to protect rock art. In the same year, Briggs had accompanied an academic to a rock art shelter. He discovered years later that the man had “surreptitiously scrawled his name below a ledge” (Cordes, 2012:np).

In other instances, caves and shelters have been used by shepherds for sheep shearing and/or as pens for livestock. Resident in-dwellers have splattered animal dung onto the walls “to dry before using it as fuel” (ibid) or have hung meat to dry along the walls; animal oils, fat and blood then seep into the rock causing accelerated deterioration of the rock paintings (cf. Jopela 2010; Ndlovu 2005). According to Briggs, shelters in the former Transkei are used by certain Xhosa groups as initiation sites and are often “visited by *igqirhas* (traditional healers) who chip the red ochre from Bushmen paintings for use in traditional medicine” (Cordes, 2012:np). This practise is similarly described by Michael Francis (2007) and noted in Chapter Three. Another cause of accelerated deterioration of rock art is the removal of art from caves and shelters. While the removal of art has played a role in its preservation, during the professional removal of the famed Linton Stone, for example, considerable damage was inflicted on the remaining rock art in the shelter. Briggs believes that there is no longer need for the removal of rock art for preservation purposes. Moreover, he notes that amateur removals have proven extremely damaging to sites; examples of which can be found in the Bolo, Cathcart and Maclear districts in the Eastern Cape (Cordes, 2012).

The destruction of rock art (as the manifestation of an ignorant disregard or a malicious and deliberate act) results in the eventual loss of a non-renewable heritage resource. While graffiti “could be respected as historical sources in their own right” (Cordes, 2012:np; cf. Parkington,

Morris & Rusch 2008), such graffiti at rock art sites “almost always exists at the expense of the Bushman’s canvas” (Cordes, 2012:np). It is thus the responsibility of landowners and community authorities to protect the art; by controlling access to sites as well as monitoring on-site activities (cf. Smith 2006; Ndlovu 2005; Blundell 1996). While museums today “go to great trouble to reconfigure the environmental and social context from which the exhibits they display have been taken” (Parkington *et al.* 2008:123); there is little substitute for viewing the rock art in its natural environment. This notwithstanding, the vulnerability of the art begs the question: “where and under what circumstances to allow or even encourage people to visit sites of great historical significance” (ibid)?

The current widespread use of technological devices such as geo-positioning systems, archives and data bases offers “precise information on the location of vulnerable heritage treasures”; possibly putting these sites in danger whether from graffitists or collectors (Parkington *et al.* 2008:123). As John Parkington, Morris and Neil Rusch note, “[n]othing, not good legislation, not high fences, not professional secrecy, can prevent the maliciously motivated visitor” (2008:124). The imperative is thus affirmed to educate communities to protect sites of importance in their locales (ibid). This is consistent with the custodianship described in the NHRA (1999) in which heritage may be those aspects of culture and landscape (both tangible and intangible) under the protection of a community and passed on to future generations serving the need for a sense of identity and belonging (cf. chapters Three and Six). Tourism will also benefit local community members employed at the site and may convey additional benefits to the larger community (cf. Chapter Five). While noting that it is too early to judge, Parkington *et al.* believe that “people who benefit financially from the preservation of rock paintings or engravings, will not deface, nor, hopefully, countenance the defacement of the images under their custodianship” (2008:124). While the Platfontein leadership acknowledge that the task of educating their community concerning the significance of the rock engraving site at Wildebeest Kuil falls to them, they have not been active in this role. It is uncertain whether or not they have the capacity to do so. There is no partnership yet in place between themselves and the museum with the objective to facilitate community education about the significance of the site.

In October 2010 a fire broke out at Wildebeest Kuil, destroying a small number of the rock engravings and R35 000 worth of renovations (funded by the Northern Cape Department of

Tourism) two days after its completion (Wilson & Ndebele, interview, March 2011). Young children from the Platfontein settlement had made a small fire in the nearby veldt in order to roast a bird they had caught. The fire was taken up by the wind and quickly spread across the dry grassland. Fires occurring naturally in the veldt are not uncommon and the risk of fire damage is a concern of rock art sites around the world. In many cases it is nearly impossible for vast areas and rocky outcrops to be under constant vigilance. Nevertheless, the new boardwalk was not treated against fire. A month earlier a workshop attendee had seen the building in progress and asked what measures were in place in case of a fire. It was believed that the pathways around the stations would act as fire breaks and no other measures were activated (ibid). As described earlier in the chapter, children from the settlement have taken to making fires in these pathways. Plans for a new boardwalk were halted by internal staff cuts at the McGregor and pending approval by the South African Heritage Resource Agency (SAHRA) (Morris, email, 9 April 2013). In April 2014 a new wooden boardwalk (treated with a fire-resistant compound) was erected.

Fires are a regular sight on the plains in this area. On a trip to Platfontein in June 2011, I witnessed two separate fires supervised by children. No adults were present and the children were actively feeding the fires. The first was a fire in the veldt about 200 metres from the settlement's main road. Three young children were feeding a black-smoked fire with what looked like old furniture and other refuse from the surrounding area. The second fire sighting was while driving on the outskirts of the settlement. My colleagues and I came across a small group of children, who looked no more than 10 years of age. They were gathering refuse to feed a fast growing, high-flamed fire. Fires such as these could be easily swept up by a gust of wind and—fuelled by the surrounding overrun dry grass and combustible refuse—cause devastation in the settlement. This highlights the need for contingencies against fire to be incorporated into any future boardwalk construction at Wildebeest Kuil and for educational programmes to be held within the community.

Fires, theft, and vandalism prompted talks toward the construction of an electrified fence between Wildebeest Kuil and the settlement at Platfontein (Fieldnotes, September, 2010). Community leaders were in favour of this idea; however, due to the great cost and little guarantee that the fencing would not be stolen, no attempts have been made to execute this plan. Fencing that marked off the servitude along with fencing set up to keep in game had

often been taken down (presumably by community members) to be sold or re-used elsewhere. It is highly likely that additional fencing would be similarly removed. The only barriers that remain include the fence along the R31 and part-way along the eastern and western sides of the servitude; community leaders and Wildebeest staff suspect that some of the metal theft is the work of outsiders/foreigners operating through Platfontein or paying community members for metal obtained (Morris, email, 9 April 2013).

The taking down of fences may be viewed differently. According to Nyasha Mboti, fences “are the excess manifestation of the colonial pasts of partition and pacification as well as, it appears, of modern-day surveillance through demarcations of private property where trespassers are prosecuted” (2013:17). Similarly, Morris describes fences as “an imposition on the landscape” (Interview, March 2011). Describing the ≠Khomani’s active breaching of fences, Mboti (2013) claims that their newly opened ‘desire paths’ are a subtle and complex mockery of the fence and an impingement on the systems and institutions of which the fence is a symbol. He adds:

One of them actually showed me how to widen the fence and squeeze in. No violence is done to the fence. It is the fence that is violence, and one cannot respond to violence with the same violence. One has to reverse the terms of the violence. This happens through denying the fence its relevance and meaningfulness. By denying the fence meaningfulness, its violence (surveillance) is revealed to itself and reversed. The fence begins to be a weapon aimed not at the ≠Khomani but at the system, its apparatus and its institutions. Thus, through desire paths violence is actually being done to the overall structure and system through a complex *humanising* trick. Through using fences as not-fences, the ≠Khomani have actually affirmed something: that the system can be messed with without attracting attention to oneself, and that one can get away with it. It is these fenced pathways which, for me, represent the complex cultural economy of being ≠Khomani today. (Mboti, 2013:19)

The Platfontein community differ in that they actively take down fencing, thus responding to ‘violence with violence’; a possible reaction from their time in the military. In denying demarcations set by the fencing across their farms, the !Xun and Khwe are enacting their own meanings through self-made pathways. Historically, fences mark a deep-rooted sense of entrapment for San peoples. Like many others have similarly expressed, Willemena Calica,

one-time employee at the Wildebeest Kuil tea shop described her longing to “return to a world without fences” (Ludman, 2003:np). Similarly, former guide at Wildebeest Kuil, Salvadore, is noted as having expressed his discontent with this new life, “I’m trapped,” he says, “[b]y nature the San are travellers. We don’t know how to function in this society” (ibid). I overheard a similar comment that the San are killed not by disease or poverty but by the construction of fences (Fieldnotes, June 2010). Therefore, while it may serve to protect the site from further damage, the presence of an electrified fence between Platfontein and Wildebeest Kuil may further instil an already permeating sense of disconnect between the community and the site.

A meeting was held after the fire of 2010 between Morris, community leaders, the children involved, their parents (of which the mothers attended), the police, and the school headmaster (described earlier in the chapter). Outcomes included the promise of assistance from the police in ensuring that the children attended school, however, three years after the fire, the children were seen walking in the veldt during school hours. In addition, the radio station undertook to promote respect for heritage in their programmes. When asked if they remembered what these messages contained, community leaders and SASI employees from Platfontein were unable to recall (Fieldnotes, June 2011). Nonetheless, they did note that community leaders used community radio station, XK FM, to inform the community about the destruction caused by the fire and to express that the site is not to be used as a playground. Vandalism on the site has increased since then; however, no other attempts were made by the leaders to rectify the situation. Custodianship, as described in the NHRA (1999), has not been practiced at Wildebeest Kuil. The Platfontein community’s sense of ownership is at variance to their use of the site which is neither sustainable nor responsible. While community leaders acknowledge the significance of Wildebeest Kuil and the importance of caring for the site the above custodial failings remain a concern.

In June 2011 I visited the Isibindi grounds on the Khwe side of Platfontein. Under the auspices of the National Association of Child Care Workers, Isibindi is concerned primarily with child welfare. The small fenced property provides an access area for children (and teenagers) from the community to play safely and receive free meals and healthcare advice (cf. Dicks, 2011). I introduced myself to a group of women cleaning vegetables for the children’s lunch and began an informal discussion about my research. The women noted that

the children in their care knew very little (if anything) about the engravings at Wildebeest Kuil (Fieldnotes, June 2011). To their knowledge, the school had never taken learners to the site on excursion. The youth I interviewed concurred that the school did not take its learners to Wildebeest Kuil. A lack of funds for transportation was cited as the reason for this (Youth, interview, June 2011). There is a large marshy area between the settlement at Platfontein and Wildebeest Kuil and there is no pavement along the R31 for pedestrian safety. Transportation is thus necessary for learners to be taken to the site. It is regretful that the school's monetary constraints have precluded trips to Wildebeest Kuil.

Site visitation forms an integral part of an education regarding the importance of the heritage on offer. The act of being there may be a powerful aid in cultivating a sense of custodianship in the Platfontein youth. While they knew that there was rock art at Wildebeest Kuil, the women with whom I spoke at Isibindi had not been to the site, neither had the youth I interviewed. Nevertheless, the youth all agreed that Wildebeest Kuil is important for the impartation of traditional knowledge, and one particular respondent, Andre, mentioned that Wildebeest Kuil is a place to remember how the past people lived (Youth, interview, June 2011). Of the youth interviewed, only Andre had visited the site; he had been taken there by a colleague of mine on a research trip. Many community members would have lived in Platfontein for years (perhaps their entire lives) without having experienced the rock engravings at Wildebeest Kuil. This speaks to an overall disconnect between the community and the site. Thus, while they have been (bureaucratically) appointed as community custodians of Wildebeest Kuil, many of the !Xun and Khwe are no more acquainted with the site than a passer-by.

When asked for their thoughts on the planned tourist route (cf. Chapter Five) for the area, the youth all agreed that it was worthwhile for project growth in the community (Interview, June 2011). Robert noted that tourists visit to see if the Platfontein Bushmen continue to live like they did 'in the old days' but when they observe modern people, "‘N paar van hulle glo nie dis regte Boesmanne daie'" [A few of them do not believe these are real Bushmen] (ibid). This did not seem to concern Robert or the rest of the group; their identities were not

unhinged by tourists' belief or disbelief in them as authentic San. A possible reason for this was because their sense of identity was based on their function as a hip hop dance group.⁶⁹

This group no longer danced traditional dances. In addition, they expressed apprehension at being teased by their friends for doing so (Youth, interview June 2011). In another interview, Mahongo confirmed that many of the Platfontein youth do not participate in cultural practices such as community dance groups (Interview, May 2013). The youth interviewed all agreed that they would be embarrassed to wear skins and perform traditional dances. Andre said, "I'm far away from traditional stuff... Just trying to be professional" (Interview, June 2011). The implicit binaryism between 'traditional' and 'professional' here suggests an internalised imposed logic of the backwardness of practices of the former. Interestingly, Robert noted that if he were to go to America or anywhere else he would perform traditional dances to showcase his culture but he would not do so in the Northern Cape. Rina similarly expressed her dislike of wearing skins because people would see her nakedness. Likewise, James expressed his dislike for wearing skins and said "Ons dans nou hip hop" [We now dance hip hop]. Robert noted that, "die lewe het verander" [Life has changed]. Piet added, "Nowadays we buy and eat... in the old days they hunted and ate... [t]his life is better". The rest of the group agreed but also noted that while 'this life' was better for the young people it was a difficult adjustment for some older members of the community (ibid). While the above may seem suggestive of the loss of culture and westernisation of these youth, it is noteworthy that they all had knowledge of traditional songs, fire-making and craftwork. These cultural aspects were taught to them at a young age and while they were in the process of fashioning their own identities as young adults they had not lost this knowledge.

It is instructive to note that the !Xun and Khwe show no disregard for heritage, on the contrary, cultural heritage takes a place of significance in !Xun and Khwe society. In a reception analysis of the film *Voices of Our Forefathers*⁷⁰ (2008), Jonathan Dockney (2011) describes a common response from many Platfontein youth who had watched the film, that is, that it was a reminder of a significant cultural past to which they can now only connect through elders' stories. The film thus became a conduit through which these youth could

⁶⁹ The hip hop sub-culture has drawn a strong following from Platfontein youth (cf. Bodunrin, forthcoming).

⁷⁰ *Voices of Our Forefathers* (2008) was made in Platfontein with a group of Khwe individuals involved in both acting and production. The film presents the Platfontein people from "historical as well as modern perspectives" (Dockney, 2011:ix).

“maintain a sense of their cultural-historical identity that [as noted by respondents] is extremely important for them” (2011:79). A strong cultural connection is evident in Platfontein not only through elders’ stories but through crafting, art, song and dance. The community have maintained their traditional dances via an array of groups, many of which have members of different ages incorporating both young and old.

In July 2009, together with a research cohort, I attended Platfontein’s Heritage Day dance festival held at the XunKhwesa Combined School; the many dance groups (some small and others large) included dancers both young and old, ranging from little girls, no older than five, to teenagers and older women. On the whole, female traditional dance groups are more widespread. When asked from where they had learned the traditional songs and dances a female !Xun dance group replied that they had learned these from relatives and female elders (Hart, 2011). Children of the community are taught the songs and dances from an early age (Youth, interview, June 2011). Robert’s comment that he would perform traditional dances were he to go to America is indicative of an instilled sense of heritage and pride in sharing it.

Development failures and managerial differences

The !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein straddle both the aspiration for modernisation as well as the desire to preserve traditional cultural practices and norms. The physical markers of Platfontein—Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses situated in a city-grid formation, a telecommunications tower built nearby—are elements of modernity that constitute changes in the landscape indicative of (and certainly part of) the process of changing identities. It is a truism that “landscapes are the carriers of significances, expressing values, beliefs, myths and utopias” (Fernandes & Carvalho, 2007:123). While it may appear that there exists a binaryism between traditionalism and modernity in !Xun and Khwe culture, in practice, however:

...instead of being in opposition to one another, these discourses of development are viewed as interconnected in a duality to develop the !Xun and Khwe as modern citizens of South Africa in a socio-cultural manner associated with their own systems of knowledge as people of the San. This duality provides multiple avenues of identification, where members navigate multiple identities at different levels simultaneously according to their own individual and collective preferences of belonging and development. (Hart, 2011:150)

Comments made by community members in the *Wildebeest Kuil* introductory film highlight the community's desire to participate in modern society. Mahongo had this to say:

The thing is that for centuries people have seen us as being far from all the other people, not part of the world but living alone, but we want to be part of the world, we want to be part of everyone and we want to contribute in order to be a part. We see ourselves as being just like any other people so we must be a part. (*Wildebeest Kuil*, 2001)

A further noteworthy quote, mentioned earlier in the chapter, came from an unnamed woman who said "The old world had its own ways and troubles, there were no computers but now you need computers to survive" (*Wildebeest Kuil*, 2001). In an encounter with, Matous Mberego, an elderly man from the Platfontein community who regaled our research group with stories of his youth, I asked which life he preferred. He replied that he preferred this life because now he wears pants (Fieldnotes, June 2011). An acceptance of modernisation and development is thus evident in both young and old members of the community.

Nonetheless, while the community exhibits an interest in modernisation and development, Platfontein has a high failure rate of development projects. Often it is the case that project organisers (from outside the community) are met with indifference and distrust due to the community having experienced the failure of past projects of a similar nature (Barnabas, 2009). At the same time, in order to further their own political objectives, organisers (government or otherwise) may mistakenly attempt to "secure successful development *at*, and not *with*, local communities" [emphasis my own] (Dyll, 2004:8). Other principal factors of project failure include a lack of funds for sustainability and the lack of community involvement. In part, this lack of involvement may be attested to a desire within the

community (oppositional to a desire to participate in modern society) to negate contact with the outside world. Shiwarra noted a telling comment after the building of the settlement from a community leader who stated that the government should build a fence around Platfontein to enclose the settlement (Interview, July 2012). Each of these factors may play a role in the way in which the !Xun and Khwe interact with the site at Wildebeest Kuil. Other possible factors affecting community involvement are discussed below in terms of the two largest and most recent community projects at Platfontein; the game lodge and cultural villages.

The original farmhouse on Platfontein was to be redeveloped into a community-owned lodge. The state began renovations, however, funds depleted before the project's end. Since the community did not have the means to complete the project, the unfinished farmhouse fell into disrepair. Some community members salvaged portions of building material for their own houses in the settlement. In 2011, the community received funds of R10 million from national government for the completion of the project; the national Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDT) is spearheading the project with the objective to turn it into a game lodge. Projected job opportunities for the community include work for six skilled and six semi-skilled workers upon completion of the lodge (Shiwarra, interview, July 2012). Concern over the addition of game to the farm is two-fold. Firstly, 10 nyala (spiral-horned antelope indigenous to southern Africa) had been introduced to that particular section of the farm before; however, these had all been killed for food by members of the community. Springbok (smaller antelope) on the farm have also been hunted. The community was instructed by their leaders that the game belongs to all members of the community and should not be hunted and killed to feed a few constituents. Leaders further described the importance of the game for the proposed game farm and lodge. None of these talks resulted in prohibiting hunting. Shiwarra noted that little could be done when people were hungry (ibid).

Secondly, fencing is necessary to keep the game secured; however, community members habitually take down, re-use and/or sell sections of fencing around the farm (discussed earlier in the chapter). In order for the game lodge project to run smoothly the community must be wholly committed to its success. The continued hunting and killing of game meant for guests' enjoyment at the lodge and the taking down of fencing are symptomatic of the community's immediate needs, at the same time these are factors that will secure project failure. Furthermore, without adequate training and continued guidance individuals from the

community cannot be expected to successfully run the lodge. By and large, community-run lodges suffer from their owners' lack of knowledge and experience within the cultural tourism industry; specialists are often required to turn these failing ventures into successful enterprises (cf. Dyll-Myklebust 2012, 2011).

Long-term development goals are often hampered by pressing short-term needs. Coupled with a possible sense that development is happening *to* instead of *with* them, community members will most likely feel disconnected from the process and will possibly disregard pleas of the more affluent leadership. Community members may also be disgruntled following preferential treatment by those in positions of leadership. For example, community leaders that are part of the steering committee at Wildebeest Kuil are often responsible for sourcing workers from the community for projects at the site. The 2012 landscaping project, for example, utilised twenty-two community members over a period of two months; however, it is often the same groups of people who are selected for different projects or tasks. A knowledgeable respondent from the community (who asked to remain anonymous) noted that friends and relatives were often placed on the list of workers (Anon, interview, June 2011); this show of nepotism was confirmed by the Platfontein dance group and others interviewed. Employment in Platfontein is scarce, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and SASI are the two main tenable sources of employment, however, according to another reliable source, in order to secure a position in any one of these two places, one would have to be the friend of or play on the same soccer team as someone already employed there (Anon, interview, June 2011). Only by luck would a person secure a job at either of these two places without a 'contact' there (ibid).

The community experience an overarching distrust of organisations. The youth interviewed felt that SASI Platfontein becomes involved in community projects only to showcase their involvement and not for the betterment of the community (Interview, June 2011). Andre reiterated that SASI did not listen to the needs and desires of the youth; he said that he hoped for SASI to aid his dance group—with funding—to help nurture their talent, however, he had no faith in this happening because SASI Platfontein had its own agenda (ibid). It became evident that little had changed regarding the community's reception of SASI since I first began research in Platfontein:

Currently, many community members in Platfontein are disillusioned with SASI and some refuse to work with them in implementing community projects (Fieldnotes, February 2009). This is due to a multiplicity of reasons, one of which is an alleged lack of communication. Some in the community believe that SASI has little knowledge of the goings-on in Platfontein. More disconcertingly, the community members who work in the SASI office in Platfontein are distrusted and thought to be only interested in safeguarding their own interests, other community members believe that SASI does not have the community's best interests in mind, but seeks to generate wealth and reputation for itself (Fieldnotes, February 2009). There is an immediate need for SASI to re-establish the Platfontein community's faith in this NGO that is meant to assist and support them. (Barnabas, 2009:80)

In addition, assurances made to this community by the then SADF and the South African government thereafter have failed to meet their guarantees. Further challenges arise when organisations involved in development within this community do not work together and support each other. The game lodge project currently spearheaded by DEDT could easily become part of the Footprints of the San tourism route (a project begun by Open Africa in conjunction with SASI—discussed further in Chapter Five); however, DEDT is yet to consult with these two organisations on plans to expand cultural tourism in the area. Moreover, SASI was not made aware of DEDT's intention to re-build the lodge (Fieldnotes, July 2012). Competing objectives and strife between development organisations and government departments will only further entrench a sense of distrust manifesting in the community and resulting in their disconnect with processes of development. A necessary foundation is thus the re-building of trust in development agencies, organisations and government to serve the best interests of the community.

In early 2011 there were talks of setting up a cultural village at Wildebeest Kuil (Fieldnotes, June 2011). This would entail the building of a *boma* in which various huts and shelters were to be built. Traditional healers, dance groups, artists and craftspeople from the Platfontein community were to share this space and perform for tourists. The idea was abandoned primarily on account of the community's internal grievances. The !Xun and Khwe did not want to co-habit the same cultural village and decided to build separate 'villages' in Platfontein. It is not uncommon that contestations over a shared heritage asset occur within a single group, since groups are frequently more heterogeneous and their views divergent

(Timothy & Boyd 2003; Graham 1994; Kavanagh 1983). The two cultural villages in Platfontein are now used occasionally by the !Xun and Khwe for traditional ceremonies.⁷¹ There exists a (still unachieved) objective for triangulation between the cultural villages and Wildebeest Kuil in terms of cultural tourism. While community tensions were largely responsible for the abandoned proposal of a cultural village at Wildebeest Kuil, objections from management were also voiced. There was a concern that a rock art heritage site playing host to a ‘contemporary’ San cultural village would implicate direct descendancy between those who created the engravings and the contemporary !Xun and Khwe. This concern may be seen as incongruous with management’s proposal of the site as one of multiple stories (cf. Chapter Six).

A similar example of management’s concern of creating a ‘false link’ was expressed in the apprehension regarding initial proposals for the military wing. Since 2005 community leaders had expressed their wish for “some sort of ‘museum’ space in the village that would be accessible to the community”; moreover they had wanted a memorial to the fallen San soldiers of Battalion 31 to be erected at the front entrance of the interpretive centre (Morris, email, 9 April 2013). These discussions evolved to include a proposal⁷² for the military wing (Wilson & Ndebele, interview, June 2012). Management expressed reservations concerning the inclusion of the wing as well as the monument—believing it would further blur the line between the ancient San engravers and the contemporary !Xun and Khwe (Fieldnotes, June 2012). A pointed politicisation of the site was a further concern. Morris proposed the idea of a military exhibition centre within Platfontein; he met with a !Xun traditional leader (who was also a former soldier) and a sergeant from the old Battalion 31 who was taken with the idea. Following this, plans for the military wing were momentarily halted and a monument to the fallen soldiers of Battalion 31 was erected outside the SASI Platfontein offices.

The management of Wildebeest Kuil played a similar role in altering community plans in the case of a proposed solar farm on Platfontein. Early in 2011, the community leaders were

⁷¹ On a visit to the site in 2012 I was told of a misunderstanding between the man employed as caretaker of one of the cultural villages (each had its own caretaker) and SASI. Apparently, the job was to be for a short period during the building process, to make sure that nothing was stolen from the site. Thereafter no funds were available to keep on the caretakers; however, this particular man continued to do the job of caretaker of the site and had retained the keys to the village in a bid to extract payment from SASI for the extra time in which he worked (Fieldnotes, September 2012).

⁷² This proposal may have been of personal as well as communal significance to the community leaders who brought forth the idea; many of these leaders are surviving soldiers of Battalion 31.

approached by a company with the request to put up solar panels on land owned by the !Xun and Khwe (Shiwarra, interview, July 2012). The initial site was considerably too large and close to both Wildebeest Kuil and the soon to be re-developed game lodge on Platfontein farm. In June 2012, after further meetings with the company, the McGregor Museum and constituents of the Northern Cape government, the argument offered by the McGregor that a solar panel site would not be ideally situated so close to a heritage tourism site (and the proposed game lodge) was weightily considered and a second, smaller site was chosen closer to the community. At the time of writing the community were awaiting an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) to be conducted by national government. The company had stated that the solar panels would not be visible from either the lodge or Wildebeest Kuil. This seems unlikely since the hilltop at Wildebeest Kuil offers unhampered views of the surrounding area—the lights of Barkly West, some 20 kilometres away, can be seen at night. Arguments arising out of this dilemma pertain to the preservation of heritage in conflict with development of the peri-urban poor.

A concern in terms of site preservation has been the potential harm caused to the associative cultural landscape which is of great importance to a heritage site as it contains “powerful religious, artistic or cultural association” (UNESCO-World Heritage Committee, 2008:86). Under the NHRA (1999) certain heritage sites/objects are afforded the ‘right to a view’ where the value of a site/object is largely dependent on its location and more specifically the view offered by the site. With its possible spiritual and cosmological origins, rock art “speaks to the significance of place” (UNESCO-World Heritage Committee, 2008:123). The choice of place was indicative of its ability to give form to cosmological thoughts, providing the context for “the ritual occasions through which they were enacted” (2008:80). In this way the landscape becomes a stage; “a series of places for enacting belief” (ibid). The hilltop on which the engravings are found at Wildebeest Kuil is a vantage point from which the surrounding plains are clearly visible. Standing on this hilltop one is struck by the expansive stretch of land and sky and visitors are able to acquire a sense of the greatness of the landscape through which the nomadic ancient San once travelled. Furthermore, if, as the shamanistic theory of rock art suggests, the art was used for rituals such as rain-making (Morris 2004, 2002; Deacon 1988), this vantage point would have been ideal for detecting rain clouds approaching from a distance. The presence of solar panels may thus threaten the (spiritual) aesthetic of Wildebeest Kuil’s associative cultural landscape.

A prime example of a South African heritage site with a protected view is Fort Wynard, a Victorian defence battery on Cape Town's coastline with unobstructed views of Blouberg and Robben Island. Since a large part of its heritage value lies in Fort Wynard's historic use as a vantage point, should this view be obscured or lost "its value as a heritage site would diminish drastically... [and] South Africa would be the poorer for such a loss" (Volschenk & Kotze, 2012:np). Therefore, stringent measures are put in place concerning the development of properties adjacent to and within the scope of the fort's view. Building restrictions in this area, however, have not hampered industry or development. The case of Wildebeest Kuil is very different and the needs of the Platfontein community are far more immediate. The company responsible for the solar panels has a twenty-five year lease on the site and has promised the community that bursaries and other study opportunities will be offered to the community's youth in future if the project generates satisfactory profit. A further and more immediate promise is that they will employ people from Platfontein as on-site security and others to clean and maintain the solar panels. This pledge of employment opportunities speaks to a significant need in the community as unemployment in Platfontein is rife. When asked about the exact opportunities to be made available, Shiwarra could say only that there would be thirty to fifty posts made available and while he did not know the specifics, he said, "As die goed op grond is, dan sal ons sien" [When the things [solar panels] are built then we'll see] (Interview, July 2012).

Later in 2012, Morris was asked to attend a meeting:

...when it was perceived that the rock art centre or museum were opposed to the erection of a solar energy facility alongside the site and it was pointed out that the rock art doesn't last but the sun lasts forever—clearly a recognition that more money would accrue from building the solar energy facility than from the heritage site. (Morris, email, 9 April 2013)

On the other hand, in my interview with Shiwarra, it was apparent that he valued Morris' input, further he agreed that the rock engravings were to be taken into consideration in the planning process (Interview, July 2012). Shiwarra expressed respect for the historic significance of the engravings, associative landscape and surrounding archaeological finds that imbue the site with unique and irreplaceable value. At the same time he was keenly

aware of the need for employment and income generation within the settlement. Heritage conservation is thus set against much needed employment generation in a modern-day, unresolved equation not uncommon in the African context.

Summary

Setbacks at Wildebeest Kuil have come in the form of vandalism, damaging fires, custodial failings, a lack of funding and shortage of staff. It is due only to on-going support from the McGregor Museum and other partnering institutions that the site remains open. Since heritage preservation is the responsibility of the management at Wildebeest Kuil, their values, expectations and priorities concerning the site will be different to that of community leaders whose foremost commission is to consider the needs and development goals of the community. When host communities are represented on site, processes of interpretation, presentation and the viewer's negotiated reading become all the more complex. Present-day presentations at Wildebeest Kuil have been shown to vacillate between progressive and historically static. The regressive presentation of the !Xun and Khwe military exhibition has highlighted that democratic transition aside, pockets of conservative, dogmatic approaches to history and heritage remain.

The chapter illustrates that heritage is not constituted by policy and representation alone. Concerns and challenges at Wildebeest Kuil reiterate that circumstances affecting "people and processes behind the scenes at an institution" are also critical to meaning-making, mutability and the production of ideology (Littler, 2005:13). Far from providing answers, this chapter elucidates significant questions, some of which require national attention and cannot be answered in the study. Concerns of the !Xun and Khwe are compounded by their cyclic and often inter-related nature. Platfontein has an alarmingly high unemployment rate, most of the community rely on government grants and development is hampered by discrimination from outside Platfontein and their already low self-image is worsened. The lack of proficiency in English and Afrikaans is a major contributor to the inability to secure employment outside of Platfontein. This is a community in distress, nonetheless, it is meant to play the host at Wildebeest Kuil. Can they be expected not to cut down trees in the area for firewood when they have no electricity in their homes and winter temperatures in the

Northern Cape often plummet below freezing? Can it be expected of the Platfontein community to be custodians of a heritage site when they are a community in turmoil?

Given the hosts' myriad concerns it is not surprising that the running of the Wildebeest tourism centre is nearly wholly the responsibility of the McGregor museum and that the museum prioritises the conservation of the rock engravings over the community's ownership of the site. While it is understandable, this type of management will not resolve the on-going problems of the site. Vandalism, misuse and theft will remain (if not increase) until the site's fundamental problems are fixed. Perhaps the !Xun and Khwe's seeming disregard for Wildebeest Kuil, their indifference to the trouble caused by its damage, and apathetic behaviours are merely manifestations of the disappointment felt by the community over the failure of the site to meet initial projections. It may possibly speak to a greater disappointment over their marginalised position in a society where they feel rejected and disparaged. Solutions to community development and site sustainability lie in support received from all structures of leadership in addressing such exclusion and the symptomatic devaluation of heritage. The following chapter continues to explore these concerns with a focus on heritage in tourism.

Chapter Five

Heritage in Tourism

Building on the critical exploration of heritage in the previous chapters, this chapter focuses on heritage in tourism. The discussion begins with definitions and conceptualisations, briefly outlining debates in the field. It then moves to the concern of the value of tourism in opposition to the possible tangible and intangible damage it may cause, followed by a broad overview of tourism in the South African context and more specifically tourism at Wildebeest Kuil. The latter part of the chapter examines South Africa's cultural heritage tourism policy and legislation. The discussion problematises the relationship between policy and praxis. Challenges of heritage management in the African context are outlined, highlighting the widespread concerns of cultural heritage tourism in the developing world. The terms 'heritage tourism', 'cultural tourism', and 'cultural heritage tourism' are used interchangeably to describe the type of tourism at Wildebeest Kuil since the site brings together presentations of the !Xun and Khwe San peoples and the shared national heritage of rock art.

Definitions and conceptualisations

Within tourism there is widespread use of terms interchangeably; 'cultural tourism', heritage tourism', 'ethnic tourism' and 'arts tourism' have become transposable in their usage "with limited consensus regarding whether or not people are talking about the same thing" (Timothy & Boyd, 2003:5). Cultural tourism may be seen to encompass both heritage and arts tourism in that it includes not only the visiting of sites but consuming the way of life of those sites (Timothy & Boyd 2003; Richards 2001). The tourism at Wildebeest Kuil may be described as 'special interest' in that it:

...aligns more closely with the notion of serious heritage enthusiasts, who are earnest seekers of the past, whether for personal discovery, general education or to fulfil hobby-related needs. (Timothy, 2011:151)

While there is a cultural element in most kinds of travel, cultural tourism was recognised as a distinct product in the late 1970s when it became evident that certain travel was specifically geared toward gaining “a deeper understanding of the culture or heritage of a destination” (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:1; Tighe 1986). Initially considered a niche market for the educated, affluent tourist looking for something other than a beach holiday, cultural tourism has—since the fragmentation of the mass market in the 1990s—been recognised as a “high-profile, mass market activity” (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:1). Heritage tourism has been hailed as a fast-growing form of cultural tourism (Prentice, 1994). The natural and built historic environment, artefacts, cultural traditions and identities constituting heritage have come to be considered as significant for tourism as for the passing down from one generation to the other (Prentice, 1993).

Heritage tourism may be defined as “a subgroup of tourism, in which the main motivation for visiting a site is based on the place’s heritage characteristics...” (Poria, Butler & Airey, 2001:1048). This definition was strongly criticised by Brian Garrod and Alan Fyall (2001) because the noted heritage characteristics were contingent on “tourists’ perception of their own heritage” (Poria *et al.* 2001:1048) thus excluding the position of those who supply the tourism experience. Alternative research makes a distinction between cultural and heritage tourism, arguing that the former focuses on the present while the latter focuses on the past (cf. Moscardo, 2000). Another perspective questions the relevance of a distinction between heritage and cultural tourism, stating rather that the tourist is concerned not with assigned labels but a satisfying and enjoyable experience (Butler, 1997). The debate within the literature over the definition of terms suggests a tendency to become mired in rhetoric (Timothy & Boyd 2003; Fyall & Garrod 1998). In this study heritage characteristics are viewed not as solely conditional to tourist perceptions but include that which has already been defined as such under the national estate and that which is commonly accepted by locals. In truth, heritage tourism is “rather elastic” taken to involve a myriad of features including “museums, historic districts, re-enactments of historical events, statues, monuments and shrines” (Richter, 2005:257).

The study takes heritage tourism to fall under the rubric of cultural tourism which in turn may be described as similarly elastic. This elasticity is particularly evident in extensive definitions of ‘culture’ ranging from different approaches with varying interpretations and research

objectives. Working from an earlier suggestion to analyse the ways in which the concept is used and laying the foundation for the field of cultural studies, Raymond Williams (1976) identified three broad categories of the use of the term 'culture' which include: culture as "a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development"; as indicative of a group's particular way of life; and as "the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity" (Williams, 1976:90). When considered a process culture is regarded as "a continuous, adaptable, ever-changing process of the 'production of meanings' which provides a framework for individual members of a group to make sense of themselves and their own lives" (Ivanovic, 2008:22). In this way, culture is seen to be influenced by a variety of endogenous and exogenous forces being naturally transformed through time. Culture as a product includes the manifestation of the various processes of production discussed above. Tangible as well as intangible products are created, which include: artefacts, language, arts and crafts, architecture, inventions and myth to name a few (ibid).

Just as culture, the fundamental attraction in cultural tourism, is described as both a process and product, the sector may be defined in similarly bilateral terms. Firstly, the technical or "site and monuments" approach to defining cultural tourism is derived from the product-based definition of culture with its focus on types of cultural products consumed by tourists and attractions visited (Bonink 1992, cited in Richards, 1996:22). The specificity of this approach proves useful in quantitative research whereby visitors are identified and tallied according to demographics (Richards, 1996). Secondly, the conceptual perspective, based on the process-based approach to defining culture, is concerned with "motives and meanings attached to cultural tourism activity" (1996:22). Attempts to integrate the product and process-based approaches have proven difficult (Ivanovic, 2008).

Four broad categorical designations of cultural tourism are identified by Bob McKercher and Hilary du Cros: tourism-derived, motivational, experiential, and operational (2002:3). Definitions which place cultural tourism "within a broader framework of tourism and tourism management theory" are tourism-derived (2002:4). These include the views that culture forms the basis of attracting visitors and motivating people to travel (ibid; McIntosh & Goeldner 1990), and that cultural tourism involves "interrelationships between people, places, and cultural heritage" (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:4; Zeppel & Hall 1991). Following the above, cultural tourists are believed to have travel motivations different to

those of other tourists and it is this motivation that is central to the definition of cultural tourism (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002).

The experiential designation of cultural tourism involves “experiencing or having contact of differing intensity with the unique social fabric, heritage, and special character of places” (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:4; Schweitzer 1999). Education and entertainment combine in this definition together with the hope that an observation of a cultural past may help the viewer to see the present from a different point of view and perhaps become a reflexive tourist. An operational approach is where cultural tourism is defined “by participation in any one of the almost limitless array of activities or experiences” (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:5). In this definition, motivation, purpose and depth of experience seem less essential. From the above it is clear that there are different types of cultural tourists. For some, the cultural tourism activity is central to their visit, for others the activity is supplementary, and still others are accidental cultural tourists, participating in a cultural tourism activity as incidental to their main trip. Most mainstream tourists who participate in cultural tourism activities do so as subsidiary to their trip; these are incidental, causal or serendipitous cultural tourists. Indeed, lesser-known destinations are likely to attract these kinds of cultural tourists. The core, purposeful cultural tourism market, however, remains a niche market and the depth of experience differs in each of these examples (*ibid*).

Typologies encouraged by the above range of definitions are potentially harmful to heterogeneity in the sector. Richard Prentice (2005) states that the heterogeneous nature of heritage attractions is negated in such typologies as the ‘heritage sector’ or ‘heritage industry’ (cf. Hewison, 1987); incorrect inferences are possible, such as limitations of some sites attested to all. Broad typologies obscure the varied attractions available in terms of heritage tourism. In response to the above, Prentice (1993) proposes an extensive typology showing twenty-three different types of attractions and their potential subdivisions. Similarly, a heritage spectrum, advocated by Greg Richards (1996), suggests that there are different types of heritage landscapes which traverse a multiplicity of settings ranging from the natural to the urban. In this way heritage tourism shares characteristics with other types of tourism such as urban, cultural and eco-tourism. This sharing of characteristics demonstrates that tourism sectors are not mutually exclusive but rather that they tend to overlap.

The growth of cultural tourism in the early to mid-1990s is attested to changes in contemporary preferences for “quality, special interest markets, and experiential, rather than passive, activities” (Waite, 2000:838; World Tourism Organization 1990). Niche markets, such as heritage and eco-tourism, have evolved out of “consumers’ reluctance to be treated as an undifferentiated mass” (Waite, 2000:838; Urry 1990). Particularly since the 1980s, the popularity of heritage attractions became an established feature in tourism demand and promotion across the globe (Prentice, 2005). This has been attributed to several factors:

...an increasing awareness of heritage, an ability to express individuality through recognition of an historical environment or staged history, greater affluence, increased leisure time, mobility, access to the arts, the need to transcend contemporary experiences to compensate for their deficiencies and demands, and/or to fulfil psychological needs for continuity through an appreciation of personal family history. (Waite, 2000:838; Brokensha & Guldborg 1992)

Contemporary tourists are becoming more dissatisfied with tourist routes and attractions that highlight a grandiose and aristocratic heritage and are now turning to heritage landscapes of everyday peoples “to understand the human condition in the past” (Timothy, 2011:363). The growth of rural tourism has been described as emphasising “a centrifugal pull of interest away from centred cultures towards previously marginal peoples” (Hollinshead, 1992:44). Such a turn may be reflective of heritage as a key component in the establishment and propagation of identities and a desire in Western society for authentic experiences (Hall, 1994:182; cf. chapters Three and Six). Now inextricably linked to tourism, heritage sites provide “the motivation for people to visit a country in the first place” (Millar, 1989:14); however, this is not without its concerns. The following section describes impacts of cultural heritage tourism on localities and inhabitants and foregrounds arguments regarding the value of tourism in opposition to possible tangible and intangible damage it may cause.

The tourism-development dilemma

In the past half-century the tourism industry has evolved into “one of the world’s most powerful, yet controversial, socio-economic forces”; becoming progressively more democratised and growing in both scale and scope (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008:1). The

promotion of tourism for the potential contribution to economic and social development has become an increasing focus in the developing world where development may be described as:

...a complex, multidimensional concept that may be defined as a continuous and positive change in the economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of the human condition, guided by the principle of freedom of choice and limited by the environment's capacity to sustain such change. (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008:6)

There is, however, a tourism-development dilemma faced by developing countries in the process of their entry into the global tourism industry and their pursuit of tourism as a development option (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008). While potential local and national benefits may not materialise, profits are accumulated by multinational corporations and/or small local elites oftentimes at considerable social, economic or environmental costs. Often the inflow of foreign expenditure is dispersed among airlines, tour operators and travel agents (Nicholson-Lord 1997, in Inglis, 2000). The accrual of benefits in this way is not indicative of circumstances at Wildebeest Kuil. Of significance to the case study is the indication that reliance on tourism as a 'silver bullet' is "unlikely to reap significant and long-term benefits for the already marginalised" particularly if these communities are "fractured and inhabit environmentally vulnerable areas" (Chok, Macbeth & Warren, 2007:36).

The tourism industry is at the mercy of external forces; it is highly susceptible to inclement weather, natural disasters, political unrest, downturns in world and local markets, changing market trends, and competing market segments. Overdependence on tourism, particularly one type of tourism, is of concern. Many of the ≠Khomani San crafters of the Northern Cape, for example, have no employment external to selling crafts on the side of the road to passing tourists. Entrepreneurship aside, malnutrition, ill-health and high mortality rates in this community are of concern (cf. Grant, 2011). Economic endurance (supplementing the good health of individuals and communities) is better had in places with diversified sectors which include tourism, farming, manufacturing, and mining for example (Timothy, 2011).

Impacts of tourism

It is arguable that tourism is a destructive force; injurious to culture, trivialising art and craft, damaging the natural and built environment, generating social ills (such as prostitution and

drug abuse), and spreading “elitism, snobbery, consumerism and false get-rich-quick values” (Sethi, 2005:102). Further implications include “inflation, overdependence, monetary leakage, a tendency to widen the gap between the haves and the have-nots, and low wage earnings” (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009d:57). Indigenous populations have also been known to be removed from their lands, sometimes forcefully, due to government plans to use the site as a heritage tourism venue (Timothy & Nyaupane 2009a; Timothy 1999, 1994).⁷³ The heritage tourism industry has been criticised as a producer of inaccurate and shallow views of the past and an overall mechanism of trivialising history (cf. Uzzell 1996; Hewison 1987). Significant impacts in the context of heritage tourism are that of a socio-cultural nature; Dallen J. Timothy describes a few as: “[t]he conflicting use of social space; cultural change; cultural commodification; cultural theft; forced displacement; and disharmonious resident-tourist or destination-tourism relations” (2011:151).

Aspects of the above are discussed here in terms of their potential relevance to Wildebeest Kuil; the discussion will exclude features not significant to the case study. The conflicting use of social space at Wildebeest Kuil is constituted by vandalism and misuse of the site by the host community (cf. Chapter Four) counterpoised to the intended use of the site. In the heritage tourism sector in particular, the impact of tourist behaviours on destination residents/hosts could potentially cause changes in lifestyle, dress, culinary tastes, family relations and other cultural aspects; this is especially manifest in young people from host communities seeking to emulate the behaviours and consumption patterns of tourists as these have become markers of ‘the good life’ (Timothy, 2011).

In *The God of Small Things*, Arundhati Roy laments the loss of meaning through the entertainment process of tourism of the once sacrosanct Kathakali dance and the effects of this on the dancers (1997:230):

⁷³ An example of this are the ≠Khomani of southern Africa who were forced to leave their ancestral hunting and gathering grounds in what is now the Kalagadi Transfrontier Park (cf. Grant, 2011). While tourists are welcome to frequent the Park, the communities whose ancestors had made this area their home were shunned in favour of the protection of natural heritage. In 2002 this community was granted land in the Park (ibid).

The Kathakali Man is the most beautiful of men. Because his body *is* his soul. His only instrument. From the age of three it has been planed and polished, pared down, harnessed wholly to the task of story-telling. He has magic in him, this man within the painted mask and swirling skirts.

But these days he has become unviable. Unfeasible. Condemned goods... In despair he turns to tourism. He enters the market. He hawks the only thing he owns. The stories that his body can tell. He becomes a Regional Flavour.

In the Heart of Darkness⁷⁴ they mock him with their lolling nakedness and their imported attention spans. He checks his rage and dances for them. He collects his fee. He gets drunk. Or smokes a joint. Good Kelala grass. It makes him laugh. Then he stops by the Ayemenem Temple, he and the others with him, and they dance to ask pardon of the gods.

Roy's postcolonial critique of tourism in Kerala highlights a disempowerment of the host in relationship to their guests. This is counterpoised to Tim Edensor (2000) who refers to the constructedness of the tourist's role in the performance as not altogether in charge of its direction. Cara Aitchison cites an example of elder Masai women who perform dances for tourists that were traditionally performed by young women; "[w]ith many young women having migrated from the rural villages to urban centres in search of full-time employment, the villagers are reluctant to forego the potential income from tourists" (2001:143). Aitchison questions whether these women are 'corrupting their stories', as Roy implies, or "transforming history into heritage to develop a living through 'the world's fastest growing industry'" (ibid). She concludes that the not entirely scripted performance is enacted by both host and guest, neither of whom maintains complete control. The above highlights that while the nature of the host/guest relationship is subject to critique it is not simply unalterable but rather vulnerable to changing contexts (cf. Van Beek & Schmidt, 2012). It is yet to be seen what host/guest relations will emerge out of Wildebeest Kuil.

Cultural theft, another key impact of heritage tourism, describes the pilfering of historic artefacts and/or the misappropriating of indigenous culture by outsiders (Timothy, 2011). These 'souvenirs' represent either a kind of bourgeois acquisitiveness in an effort to possess a piece of history or experience for oneself or a more practical source of income (Timothy

⁷⁴ Roy's reference to Joseph Conrad's (1986) novel of the same name alludes to similar themes in the African context as explored by Conrad and others.

2011; Ivanovic 2008). To the traveller wishing to keep the souvenir for themselves, the object often acts as a kind of talisman, upon sight or touch, able to conjure up the best moments of the tour and carrying within itself the memories of the traveller and the sights, smells, sounds and experiences of the place (Inglis, 2000). The illicit trade in ancient artefacts continues to be widespread and growing (Timothy, 2011). The management at Wildebeest Kuil have expressed a concern regarding the possibility of some of the smaller and easily transportable rocks being removed by opportunists for profit should the centre close down and the site be left unattended (Fieldnotes, June 2011). Interestingly, this is an inversion of the argument that heritage tourism endangers sites and heritage objects. In other words, the above implies that it is because of the on-going custodial role played by the McGregor Museum at Wildebeest Kuil that the heritage resource remains protected.

A main cause of disputes between marginalised indigenous groups and dominant elites is that:

[b]ecause indigenous people in general had established habitation prior to present-day dominant elites— a key aspect of Indigeneity— they are then the hosts, not the hosted, within the state in which they find themselves embedded. Yet... those dominant states see themselves as ‘hosts’ who tolerate these surviving indigenous peoples. (Hall & Fenelon, 2009:34)

Perhaps it is because of an abiding sense of having to ‘tolerate’ the indigenous that dominant groups feel justified in appropriating their cultural iconography.⁷⁵ Residents and host communities may participate in the tourism industry out of necessity and with a measure of ill-feeling (Timothy, 2011). Depending on personal encounters with the industry and tourists, individual attitudes towards local tourism may vary. Studies on host community attitudes to tourism show that reactions differ according to variables such as economic levels before tourism in the region, the level of tourism development, the degree of economic dependence

⁷⁵ Controversy arose in recent years surrounding the use of American Indian concepts in sport. The Cleveland Indians and Atlanta Braves baseball teams along with the Washington Redskins and Kansas City Chiefs football teams have been under pressure from Native American groups to change their names. These groups have threatened to take legal action against “what they feel is an insulting use of their heritage” (Timothy, 2011:155). New Zealand Maori attitudes to tourism have similarly been “critical of the way they are stereotyped into guides, entertainers, carvers, and as components of the natural scenery” (Maori Tourism Task Force 1968, cited in Timothy, 2001:155). The implication is that they are taken to exist as cultural heritage resources with the sole purpose to serve the tourism needs of their country (cf. Hall 1994; Hall & Zeppel 1990; Cossons 1989).

of the locality on tourism, the density of tourists, perceived costs and perceived benefits (Van Beek & Schmidt 2012; Gursoy, Chi & Dyer 2009). Moreover, locals' support for tourism development projects will depend on those aspects of the project they deem appropriate and able to minimise negative impacts. Some community members will have a positive attitude to tourism in the area based on fruitful encounters with tourists or the industry (perhaps they have found jobs in the industry), while other community members may have negative views of tourism in the area based on unconstructive encounters with tourists or the industry. It may be difficult for poverty-stricken communities to hold a positive view of tourism when they see the stark difference between their state of living and the luxury tourist venue in which they are to perform/play host (Vargas-Sanchez, Porrás-Bueno & De los Ángeles Plaza-Mejía 2011; Gursoy *et al.* 2009).

The above notwithstanding, the 2001 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) endorsed tourism development as “one of the most valuable avenues for reducing the marginalisation of LDCs [Least Developed Countries] from the global economy” (UNCTAD, 2001:1). Africa has an enormous and diverse inventory of historical and cultural resources, hosting 116 of the 878 World Heritage properties (Teye, 2009). Sub-Saharan countries hold a significant number of those heritage assets, of which South Africa has eight. Sub-Saharan Africa is also the world's poorest region “with respect to per capita gross national product (GNP), low literacy rates, high infant mortality, and relatively short life expectancy”, as well as fast-growing populations, health and medical issues, political turmoil, warfare, and natural disasters (2009:165). There is widespread belief in tourism's potential contribution to sustainable economic development and poverty alleviation. Indeed, the historic, geographic and cultural diversity of Africa “make it a region with enormous potential for economic development using tourism as a tool for diversification beyond the principal traditional economic activities” (*ibid.*).

Positive outcomes of tourism include employment generated, the increase in regional and national income levels, and the stimulation of entrepreneurialism (Timothy, 2011). Direct employment refers to jobs within the tourism industry whereas indirect employment refers to jobs created or sustained outside of the industry due to tourism's multiplier effect. Therefore, the groundskeeper at a heritage site who buys food from his local market is helping to create and maintain jobs at the market. This effect continues throughout the region and beyond.

Regional income growth occurs with the inflow of foreign and domestic currencies to an area. Tourists make use of accommodation, entertainment and shopping facilities among others, their buying habits also encourage entrepreneurship and influence the multiplier effect as described above. In this way tourism is a significant tool for income growth. While the generation of tax revenue occurs in all spheres, tourism does add its own considerable portion: airport fees, vehicle hire, accommodation and site visitation are a few of the key areas in tax revenue generation. The government surcharge or sales tax included in the admission fees at certain sites of historic and heritage significance are either used for the continued maintenance and overall management of the site or for the maintenance of infrastructure in the area or other costs (ibid).

Conservation, in the developed world, more than economically motivated, “is often done for aesthetic, educational, or other perceived socio-psychological benefits” (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009b:31). In less-developed regions, due to poverty and its impact on people’s living conditions, the conservation of heritage is not a high priority, especially if communities receive no immediate benefit (Timothy & Nyaupane 2009a; Henson 1989; Cohen 1978). Increased demand by tourists (which includes visitation, overuse and inappropriate use) provides an economic and political justification for conservation (Timothy & Nyaupane 2009a; McKercher & Du Cros 2002). Profits generated may mitigate situations where there is little or no funding from government. Tourism may play a role in creating community awareness of the importance of conservation and educational and informative interpretations at sites may encourage sensitivity to site conservation in tourists themselves. Further, a counterpoint to the critique that tourism leads to cultural uniformity and homogenisation is that tourism stimulates cultural diversity (functioning also to revive lost celebrations) and the preservation of indigenous (possibly threatened) cultures (Timothy & Nyaupane 2009a; Ivanovic 2008). This perspective holds that:

...cultural tourists interested in indigenous cultures will continue to tap into and give impetus to these numerous distinctive cultural currents, ensuring cultural diversity among different communities for many generations to come. This in turn will secure tourism’s survival, dependent as it is on the attractiveness of the unique attributes of a destination’s natural and cultural environments. (Ivanovic, 2008:7)

A further concern within heritage tourism is that social class bias remains a recurrent feature in over a decade's worth of surveys conducted across different types of heritage attractions (Prentice 2005, 1989). The predominantly middle-class visitor profile at Wildebeest Kuil is shown to be replicated at heritage sites across the globe—even at sites seeking to attract visitors from working-class households (cf. Prentice 2005, 1993). This is also true of holidaying tourists who visit heritage sites as part of their overall trip (casual or serendipitous). Such visits commonly occur out of a general rather than specific interest. This highlights the need—for Wildebeest Kuil in particular—to be linked within a larger tourist route; moreover it carries implications for the presentation of attractions, particularly that of multivocality (cf. Chapter Six). In the face of the above, increased societal esteem and cultural pride may also result out of cultural and heritage tourism, in effect producing social cohesion, community support for a cause, and personal investment (Timothy, 2011). These are all manifestations of social capital (cf. Chapter Six) which in turn “helps preserve living heritage, clean up the built environment and maintain a greener and cleaner community” (Timothy, 2011:157).

The above discussion notwithstanding, it is not within the scope of the study to debate the ethics of tourism. Processes of tourism and heritage tourism in particular, are ongoing, the aim here, and in the larger project from which the thesis extends, is to critically analyse these processes as they are engaged with and experienced by indigenous host communities in the developing world. What is true for most indigenous groups struggling on the periphery of society is that cultural heritage tourism has the potential for community development. While the criticisms are many, the situation is often not easily defined in terms of binaries, certainly as with cultural heritage tourism, individual contexts are significant in framing processes of tourism for particular sites and their overall potential for success.

Tourism in the South African context

In the years following South Africa's democracy and re-integration into the international community, tourism's contribution to the country's gross domestic product/profit had risen considerably. The post-1994 Mandela effect produced an influx of international tourists visiting the country due to curiosity over the end of apartheid and the country's political transformation. As president of the African National Congress (ANC) and later the first

democratically elected president of the country, Mandela's influence on ordinary South Africans to unite as a 'rainbow nation' and his leadership in an uncertain political space drew global attention translating into significant development for the country. South Africa was hailed worldwide as a beacon of reconciliation and a successful democracy. While there was considerable growth in the market in the early 1990s, the latter part of the decade brought with it weak investment rates and a currency volatility that drove uncertainty and short-term business strategies overall. This together with the decline of the Mandela effect, growing crime levels and political tension contributed to a decrease in overseas arrivals and tourism spend (SA Tourism, 2009/10; Cornelissen 2005).

The following decade saw an increase in tourism bolstered by the country's successful hosting of several high-profile global events. Two United Nations' events in 2001 and 2002, the FIFA World Cup in 2010 and the 17th Conference of the Parties (COP17) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2011 were notable events that brought South Africa worldwide attention. The hosting of international events has been significant for the country since its exclusion from global proceedings during apartheid sanctions. Gold mining, traditionally the country's primary export industry, was outperformed by tourism by three billion rand in 2005 (Ivanovic, 2008). In the same year, over seven million foreign tourists visited South Africa, more than double the volume of national tourism in the 10 years since the country's first democratic elections in 1994 (ibid). In 2009 tourism contributed eight percent to South Africa's gross domestic product (ibid). While economic constraints due to the global recession in recent years have seen a decline in both domestic and foreign arrivals, foreign expenditure remains considerably high. The second quarter of 2011 saw just over 18 percent of foreign tourists engage in activities relating to culture, history and heritage (SA Tourism Q2 Report, 2011).

In 1996 an absence of adequate education, training and awareness opportunities were regarded as the "greatest deficiency in the tourism industry in South Africa" (Cornelissen, 2005:44). Training capacity was unevenly spread across the provinces, "with Gauteng, North-West and the Western Cape Province leading the field" (ibid). The Northern Cape, and to a lesser degree, the Northern Province and Mpumalanga were identified as having, "little to show in terms of facilities" (ibid). These discrepancies are further marked by the lack of institutions of higher learning in these provinces, usually key vehicles for education and

training.⁷⁶ The accomplishment of the growth targets set out in the then Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism's *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*⁷⁷ (DEAT, 1996) has been mixed. For instance, the number of overseas arrivals in 2000 was over one-and-a-half million, short of the two million mark set out to be accomplished. Another goal was to "maintain a 15 percent increase in total visitor arrivals between the years 1996 and 2006"; the actual growth rate averaged at nine percent between 1993 and 2002 (DEAT, 1996:np; Cornelissen 2005). More than a decade has passed since the writing of the *White Paper* and many of the barriers to tourism growth remain.

During the period of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the most visited provinces were Gauteng, the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal (SA Tourism, 2010/11). This is a common trend as most dominant tour itineraries include a few key destinations that are also highly standardised (SA Tourism Q2 Report 2011; Cornelissen 2005). Further, market trends suggest that tourists tend to remain in a single place when on holiday rather than travelling across provinces. Research has shown that Cape Town has been singled out by tour operators as the primary tourist attraction in South Africa (Cornelissen, 2005). Described as the Europe of Africa, Cape Town often receives (through the tourism industry) economic advancements that are needful (and ultimately lacking) in less developed regions of the country. Unlike its western neighbour, the Northern Cape traditionally receives the least percentage of tourists both domestic and international (SA Tourism, 2014). While the province has no shortage of heritage resources accessibility is a concern as road travel is the most common form of journeying in this region and the great distances between locations requires long hours behind the wheel.⁷⁸

Information from a 2010 and 2011 domestic tourism survey highlighted that the Northern Cape is the least visited province in the country "with 3,0% of day trip travellers in 2010 and 2,4% in 2011" (Statistics South Africa, 2013:6). The percentage of overnight trips was

⁷⁶ In July 2013 President Jacob Zuma announced the opening of two new universities in the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga province. The Northern Cape's Sol Plaatje University, is set to establish an academic niche area in heritage studies, including museology, archaeology, indigenous languages and architectural conservation (*Mail & Guardian*, 25 July 2013:np).

⁷⁷ In October 1994, an Interim Tourism Task Team was appointed with the mandate to draft a tourism discussion paper as the foundation for a future national tourism policy. In September 1995, a Tourism Green Paper was produced representing the national and provincial governments, business sector, labour movement and community organisations. Thereafter, "the European Union was approached to provide technical assistance to the Government of South Africa in developing a Tourism White Paper... a great deal of emphasis was placed on developing the White Paper in such a way as to facilitate maximum participation by all" (DEAT, 1996:np).

⁷⁸ With an area of 372 889 square kilometres, the Northern Cape is the largest of South Africa's nine provinces (www.southafrica.info).

similarly low, with 2.6 percent having visited in 2010 and 2.3 percent in 2011 (2013:7). Of those visitors to the province, over 80 percent stayed with friends and family. Similar percentages were noted in the Gauteng (80.8 percent) and Free State (80.8 percent) provinces (ibid). Those provinces, however, enjoy far greater percentages of visitors. Gauteng, for example, “was the most visited province for day trips (23,9% in 2010 and 24,9% in 2011)” (2013:42). Research into patterns of the hotel sector in the period 1990 to 2010 (Rogerson 2013a, 2013b) shows that while the sector experienced restructuring and upgrading on a national scale, the local hotel sector in Kimberley experienced a net reduction in the number of hotels in the twenty year period. Of the local hotels, 12 were closed down while only seven new properties were opened. The large scale decline of Kimberley’s local hotel industry is “underpinned by the weak performance of Kimberley as a tourism destination over the past decade” (Van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2013:163).

Best known for its diamonds and marketed as ‘The city that sparkles’ Kimberley is rich in history and replete with museums, art galleries and memorials. The city’s famed diamond rush attracted treasure hunters from around the world and made for a thriving economy. Kimberley soon became a bustling settlement and a leader in national and international events. Relics and memorials from the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) are to be found in the city and surrounding areas. Once home to Sol Plaatje, apartheid activist, journalist and the first black South African to write a novel in English, the city is also rich in literary history (Welsh, 1998). Nevertheless, with all it has to offer, the city has performed weakly as a tourism destination over the last decade (Van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2013). The decline in hotels may also have been affected by the fact that at least eight out of 10 tourists who visited the Northern Cape between 2010 and 2011 (85.9 percent), stayed with friends or relatives (Statistics South Africa, 2013:26).

While the province remains the least visited in the country, tourists to the Northern Cape grew by 39.8 percent from 2012 to 2013 (SA Tourism, 2014:58). This was the highest growth in the number of tourists to have visited a province in the referenced period. It was also the province that experienced the fastest growth in terms of bed nights/stay overs (1.2 percent). In July 2012, on the official website of the Northern Cape Tourism Authority, tourism was described as “one of the biggest economic contributors in the province” (www.northerncape.org.za). As described above, there has been a “year-on-year growth for

both domestic, African and International arrivals as well as a significant increase in the duration of stay within the province” (ibid). These increased figures have been attributed to the province’s destination marketing efforts (ibid). This is discussed later in the chapter.

In 2011 20 percent of all foreign tourists undertook cultural, historical and heritage activities during their stay in South Africa (SA Tourism, 2014:137). This figure decreased to 16 percent in 2012 and 15 percent in 2013 (2013:135–136). Nevertheless, in 2013 35 percent of all foreign tourists to South Africa noted that the country’s cultural and heritage offerings constituted their most positive experience of South Africa (SA Tourism, 2014:139). This was an increase from both 2012 (32 percent) and 2011 (29 percent) (2013:140–141). The statistics concerning activities undertaken and most positive experience seem at odds. The statistical records do not account for this seeming contradiction. Categories of cultural tourists as defined by Bob McKercher & Hillary Du Cros (2002) and discussed earlier in the chapter may provide some clarification. The incidental, casual or serendipitous cultural tourist might visit a heritage site or participate in a cultural activity as accidental or supplementary to their trip (ibid). It is perhaps because of the subsidiary nature of the cultural or heritage experience that the statistics provided above may seem incongruous.

It is difficult to ascertain statistical records of how heritage tourism is doing in the country because of the way in which tourism surveys are conducted. For example, a table in appendix two of the SA Tourism 2013 report lists five categories under the title ‘Purpose of Visit’. These categories include leisure, business, medical, religion, and other. Similar categories are used by Statistics South Africa. At an address to the Cape Town Press Club in November 2012 on “The state of Travel and Tourism in South Africa” Minister of Tourism, Mr Marthinus Van Schalkwyk, noted that it was the aim of the department to place more focus on South Africa’s heritage and cultural offerings (Van Schalkwyk, 2012). In May of the same year the Department of Arts and Culture and the Department of tourism held a committee meeting in which they discussed the above. It was noted that while South Africa had a vast array of cultural and heritage offerings, the primary tourism market has consistently focused on safari-type and natural environment-based tourism (pmg.org.za). Thus while heritage tourism has persisted as a niche market, South African tourism has begun a dialogue to expand that market. The Northern Cape branding strategy is discussed further in the chapter

as is an overview of tourism at Wildebeest Kuil. Both sections should be read in terms of the broader contexts described here.

On responsible and sustainable tourism development

In response to the requirements for tourism growth in the country, the *Tourism White Paper* (DEAT, 1996) proposed ‘responsible tourism’ as the essential guiding principle for tourism development. This is an approach to tourism which encourages responsible trade union practices, responsible employment practices and furthermore:

...promotes responsibility to the environment through its sustainable use; responsibility to involve local communities in the tourism industry; responsibility for the safety and security of visitors and responsible government, employees, employers, unions and local communities. (DEAT, 1996:np)

The implication of this approach is an interconnection of responsibility in which employers, employees and the consumer are linked. Reciprocal goodwill, respect and enrichment are encouraged. Responsibility to the environment is promoted through tourism that is focussed on “the development of environmentally based tourism activities” while at the same time allowing for “the protection of biodiversity on land used for its purpose” (DEAT, 1996:np). The imperative is one of sustainable tourism development described in the *Tourism White Paper* as “tourism development, management and any other tourism activity which optimise the economic and other societal benefits available in the present without jeopardising the potential for similar benefits in the future” (ibid).

Originating from the more general ‘sustainable development’ which grew prominent in the 1980s sustainable tourism is predicated on the *World Commission on Environment and Development* report (Brundtland, 1987) which foregrounded the vision of economic development with a social conscience in terms of environmental impacts. This includes economic growth with a responsibility to both inter- and intra-generational equity (Garrod & Fyall 1998; Hughes 1995). Sustainable tourism is often cited as an answer to the challenge of “how to integrate cultural heritage and tourism management needs in a process that will result in a product that is appealing to visitors, while at the same time conserving cultural and heritage values” (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:171). Even so, ‘sustainability’ means different

things to different groups of people, and “has been used by different groups to promote completely opposing agendas” (ibid; cf. McKercher 1993). To some, sustainability may have an economic function such that sites are managed largely for their use value and “heavy use of an asset can be justified as long as wealth is generated” (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:171). To others, sustainability is a concept used to “promote an agenda opposing most uses, arguing that any use will invariably lead to its destruction” (ibid). Ideally, sustainability should include both conservation and use value in the management of cultural and heritage assets (sustainable tourism is discussed later in the chapter). At the same time, the partnership between these two cannot always be equal; in many cases cultural heritage management takes precedence over tourism management, especially where the cultural asset is fragile (ibid).

Over a decade has passed since the case was made for a growing recognition of “the sustainability imperative in tourism” (Garrod & Fyall, 1998:199). Since then the concept has developed exponentially and has found its way into state policy documents and tourism strategies around the world. In the South African case this includes the *Tourism White Paper* (DEAT, 1996), National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) (2011), National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy (NHCTS) (RSA, 2012a), and Rural Tourism Strategy (RSA, 2012b). A primary objective of the NHCTS (2012a) is to strike a balance between conservation and tourism goals (this strategy is detailed later in the chapter). The Rural Tourism Strategy (RSA, 2012b) adds to the definition of sustainable tourism development provided in the *Tourism White Paper* (DEAT, 1996) and cited above.

According to the strategy sustainable tourism is “tourism attempting to make a low impact on the environment and local culture, while helping to generate future employment for local people” (RSA, 2012b:9). The inclusion of local communities in tourism activities and products through meaningful economic relationships becomes the responsibility of government and the private sector. This may be accomplished via the training and employment of local community members as workers at tourist attractions in proximity to their community, or via contracts to supply fresh produce, textiles, arts and crafts and other required commodities for the running of the attraction. In this kind of relationship, tourism producers are encouraged to “respect, invest in and develop local cultures and protect them from over-commercialisation and over-exploitation” (DEAT, 1996:np). Local communities, in turn, are made responsible for becoming “actively involved in the tourism industry, to

practice sustainable development and to ensure the safety and security of visitors” (ibid). There is also responsibility expected of the tourist to “observe the norms and practices of South Africa, particularly with respect to the environment and culture of the country” (ibid). In 2002, the goals of the *White Paper* were further articulated in the government’s Responsible Tourism Guidelines document (DEAT, 2002). While visitors to Wildebeest Kuil might adhere to norms of responsible practices (besides the occasional littering school group) it is evident that the host communities do not (cf. Chapter Four).

Concerns and problematics

The growth of cultural tourism coincided with the emergence of a broader concern for cultural heritage management; a “societywide [sic] appreciation of the need to protect and conserve our dwindling cultural and heritage assets” (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:2). It became apparent, however, that cultural tourism proved double-edged. On the one hand, the increased demand by tourists provided an economic and political justification for conservation. On the other hand, “the increased visitation, overuse, inappropriate use” and disregard for the cultural and heritage value of sites posed a threat to the integrity and at times the survival of sites (ibid). Advocates of cultural heritage management began, around this time “to promulgate policies to protect cultural values from inappropriate tourism uses” (ibid; ICOMOS 1976). Cultural tourism and cultural heritage management thus became sectors operating in parallel but seldom in partnership. Partnerships are not impossible as cultural tourism can achieve the objectives of cultural heritage management; however, while this partnership is supported theoretically it is seldom practiced.

The achievement of dual objectives proves elusive in that one set of values is often sacrificed for another; tourism values, for example, may be compromised to ensure that the cultural integrity of assets is preserved (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002). The cultural tourism sector, therefore, may be said to operate “at a suboptimal level, failing to achieve either its tourism or cultural heritage management potential fully” (2002:2). Certainly, sustainability can occur “only when the practice of trading off one set of values for another ceases and, instead, tourism and cultural heritage management interests work toward the achievement of common goals” (2002:2–3). This undertaking is complicated by a lack of understanding concerning the role played by each ‘opposing’ sector and the sentiment that both sectors “work toward different and mutually incompatible goals” (2002:3).

Copious research on sustainability in tourism has focussed on conceptualisations of the term and the ways in which these impact the principles and practices of tourism (Garrod & Fyall, 1998). Of the plethora of definitions of sustainable tourism “it can be argued that unless these definitions can be translated into something that is meaningful in practice they remain, at best, mere academic curios, at worst, a threat to the achievement of genuinely sustainable tourism” (1998:200). Garrod and Fyall (1998) cite McKercher’s (1993:131) argument that the concept of sustainability in tourism, having been taken up by “both industry and the conservation movement to legitimize and justify their existing activities and policies”, is now fractured in two distinctly opposing strategy types, one development-orientated and the other ecologically-minded. Development/conservation conflicts are thus exacerbated.

Furthermore, much of the guidelines and codes of practice of sustainable tourism have been set out in so simple and vague a way that “[t]he adopter is actually left little further forward in going about the task of implementing a plan of action that will address the sustainable tourism imperative” (Garrod & Fyall, 1998:202). According to Garrod and Fyall (1998) global guidelines and codes of practice often lack specific targets and “the metrics required to operationalise” them (ibid). They argue that the tourism industry is threatened by the vagueness of the term ‘sustainable tourism’. In terms of practice, George Hughes maintains that tourism strategies should “be developed, not simply in conjunction with the public, or through public participation, but as forms of community development” (1995:59). Although it is not clear if these communities are likely to participate in the tourism product as local communities are expected to in the South African context for example. The ethics Hughes calls for seems to be focussed on ecology and while this is imperative to the debt owed to future generations it does not speak to the complexities of marginalised communities as hosts in the tourism product. This requires a larger set of parameters in terms of the ethics of sustainable tourism, a set of parameters fundamental to the South African case study.

Opportunities generated from developing sites such as Wildebeest Kuil for public access may include community employment and economic growth; the expectations of these however, need to be realistic and circumspect. Based on the Wildebeest Kuil experience, David Morris, Bafana Ndebele and Petrus Wilson (2009) question the extent to which niche market heritage sites should be considered as sustainable job creation opportunities in the first instance. At best, these kinds of projects have marginal prospects, although these may be enhanced “if

projects can be linked with and subsidised by existing organisations such as museums” (2009:23). The wealth they generate “will often be of a more intangible kind, measured in a sharing of knowledge and debate about the past and its present relevance” (ibid). Further, while job creation (both directly and indirectly involved with tourism), regional income growth and tax revenue generation are some of the key economic benefits of tourism (Timothy, 2011), a critique of the heritage tourism industry is that the purpose of the modern-day touristic experience is predominantly for entertainment and prestige. When conceptualised to correspond to such a purpose heritage sites may lose all or part of their heritage value as they change their form and function in the commodification process (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Thus the protection of heritage value becomes another function of a responsible, sustainable community-based tourism venture.

The National Rural Tourism Strategy (RSA, 2012b) aspires to “enfranchise both women and the youth” via tourism “with the capacity of providing an alternative to urbanisation, permitting people to continue a rural family existence” (RSA, 2012b:10). A concern is that the strategy expects people to “learn over time, through their own experiences and initiatives, how to adapt their indigenous knowledge to their changing world and allow this particular knowledge to form part of the tourism products with the context of their own time, space and conditions” (RSA, 2012b:16–17). It is doubtful whether attractive tourist products, adhering to principles of responsible and sustainable tourism, could be created and maintained by those not skilfully conversant in these and other aspects of the tourism industry. While partnerships between government, the private sector, and local communities are encouraged in terms of management, responsibility and commitment, the strategy does not address the above concern. Informal trading, such as the ≠Khomani roadside craft stalls, will not accrue ample benefits (for an improved quality of life), especially if situated within a region that receives as few visitors as the Northern Cape. The skills required for successful engagement with the tourism industry would have to be obtained from expert sources. Training of this sort is often ongoing and requires a great deal of managerial input (sometimes extensive long-term involvement) from tourism experts (cf. Dyll-Myklebust, 2011).

The National Rural Tourism Strategy (RSA, 2012b) however, does acknowledge three primary concerns in its efforts to “improve state planning for rural tourism development and advancement of the agenda to improve rural people’s lives through tourism and subsequently

rural development” (RSA, 2012b:67). Firstly, there is “inadequate knowledge and alignment of interventions”; secondly, there is a lack of “outcome driven economic support”; and thirdly, a “lack of beneficiation models and incentivised schemes to improve the rural economies” (ibid). Provision is made for an action plan “outlining the implementation strategy and the identification of a number of priority actions to be implemented by the NDT [National Department of Tourism]” (ibid). Further research and development is identified as necessary to ensure the success of the strategy’s implementation. The strategy acknowledges that rural regeneration—through skills development, job creation and economic growth—can only occur via integrated government intervention programmes (ibid).

The “inadequate knowledge and alignment of interventions” (RSA, 2012b:67) described above is symptomatic of the strategy itself in that no mention is made of the NHCTS (RSA, 2012a), launched in March 2012 also under the custodianship of the NDT. The strategies are very similar in nature and the latter may have been informed by earlier versions of the Rural Tourism Strategy. Informed by a variety of policies and legislative frameworks, the primary two being the *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (DEAT, 1996) and the NTSS (2011), the NHCTS (RSA, 2012a) is described as an encompassing framework that “serves to guide and provide strategic direction for the development and promotion of heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa”; moreover, providing a “framework for the coordination and integration of heritage and culture into the mainstream of tourism” (RSA, 2012a:10). Speaking at the launch of the strategy, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, then Minister of Tourism, called it “...the first blueprint for heritage and cultural tourism development in South Africa” (www.southafrica.net).

The NHCTS recognises key stakeholders from the private and public sectors, including local communities “with a direct interest in heritage and cultural tourism” (RSA, 2012a:17). It calls for key strategic partnerships between these stakeholders, with the NDT as the guiding department. Partnerships are recommended with relevant stakeholders in the prioritisation of flagship projects and programmes. The Strategy highlights the responsibility of government to back projects of global significance and describes plans for investment from government departments over a three year period towards projects that include a Khoe-San venture, the First Indigenous Peoples Project to be situated in Graaff-Reinet. Funding for this project is estimated to be 10 million rand over three years (RSA, 2012a; www.southafrica.net).

The primary mission of the NHCTS is to “unlock the economic potential of heritage and cultural resources through responsible and sustainable tourism development” (RSA, 2012a:10). Sustainable tourism and economic development are primary objectives in terms of product development. The strategy aims to provide “guidance on marketing and promotion of heritage and cultural tourism products” and to “[e]stablish partnerships and cooperation with stakeholders” (2012a:22). As noted earlier, these aims and objectives overlap with those of the Rural Tourism Strategy (2012b). Returning to the concern of misalignment of interventions, which often leads to the duplication of efforts (RSA, 2012b), at the local level of the Sol Plaatje Municipality (situated within Kimberley’s larger Francis Baard District Municipality (FBDM)) Clinton van der Merwe and Christian Rogerson observe that the local Integrated Development Plan (IDP):

...simply pays lip service to the importance of tourism in the local area offering little or no strategic leadership or policies to capitalise on the rich tourism resources and diverse heritage of Kimberley. Specifically, heritage tourism is mentioned only once throughout the whole IDP. (Van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2013:163)

The Francis Baard IDP, however, identifies the need to improve on the marketing, destination branding and capacity building in its tourism industry (FBDM, 2012). The plan recognises that “tourism development, marketing and management within the local municipalities currently takes place in a largely uncoordinated manner” with minimal communication between stakeholders, “resulting in duplication of efforts as well as missed opportunities to grow the sector” (2012:46). Even so, while the importance of heritage tourism is acknowledged at the district municipality level for economic benefits and an improved quality of life for local communities, the FBDM’s Tourism Strategy (2009) has produced little in terms of furthering this goal (Van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2013).

Nonhlanhla Khumalo, senior tourism officer at the Francis Baard Municipality, echoed the above when she stated in an interview that there was little communication or consultation between government departments, noting that “everyone is concerned with their own deliverables” (Interview, September 2012). Khumalo stated that much of the effort for local tourism growth should be conducted at the level of the local municipality, however, she conceded that “these are not always well run” (ibid). According to Scarlett Cornelissen

(2005), while each of the nine provinces has its own legislature, premier and executive council, in the post-apartheid quasi-federal political system the provinces share a number of fiscal and other concomitant functions with the national government. Tourism is “one such sphere where provincial governments have limited autonomy and legislative capacities” (2005:44). The above together with ill-managed municipalities and ineffective policies illustrates a dire state of affairs.

Furthermore, local government is often restrained by bureaucratic goings-on that include underhanded transactions. The Northern Cape is replete with cases of corruption in high levels of government. Member of the Executive Council (MEC) and ANC Northern Cape provincial chairman John Block along with other prominent Northern Cape ANC members face charges of fraud, corruption, and money laundering. Block faces charges of racketeering and fraud “related to allegations that Northern Cape government departments purchased water purification equipment at inflated prices in 2005 and 2006” (*Times Live*, 5 June 2013:np). In a separate case of fraud and corruption it is alleged that the Trifecta Group—to which Block is linked—entered into a number of lease agreements with the Northern Cape social development department where rental space was grossly inflated. As a result, Trifecta “received, or would receive, rentals of R57 million at the end of the lease agreements” (*IOL*, 28 October 2013:np). While these court cases have been delayed Block remains in the now reshuffled provincial executive as treasury, economic development, and tourism MEC. Opposition leaders have spoken out against Block’s re-appointment, seen as a move to benefit and appease the politically connected elite while service delivery in the province remains a critical concern. Weak and corrupt leadership opposes development goals aimed at reducing poverty and increasing employment opportunities. Resources (tourism, heritage and culture among others) become useful for extending the agenda of political elites while their social use is suppressed or left unattended.

South Africa is the only sub-Saharan country to have produced its own World Heritage Convention Act (1999) (cf. Munjeri, 2009); a credit to its progressive nature in terms of thinking about culture and heritage. Taking its cue from the *World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 1972) this Act shows the recognition of the need for collective assistance from the international community in protecting heritage, both cultural and natural, highlighting that “[t]he sustainability of cultural and natural heritage... is only achievable if there is harmony

between international law, domestic law and customary law” (Munjeri, 2009:18). While the call is for state-based laws and community-based legal systems to co-exist in a symbiotic and complementary relationship (ibid), this is not often the case. For example, the Duma’s wish to continue ritualistic practices at rock art sites in the uKhahlamba Drakensberg contradicts the conservation practices of the region’s heritage agency (cf. Ndlovu 2012; Francis 2007; Chapter Four). Harmony in this regard is difficult (but not impossible) to achieve. Ultimately, the operationalising of national strategies and “international law at local and national levels” are dependent on community participation (Munjeri, 2009:18). In addition, internalising the international instrument/methodology at the level of local communities may engrain its “function in the life of the community” (2009:17; UNESCO 1972). Further research is required to investigate the effectiveness of international treaties at the local level in the South African context and the effects of the inclusion/exclusion of local communities in international affairs pertaining to concerns of heritage.

The Northern Cape branding strategy

In December 2009, due to the Northern Cape’s failure to raise its domestic and international market share, the decision was taken to change the branding of the province previously branded as ‘Destination Northern Cape’. The introduction in the official 2010 Northern Cape travel guide reads as follows:

The Northern Cape is... a land of many diverse cultures, of frontier history and brave missionaries with countless challenges for the adventurer... this is a destination that you can’t just read about or just drive through, but a destination you have to participate in. It’s a destination of real experiences, not conjured up theme parks, but the real thing, waiting for real people to explore it. (Northern Cape Tourism Authority, 2010/11:1)

Attention to landscape and culture is not uncommon in destination-branding strategies, where cultural and heritage assets significantly feature, “...for they represent a community’s unique features that evoke strong emotional ties between the tourist and the destination” (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:155). In this way, destinations attempt to differentiate themselves from their competitors, acquire a competitive advantage and stake a place in the consumer’s mind (ibid;

cf. Jarrett 1996; Aaker 1995; Bonn & Brand 1995; Bharadwaj, Varadarajan & Fahy 1993). Processes of globalisation have produced places so similar characteristically in service and facilities that there is now a critical need for destinations to create a distinctive identity to differentiate themselves from competitors (Morgan, Pritchard & Pride 2002:11; cf. Blain, Levy & Ritchie 2005). The destination brand is thus a powerful marketing tool in confronting increasing product substitutability, parity, and competition (Morgan *et al.* 2002:11).

The new slogan ‘Northern Cape Real’ highlights the sense of ‘lived experience’ that a visit to the province would create. This echoes Britain’s ‘Campaign for Real Holidays’ conducted in the 1980s and resulting in a travel guide *The Independent Guide to Real Holidays Abroad: The Complete Directory for the Independent Traveller* (Barrett, 1989). According to the guide, a real holiday must have two main characteristics: i) it must involve “visiting somewhere well away from where the mass of the population will be visiting”; and ii) “the real holiday-maker will use small specialist agents/operators to get to their destination” (Barrett 1989, cited in Urry, 1990:95). In short, ‘real’ holidays involve travel rather than tourism, the romantic rather than the collective gaze⁷⁹ and small niche markets rather than mass markets (*ibid.*).

The description of a holiday in the Northern Cape as set out in the provincial tourism brochure articulates these same themes. The Northern Cape is described as a destination in which to participate. In being actively engaged the visitor is made to have a personal experience of the place. The “real experience” is set against a “conjured up theme park” which simultaneously posits the romantic against the collective gaze and a select niche against a mass market (Northern Cape Tourism Authority, 2010/11:1). According to Urry, the collective gaze “involves high levels of audience participation”, while the romantic gaze is much more solitary and elitist, requiring substantial cultural capital (1990:86). Phrases like “endless plains of dust”, “silence”, “unspoiled”, “solitude” in the Northern Cape tourism brochure suggest that the romantic gaze is encouraged (cf. Northern Cape Tourism Authority,

⁷⁹ The tourist gaze is both “socially organised and systematised” (Urry, 1990:1). While his book is titled *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), John Urry acknowledges that there is “no single tourist gaze as such” but rather a variety of gazes constructed through difference and varying according to society, social group and historical period (1990:1). It is therefore not a homogenous gaze but depends upon contrasting forms of non-touristic experience that may be particular to each tourist. These different gazes imply different tourist practices and are “authorised in terms of a variety of discourses” which include, for example, health, play, enlightenment, education, and group solidarity (1990:135). The tourist gaze is directed to those features separate from the visitor’s everyday experience, taken to be “in some sense out of the ordinary” (1990:3).

2010/11:1). A further implication is that a visitor to a “conjured up theme park” is just as counterfeit as the place visited, while travellers to a destination as “real” as the Northern Cape are individuals who share in that realness (ibid). They are themselves everything the word ‘real’ implies: authentic, genuine, original, unquestionable and true.

In addition to promoting its large open spaces, the Northern Cape’s brand emphasis now also includes adrenaline and extreme sports. *The Northern Cape Race*, a reality TV series shot in the province in 2009 as well as the use of a Kalahari pan to break the world land speed record prompted an emphasis in marketing the ‘extreme’ nature of the province and resulted in the ‘Northern Cape Extreme’ brand consisting of three parts: ‘extreme sport’, ‘extreme nature’, and ‘extreme culture’. The first two concepts include 4x4 trails, marathons, and camping. Extreme culture, however, is a term loaded with political, culturally hierarchical and racial undertones. Extreme tourism is usually indicative of adventure, adrenaline sports and other activities. In a presentation at the 2009 Heritage in Tourism conference, Johann van Schalkwyk, from the Northern Cape provincial Department of Economic Development and Tourism, expressed that while ‘adventure’ is an intended connotation in the new ‘extreme’ brand, it is ‘diversity’ and ‘difference’ of peoples, cultures and landscapes that is the main focus of the brand (Fieldnotes, September 2009).

At a seminar hosted at Wildebeest Kuil and attended by researchers from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, research associates and colleagues based in Kimberley, Van Schalkwyk, described three important goals that could be achieved via the extreme culture branding strategy, namely: job creation, rural development, and sustainable cultural development (Fieldnotes, June 2010). He described the Northern Cape as a province with many diverse cultures and a generous resource for tourism ventures. The question he then posed was this: “Is cultural identity holy ground?” (ibid). Van Schalkwyk noted that “extreme does not mean that the people are extreme”, however, following this he divulged that “the Nama people feel we are extremising [sic] them” (ibid). He went on to argue that within on-going debates about representation and identity, narrow mindsets need to be broadened. In this vein, Van Schalkwyk expressed a desire for the province’s new brand to move away from images of the ‘extreme primitive’ and toward a “rich mix of cultural experiences” from within which the notion of ‘extreme’ culture would be understood as ‘diverse’ (ibid).

In response to the question of whether myths pertaining to culture should be expelled or capitalised upon, a member of the South African San Institute (SASI) replied that San groups should be made part of the capitalising of First People myths and receive benefits from its presentation. Van Schalkwyk's response was that the extreme brand would translate into economic opportunity for the province as a whole as well as for those communities involved in local tourism ventures. Alluding to Erving Goffman's (1959) front-back dichotomy,⁸⁰ Meryl-Joy Windschut, director of SASI, observed that local communities involved in cultural tourism ventures need to be made aware of their rights to present that which they wish to showcase and to maintain as private that which they wish to remain undisclosed, stipulating also that the tourist should respect when things are not for public display (Fieldnotes, June 2010). In this way, Windschut touched upon the unequal relations of power between tourists and their indigenous hosts.

Conflicts may certainly arise if consultation with custodians is absent, particularly regarding their asset in the marketplace "and if [its] positioning strategy is inimical with their own needs" (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:156). This is possible in destination branding strategies where tangible and intangible attributes associated with the brand are bundled together and presented as a single-minded product geared toward meeting the guest's needs and wants (McKercher & Du Cros 2002; Dev, Morgan & Shoemaker 1995). Attractions are bundled into themed products, and these themes are usually created by "public- or private-sector tourism marketing agencies and not by the owners/operators of the attractions being promoted" (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:156). Partnerships between the different stakeholders are a means to overcome conflicts. Partnerships will work if the power balance is roughly equal among stakeholders and if "their goals are compatible" (ibid). Different goals and power imbalances will often lead to the stronger party achieving its goals at the expense of the weaker. This concern is especially relevant "if the commodification occurs by second and third parties that have no direct association with the tangible or intangible asset being promoted"; moreover "[i]f it is in the best commercial interest of the tourism industry to promote a different message, it will do so" (ibid). As discussed in Chapter Six a critical reflexivity practiced by all stakeholders may work to balance out contending objectives.

⁸⁰ The front-back dichotomy describes a structural division between that which the audience/tourist/viewer is privy to (the front) and the place to which performers retire (the back) (cf. MacCannell, 1973).

Wildebeest Kuil: tourism projections

In mid-2007, a visitors' questionnaire was produced to gather information about the type of tourist specifically interested in Wildebeest Kuil (cf. Morris *et al.* 2009). The questionnaire was handed out to all visitors apart from school groups. Some visitors opted to complete it in their own time and return it to Wildebeest Kuil via post. Approximately 120 completed questionnaires were gathered. In an article on the questionnaire's results Morris, Ndebele and Wilson note that while the sample size was small, preliminary results began to "...fill a gap in our knowledge of visitors to this site, suggesting a visitor profile possibly applicable at other public rock art and archaeological sites" (2009:17). Of the sample group, 58 percent identified their primary motivation for visiting the site as a generalised interest in heritage, with 19 percent visiting specifically to see the rock art. Only three percent of the sample group identified San culture as their primary interest. Rock art was identified at the level of secondary interest with 48 percent of the sample groups' vote, and an interest in the San themselves with a show of 35 percent secondary interest (Morris *et al.* 2009).

More than 50 percent of the visitors were South African, a third of which hailed from the Northern Cape. Other visitors were from the rest of Africa, Europe and North America. More than 75 percent were between 25–74 years of age. A high of 88 percent (excluding school groups) had had exposure to higher education, with 66 percent university graduates, and nearly half of those postgraduates. When asked what other activities they would pursue in the area responses showed that visitors engaged "in a wide cross-section of heritage site (particularly museum) visiting and sight-seeing" (2009:18). Visitors to Wildebeest Kuil preferred cultural tourism over eco-tourism.⁸¹ Interestingly, very few of the visitors had planned to go on organised tours; 85 percent used private or rented vehicles to travel to Wildebeest Kuil. The data suggests that Wildebeest Kuil is a niche market appealing "to a discerning, well-educated tourist who has his or her own transport" (*ibid.*). Moreover, heritage is the driver behind the general interest of visitors to Wildebeest Kuil.

⁸¹ The current best practice in terms of minimising negative impacts on a heritage site arise from the ethos of ecotourism which "postulates the concepts of 'tread lightly' and 'take only photographs, and leave only footprints'" (Roe 1997, cited in Spennemann, 2007:909).

At its inception, projections of the potential for tourism at Wildebeest Kuil and emanating surplus revenues were immensely inflated (Morris *et al.* 2009). In a speech marking the opening of the Centre, then Northern Cape Premier, Manne Dipico (2001:np), said:

Here at Wildebeest Kuil, all can see how taxpayers' money is being used to benefit everyone. All sectors of the Kimberley community can benefit from the increased tourism that this site will attract. This will also serve as an important catalyst in the alleviation of poverty and the promotion of pride in local culture. Our government is using your money to create permanent jobs and a better future for all. This project has already created more than 15 permanent jobs, and it is expected that this number will be doubled, perhaps trebled, by the end of 2002.

The fifteen permanent jobs described above may have referred to the site manager, two guides and kitchen staff (with others in the training process) as well as artists and craftspeople; however, as Morris later described, “[t]his was wishful thinking and a pipe dream” (Email, 9 April 2013). Since 2004 there had been two staff members at Wildebeest Kuil and subsequently, since August 2012, only one staffer remained on site. Further projections stated that the site could access 10 percent of tourists to the Northern Cape; Morris *et al.* note that this would require an increase in visitor numbers by 9214 percent (2009:18). These projections have been a staggering failure; it seems that while widespread appeal was assumed “[l]ittle was known about the actual level of interest by tourists” (2009:17). While Wildebeest Kuil has achieved success in terms of visitor satisfaction and has been flagged in major tourist guidebooks, featured in magazines, books, and television documentaries and on the internet, “as a commercial venture, it draws relatively few visitors, far short of the initial estimates...” (Morris, 2014:6). Since Wildebeest Kuil is busiest during Heritage Month and the site relies on school visits during this month, the tourism centre is greatly affected by teacher strikes and school closures. Due to mass teacher strikes and school closures in September 2011 the site lost much of its key revenue (Wilson, personal communication, 9 June 2013). These disruptions speak to larger concerns in South Africa’s education and economic sectors.

The N//aoh Djaoh craft shop and site employees

The overall low visitor intake adversely affects the sale of art and craft items on-site. The N//aoh Djaoh⁸² craft shop was to be an outlet for the !Xun and Khwe Art Project.⁸³ The shop was initially run by the !Xun and Khwe Communal Property Association (CPA) with facilitators from outside the community. With too few items purchased, the CPA was unable to pay the rental costs of the space. At a later stage SASI requested to run the shop at which two community members were to be employed. Since the centre received extremely low numbers of visitors and art and crafts were not purchased as per initial projections, these employees had to be let go because of a lack of funding. Artists and craftspeople became embittered, some believing that SASI was slow in handing over profits from craft sales (Barnabas, 2009). The shop was earning almost no income; thus SASI was unable to pay its workers' salaries and the rental cost of the space.

While small wooden crafts are bought, the few tourists who visit the site do not purchase very many artworks and craft pieces (Ndebele & Wilson, interview, March 2011). Paintings, wire pots and vases are highly priced, ranging from hundreds to thousands of rands. Ndebele and Wilson asked me, “[w]ould you buy this painting for R3000?”⁸⁴ (ibid). They noted that visitors were affected by the global recession and were unable to afford many of the crafts on offer. In addition, the largest number of visitors are learners on school excursions—hardly patrons with the means to make significant purchases. SASI had acquired many art and craft pieces from community members on consignment. Noting the slow rate at which these items were sold, the Wildebeest Kuil management procured thousands of rands worth of art and crafts in order for the artists and craftspeople to receive payment. At a later stage SASI collected these items from the shop to be sold elsewhere but returned no funds to Wildebeest Kuil (Fieldnotes, September 2012). This may be due to lack of communication between

⁸² The phrase is loosely translated as ‘working with hands’; *N//aoh* (!Xuntali) meaning ‘hand’ and *Djaoh* (Khwedam) meaning ‘work’ (Pamo, email, 9 April 2013).

⁸³ Formed in 1993, this art development project involved a group of twelve to twenty artists, chiefly !Xun; materials were supplied and the art was sold in galleries and tourism venues such as Wildebeest Kuil (Rankin, 1997). When the project was taken over by SASI, craft production workshops were introduced alongside the art project (Van de Weg & Barnabas, 2011). The project was considered a form of cultural preservation, and aimed to provide an income for the participant artists. These contemporary art prints and paintings had become a form of transportable cultural tourism “easily packed away... and taken home for display” (Tomaselli, 2003b:61). Once funding had ceased the project facilitators (sourced from the community) soon resigned leaving the artists ill-equipped to take up and continue the projects’ administration (Barnabas, 2009). The project was thus abandoned; however, the art and craft remained on sale at Wildebeest Kuil.

⁸⁴ SASI sets the prices of the art and craft (Ndebele & Wilson, interview, March 2011).

organisations; a high turn-over of staff at SASI regarding the art and crafts project would have also played a role. The shop is now run by Wildebeest Kuil on a reduced scale.

Factors contributing to low visitor numbers

The concern of low visitor numbers is endemic to the Northern Cape. While the challenges of Wildebeest Kuil are multi-fold, three significant reasons can be identified as to why potential visitors, perhaps on their way to or from the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park further north-west, do not stop at Wildebeest Kuil. These include: a possible sense of wariness or fear of the surrounding settlements due to perceptions of crime and risk; an aversion to the rubbish-littered surrounds; and a lack of signage.

Crime and perceptions of risk

While South Africa has capitalised on an image of ‘exotic Africa’ it must contend with fear-inducing remnants of the Dark Continent manifest today as crime, poverty, disease and instability. Political uprisings and neighbouring conflicts have spilled over into South Africa’s borders and the country itself struggles with growing political unrest and economic conflicts. South Africa’s proximity to countries in conflict and its own moments of unrest increase the risk factor and the perception of risk in the eyes of both the international and domestic tourist (Cornelissen, 2005). Certainly, political tensions, Western foreign policy and media partiality have added credence to the iniquitous reputation. Crime within the country and crimes against tourists are often highly publicised and South Africa is not alone in suffering from skewed perceptions of public safety that emanate from such reports. Indeed, “crime in significant international tourism destinations can get extensive coverage by the news industries worldwide” (Allen & Brennan, 2004:155); and tourism “as a discretionary activity is incredibly vulnerable to crime, violence and political instability” (Richter 1984, cited in Allen & Brennan, 2004:156).

South Africa has one of the highest homicide rates in Africa and the world (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime study cited in Institute for Security Studies (ISS) Factsheet, 2012). There is thus empirical evidence to support tourists’ perceptions of risk. While official crime statistics of 2011/12 show a decrease in overall crime rates in the country, and that perceptions of sections of the population correlate with this decrease (ibid), the news media

showcase growing trends of violence and unrest in many sectors of the country. Perceptions of crime, risk and the personal need for safety are three interrelated elements which work directly on the tourism industry. Judgements of a place, regardless of first-hand experience, are intricately woven into our ideological frameworks—the significance of which should not be underestimated. Experience of place is filtered through a complex system of engagements, attitudes and estimations, including travel books, novels, film and other media, and accounts of others who may or may not have visited those places, (Cornelissen, 2005).

There are two roads from Kimberley to Wildebeest Kuil. The first is via the R31; whereby road users must pass a prison, the city's landfill site, household rubbish littered on the outskirts of the Galeshewe Township⁸⁵ and a military shooting range. The second road runs through Galeshewe. Driving on the R31 to Platfontein on a research trip, I asked a fellow researcher if he felt safe in the settlement. He affirmed that he did. In the ensuing discussion we concluded that the 'protection' of our status as researchers, our links with SASI Platfontein, community leaders, and others in the community were factors influencing this sense of safety. Were we to visit the settlement as domestic tourists we would perhaps not feel the same sense of security afforded to us as researchers. My colleague went on to describe the settlement in his own home town; he believed that if he entered it he would be in danger of losing his life. I speculated whether domestic tourists might feel the same way about Platfontein and Galeshewe (Fieldnotes, June 2011). Thereafter, longstanding Kimberley tour guide, Veronica Bruce, noted that locals are hesitant to visit Wildebeest Kuil because it is too isolated (Interview, September 2012). After the attempted hijacking I experienced while driving in Platfontein, I too became more conscious about safety when visiting Platfontein and Wildebeest Kuil.

The attempted hijacking may have been an unusual incident in the area; however, the fact that it took place demonstrates the possibility of its reoccurrence. When asked if Wildebeest Kuil considered crime (in the area/region) in its development strategy, Morris replied that crime was “not a specific consideration beyond addressing basic security issues (locking up, burglar alarm, etc.)” (Email, 9 April 2013). The young attacker was adamant that I was a local government official (which perhaps translated into my being wealthy). Attempts to clarify

⁸⁵ Galeshewe, the largest township in Kimberley, has a township tour route. Tour guide Veronica Bruce frequents the place with international tourists (Interview, September 2012).

that I was indeed a student were not accepted. He believed the car I drove was a government vehicle and he did not understand when I disclosed that it was a rental. Later I wondered if he would have attempted the crime had he believed I was a tourist. Would I have been left unharmed or considered an easy target? In retrospect, I realise that taking this line of thought, I had fallen into viewing the tourist as protected in some mystical way by the act of touring. The encounter I had with a Platfontein woman who would not allow me to take a photograph of a printed cloth in her yard (cf. Chapter Two) disrupts this notion as does the comment of a community leader that, once built, the settlement at Platfontein should have been fully walled (cf. Chapter Four). Such examples call attention to the question of whether this community is ready and/or willing to play host to tourists.

On the other hand, I have encountered many friendly people in Platfontein who stare only in a curious way and who, once greeted, kindly reciprocate. Further, I have never been refused an interview and community leaders have been willing to assist in my research. Nevertheless, the settlement remains on the geographical periphery and is equally on the periphery of cultural systems of space (Shields, 1991). Such a place may attain a marginal status through remote and isolated geographic locations, polarisation to the cultural centre, being the site of illicit or contemptuous activities, or all of the above. The stigma of marginality “becomes indistinguishable from any basic empirical identity” these places may once have had (1991:3). A dual sense of fascination and revulsion is evoked. The social Other who resides within the marginal space is both “despised and reviled in the official discourse of dominant culture and central power while at the same time being constitutive of the imaginary and emotional repertoires of that dominant culture” (1991:5). The marginal space is the antithesis of urban civilisation, constituted within society’s simplified “binaryism of high and low” culture (Stallybrass & White 1986, cited in Shields, 1991:4).

As noted above, there is a link, either functional or perceived, between marginal places and socially marginal activities. The reputation of these places is socially maintained. Since tourism is inherently political, it stands to reason that “it is political instability which drives off tourists and foreign investment in the tourism industry” (Hall, 1994:83–84). Perceptions of political instability, crime and violence are equally harmful to the industry. When tourists are driven away consequential effects become manifest in the local economy, the most

prominent of which include a decline of employment opportunities and the loss of jobs as has occurred at Wildebeest Kuil.

Unclean surroundings

Imagery of household waste and sewage-filled trenches is often associated with informal settlements and similar places on the margin lacking in resources and riddled with problems including crime and violence. Over time these themes become intricately woven such that a filthy place is perceived as dangerous. The R31 heading out of Kimberley to Wildebeest Kuil is littered with rubbish from the city's landfill and informal rubbish heaps from the Galeshewe Township. On occasion, after meeting their end while crossing the busy road (possibly in search of food) dogs from the Galeshewe settlement are left to decompose on the side of the road. In the act of tourism, “[wh]en we ‘go away’”, says John Urry, “we look at the environment with interest and curiosity”; it is this environment that “speaks to us in ways we appreciate, or at least we anticipate that it will do so” (1990:1). After sighting the crowded settlement, decaying carcasses, rubbish and children rummaging through it on the stretch of road it is not likely families will choose to stop at Wildebeest Kuil for tourism or relaxation purposes. The 2012 landscaping project (cf. Chapter Four), which included facilities for *braaing* (barbequing) and picnicking, is thus defeated by these surrounds.

Morris described an occasion in which he transported a pair of Australian tourists (who had come specifically to see the site) to Wildebeest Kuil (Personal communication, 18 June 2011). One of the tourists commented that the area along the R31 was the filthiest he had ever seen. Thereafter the municipality was urged to erect sand barriers in order to obstruct the view of the landfill and prevent flying debris from spilling onto the road. The barriers have proven ineffective. The landfill is situated too close to the city and is poorly managed. On gusty days refuse is blown into town and onto surrounding roads. In an interview regarding the problem of litter strewn along the R31 the Sol Plaatje Chief of Cleansing, T.J. Kwhweshiwe, noted that the municipality was working together with the national roads agency concerning this problem (Interview, September 2012). Some of the litter is due to people from the surrounding settlements using open fields as informal dumpsites while the bulk of the litter is due to a lack of proper fencing and bridges within the landfill that would otherwise work to contain the refuse (ibid).

Because of a shortage of funds the municipality has not been able to buy new equipment. The main landfill compactor has been out of order for some time. To combat this, smaller vehicles, such as bulldozers, have been used. There is also a shortage of refuse trucks; of the approximately thirty refuse trucks, only eight are running (Anonymous municipal workers,⁸⁶ personal communication, 27 September 2012). A private contractor from KwaZulu-Natal was hired by the municipality to provide refuse trucks. The landfill has been in use since before 1981; the municipality is now planning to fix the many problems of the site. In answer to the question of why this was such a lengthy process, Kwhweshiwe said that he had inherited these problems from those who had gone before him (Interview, September 2012). Residents of Kimberley complain that refuse collection is slow in the residential areas and that the city centre is frequently plagued with litter (Fieldnotes, September 2012). To this latter complaint, Kwhweshiwe responded that cleaning of the city centre takes place in the morning and that it is often sullied within the course of the day (Interview, September 2012).

The normalisation of filth in the Platfontein settlement—and certainly in the country as a whole—may be attested to inherited distortions arising from historic laws which demarcated social and geographic spaces for different race groups based on invidious apartheid segregationist policies (cf. Cronin, 2012). Apartheid and 500 years of colonisation before that forced non-white groups of people to live in states of squalor and filth. On the heels of this came South Africa’s “mining-based, industrial revolution in the last quarter of the 19th century” (Cronin, 2012:np). The large-scale, oligopolistic mining sector “once propelled spectacular growth [but] has shaped and distorted South Africa’s economy and our broader social, political and spatial realities ever since” (ibid). Settlements across the country still lack basic services and amenities. These spaces are fertile grounds for “problems of unemployment, overcrowding in schools and clinics, insufficient access to water and electricity, sewage and waste overflowing on the streets and HIV and Aids” (Mbongwa, 2005:np). Interestingly, the above concerns were voiced by residents of the Alexandra township, North of Johannesburg—indicative of the fact that Platfontein shares the problems of many other peri-urban settlements across the country.

⁸⁶ This group of municipal workers frequents the landfill site and drives the refuse trucks so are best able to explain the state of equipment.

Tourism is dependent on the smooth working of other sectors; unclean surrounds and lack of service delivery impede growth of the industry. Tourists desire a quality experience from start to finish; having to drive past decaying animal carcasses and rubbish strewn along the roadside may certainly colour the visitor's experience of Wildebeest Kuil. The way in which we experience a place is "conditioned by the mediation and intervention of conceptual systems, normative conditioning and socialisation" (Shields, 1991:14). Visitors that have had a less than desirable experience of a place will often propagate negative attitudes and influence potential visitors accordingly. Perceptions of a place as unkempt and unsafe are thus upheld and further entrenched, possibly hampering further tourism to the site/area.

Site identification, signage and marketing

There are two road signs on the R31 to alert visitors to the presence of the tourism centre; due to legal restrictions (owing to the fact that Wildebeest Kuil is situated on a major regional road outside the city) these two signs are the maximum allowable, and are situated not more than 15 meters on either side of the turn-off onto the site grounds. The signage was approved once the site was gazetted as a provincial heritage site; prior to which "the roads authority refused to allow any signage whatsoever" (Morris, email, 9 April 2013). While results of the Wildebeest Kuil visitor questionnaire show that 10 percent of visitors said they were drawn to the site by signage (Morris *et al.* 2009); in the case of many incidental, causal or serendipitous cultural tourists, the positioning of these signs may not allow sufficient time between reading, processing, and making a decision to stop at the centre. Visitor comments in the questionnaire note the improvement of signage as a possible attraction to road users "travelling along the R31 to or from Barkley West, Kuruman or Upington" (2009:23).

The development of maps and direction signs could be incorporated into this region as part of a greater heritage tourism route; the rich array of cultural sites could be integrated into a linked route/trail. A site of layered histories reaching back into the Stone Age, Wildebeest Kuil is situated on the peri-urban outskirts of a major city and is fairly easy to access. The

non-profit organisation, Open Africa,⁸⁷ has spearheaded a route specifically concentrated on the !Xun, Khwe and ≠Khomani San of the Northern Cape:

Footprints of the San is an eco-tourism route through the Northern Cape. It traces the migrations of early San tribes through the province offering guests the unique experience of lodging in traditional huts, eating 'veld' food, and learning the sacred art of tracking, guests will also be entertained by San story telling [sic], and dancing and learn [sic] the skill of hunting with bow and arrow. (SASI brochure, nd)

Francois Viljoen of Open Africa noted in an interview that since its launch in 2008 Footprints had achieved "mixed success" (Interview, June 2011). He expressed further that "routes with strong leadership are the ones that flourish" and that a large concern with Footprints was "in-fighting" (ibid). He noted, "this route has got the right ingredients [but] still has some way to go" (ibid). The unique context of the heritage trail lies in the inclusion of both urban and rural areas, sometimes combined in a single trail (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). While most large-scale trails "focus on pilgrimage and/or religious history, migration and trade routes, connected urban centres, or observation of the natural heritage of the region" small-scale trails, specifically local ones, are theme driven, "including industrial, cultural and literary heritage, to name a few" (Timothy & Boyd, 2003:52). In June 2011 Viljoen facilitated a workshop at Wildebeest Kuil (which he described as a 'refresher course') attended by community leadership and constituents of SASI (also members of the community). As part of the workshop a vision for the Footprints route was created. The vision stipulated that Footprints was to "promoted and protect San culture, heritage and traditions by providing an authentic San tourism experience to the entire world" (Viljoen, interview, June 2011).

Two cultural villages erected at Platfontein (cf. Chapter Four) are marketed on the Open Africa website and bookings can be made through the website. At the time of writing no tourists to Platfontein had made use of this route. Wildebeest Kuil does not feature on the web page dedicated to the Footprints route; a small mention is made to the site in a section offering further websites for additional browsing. According to the Wildebeest Kuil visitor's questionnaire, approximately 45 percent of visitors learned about the site before arriving in

⁸⁷ With 62 travel routes across six countries and 2161 participating businesses, Open Africa is "a non-profit organisation that uses tourism as an economic platform to create and sustain jobs for rural communities throughout Southern Africa" (openafrica.org). Open Africa had be invited by SASI to assist in the creation of a San route tourism trail.

Kimberley, “suggesting a good balance of marketing at global and local scales” (Morris *et al.* 2009:18). On the other hand, very few of these respondents acknowledged web-based information while only four percent of visitors “found their way to Wildebeest Kuil via rock art literature” (ibid). While information concerning Wildebeest Kuil is easily found on the web, much of this information is out-of-date (although in 2013 after being reminded of this from a colleague and I, Morris did update the official Wildebeest Kuil website); some sites describe the audio-tours as an aspect for the visitor to look forward to, while these self-tours have been discontinued since 2005/6.

Wildebeest Kuil is mentioned in the marketing brochures of the McGregor Museum as well as in the provincial tourism brochures. As much as 35 percent of respondents to the Wildebeest Kuil questionnaire said that their primary information about the site prior to visiting was via word-of-mouth and 49 percent obtained their information from brochures (Morris *et al.* 2009). Since brochures and word-of-mouth advertising have been instrumental in drawing visitors it is imperative that upon arrival in the local area these tourists be correctly directed to the site. Noting a concern of tourism information accuracy, Morris describes a prominent Kimberley brochure that had “placed the site on the wrong road out of town” (2014:6). Similarly Wilson and Ndebele note that a few tourists in search of Wildebeest Kuil were given incorrect directions by those in the employ of the Kimberley Information Centre (Interview, June 2012). This is indicative of a greater problem in terms of tourism training and services in the region.

Responding to the above concern, in May 2012 the Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) organised a site tour for employees of the Kimberley Information Centre. Wilson and Ndebele noted that these visitors were unwilling to follow the 800 metre trail out to the engravings (Interview, June 2012). On another occasion, Ndebele noted that he had taken a tour group from DEAT around the site and that many were uninterested; he said, “[t]here are people not interested in heritage” (Interview, March 2011). After a tour of the rock art a visitor said to Wilson, “So what is so interesting about this?” (Interview, March 2011). Similarly, Ndebele stated that an individual from Kimberley had said to him that they would not “pay R25 to see rocks” (Interview, June 2012). Indeed, one may argue that the rock engravings at Wildebeest Kuil are neither breathtaking nor monumental; however, it is

the cultural and historic significance of the engravings and surrounding archaeological finds that imbue the site with unique value (cf. Chapter Four).

McKercher and Du Cros observe that the “greater the cultural difference between the tourist and destination, the less likely the tourist is to engage the attraction at a deep level”; this may be a “function of lack of interest or lack of ability” (2002:162). Moreover, the conveyance of a desired message at a cultural attraction is greatly influenced by the degree to which the visitor has been informed or misinformed prior to their visit. An uncluttered, open mind is best for imparting new knowledge. In contrast, when the makers of a desired heritage message are faced with a mind, “cluttered with information that may not be appropriate for the asset” and “closed to new ideas”, the task of imparting new knowledge is superseded by that of undoing misinformation (2002:160). Particularly during short visits, the more ignorant the visitor, the less likely attraction managers will be able to communicate the true significance of a heritage asset. While there may be members of the public whose interest will not be piqued by rock art, it is regrettable that those in the employ of the heritage industry would show disregard for a heritage site. Interestingly, both Wilson and Ndebele revealed that they themselves were uninterested in heritage and unfamiliar with archaeology until meeting and working extensively with Morris (Interview, March 2011). As mentioned in Chapter Four, Wilson is pursuing a degree in archaeology.

Wilson stated that on occasion people drive in and query about the purpose of the interpretive centre, this despite the name ‘Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art and Tourism Centre’ emblazoned on the walls marking the entranceway; he said, “[s]ome people think it is a church” (Interview, March 2011). When I asked how visitors could think it was a church when the sign outside clearly states that the site is a rock art and tourism centre, Wilson replied, “I don’t think the sign means anything... If you ask people in Kimberley what is rock art, they don’t know” (ibid). The above illustrates the point that heritage tourism is a niche market; this is not to suggest, however, that there is no scope for improvement of visitor numbers at Wildebeest Kuil. Certainly, it should not be the case that tourists are deviated by a lack of signage or unknowledgeable information officers.

As part of the supporting infrastructure, gatekeepers comprise of “all potential intermediaries who advise tourists about travel plans” (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002:154). These may

include local tour guides, the commercial travel trade, destination marketing agencies, travel guidebooks, and even friends and family. An increased number of gatekeepers corresponds directly with a “greater likelihood that the message will be presented in a simplified, commodified, or inaccurate manner” (ibid). A trivialised or simplified presentation of the cultural value of an attraction may be carried out to gain the attention of potential tourists. Each stage of gatekeeping marks some loss of control in the dissemination of information on the part of the cultural asset. At each stage more of the ability is lost to “ensure that the desired message is sent to prospective visitors in a desired way, which, in turn, means a loss of control over how the asset is portrayed and a loss of control over what type of experience can be expected” (ibid). Gatekeepers gather, process, and retransmit information to “either other gatekeepers along the communication chain or directly to the traveller” (2002:154). This information may be modified to suit the specific gatekeeper’s needs and their perception of the tourist’s needs, or simply out of ignorance of the cultural heritage asset (as has been described regarding gatekeepers at the Kimberley Information Centre) (ibid).

To reiterate, the product consumed by the tourist includes their interactions with those providing a service, thus “[i]f aspects of that social interaction are unsatisfactory (the offhand waiter, the unsmiling flight attendant, or the rude receptionist), then what is purchased is in effect a different service product” (Urry, 1990:40). High expectations of service are built into the event of ‘going away’, endowed, as it is with “particular significance” (ibid). Every aspect of the experience therefore becomes part of what is consumed by the tourist, location is high on this list and if it fails to comply with the expected appropriate cultural meanings it may quickly tarnish the entire experience. The services provided, therefore, while possibly incidental to the gaze—“the fundamental process of consumption”—must enhance rather than undermine the quality of the experience (1990:44). Problems arise when it must be ensured that “the service provided by the often relatively poorly paid service workers is appropriate to the almost sacred quality of the visitors’ gaze on some longed-for and remarkable tourist site” (1990:67). At the same time changing expectations about tourism and its related services make for difficulty in pinpointing satisfactory nodes of production (ibid). The strengthening of local tourism infrastructure and services is the responsibility of regional tourism agencies and government departments; however, support from all local sectors (such as the departments of roads and sanitation) is integral to the smooth running of the industry and the sustainability of sites such as Wildebeest Kuil.

Wildebeest Kuil: possible site improvements

Results of the Wildebeest Kuil visitors' questionnaire suggest certain areas where visitor numbers could be improved. Organised tours from Kimberley are an example (Morris, *et al.* 2009). A further objective is to “strengthen an ‘archaeological route’ that [includes other regional sites] Nooitgedacht, Canteen Kopje, the Barkley West Museum and Wonderwerk Cave” (2009:23). Encouraging increased use of the site by schools in the surrounding areas—exposing learners to rock art, archaeology and heritage—is another goal. The personalised experience of heritage beyond the classroom and textbook is extremely effective in aiding students to retain learned material; it is a way of bringing facts to life. Visits of this nature also provide a way to educate “an upcoming generation of visitors who will remember their experiences, share them with others and eventually bring their own children to experience the patrimony on show” (Timothy, 2011:231). School field trips also provide significant rationalisation for public funding of heritage sites (*ibid.*).

Learning is the principal motivating factor for visits to heritage sites and museums (Timothy, 2011). Education may occur in either a formal or informal way. The formal educative role refers to visits based on a school or university curriculum where learning is essential for a passing grade, while the latter refers to visits from the general public. In a study of visitor outcomes at the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, it was found that learning and education formed part of the primary motivations for visiting the place (Poria, Reichel & Biran, 2006). These included visitors' desire to learn more about the site, contribute to their overall historical education, and pass the story of Anne Frank on to their children. Visitors who come primarily to learn (including informal learning) will be more determined to listen, ask questions, and absorb new information (Timothy, 2011). Motives for visiting a site, background knowledge, use of interpretive media, and personal interest all play a role in the extent to which visitors are satisfactorily educated (Light, 1995).

Public appeal offers an important competitive advantage over other recreational options and is a necessary component in terms of accessing funding and keeping doors open, especially “in difficult economic times when museums and historic monuments are competing for scarce public and private funds” (Timothy, 2011:235). Entertaining interpretation is able to help sites achieve goals of education, conservation and funding. Humour, high-tech media and re-enactments are some of the key methods of entertainment used in cultural heritage. A

sense of style in the simulation process is important “because the presence of style reveals the artifice of the play element in any display” (Brett, 1996:164). On the other hand, the aestheticisation of history:

...has to be held at a distance; and this is the most difficult challenge which the serious creator of every heritage display has to overcome. Without that critical distance, aestheticisation leads straight toward the commodification of experience, and the assimilation of history into the commercial spectacle of late capitalism. (1996:161)

Another possible site improvement (immediate and practical) could be the use of two-way radios or an intercom system to alert the guide to the presence of new visitors on site if he were already on the hilltop. A simple solution would be the use of a sign on the closed doors to alert new visitors of a proposed waiting time. As mentioned in Chapter Four, due to provincial budget cuts Wilson became the caretaker, administrator and conservator of the site. When he is on the hilltop with a group of visitors there is no one to man the interpretive centre. Because of the remoteness of the site, Wilson often locks the centre when he takes a group on the tour. There is no signage to communicate to potential visitors that there is a tour going on and that the place will be re-opened as soon as the tour is complete. Wilson did mention that a sign was made and was to be laminated and placed on the glass door but this had not materialised.

During a visit to the site in September 2012 I witnessed a group of tourists walking up to the engravings when they had seen that the interpretive centre was closed (Fieldnotes, September 2012). Later I found out that this group had been angered by the fact that the centre was locked and said that while the site had been recommended to them, they would not recommend it to others (ibid). Tourists do not like to be kept waiting—especially if there is no explanation or indication of how long they are to wait. During the same fieldtrip in September 2012 I drove to Wildebeest Kuil one morning around 10h00 and found the place locked. While I later learned that there was a valid reason for this I had felt a little of the disappointment that a potential visitor might feel in similar circumstances. A possible solution could be notification in brochures and on the Wildebeest Kuil website stating that visitors are to phone ahead to enquire about opening and closing times.

The introductory film now sold in DVD format at Wildebeest Kuil and currently narrated in English could be dubbed into Afrikaans (the dominant language of the province) and used for the marketing of the site. Kimberley has an array of clubs and societies with an interest in heritage, this market along with schools in the region could be reached via the film. Partnering with schools to educate students about the importance of the site will possibly secure an important and sustainable form of revenue for the site and encourage future generations to protect and conserve the heritage resource.

Heritage Day celebrations could be organised and held at Wildebeest Kuil; this would encourage more visitors to experience the site. A yearly Heritage Day function could also be used for much needed fundraising for the site as would making the centre available for events such as intimate live music and cultural concerts, although adequate outdoor lighting would have to be made available to guests at the parking and entrance areas for night-time events. Provisions for physically challenged visitors could be made to the site. Currently the visitor's centre has an access ramp at its entrance and wheelchair bound visitor's would be able to move freely within the centre with its wide doorways. However, the outdoor route is inaccessible to wheelchairs. Aside from flattening and paving the route, which would change the aesthetic of the site, internet-based exhibits and virtual tours may be a solution to making the site more inclusive for interested visitors who are unable to walk the site. Features of interpretive methods that are advantageous to the learning process include: "[m]edia designed with an appropriate understanding of visitors; [a]ppropriate media for an informal learning environment; and [m]edia with an appropriate element of entertainment" (Light 1995, cited in Timothy, 2011:234). While the above suggested site improvements may prove useful, it is instructive to note that prior interest in heritage is of importance to attracting visitors.

Summary

Tourism has become increasingly significant in the economies of the Global South, creating employment and generating income and foreign exchange. Even so, it is rarely the case that a budding tourist industry generates wealth for the poor of that locale. If failure is to be averted, persistent structural inequalities must be addressed. Having explored challenges of heritage in tourism at Wildebeest Kuil and the broader South African context the chapter illustrates that heritage attractions are not self-made. Communities cannot act alone in cultural heritage

tourism, neither can partnerships between communities, government and the private sector focus only on the tourism product. Support from surrounding infrastructure is pertinent to attract tourists and cater to their needs.

A significant factor in the case of South Africa is that tourism development goals have shared the national concerns of addressing the stark socio-political and economic imbalances created by the effects of apartheid. Economic growth, employment creation, poverty alleviation, skills development, nation building and community empowerment are a few of the principal goals of national governance since 1994. As such, tourism development policy has become particularly focussed on these and other similar goals. The concerns are manifold, problematising the relationship between policy and praxis. The following chapter synthesises the interconnections between tourism, culture, politics and museology as they together constitute processes of heritage-making. The concept of multivocality within heritage, touched upon in previous chapters, is critically explored here as the study returns to questions posed in Chapter One concerning the precepts of heritage and its uses.

Chapter Six

Heritage-making and multivocality

Heritage is constituted of values and interpretations of historic individual and public memory as reflected by culture, politics, tourism, and museology. As power is shifted between these four primary sites of heritage-making they create meaning in terms of what is constituted as heritage. The previous chapters have addressed the above in terms of heritage-making at Wildebeest Kuil. Arguments put forward in this chapter acknowledge both the function of heritage to induce consent toward nation-building (as hegemonic propagator) and as potential for critical transformation. Pervading democratising processes in South African heritage landscape has been the advance of multivocality, circulated as it is in fields as diverse as cultural studies, history, heritage tourism, and archaeology to name a few. The concept is explored in this chapter and a decolonising multivocality, couched in cultural studies, particularly of the southern African variant, is developed as a step further in progressive heritage-making.

What is heritage and who benefits from it?

Just as Frantz Fanon (1963, 1967) and Lewis Gordon (1995) have asked of race (cf. McDaniel, 1997), we may ask of heritage: what is it and who benefits from it? Heritage, under the rubric of culture, points to that which is significant for memorialisation, ritual and identity formation. The term is used to identify both the product and the process of meaning-making through which individuals make sense of their lives and their place in society. This is not always a process of positive affirmation as grand narratives are often set by dominant social groups. It is only a power shift from one group to another (usually in terms of political and economic spheres) that shapes major alterations in the cultural matrix. South Africa's move to democracy in the mid-1990s is one such example. Monuments and memorials were erected to individuals and groups who were no longer known as terrorists but anti-apartheid, liberation heroes. As such, the country's heritage narrative became one of transformation. A large part of the process of transformation had to do with the inclusion of long-excluded

individuals and groups from the national heritage narrative and thus began radical change in what was considered significant for memorialisation. Thabo Mbeki's proposal of the African Renaissance as part of the new national, post-democratic discourse (cf. Chapter Three) is indicative of multi-layered ways in which politics, culture and heritage intersect.

The radical and transformative national heritage narrative played a leading role in the set-up of the interpretive centre at Wildebeest Kuil. One might argue that the rock art centre is a manifestation of dramatic shifts in the national discourse. Long reviled as primitive and animalistic, San cultural iconography was re-contextualised in the national narrative as a unifying point of origin for all South Africans. It became important to preserve and protect rock art in a symbolic appeasement of its ancient makers who were likely hunted and killed in acts of genocide. While historically the San had been abhorred by black and white alike, in post-apartheid South Africa they became a symbol used to unite divergent groups, to bring about 'unity in diversity'—as stated in the Constitution (RSA, 1996) and translated from the national coat of arms.

Nevertheless, the site appeals to a niche market. The influence of historic and political processes on the devaluation and at times suppression of indigenous cultures has been described in previous chapters with regard to the socio-economic plight of the Platfontein San (cf. chapters Three and Four). Researchers and policy makers should not overlook the correlation between the above and the general disinterest in sites such as Wildebeest Kuil, the possible custodial failings of host communities, and the vandalism that occurs at rock art sites across the country. In the South African context, indigenous communities struggle between a traditional view (in which man and nature exist as part of a unified whole) and a learned perspective of separatism imbibed from decades of forced removals, subjugation and intentional dehumanising procedures. A possible direction for future research would be to investigate the ways in which (and if at all) national government rhetoric seeks to reconcile this perceptual incoherence, especially in terms of the conflicts it is bound to cause.

The 'traditional view' described above is cosmologically significant. In discussions and interviews with artists within the Platfontein community it became apparent that many had felt a strong connection to the engravings at Wildebeest Kuil and the makers of the rock art. The artists described a pan-San cosmological link through which they viewed the rock

engravers as ancestors (cf. Barnabas 2010, 2009). This spiritual sense of connection with the makers of the rock art is strongly conveyed in the Wildebeest Kuil introductory film. Spirituality as described here falls under intangible heritage in terms of UNESCO's 2003 *Intangible Convention* (UNESCO 2003a; cf. Chapter Three). In South Africa the term 'living heritage' is used in official rhetoric and constitutes the 'spiritual' aspects of Wildebeest Kuil. It remains a challenge not only to marry heritage conservation and tourism in terms of the difficulties of possibly marrying the spiritual and fragile material elements of sites but also for communities to unlearn damaging behaviours and perspectives that hinder their participation in local tourism endeavours and endanger local heritage sites.

It is instructive to note that when the question 'What is heritage and who benefits from it?' is posed in the South African context it remains strongly tied to postcoloniality. In postcolonial states, certain key heritage-making sites have been inherited by newly independent governments and remain unchanged in their form and function as mechanisms of old colonial powers. Following this Moeletsi Mbeki describes independence in Africa to have worked only to entrench the "economic inequalities inherited from colonialism" (2009:7). Mbeki writes that African nationalism, while under the guise of mass liberation, began as a "movement of the small, Westernised black elite that emerged under colonialism" and which fought for inclusion in the colonial system in order to benefit from its "spoils" (2009:6). Richard Sandell argues that the South African Museum's re-presentation of its collections and displays as 'indigenous heritage' and the reconfiguration of its work within the ambit of the 'African renaissance' is a practice in "sleight of hand" (2002:249; cf. Mpumlwana, Corsane, Pastor-Makhurane & Rassool 2002). In sum, this belies a late nineteenth-century division between cultural history and ethnography "and the grouping of ethnographic collections with the natural history specimens" (Sandell, 2002:249).

In addition, the process of knowledge production is obscured by the "general liberal consensus that 'true' knowledge is fundamentally non-political (and conversely, that overtly political knowledge is not 'true' knowledge)" (Said 1978, cited in Young, 2003:59). When the political motivations behind the production of knowledge are concealed the resultant 'knowledge' is naturalised. This endangers critical engagement with the knowledge in question. Furthermore, knowledge as constructed and naturalised by political elites tends to suppress or rescind alternative forms.

Lindsay Weiss (2007) identifies competing structural logics within present-day conceptions of heritage such that certain modes of recognition and celebration of historical persons or events inevitably disable other modes and forms of heritage expression. She calls for scholars to critically investigate these modes and their implications (particularly ethical considerations for an anthropological disciplinary mandate) in terms of heritage-making. Weiss identifies a difference in South African conceptions of history; that is history to be known (just history) and history to be celebrated (heritage). Lynn Meskell and Weiss (2006:88) describe “tactics of forgetting” as characteristic of South African heritage politics. Sarah Nutall and Carli Coetzee (1998) similarly ascribe an “erasure of the colonial past and its repressive regimes” as characteristic of South Africa in the period of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (Meskell & Weiss, 2006:88). Correspondingly, Meskell imputes that post-TRC South Africa suffers from a chronic schism between a democratic, inclusivist rhetoric (or the “neutralization of difference”) and ethnic recoveries after centuries of repression (or an “impossible originary identity”) (2005:74). In other words an uneasy relationship exists between an “abstract idealized citizenship” and “the valorization of previously oppressed identity claims” (Weiss, 2007:414). Following Weiss (2007), heritage, as a critical component of the politics of recognition (Brown 2005; Silverman 2005; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006, 1998; Meskell 2002), attempts to resolve the troubled relationship.

Keyan Tomaselli describes the recuperated image of the San in the ‘new’ South Africa as a nostalgic, “mystical, Jungian representation” (1995:i) which presents the San as a “bridge between the past and the future” (ibid; cf. Jeursen 1995). This is indicative of Ntongela Masilela’s (1987) advocacy of San culture as a common cultural heritage in order to avoid “the destructive competing nationalisms which threaten to sink the emergence of a non-racial future for this country” (Tomaselli, 1995:vii). The move to incorporate San imagery and the ancient /Xam language in the country’s coat of arms is an example of this mode of thought in action. Belinda Jeursen describes the move to present San peoples as a bridge between the past and future as seemingly positive in that it reinforces the dominant national narrative of unity and tolerance with the San promoted as a “popular image for the fostering of these kinds of ‘New South Africa’ ideals” (1995:126). Nevertheless, where existing San communities are depicted as commercial stereotype and are without recourse to challenge such a perspective, the notion of a recuperated image of the San is challenged.

A further challenge is that heritage has come to be significantly attached to tourism in the free market economy such that citizenship as “a rights-bearing political category” has been replaced by “citizenship as corporate- and tourist-driven identity” (Weiss, 2007:418). Postcolonies and countries of the global South are greatly affected by the above. Steven Robins (2002) has observed that lawyers representing Khoe-San groups have found favourable outcomes (including media attention) when they have stressed the significance of ‘tribal histories’ and status over ‘tribal land rights’. Certainly, it has been the case that San groups have benefited (politically and materially) from their ‘recuperated’ image.

In posing the question: ‘what is heritage good for?’ Peter Turner (2006) asserts that heritage consists of two fundamentally contradictory values, that is: promotion of cultural diversity and a concern with human rights. When these two values reach a critical point, as would ultimately be the case, Turner affirms the superior value of rights, stating that the heritage movement would be best served by the adoption of rights as its ultimate end (2006:352). Beneficiation as a rights-bearing process is delayed at Wildebeest Kuil, especially in terms of employment, profit generation, community participation and education of the host community. The McGregor museum receives no financial benefit from the interpretive centre; on the contrary it has become a financial burden to the museum. The emphasis on financial beneficiation is nevertheless described by archaeologist David Morris as “a disturbingly skewed sense of the ‘purpose’ of heritage” (2012:29).

The few who benefit from Wildebeest Kuil include rock art enthusiasts (making up the site’s niche market), academics conducting research on the site, school groups who visit once annually, a handful of employees, and !Xun and Khwe community leaders who make use of Wildebeest Kuil as a venue to host meetings with government officials and other parties. The non-renewable heritage resource on display, a showcase of a largely unknown group of people, is not only worthy of preservation but valuable for education. The educational and preservationist role of the interpretive centre is thus markedly significant and not in the least diminished by the small number of visitors to the site. The potential for beneficiation in this regard is strongly focussed on intangibles. Heritage in this regard is a significant resource for re-establishing identities, developing and improving self-esteem, individual and social well-being, and quality of life (Fernandes & Carvalho, 2007:123; Ashworth 1994). In practice, however, such beneficiation is not always evident. Morris, Bafana Ndebele and Petrus

Wilson (2009) note that niche market heritage sites have marginal prospects, generating wealth of an intangible nature, such as a “sharing of knowledge and debate about the past and its present relevance” (2009:23; cf. Chapter Five). Local communities may often feel distanced from a site’s heritage offering, especially where there is conflict between the community and heritage management (cf. chapters Three and Four).

With reference to the national heritage, Stuart Hall states: “[i]t follows that those who cannot see themselves reflected in its mirror cannot properly ‘belong’” (2005:24). Aspects of social exclusion as set out by Britain’s Social Exclusion Unit in a report published in 1998 include: “unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown” (in Newman, 2005:326). These are applicable to the majority of people living in Platfontein. The measure of social exclusion, however, is not easily acquired and there is no linear progression from exclusion to inclusion and vice versa. The process is complex and dependant on a number of factors. Time is one such variable. A person may feel excluded for a short period of time or a series of events, such as the loss of a job, may begin a descent into lifelong exclusion.

Because of the multifaceted nature of individual exclusion no homogenous group is identifiable at which to direct a particular initiative. The unique and complex nature of an individual’s experience of social exclusion must be recognised and understood if it is to be adequately addressed. While this may seem an impossible task, museum-based activities and initiatives can be used toward such ends. Because measurable outputs are often not demonstrable in gallery and museum-based activities these institutions are often overlooked in strategies for social change. In comparison to healthcare and housing needs, for example, cultural heritage is often viewed as peripheral. Nevertheless, gallery and museum-based activities can and have impacted participants and visitors; as such, these activities and initiatives should be considered for incorporation into strategic plans toward positive social change: “[i]t could be a first step to inclusion for many people” (2005:328).

Discussing the impact of museums on social inclusions, Andrew Newman states that:

[a]n individual who stands in front of a display case, or takes part in an initiative based on cultural property, has memories invoked that are used to help that person understand themselves and their relationship to others. This process enables them to construct their identity by selecting and using memories in particular ways... Cultural property appears to play an integral part in the process of identity construction and in the formation of 'discourses' for people and their communities. (2005:331)

Sandell similarly describes the potential benefit of museums on disadvantaged or marginalised individuals, where museums have the capacity to combat social inequality and may "act as a catalyst for social regeneration and as a vehicle for empowerment" (2002:4). The nation, constructed as it is out of chosen historical moments strung together in a singular heritage narrative, draws individuals and communities together at the same time that the national heritage narrative ameliorates the interaction between heterogeneous groups. A positive engagement with heritage on the personal and social level capacitates the bolstering of group pride and the satiation of individual identities. Even so, the current emphasis to democratise the museum space may be significantly halted in the South African context by what Annie Coombes describes as a "fundamentalist ethnic absolutism" taking place in terms of the proliferation of a singular, highly specified heritage narrative (2004:3).

Weiss (2012:218) identifies three principal heritage problematics, namely that i) heritage is commoditised in the social practice of tourism; ii) history-making as a restitutional mode is an uneven substitution for political restitution (cf. Mamdani 2001, Robins 1998), and; iii) heritage freezes identity claims in the postcolony (cf. Garland & Gordon 1999; Rassool & Witz 1996). The argument implicitly identifies tourism, politics and culture as intricately woven together with heritage in a number of concerns. This has certainly been the case at Wildebeest Kuil. Furthermore, it is evident that there exists a certain degree of plasticity in the relationship of heritage to tourism and culture such that they are influencers of, and influenced by heritage, particularly the national heritage. The way we 'do' tourism, for example, has changed in the South African context. The country is no longer promoted as a European enclave. Instead, rural tourism has been set up as a leading component of the sector. The discourse of 'African' culture (however homogenised) is a significant driving

force of the new tourism. Culture is likewise reinvented as heritage is made. Regarding the politics and legal ramifications of indigeneity, Morris (2013:49) describes “an evolving matrix of classificatory attributes” in which links to rock art appear significant. This hearkens to rock art as ‘title deed’ described as such by George Stow (1905) in the late nineteenth century (cf. Morris, 2013). What has emerged, writes Morris, is an invented tradition and ‘strategic essentialism’, a Spivakian (Spivak, 1996) term applied by Steven Robins (2001) in the Kalahari context (cf. Morris, 2013:50), made normative within the politics of indigeneity.

A ‘matrix of classificatory attributes’ was made evident in an interview conducted with Khwe community leader Zeka Shiwarra in June 2014. I asked Shiwarra if there were traditional healers in Platfontein who used rock art, at Wildebeest Kuil or elsewhere, for the purposes of their craft (cf. Chapter Four). He indicated that to his knowledge none of the Platfontein healers used rock art for divination or healing. (This was later confirmed in discussion with two traditional healers from the community). Shiwarra’s elaboration on the above was compelling. According to him rock art for spiritual potency was used by !Xun and Khwe ancestors who lived in southern Africa. When those ancestors moved further north (to Namibia and Angola) their descendants no longer practiced rock painting or engraving, primarily because the area in which they had settled was *platteland* [flat land]. Now that they have returned to the extreme South they occupy land on which their ancestors roamed but they have not returned to the practice of rock art (Interview, 10 June 2014). The historical trajectory woven into Shiwarra’s response addressed the politics of indigeneity as per the !Xun and Khwe’s claim to the land which they currently occupy and shrewdly reinforced the notion that the !Xun and Khwe are not a ‘new phenomenon’.⁸⁸ Morris notes that the argument of a San return to this area “draws on an old myth propagated, inter alia, in South African school history texts of the twentieth century” (2014:4).

Shiwarra’s statement demonstrates a comparative change to the way in which the Khwe are described by John Sharp and Stuart Douglas (1996). According to them, during their time at Schmidtsdrift, the !Xun were reliant on the military while the Khwe foresaw that the army would do little for them, remaining at Schmidtsdrift on the chance that they would receive some assistance from the outgoing National government. The !Xun were cloistered, at initial

⁸⁸ Roshi Naidoo describes Britons of Asian, Caribbean and African descent as represented as a “new phenomenon” in Britain despite the centuries-old movement of people from its colonies to its own shores (2005:42).

talks of a new home they desired land at a distance from Kimberley, where they could live in a kind of reserve. The Khwe chose to live close to the city and close to their jobs (some were still employed by the army at this time). Khwe elders showed “more scepticism about the army, and the question of what it was likely to do for them, and have been more ambivalent about the image of being ‘Bushmen’” (1996:323). Shiwarra’s comments belie a return to a ‘strategic essentialism’ as described above; in this the Khwe (as the !Xun had done before them) are seen to have taken hold of the essentialist San image as propagated by the military. This was done in the interest of group beneficiation.

From the above heritage is seen to emanate from cultural contexts (Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Zeppel & Hall 1992; Chapter Three). These are malleable contexts which adapt to the needs of groups and societies as required. Culture, in the sense that it is showcased within tourism (and politics), becomes a new construct, sourced from “within the local cultural matrix” but re-contextualised and specified (Bruner, 2005:5; 1986, 1984). Heritage as a product or an industry is likewise specified and re-contextualised for a particular purpose. Changes wrought in the long-standing San exhibition at SAM are indicative of this re-contextualisation (cf. Chapter Three). With an increased influence of indigenous peoples’ rights the call for those in the heritage sector to partner with local communities in the heritage-making process became a rising impetus (ibid). Manifest in the above was a drive toward multivocality.

On multivocality

Two principal catalysts leading to the pervasiveness of this interdisciplinary concept in academia include: i) philosophy as pertaining to the postmodernists and post-structuralists and ii) the rise of movements globally with a focus on the rights of socially marginalised peoples (Fawcett, Habu & Matsunaga, 2008). Postmodernist thought foregrounded a critical eschewing of grand narratives and scientific objectivity while emphasising knowledge as subjective thus making comprehensible the notion of multiple interpretations (2008:3; cf. Jameson 1991; Lyotard 1984). Post-structuralism likewise deferred to a multiplicity of meaning in the text, as demonstrated by Said’s epigrammatic observation that “...a text in its being a text is a being in the world” (1975:3). Together with the increased promulgation of these philosophical ideas, social movements around the world gave attention to the underrepresented, with a focus on indigenous peoples and women. At the same time

institutionalised colonial structures were declining. Prior colonial powers, such as Britain, were thus compelled to make room for the voices of the erstwhile colonised (Fawcett, Habu & Matsunaga, 2008). The above influences contributed to the academic development of “feminism, Marxism, postcolonialism, and multiculturalism during the late 1960s and 1970s” (2008:3). In addition were transformations in legislation and the adoption of ethical codes of practice in disciplines such as archaeology and anthropology translating into shifting notions of representations of the past and ownership of its narrative (ibid).

According to Neil Asher Silberman, multivocality “is meant to challenge dominant interpretive narratives and to create spaces and structures at heritage sites that will promote the co-existence of potentially conflicting approaches and perceptions of the site’s significance” (2008:141). If modern-day museologists are to follow Freeman Tilden’s (1977) principles of *revelation* and *provocation* voices presented in the museum space would birth narratives to provoke and destabilise the normative social order—hinged as this order is on an overriding prescriptive narrative. Similarly, Silberman argues that true multivocality should never offer coherent, easy to follow narratives for mass audiences. Of course the increase of foot traffic is a significant concern of museums, especially small satellites like Wildebeest Kuil, and the impetus would not be to alienate potential visitors by constructing exhibitions that do not provide some kind of coherent narrative. Further, multicultural heritages represented as “[n]on-intersecting cultural totalities... are merely superficial, and in the extreme, artificial” (Williams 2005, cited in Ashworth *et al.* 2007:45). In this vein, the heritage resource is constituted as a “globalised consumer product” (2007:45) that is “fit for the neo-liberal global economy” (Dyson, 2005:129). This is aligned with Hewison’s (1987) argument that cultural heritage has become a product marketed to tourists who consume it as they would any other product (cf. chapters Three and Five). According to Weiss, the average visitor resists thinking about Wildebeest Kuil outside of a rock art narrative, that is, according to “complicated and hybrid terms” (2007:420). Morris (2012) observes that results from the Wildebeest Kuil questionnaire seem to confirm the above.

Nevertheless, the museum space, premised on Tilden’s recommendation, is transformative in its role to reveal meaning and relationships particular to the history and culture on display. In this is provisioned a contestive space to provoke thinking, learning and emotional connection to heritage. As per the theoretical assumptions of their volume *Evaluating Multiple*

Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies Clare Fawcett, Junko Habu and John, M. Matsunaga ask: “can the close examination of alternative interpretations contribute to a deeper understanding of the subjectivity/objectivity of archaeological interpretations?” (2008:5). Authors of this volume discuss multivocality in terms of its use in archaeology; nevertheless, the arguments pertain to the present discussion. In light of close examination of the !Xun and Khwe military exhibition and introductory film in Chapter Four it is clear that subjectivities and their ideological underpinnings are indeed exposed through critical analysis. Such an awareness encourages a balanced perspective in interpretation projects. In addition, Morris argues that a focus “on place and multivocality would open up opportunities for a more inclusive sense of custodianship acknowledging the historical overlays and nuances likely to exist in any given place” (2014:656). Similarly, Margaret C. Rodman states that “attention to multilocality as well as multivocality can empower place conceptually and encourage understanding of the complex social construction of spatial meaning” (1992:640). At the same time, a balance must be struck between multivocality and commercial interests such that museums do not alienate their funders and visitors. Further, local interests (significantly those of host communities) should be considered alongside national and museum imperatives (Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008).

Wildebeest Kuil is “a nexus of jostling histories and possible interpretations which seldom entirely cohere” (Morris, 2014:5). Upon leaving the servitude, the visitor passes two signs created as part of Kimberley-born artist Liz Crossley’s 2004 exhibition and installation *This was a City*. Staged at the William Humphreys Art Gallery March 2004, the exhibition also reached outside the gallery space. The signs were placed along roads leading out of Kimberley, challenging a popular notion of the vast, largely uninhabited, semi-arid region beyond. In a speech marking the opening of the exhibition, Morris (2004) describes history as a pervasive theme in Crossley’s work. Further, he notes that her work “links history into landscape” (2004:np).

Now erected alongside the Wildebeest Kuil driveway (cf. Morris, 2012), Crossley’s signs (made to resemble official road signage) offer a final word to the visitor regarding history and heritage conceived of as contested spaces. The first reads: “Miles and Miles of Bugger-All”. The sentiment is however negated by the words themselves being bound within a universal sign symbol used to illustrate restriction. The second sign reads: “Miles and Miles of

HiStories”. The capitalisation of the ‘s’ in ‘histories’ highlights a multiplicity of perspective and meaning played out within the landscape. Morris observes that while the first of these signs “plays on the common perception”, the second “asserts... the reality” (2012:236). He goes on to describe that reality as “...a jigsaw puzzle in which the pieces do not quite fit, ever provoking new questions, and ultimately denying closure” (ibid).

Rock art inherently provides a resource representative of multiple histories (Weiss, 2012). These include the dominant historical mode following a “secular-institutional logic” accountable to a “Western Marxist historicism” (Chakrabarty, 2007:11), what historian Dipesh Chakrabarty describes as ‘History 1’; and existing in simultaneity, ‘History 2’, being a past that does not lend “itself to the reproduction of capitalist relationships” (Chakrabarty, 2000:64) instead challenging the modern dominant historical narrative (Weiss, 2012). Noting Chakrabarty’s developed distinction between History 1 and History 2, Weiss (2012) observes that the rock art record encapsulates both histories being sites of profoundly connected pre- and colonial histories. She writes (2012:221):

...it is the very persistence of the painted and engraved rocks, sometimes side by side with settler sites, that marks them as profound icons continually signalling what might otherwise be thought to be incongruous stories and temporalities. That is, they are icons continually radiating History 1 and History 2s—not within the format as chronological tales that follow the close of one chapter with the opening of another, but as the uneasy and unavoidable coexistence of both sorts of histories, right on their surfaces, scattered across the landscape.

Authors of *Engraved Landscape: Biesje Poort, Many Voices* (2013) discuss landscape as inseparable from peoples living or passing through and events having taken place there. Following Tim Ingold they describe an environment that is “more archi-textural than architectural” (Ingold, 2007:81). This is an environment of “entanglement” coming into being in relation to peoples, animals, objects and events (Morris, 2013:53). As Morris states of the Biesje Poort rock art site (situated in the Northern Cape), fragmented and fragile traces “frustrate construction of any definitive synthesis” (2013:54) revealing an inherent multivocality that proffers the occasion for alternative narratives to come to the fore (cf. Weiss, 2012). This multivocality innately challenges “constructions of place and storyline in the present” (Morris, 2013:55; cf. Weiss 2012, 2007). Rock art as a powerful resource for

multivocality in the heritage narrative is subdued when sites are presented in a chronologically determined singular narrative. When this occurs, the lack in the historical record is glossed over, as are the genealogies of power responsible for it. The potential for reflexivity is similarly lost.

A further concern is that the historical record is obdurately fixed in Western historiography (Chakrabarty, 2007). Chakrabarty describes two ontological assumptions “entailed in secular conceptions of the political and the social” (2007:15–16) that require surpassing. The most pertinent to this discussion is that “the human exists in a frame of a single and secular historical time that envelops other kinds of time” (2007:16). This secular historical time is decidedly European, linked as it is to industrial developments and the rise of modernity in the West. Chakrabarty argues in relation to practices of social and political modernity in South Asia that the opposite assumption be made, “that historical time is not integral, that it is out of joint with itself” (ibid). A similar assumption can be made of postcolonial South Africa. Heritage narratives, such as at Wildebeest Kuil, that tell the stories of various groups of people converging on a site across different eras and with often contending social and political motivations, are best able to highlight this dis-jointed historical time, opening up a space for analysis and critique. This idea is discussed further in the chapter in terms of a proposed decolonising multivocality.

A multiplicity critique

Multivocality (in name or concept) has been promulgated by many writers dealing with heritage, ranging from those in the field of cultural studies to museology, history, archaeology and tourism. Nevertheless, I was hard pressed to find critique on multivocality in its use within the field of heritage. G.J. Ashworth, Brian Graham and J.E. Tunbridge describe a dearth of research on the connections between heritage, pluralism and multiculturalism (2007:46). The concept of multivocality is widely accepted as part of a cogent post-structural influence, a counterpoint to the “negativities of modernist... bi-polar or binary representations of the world” (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000:94). Nevertheless, innocuous as it may seem, particularly in the advance of cultural inclusion and social stability, behind it “may lie a number of quite misleading and possibly even pernicious assumptions” (Ashworth *et al.* 2007:53). Roshi Naidoo offers an example from Britain where a ‘white past/multicultural present’ perspective is taken:

...a country which appears able to engage in a limited celebration of its 'new' multiculturalism can also legitimately pathologise and abuse asylum-seekers under the guise of preserving its older more primary identity as a white, 'British' nation. A government who are tough on foreigners but keen to improve the lot of 'legitimate' immigrants can appear liberal and inclusive as they simultaneously deprive people of their human rights. If there was more public consciousness of Britain's role in creating the conditions that give rise to the need for asylum, or of the country itself being created by waves of immigration, it would be much harder for right-wing newspapers to complain when lottery money is spent on asylum-seekers. (2005:43)

The above makes evident the conflictual nature of multiplicity with its "markedly enhanced potential for dissonance" (Graham *et al.* 2000:94). Brian Graham, G.J. Ashworth and J.E. Tunbridge (2000) have coined the term 'heritage dissonance' to reflect "the discordance or lack of agreement and consistency as to the meaning of heritage" (2000:23). Such a dissonance is evident in the South African context where competing narratives have collided in what Chakrabarty has termed an "unhistoriscible and ontological now" (2000:104) where divergent narratives refuse conformity in a singular national story. Others have similarly described the "South African 'now'" as not unproblematically presented as a coherent 'one' (Vriend, 2010:10; Herwitz 2012). For Daniel Herwitz, the fact that the creation of the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg was conferred onto a casino company (Gold Reef) highlights that the government is "too conflicted about the past to be able to mount a singular national heritage narrative or spatial form (monument, museum) in any monumentalizing way"; moreover "as soon as the story of the struggle begins to be told all unity of narration breaks down, with everyone vying for their angle on the narrative" (2012:123).

In a similar vein, Nyasha Mboti (2013) argues that the concept of diversity is a counterpoint to the national harmony it seeks to mirror. Mboti cites a significant phrase in the Freedom Charter (1955) also included in the new Constitution (RSA, 1996): "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" (cited in Mboti, 2013:451). Taking this to fundamentally define citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa, Mboti queries the boundaries of such a descriptor:

The emphasis on ‘all’ is as bold and radical as it is problematic. Who is ‘all’? In what sense does South Africa *belong* to ‘all’? That is, *how* does a land mass belong to all who live in it? What does *belonging* ‘to all who live in it’ mean, exactly? What does it *not* mean? (ibid)

Mboti critiques the oft-cited “I am an African” speech of then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki (1996). Addressed to the Constitutional Assembly of South Africa on 8 May 1996 and couched in the spirit of the Constitution (RSA, 1996), Mbeki’s speech is a vision of harmony and connectedness between the different inhabitants of South Africa. It was said to “set the tone and [lay] the basis for a non-racial understanding and appreciation of the new nation’s diverse heritage” (Bredekamp, 2007:2). In it Mbeki states that he is a descendent of the Khoi and San of the Cape, Malay slaves, European migrants, soldiers of Moshoeshoe and Ngungunyane. He lays claim to “Isandlwana, Khartoum, Ghana, Ashanti, the Berbers of the desert, the Boer graves on St Helena and in the Bahamas, [and] ‘those who were transported from India and China’ [to name a few]” (Mboti, 2013:452).

While Mbeki’s words have been described as embracing “the being and African-ness of all South Africans irrespective of their background” (Bredekamp, 2007:2), Mboti argues that in its sweeping inclusivity, Mbeki’s speech promulgates diversity as a crucial signifier of citizenship and ultimately renders the concept of Africanness as ahistorisable (to use Chakrabarty’s term) and indeterminate. Moreover he attributes the diversity rhetoric to an apartheid codification of the separate races, claiming that “[d]iversity is a weasel word linked to apartheid... [which] allows all manner of top-down hegemonies of citizenship to be used to include and exclude” (2013:454). It follows then that diversity is a falsity used to mask structures already in place in which we are to place ourselves if we wish to be recognised as citizens. Diversity is thus not a choice but an administrative requirement through which “[t]he costs, burdens, losses, ethics and responsibilities of citizenship are glossed over” (2013:455).

Mboti’s statement that diversity “always leads back to the prison-house of sameness” (2013:454) is embedded in a recognition that the claim of equality within diversity is incommensurate with a ‘difference-blindedness’ at the core of the equality principle (cf. Taylor, 1994). Nevertheless, an enduring demand of multiculturalism is that diverse cultures be seen to have equal value. A subsequent concern is that “[t]he peremptory demand for

favourable judgements of worth is paradoxically—perhaps one should say tragically—homogenizing” (1994:71). While seemingly universal, the standard of valuation is decidedly ‘North Atlantic’ (perhaps even Northcentric) and it is in the implicit invoking of these standards “to judge all civilizations and cultures, [that] the politics of difference can end up making everyone the same” (ibid). There is a further concern of pacification and condescension of minority groups in such an engagement with those who will ultimately ‘value’ their cultural offerings. Addressing the above together with tenuous community relations, it is little wonder that Ien Ang calls diversity a “crucial” yet simultaneously “irresolvable” “*predicament* for the museum” [italics are the author’s own] (2005:319). The necessary drive for such an engagement, however, is evidenced in Charles Taylor’s observation that misrecognition or a complete lack of recognition is a kind of oppression, able to “inflict harm”, an imprisonment of sorts “in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being” (1994:25). Multiculturalism as taken up by the apartheid regime is one such example.

Of three models of heritage policy discussed by Ashworth *et al.* the second is most relevant to the study of San heritage-making; that is “the marginalisation of deviance through museumification or vernacularisation” (2007:75). This is said to exist within an assimilationist model in which a core heritage is maintained and propagated. Within such a perspective, non-threatening deviant groups are tolerated and “marginalised as quaint heritage survivals”, effectively “rendered politically irrelevant and thus a harmless deviance” (ibid). Within the broader South African context, Ashworth *et al.* (2007) note that the tribalisation policy of the apartheid government was a variant of the vernacularisation discussed above. In its promotion and stimulation of indigenous languages, traditions and cultures, the apartheid government was focussed on re-tribalising the black majority, “treating them as anthropological survivals and folklore curiosities” and separating them into “smaller, competing and more manageable units” (2007:114). The implication of this was that black Africans living traditionally, untouched as it were by modernity, were in need of safeguarding and direction “in the complex contemporary world” (ibid). Further, these exotic natives proved advantageous for tourism in the country (ibid).

The notion of political irrelevance seems at odds with the growing politicisation of San groups in the early to mid-1990s and the contemporary focus on community-based museology. Nevertheless, it may be argued that the rhetoric of national unity through shared

heritage is largely responsible for the official use of San iconography in national and international arenas without consultation of San communities. It seems that the eventual outcome is that once the heritage resource belongs to everyone, it simultaneously belongs to no-one. Regarding heritage resources linked to San peoples, the costs of such an outcome are exacerbated by the politics of race, marginalisation, and a history of genocide. According to Mboti, “[t]he *tellers* [sic] of San stories remain mainly white intellectuals, and the telling continues to happen with or without the San people’s presence” (2014:473). This is a view taken by many San people I have encountered, and it extends into discussions of community development projects led by ‘outsiders’.

The above notwithstanding, it is arguable that post-apartheid South African nationalism is a liberal variant of older, more racially bound exclusivist forms. What is clear though is that heritage remains an apparatus of the state. In its post-apartheid form it is prescribed toward national unity and a simultaneous reflection or symbol of that unity and the state is its keeper. The various implications of heritage as used by the state include: social cohesion, the reduction of threats of ethnic and cultural heterogeneity to the nation-state, the building of a national identity, and/or the promotion of a dominant national culture (Ndoro, 2009). In one or more of these roles heritage becomes a vehicle for social transformation and inclusivity or exclusivity proliferates on a national scale according to political motivations of the time. Furthermore, the “representation of the past has a direct bearing on political legitimacy in the present” (Brett, 1996:8). The South African example has been described in previous chapters in relation to a burgeoning history of the liberation movement in museums countrywide together with a celebration of the leading political party, the African National Congress (ANC). Heritage-making is shown to be “a form of structuring the present, albeit in a fantastic or displaced form” (Brett, 1996:157). Given the South African concern with reconciliation and diversity and the larger “postmodern insistence on the fluidity and hybridity of societies” (Graham *et al.* 2000:124), the question of authorship becomes a serious concern, that is, ‘who has the right to speak for any one group?’

Development of a nationalised multicultural heritage is “fraught with serious difficulties” (Graham *et al.* 2000:119). Required maximum consensus is seldom easily secured. There may be dissonance between local, national and tourism imperatives regarding the use of heritage. Graham *et al.* (2000:120) note that rather than a replacement heritage, dissonance

would be lessened by broader inclusions; even so, “new interpretations will inevitably create some further discord”. Citing examples from Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Western Europe and South Africa, the authors argue that there is no ‘general role model of multiculturalism’. More specifically, South Africa’s “distinctive qualities, especially of scale, population mix and historical depth, require it to chart its own heritage path” (2000:116). Further, “there is no multicultural panacea to the human and heritage problems of reconciling cultural diversity” (2000:123). While an over-arching model cannot be reached, the authors acknowledge that “equally there is also no alternative to the continuing quest for broadly multicultural solutions to the world’s social diversity” (ibid). Diversity as described by Graham *et al.* (2000) is unlike that described by Mboti (2014), it is considered inherent and present regardless of attempts toward a single heritage narrative. Multiculturalism is further favoured as it parallels the advance of group rights over individual rights thus inhibiting homogenisation, assisting in the protection of minorities (Williams 1998, in Graham *et al.* 2000) and promulgating the value of “diverse identities” (2000:124).

Inevitably, diverse heritages proliferate in plural societies and these may be simultaneously discordant. In “Biesje Poort as a Rock Art Resource: Conservation and Tourism” (2013) I mention the divisive nature of heritage narratives at Biesje Poort, a rock engraving site located near Kakamas in the Northern Cape. Sven Ouzman describes this as “commendable” plain-speak, “a welcome against-the-grain intervention in the stultifying ‘heritage-as-nation-building’ discourse” (2014:754). Following Ouzman, in its courting of hyper-relativism, multiculturalism hazards “replacing divisive cultural stereotyping pre-1994 with a collegial connectedness thereafter” (ibid). Further, while multivocality is inclusive it simultaneously has the potential to exclude. Ashworth *et al.* describe multiculturalism as “highly contested, ambiguous and slippery” (2007:34). Within the context of their publication, they note that with no distinct political consensus, the term is insufficiently linked to that of ‘pluralism’. Is it thus so difficult (or slippery) a concept to engage? Ouzman believes that this is not the case, rather “[s]imply getting people to engage; understanding that knowledge is different, contextual but still communicable, helps build a robustly critical citizenry” (2014:753).

Discussing ‘dark tourism’ which constitutes visitation to events, sites and memorials remembering great tragedy and suffering, Dallen J. Timothy (2011) asserts that commemoration and education should be prioritised. The same can be said for heritage sites

(and exhibitions) dealing with difficult and painful pasts. Divergent perspectives and dissonant views should be incorporated in the interpretation of heritage with every effort made toward a balanced and objective interpretation. In addition, sensitivity is essential in all aspects of site management, for example, “interpretation, maintenance, entrance fees, human resource training, [and] marketing” (Timothy, 2011:466). Moreover:

...extra care should be taken to assure that the use of sites is done tastefully and in a way that is not upsetting to those most personally affected. In this regard, site and interpretive planning would benefit by the participation of direct stakeholders, including victims, family members, perpetrators and the visitors themselves. (ibid)

Graham *et al.* (2000) consider the constituents of heritage and its interpretation to be sub-questions of a more universal debate involving the question of ‘whose heritage?’ (cf. Tunbridge, 1994). As much as heritage is a celebration/memorialisation of aspects of the past it is simultaneously burdened with the past. Graham *et al.* (2000) discuss the above in relation to exclusion and othering, calling this ‘heritages of disinheritance’. The District Six Museum in Cape Town is an example of an interpretive resource assigned to a heritage site laden with a past of disinheritance. The plaque at the entrance to the museum reads:

In remembering we do not want to recreate District Six but to work with its memory: of hurts inflicted and received, of loss, achievements and of shames. We wish to remember so that we can all, together and by ourselves rebuild a city which belongs to all of us, in which all of us can live, not as races but as people. (cited in Coombes, 2004:121–122)

While the historic District Six was not without racial conflicts, the museum offers a somewhat romanticised perspective (Koseff, 2007). More so, the redevelopment of the District Six site as a symbol of social cohesion was purposefully metonymic, offering what was considered a “necessary and powerful” conception of the real place (2007:85). The museum has re-imagined the site, particularly so in its filtering of clashing narratives provided by ex-residents: “...ultimately the Museum began to analyse the kind of District Six narratives that were developing and accepted that the strongest narrative was one that embraced diversity” (ibid).

In a seminar hosted by the Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS) and held at Wildebeest Kuil in June 2011 the subject of multi-layered histories became a topic of impassioned discussion (Fieldnotes, June 2011). The seminar was attended by associated academics and government and NGO workers. Implicit in the discussion was that bias in heritage interpretation and presentation is often caused by the politicisation of heritage. One discussant, a government official, expressed the view that it is the desire of the current South African government to create an African identity and that by implication certain other identities (Afrikaner and English identities in particular) are left out (this echoes the point made by Max du Preez (1999) regarding the implication that whites, coloureds and Indians could not be 'African' as discussed in Chapter Three). The speaker reiterated the need for ways in which to tell the many stories of the country so that they are inclusive of all involved histories, even the unpleasant ones. Tomaselli and Alum Mpofu similarly state that while "[i]t is understandable that people would like to do away with symbols associated with the nightmares of apartheid's grand designs of racial domination... [t]he destruction of monuments will not make apartheid's history disappear" (1997:74). While a rehabilitation of the 'landscape of memory' (cf. Marschall 2010) is necessary, Tomaselli and Mpofu assert that the monuments landscape should "show all the warts and blemishes of the society as it really is" (1997:74). Sabine Marschall states further that old monuments have become necessary points of reference, juxtaposed as they are with newer ones in "the tactical appropriation and re-contextualization of older monuments for the purposes of reconciliation and nation-building" (2010:34).

Diversity and multi-layers histories are concepts to which Wildebeest Kuil has maintained a commitment. The ancient engravers, their rock art, the contemporary San who now own the land, the colonial farmers, and diamond diggers who frequented the site at different times in history are all acknowledged in their engagement with Wildebeest Kuil. Maintaining objectivity in the telling of diverse and multi-layered histories is a process that remains ongoing and subject to the personal perspectives of those in the business of interpretation. Of course subjectivity in the process cannot be eliminated nor should it; nevertheless it should always be accompanied by a constant and sharp reflexivity. Without the latter, even the best intended exhibitions/interpretations may produce disastrous results. Reflexivity is a further precaution against political bias which involves the presentation of heritage in such a way as

to satisfy the ideological standpoint of those in power.⁸⁹ As Morris notes, “[t]he present-day ‘making’ of Wildebeest Kuil is a ‘remaking’; and the site’s future will be the outcome of continued interaction between a variety of stakeholders and communities, whose histories themselves are complex and dynamic” (2012:230).

Chakrabarty writes that, “[t]he idea is to write into the history of modernity the ambivalences, contradictions, the use of force, and the tragedies and ironies that attend it” (2000:43). Heritage projects are best engaged in similarly critical terms. Hall proposes a perspective of heritage as a ‘discursive practice’, a process of ‘storying’ which in the national context illustrates the selective binding of “chosen high points and memorable achievements into an unfolding ‘national story’” under constant reconstruction (2005:25). Such a view of heritage is instructive in the South African context where if diligently subscribed to would caution against further racialised prescriptions of power. As Hall notes of the British example, many of the great national achievements incorporated into ‘The Heritage’ were struggled for by some and resisted by others (2005:27). Hall’s query is this: “Where, one asks, is this deeply ruptured and fractured history, with its interweaving of stability and conflict, in the Heritage’s version of the dominant national narrative?” (ibid) He describes otherness in terms of non-whiteness and calls for its inclusion in the national Heritage, belonging while also incorporating difference. Hall calls this a new kind of difference “the difference which is not binary (either-or) but [citing Derrida, 1982] whose ‘*differences*’ will not be erased, or traded” (2005:30). Similarly, Herwitz (2012) proposes a robust and on-going heritage conversation in which conflicting narratives would find an equitable footing.

A critical heritage would thus be a move away from “heritage as romance”—essentialist and one-sided, to “heritage as tragedy”—foregrounding the ‘frictions’ of history (Minkley nd, cited in Witz & Rassool, 2008). Leslie Witz and Ciraj Rassool (2008) propose the concept of “history frictions” as an extension of “museum frictions” employed in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (2006) “to explain the ongoing contestations both

⁸⁹ Two other forms of bias occur which are not necessarily political. Firstly, the durability of historical material plays a role in the way in which heritage is viewed. In examples of built heritage, based on the materials used in construction, some structures will last longer than others, reinforcing “perception[s] of a more ‘romantic’ past, whereas the harsh realities of the everyday life of ordinary people cannot be ‘seen’” (Ivanovic, 2008:194). Secondly, canonical history refers to the taken for granted historical perceptions of previous generations that are established and passed down to each new generation until the discovery of new facts forces a change. That being said, bias in heritage interpretation and presentation is often caused by the politicisation of heritage.

within and outside the institutional bounds of the museum and how these impact upon each other” (Witz & Rassool, 2008:12). These frictions occur when various communities, groups, “interests, goals and perspectives... produce debates, tensions, collaborations, [and] conflicts of many sorts” (Kratz & Karp 2006, cited in Witz & Rassool, 2008:12). Similar frictions occur within the public domain regarding historical practices. In the process of making multi-authored and variously constituted histories, new insights are opened up into South Africa’s past (Witz & Rassool, 2008). This notwithstanding, multivocality in itself may not achieve such ends. At best it may satiate demands from divergent groups for their heritage narratives to be made available; at worst it may anaesthetise a conflict-ridden heritage discourse.

Toward a decolonising multivocality

The call for transformation in museology has been coupled with a focus to decolonise the museum space (cf. Wintle 2013; Butler 2000; Bal 1992). Similarly, Sonya Atalay describes a decolonising archaeology which entails “struggling to build bridges and develop tools to build a more tolerant society that allows different epistemologies to exist and play a role” (2008:43). Following this line of thought and epistemologically grounded in shifts in knowledge production as described in Chapter Three, I propose a decolonising multivocality which seeks out similar objectives in the heritage landscape. In August 2012 President Jacob Zuma called “for urgent interventions to transform and decolonize South African museums” (Zuma, 2012:np). These remarks formed part of a speech delivered by Zuma at the reburial of Khoes-San descendants Klaas and Trooi Pienaar in Kuruman in the Northern Cape. The Pienaars’ bodies were removed from their graves in 1909 and transferred to Vienna, where they were purposed for Rudolph Pöch’s dubious scientific inquiry.

Zuma used the occasion “to call for a critical examination of the legacy of race as science and the relationship that contemporary museums have to that thinking” (Nytagodien, 2014:1). He went on to warn against the use of South African subjects as colonial objects and appealed for museums to “become centres of heritage and expertise which respect all peoples and cultures” (Zuma, 2012:np). Zuma’s comments raise a number of questions about museum transformation that constitute long-standing debate in the sector (cf. Chapter Three). The politics of repatriation, re-burial and remains as ‘objects’ of scientific study are significant in consideration of the process of heritage-making, especially where that heritage is related to those whom “historiography has put at risk” (Blakey, 2008:210). Mboti describes the display

case as an enclosed, micro-environment providing a singular perspective of “*arrested movement and arrested history*”⁹⁰ (2014:476). In this way, the vitrine and the larger museum in which it is found are best able to display ‘objects’. Mboti argues, therefore, that exhibition is preventative “in that it prevents both doing and speaking, and is a careful replacing of the subject with an unprotesting object or fetish” (ibid).

The above evidences the need for a decolonising multivocality in the heritage sector. From the perspective of southern African cultural studies (cf. Chapter Two) such an approach to multivocality, with critique focussed on host, subject and partner community beneficitation, would work to ‘shape outcomes’ and ‘caution power’ (cf. Tomaselli, Rønning & Mboti, 2013). Of significance would be a “critical distance from new hegemonies”, and recognition given to “the value that indigenous ontologies... can bring to the academic table” (2013:12). Tomaselli and Mewa Ramgobin put forward a concept of “conservation as liberation” which “embraces the dynamic of history—resistance—and an engagement of class ideologies—reinterpretation—from the perspective of the subaltern classes” (1988:121). The above implies that multivocality in practice “enhances rather than relives the need... to weed out erroneous assumptions and interpretations and to synthesize divergent viewpoints to produce more holistic explanations of the past” (Trigger, 2008:190). This is multivocality as critical practice. Certainly, what is required is “a reflexive approach where visitors to museums are exposed to debates rather than clear cut single issue answers and where they become aware of the processes which shape memory” (Tomaselli & Ramgobin, 1988:121). A decolonising multivocality, within southern African cultural studies underpinning the study, is one that gives voice to the indigenous in the heritage text, challenging, if not re-working, perspectives of a neo-liberal, synchronic nature, and disallowing abstraction of the subaltern (theorising of the subaltern is discussed in Chapter Two).

The decolonising multivocality put forward in this chapter is a reflexive and critical approach steeped in provocation and contention, it is reflexive and non-partisan. Drawing from Hall (2005) on constitutions of ‘The Heritage’, it is an approach to multivocality that requests the acknowledgement of difference as well as sameness, while acknowledging the complexity of such a request (cf. Naidoo, 2005). It is an approach to difference which, like Tomaselli and Mpofu have described in terms of heritage conservation, “should not be allowed to mean

⁹⁰ Italics are the author’s own.

separate, as apartheid would have had us believe” (1997:73). It accepts that, having been born out of a pointed attempt to counter prevailing hegemonic powers, multivocality is a “form of oppositional practice” (Wylie, 2008:201). Such a stance disrupts a relativist pluralism so often coupled with multivocality in practice today. This latter form is “disingenuous” in its practice of leaving “dissonant, competing narratives unaccountable” (2008:202). A call for accountability, nevertheless, implies a shared caucus of history, while in practice, this may not be tenable. Following Bruce Trigger I “reject the suggestion that all narratives are of equal historical value” (2008:190). The form of multivocality advocated here is thus repositioned by a critical query: “what sorts of grounds and what sorts of reflexive critique are defensible, given commitment to a situated knowledge thesis?” (Wylie, 2008:202).

In response to the above critical query, and as per a discussion on archaeology, Alison Wylie (2008) describes provisional principles in the pursuit of a democratised multivocality. These include: i) “a commitment to empirical integrity”; ii) “a requirement of conceptual integrity”; and iii) a “principle of grounded reflexivity” (2008:206–209). On the principle of empirical integrity, Wylie states that instead of a blind assertion of the evidence as “authorizing source or ground of knowledge” what is required is a “responsiveness to evidence both as it bears on specific claims about the past and on the background assumptions that inform the choice of questions, categories of analysis, and the identification of (relevant) data” (2008:206). Moreover, significance should be placed on “juxtaposing multiple lines of evidence” (2008:207). The second principle, ‘a requirement of conceptual integrity’, brings to light the importance of clarity in the use of concepts such that originating and background concepts are made explicitly clear and used transparently. The principle of grounded reflexivity is formulated in the work of Michael Blakey (2008) to suggest a democratising inquiry attending to the insights and concerns of the marginalised, those who are “most likely to be negatively affected by archaeological [anthropological, cultural studies, historical, and most other academic] inquiry” (Wylie, 2008:210).

The above principles are indicative of an approach to multivocality which takes into consideration the question of whether encouragement under a neo-liberal democracy for the proliferation of multiple histories actually spells “the end of modernist History as we know it” (Comaroff, 2004:4). From this view history is seen to “dissolve into ‘his story’ and ‘her story’” (ibid). Jean Comaroff argues that “the circumstances that have abetted all this organic

history-making have also undermined the status of History as academic discipline” (2004:14). Even so, Comaroff goes on to advocate a multiplicity approach to history as “an argument joined about various, reciprocally entailed histories in a *field* of interrelated narratives” (2004:16). In the face of post-structuralism and postmodernism, the decolonising multivocality proposed here is an approach critically bound to resist wholly relativist cacophonies of unsubstantive grounding yet it simultaneously acknowledges the constructedness of heritage and the policulturalism involved in its present-day making.

Wylie reiterates that the above principles are provisional and tentative. Implicit in this qualification is an insight stipulated by Graham *et al.* (2000), and to which I agree, that there can be no model for multiculturalism and polyvocality in the interpretation and presentation of all heritage. Each heritage object/site is subject to specific circumstances to which a polyvocal presentation must adapt in order to best fulfil its role in that society. What that best fit is and who decides this is a provocation of heritage as dissonant and potentially divisive. In truth, there is a dearth of literature on theoretical conceptions of multivocality in heritage. Discussions are often simplified and vague, and implementation is subsequently the same. There is a lack of specific objectives and the heritage industry is threatened by this vagueness. It seems necessary to re-emphasise ethics of practice in the heritage landscape.

Hinting at the need for moral law within conservation practices, Tomaselli and Ramgobin describe the Freedom Charter (1955) as a “blueprint for development” through which mechanisms may be identified and developed for conservation that entails “peaceful sense making and cultural expression” (1988:121). If the heritage landscape is to be critically intuitive to national, regional and local needs, some sort of framework (at least ethical) should be established, however provisional and tentative. This would encourage a robust heritage conversation, in which debates around the building of social capital and civil society might be fully engaged. David Thelen (2005) argues that it is necessary for museums to engage these debates and for museum-based activities and initiatives to be informed by them. Museums are not to hold a specific position but rather straddle controversies and contradictions. In approaching their civic activities museums should first look inward in an exercise to consider the public and civic dimensions of their existing work; “[s]uch internal exercises and discoveries, in turn, could provide fertile soil for developing serious discussion within a museum about what it means to build an institution on civic or public dimensions of

work” (2005:335). Without such introspection, looking outward to partnerships and community involvement will be a difficult task. Thelen (2005) questions whether museums are ready to commit staff and resources to a vision of civic activism. According to Newman, the success of museum-based activities to promote social inclusion can be judged only according to the impacts made on participants:

Individuals use museums and galleries in ways that respond to their own and their group’s needs. The stories that curators want to tell might not be those that the visitor or participant in a project takes away. Further research into the ways museums and galleries act on people and communities is critical if their role in society is to be clarified and practice is to be improved. (2005:332)

Curatorial objectives and struggles for power amongst museum staff and between museum workers and host communities play a significant role in the construction, interpretation and presentation of heritage. Steven Dubin notes that the word commonly used to describe the state of South African museums is “transitional” (2009:209). He claims that “transformation has occurred clumsily: for every step forward, there have been forces that have held or even pushed museums backward” (ibid). At Wildebeest Kuil, while the military exhibition has been an example of poor communication with the host community and a deviance from the centre’s overall objectives, the introductory film is an example of positive discussion, debate and fine-tuning in the process of representing the hosts at the site. Of course, discussion does not always lead to consensus or allay criticism. It remains vital, however, to maintain an open dialogue at all times between museums and the communities they serve.

This was an abiding sentiment at the seminar *Museums in a Democratic Society* held on April 16th 2014 at the KwaMuhle Museum in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal as part of its celebration of 20 years of democracy in the country. The speakers at the seminar were proficient in the fields of heritage and museums, having worked in academia, government or as practitioners. The papers presented responded to the South African context in terms of museums as a contested space; transformation in the museum space; the role of museums in nation-building and social cohesion; and museums and cultural heritage. Implicit in the discussion was the notion of power and control. In response to a question I raised about the need for museums to partner with other key institutions in the process of transformation and democratisation and

what these institutions would be, Dolly Khumalo, senior manager at the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Arts and Culture (KZNDAC) noted that there is a prevailing “silo mentality” in the museum space that is in need of undoing (Fieldnotes, April 2014). Nevertheless, the implication of her sentiments and those of the other speakers highlighted the powerful hold on heritage to which the museum as institution continues to lay claim.

Pippa Skotnes’ attempt to shed light on such a discourse, to lay bare the curiosity cabinet, was met with furore (cf. Chapter Three). *Miscast* was to be about museum and archival practice with the San as a case study. What it became, however, was a controversial point of departure in the discussion of indigenous representations and rights, especially those of San peoples. Couched in this was the uproar over Skotnes’ own whiteness: can a white person tell the story of a black man/Bushman? Can a white *woman* tell such a story? Of course, anyone can tell a story; the issue here is who does the telling; who has ownership of the telling; ownership of the story; and of the benefits accrued. If the museum space has always been the *wunderkammer* of the white male then Skotnes had fractured this dimension of ownership and had in fact positioned (white and black) performative spectators as implicit oppressors. In contrast, the contemporary Khoe-San response was to interpret a double articulation, that they were again oppressed in the way that the spectators were in some exhibits required to walk over the faces (images) of their ancestors (cf. Chapter Three). Skotnes’s intention here was misunderstood/interpreted as disrespect, rather than as an interrogation of oppression and the symbolic complicitness of even current generations of both whites and blacks in this repression. Ideology, class, race and myth are all embedded in the museum and in the South African context, where the present is pregnant with the past; there is no comfortable and unproblematic way around these issues. The museum’s place in social transformation and the power it wields over histories told and untold is undoubted.

At Wildebeest Kuil the sacred and the profane exist side-by-side. Thousand-year-old rock engravings (remnants of what the current ethnography describes as sacred sites) lie a short distance from extreme poverty, illness, despair and filth. This often results in an experience that is disarming and disorientating. Visitors in search of the sacred may refuse to acknowledge the profane or may find that it renders the sacred ‘unholy’. A similar kind of experience may occur when these visitors are confronted with a critical multivocality in which expected, sanitised, ideologically-friendly narratives are overturned and disinherited. A

decolonising multivocality does not merely offer narratives of all who had contact with the site. It is a maelstrom of competing narratives, a critical engagement with historical evidence, showcasing its ‘tragedies and ironies’, and an instrument of reflexivity both for the visitor and the museologist. Such an approach to heritage, tampering as it does with more traditional approaches, will most likely cause offense. *Miscast*, having attempted to showcase the tragedies and ironies of history relating to San peoples without the multivocality that would have included San voices, came up against sharp criticism. This is not to say that the inclusion of these voices would have dispelled criticism. As noted above, a decolonising multivocality is sure to face censure. This notwithstanding:

[t]he point is not to reject social science categories but to release into the space occupied by particular European histories sedimented in them other normative and theoretical thought enshrined in other existing life practices and their archives. For it is only in this way that we can create plural normative horizons specific to our existence and relevant to the examination of our lives and their possibilities. (Chakrabarty, 2007:20)

These ‘plural normative horizons’ sought out in the postcolony are ambitious and often hard-won. The proposal of alternative accounts of the nation starts with re-thinking the post-apartheid or postcolonial nation “in terms of its fragments”, that is, “those parts and those peoples who do not easily belong to it, who exist at the margins and peripheries of society” (Young, 2003:63). In contradistinction to the promulgation of dominant narratives of elites, Robert Young states that these fragments “are the means through which the nation relates to itself” (ibid). The above should quicken a response to practices of heritage interpretation and presentation centred on a decolonising multivocality. Rock art sites are possibly the best place to begin with such an approach to multivocality as they are, according to Weiss (2012), opportune sites to challenge traditional narrative forms.

Summary

Heritage-making has been shown to be a process of assemblage with direct relation to political legitimacy and (re)structuring of the present. Approaches of democratising the heritage sector are purposed toward dialogue with previously silenced and marginalised

groups to include their stories and perspectives in collections and exhibitions. Via the interpretation and presentation of heritage resources, museums offer national and group identities through which individuals are included or excluded. Indeed, heritage-making on the local and national level is aligned with the objectives of the nation-state in terms of a national identity for internal solidarity as well as creating an image for global recognition. The economic and cultural functions of heritage meet at the present-day resolve for the inclusion of voices and stories of the previously marginalised. Nevertheless, if this inclusion is to disallow disingenuity and superficiality it must be based on a critical approach, such as the decolonising multivocality proposed in this chapter. The overall press toward multivocality in the South African heritage landscape is symbolic of polyphonic, proto-utopian agency—democratic yet at the same time potentially counter-hegemonic.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

The study set out to explore heritage-making at the Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Tourism Centre, outside the Northern Cape city of Kimberley. This is particularly relevant to a South African context where crucial debates unfold concerning heritage-making. More so, the rock engraving site has been linked to a contemporary San community and representations of San peoples have been a matter of debate in South Africa for decades. What is heritage and who benefits from it has been a question underlying the study. The study was an effort to engage with issues of heritage-making with particular attention to complex negotiations at Wildebeest Kuil. A key concept that emerged was multivocality in the narrativising of heritage and a decolonising multivocality was presented as a step further in progressive heritage-making. The theme of messy knowledge (cf. Chapter Two), subject to interpretation, uncertain and unfinished, became manifest in terms of heritage construction within the fieldwork site and the country at large. Themes that have emerged include: custodianship, site ownership, conservation/preservation, heritage in tourism and multivocality in terms of democratising processes in museology (as described above). The chapter revisits the study's principal themes, synthesising empirical findings. It outlines the significance of the research and the study's limitations are discussed along with recommendations for further scholarship.

Principal themes revisited

Africa has been subject to a Eurocentric perspective in regard to its heritage (Eboreime 2009; Hall 2009; Munjeri 2009). South Africa's colonial and apartheid past has played a pivotal role in forming broadly hegemonic answers to questions such as: i) what constitutes heritage; ii) whose heritage; and iii) who benefits from the ways in which it is constructed. Certain globally evident motifs of power relationships appear to prevail. These include: "national, official, masculine... [and] white" (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000:53). These motifs have disempowered local communities, excluding their voices from the dominant heritage narrative and, coupled with past displacement, marginalisation and dehumanisation, they

have fostered a lack of concern for heritage sites in groups that were once dedicated custodians. With its progressive heritage legislation, the advancement of indigenous heritages, and democratisation and transformation of the museum space, post-apartheid South Africa has made strides in reconciling these concerns (cf. Chapter Three).

Nevertheless, the politics surrounding the heritage of San peoples in the current post-apartheid context are relationally bound together with legitimising efforts, identity struggles, questions of belonging and land ownership. Further, these politics “are steeped in emotion” (Barnabas, 2013:105–106). Certainly, its inextricable link to history has translated into heritage being fraught with socio-political tensions. There have been those put at risk, I venture that some have even been blotted out, by a modern secular historiography (Blakey, 2008). Within the wider context of Khoe-San histories and politics of representation (cf. Chapter Three) the study has provided an in-depth exploration of the Wildebeest Kuil rock engraving site in its particular community setting.

The case of Wildebeest Kuil is unique in that it is the only one of the three rock art tourism centres in the country to boast a host community. More so, this community is geographically constituted. Originating in Angola and Namibia respectively the !Xun and Khwe are two distinct San groups who share a history of war and displacement. The Platfontein community is an example of ‘those put at risk’ as described above. Certainly, the negotiations of contemporary San peoples’ identity and representation at Wildebeest Kuil are especially pertinent in the current South African heritage landscape. The !Xun and Khwe’s affinity to the rock engravings at Wildebeest Kuil manifests out of a deeper sense of pan-San kinship. It has been noted that the original makers of the rock art (possibly the /Xam), while “culturally extinct”, remain “genetically extant” (Parkington *et al.* 2008:55). It may be argued that the connection expressed by members of the !Xun and Khwe to the engravings suggests that these original makers are also spiritually extant—if not of the supernatural variant then certainly couched within a ‘spirit’ of remembrance. This extends the notion of museological democratisation to the justification of the !Xun and Khwe’s ownership of Platfontein, Wildebeest Kuil and Droogfontein and to their sense of belonging to this place. This was made evident in community leader Zeka Shiwarra’s compelling claim that the contemporary !Xun and Khwe have returned to the extreme South, now occupying land on which their ancestors once roamed (cf. Chapter Six). The above illustrates that heritage-making is a

process of assemblage with direct relation to political legitimacy and (re)structuring of the past and, by association, the present.

While the community's custodianship of the site is justified in the above, the empirical research has shown this custodianship to be lacking in terms of engagement with the site. Platfontein is affected by problems common to most marginalised settlements; poverty, unemployment, alcohol abuse and ill-health remain unchecked. These challenges extend into their role as owners of and hosts at Wildebeest Kuil. Between 2010 and 2012 there had been an increased incidence of vandalism on-site as well as destruction caused by children from the community who inadvertently set nearby fields on fire. Management at the rock art centre describe the community as having little interest in the site (Fieldnotes, September 2012; June 2011; June 2010). While the Platfontein leadership acknowledge that the task of educating the community concerning the significance of the rock engravings falls to them, they have not been active in this role. It is uncertain whether or not they have the capacity to do so and no partnership exists between themselves and the museum in this regard.

The community's growing disconnect with Wildebeest Kuil may be rooted within a milieu of service delivery concerns, community tensions and disillusionment. Regarding the latter, the community's hopes for Wildebeest Kuil were dashed when continued low visitor numbers at the site proved initial projections for tourism and employment opportunities to have been exaggerated. Since then the community experience an estranged and discontented relationship with the site. These concerns reveal both the dysfunction suffered by the community and hindrances to community participation and guardianship. Can this community be expected to be the custodians of a heritage site when it is a community in distress? The question remains.

As a tourism resource, heritage is seen to stimulate investment, create employment, and assist in skills development. There exists debate regarding the give and take necessary in the relationship between heritage and tourism. Negative repercussions of heritage tourism include over- and misuse of sites resulting in damage or irrevocable destruction, rising inflation, environmental decay, and exploitation of local, marginalised groups working in, or on the periphery of, the tourism industry. These notwithstanding, contemporary governments and international organisations view tourism as an instrument for developing countries to

gain further access to the global economy. There is widespread belief in tourism's potential contribution to sustainable economic development, poverty alleviation, the funding of conservation, and nurturing cultural pride. Successful tourism is dependent on the smooth working of other sectors. The lack of service delivery, a national concern, impedes the growth of the industry. Inadequate resources and funding, the limited involvement of local communities in tourism activities, and the non-accrual of benefits from the tourism industry experienced by a number of prime tourist attractions located in rural areas are of further major concern. Manifestations of these impediments at Wildebeest Kuil have been detailed in chapters Four and Five. Wildebeest Kuil remains a struggling venture. Visitor numbers are extremely low and together with a spate of vandalism in recent years this has turned the site into a financial burden on the larger McGregor Museum. Nevertheless, recognising the significance of the site for conservation, education and as a national heritage resource, the McGregor continues to support Wildebeest Kuil and keep it open to the public.

Part of the mandate at Wildebeest Kuil has been to include the manifold histories of the site in its presentation. While not archaeologically recommended, the relationship created between the rock art site and the !Xun and Khwe at Platfontein is a link that challenges prevailing views of San peoples as hunter-gatherers, remnants of which are expected to maintain much of their 'traditional' lifeways. This timeless primitivising is subtly critiqued in the introductory film and site tour. The military exhibition further locates the community within a modern-day perspective, although deeper analysis sees it arrest them in a discourse of paternalism. The lack of an indigenous voice in the military exhibition excludes the community from the heritage on offer. Exclusion is to be addressed if solutions to sustainable development and tourism are to be found. Support, in this regard, is required from all structures of leadership (group, local and national).

Because of the extent of heterogeneity in the country, plurality of its heritage is inevitable. Certainly, it requires necessary acknowledgement if vibrant heritage discourse is to be created. As has been discussed, the country's colonial and apartheid past has significantly shaped its heritage identity. Processes of democratisation in post-apartheid South Africa are similarly transforming dominant conceptualisations of heritage. "History from below" (Urry, 1990:121) in the South African context is the inclusion of alternative histories of not only the working classes but specifically those that had been most under the heel of the apartheid

state. Multivocality is widely endorsed as a panacea against identification concerns within heritage. The study has pursued principles for thinking about multivocality from a southern African cultural studies perspective. A decolonising multivocality was proposed in which critical reflexive space is encouraged where heritage makers and consumers are required to ask pivotal questions about heritage construction, mutability, democratic responsibility and counter-hegemonic responses.

The national heritage identity is fraught with contesting narratives (cf. Herwitz 2012; Marschall 2010; Tomaselli & Mpofu 1997; Shepperson & Tomaselli 1997; Coombes 2004). There is certainly a seeking after ‘plural normative horizons’ (cf. Chapter Six). But is it enough to be all-inclusive? The decolonising multivocality proposed in the study repudiates such inclusion. Instead it advocates a critical engagement with competing narratives such that the ‘tragedies and ironies’ of historical evidence are laid bare (ibid). In this way, the approach constitutes active reflexivity on the part of museologists and visitors. According to Weiss (2012), rock art sites are favourable for challenging traditional narrative forms. The manifold layers of histories, like strata on rock, tell the larger story of the place. In its insistence on giving voice to the indigenous in the heritage text, the decolonising multivocality prescribed in the study seeks to challenge, if not re-work, perspectives of a neo-liberal, synchronic nature, and disallow abstraction of the subaltern.

Significance of the research

The !Xun and Khwe in South Africa have not been subject to extensive research, equally so Wildebeest Kuil is a relatively obscure research site. Under the auspices of research conducted at the University of KwaZulu-Natal’s Centre for Communication, Media and Society, the study adds to the Centre’s small but growing corpus of work on the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein as well as on the topic of heritage. The same is true of the larger fields of Khoe-San and Heritage studies. It is hoped that this research will prove useful to academics, as well as those (tourism operators, development practitioners, government officials, museum staff, community leaders) involved in heritage-making at community-based museological sites and working towards positive transformation and development for partnerships in the sector. The possible policy implications of this document are thus noted.

The study has brought to light challenges to democratisation of a heritage site in the South African context (democratisation processes being significant at this time in South African history). Attempts at inclusion, reflexivity and multi-vocal practices have been made evident. The juxtaposition of modern narratives of the !Xun and Khwe (however incomplete) alongside the archaeological narrative of the Wildebeest Kuil site displays democratisation of the museum space in progress. This notwithstanding, the research has shown a rupture between official discourses of heritage and immediate community concerns/interests. South Africa is a crucible of diaspora, migration, immigration and displacement. The characterisation of Africanness and who may be categorised as such remains a point of debate. The alterity of San peoples such as the !Xun and Khwe (along with San descendants, now characterised as ‘coloured’ and other minority groups) is confirmed in the exclusionary discourse of a fractured national heritage narrative. Questions of the significance of race and indigeneity in the production, consumption, and inclusivity (or exclusivity) of heritage are instructive for critical heritage production. Certainly, present day conditions of (racialised) inequality remain a challenge.

The study has advanced a decolonising multivocality, couched in southern African cultural studies, as a step further in progressive heritage-making. In terms of rock art and San peoples, colonial archetypes remain strong in present day representations/imaginings. With a decolonising multivocality in action, such archetypes are engaged with and contested in contradistinction to the promulgation of dominant, elite narratives. Social and political contexts manifest in the developing world in often site-specific variations (cf. Timothy & Nyaupane 2009a; Timothy & Boyd 2006, 2003; Leung 2001). Even so, in terms of the climate of contemporary heritage conceptualisation in the country, the theoretical outlines and discussions provided here are broadly applicable to the South African heritage landscape.

Study limitations and further areas of scholarship

As described above, since Wildebeest Kuil is uniquely situated within the South African heritage landscape, the question of general theoretical applicability of outcomes of the thesis may be a point of critique. Nevertheless, as described in Chapter Three, other rock art sites in the country face similar challenges. Challenges faced by the !Xun and Khwe as hosts are

broadly applicable in the South African context. Moreover, concerns of host representation form part of a larger and on-going debate under the mantle of indigenous rights.

Themes that emerged during the research process but which I was unable to pursue include the romanticisation of poverty within the rural tourism experience and the significance of language within heritage-making. The issue of language, touched upon in the thesis, is an important consideration. Presentation at Wildebeest is conducted in English, a language generally accessible to foreign visitors. Afrikaans is the dominant language of the Northern Cape; it is considered by many South Africans to be the language of apartheid. However variants of Afrikaans spoken by different groups in the province showcase an appropriation of the language, and a re-contextualisation, such that alternative forms of Afrikaans have evolved (cf. Tomaselli & Ramgobin, 1988). The significance of the use of a 'home language' to generate heritage interest in the region merits further research.

In addition, research is needed to answer the question of whether heritage tourism is capable of providing the education necessary to increase understanding and tolerance between different social groups. Public policy and private development decisions should be informed by such research for the future of heritage in tourism (cf. Richter, 2005). Regarding accessibility and involvement, further research could explore the engagements that visitors have with the rock art site and interpretive centre at Wildebeest Kuil and the level of inclusivity/exclusivity promulgated.

There seems to be an inbuilt fracture in national tourism strategies and the local conscience. Tourism plans and strategies are based on the logic of capitalism with its Western perception of man and nature as separate entities. In the South African context, local communities struggle between a perspective in which man and nature are unified and a learned perspective of separation from decades of forced removals, subjugation and intentional dehumanising procedures. A possible direction for future research would be to investigate the ways in which (and if at all) national government rhetoric and policy seek to reconcile this perceptual incoherence, especially in terms of the conflicts it is bound to cause.

South African national heritage subscribes to the pastness of apartheid and colonisation and thus, in part, renders their effects also 'passed'. Exhibitions of the injustices of the past must

be anchored in the present; in other words, to take the view that historical progress has resolved past issues is to be blinded to ongoing processes “through which political ideology translates itself” (Naidoo, 2005:39). In South Africa this amounts to presentations of the apartheid regime as corrupt and inhumane while present-day corruption is seemingly condoned. Further research into ways in which national heritage is used to ameliorate this perspective is necessary.

Finally, if a decolonising multivocality is to be applied at Wildebeest Kuil it would be apposite to explore the collection of voices found there. As has been noted, little is known about the makers of the rock art and their descendants (if any) are possibly scattered throughout the Northern Cape and beyond. Further research involving a decolonising multivocality approach may uncover compelling results in terms of authority of voice at sites such as Wildebeest Kuil.

Heritage cannot run the risk of being consumed as essential, natural and timeless. While there is little doubt that South Africa’s heritage landscape is now much improved, on-going critical analysis is pivotal for progress and further transformation. It should not be the case that alternative heritages find themselves standing at “...a welcome mat by a closed door” (Khan, 2005:137):

The voices—honest though they may be—that proclaim all is well are siren voices. They attract those for whom change is troubling, and in the process they run the danger of shipwrecking a genuine push for social change and cultural regeneration. To be holed by failure is regrettable; to be holed by success is tragic. (2005:143)

Transformations in the South African heritage landscape have offered hope for further progress. In April 2013, at a seminar on San representation held at the University of KwaZulu-Natal’s Pietermaritzburg campus, I gave a presentation on the state of Wildebeest Kuil and its relevance within the larger context of heritage-making and conservation in South Africa. At the end of my presentation I cited the abovementioned hope. After noting the strengths of my contribution, historian John Wright launched into a critique of what he called ‘the hope trope’, challenging me (and by association the other academics in the room) to be a voice of dissent, for our academic pursuits to burgeon revolutions (cf. Wright & Weintraub,

2014). To borrow Naseem Khan's analogy, the call was to kick down, if not at least make a dent in those closed doors. As per the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis, the proposal of a decolonising multivocality in the heritage sector is an attempt to make such a dent.

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Appendix A: Photo-documentation and Wildebeest Kuil floor plan



Image A1: The front façade of Wildebeest Kuil. Source: Barnabas, September 2012.



Image A2: The entranceway into the servitude. Source: Barnabas, September 2012.



Image A3: A view of the hill-top on which the engravings lie, from the look-out tower adjacent to the interpretive centre. Source: Barnabas, June 2011.



Image A4: An engraving (left) lies adjacent to a graffittied rock (right of photograph). This latter rock shows signs of breakage. The damage occurred during the fire of 2010. Source: Barnabas, June 2011.



Image A5: Some craft items on sale at the interpretive centre. Source: Barnabas, June 2011.

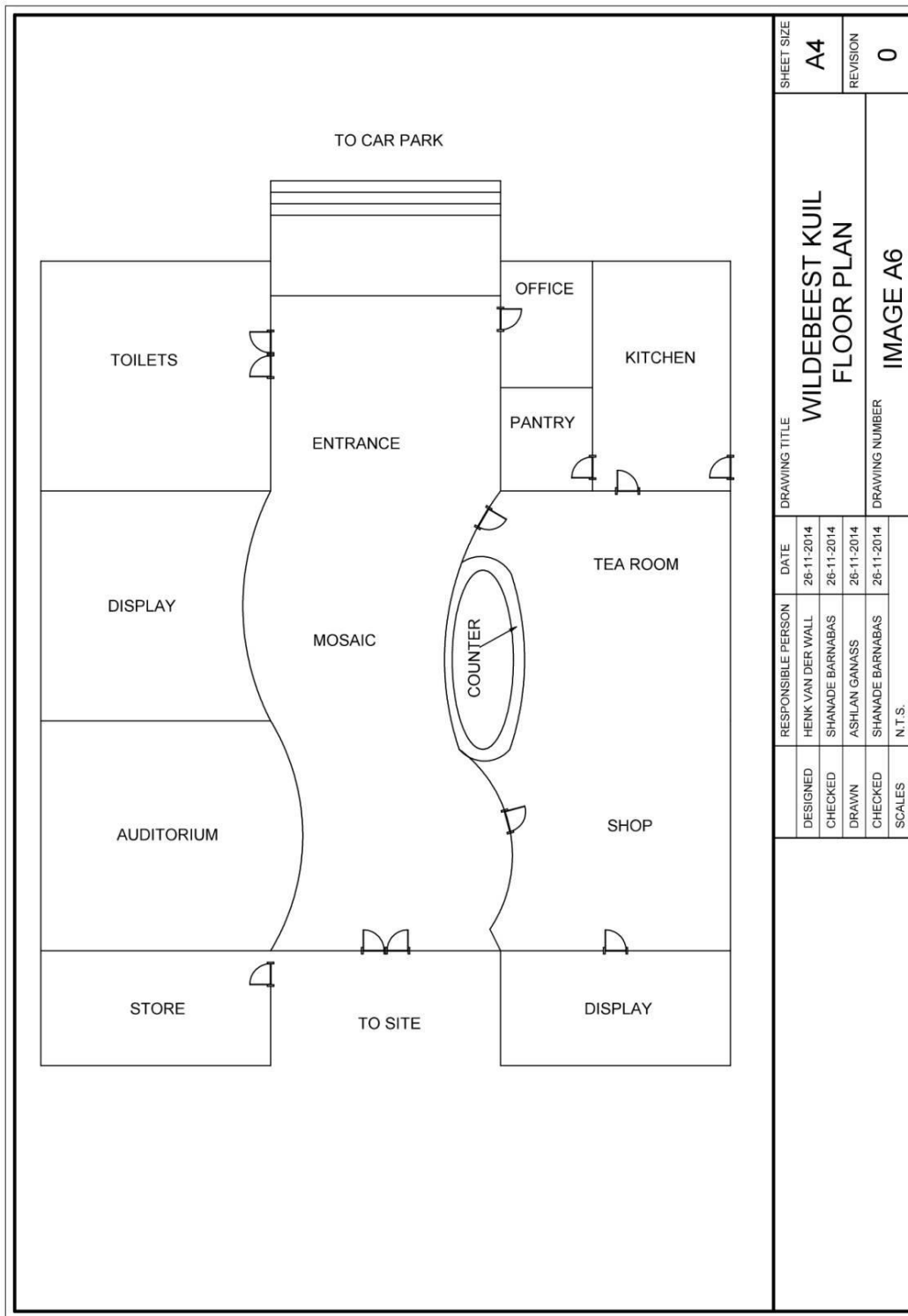


Image A6: Wildebeest Kuil floor plan, schematic by Ashlan Ganass, November 2014. Schematic adapted from a drawing by David Morris, November 2014.

Appendix B: Sample of Interview Questions

Below is a list of questions put forward in the course of interviews. It is by no means a complete inventory.

Questions to Platfontein community members:

Do you like living here in Platfontein and in South Africa or was it better living in Namibia/Angola? Explain your answer.

Do you know about Wildebeest Kuil? Have you been there? What do you know about it? What in your opinion is the importance of Wildebeest Kuil?

Do you think that Wildebeest Kuil benefits (or could benefit) the community? How so?

Questions to Wildebeest Kuil staff and management:

How long have you worked at Wildebeest Kuil?

Describe an average day on the site?

How many visitors does the site receive on average?

What are some of the site's strengths?

What are some of the site's challenges?

Questions to the Wildebeest Kuil management?

Who are the stakeholders at Wildebeest Kuil?

What are the relationships like between these different stakeholders?

What processes are in place for these stakeholders to communicate? How often do they communicate and for what purposes?

What is the state of Wildebeest Kuil in regards to tourism in the province? And in regards to heritage tourism?

What are the main challenges in managing the site?

Questions to Platfontein community leadership:

What in your opinion is the role of Wildebeest Kuil?

Who uses the site?

Does the community make use of the site? For what purposes?

Do you think that Wildebeest Kuil benefits (or could benefit) the community? How so?

Questions to Wildebeest Kuil Steering Committee members:

What is your role on the committee?

What in your opinion is the value that you bring to the committee?

How does Wildebeest Kuil fit into the larger tourism trends/goals of the province?

What is the value of Wildebeest Kuil?