

Miscast: Negotiating The Presence of the Bushmen
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Bushman¹ Images in South African Tourist Advertising: The Case of Kagga Kamma

Barbara Buntman

This chapter examines publicity material produced to advertise the Kagga Kamma Private Game Reserve in the Cedarberg mountains of South Africa and on the visit tourists make to meet 'Bushman' people living there. The material presents stereotyped images of pure ethnic Bushmen living happily in harmony with nature. The images are considered in terms of the socio-political practices which govern their production and for what they reveal about the ideologies of the producers, commissioners and the consumers.

In ideological terms the public transcript will typically, by its accommodationist tone, provide convincing evidence for the hegemony of dominant values, for the hegemony of dominant discourse. It is precisely in this public domain where the effects of power are viewed. Relations are most manifest, and any analysis based exclusively on the public transcript is likely to conclude that subordinate groups endorse the terms of their subordination and are willing, even enthusiastic, partners in that subordination. (Scott 1990:4)

The people from Kagga Kamma, also known as the 'Place of the Bushmen', are a socially and politically marginalised and socially disadvantaged group.² Their current participation in tourism has opened up some new opportunities for them. Implicit in changes to their life-style is a debate which revolves around the actual preservation of the traditions and culture of the mythologised Bushman which, in turn, prompts

questions with regard to the established Western image of Bushman people. Complex social and political problems which will have to be addressed by those groups involved in their welfare are prompted by the Bushman display. Some questions are: do they perceive themselves as 'authentic Bushmen'? do they want to change the status quo? what opportunities are available to them now and to future generations? In other words, is it in their interests and do they want to learn how to subvert the power that perpetuates the colonised image of themselves?

Two sets of analysis are used to evaluate the images and representations. Firstly, the art historical methodologies employed uncover evidence which seems to point to a relatively straight-forward ongoing play of domination and subjection, between the voiced (the producers) and the silenced (the Bushmen). Whilst this is, to a large extent, an accurate assessment of the situation, the case of the Bushman at Kagga Kamma presents a far more complex case involving relationships of power, as the images do not reflect the dynamic struggles for power or, as Scott explains, "the public transcript is not the whole story" (Scott 1990:3). Consent, not coercion, binds the Bushmen to the owners of the reserve, but not to the overarching socio-political system. Secondly, by demystifying art production and the "staged authenticity" (MacCannell 1973) of touristic events, I explore the way in which people represent themselves and how their chosen agents see and represent them. This approach is encompassed by a sociological point of view which reveals some of the tensions implicit in the situation.

The Secretary for South West Africa,
WINDHOEK.

Your letter of the 10th ultimo (written at
Cape Town) and addressed to D.Bain c/o Fairbridge, Arderne &
Lawton, refers.

MAGISTRATE..

8. March 1936.

The MAGISTRATE,
GOBABIS.

SIR,

I am in receipt of your communication (without number)
of the 25th ultimo, and in reply to state that I am willing
to let old Saul accompany the party provided he is paid not
less than 1/6d per day and used solely for interpreting
and using his influence in persuading the bushmen for the
purpose desired by the visiting party, and not as a labourer.

I am sending old Saul into the Native Hospital Gobabis
for treatment as he has lately not been too well. He is
apparently suffering from lumbago.

Old Saul is very childish and does not know the value
of money, he is also very kind hearted. To assist his
earnings going astray, I desire (in my absence) that any
moneys that may be due to him on completion of his mission
is not to be paid to Saul directly, but either to you or
Father Dohren. Saul is taking a letter from me to Father
Dohren, wherein I have fully explained.

I must remind you that Saul is old, his health and
sight is somewhat impaired, and he does not to-day come up
to the standard of his past reputation. He knows the
Rietfontein Sandfontein Oliphant Areas. In due course
I will collect Saul's earnings from you or Father Dohren and
apply the same to his benefit.

Yours faithfully,
(sgd). P. Callaghan.

The SECRETARY FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA,
WINDHOEK.

February
Your letter of the 10th/(written at Cape Town) and
addressed to D.Bain, Esq., c/o Fairbridge, Arderne & Lawton
refers.

Kagga Kamma, is a privately owned 5640ha game
reserve, 260 km from Cape Town, "[s]ituated amongst
the rugged beauty of the Cedarberg mountains, high
up on the Swartkops range, that separates the Koue
Bokkeveld from the vast stretches of the Karoo ..."
(Kagga Kamma brochure). The amenities offered
include hiking trails and tours in 4x4 vehicles. The
game reserve is relatively sparsely stocked with large
game which has been reintroduced into the area.
Accommodation offered to the tourist ranges from
large, comfortable "luxury chalets" to two small, basic
grass huts. For a fee, guides and vehicles are available
to take guests on game drives to view the spectacular
terrain, to provide meals and for the main attraction,
to meet "authentic Bushmen".

The Bushmen who live there are part of an extended
family, the Kruiper family. They rely heavily on their
human rights lawyer, Roger Chennells, who fears that
even as they adapt and mark out a social structure for
themselves and are forced to accept such facts as geo-
graphical boundaries, they will continue to be abused
by others. The following are some of his insights into
the complexities of their situation. The group do not
see themselves as helpless victims but rather see their
role as partners in "a joint venture" with the farmer
(owner). They do have complaints, and as they become
more empowered they are "quite strong during negoti-
ations over their conditions". It is acknowledged that
they have massive problems which include lack of
education, alcohol abuse, family rivalries, resentments
and posturing which leads to tensions within the
group. They accept being "marketed" to an uncritical,
undiscerning public and, despite questions about the
human zoo, feel they are benefiting as "they are man-
aging to keep together as a family unit at Kagga
Kamma, the only Bushman group in South Africa that
is doing that successfully". They articulate a certain
satisfaction with their basic material conditions at
Kagga Kamma, as they are not materialist, but several
assert that their spiritual needs can be met only in the
Kalahari (from where they came). Nevertheless, they
have learnt something about the value of the commer-
cial enterprise that is Kagga Kamma and "happily
dress up in their skins". Chennells stresses that this
group cannot help themselves, as they do not assert their
rights and consequently could be "wiped out". A special
case has, therefore, to be made on their behalf as they live
very much in the present and do not conceptualise the
need "to plan for tomorrow". The group needs particular
help because its members do not think it necessary to
claim the land as they consider that "the land belongs to
us" (Chennells personal communication 1995).

Essentially there are three major groupings of stake-
holders who affect the power relations concerning
these particular Bushmen. The first group is repre-
sented by the 'the system' that is South Africa, both

past and present, the owners and management at Kagga Kamma;³ the tourist industry which incorporates the tourist, the publicity, popular culture and some academics all of whom together could be said to "encapsulate substantial political, economic and cultural forces. They are the people in a position of superiority who hold most of the power. The second group is the extended Kruiper family—an impoverished marginalised underclass, some of whom had already experienced conformity with the established Bushman image; who, having had few choices, consented to leave their home environment and elected to come to the 'Place of the Bushmen'. The third grouping represents the 'New South Africa' which, as it establishes an equitable Constitution and Bill of Rights, opens up new opportunities and allows for the existence of a Bushman Trust. Central to this is the energetic and compassionate human rights lawyer who, along with other academics and concerned individuals,⁴ is seeking to empower the Bushmen people, thus increasing their strength, in establishing land claims and asserting their fundamental human freedoms.

It is internationally recognised that tourism is "an important contributor to gross national product, foreign exchange earnings, employment generation and for urban and regional regeneration" (Kinnaird 1994:15). South Africa's tourist potential is considerable, particularly in the light of the government's call for "the promotion of ecotourism and the enhancement of South Africa's unique cultural and political heritage ... These afford opportunities for integrating traditional knowledge into tourism" (RDP 1994:106). Ecotourism is currently a popular concept which "conjures up images of purposeful travel to natural areas or reserves, with maybe some exposure to local cultures and an opportunity to buy local souvenirs" (Van der Merwe: 1995:3). Jenkins, however, suggests that it is a meaningless concept unless accompanied by appropriate structures for sustainable tourism because, tourism is one of the least regulated industries and "is already responsible for some devastating environmental and cultural changes" (Jenkins 1993-4:22).

As a social phenomenon, tourism has far reaching socio-cultural impacts. It is "not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition: a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs" (MacCannell 1992:1). Tourism encompasses the interaction of several factors which, aside from the recreational aspect, offer tourists the opportunity to explore their personal interest in the experiences of otherness, satisfy a desire to witness difference and indulge in curiosity about the way other people live their lives. Observing other ways of life is fundamental to tourist activity and, as Urry asserts, social groups both construct the objects of the tourist's gaze and the

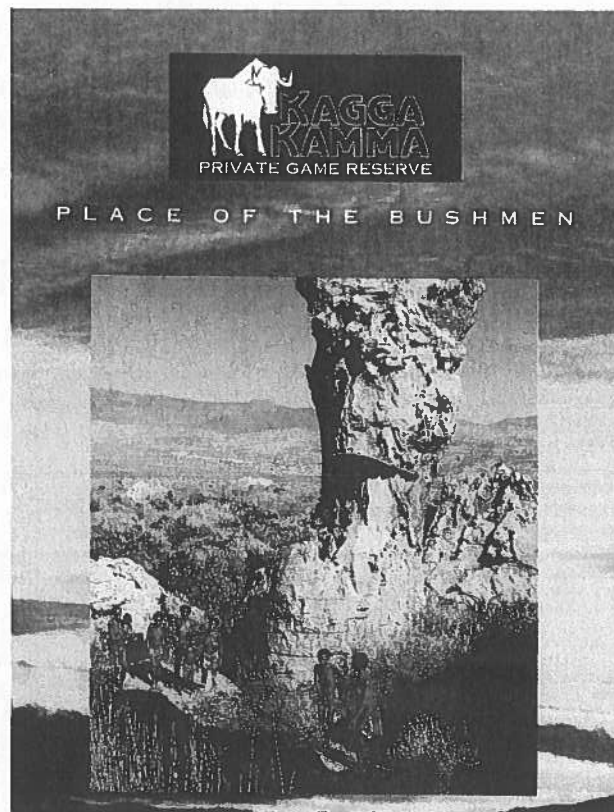


Figure 1 Cover: Kagga Kamma Brochure. Courtesy of Günther Komnick Studio, Cape Town

social practices inherent in that gaze. This is constructed through signs which, by comparison, allow for an assessment of the associated so-called "normal society" (Urry 1990:2-3). MacCannell describes the touristic consciousness as being motivated by its desire for authentic experiences, but cautions that it is often very difficult to be certain if the experience is authentic (MacCannell 1973:597).⁵

One of the dominant visual themes of the brochure is the representation of landscape which orders and structures the space in which tourists and Bushmen function. Landscape, as an established form of representation in South African art, has traditionally depicted emotional responses to impressive vistas of grandeur, often conforming to idealised images which evoke special qualities of a particular place. These so-called unblemished natural wonders invariably become objects of the tourist gaze. Mitchell suggests that landscape is an instrument of cultural power and

thus has a double role with respect to something like ideology: it naturalizes a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable, and it also makes that representation operational by interpellating its

400 - MILE

TREK HOME

MAY 31
WHEN A BUSHMAN IS
FREED FROM GAOL
Mr. P. P. P. P. P.
NO MONEY OR
FOOD

"SO HE JUST HAD
TO WALK"

NEWS out of the desert came last night by the first trunk telephone call made from Cape Town to the heart of the Kalahari.

Here are the tidings given by telephone from Witdraai, the remote trading post 280 miles north of Upington:

Old Abraham, the 109-years-old Bushman who, in accordance with tribal custom, has been left in the desert to die, is still alive.

The four Bushmen sent to gaol in Upington recently—a matter which attracted the attention of the Department of Justice—were released under the Coronation amnesty.

Word to this effect was given to The Argus to-day by Mr. Nicholas Jooste, the man who runs the trading post at Witdraai, where the camel police have a base. He telephoned his wife to tell her that, after safely bringing Mr. Donald Bain's troupe of Bushmen to Cape Town, he would leave to-morrow morning on his 800 miles return journey.

HARD TIME

"I am glad to hear that the Bushmen have been released from gaol," said Mr. Jooste in an interview. "These little people have a hard time in the desert."

"As a matter of fact, I have been wondering why no official investigation has been made into their position. Here is one instance of great hardship under which they suffer:

"The nearest place where Bushmen may be tried for even petty crimes is at Upington, 400 miles from Union's End, the border police post. Now if a Bushman is suspected of illegally killing a buck he is brought all that way down to Upington for the hearing of the case. I know, because I happen to have the contract for the transport of prisoners and witnesses down to Court.

"If found guilty of some petty offence and sentenced to imprisonment for a brief period—perhaps only two days—the Bushman is turned loose on the expiry of his sentence and he has to make his own way back to his home in the desert.

NO TRANSPORT

"He is given no money, no food, no transport. He may have 400 miles to travel if he comes from the Union's End area. So he just has to walk.

"Even if he is essentially honest, a day or two of walking through the sand must lead him into temptation. If he is starving and sees a buck or a farmer's sheep, can one really blame him for killing it? And if found out, he is probably dragged back to Upington for trial and sentence again.

"The position can arise that a Bushman brought down from the desert for one offence never reaches his home again. Without food or transport he simply cannot get back without breaking the law to get food. So it may go on, year after year; the moment the man is released, he must either die of starvation or break the law."

Meanwhile the party of 55 Bushmen whom Mr. Donald Bain brought to Cape Town to see the Minister of Native Affairs in an effort to have their wrongs redressed are having the time of their lives. They have more than enough to eat, and that is paradise to the Bushmen.

PLENTY OF FOOD

Whenever their stomachs are full they dance, and in their camp in the Rosebank Show Grounds now they are dancing all day and most of the night. The rain and cold are not worrying them, for they are used to colder nights in the frosty Kalahari each winter.

Extraordinary interest has been aroused by their visit. They were on view for three hours on the afternoon of Coronation Day, and over 2,000 people saw them. The show grounds were closed to visitors yesterday, but again to-day there were many people to see them, and it is expected that over the coming week-end there will be thousands of other visitors all anxious to see these

beholder in some more or less determinate relation to givenness as sight and site. Thus, landscape (whether urban or rural, artificial or natural) always greets us as space, as environment, as that within which "we" (figured as "the figures" in the landscape) find—or lose—ourselves. (Mitchell 1994:2)

The brochure produced to publicise Kagga Kamma operates as an instrument of power in that it conveys and re-enforces the cultural practices and attitudes of the producer, the owners/management and the sector of society of which they are an integral part.

The first full-page spread, showing vast landscape and details of rock formations, invites tourists not only to view nature but to enter a region removed from the (unstated) unpleasantness associated with urban lifestyle. The isolated terrain suggests not only supreme nature but also a wild, untamed quality. MacCannell, in writing about the structure of tourist settings argues that

[t]he current structural development of industrial society is marked by the appearance everywhere of touristic space. This space can be called a stage set, a tourist setting, or simply a set depending on how purposefully worked up for tourists the display is. (MacCannell 1973:597)

His point is played out by Kagga Kamma's self-representation which claims to offer the tourist "an experience which is truly unique. The beautiful surroundings are matched with the amenities of a modern game reserve" (Kagga Kamma brochure). The publicity material asserts that time spent there allows the tourist to break away from his or her routine and to move into a different world. It offers its viewer the promise of several types of tourist experience, not only to photograph, as the brochure's lay-out implies, but, as Bunn suggests, to be that mobile presence who is free to wander and roam as part of the topographical landscape (Bunn 1992:8). These (and other) pages of the brochure offer the grandeur and spectacular effects of a particular landscape by presenting small photographs which range from the close-up of a single flower to the "weathered and cragged rock formations sometimes resembling mystical beasts and demons" (Kagga Kamma brochure). The next paragraph of the brochure informs the reader, firstly, that "here, amongst this solitude and crisp mountain air... you'll find a tribe of Bushmen" who "as a privilege", will share "their age-old skills and traditions", and, secondly, that paintings of the Bushmen's "ancestors" are to be found among the rocks and crevices. By linking the landscape, material culture and identity, the brochure asserts the symbolic values of the land where in ancient and "primitive" people are one with nature.



Figure 2 "Bushman being Bushmen", including:

- 2 a Rock paintings at Kagg Kamma
- 2 b Woman and children
- 2 c Woman with artefacts
- 2 d Child with headdress
- 2 e Silhouette: people dancing
- 2 f Silhouette: demonstrating technique with bow and arrow.

The brochure cover (Figure 1) presents a combination of visual clichés: the dramatic African sunset as framing device, the place name with the logo which is

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brochure and photographs courtesy of Günther Kornick Studio, Cape Town

Whilst people may enjoy lingering over the landscape, capturing it on film is one of the central preoccupations of the average tourist for whom those images will serve as memories and status markers. Tourism promotes the notion that one should return from travel to far off and relatively obscure destinations with a selection of photographs that record not only the experience but, more significantly, serve as a personal view of the tourist's gaze. Recognising that tourism and photography go hand in hand, the advertising agency presents sets of images as if from a roll of film or a sheet of contact prints. This situation is what Urry describes "as a kind of hermeneutic circle":

What is sought for in a holiday is a set of photographic images, as seen in tour company brochures or on TV programmes. Whilst the tourist is away, this then moves on to a tracking down and capturing of those images for oneself. And it ends up with travellers demonstrating that they really have been there by showing their versions of the images that they had seen originally before they set off. (Urry 1990:140)

The brochure cover (Figure 1) presents a combination of visual clichés: the dramatic African sunset as framing device, the place name with the logo which is

the wildebeest signifying the "many species which roamed the landscape originally" (Kagg Kamma brochure) and the central image which locates the Bushman people as if they belonged to this particular space. The camera captures the seemingly spontaneous image of a group of happy women and children apparently within their 'natural setting'. They are dwarfed by the fantastic rock formations and rendered part of the vast landscape. Just as Bushman people are generally treated as a liminal group who are consciously regarded as different and other, so too "the African landscape is conceived as a liminal zone between the self and savagery" (Bunn 1994:128). This first view of the Bushman, then, is as the colonised subject: the generalised collective, constituted as a group other than the tourist, and marked out in their difference primarily by their close relationship to nature. Text and image entice the visitor to come and experience an encounter with the people as they "really are". This particular representation seems to set the Bushmen women and children like people in a museum, in the ethnographic display of the diorama, which is claimed as their cultural and historical setting. The visitor remains a spectator, part of the long view outside the frame, removed to the position of uninvolved photographer or recorder.

The general impression of the montage of images

01761
SUMMA 1659
A.659.

- 8. 7. 1959

Mr. H.J. Attwell,
P.O. Lohathla,
VIA POSTMASBURG.
N.W. Cape.

Dear Sir,

BUSHMAN FAMILY FOR EXHIBITION PURPOSES.

I reply to your letter of the 11th June, 1959, on the above subject. I regret to inform you that The Honourable the Administrator, after careful and earnest consideration of the matter, does not see his way clear to assist in any such undertaking.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. LINDS.
SECRETARY FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

LMC/LL
7.7.59

G.P. Meyer,
J.M. Keetmanshoop,
22nd June 1959.

Die Sekretaris vir Suid Wes Afrika,
WINDHOEK

Wag Dinsdag Noon.

In verband met my persoonlike gesprek met
in sake die neem van Boesmans na die Rykstentoonstelling
Johannesburg, sluit ek u hiermee 'n kint afskrif van 'n brief
aan die Minister van Natuurlike sake, Pretoria.

Ek wens u dat u hierdie brief as 'n aanwysing
Boesmans is nie meer volk met al roede jare lank by die reise
werk.

Ek verlaat my op u vriendelike ondersteuning in die
sake.

My vriendelike dankie,
met begroting.
die uo.

W.G. Sien o.u.b. my name adres.

on the brochure's double-page spread (Figure 2, double page spread of 'Bushmen being Bushmen') repeats the technique suggesting the relationship between tourist and photograph. It consists primarily of images of women and children purporting to do the things that Bushmen do: dancing, hunting, blowing to start a fire, sitting surrounded by artefacts, playing, being sociable and happy.⁹

Inserted between the figural representations is an image of a rock painting (Figure 2a), the presence of which is supported by the text which states:

Long before the first settlers arrived in the area Kagga Kamma was home to the Bushmen. They lived here more than 2000 years ago to hunt and gather. Numerous rock paintings bear witness to their lively existence and are a record of their nomadic lifestyle. (Kagga Kamma brochure)

This is a gross manipulation of the facts, as a close relationship between those so-called original inhabitants and the present clan is unknown and unlikely. The painting, which functions as a backdrop to claims of authenticity, is used to support an unfounded claim that the people have returned to their ancestral home.

The people portrayed in this image (Figure 2b; women and children, one woman dancing) are depicted as happy, joyful and seemingly enjoying the basic pleasures of life. There are, however, gendered and racial messages encoded within this and other images of women and children in the brochure. The bare-breasted, barely clad women who are subordinated ethnically as well, are constructed as images of sexually objectified women, available for the male and tourist gaze. Similarly, (Figure 2c) the young woman sitting with the traditional and easily recognisable artefacts of ostrich egg-shell, bows and arrows, is carefully posed to show her bare breasts. It could be argued that these are the traditional ways of dressing, but this state of undressing is part of the tourist show.¹⁰

The only representation of a Bushman in the brochure to show some form of western clothing is the image of the young child with headdress (Figure 2d). In reality he is, in many respects, a rural South African quotidian but he is presented as different from all Bushmen in the brochure. Despite being represented as an example of stereotypical racial physiognomy, he presents a contrast to the unclothed Bushmen whilst simultaneously portraying an exotic other when compared with the Westernised tourist. His somewhat romantic headdress and everyday Western sweatshirt ascribe a special identity to him; yet the tiny plucked bird in his hand places him back firmly in character as a hunter-gatherer and therefore different and 'other' from the viewer as well.

The producer of the publicity has employed the



Figure 3 Silhouette: demonstrating technique with bow and arrow. Günther Komnick Studio, Cape Town

technique of the silhouette which, in "eschewing the focus on human or humanitarian problems", avoids psychological meaning (Nochlin 1983:169). By using this simple reduced form, the representation is diminished to its bare essentials, which allows for generalisations and stereotypes. The group of people dancing in the soft golden light of the African sun (Figure 2e) conjures up images of mystery or 'primitive' ritual as the feet kick up soft clouds of sand. These people are merely emblematic, neither concrete nor specific. The photographer uses the technique to tell a story without any illusionistic detail to distract the viewer. The strange stance of the woman gesturing in the silhouette against the gold and blue sky (Figure 4), heightens the cold and remote mood and emphasises her sexuality and a racial stereotyping. The tip of her sharply defined breast is exaggerated by the tip of the young child's cap, whilst her facial features and peppercorn hair suppress any individual presence and locate her as clearly as "Bushman". The images of a man in typical hunting stance (Figures 2f and 3) repeat the cultural stereotype of the "First People" who it is suggested, at Kaggga Kamma, still survive due to their unique hunting ability. Of course, at the resort this is not so as the financial cost of stocking the game reserve and the rocky terrain make hunting unviable for owners and Bushmen respectively."

Once at the 'Place of the Bushmen', the tourist has the "opportunity to step into the life of the Bushmen in a sensitive way" (Tourism Blueprint; no date:4). This excursion is a carefully organised event.¹² The visitors are requested to meet in the bar-lounge area where the resident 'anthropologist' explains the procedure for the visit. He explains how the group of people the tourists are about to visit were invited in 1991 by the management to settle at Kaggga Kamma, having been displaced



Figure 4 Silhouette: woman and child. Günther Komnick Studio, Cape Town

from their homes in the Kalahari.¹³ The talk indicates his sincere concern for the people, and he stresses that their appearance at the meeting place is voluntary; emphasising too, that the tourists are not invited to the secluded living space of the Bushman. Clearly, as much as this ostensibly protects their privacy, it retains the mystique of the authentic experience. However, tourists are encouraged to take advantage of the unique opportunity to meet with and talk to the Bushmen. He explains that most of the community speak Afrikaans¹⁴ and enjoy engaging in conversation with visitors. The group then clamber aboard a truck and drive a short but circuitous distance to the meeting place. Here they find a large grass-roofed structure which serves as informal meeting area, shop for curios¹⁵ and, it is stressed, most important of all, the informal school for the children of the group.¹⁶ Close by, a small group of Bushman people, sit waiting under an overhanging rock (Figure 5: tourists meet the Bushmen). Arranged in a semi-circle facing them are several tree stumps which serve as seats for the tourists. Conversation is invariably slow, with the guide/anthropologist gently taking the lead in encouraging both groups to converse, or interpreting for non-Afrikaans speaking tourists. Depending on the dynamic of the particular gathering, people gradually break up into smaller groups, resulting in the possibility of animated discussions.

The visit, which is carefully orchestrated, is directed to the participants in the 'living museum'. The staged authenticity is more powerful than the cover which suggests museum diorama. The brochure offers the promise of unsullied nature and authenticity, but the visit offers the opportunity to be an involved spectator, unlike in a museum where one is the uninvolved viewer. The power relations here are unequal as the tourists

CHENNELLS ALBERTYN
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883-8035/7
FAX (021) 883-8910

Your ref:

Our ref: RSC/SAN/488

8th August 1995

Minister D Hanekom
Department of Land Affairs
Private Bag X 9130
CAPE TOWN
8000

Dear Minister Hanekom

**BUSHMAN LAND CLAIM AND SUBMISSION:
KALAHARI GEMSBOK NATIONAL PARK AND ENVIRONS**

I act on behalf of the approximately two hundred surviving adult members of the Bushmen of the southern Kalahari, descendants of the \neq Khomani and N/amani tribes, who originated in an area of the South African Kalahari that was proclaimed as the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park in 1931. The applicants are as is described in the attached submission now largely dispersed in areas of the North-Western Cape, with some in Botswana and Namibia.

I refer to my scheduled meeting with yourself and Mr Geoff Budlender regarding the land claim of the extended clan on the 21st June 1995, and again repeat my apology that the elected delegation of Bushmen were at the last moment indisposed and unable to attend.

I confirm that we discussed the land claim of the \neq Khomani and N/amani Bushmen in general, and that it was agreed that I should address you directly in writing providing relevant details and motivation for the claim in preference to launching a formal application in terms of the Restitution of Land Act.

The attached submission first provides a brief historical perspective, then attempts to set out the bare facts which support the claim, and finally proceeds to discuss some of the practical implications.

R.S. Chennells B.Com LL.M., G.E. Williams B.A LL.B. J.D. Van Der Merwe B.A. (Hons) LL.M.
Assisted by
H.A. Jordaan B.A LL.D., I. Butler B.A LL.B.

Also at

83 LOWER MAIN ROAD • P.O. BOX 58 • OBSERVATORY 7925 • TEL.: (021) 448-2133/4

A copy of this letter and memorandum has as discussed been forwarded to the National Parks Board as the party that would be most obviously affected by the claim. We envisage and would be prepared to engage in a process of consultation and negotiation involving your department and all interested parties in an endeavour to arrive at an appropriate, equitable and workable solution.

I look forward to receipt of your response in due course.

Yours Sincerely

Roger Chennells

cc The Chief Executive Officer
National Parks Board.
P O Box 787, PRETORIA 0001
(Attention Dr Robbie Robinson)

cc The General Manager, Operations
Southern Parks, National Parks Board
44 Long Street, CAPE TOWN 8001
(Attention Mr Nic Geldenhuys)

cc The Office of the Premier,
Northern Cape Province
Private Bag X 5018
KIMBERLEY
8300

have the rights and power to determine their level of interaction, they enjoy the possibility of engaging or disengaging, whereas despite the guide's assertion, as a group responsibility, the Bushmen are obliged to ensure that several of extended family, and the ever popular children, are there to meet the tourists. Although the brochure offers friendly communication and interchange the people are not demystified; in fact, as the tourists embark upon a search for authenticity, the aura of difference is heightened. The management of this resort utilises a common desire people have to see and experience the unique and exotic 'other'.¹⁷ Use of the notion of "privilege" is ambiguous as it implies a special advantage or prerogative for the tourist to be able to witness or participate in a unique experience, as well as giving the assurance that s/he will be treated in the fashion of an honoured guest. This visit to "South Africa's last Bushmen" who will "answer all your questions on the lifestyle, beliefs and culture of these endearing indigenous people" (Kagga Kamma brochure) plays into the myth of innocent noble savages, happy in their unselfconscious remove from the perils and stresses of contemporary life.

The brochure presents the tourist with a fictional reconstruction of a pristine ethnicity and culture which MacCannell refers to as "the kinds of touristic and political/ethnic identities that have emerged in response to pressures from 'white culture'¹⁸ and tourism" (MacCannell 1992:159). The brochure and visit create the impression of an unsullied 'Eden in the Karoo' type of life-style, whilst behind the surface view is another reality, the hidden transcript of the harsher facts of life. There is a danger implicit in this, in that the people then begin to see themselves as representative of this seemingly authentic life-style, as representatives of the culture and not necessarily as themselves; what happens, in effect, is that the group tends to 'museumise' itself, or otherwise become a frozen image of itself (MacCannell 1992:178). (I return to this below.) MacCannell suggests that as long as 'white culture' accepts and encourages the smaller group to restrict itself to apparently authentic images of itself, in other words to legitimate the stereotypical image and, in this case play the part as the living museum, the smaller group lays itself open to further exploitation by others. A possible danger lies in the publicity and commercial success that has commodified 'Bushman-ness' and Bushman people¹⁹ as we have seen in the proliferation of images of Bushmen in South African logos and advertisements (see Buntman 1995).

The images reveal the systems of thought and relations of power which frame the views of the producers of the publicity, the owners and the consuming society. The images reflect the way in which the Bushmen have been transformed into 'subject matter' by a long process of objectification. The construction of

'Bushman' in language, image and general discourse has resulted in groups of people having to submit to the broader authority and larger terrain of South Africa's social formation, which has consequently designated them 'marginalised others'. Analysis of the social context, the publicity and the visit, highlight the dangers of mythic representations of people. Reinforcing popular misconceptions and projecting unreal notions of cultural behaviour threatens the status of all Bushman people. By giving the group the tourist space, that is the opportunity to stage authenticity, the owner of Kagga Kamma and its supporters are further institutionalising Bushman liminality. By acting out 'being Bushmen', they have come to regard the role as a normal reality, so as a subordinated group, they accept their situation. The current generation of Bushman decision makers continues to be socially marginalised and consigned to the periphery keeping the future generation from the political, economic and cultural centre.

Currently the ongoing actions between the various stakeholders presents a situation more complex than the images reflect. Scott (1990:13-14) observes "that virtually all ordinarily observed relations between dominant and subordinate represent the encounter of the public transcript of the dominant with the *public* transcript of the subordinate", adding that what is missing is the knowledge of how the "*hidden transcripts*" of the Bushman people at Kagga Kamma "are formed, and what relation they bear to the public transcript". It is apparent that the people have been, and continue to be, persuaded that it is in their own interest to retain notions of timelessness and Bushman-ness due primarily to the (historical) position in which they find themselves. They have had severely limited opportunities to advance themselves and although the current social and political terrain might yield better options for their future, their status quo remains and they not only consent to, but seem to encourage (White 1995: Chennells 1995 pers. comm.) "social arrangements that reproduce their subordination" (Scott 1990:73).

Evaluation of the visual images and practices has revealed how representations are related to the power relations which govern the lives of the Bushman group of people at Kagga Kamma. The public transcript does not reveal the complete picture, but it has shown, as Scott asserts, that "the greater the disparity in power between dominant and subordinate and the more arbitrarily it is exercised, the more the public transcript of subordinates will take on a stereotyped, ritualistic cast (Scott 1990:30). Brief analysis of the images and personal presentation allowed for an exploration of functions and tactics that lie beneath the surface at Kagga Kamma which show, therefore, the means adopted by the various participants in the distribution of power. Despite the fact that they have little or no power to



Figure 5 Tourists meet Bushmen. Photograph courtesy of Barbara Buntman

alter their status quo, there is some resistance both "off stage" and in "hidden transcripts" (Scott 1990) so that, although not in the images themselves, opposition to domination can be discerned.²⁰

The public transcripts offer the illusion of consent, whilst the hidden transcript is the script and dialogue of resistance, which is necessarily hidden. What is particular in this case is that this group of Bushmen both consent to and resist a dominant order. Given that power relations are not stable and that the articulation of power and knowledge is in the visual and textual discourse, absence is also significant. The Bushman do not seem to represent themselves; they are always represented by others, both to their advantage and disadvantage. In this way they remain a colonised subject, often abstracted, who are represented as a generalised whole and as a collective entity.

Bushman people have moved from a hunter-gatherer, Late Stone Age society to that of the underclass of the Third World, where their status ranges from isolates and curiosities, to marginalised, denigrated and seemingly unwanted people. This raises questions as to whether they do and, to what extent, want to be integrated and assimilated into the mainstream South African community. Keeping a popular idealised image of Bushmen alive, encourages the acceptance of a style of presenting history and human development as a view of a simple linear developmental model of social evolution. Here, the visitor remains enlightened, liberal and 'civilised' whilst the Bushmen are presented as ethnically and culturally pure so-called 'primitives'. They are misrepresented as part of nature—the small and innocent child-like people. Not only is this a patronising and disempowering process, it does not recognise the dynamics of the group or its social dilemmas and needs. The romanticised presentation of the lives of the Bushmen at Kagga Kamma and the images in the brochure help to keep them in a nostalgic role.



A frieze of eland, detail from a painting in Zimni shelter in the Cederberg.
Date unknown. Photograph Pippa Skotnes

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stay. Irene Staehelin for kindly lending me her photographs taken during one fieldtrip. This paper benefited from long discussions with Stan Hall on theoretical and conceptual issues.

**From 'Lords of the Desert' to 'Rubbish People':
The Colonial and Contemporary State of the
Nharo of Botswana Mathias Guenther
Notes**

1. See Guenther (1990b) and Schott (1955), also see Fritsch (1906) who, in a review of Passarge's Bushman book, accused the author of fabrication, exaggeration and misconception.
2. For more on this point see Guenther (1992a:96-9).
3. It is to be understood that the conditions here described, in the "ethnographic present", pertain to the period when I conducted the bulk of my field-work, from 1968 to 1970. At that time the existential, economic and social situation of the farm Bushmen was considerably worse from than what it appears to be today (basing my impression on more recent times on two brief return trips to Ghanzi, one in 1983, the other in 1991). Throughout the ensuing two decades a succession of improvements came about, thanks to the oftentimes enlightened development policies and actions on the part of the Botswana government. Most of these derive from a massive, multi-part and phase omnibus development scheme that was conceived and adopted by government in 1975 (the so-called "Project Memorandum LG.32"). I have described some of these developments in detail elsewhere (Guenther 1986b:296-320; also see Wily 1982). Hopefully, these policies will continue to guide those officials charged with the social and economic welfare of what may be the nation's most vulnerable and most exploitable ethnic minority. Concern has been expressed by colleagues who have recently worked in Botswana about two schemes in particular, as capable of seriously undermining that welfare. One is the "Tribal Grazing Lands Policy" which was introduced the same year as the omnibus development project. It is a land and cattle ownership and management scheme that holds the threat of pauperising and proletarianising most of the country's Bushman citizens (Stephen 1983; Hitchcock 1982). Another is the more recent move to relocate forcefully the Bushmen who live and herd their few stock in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, onto poorer land (Hitchcock 1985).
4. For more detailed accounts of the social and economic problems faced by the farm Bushmen of Ghanzi, see Guenther (1976, 1977, 1986b) and Childers (1976).
5. To some extent these demands and expectations became fulfilled about a decade later. One part of the massive Bushman development project conceived in the early 1970s consisted of setting aside a number of farms, near and at some distance from the farms, at which

to settle Bushmen, and set up their own cooperative-style ranching operations as well as schools and stores. As reported elsewhere (Guenther 1986b:304-7), a number of such settlements have been created in the district.

**Fashioning the Bushman in Van Riebeeck's
Cape Town, 1952 and 1993 Rob Gordon, Ciraj
Rassool and Leslie Witz
Notes**

1. See C. Rassool & L. Witz, 'South Africa: A World in One Country: Moments in International Tourist Encounters with Wildlife, the Primitive and the Modern. Africa Seminar, University of Cape Town, September 1994 for an account and analysis of the cultural politics of South African tourism.
2. See Hylton White (1995), *In the Tradition of the Forefathers: Bushman Traditionality at Kagga Kamma*, Cape Town, for a study of the complexity of Bushman identity at Kagga Kamma. See also the article by Buntman in this catalogue.
3. Tourists to Cape Town during 1994 have witnessed a series of history storyboards displayed at the Waterfront. In order to address criticisms and some misgivings about representations of Cape Town's past at the Waterfront, these histories had been commissioned by the Waterfront Company from the Cape Town History Project at the University of Cape Town (N. Worden, talk presented at Symbols for a Democratic Cape Town, conference organised by the Mayibuye Centre and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, 30 March 1993.) While these do go some way towards presenting an alternative history, these remain overshadowed by a pervasive set of British imperial codes.
4. Eco-Explorers, "guarantee the most interesting eco-experiences" and now undertake tours through the Cedarberg with Bushman adventures.

**Bushman Images in South African Tourist
Advertising: Representation or
Misrepresentation? Barbara Buntman
Acknowledgements**

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Notes

1. The appropriate term, Bushman or San, remains a strongly debated issue. The people themselves, at both Schmitdrift and Kagga Kamma (pers. comm. 1994, 1995), and the predominant view in current academic practices indicate an acceptance of Bushman (Gordon 1992a:4-8; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989:8-9). This issue is discussed more fully in Buntman 1995.
2. The group consisted originally of 27 people, "all patrilineal kin of Dawid Kruiper" (White 1995:9), who is generally held to be the

spokesperson and leader appointed by the group, although his 95-year-old father, Regopstaan Kruiper, is the most revered (Chennells, pers. comm. May, 1995). The numbers of people resident at Kagga Kamma fluctuate somewhat as members of the clan move to and from the Kalahari, but currently there are about 40 people there (Chennells, pers. comm. June 1995).

3. Michael Duiber, who accompanied Dawid Kruiper when he was invited to address the United Nation's International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs in the early 1990s.

Duiber's primary obligation seems to be attending to the well-being of the Kruiper family and to taking tourists to visit the Bushmen. He has an undergraduate degree with a major in anthropology, and is almost always referred to as 'the anthropologist'.

4. The specific contribution made by photographer Paul Weinberg is important. He has produced a significant body of work in which he has documented the changing lifestyle of the Bushman people. I examine these works in a forthcoming paper.

5. I use Walter Benjamin's ideas on "authenticity" and its authority as a basis for the use of the concept, as explained by MacCannell below. "The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced. Since the historical testimony rests on authenticity, the former too, is jeopardized by reproduction when substantive duration ceases to matter". When discussing "aura", Benjamin asserts that one cannot separate the 'authentic' from its basis in ritual function and original use value (Benjamin 1970:221, 224). MacCannell argues that "the progress of modernity ('modernization') depends on its very sense of instability and inauthenticity. For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler life-styles. In other words, the concern of moderns for "naturalness", their nostalgia and their search for authenticity are not merely casual and somewhat decadent, though harmless, attachments to the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs. They are also components of the conquering spirit of modernity—the grounds of its unifying consciousness" (MacCannell 1976:3). This is experienced in tourism: "The rhetoric of tourism is full of manifestations of the importance of the authenticity of the relationship between tourists and what they see: the typical . . . house, the . . . very place where . . . the actual pen . . . the original manuscript . . . (etc) . . ." (MacCannell 1976:14).

6. Graburn suggests that the use of 'tribe' is avoided by many writers who consider it a colonial category imposed on indigenous groups. It was criticised firstly because it implicitly divided people into those representing an early stage of human social evolution and the so-called modern nations.

Secondly it implied "significant additional dimensions such as culture, language, territory and even race" and thirdly it acted as a labelling device to "describe a broad range of phenomena that are assumed to result for basic 'tribal identities' " (Graburn 1976:69).

7. The use of the notion of "privilege" is ambiguous as it implies a special advantage or prerogative for the tourist to be able to witness or participate in an unique experience as well as giving the assurance that s/he will be treated as an honoured guest.

8. The word 'primitive' is not used in the text of the brochure and the problematics of the term are recognised. It is used, however, in parenthesis, following Torgovnick, as it encompasses some of the unstated yet subtly suggested synonyms such as savage, tribal, Third world, underdeveloped, developing, traditional, ethnic, non-western, or other. "All take the West as norm and define the rest as inferior, different, deviant, subordinate and subordinatable (Torgovnick 1990:21).

9. The identity of this group of people at Kagga Kamma is closely aligned to their concept of labour. White asserts that they argue for their appropriateness to "Bushman work" to which "they are suited by virtue of their innate identity as people of nature and as heirs to the hunter-gather tradition.

"Bushman-work" entails offering services that are founded in putative attributes of Bushman-ness, such as physical and cultural characteristics, and especially bushlore." He notes, further, that they reject certain forms of wage labour "which in the Bushmen's experience have entailed poverty, prejudice and diaspora" (White 1995:34).

10. For an insight into common attitudes as to whether the Bushman state of dress or undress is significant according to some Western and/or Christian needs, see Gordon 1992a:171, 179.

11. The owners of the reserve give the Kruiper clan a certain amount of food each month which is supplemented on shopping expeditions and with the products from their modest collection of livestock which is, of course, not visible to the tourists. The situation is very different from that in the Kalahari Gemsbok Park where food is very scarce. "In the Kalahari hunting requires great effort and in energy return, is a less rewarding activity than gathering vegetable foods, which provide the major part of the diet. Nevertheless, the hunt holds a central place in the community and camp life" (Liebenberg 1990:54). White quotes, but does not identify, one of the Bushmen from Kagga Kamma.

"The owners write in the brochure that this is the 'Place of the Bushmen', but it's not our place. We hear we can hunt, but they say hunt to a point and then stop. That can easily be said, because we aren't the owners. If this was our place, then if we left we could take the wildebees on the brochure with us . . . Abejol can hunt, but now he can't. There is something in front of his eyes. One presumes it's

that this isn't his own place" (White 1995:45).

12. The account of the visit is based on my personal experience at Kagga Kamma in January 1995.

13. White (1995:30-3) describes how the Bushmen of the southern Kalahari and Kalahari Gemsbok National Park have been moved around by officials and white patrons since the 1930s.

14. The group is neither culturally nor linguistically homogenous. White (1995:25) asserts that none of the Kagga Kamma Bushmen "speak the #Khomani language they claim as their heritage, or indeed any distinctively Bushman dialect. Instead they all speak a colloquial mixture of Afrikaans and Nama—the 'coloured' lingua franca of the northern Cape".

15. Although the Kruiper family still practise some forms of hunter-gathering and hunting when they return to the Kalahari, they are no longer socially isolated from the modern conveniences of twentieth century life, so that they rarely produce traditional artefacts for their own use. They do, however, produce small items such as beads and bows and arrows which they sell to tourists in their little curio shop. Each person is entitled to keep the total proceeds of the sale for him or herself (Chennells pers. comm. 1995).

16. In addition to other duties at Kagga Kamma, Bets Hammon is the unofficial teacher at the informal school. She told a researcher in 1994 that the children were learning to read and write in Afrikaans, but that she did not want to teach them too much as this would "Westernize them". During my 1995 visit, the importance of maintaining traditional culture was emphasised by some white staff and my Bushman informant, Rick, stressed the need for children to learn about their own cultural heritage.

17. They are selling a particularly unusual and 'rare' form of ethnicity and difference, quite distinct from those attributes one might find at other tourist venues in South Africa, for example Shakaland in Kwa-Zulu Natal (Hamilton 1993) or Gold Reef City in Johannesburg (McKenzie 1994).

18. "'White Culture', as used here, is the structural (that is, social, linguistic, and unconscious) pre-condition for the existence of 'ethnic' groups. (MacCannell 1992:129). See Vogel (1989:11-12) on how the west shapes Africa when imaging Africa.

19. Academic interest in the Bushmen is also notable. "'Bushmen' represent the most heavily scientifically commoditised grouping in the annals of human science" (Gordon 1992a:186).

20. There is a very urgent need to question notions of a unified Bushman identity generally, and at Kagga Kamma specifically. Norton argues that "[i]n constructing signs of collective identity, people not only preserve the identity they represent, they also bind themselves—and that identity—to the images that signify it" (Norton 1988:97). Although analysis of the images and presentation does not allow

for an investigation into areas such as gender relations, both within the group and in terms of relationships outside the group, it remains as an issue of concern. Other issues include tradition, questions of identity and struggles with particular ways of understanding their heritage.

What is an Eland? *Nlao* and the Politics of Age and Sex in the Paintings of the Western Cape John Parkington

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Some Questions about Style and Authorship in Later San Paintings Anne Solomon

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Bushmen Music: Still and Unknown Delrin Hansen

Notes

Simha Arom's method of recording polyphonic music involving instruments of fixed pitch (e.g. instruments tuned to one pitch, or voices) is essentially one of record-and-playback, and requires standard technical equipment that is readily available and easy for one person to operate: two portable stereophonic recorders (designated A and B) to be used for playback and recording respectively. Recorder B requires an input jack and a microphone jack, which can be used simultaneously, and applied to either of the two tracks. A cable is needed to connect the output jack of recorder A to the input jack of the other recorder B. Other essentials are a microphone with a connecting cable, several headphone sets (for individual performers), and a terminal box with cables so that the headphones can be connected to the appropriate jack of either Recorder A or B (cf. Figure 1 in Arom 1991:107).

Basic to the recording procedure is the recording of the total musical performance (what Arom calls the TUTTI recording)