The Literacy of Tracking: A comparative analysis of tracking within two Bushman post-hunter communities.

by

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Declaration

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science, in the Graduate Programme in Culture, Communications and Media Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was used and that my Supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my editor.

It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Date

Acknowledgements

Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CCMS	Culture, Communication and Media Studies
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
KD1	Kgalagadi District 1
KTP	Kgalagadi Transfontier Park
NKXT	Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust
NRF	National Research Foundation
RAD	Rural Area Development
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SBB	Safari Botswana Bound
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UTTE	//Uruke Traditional Tracking Experience

Abstract

Vast advances in technology have presented a platform for mediated forms to reach places where it was never before thought possible. Once remote communities can now be more easily accessed and in turn have easier access to modern ways of life. In light of this, Bushmen communities have been forced, due to a number of factors, to transform or adapt many their everyday cultural practices - one of which is tracking. Two Bushman post-hunter communities, the ≠Khomani from Witdraai in the Northern Cape of South Africa and the !Xoo who reside in Ngwatle in Southern Botswana, are the focus of a comparative analysis which assesses how the two communities use tracking, how they represent tracking and how they construct their identity through these representations. Louis Liebenberg's extensive literature on the subject of tracking compounded with his groundbreaking research on CyberTracking provides an invaluable resource. It offers a contrasting scientific vantage point in comparision to J. Edward Chamberlin's (2004) holistic anthropological approach to aboriginal cultures. Work central to demystifying the data includes debates within globalisation theory (Anthony Giddens 1990; David Held and Anthony McGrew 2000; Terhi Rantanen 2005), the homogenisation and heterogenisation of culture and Stuart Hall's theory of essentialist and non-essentialist identity (1996). The data was obtained through research field trips to the areas in 2005 and 2007 respectively, and informs part of a larger project, *Rethinking Indigeneity*, headed by Professor Keyan G. Tomaselli. The subject communities contrast one another not only in how they represent themselves, but also how and why they practice tracking. The !Xoo, in comparison to the ≠Khomani, are less exposed to global media and as a result are considerably less aware of expectations attached to their ethnicity. This correlation provides an interesting link between cultural practices, remote communities and global media infiltration. It becomes apparent that culture is in a constant state of flux which is further emphasised through idiosyncratic cultural practices; in this case tracking.

Contents

Chapter 1: School, Stereotypes & Growing Up

When I was in primary school in South Africa, between 1989 and 1994, I remember being taught about the Bushmen in history class. These were some of the most memorable lessons, because, as a young lad, the adventurous activities of hunting wild animals with bows and poisoned arrows whilst living amongst the fiercest of predators in the desert seemed as exciting as they were romantic. I sat glued to my teacher's words as she explained how the Bushmen carried ostrich eggs filled with water and lived a nomadic lifestyle, eating seasonal berries, roots and, when possible, meat by tracking and hunting animals which they followed, for weeks after being shot, waiting for them to die through poisons gathered from the earth. The Bushmen: People of the Earth. Such memories serve as a reference point for many people who do not learn more about the topic later on in life. These are some of the stereotypes taught when I was a boy. Another memory, within the same timeframe, is sitting at home with my brother, two years older than me, when Jamie Uys' *The Gods Must Be Crazy* (1980) came on the TV screen. To which he exclaimed, "The Gods Must Be Crazy! I love this film!" We sat and watched, with great amusement, the tribe, which thought that a Coca-Cola bottle thrown from an airplane was sent by an angry god. I was enthralled by the way that the Bushmen used tricks to outsmart animals, such as the hyena[1]. What this film also did, for most of my early life, was confirm the stereotype of Bushmen as the quintessential 'other' that my teacher had taught me.

I advanced to high school where I learnt a new and far grimmer history of the Bushmen and their part in the history in the South Western Cape of South Africa. I was taught that the Bushmen were indigenous to the Karoo desert, where many rock paintings still exist. This type of education led to several confusing dissimilarities to what I had learnt previously; for one – the Bushmen were now referred to as the San and sometimes the Hottentots, distinctions that remained as unclear in my memory as they are to many people today. My teacher explained that the San were not the idyllic, romanticised individuals that I was taught about in primary school; neither did they live the romanticised existence, which I had thought that they did. The San were hostile adversaries to the Huguenots who settled in and around the Cape Town region, poaching their livestock (usually sheep) and often killing interfering settlers in the process. This, I was told, led to the bloody extermination or enslavery of the San people. Those who escaped went north to the Kalahari Desert in Northern South Africa, Namibia and Botswana. Those who were captured gradually interbred until it became

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[1] One of the central characters in the film explained that a hyena would not attack anything that was taller than it. A character thus held a piece of wood above his head to make up for his height deficiency and thus kept the hyena at bay.

indistinguishable whether a person had San heritage. On further enquiry, my teacher explained that the remaining Bushmen in South Africa were alcoholics, who were "unable to cope with the pressures of modern society".

The next sequence of events I recall, after the 1994 elections, was when the Bushmen sought to regain the land of their ancestors[2]. My then teacher explained that this was to become a reality of South Africa and that the Bushmen "didn't even come from the place where they were claiming the land". These were well-publicised hearings and the government was quick to explain that it was making amends for the atrocities caused by the Apartheid government and that this was a step towards transformation, and was making amends for the past, through giving some overdue respect to the dishonoured, newly tagged, 'First People'. There were some writers who drew a connection to Nelson Mandela, claiming that he had San heritage and that this was the reason for the claims being granted. These hearings also led to Dawid Kruiper, the leader of the ≠Khomani Bushmen, becoming a well-known public figure. There were other sceptics, such as my teacher, who believed that the rest of the land would follow suit in similar land claims to be lodged by the numerous peoples of South Africa; needless to say that there has in fact been very little land re-constitution up until now.

These are my first recollections of the Bushmen of the Kalahari, which may explain some of the varying degrees of ignorance displayed by individuals without first hand experience. Their experiences and learning may have come from a similarly misguided, misinformed, ignorant educators or the entire education system.

These are not claims to fact; they are simply childhood memories.

Education in the Encounter

My participation in the *Rethinking Indigeneity* project[3] began in October 2005. I embarked on my first field trip with Professor Keyan Tomaselli and a group of post-graduate students to meet members of the Ngwatle !Xoo community in Southern Botswana. My interest in tracking and the Bushmen began as a flight of fancy from an early age, however, little could prepare me for what I would encounter in our field research. Furthermore, field research

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[2] Research for this dissertation revealed that the land claim hearings began in August 1995 and were granted in 1999 (Tomaselli 2005: 3).
[3] The project is headed by Professor Keyan Tomaselli from CCMS at UKZN in Durban (See Tomaselli 1999, 2005, 2008).

confirmed my understanding and belief of Paulo Freire's[4] argument that theory alone is far less effective as a tool for learning in comparison to theory compounded with practical experience of a subject (Freire 1972). On this first field trip, I still had definite expectations about what my first encounter with Bushmen would be like, which was in turn connected to the representations/stereotypes of pre-modern Bushmen.

My focus on this first field trip, academically, was to write an autoethnograhy[5] and make an autoethnographic, reflexive documentary. However, I also wanted to 'see for myself' what the Bushmen were like. Stereotypes[6], of Bushmen, which had been with me since childhood, were challenged in several ways. Firstly the !Xoo do not wear skins as clothing, they wear the same clothes as you or I, only more threadbare. They did not when I met them live in circular-shaped huts in villages, around a fire, although they do place vast emphasis on fire itself. The traditional settlement was dismantled in the late 1990s for reasons that are unclear. The 280+ villagers now lived in scattered abodes across a dusty plan divided by a sandy crossroads. They do not necessarily marvel at modern inventions and are not scared of Coca-Cola bottles[7]. They experience media access in the form of radio and some cell phone reception[8].

The !Xoo still hunt and track and have extensive knowledge of local flora and fauna. These skills are disappearing from the community we visited as the Botswana government seeks to limit and regulate hunting (Fieldnotes 2005). Even in the remoteness of Ngwatle the youth seek cash-based employment and fewer hunt on a regular basis each year. The pinnacle of the 2005 trip was going tracking with Kort Jan, Vista Jan and Pedrus, three of the senior and most gifted trackers of the community. They explained how they tracked in comparison to how they used to track, discussed below. We visited their old hunting grounds around the Masetleng Pan where we scouted tracks, which served as a nostalgic bridge between the past and present for our guides. When we returned to camp my emotions were somewhere between disappointment and awe. I was disappointed that our experience was so limited by

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[4] Paolo Freire's theory of education explains that more effective learning comes through applying theoretical knowledge in practice. (Freire 1972).
[5] Autoethnography is the reflexive ethnographic documentation where, through reflection of experiences, one learns about social issues/dynamics (cf. Ellis & Bochner 2000, Tomaselli, Dyll & Francis, 2008.
[6] A stereotype refers to a preconceived notion, idea or understanding of an object, person or thing (cf. Holt 1998)
[7] This refers to the previously mentioned *The Gods Must Be Crazy* (Uys 1980), where a coke bottle falls from the sky causing fear and panic amongst the Bushmen community in the film, who believe the bottle is from the 'gods'.
[8] Vodacom, during their June 2007 advertising campaign for Rugby World Cup, depicted the ≠Khomani Bushmen of the Northern Cape in the stereotypical manner, wearing skins and living in huts surrounded by open expanses of the desert. This advertisement is a somewhat satirical treatment of *The Gods Must Be Crazy* (Uys 1980). The advertisement is available on YouTube (See Vodacom, 2007)

the constraints of the government and authorities in the area. I was in awe of the depth of knowledge the !Xoo possess and their tracking ability, despite the aforementioned limitations.

The Connection

Through my experiences, the first trip served to dispel stereotypes learnt through my upbringing and education. A vast difference exists between commonplace/media stereotypes and lived reality. There are traces of truth in these myths and prehistoric representations, however; these traces are often exaggerated and blown out of proportion, which lead one to the romanticised images.

My first knowledge of the Bushmen began a modern day romance for me with the Kalahari Desert. Childhood memories imprinted in my mind, what I 'knew' was washed away and replaced with a less romanticised and more thorough and real understanding of Bushmen through first hand experience. As Belinda Kruiper, wife of the late Vet-Kat Regopstaan Kruiper[9], said to us when sitting around our campfire "Once you get the desert sand in your shoes, you will never be apart, but always be returning to the Kalahari" (Fieldnotes 2005).

The Kalahari haunted me in the following years. During this time I was constantly coming into contact with media connected to the Bushmen of the Kalahari. I also retained my interest in tracking, through which I found a few books on the topic. Louis Liebenberg is an author who has published extensively on tracking in Southern Africa. *The Art of Tracking* (1990) presented the scientific components of this activity and how tracking is practiced and/or how it has evolved, all in relation to the Bushmen of the Kalahari. Through his book I recognised slight deviations from my own understanding and I realised these come from different academic backgrounds. I felt that some of his concepts could be expanded upon from the perspective of cultural studies. Nevertheless I retained my enthusiasm for the subject and on returning to the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), after a student exchange to University of Oslo, Norway, I spoke to Keyan Tomaselli about my ideas pertaining to what I had read. He offered to lend me J. Edward Chamberlin's *If This is Your Land, Where are Your Stories?* (2004), which served to expand on my ideas and increase my enthusiasm on the subject.

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[9] Vet-Kat Regopstaan Kruiper was a well respected ≠Khomani elder, artist, musician and cultural figure, who has had considerable influence in Cultural studies in the CCMS department at the University of Kwazulu-Natal.

Background and Not-So Distant History

Historically, 'Bushmen' were hunter-gatherer communities who lived a nomadic lifestyle, whose movements can be followed extensively throughout Southern Africa and via archaeological findings, such as rock paintings and remains (Barnard 1992). Nourishment came from gathering 'bush' foods and hunting game, which meant that the Bushmen became proficient hunters and experts at understanding their habitats. The process whereby hunters follow animals by their tracks and trace evidence (such as dung, hair and other indicators) is known as tracking. The Bushmen are amongst the earliest and most famous hunters and trackers in the world with their techniques widely publicised in books such as Liebenberg's *The Art of Tracking* (1990) amongst others. However, the prowess of the Bushmen as hunters and trackers has declined due to hunting legislation and new food sources; a point that is less publicised and widely ignored by the public, who prefer the Bushman's romanticised image (cf. Durington 2009).

These romanticised images feed into the very naming process of the Bushmen/San. Some academics prefer to use the term San (cf. Wilmsen 1989), some, Bushmen (cf. Gordon 1982; Tomaselli 1999, 2001, 2003 a/b; Steyn 1981), and others Khoi San (Widlok 2004: 220), though these academics do not use the preferences exclusively. "The indigenous people at the centre of this concept (book) do not see themselves as a single integrated unit, nor do they call themselves by a single name; it follows thus that the notion and image of the "Bushmen" must be a European or settler concept" (Gordon 1992: 4). I make liberal use of the term Bushman because elder representatives from the !Xoo and ≠Khomani in the Northern Cape communities, the subjects of my research, explained that they would prefer to be named as Bushmen. I do not argue that all Bushmen have shared experiences or the same cultures, but for the purpose of consistency 'Bushman' is the most applicable and globally recognised name. These various names often still cue one to certain tropes and romanticised ideas about these peoples as hunter-gatherers. Yet, "it is self defeating to study 'the last remnants of true hunters and gatherers' tucked away somewhere in the Kalahari" (Widlok 2004: 220, cf. Robins 2001). What may be more useful is to identify credible research to be done in the field, such as identifying and researching the trajectories of culture in a constant state of flux in these communities or question why some identify with the term Bushmen, though the latter will not be dealt with in this chapter.

There are sceptics who deny the existence of the Bushmen, because they do not find the same people that are depicted in early ethnographies or do not fit into their sphere of reference. The arguments are that "there are practically no San in South Africa today; those that were not

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killed have become assimilated racially and culturally to the non-European population of that country. Some had moved north-eastward into the Kalahari wastelands; that is to Namibia and Botswana where most of today's San are still found" (Lee & DeVore 1976: 78). The undertones of disappointment, similar to my initial experience, make reference to the false or romanticised explanations of Bushmen. "This is the idea that Bushmen have always lived in the splendidly bracing isolation of the Kalahari Desert, where, in uncontaminated purity, they live in a state of 'primitive affluence' as one of the last living representatives of how our Palaeolithic forebears lived" (Gordon 1992: 3). Certain ethnographic work on the Bushmen has been arguably irresponsible by supporting the mystification created by earlier ethnographic representations as the San as an isolated or separate peoples from all other Africans. Current social problems are linked to the supposed decline of their isolation but "are not a result of isolation but are rather the product of the texture of the Bushmen's ties with the wider society. Intellectuals, writers and academics played a crucial role in underclass formation by engaging in mystification" (Gordon 1992: 12).

Thus, "Bushmen emerged in the major ethnographies as relics of the past, trapped in a fast-moving present frame that supports the notion that they have, until a few years ago, been traditional hunters and gatherers" (Gordon 1992: 10). However, no text is as guilty of perpetuating stereotypes and pre-modern representations of the Bushmen as Jamie Uys' film *The Gods Must Be Crazy* (1980; cf. Buntman 1996; Bester & Buntman 1999; cf. also Tomaselli 1996; McLennan-Dodd and Tomaselli 2003). In some ways Uys does a similar thing with his film that academics have done with their ethnographies, albeit through a more extreme, obvious and less credible medium than many jargoned academic articles or documentary films (cf. Marshall 1958, 1980).

Gordon quite aptly explains that, "apart from emphasising the casual processes of land dispossession and techniques of labour coercion, any analysis must also include a discussion on the realm of meaning, of culture… almost universally writers and academics played an important role in developing the ideology justifying settler expansion, be they mystifications as "vermin" or "beautiful people." Ironically *The Gods Must Be Crazy* represents an accurate caricature of the Bushman scholarly enterprise" (1992: 12).

Perhaps "the only way in which the vexatious gap between theory and practice may be closed is by restoring to anthropology some overtly moral concerns" (Robertson 1984: 301). One moral concern that speaks directly to the concept of social responsibility, which may be more applicable and important than the 'naming conundrum', is recognising and portraying

subjects as they are without the romanticism exhibited by some academics, photographers and filmmakers.

The above points link to representations of Bushmen and their cultural practices, which are widely misrepresented. The popular image of the Bushman, which derives its history largely from (a selective reading of) the scientific discourse, was used by various parties to reflect their own purposes, including the justification of ethnocide or genocide of those people commonly labelled 'Bushmen'. Far from being beautiful people living in primeval paradise, they are in reality the most victimised and brutalised people in the bloody history of Southern Africa (Gordon 1992: 10).

Gordon (1992) and Robertson (1984) explain that victimisation of the Bushmen is or was a common occurrence, without exception in Southern Africa, where they were hunted, hung and enslaved by European Colonies in Namibia, South Africa and Botswana. Although direct oppression has abated, in some cases, latent oppression stemming from misrepresentation lives on. Society still expect the Bushman to wear skins, carry around ostrich eggs and track their lunch – when they do not they vent their disappointment by denying the Bushman's authenticity (cf. Gordon 1992). This is just one reaction of many.

Another important fact to note is that "hunter-gatherers have faced numerous challenges in the twentieth century. They have struggled for survival in the face of expansion of state systems, multinational corporations, and individuals who were anxious to exploit their lands, labour and resources" (Biesele & Hitchcock 2000: 305). As a post hunter-gatherer culture, the Bushmen epitomise the above statement. Irrelevant of where different Bushmen communities are situated - all tribes seem to suffer from a similar set of constraints. Furthermore, the communities mentioned have a somewhat shared heritage of existence as post-hunter gatherers of similar distinctions and language.

Tracking, Literacy, Stereotypes, Representation and Identity

Tracking is an initial practice in the process of hunting. Tracking involves following the spoor, tracks and other identifying elements that may have been left in the environment by an animal. These elements can also be behavioural signs, such as scratches on trees or scattered leaves or more obviously dung, hair or other tangible remains. A tracker can interpret the signs and identifying characteristics through having detailed knowledge of animals and their behaviour. This allows them to accurately predict the whereabouts of the quarry or avoid

dangerous encounters with predators (cf. Liebenberg 1990). Therefore, trackers use the signs left by animals in order to make sense of their environment. 'Signs' left by animals serve as indicators for the Bushmen, in a similar way to how people navigate streets and public places by reading human-made signs (Fieldnotes 2005).

Metaphorically one can compare tracking to literacy. The first phase of literacy is writing, which allows for signs to be encoded. The second phase of literacy is reading, which allows for what has been written to be decoded (cf. Tomaselli 1999). What I seek to understand is the 'literacy' of tracking. The process follows a serious of steps based on the understanding of small signs (letters) that allow one to decipher the larger 'text'.

Historically, Bushmen were regarded as some of the most gifted trackers in the world, along with other indigenous tribes around the world, such as the Australian aborigines and Native Americans (Chamberlin 2004). The South African Defence Forces (SADF) employed Bushmen as trackers and counterintelligence, because they subscribed to the notion that all Bushmen were naturally gifted trackers (cf. Gordon 1992; Tomaselli 1999). These stereotypes have been perpetuated and encouraged by modern media and governments of Southern Africa, through advertisements depicting the Bushmen dressed in skins and carrying ostrich eggs. By working with these people on hunting and tracking I explore how the representation and stereotypes have impacted or even changed the identity of the two communities through the growing interconnectedness of media and remote communities, which can be seen as a direct off-spin of globalisation (cf. Tomlinson 1999; Robertson 1990; Thompson 1995).

The ≠Khomani at Present

For people visiting the Northern Cape for the first time, particularly a restituted farm called Witdraai, the experience comes as a shock. The inhabitants are far from the stereotypes associated with the Bushmen. The ≠Khomani are divided into two groups. Firstly the nicknamed 'Westerese mense' (Western Bushmen) who have followed an agricultural development route and secondly, the self named traditionalists who embark on cultural tourism as development (Tomaselli 2005, 2007). The ≠Khomani require a new and critical approach rather than academic musings, because there is a strong possibility that members of the community will react towards outsiders in two ways; Either, attempt to feed the would-be academic with a reading of the Bushmen; the preferred reading being the stereotypical pre-modern hunter-gatherer representation, which validates their authenticity and in turn makes them more marketable as a subject or 'attraction'. Or alternatively, if an academic or tourist is unprepared to buy artwork or curios, they are unprepared to take part in any conversation,

interview or any interaction whatsoever. Therefore, academic investigation becomes a 'dance' of give and take until such time that a sufficient level of familiarity has been reached, such as when the community members talk to Professor Keyan Tomaselli who has been leading field trips to the area since 2000.

In 1991, after years of dislocation, dispossession and degradation exerted by the Apartheid regime, Lauren Dyll explains that, "the core surviving Hanseb Bushmen led by !Gam!gaub Regopstaan Kruiper settled at the tourist resort of Kagga Kamma near Ceres in the Western Cape" (Dyll 2004). Roger Chennells, a human rights lawyer, explained that the Bushmen were a marginalised community who fitted the description for land restitution, which they were dispossessed from since 1913. The 19th of June 1913 is a significant date because land claims and restitution was only recognised from this date forward (cf. Crawhall 2001; Yanou 2006: 1). After several years of negotiation with the post-apartheid South African government an agreement was finally reached in 1999 (Grossman & Holden 2002). A ceremony attended by the ≠Khomani and global media was structured as an exhibition of the potential of the 'Rainbow Nation' to make amends for previous oppression. President Thabo Mbeki signed a land claim settlement for six Kalahari farms, approximately 36 000 hectares and 25 000 hectares within the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP), in conjunction with 25 000 hectares awarded to the neighbouring Mier[10] community (!Ae! Hai Kalahari Heritage Agreement 2002: 166). The additional funding was used to create a joint tourism venture in the form of !Xaus Lodge, situated within the adjacent 25 000 hectare plots (within the KTP) owned by the ≠Khomani and neighbouring Mier communities (cf. Dyll 2004; Finlay 2009).

Another tourism venture offered by the ≠Khomani in correlation with the South African San Institute[11] (SASI) is the //Uruke Traditional Tracking Experience (UTTE). One of the six Kalahari farms, called Witdraai, tenured by the ≠Khomani Bushmen in 1999 is the area where the tracking takes place. Several ≠Khomani trackers are involved in this venture with the assistance of SASI. They earn part of the profits whilst performing an explanatory tracking experience. I participated in a UTTE activity on the 2007 field trip, discussed below. There is

[10] "The Mier community of the Kalahari mainly originated from the people of Captain Vilander who, more than 150 years ago settled themselves across an extended area that reached from Rietfontein as the central point to the Orange River and into the German West Africa (Later South West Africa and presently Namibia) and Bechuanaland (Presently Botswana). They mainly farmed with sheep, goats and cattle in the hardveld south of the Kalahari dunes" (Jan Kriel 2004).

[11] "The South African San Institute is an independent, non-government organization that mobilizes resources for the benefit of the San peoples of Southern Africa. This we do in partnership with the Kuru Family of Organisations-KFO and the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa-WIMSA, and other San Organisations. (SASI 2010)

very little wildlife in this particular area, because the wildlife has all but been decimated by over hunting by the ≠Khomani or the land has been converted into agricultural land. Correspondingly, the tracking experience forms part of a dramatised version of a traditional practice, usually consumed by tourists who are more preoccupied with their expectations (Fieldnotes 2005), or presupposed reality of the Bushmen being satisfied, rather than experiencing actual reality. Tracking and hunting as a means of survival has largely declined due to pressures of modernisation indicated by South African government legislation on hunting (Hitchcock 1998, 2002; Flyman 2001; Mikalsen 2006). The ≠Khomani, however, still practice tracking as a form of cultural tourism; they track for [financial] survival in a 21st century context.

SASI played a significant role in the ≠Khomani's land claim when they "located and co-ordinated the unification of dislocated Bushmen, who speak the indigenous languages in South Africa as part of a Cultural Resources Audit" (Crawhall 2001). This rallying of people claiming Bushman heritage was undoubtedly a factor in the gazetting of the land claims. SASI provides assistance and administrative expertise to those who wish to take part in the UTTE or to sell crafts. They also provide a base from which their products (tracking and goods) are more accessible and available to visiting tourists. They now operate out of a building across the road from Witdraai in an area called Andriesvale and are thus readily available to assist the ≠Khomani.

Despite the successful land claim and funding received from other donors and media, there is division between the self-named 'traditionalists' and 'westerse mense' (Robins 2001). The 'traditionalist's are concerned with retaining the 'Bushman way of life', whereas the 'Westerse mense[12]' are concerned with adapting to modern ways of life and pastoralism. The community conflict has exacerbated official grievances and consequent enquiry into victimisation, lack of education, harassment and continuing poverty in the community (SAHRC 2004). This is discussed at more length in the chapter dedicated to findings.

Witdraai may be best described as a rural area and does not fit into the romanticised images of the 'pre-modern Bushman village'. The ≠Khomani wear western clothes, except when they sell crafts to tourists on the roadside or act in movies. They carry mobile phones, drink wine, smoke tobacco, wear shoes and want sunglasses, as I observed during our 2007 trip. For instance, Silikat Van Wyk, a member of the 'traditionalist' group sat explaining the nuances of Bushman spirituality and lifestyle (cf. Robins 2001, White 1995). Almost immediately

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[12] 'Westerse mense' directly translated from Afrikaans means: western people.

after this extremely sentimental interaction he begins to criticise the fact that I have sunglasses and he has none or that I have better shoes than him, which he deserves (Fieldnotes 2005). This was a counteraction of the sentiments of minimalism and humble spirituality that he claimed to support in our initial discussions. This is not always the case and serves merely as an example. They do retain their heritage in segments of their life. They speak a pidgin[13] of a Bushman dialect, tell stories passed on through generations and enjoy partaking in activities associated with Bushmen, such as hunting - tracking, dancing, painting and storytelling. The ≠Khomani are keenly aware of the stereotypes and representations of Bushmen and frequently make use of these stereotypes in order to support the expectations of the unsuspecting tourist or expecting academic in return for donor-ship (Fieldnotes 2005). However, this also lays the ground for much problematic research, largely because you need to know the subject well enough so that they allow you into the 'inner circle' so to speak. The Culture Communication and Media Studies (CCMS) team had visited Witdraai several times and are well known by the traditional ≠Khomani, which meant that the process of reaching the 'inner circle' was less arduous. Linking to the previous argument about misrepresented research which perpetuates stereotypes, is the fact that, "until recently, little research has been done on the conditions of life among the dispossessed San, many of whom work as ill-paid labourers on European or African farms, or live as squatters in rural or urban slums" (Biesele & Hitchcock 2000: 307). This is largely due to the fact that many anthropologists in the past appeared to focus on researching the 'primitive', as opposed to the 'pertinent' (Biesele & Hitchcock 2000).

Louis Liebenberg, a tracking expert who provides integral literature for this dissertation, has been closely connected with SASI and the ≠Khomani. He facilitates a tracking 'workshop' for Bushman children to gain tracking knowledge from their more experienced elders. This is an initiative run in part by SASI, but also greatly encouraged by the elders, in order to pass on knowledge that would otherwise be lost. The pressures exerted by modern society means that tracking could not be practiced in the same capacity for many reasons, such as; environmental changes and legislation surrounding nature conservation, nature reserves and border control. Therefore, the manner in which communities learn how to track is far removed from the traditional learning model. In light of this fact, the fast shifting environment, spurred on by globalisation has led to alternative strategies of learning being employed. Hence, "[t]he fundamental issue is how economy is projected against culture. Culture and its conservative quality is an attribute of inertia to change. Social institutions and political structures might

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[13] A pidgin is a mixed tongue which develops between neighbours or trading partners speaking different languages (cf. Singh, 1995).

change through economic transformations and/or revolutions, but the source of change is seldom if ever realised in culture" (Yengoyan 2004: 65).

The !Xoo in the Present

The !Xoo reside in the South Central Botswana Kalahari. They live in a rural settlement named Ngwatle. Unlike the ≠Khomani, the !Xoo are far less studied and publicised, partly because their settlement is extremely remote (Barnard 1994). Ngwatle is close to an area used for hunting by Safari Botswana Bound (SBB).

The !Xoo were the picture of a community facing severe political and legislative pressure to assimilate to a more modern lifestyle. This is largely because Botswana classifies its population on the basis of a "socio-economic criteria", as opposed to "ethnicity" (Saugestad 2001: 31). Socio-economic classification becomes problematic when one recognises how small and vulnerable the minority ethnic group (the !Xoo) is in comparison to other ethnic groups (cf. Njagi 2005). Until early 2008, pressure for the population of Ngwatle to move into the larger towns, situated on major transport routes, as well as larger Rural Area Dweller Settlements such as Ukhwi was exerted by government, however, Ngwatle was granted Rural Area Development RAD status in 2008. This has dire implications on a population which wishes to remain closer to where their ancestors lived. Sidsel Saugestad (2001 31) proposes that "a different, but equally relevant approach would be to stress the fact that the people in question belong to a marginalised ethnic minority, making up the indigenous people of Botswana" and should thus be treated in a distinct and separate manner to other ethnic groups when it comes to financial support and relocation (cf. also Kuper 2003; Suzman 2000).

An interview with Kort Jan Nai[14] on my first field trip to Ngwatle in October 2005 revealed some interesting information about their settlement patterns. Previously the !Xoo had resided close to the Masetleng Pan, which is situated about 30 kilometres from Ngwatle and is a plentiful hunting ground frequented by much game. For a period of time this area was under mineral speculation. PetroCanada, a Canadian oil company, had been doing exploratory drilling. They had dug a well for their use and they had installed a pump, which was used for the duration of their speculation in the surrounding area. The !Xoo relocated in the immediate vicinity of the water source and lived in peaceful co-existence with the oil company's employees, sharing the water resource. During this time the men of the !Xoo community used to hunt fairly frequently. According to Kort Jan (Fieldnotes 2005), this was the area and time

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[14] Kort Jan an elder of the !Xoo at Ngwatle.

of their fondest memories. However, when the company did not find any mineral deposits or oil they removed the pump and welded a metal cap over the pipe of the borehole, meaning that they had no longer access to water. They relocated again to Ngwatle to access water, which was a limited resource supplied once a month in large plastic drums. Hunting was also problematic, given the distance to the hunting grounds was far greater.

Tomaselli interviewed Paul Myburgh, author of *People of the Great Sandface* (1989), who "talked about the wind as some kind of existential and elemental force, listening to the desert speak" (Myburgh 1989; cf. Gordon 1990). Tomaselli uses metaphor to differentiate between Ngwatle and the Masetleng Pan, which is quite appropriate given the spiritual significance that the !Xoo associate with wind (2003: 2). "The wind at the Pan was described as warm and friendly, not cold and unforgiving. *"Die wind is die Here se asem*" ("The wind is the Lord's breath"), Johannes explained. Metonymically, the wind is the [!Xoo] community's sign for freedom, for mobility, for life. Were it not for the stolen borehole pump, they'd come back here to Masetleng Pan" (Tomaselli 2003b: 2). Whereas the wind at Ngwatle is described as "cold and cutting, "its Satan speaking," observed Johannes. Ngwatle is where Satan's wind rules. "Cattle, goats, and firewood collections have denuded the foliage, creating open spaces through which the wind sweeps the sand" (Tomaselli 2003b: 2). Therefore, "Ngwatle is associated with fixity, helplessness, in the face of greater, unseen, structural, evil forces impacting their independence. The cold wind blows away everything that Masetleng Pan stood for. Ngwatle is cold; Masetleng is warm" (Tomaselli, 2003: 3). This problem of relocation is a recurring challenge for the !Xoo, who experience pressure of a similar nature from the Botswana government (cf. Saugestad 2001; Hitchcock 1998, 2002).

Botswana's government designated the area that encompasses Ngwatle and two other settlements, Ukhwi and Ncaang, as a hunting concession called Kgalagadi District 1 (KD1) and desired the removal of the people within the area. These developments led to a steady re-regulation of hunting in and around the Ngwatle. The remotely located !Xoo sell their hunting quotas to a Safari Botswana Bound (SBB), which has the government-allocated safari/hunting concession in the area. The 800 people in three villages who comprise the !Xoo are intended to benefit from these payments via the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust (NKXT), a state-linked body on which representatives from the three villages sit. For instance, carcasses of antelope shot by safari hunters are supposed to be delivered by the hunting company to each of the three villages in the district. The !Xoo were issued with individual hunting permits until 1999 and hunting was a regular occurrence. They are not, however, permitted to hunt any longer. The !Xoo still engage in tracking: i) for hunters being hosted by the safari company; ii) and

for tourists who pass through KD1. The CCMS research teams' visits since 2000 have also involved hunting and tracking studies (Durington 2009). For the ex-!Xoo hunters, tracking is also undertaken in the researchers' company for nostalgic purposes (Tomaselli 2005: 55-59), and for the making of a video, *A Hunter's Redux* (Durington, footage).

Liebenberg (1990: 52) refers to research[15] of the !Xoo community which began in the 1950's and extended until the 1970's. He discusses his own experiences of the !Xoo communities and their hunting as an active and frequent practice in 1985. From this information it is possible to deduct; that until at least 1985, this community practiced tracking, in the process of hunting, predominantly as a means for survival.

The !Xoo do not represent themselves in the same way as do the ≠Khomani, largely because they are less aware of the stereotypes associated with Bushmen. This became clear through several casual interviews pertaining to Bushman stereotypes and representation in the !Xoo community. They wear western clothes and live in traditional Bushmen huts and tin shacks on the outskirts of Ngwatle. The inhabitants of this area practice pastoral farming keeping flocks of goats, donkeys, horses and chickens. The inhabitants and all the livestock receive their water[16] from the government deliveries once a month. Ngwatle was the only village that was not provided with saline water as nourishment for their livestock (Tomaselli 2007). This is due largely because Ngwatle is deemed too small and therefore have to share their rations. Horses and donkeys are used as transport as pack animals to deliver water and also to a certain extent for hunting. In the three year break between our 2005 and 2007 field trips I noticed that the intermittent rain and increase of animals has led to overgrazing and steady desertification of the immediate area of Ngwatle spreading outwards. A growing need to keep animals, as a source of nutrition, is heightened by the strict laws guiding the practice of hunting and meagre rations delivered by the government on a monthly basis. These deliveries are unbalanced nutritional packs delivered to families within the isolated settlement. These packs include maize-meal, small amounts of coffee/tea, sugar, tinned food, powdered milk and Vaseline for the aged. There are very few possibilities of employment within the area and inhabitants seem to survive on these donations and by livestock farming. Arable farming is impossible due to the lack of water and low soil quality (cf. Njagi 2005) although some people plant wild plants such as melons in patches (Fieldnotes 2007).

The !Xoo do not wish to relocate due to the ill-treatment of Bushmen by other indigenous populations in different regions (Fieldnotes 2005). The ill-treatment is symptomatic of the

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[15] Liebenberg explains that he conducted tracking research at this time.
[16] The livestock and the community drink from the same water supply.

passive-aggressive tactics are used to stifle the traditional lifestyles of the Bushmen, which is echoed by past Botswana's president, Festus Mogae, who said that the Bushmen are, "Stone Age creatures that must change or otherwise, like the dodo, they will perish" (Mazower 1997). Firstly, the creation of national parks on a huge scale meant that any through fare or hunting in much of the area which the !Xoo previously inhabited became no-go zones. This meant that the !Xoo could neither practice hunting nor move/settle freely. Thus, two of the largest facets of their culture and hunting and nomadic movement) were limited. The Botswana government offer several reasons, which will be explained further in the following chapter.

What is apparent, as Gordon so aptly sums up, is that the situation of remote communities, such as the !Xoo, exhibits a " current relative powerlessness of people practicing a peripatetic or foraging mode of existence. History as generally constructed is concerned with success stories or with those who wield power or have the loudest voices" (1992: 8).

Introducing the Subject to the subject

Technology has provided a platform for mediated forms to penetrate places where it was never before thought possible. It is in light of this technological and mediated environment, once remote communities can now be more easily accessed and in turn have easier access to modern ways of life.

Representations of the Bushmen, specifically in the South African popular media, have emerged in the past, with none recognised more so than Jamie Uys' films, the internationally popular, *The Gods Must Be Crazy* (1980). In more recent times Vodacom[17] launched a series of advertisements that cast pre-modern representations of the Bushmen, whilst promoting rugby (See Footnote 11). These mediated representations have direct bearing on how the public understand/identify the Bushmen. Additionally, these mediations have also defined how the Bushmen represent themselves, their cultural idiosyncrasies and also have had a profound effect on shaping their identity (cf. Suzman 2000; Kuper 2003; Saugestad 2001).

Focus of this study

Over the years Bushmen communities have been forced, due to a number of factors, to transform their everyday practices of living – one of which is tracking (Fieldnotes 2005).

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[17] A large South Africa cellular telecommunication company. Their advertisements were broadcast on South African televisions in 2007.

Accordingly, I wish to investigate how tracking is practised in two communities, namely the !Xoo and ≠Khomani, how it is represented by themselves, and how they construct their identity through these representations.

Numerous works of literature have been utilised to understand and examine tracking in the past and as it is viewed today. For instance, Louis Liebenberg's (1990) first-hand perspective on tracking provides a unique vantage point on understanding the practice of tracking. Matthew Durington's (2009) work on the Bushmen and hunting provides a base from which to analyse the existing romanticised representations that exist of the Bushmen. Anthea Simões (2001) examines identity and the Bushmen, interrogating the modern influences and their affect on the communities. J. Edward Chamberlin (2004) provides further useful literature in introducing tracking in an alternative light, which is able to aid the discussion.

Origin of the study

This dissertation arises out of an ongoing National Research Foundation funded project, entitled *Rethinking Indigeneity* that involves the study of representation, identity and development issues in both the Kalahari Desert and KwaZulu-Natal (cf. Tomaselli 1999, 2005, 2007). Dissertations within this project by Simões (2001) and Lauren Dyll (2004), amongst others, offer a useful contextual and methodological background. However, my topic was formed through reading Chamberlin's (2004) ethnography/autoethnograhy on displaced aboriginal peoples, and Liebenberg's (1990) detailed account of tracking and its history, as well as via watching documentary films on tracking and the Bushmen (cf. Foster & Foster 2000; Marshall 1958, 1980; Reinhardt & Sætre 2002; Sætre 2002).

Chamberlin's *If This Is Your Land, Where Are Your Stories?* (2004) offers an auto-ethnographic account of various indigenous people, including the ≠Khomani Bushmen, who have been displaced or oppressed through colonisation. His framework is a philosophical/abstract discussion of what has happened to the indigenous cultures and how they have coped with these pressures. Chamberlin makes sense of tracking through his interactions with indigenous people and their memories. He derives meaning from these interactions, but makes no reference to first-hand knowledge of tracking. Liebenberg's *The Art of Tracking* (1990) offers a scientific approach and a specific analysis of tracking, tracking's idiosyncrasies and its place within the lives of modern day trackers. He draws his knowledge from a lifetime of experience of tracking and extensive work with the Bushmen. Liebenberg, however, makes little or no reference to its place in culture or representation. He

highlights tracking as reading; but does not link this understanding directly to concepts of literacy.

Liebenberg and Chamberlin's texts are central to this dissertation and serve as a base for *Chapter Two: What Does Tracking Mean to Whom?* The review documents and analyses content pertaining to representation, stereotypes and the identity of Bushmen, offering a point of entry into the theme of tracking in a globalising world, which is a focus in *Chapter Three: Tracking through the Theory*.

Chapter Three introduces Globalisation and elements of Cultural Studies such as representation, identity and tracking as a cultural practice. The theories are precursors that tend to define what methodologies are used to perform the research. *Chapter Four: Desert Research* details the process of undertaking and problematising the research and seeks to explain the procedures used for data collection and analysis.

A detailed account of the findings is offered in *Chapter Five: Meeting the Trackers* and introduces the data that is used in conjunction with theories of globalisation, representation and identity, which form the basis of *Chapter Six: Where Has Tracking Come From?*.

Chapter Seven: Where is Tracking Going? offers a summary of the dissertation and findings, followed by references.

Chapter Two: What Does Tracking Mean to Whom?

Introduction

There is an array of literature available about the Bushmen in general – in films (Marshall Uys 1980; Sætre 2003) books (Liebenberg 1990; Chamberlin 2004) articles (Dyll 2004; Tomaselli 1999) academic sources such as dissertations and theses (Simões 2001; Dyll 2004) as well as references in the popular media (Vodacom 2007). This dissertation has a specific focus on *tracking* and the *Bushmen*. This will be supported by the literature below on representation and stereotyping of the Bushmen in general as well as related specifically to the Bushmen as trackers and hunters (Dyll 2004; Durington 2009; Liebenberg 1990). The discussion will also cover Bushmen identity (Simões 2001; Hall 1990) as well as understanding the Bushmen in terms of their position as an indigenous community within the globalising world (Chamberlin 2004). However, my study builds on the available texts by looking at a specific cultural activity – tracking.

Tracking Literature: A First-Hand Perspective

Louis Liebenberg's[18] book "*The Art of Tracking*" (1990), a central text to my dissertation, documents tracking from an experienced first-hand perspective, a unique perspective when compared to other literature on tracking (See Chamberlin 2004). Some texts that document tracking are written from a hypothetical vantage point, which has various implications on the representation of tracking and those who practice it. Liebenberg, on the other hand, exhibits a dynamic relationship as a researcher 'within the field', being both an outsider who is also included to a certain extent within the Bushman communities (especially the trackers). This presents an analytical insight into tracking from autonomous (white outsider) and inclusive (experienced, expert tracker) perspective. This experiential approach is similar to my experiences working with trackers on the field. However, my cultural studies approach led me to ask questions about the greater implications and meanings of tracking beyond technical details or specific cultural skill sets.

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[18] Liebenberg is the forerunner of tracking research in Southern Africa. He has published titles like *A Concise Guide to the Animal Tracks of Southern Africa* (1992) and *The Art of Tracking (*2001) on the subject ranging from historical, evolutionary trajectories of tracking as a cultural practice to documented explanations of animal tracks in Southern Africa. In recent years he has made commendable progress in the field of cyber-tracking and its part in ecological conservation. Over and above these achievements, Liebenberg has extensive practical tracking experience and is recognised as an expert tracker by and large.

The Art of Tracking (1990) offers a systematic approach and a specific analysis of tracking and its place within the lives of modern day trackers. Liebenberg does not live with the Bushmen and similarly does not live a dependent, subsistence, hunter-gatherer or herding lifestyle. Yet he is an expert tracker, whose experience and expertise rivals the best in the field. Therefore, Liebenberg uses tracking in a different way to either the !Xoo or ≠Khomani communities. This serves as an important comparison but more so a unique lens to investigate tracking through.

Liebenberg explains that, "According to popular misconception, nature is 'like an open book' to the expert tracker and such a tracker needs only enough skill to 'read everything that is written in the sand'. A more appropriate analogy would be that the expert tracker must be 'able to read between the lines' (1990: 3). Liebenberg's status, within the field of tracking, underscores his capacity to make these base judgements, which generates a resonance that is lost or distorted in analyses written by solely observational theorists/researchers. My use of the literacy comparison is based on the assumption that those from within the cultural community in question would be able to read the greater implications as he states.

Liebenberg conducted research between in the early 1950's until 1970's of !Xoo communities residing in the Middle, Western and Southern Botswana (Liebenberg 1990: 52). It is unclear whether the !Xoo community located in Ngwatle are one and the same. His own experiences of the !Xoo community is that they included hunting as an active and frequent practice in their everyday lives even up until 1985. The Botswana government eventually designated the area that encompasses Ngwatle and two other settlements, Ukhwi and Ncaang, as a hunting concession and desired the removal of the people within the allocated area. These developments lead to a steady de-regulation of hunting in and around the Ngwatle area. This highlights the fact that common representations of the Bushmen as hunter-gatherers are not always valid as will be discussed in more detail below.

Bushmen as Trackers and Hunters: Representations and Stereotypes

The concept of representation within dominant discourse is central to the concept of a stereotype. David Hamilton and Tina Trolier define stereotype as "a cognitive structure containing the perceivers knowledge, beliefs and expectancies about some human social group" (1986: 133). This definition implies that the expectations surrounding a subject informs an individual's understanding and sense making of the subject itself. In other words,

one usually has expectations of a subject, usually via dominant discourse, without having a first-hand experience. This concept has resonance in the case of the Bushmen of the Kalahari.

Stereotypes and Representations of Bushmen Appearance

Descriptions of Bushmen usually include the following words – nomadic, hunter-gatherer, short, skin-wearing, native and wrinkled. For instance Alan Barnard (1992) writes, "some of them are pastoralists, others are hunter-gatherers or hunter-gatherer-fishermen" (Barnard 1992: 3). Other anthropologists, in older documents, write about them even more simply, "diminutive proportions, slight habit, light yellowish skin, steatopygia, and hair in sparse peppercorn tufts" (Schapera 1939: 69). These books speak about the Bushmen's ethnic classification, their origins and history, and tend to look at them from a distance – the researcher and the researched.

Stereotypes and Representations of the Bushmen as Innate Trackers

Despite these stereotypes of the physical appearance of Bushmen, there are also the socio-biological assumptions, linked to common-day myth, that Bushmen are *innate* trackers. This myth is challenged by Liebenberg in a chapter where he deals with the "learning process of tracking and scientific knowledge of spoor and animal behaviour" within Bushman communities (Liebenberg 1990: 69). He explains that tracking a skill taught in childhood and then nurtured until is becomes a 'natural' practice of living.

Nicolas Blurton Jones and Melvin J. Konner (1976) too explore the process of teaching and learning how to track. Their study, based in Canada, forms part of a comparative analysis spurred on by similar stereotypes attached to how post-hunter communities in Canada learn to track in comparison to the !Kung Bushmen of Southern Africa. Their study "concerns! Kung knowledge of animal behaviour (ethnoethology) and their methods of acquiring this knowledge" (Blurton Jones & Konner 1976: 326).

Stereotypes appear to remain the same internationally and differ only in context where Blurton Jones and Konner foreground previous academic work in the field of anthropology of post-hunter-gatherer communities. William Laughlin (1968) and others have argued that the lengthy time in human evolution when man lived as a hunter and gatherer may have been expected to have included a selection pressure on the human brain, such that man became interested in animal behaviour and competent at finding out about it (Blurton Jones & Konner 1976: 326). One may assume that society has become more critical of such stereotypes concerning post-hunter-gatherer society, however it becomes clear through the writings in

contemporary literature that society generally is more familiar with the Stone Age archetypes studied by archaeologists than true contemporary studies on the topic. This demonstrates a somewhat jaded knowledge or apprehension of how culture has changed in negotiates modernity.

Romanticised Notions of Tracking and Hunting as a Cultural Practice

Matthew Durington's study entitled *The Hunters Redux: Participatory and Applied Visual Anthropology with the Botswana San* (2009), offers a textual and visual counter-argument to romanticised representations of the Bushmen through literature and film. My interest in his discussion is the candid and brutally honest references to representation as well as a concise summary of the !Xoo's contextual predicament. Durington's work is useful because very little is written about the !Xoo of Botswana in comparison to the extensive literature and discussion surrounding the ≠Khomani of South Africa, who were well publicised in the media during their land claims in 1999. Chamberlin discusses several 'aboriginal' cultures through the world and quite aptly describes the ≠Khomani's history as, "a story of loss of life, of language and land and of the most unspeakable suffering" (2004: 107).

Durington expresses that, "Despite the attention that anthropologists and others have devoted to these issues (social issues as explained by several authors), the predominant representations of San in popular culture continue to place them in a romantic position that bolsters ill-advised development schemes, racist ideology and continued exploitation. Thus, the ethical representational burden given to anyone attempting to 'represent' the San, either textually or visually, requires that one must contextualise these social realities and, as will be argued here, attempt to develop applied strategies to make ethnographic visual documentation work toward social change rather reinforcing damaging stereotypes," (2009: 192). This sentiment has resonance through my dissertation.

Pre-modern representation of the Bushmen has become so commonplace that it has governed not only how our (the outsiders) perspective and expectation, but in some cases also that of the Bushmen (insiders) themselves. To explain; some of the ≠Khomani clan in the Northern Cape represent themselves in a pre-modern way, wearing skins in order to carry out tourism ventures, when in fact they wear a pair of jeans and a jacket at home. The bombardment of inaccurate/romanticised representations, by the media and authors, has direct side effects on these communities.

Representation, in the case of the !Xoo, is more complex. Unlike South Africa, Botswana do not practice liberal acceptance of all cultures and thus minority groups such as the !Xoo Bushmen often suffer at the hand of more 'educated' and powerful political and/or cultural adversaries. John Simpson notes that Festus Mogae, President of Botswana between 1998 and 2008, has called the San 'Stone Age creatures' and has labelled the removal of the Bushmen for their homeland as necessary for nature conservation (2006). These suggestions coincide with considerable natural resources and tourism ventures, which have considerable financial potential. One such venture is the Nqaa Khobee Xeya Trust, a Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) incentive (cf. Njagi 2005).

Robert Hitchcock, who has written a comprehensive account of the Bushman's struggle entitled *We Are the Owners of the Land':The San Struggle for the Kalahari and Its Resources*, explains that "The Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust, which was established on June 10, 1998 in western Kgalagadi District … is located in one of the Wildlife Management Areas of Kgalagadi District, KD 1 [and manages] some of the activities in the area, [which] include ecotourism, safari hunting, craft production and sale. The Trust has a lease agreement with a safari operator" (Hitchcock 2006: 244). However, Botswana's government issued a statement in 2000 that "trusts involved in CBNRM would no longer have the right to make their own decisions on natural resources or to retain their own funds generated from those resources, the benefits of the resources instead being, as one government official put it, a national resource, like diamonds" (Hitchcock 2006: 244).

Several reasons were cited, such as the "government and the district councils saw the sizable economic returns going to communities and wanted to capture some of those returns for themselves. Another reason [was] that San, who represented the majority of the trust members in some areas 'did not know how to manage their own organisations and funds'. A third reason given was that the CBNRM program could potentially result in user rights being transformed into ownership rights, something that government officials were concerned about" (Hitchcock 2006: 244). These reasons appear to be financially and economically motivated and did not recognise the capacity for the project to conserve and retain the !Xoo's culture.

Cultural conservation does not have the same financial potential. It is under the auspice of nature conservation and wildlife management that the government finds a suitable excuse to make life for the !Xoo more difficult and thus, increases the dependence of Bushman communities' living within Botswana's borders. The government's desire to modernise the

bushmen is contrasted by rations they deliver to these remote outer lying areas, where hunting is still a viable option.

Hunting is Durington's (2009) focus, which has specific importance to the practice of tracking, especially with the !Xoo in Ngwatle. His research reveals the historical, political and legislative issues at play in this community. The common representation of Bushmen is that they live a nomadic lifestyle, gathering fruit, roots and vegetables and hunting for meat or skins. Their use of poisoned arrows to kill prey is also another widely publicised idea (Lee & DeVore 1976). This is not to say that they do not hunt, gather or alternatively track, because they do. Cultural practices have evolved and been altered in the face of modernisation, or more accurately westernisation.

When talking to the head trackers/hunters of the !Xoo community, they are quick to deny practicing hunting. This is not surprising considering their treatment by local authorities[19]. Hunting in these communities takes place with snares, firearms, dogs and their trusty donkey steeds and horses. They do still track the animals, however, not always in the process of hunting, which will be analysed in more detail later.

The government has designated the area that encompasses Ngwatle and two other settlements, Ukhwi and Ncaang, as a hunting concession and desires the removal of the people. The !Xoo and other individuals in Ngwatle claim an ancestral right to the land. Simultaneously, the government prohibits individuals to hunt for their own subsistence and enforces the mandate with wildlife management officials. The community is not recognised officially by the government, although the state is responsible for sporadic food and water deliveries and seeks to register voters at election time. A private safari company that manages the hunting concession also wants people removed from Ngwatle and the surrounding area in order to retain 'pristine' conditions for hunters. They actively police individuals by plane and car with dire consequences if they are caught. Yet those in charge of the hunting concession want 'authentic Bushman' crafts to sell to these same hunters and their families (Durington 2009). Verification of these claims is a sensitive issue, because further investigation could lead to increased persecution for the !Xoo community. Following Durington's investigation, Ngwatle was formally recognised as a settlement in 2008, whilst the community suffers a similar predicament in the same conditions.

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[19]"If employees of the hunting concession or wildlife management saw them on the former hunting ground now appropriated by the hunting concession, the men would be arrested, their dogs shot on site and their donkey and saddle sold off. If the men were actually caught hunting, they also faced jail time in Gaborone" (Durington 2009).

Through Durington's article it becomes clear that the !Xoo are facing two sets of problems. The first is that the Bushmen of the Kalahari have the same problems as those faced by many marginalised communities situated within an underdeveloped third world context; such as land dispossession, hunger and thirst, alcoholism, domestic violence and the rapidly escalating HIV/AIDS infection rate "on top of the almost omnipresent tuberculosis that exists in different communities" (2009: 199). These are realities faced by the !Xoo community.

The second set relates to problems created through social and political pressure, such as racial oppression, cultural discrimination and financial pressure and are exhibited by forced inclusion, opposed to the traditional exclusion. !Xoo community members live on the land re-designated by the government as part of a hunting concession and yet they are expected to be part of the ecotourism in the area, by means of selling crafts, under the auspice of being an ancient civilisation. Furthermore, the "largest contradiction is in terms of hunting, for it is the Bushman as a skilled hunter that is the predominant myth portrayed through ecotourism, NGO and development agendas. Yet, free hunting for subsistence without quotas has now been taken away. Thus, one is caught in a semantic dilemma that has real life consequences" (Durington 2009: 199). These are then challenges and "what actually happens when stereotypes run into reality" (Durington 2009: 204).

Dyll explains that, "although the Ngwatle community evidences more social cohesion, a clearer identity and cultural stability than do the ≠Khomani at Witdraai (Simões 2001), Botswana's resistance to acknowledge the rights of the Ngwatle Bushmen threatens a loss of cultural stability, pride and access to a rich diversity of resources. On the other hand, South Africa's recognition of the rights associated with anybody who was displaced from their land has fortunately resulted in a return of land to the ≠Khomani. This land restitution also doubles as a sign of respect for their traditional knowledge and heritage of the Bushmen. However, there is danger in that the land claim may be a purely symbolic return of rights as SASI's focus on cultural tourism may limit their ability to optimise use of the reclaimed land by farming (2004: 75).

Stereotypes Dispelled: Alternative ways of viewing tracking
When considering tracking as a cultural practice, it is natural for one to assume that the quarry is an animal. However, Liebenberg (1990: 72) introduces other uses of tracking – such as human spoor interpretation, which is often overlooked when examining tracking as a whole. Modern-day society relies on mobile phone technology to locate/'track' individuals by means of a phone call, criminal investigation or more recently through purpose built mobile

applications. How is this possible in rural areas where little or no cellular reception exists, or people do not have the funds to make frequent, somewhat 'unnecessary' phone calls? This is not a question that many people, who are situated within a modern society, need to consider or question. However, tracking is a viable solution to this problem in the remotest areas where this phenomenon is still a reality. Another aspect that we do not usually associate with tracking is the hunting of human beings – the tracking down of fugitives/criminals. How is it possible to find unidentified individuals who do not wish to be found? Liebenberg documents some cases where tracking is used to locate and capture poachers or other criminals. The SADF, in the late 1970s (Mill 1987), recruited Bushmen into its ranks in order to track and locate enemy forces.

Liebenberg, despite his contribution of extensive literature on first-hand tracking as well as tracking in other contexts, makes little or no reference to tracking's representation or stereotypes. "Cultural evolution" (1990: 29) is a concept that he mentions, however he fails to explore in its 21st century context, which is a slight departure from my focus. Cultural evolution, which I define as culture in a constant state of flux, and adaptation to an ever-changing environment is frequently exhibited in a modernisation context. The ≠Khomani and !Xoo are ideal candidates as micro examples, within the sphere of modernisation, the effects of which are more visible in lesser developed communities, such as the aforementioned.

Stereotypes Dispelled: Tracking as Literacy
Another characteristic mentioned (in the form or reading), but not explored in great detail by Liebenberg, is tracking as a form of literacy. The omission of the idea of tracking as literacy is not a limitation of Liebenberg's work. However, the concept serves as an extension and link to Chamberlin's publication *If This is Your Land, Where are Your Stories* (2004) and is used as a source in another particularly relevant article entitled *Hunting, Tracking and Reading* (2001).

Chamberlin refers to certain colonial stereotypes of aboriginal cultures; no written culture implies no civilisation existed and illiteracy means that a culture is underdeveloped (Chamberlin 2001: 2). Although "Reading and Writing are fundamental skills in civilised society, it wasn't always so" (Chamberlin 2001: 8). Proficient tracking is spoken about as if it were a romanticised skill, which almost makes the practice seem somewhat trivial. Chamberlin links tracking and reading through the imaginary world of semiotics[20]. A mark in the sand is just a mark in the sand if one does not have the knowledge to identify it. "The one

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[20] The study of signs, which create meaning when read in relation to one another (Tomaselli 1996).

thing hunters know when they see the track of an animal is that the animal isn't there. That's all they know. And they know that's all they know" (Chamberlin 2001: 1).

Tracking involves a complex understanding about representation. Chamberlin draws a link through the process of learning. "Learning about representation, learning about the contradiction of signification, which is also what we do when we learn to read" (Chamberlin 2001: 2). This contradiction refers to the process whereby we learn that a word is just the representation of the object and not the object itself. In a similar manner, trackers need to learn the representational relationship between the track and the animal. Pressure towards traditional literacy (reading and writing) stems from the need to learn at school and work in particular occupations. Balancing ledgers, writing literature and refinement are directed towards financial gain or fame through financial gain. However, what happens in societies where these goals are not prevalent? There will still be development, but in the applicable contextual trend. Chamberlin explains the phenomenon of tracking from an abstract philosophical perspective along this vein of thought, however, his writing raises and important question that I will seek to answer; how can tracking be comparable to literacy?

What became clear through my research is that stereotypes and misinformed representations abound in Bushmen literature – with regards to the physical appearance of the Bushmen, the innate tracking ability of Bushmen, romanticised notions of tracking and hunting as well as alternative uses for tracking within the everyday lives of the Bushmen. Correspondingly, the relationship between representation, stereotypes and varying facets of culture, such as identity, in the !Xoo and ≠Khomani communities provides an interesting point of discussion.

Bushman Identity: Specific to the !Xoo and ≠Khomani Communities

Anthea Simões' Masters dissertation, *Issues of identity in relation to the Kalahari Bushmen of Southern Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Bushmen Groups During the Late 1990's and into 2001* (2001), deals with issues of identity and representation of the !Xoo and ≠Khomani communities. These issues are of direct importance, because identity often defines how cultures exist and, in the case of my dissertation, how cultural practices are practiced. Norman Pachler, John Cook and Ben Bachmair define cultural practices as "routines, which are typical for a particular culture and type of situation" (2010: 221). In this sense it is possible to understand that certain cultures act in particular ways (practice) depending on what circumstance (situation) they are in. Very often cultural practices inform a culture's identity or lead to the development of stereotypes, something that shall be interrogated in relation to the ≠Khomani and !Xoo communities.

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Land rights, for both the ≠Khomani and !Xoo, are a highly political issue in relation to "interethnic competition and survival" (Simões 2001: 124). The ≠Khomani live within a "political framework where authentication of a particular mythical, traditional Bushman image is essential for 'bargaining' power and ties in with Hall's first model of identity as a 'fixed essence'" (Hall 1990; Simões 2001: 124). The ≠Khomani represent themselves in the image of the pre-modern Bushmen, whereas the !Xoo have "not yet reached this level of reconstruction or invention" (Simões 2001: 124). This is arguably because Ngwatle receives less tourist or media interaction and "media and tourist discursive practices… constitute Bushmen in terms of the first model of identity" (Simões 2001: 122). 'Adopting' this constructed identity, by certain members of the ≠Khomani community, allows them to gain donations, sponsorship and bargaining power. Botswana, however, does not recognise the rights of Bushmen, and supports the Bushmen's ability to join mainstream society. In comparison, to the South African context, validating ones authenticity, as a Bushman, does not hold any 'bargaining' power for members of the !Xoo community in Botswana to lay claim to land or funding.

The aforementioned issues pertaining to Bushman identity have particular relevance to tracking. Stereotypes about Bushmen as world-renowned hunters and trackers are amongst the most publicised. Again, this does not mean that the !Xoo or ≠Khomani are incapable hunters or trackers; however, there is the possibility that may represent themselves in a different capacity because of their awareness of Bushman stereotypes. It is in this vein that the ≠Khomani wear skins and carry bows and arrows to present themselves within popular media representation of Bushmen, when in reality they wear modern clothes and use dogs, donkeys and firearms to hunt. They do still practice tracking, however the cultural practice is not as narrow as the media depict it.

Simões' dissertation with her focus on representation and identity informs my own work on different level. Her comparative analysis focuses on the two aforementioned Bushmen communities and serves as an ideal point of entry into my own work. Simões explains the connection of the two groups as, "two completely different Bushmen (ethnic) groups whose only common characteristic appears to be their claim to Bushmen identity" (Simões 2001: 5). This may be evident when analysing the groups from a representation perspective, however there are definite links in the spheres of cultural practice and a shared history of persecution. To explain in more detail, Simões extends her explanations with reference to Stuart Hall's (1990) models of essentialist and non-essentialist identity.

Hall explains that the essentialist model "reflects the common experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history" (1990: 223). The essentialism refers to the traditional and presupposed shared culture that is exhibited by people in similar cultural groups and "emphasis is therefore placed on the unified identity that can be rediscovered by excavating a common, historical culture" (Simões 2001: 2). Conceptually, essentialism relates to stereotypes and representation of Bushmen in their pre-modern make-up, because "cultural identity is seen as a fixed origin to which we can make a final and absolute return… a universal and transcendental spirit inside us on which history has made no fundamental mark" (Hall 1990: 226).

Simões explains, in relation to the ≠Khomani and !Xoo that "the struggle over representations of identity here takes the form of a contesting negative image with a positive one and of trying to discover the 'authentic' and 'original' content of the identity" (2001: 2). Considering the aforementioned stereotypes, associated with Bushmen, what becomes apparent is the media and mythical representation that fit in with the essentialist notions of identity.

On the other hand, the non-essentialist model of identity "defines cultural identity as a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being' (Simões 2001: 2). Thus, "Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they (cultural identities), are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identifies are the name we give the different way we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (Hall 1990: 225).

Similar to notions of objectivity, which can never be complete, are representations that oppose reality. "Simply put, fully constituted, separate and distinct identities are perceived to be impossible and are always relational and incomplete in process… formulations about the fragmentation of the unified, modern subject as evidenced by the progression from the first to the second model, occur within the context of the processes of globalisation" (Simões 2001: 2). Simões uses globalisation as a central cause; however, within the sphere of globalisation there are also elements of westernisation and modernisation that play an equally large and immeasurable effect on both culture and identity within culture.

The essentialist and non-essentialist models serve as reference points for identity and representation in the !Xoo and ≠Khomani communities. However, my interest in these modes of identity and representation are linked to cultural practice as part of the greater 'culture'.

The ≠Khomani Bushmen are aware of the stereotype of Bushmen as hunters and trackers; they foreground this aspect in their self-representation. This facet implies that they (the ≠Khomani) may choose to represent themselves in the essentialist 'Bushman' mould, however with closer inspection; it is evident that they also have unintentional tendencies towards the non-essentialist paradigms. Therefore their identity, as trackers, falls within the blurred overlapping frames of the essentialist and non- essentialist models.

The !Xoo, on the other hand, do not appear to represent themselves in the pre-modern way like their counterparts in South Africa. They are aware of society's interest in their ability as trackers; however, do not draw the essence of their identity or represent themselves in light of this. This lack of representation was visible because the !Xoo have been interviewed by CCMS academics on topics pertaining to tracking on a number of occasions, but do not appear to claim their knowledge as special or different (Fieldnotes 2005).

Identity is important, because in the sphere of globalisation and modernisation, the way a culture is depicted often defines how the culture is understood. Furthermore, in a country as diverse as South Africa, many individuals within a culture would seek to confirm these stereotypes as a way of remaining a distinct culture. This is only one possibility, but in the example of the ≠Khomani identity means of survival; in the sense that they live on land issued to them and sell trinkets that have value because of their culture, because they are Bushmen. Neither Dyll, Hall nor Simões deal with cultural practice or the concept of cultural shifts. However, my use of the term refers to the concept of 'culture in a constant state of flux'.

The concept of representation, stereotype and identity present a great point of entry into key questions that I will be seeking to answer. Firstly, how do the Khomani and !Xoo represent tracking? In other words, what does tracking mean to the ≠Khomani and !Xoo? Correspondingly, what are their respective economies of tracking and how do the ≠Khomani and !Xoo use tracking as a means of survival within a modernising world?

Indigenous Communities in the Modern World

Chamberlin's (2004) auto-ethnographic account of various indigenous people (who he refers to as aboriginal people) includes the ≠Khomani, who have been displaced or oppressed by colonisation. His framework is a philosophical/abstract discussion of indigenous cultures and how they have coped with various pressures exerted by colonisation. In such contexts, colonisation is a starting point for modernisation, since modern culture, technology and

politics were introduced to communities that had previously lived a far different existence. Chamberlin makes sense of tracking from interaction with indigenous people and their memories and derives meaning through these interactions; he does not reference first-hand knowledge of tracking.

The main focus of Chamberlin's book is culture, or more specifically the loss thereof. In order for a culture to diminish, be threatened or become extinct does not necessarily have to be connected with a loss of the original tribe/culture; there could be a link between this traditionalist approach and an extension of what Liebenberg calls cultural evolution. Chamberlin (2004: 93) deals with the loss of language and the effects this has on culture; there is a direct reference to the ≠Khomani of the Northern Cape and what the challenges they face in post-apartheid South Africa. A distinct possibility is that a certain 'people' may lose elements or traditions that have, defined their people, in popular discourse, as a distinct culture.

Another important point, is Chamberlin's account of the land claims and the criteria whereby the Government re-constituted some land to ≠Khomani. The criterion of language was the most poignant and somewhat the most distinguishing element of cultural classification, during these hearings. In the case of different ethnic groups, originating from San culture, there are well-known stereotypes that are permeated through the media and popular representation. Language is a one of the most recognised stereotypes, which is echoed where Chamberlin notes, "They were the ≠Khomani, and a small group of so-called Bushmen, and the language they spoke was strange, even to the linguist who was me" (2004: 107). Chamberlin (2004: 103) notes that during the time of the land claim hearings there was much consternation about language and there was a question as to whether any member of the ≠Khomani 'family' could still speak the language fluently, which the answer was yes, one person - Elsie Vaalbooi. This finding sped up the process of the land claims and was eventually the trump card in the hearing. The lack of written evidence alluding to the history of the reconstituted clan, synonymous with their claim to the land, was overlooked due to the power of an indigenous language (Chamberlin 2004: 107).

There is the false assumption that all San speak the same language, or speak the language at all. Each ethnic group speaks a different language, which to the untrained ear sounds the same. In this sense, language is both a cultural and ethnic determinant, which if not retrained and retained will lead to a relative redundancy of a culture. Harry Triandis defines culture as "a set of human-made objective and subjective elements that in the past have increased the

probability of survival and resulted in satisfaction for the participants in an ecological niche, and thus became shared among those who could communicate with each other because they had a common language and they lived in the same time and place" (1994: 23). Therefore the ability to 'communicate' and having a 'common language' is part of a much broader set of social side effects that arise when existing within an 'ecological niche'. Language, however, is not the only determinant of culture and does not determine the whole of the culture. You can still tell and re-tell age old stories in tongues other to the one it was initially told in. Correspondingly, language acts as a symbolic force in a globalising world and the loss there-of acts as visible or more audible loss of culture to those external to the ethnic culture.

Dyll explains that it is important to avoid viewing different ethnic groups of Bushmen as one homogenous group" (2004: 14), whereas Simões points to the occasions where "a single term is required to describe common experiences between certain groups in southern Africa" (2001:11). Both opinions can hold some weight, however it is a difficult task to interpret when and when not to use the particular tags. Gordon points out the possibility that words obtain their meaning from the social context in which they are used and it should be possible to recast the same term and infuse it with new meaning (1992). As rational as this third and more abstract solution may sound, it is arguable that the foreseeable future will see the continued use of the term Bushmen, simply because it has a recognisable classification that has more meaning on the international front. When asking both the ≠Khomani and !Xoo, they concurred saying that they would prefer to be called simply *Boesman* (Bushmen), because that's what they have been called for years (Fieldnotes 2007). They are either impartial or slightly insulted by the term San and very few people would recognise their clan names of !Xoo or ≠Khomani (Fieldnotes 2005, 2007).

The literature reviewed above aimed to introduce stereotypes, representations and myths around the Bushmen with regards to their identity and culture, but also in relation to tracking and hunting. It was also important to highlight the context that the Bushmen find themselves within today wherein cultural practices and usual ways of living everyday life are being transformed due to globalising forces and modern ways of living being infiltrated to even the remotest community.

Chapter Three: Tracking Through the Theory

In this chapter, theories that are relevant to the construction of this dissertation will be introduced, namely the Globalisation thesis (cf. Giddens 1990; Thompson 1995; Rantanen 2005) and theories of Cultural Studies, particularly identity construction and representation (cf. Hall 1990; Simões 2001). These theories will direct the analysis of the collected data as well as serve as a lens with which to read into the phenomenon for tracking within two Bushmen communities in contemporary society.

Globalisation Theory

Globalisation is a 'buzz-word' in many academic disciplines. Theorists and academics are quick to connect different phenomena with globalisation. Tracey Skelton and Tim Allen explain how Global has become a popular adjective in recent years. There are three main reasons for this. The first is simply the lack of an alternative way of indicating the whole world … The second reason is that there is a generally recognised need to describe worldwide events and processes… The third relates to the need to explain these characteristics in relation to the growing immigration and internationalisation of populations and 'culture' (1999: 1).

Anthony Giddens (1990) separates the theorisation of globalisation into three 'phases'. The *first* phase was when academics debated whether globalisation existed. The *second* phase heralded the acknowledgment that globalisation existed and theorists debated on what its effects are. The *third* phase is where theorists hypothesised about how we can combat the negative effects of globalisation. Following on from this distinction and consistent with the third phase, this dissertation is concerned with raising awareness about globalisation effects opposed to merely documenting what the effects of globalisation are.

However, not all theorists are in agreement about what globalisation is or what its effects are. David Held and Anthony McGrew (2000) separate globalisation theorists into three groups: the 'hyperglobalisers, sceptics and transformalists'. Hyperglobalisers, he explains, believe that globalisation will lead to the end of the nation states. The sceptics believe that globalisation is just a myth or hoax and is actually just heightened economic activity. Lastly, the transformalists believe that globalisation is the single driving force behind the rapidly changing modern-world and society. Hence, it is clear that there is much debate surrounding globalisation, but what is it?

Defining Globalisation

There are several definitions for globalisation. Giddens (1990) defines globalisation as "the intensification of world-wide social relations, which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and visa versa (1990: 64). This definition speaks to the idea that international communication and interaction has become easier and more frequent. Moreover it points out how foreign events can have a profound effect on the local elsewhere. Roland Robertson explains how "globalisation as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (1992: 8). This points out how the world is made to seem 'smaller', due to the increased global interconnectedness. Robertson acknowledges the increase in consciousness or 'awareness' in society in general, which is important, because many theorists choose to focus on the mechanical/tangible effects; opposed to the more abstract notions such as identity etc. Chris Barker outlines that, "of course, globalisation is neither experienced nor to be understood solely in economic terms for it also concerns questions of cultural meaning and the intensification of global consciousness" (Barker 1999: 36).

Terhi Rantanen offers a more contemporary definition of globalisation as "a process in which worldwide economic, political, cultural and social relations have become increasingly mediated across time and space" (2005: 8). In the past, theorists have acknowledged the effects of the media, but have not made it a central focus of their study. Linking her explanation of globalisation, whether economic/political/cultural, directly to mediation, Rantanen offers us a cause and effect of globalisation. Through these definitions it is possible to outline the features that characterise globalisation and are important in light of this dissertation.

The Effects of Globalisation

There are several implications or consequences of globalisation, however only three, which are relevant to this study are introduced, namely homogenisation, heterogenisation and time-space compression.

Homogenisation refers to the way that elements of societies are becoming more similar to other societies. It is referred to in cultural, political and economic terms. The convergence of cultures is often related to other theories which depict a trend of homogenisation, such as

Americanisation[21] and internationalisation. Theodore Levitt describes the processes of homogenisation as "everywhere everything gets more and more like everything else as the world's preference structure is relentlessly homogenised" (1983: 93). Therefore, there is a flow of influence (towards homogenisation) from more powerful to less powerful countries. This effect can be seen in the way that in African countries many people dress and adopt the styles of African-American hip-hop artists.

Heterogenisation, on the other hand, refers to the counter-ability of globalisation to proliferate culture and promote cultural diversity (cf. Castells 1996; Robertson 1990, 1995). In this sense, citizens gain a new and fuller sense of identity and cultural distinction by being aware of how their cultures are unique. This effect is created through the wider reach that the media and culture has in the globalisation context. This concept also speaks to ideas of hybridisation and the fractured nature of post-modernity, which refers to the ability for people to choose different parts of culture that appeal to them and incorporate it into their own bricolage of identity/culture/personality (cf. Castells 1996; Robertson 1990, 1995).

Time-space compression refers to effect of mobile electronic media, whereby one has the ability to transcend time and space and communicate, interact and exist in the virtual realm. One has the ability to have an impact on several continents simultaneously through the network of the World Wide Web. In this sense, globalisation has broken the restraint that time and space once caused in society, which is extremely relevant in relation to communication and media technology. Fiona Allon (2004) explains that "the growth of global information networks, the wide-spread adoption of personal computers and their related networks of everyday communication, along with the pervasive reach of digital technologies in general, have led to further spatial and temporal dislocations and to significant realignments of social life and social space" (2004: 253). Communication is easier than it has ever been with the inception of modern technology. However, time-space compression also has social implications, because one has potential to interact with anyone across the globe – provided they have access to the Internet or other communication technology such as mobile phones, which are becoming ever more available (cf. Giddens 1990; Held & McGrew 1999; Rantanen 2005). Media and communications technology and its effect on time and space are making the world appear a great deal 'smaller'.

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[21] Americanisation refers to the adoption of American specific culture by non Americans, such as; fast food chains that were made popular in America and distributed worldwide e.g.MacDonalds. (cf. Marling 2006) Macdonalds is recognised as quintessentially American.

Through these criteria it is possible to understand what the effects of globalisation are and what globalisation is. The importance of globalisation, in relation to this dissertation, relates to its effects are on concepts such as cultural identity, stereotypes, representation, cultural practices and general cultural convergence (cf. Giddens 1990; Thompson 1995; Rantanen 2005). The two Bushman communities focused upon live in extremely remote areas and are thus presumably somewhat less affected by the processes of globalisation. The following summary will present prevalent globalisation theories and interrogate how they connect with this dissertation.

Globalisation, Identity and a Lost Sense of Community

Thompson defines globalisation as "the growing interconnectedness of different parts of the world, a process which gives rise to complex forms of interaction and interdependency" (1995: 149). Identity and representation, in the cultural context, have become a great deal more complex due to influences imposed by globalisation. These elements, which were once defined or controlled to a large degree by the context, are now part of a much more mobile and dynamic cultural flow. The increased mobility is largely due to the ever increasingly mobile mass communications technology cf. Barker 1999; Giddens 1990; Held & McGrew 1999; Thompson 1995; Tomlinson 1999; Schirato and Webb 2006). However, Tony Shirato and Jen Webb's book *Understanding Globalisation* poses the question of "for who is globalisation real and in what ways?" (2006: 9). This question raises a more critical stance towards globalisation, which is applicable in the context of the two subject communities of this dissertation.

As mentioned above, "technology is one of the most prominent of the many areas used to characterise globalisation, and the new communication technologies in particular are seen to by many people as having radically changed the way the world works" (Schirato and Webb 2006:47). Technology may herald the end of the 'information age', where all have a somewhat equal chance to find and utilise information (cf. Giddens 1990; Rantanen 2005; Thompson 1995). However technology also has a definite effect on identity, cultural and otherwise, because more people are introduced to stereotypes and western norms. Globalisation is pinpointed to be the central link between "technology and cultural convergence" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 56). The alteration of cultural identity stems from the aforementioned characteristics of global homogenisation and increased westernisation. However, these characteristics are more often than not assumed and connected only to fashion/clothing and consumption patterns. The effects of globalisation are becoming more deeply entrenched than the mere superficial external effects.

Therefore globalisation may have some homogenising as illustrated below effects in a global society, hence its connection with concepts words and concepts such as internationalisation, westernisation and Americanisation. 'Macro'[22] effects can be seen in the way that fashion and media are globally popular at one time. There are some theorists, such as John Tomlinson, who contend that this argument is fundamentally flawed and that globalisation is 'the most significant force in creating and proliferating cultural identity' (1999: np). Another point of entry into globalisation "is to identify the social role of technology, the ways in which it is accommodated by the social, political and economic fields and the limits on its effects" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 51). It is quite possible to understand the negative effects of technology in this sense, however there are also highly positive implications too. For instance, "communication technology brings cultures together. "It allows us to ignore the limitations of our bodies and keeps us alert to the constant flow of the world to us" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 57). It also allows society to be within 'closer' proximity of other cultures, thus having the potential to raise awareness and highlight the diversity of our globe. Furthermore, Ien Ang observes that "in the increasingly integrated world system there is no such thing possible as an independent cultural identity; every identity must define and position itself in relation to the cultural frames affirmed by the world system" (1996: 45).

Identity, as Manuel Castells defines it, is "the construction of meaning, the meaning of actions by social actors on the basis of social attributes" and is "made material with the works of history and experience" (1996: 115). Ethnicity and proximity to a particular culture were central distinguishing factors in distinguishing one's identity; however, the processes of globalisation have contributed greatly to the complexity of identity. In the past (prior to the internet and highly mobile communications technology) culture (and identity) was substantially more stable (or less rapidly in a state of flux) than what is found in society today. This is largely because "traditional cultural formations and community identity are now mediated by technologies and discourses, and particularly the role of the… communications technologies – the increased mobility of ideas, capital and people - in transforming cultural fields" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 131). Correspondingly, it is possible to understand how "identities are constituted in (and through) cultural representations (including those produced by television) with which 'we' identify" (Barker 1999: 33). Through this explanation, it is no surprise that "globalisation is frequently claimed to be destructive of cultural identity" (Held & McGrew 2000: 236).

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[22] Macro refers to processes on a global level (cf. Giddens 1999).

In order to analyse what effects globalisation has had on identity and culture, then one must also interrogate how ethnicity has changed, because the two are interrelated. The formation of "ethnic groups relies on shared cultural signifiers which have developed under specific historical, social and political contexts and which encourage a sense of belonging often based, or at least in part, on a common mythological ancestry" (Barker 1999: 62). The 'sense of belonging' that Barker refers to also has resonance in terms of identity. Stuart Hall (1996) recognised that ethnicity also acknowledged 'the place of history, language and culture', which are all important in the 'construction of identity'. However, he also identifies the fact that all discourse is "placed, positioned, situated and all knowledge is contextual" (Hall 1996: 446). Ethnicity was once connected to context and situation, in the sense that different ethnicities/cultures inhabited a particular area, region or country. In other words, "[to] a very large extent the subject has always been a territorial identity: *in place* as a member of a kinship group; *in place* as part of an ethnic collectivity; and definitely *in place* under the national principle of territoriality" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 148).

However, globalisation "changes the connection between (identity) and context, because it transforms social understanding of time and place, the limitations on the body, and the wider question of being" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 142). This concept speaks to the fractured nature of contemporary identity that many individuals represent, resulting from the multiple identities that individuals assume in modern society (through the internet, cellphone networks etc). In contrast it is argued that "globalisation has problematised 'identity' in many parts of the world, where previously the routines of everyday life were such that identity was not a central concern" (Held & McGrew 2000: 237).

Ethnicity also remains one of the areas of identity where individuals might assume within a collective identity. In this way, "'Identity' develops out of a particular combination of social contexts, personal experiences, and one's relation to objective structures (such as hospitals, schools and universities) (Schirato and Webb 2006: 139). Therefore, an individual acquires an identity through interaction with their 'community'. However, "these past conditions, or 'history', are forgotten in the interests of producing the fantasy of the subject as self-constituted and autonomous" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 139). Younger generations with technological access are increasingly part of an online 'virtual community'. Technology, being one of the central driving forces of globalisation, has profound consequences on society and "transforms the 'identity', the idea of the subject, and the constituents of collective identity because it breaks down the natural connection being identity and the physical body, identity and place, identity and tradition" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 152).

Following from identity, another important concept to consider is stereotyping. "Stereotypes are regarded as vivid but simple representations which reduce persons to a set of exaggerated, usually negative character traits. Thus stereotyping reduces, essentialises, naturalises and fixes 'difference'" (Barker 1999: 36). The Bushmen are highly stereotyped through television, advertising and film etc. Growing audience numbers through increased access and growing technology worldwide accelerate the effects of globalisation; thus, more people have more access to the media's stereotyping. If one considers that the media shapes and constructs many peoples' understanding of the world, then the power of the stereotype is extremely relevant. The other side of the coin is that globalisation has an equally huge potential to make positive changes in society. This is not used as part of an argument for/about homogenisation, but more about the effects of "globalisation as a tool for creating awareness about representation and stereotypes of cultural identity" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 152).

Identity and stereotypes, or more specifically the !Xoo and ≠Khomani's knowledge thereof, is important because it will allow me to identify whether they represent tracking in a particular way, and if so, why is this the case? Additionally, it will also allow a point of entry into what tracking means to the ≠Khomani and !Xoo in a modern context. However, in order to do so it vital to comprehend tracking as a cultural practice.

Cultural Studies: Defining Cultural Studies

Richard Hoggart was responsible for the official formation of 'cultural studies' after founding the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in 1964. However, the CCCS gained more recognition since it was associated with Hoggart's successor, Stuart Hall (cf. Hartley 2003; During 1999; Morley 1996). Defining cultural studies (as an autonomous academic discipline) is difficult, largely because it has the capacity to include a massive range of foci. John Hartley explains that there are various off-shoots and sub disciplines of cultural studies such as: "cultural studies and literary criticism, cultural studies and art history, cultural studies and mass society theory, cultural studies and political economy, cultural studies and teaching, cultural studies and publishing; although this dissertation uses the approach of cultural studies and anthropology/sociology", which also explains why he loosely defines cultural studies as the 'philosophy of plenty' (Hartley 2003: 13).

Many theorists within the field of cultural studies characterise cultural studies with its interrogation and intellectual concerns about 'power, meaning, identity and subjectivity in modern societies' (cf. Williams 1995; Hall 1990; Simões 2001; Hartley 2003). One can locate

one of cultural studies' characteristics in the way that it interrogates everyday life (cf. Williams 1995; Hall 1990; Simões 2001; Hartley 2003). Initially, theorists focused predominantly on "modern, urban and suburban societies" (Hartley 2003: 121), however there has been an expansion of scope into all aspects of culture – including even anthropological cultural studies in some of the most remote regions.

Hartley outlines several ways in which cultural studies was characterised:

- "[R]espect for ordinary life", which relates to the suggestion that much academic work has been preoccupied with the extraordinary or is somewhat 'sensationalist' opposed to focusing on the ordinary or 'everyday' (cf. Williams 1988; Hartley 2003).
- "[A] willingness to pursue culture into intermediate and otherwise despised or disregarded zones, the paradigm example of which was suburbia" (Hartley 2003: 13), which pertains to the argument between the worth of high and popular culture (cf. Hoggart 1958, Hall 1990).
- An "openness to textuality of everyday life, and the role of media, symbol and audiences within it" (Hartley 2003: 13). This point reflects the realisation of how entrenched the media has become in our lives as individuals and an audience; furthermore, the growing complexity of these relationships.
- Displays a direct "interest in entertainment and pop culture – the modern (not to mention post-modern) aspects of everyday life" (Hartley 2003: 14).
- Cultural Studies exhibits "a propensity (following from above) to focus analysis on consumption, a neglected field in other intellectual paradigms" (Hartley 2003: 14). Where many disciplines had shown a focus on the production of messages as the chief, and in some cases, the only conveyor of meaning – cultural studies paid great attention to the consumption of messages and audience reception as a form of message dissemination (cf. Hall 1990; Tomaselli 1996; Simões 2001).
- Cultural Studies found "interest in how people negotiated the management of their everyday lives and bodies by corporate and state agencies" (Hartley 2003: 13). The last point reflects the growing awareness/consciousness of both academics and audiences towards mass media and communication.

These characteristics point to the way cultural studies is "dedicated to the study of expansion of difference in human affairs (during an era of increasing globalisation, corporate concentration and technological integration of those affairs) (Hartley 2003: 10). Raised intellectual concerns pertaining to power, meaning, identity and subjectivity in modern societies characterise cultural studies and connect with the aforementioned ideas concerning

consciousness towards media (cf. Hall 1990; Leistyna 2005; Morley 1996). Therefore cultural studies developed through an attempt to "recover and promote marginal, unworthy or despised regions, identities, practices and media" (Hartley 2003: 10). Therefore, in some ways, cultural studies became an 'activist' of sorts for the 'minority'; a critical enterprise devoted to 'displacing, decentring, demystifying and deconstructing 'the common sense of 'dominant discourses' (cf. Hall 1990; Morley 1996; Hartley 2003). "Cultural studies attempted to make sense of everyday life within the terms of its ongoing inquiry into meaning, power, ideology and subjectivity in contemporary societies. It undertook an anthropology of modern, mediated, managed, multicultural life" (Hartley 2003; 121).

Following from the previous concepts of interrogating representation and stereotypes was a very strong devotion to notions of difference (sex, class, ethnicity, region, age, nation, lifestyle, etc.) (cf. Hall 1990; Morley 1996; Hartley 2003). Instead of highlighting elements of pluralism in society as either problems or quirky elements of society; cultural studies celebrated cultural diversity. "Cultural diversity, ethnic diasporas and multiculturalism were seen as fundamental both to cultural studies itself and to communities in which it was interested, whether these were geographically located (by city or nation) or identified by some other marker ('the gay community' etc.)" (Hartley 2003: 122). Therefore, tracking can be displaced from the idea of a monolithic category. If the mass media was responsible for the creation of dominant discourses, hegemony and ideology present in society, then cultural studies was the tool whereby intellectuals attempted to place the audience on even ground by raising social consciousness. As Hartley (2003) states, "cultural studies was on the lookout for the workings of power, curious about the everyday as a symptom of something else – struggles, ideologies, oppressions, power structures" (Hartley 2003: 121). In this sense the everyday was not appropriated towards a generalised society, where there was a standardised everyday for everyman. Instead, "the everyday life brought into view by cultural studies was suffused with media, power, difference and modern administrative strategies, and was characterised by mixture, ambiguity, hybridity, commerce and democratisation" (Hartley 2003: 123).

If cultural studies incorporated and connected to so many disciplines, then how can it be realised as a distinct discipline itself? In other words: What separates and what does one stand to gain from participating in cultural studies in comparison to other disciplines? One aspect as mentioned before is the "positive contribution of cultural studies to the study of everyday life came from those distinctive features that differentiated it somewhat from its disciplinary, intellectual and political neighbours" (Hartley 2003: 122). Cultural studies was like sociology and anthropology in several ways. They all had interest in human behaviour, social

conditions, representation and identity; however, they differed quite considerably in application. "Where sociology and anthropology were generalising, classifying and theorising disciplines, cultural studies retained some of its literary-critical mind-set, with a devotion to detailed and passionate engagement with the particular" (Hartley 2003: 124). In many ways the method of cultural studies was unlike sociology and anthropology, because, cultural studies' was relatively indifferent to the scale of those parts of everyday life that caught its analytical eye" (Hartley 2003: 123). Therefore, sociology and anthropology was somewhat preoccupied with the more obvious aspects of society and human behaviour and cultural studies attempted to be more aware of the 'microscopic' idiosyncrasies within these fields of interest. A contrast is noted in the scale of focus. Recognition was based on the particularity and accuracy of ones study opposed to how big/recognisable the project undertaken was.

Correspondingly, I wish to make sense of tracking as a cultural practice and position it within a framework of analysis as outlined above. Cultural Studies allows for a highly focused opposed to an extensive study, which in turn allows me to analyse tracking in more detail. Accordingly I will attempt to continue the tradition of cultural studies to recover, promote and demystify the practice of tracking.

Cultural Studies and Representation

Representation is a concept close to the heart of cultural studies for many reasons. Stereotypes are created through an accepted representation of a culture, race, people etc. This raises questions pertaining to power, hegemony and ideology, because there is always the question of who is responsible for the representation in question and what the purpose of that representation is.

Representation is important in the context of the Bushmen as mentioned above. Many theorists have done much critical academic work focused on representation and stereotypes of Bushmen (cf. Gordon 1992; Tomaselli 1998; Simões 2001; Dyll 2004; Durington 2009). These issues relate to cultural studies as a discipline, though not entirely in the 'popular culture' context it originated within, because there is a distinct relevance towards the concepts of protecting/paying attention to marginalised communities (which is evident in the context of the Bushmen).

Representation of Bushmen in dominant discourse is steeped in a long tradition of othering (cf. Tomaselli 2007; Gordon 1992). One merely has to read any Western media that analyses

or reports to understand the vast incorporation of negative stereotypes and representations of the African continent. Much of the Western media's treatment of Africa, on a whole, continues to perpetuate the stereotypes and myths (cf. Fru Doh 2009). Roland Barthes argued that "myths are form of ideological distortion of reality, and in particular, on that presents that which is a product of contingency as natural and therefore, eternal" (1972: 124). The idea of an 'ideological distortion of reality' feeds directly into concept of representation dominant discourse, to the extent that the representation/stereotype is normalised.

This normalisation is reaffirmed through novels, academic articles and films from the past (cf. Jung 1961; Van der Post 1958; Uys 1980). This phenomenon has direct implications on non-Africans, who do not have firsthand knowledge of Africa and believe that in representations of the 'Dark Continent'. Of course with every negative theorist there is a critical theorist doing good work against unjust stereotyping (cf. Tomaselli 1996; Simões 2001; Dyll 2004; Durington 2009). One fear is that dominant discourse through mass media, especially with the inception of electronic media, is more accessible to the general public and overhauls critical academic work.

Another element of cultural studies is that the phase of 'representation' relies on the art of description. Description is an extremely difficult concept to 'get right' largely because each person experiences, visualises and remembers each situation differently. As Geertz puts it

> The descriptions are still the describer's descriptions and the 'dialogue' is still edited, constructed and presented by the ethnographer – the burden or critical responsibility is, in this sense, inescapable, whether the material is finally presented in monologic or dialogic form (1988: 87).

Cultural studies and Ethnography

Cultural studies theorists have taken several steps in order to attempt more objective and less mediated descriptions/representations of their subject/ research area. One of these steps is the concept of self-reflexivity, where the theorist foregrounds his/her own subjectivities within their work, so that the reader has the ability to have a more complete understanding of the situational research. Another measure is foregrounding the informant's voice within the research, which leads to the research taking on a more passive role in relaying findings. However, as Ulin notes, the response of some contemporary ethnographers to this problem – to choose to foreground the informant's voice, 'does not settle the issue of authority, as these voices are not autonomous, but rather stand mediated by the social conditions of their

production' (Ulin 2001: 81). This doesn't change the fact that it is still the ethnographer who chooses, edits and sequences the (often implicit) meta-narrative of the material presented (Morley 1996: 179).

Gordon has done much critical research within various 'Bushman' communities, although he does not agree on attaching such a general name/term to the various communities. His book - *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass* takes is a giant step as an account of the gross misrepresentation of Bushmen and offers an old realistic representation and explanation of these displaced people. He says in the opening paragraph:

> Some films can kill. One such film was the blockbuster The *Gods Must Be Crazy*, which played to packed houses in the United States, South Africa and elsewhere. This film, with its pseudoscientific narrator describing Bushmen as living in a state of primitive affluence, without the worries of paying taxes, crime, police and hassles of urban alienisation, has had a disastrous impact on those people whom we label "Bushmen" (Gordon & Sholto Douglas 2000: 1).

This film also came at a time when Bushmen were frequently employed by the SADF as trackers, scouts and guides in counter insurgency war making against South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) (cf. Gordon 1996; Tomaselli 1998). The representational stereotypes of Bushmen as natural trackers led to there increased employability, irrelevant of their actual skill levels. Gordon explains, "if one labels someone a Bushman, one does not simply give that person a distinctive identity, one also makes a value judgement about that person and indicates how that person is expected to behave" (Gordon & Sholto Douglas 2000: 151). This relates quite closely to representation or more appropriately misrepresentation in the past. Part of Gordon's research follows a detailed exploration into academic, media and government representation of the Bushmen from past to present. Stereotypes have been present from more distant histories; however they have changed quite little: "The Bushmen… have suffered severely from the beliefs of the man on the street. To most men the Bushmen are an extinct race, aboriginal to South Africa: very primitive and apelike; a product of the Kalahari Desert, which has forced them to develop a heavy protruding rump; whose average life is less than a century, but who are nevertheless unable to count above two" (Goodwin 1936: 41).

Ethnography is quite a difficult form of academic research to perform, because people are generally interested in remote communities that live in a 'pre-modern' way. It is not surprising that "Bushmen emerged in the major ethnographies as relics of the past, trapped in

a fast-moving present frame that supports the notion that they have, until a few years ago, been traditional hunters and gatherers" (Gordon & Sholto Douglas 2000: 11). In this way many academics using the approach of cultural studies and ethnography fell short when interrogating representation in Bushmen communities. Gordon points out that "ironically *The Gods Must Be Crazy* represents a crude but accurate caricature of the Bushman scholarly enterprise, although not surprisingly, most of the academics involved in protesting the film did not examine this issue" (2000: 12).

Cultural studies' approach to representation through interrogating a cultural facet/idiosyncrasy intensely and in great detail opposed to extensively is a central reason for my application of cultural studies to my research project.

Identity and Cultural Studies

Various conceptions of identity have been identified. Barnard (1992) suggests it can refer to a sense of belonging whether self or collective. It can also be understood in terms of unconscious personal identities (by some contemporary anthropologists and psychologists) or as that sense of "selfhood, which is instilled by socialisation and is defined differently in different cultures" (by the 'culture and personality school) (Barnard 1992: 52). Identity plays a large role in our lives, because, in a sense, it situates us within society. If we know where we are situated within society, then there are fewer feelings of chaos and uncertainty in our environment. Simões explains that it may be "important to examine how an individual or group is represented from the outside (and whether they identify with or contest that representation) in order to understand their identity" (Simões 2001: 34). Identity is a contested theme in Bushman ethnographic research, which explains why concepts of identity, in cultural studies, are particularly relevant in the theoretical framework of this dissertation.

Notions of identity and cultural studies are strongly linked to globalisation. "Culture is central to the notion of collective 'identity', and the field of cultural production can be understood as being every bit as significant to, and inflected by, globalisation as the media, the economy or technology" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 149). Stuart Hall (1990) writes that "there are two possible ways of conceptualising cultural identity that have been discerned" (224). His essentialist and non-essentialist models of identity differentiate two stances that people may take on this issue.

The first is the essentialist, historic model of identity, where cultural identities are assumed to "reflect the common experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history" (Simões 2001: 28). In this model the emphasis is placed on a cohesive and united identity, which can be realised by recovering a 'common, historical culture'. This model represents identity and culture as something that can still be found in its original 'format' and "cultural identity is seen as a "fixed origin to which we can make some final and absolute return", a "universal and transcendental spirit inside us on which history has made no fundamental mark" (Hall 1990: 226). Identifying this 'original culture/history' is problematic, at best, because recovering a history relies on finding disseminating and identifying important elements of that 'culture/history', which ultimately depends on ones subjectivities. As Larry Grossberg explains, "the struggle over representations of identity here takes the form of contesting negative images with positive ones, and of trying to discover the 'authentic' and 'original' content of the identity" (1996: 89). In this line of thinking, one is able to distinguish the close relationship between identity and representation.

The second model of identity is non essentialist and strategic. Simões explains that, within the paradigms of the non essentialist model, cultural identity is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'" (2001: 29). This more dynamic model displays a more realistic and less idealistic view on identity. Far from the single, whole identity that is expressed in the essentialist model, this model realises the possibility of a fractured and situational identity. As Hall explains that, "far from being the eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they (cultural identities) are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power. And is far from being grounded in the mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found. And which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (1990: 225).

Cultural identity can definitely be recovered in part or fractionally. However Grossberg points out that "simply put 'fully constituted, separate and distinct identities' are perceived to be impossible… Identities are always relational and incomplete, in process" (Grossberg 1996: 89; see also Hall 1990; Simões 2001). In light of these suggestions it is possible to understand that the post-modern element of fractured and disjointed dynamics is also applicable to identity, which "is always in part a narrative, always in part a kind of representation' (Hall 1991: 47). The concept of fractured/partial identity is particularly relevant in the case of the Bushmen; because they are possibly the most mediated and stereotyped people in Sub-

Saharan Africa. Nancy Fraser explains "the usual approach to politics of recognition – what I shall call the 'identity model' – starts from the idea that identity is constructed dialogically, through a process of mutual recognition" (2000: 107). The idea of 'politics of recognition' speaks to the situation of the Bushmen, because they often define their identity depending on who is recognising them. In other words, they will sometimes depict themselves in a particular way to reach the particular 'audience' with whom they are communicating. This will be discussed in more detail in the findings and analysis chapter below.

Chapter Four: Taking Tracking Home

Introduction

This dissertation engages with two Bushmen communities, the ≠Khomani and the !Xoo, drawing on the methods of ethnographic research. Norman Denzin defines ethnography "in its broadest sense, as the science devoted to describing ways of life of humankind" (Denzin 2000: 40). On a more detailed level, ethnography refers to a social "scientific description of a people and the cultural basis of their peoplehood" (Denzin 2000: 40). Many academics are quick to criticise ethnography labelling it as "a-theoretical", since it is "solely concerned with description" (Denzin 2000: 40). However, few have been able to offer an alternative method for studying more remote cultures or for when the research falls within anthropological paradigms. There are many pitfalls in ethnography as a form of research; however, there are very few alternate methods that can be used in its place.

Another approach is that ethnography is principally defined by its subject matter, which is ethnos, or culture, and not by its methodology, which is often but not invariably qualitative (cf. Denzin 2000). This dissertation uses ethnography because it exhibits the "interiority" of "autobiography" while retaining the 'exteriority' of "cultural analysis" (Denzin 2000: 455). Accordingly, **"Ethnography involves an ongoing attempt to place specific events, and understanding into a fuller, more meaningful context. It is not simply the production of new information or data, but rather the way in which such information or data are transformed into a written or visual form. As a result, it combines research design, fieldwork, and various methods of inquiry to produce historically, politically, and personally situated accounts, descriptions, interpretations, and representations of human lives"** (Denzin 2000: 455).

However, Denzin draws attention to the fact that "the observations of the ethnographer are always guided by the world images" (Denzin 2000: 40). These images "determine which data are salient and which are not: an act of attention rather than another object reveals one dimension of the observers value commitment, as well as his or her value laden interests" (Denzin 2000: 40).

This chapter is structured into five parts. *Subjects* discusses those respondents included in the study; *Apparatus* introduces the methods of data collection; *Data Collection: The Procedure* details the process of data collection; *Problematising the Procedure* outlines the limits and

problems encountered during data collection and lastly *Data Analysis* describes the methods of analysis,

Subjects

The subjects for this research are members of the ≠Khomani[23] and !Xoo[24] communities. I visited both communities on a UKZN field trip in July 2007[25]. In order to troubleshoot the process of choosing representative samples, which often determines the outcome or results of the research, I identified suitable respondents using two major criteria. Firstly, the respondents chosen were recommended - by both communities respectively - as having extensive first-hand knowledge about tracking. This meant that although their current practice of tracking may be restricted, they had at least been tracking in the past. Secondly, they needed to be willing to participate in the dissertation, which I explained to them before the selection. Since I was not directly choosing the respondents, I was able to form a random sample of applicable respondents.

Aside from these two major criteria the following factors were taken into account for in identifying the respondents participating in the study:

- Respondents needed to be able to communicate in Afrikaans or via an Afrikaans, Khwe/Setswana translator.
- Respondents needed to be comfortable talking about their experiences, memories and thoughts/opinions with the interviewer.
- Respondents needed to be part of either the ≠Khomani or !Xoo and be located in either Ngwatle or Witdraai.

Factors not taken into account for respondents participating in the study:

- Age and gender of respondents were not taken into account, but were negligible since females are culturally forbidden to track or hunt (Fieldnotes 2005).
- Respondent's employment status or particular vocation was not taken into account, unless applicable to tracking.
- Respondent's education/qualification was not taken into account.

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[23] A Bushman community living in Witdraai, Northern Cape, South Africa. See Chapter One for more information on the community.
[24] A Bushman community living in Ngwatle, Western Botswana. See Chapter One for more information on the community.
[25] An earlier UKZN field trip in 2005, only afforded me the opportunity to visit the !Xoo community.

In Witdraai, the home of the ≠Khomani community, representatives from SASI recommended suitable candidates, who are employed as guides for the //Uruke Tourism Tracking Experience (UTTE). The first candidate was Hendrik 'Pin' Kruiper, son of traditional leader Dawid Kruiper. Pin recommend Adam Bok, Blade Witbooi and Silikat Van Wyk all of who were other 'expert trackers' and available in Witdraai for interviews. All of these candidates fitted the criteria of having tracking knowledge, were able to speak fluent Afrikaans and were willing to partake in the interviews.

In Ngwatle, home of the !Xoo community, the process of selection was simpler, since I had already identified suitable candidates from my October 2005 field trip to the area. My initial selection was Kort Jan Nai, Sekhwande 'Viste Jan' Nai, Pedrus Motshabise and Tam Tam 'John-John' Nai, all of whom previously took me on a tracking experience to the Masetleng Pan. On arrival I faced some initial set-backs because Kort Jan, the leading elder of the !Xoo community was in hospital at another settlement. I did however have prior interviews with Kort Jan from 2005, which dealt quite explicitly with hunting and tracking. Viste Jan, son of Kort Jan located John-John and recommended Yee-Yee Lankman and Keatshaba Tsatsi as two other suitable candidates for the research. This effect is known as snowball sampling (cf. Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter 2006). Martin Terre Blanche *et al*, outline how a pre-identified key informant, in this case being Viste Jan, may link a researcher to other informants of use in the research (2006). This form of opportunistic research is a frequent occurrence as I had experienced previously in the Kalahari Desert, while undergoing research for my Honours degree research project.

I decided upon working with small samples of interviewees for five reasons. Firstly I had limited time to spend with each respondent due to the remoteness of the Ngwatle and Witdraai areas. Secondly, my dissertation is limited by a word count, which means that just a sample of the two communities was necessary, instead of a complete community analysis. Thirdly, only certain members of the community are associated with tracking and hunting (particularly since women are not permitted to track and hunt). Fourthly, the !Xoo community is very small and makes up a slight proportion of the Ngwatle community, which meant that there is a limited population to work with. Fifthly, each trip was only a few days long, which allowed a small portion of time with each participant.

Apparatus

Qualitative research methods are the most commonly used methods when undertaking ethnographic research. There are hypothetical possibilities for quantitative ethnographic research, however this dissertation lends itself more naturally and successfully to qualitative research, a point compounded by the limited amount of respondents.

Qualitative research, including ethnography, is concerned with a rich, deep explanation of the subject. "The word *qualitative* implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency" (Denzin 2000: 8). The methods of qualitative research reflect the aforementioned qualities and are designed to best harness these explanations and detailed accounts of 'how social experience is created' and 'given meaning' (Denzin 2000). My research seeks to analyse and explain the cultural trajectory of tracking and how it may be related or comparable to the same practice in a different context.

I used participant observation research in the two contexts in the sense that I interacted/participated with individuals and accompanied them whilst they tracked in the two contexts. This dual-relationship as participant and researcher has both positive and negative effects on the research results. As an inclusive member the participation serves as a common ground between researcher and subject - a relationship that has little time to develop considering the time constraints of the field trip. This is important because participant observation methods stereotypically include an "ethnographer 'living' in a society for an extended period of time, 'learning' the local language, 'participating' in daily life and steadily 'observing' (Denzin 2000). This may be true in context when researchers are studying a culture as a whole or intending to make their research their life project. However, for the purpose of this project, the time allocated to tracking as a single cultural practice is quite sufficient due to the long term relationships between the communities and CCMS, which facilitates shorter term research by students. Keyan Tomaselli has created long-term relationships with the communities through annual trips to Ngwatle since 1995 and Witdraai since 2000 (See Tomaselli 2005, 2007 and extensive work done by graduate students over a 16 year period[26]).

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[26] For a full list of outputs see CCMS (2007) online.

Being a part of the greater project, *Rethinking Indigeneity*[27]*,* I have the luxury of having had several years of contextual explanation and access to many academic texts surrounding the ≠Khomani and !Xoo. One aspect that is of concern is the *participant observation* "oxymoron", which implies the simultaneous emotional involvement and objective detachment of the researcher (cf. Denzin 2000: 465). A logical solution to this 'problem' can be if the researcher remains conscious of their purpose in their research, whilst remaining aware of the 'human' aspects of ethnographic research. Furthermore, the "intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry" can be accounted for through the data analysis phase of the research (cf. Denzin 2000: 465).

Data Collection: The Procedure

Ten main respondents were selected to participate in the research, six from the !Xoo community (Yee-Yee Lankman, Keatshaba Tsatsi, Kort Jan Nai, Sekhwande 'Viste Jan' Nai, Pedrus and Tam Tam 'John-John' Nai) and four from the ≠Khomani community (Hendrik 'Pin' Kruiper, Adam Bok, Blade Witbooi and Silikat van Wyk).

All of the respondents agreed to participate in informal, semi-structured interviews. They were assured that their responses were confidential and that they could adopt a pseudonym if they wanted. They were also informed that they were able to withdraw from the research at any point. Interviews were recorded on a dictaphone where possible, but as will be explained below, the Kalahari Desert provides a rough and unstructured environment for interviewing which restricts formal interviewing techniques at times.

Informal interviews were well suited to this research due to the environment of the Kalahari Desert being particularly unstructured and 'relaxed' - in the sense that time, space and place are not experienced in the same manner as they are in more densely populated and developed areas or cities. The subject communities 'rise and rest' earlier than our research team anticipated; therefore I needed to structure my interviews around the subjects 'schedule' and habits, which often meant interviewing key subjects in the cold of the morning, around a fire. Semi-structured interviews allowed the subject time and space to elaborate on their answers without feeling led or hindered by a structured, questionnaire or interview. In this way, "the trick is in eliciting information in terms of informants' own interpretations, their own frames of seeing, speaking and understanding, and the more the interview is similar to everyday talk

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[27] See Chapter One.

the more this sort of information will be forthcoming" (Deacon et. al. 1999: 288). Thus, interviews were conversational in nature and often yielded much richer data; when the pretence of researcher and subject had been 'toned down' and the exchange resembled a conversation among acquaintances.

This conversational technique was far more useful when questioning the !Xoo, as they have experienced far less interaction with academics, thus they are less familiar with interview techniques and less adept at answering critical questions. Despite these difficulties the level of comfort between myself and the !Xoo trackers was alleviated by the level of familiarity which was achieved during the 2005 field trip.

On some occasions the interviews became informal focus groups, with groups of community members in the immediate vicinity huddling around a dictaphone debating, translating and answering the questions through group consensus. These focus groups allowed me to attain some input from members outside the original sample members, whilst still retaining the central informants' answers.

Interview questions were structured depending on the nature of a respondent's relationship with tracking; e.g. whether they were trackers, members of the community or members outside of the subject community. Therefore, the trackers were given a different set of questions than those given to a member of SASI, since the focus of the study is on post-hunter-gatherer communities and not people affiliated with post-hunter-gatherers.

Combinations of open-ended and closed questions were used in the interviews. Open-ended questions alleviate pressure on the respondent and allow the respondent to answer in their own way without specific boundaries, allowing richer, more sensitive insights into their views and activities (Deacon et al. 1999: 79). This allowed the respondents to reflect on their cultural practices and how and why they may have changed. Their reactions would have allowed me to ascertain how introspective they are about their own culture and perhaps become a spectator of any personal revelations or re-lived experiences. As a researcher/ethnographer/academic the process used in the interviews is important both to gather and later disseminate data obtained from their subject.

The researcher must remain aware of what the informant is *not* saying/answering in order to re-direct their focus and 'extract' the necessary information. In a few instances it was necessary to re-word a question several times so that the respondents understood what they were being asked. The questions were also designed in light of the respondent's familiarity

with the topic of the research. Where it was possible for the ≠Khomani to answer complex and metaphorical questions with ease, the !Xoo struggled to answer questions that were not explicitly candid and straight-forward. Questions remained the same in nature, trying to draw the same information; however they needed to be somewhat re-worked in order to suit the contextual differences.

Thus, as has been highlighted, although I chose four participants from each community and aimed to ask them specific questions during structured interviews, the nature of the encounter required a less formal approach to be utilised in order to obtain data. This shall be expanded upon below.

Problematising the Procedure

Unlike many other projects, dissertations or theses, one of the most important factors of successful research in the Kalahari Desert is to remain flexible in terms of when, how and what is examined. As with all research, there are no guarantees that key informants will be willing to answer questions at all times, largely because they have their own problems and lives to lead. One has to be innovative and willing to compromise in order to find answers to questions. Procedures and research processes differ quite substantially between the two communities – largely because of the different time constraints experienced by both communities.

The ≠Khomani are an extremely difficult community to research. If one wishes to interview an informant, one may consider buying some of their wares. They believe that the time that is spent with them, conversing and asking questions, would otherwise be used to sell their crafts to passing tourists. This is quite understandable, since one receives their undivided attention during the 'trade'. However it also drew attention to some of my ethical concerns during the research, since I was suspicious that the informants were complying with my pre-conceived notions of the ≠Khomani culture. This problem relates to how "we have reached the point of interview as negotiated text. Ethnographers have realised for quite some time that researchers are not invisible neutral entities; rather, they are part of the interactions they seek to study and influence those interactions" (Denzin 2000: 663). Before interviewing the key informants, Silikat and Toppies, I was assured that the informants would be frank and honest with their replies and be 'honest to themselves'[28] by answering my questions.

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[28] Translated quote from interviews with Toppies and Silikat 2007.

Another difficulty that I experienced while researching within the ≠Khomani community is that the hours available to research in are quite limited. Firstly, as a characteristic of living within a harsh environment, the community members occupy much of their time according to what is required for and by that day. For instance, they either have to shield themselves during the harshly hot temperatures of the Kalahari day (which is most of the day) or gather firewood for the harshly cold nights. This takes a considerable portion out of the day.

Secondly, alcoholism is a common side effect of the semi-rural lifestyle in which the ≠Khomani live. Many of my key informants usually began drinking at roughly noon each day, at which time research becomes either extremely tedious or outright impossible, because they become belligerent or unwilling to answer simple questions.

Thirdly, the ≠Khomani are aware of their depiction as South Africa's 'first people', which has implications of how they view their importance above other cultures. This meant that some of the informants took a belittling attitude towards me and other researchers, which became frustrating. This was particularly evident when craft sellers knew that I was not a tourist who wanted to buy their crafts. I am not referring to the entire community, because many of the people I interacted with were neither inebriated nor belligerent, on the contrary they were quite amiable, but a number of my key informants did pose these difficulties.

Despite the aforementioned difficulties, applicable to researching remote communities, I concur that "ethnographers can reach a better understanding of the beliefs, motivations, and behaviours of their subjects than they can with any other method" (Denzin 2000: 470). Problematising the encounter with the subject is as much part of the research as the findings and analysis, because it allows the readers to better situate themselves within the research; thus understanding the findings from a fuller perspective. This links to how "qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry" (Denzin 2000: 8).

Data Analysis

As already indicated, much written and recorded information was obtained through my field trip to in the Kalahari Desert in July 2007. A great deal of data was collected and interpreted prior to these recordings in the form of background research. This research is imbedded in the aforementioned *Rethinking Indigeneity* project and also my prior experiences in the Kalahari

Desert[29], which meant that there were already aids to problematise and troubleshoot my process of analysis. Despite intentional objectivity in this dissertation I also acknowledge that "we cannot lift the results of interviews out of the contexts in which they were gathered and claim them as objective data with no strings attached" (Denzin 2000: 663).

Awareness of the difficulties associated with qualitative research methodologies serves to remind one of the subjective nature, which ethnography poses; furthermore providing an additional dimension to what Denzin describes as "intersubjective" (2000). This indicates a "shift from objectifying methodology to an intersubjective methodology entails a representational transformation" (Denzin 2000: 471). Raised awareness of subjectivity and of the partial identities present in all individuals allows one to garner more detailed data on representation, identity and particular cultural practices (in this case tracking) than before. It is therefore possible to understand that my subjects exhibit a multiplicity of identities, which is important to acknowledge in the encounter/experience, even if I am only concerned with them in terms of this project (as Bushmen, trackers and community members). Experience is intersubjective and embodied not individual and fixed, but social and processual. Intersubjectivity and dialogue involve situations where bodies marked by the social - that is, by difference (gender, ethnicity, race) may be presented as partial identities. The experience of being a woman, or being black, or being Muslim, can never be singular. It will always depend on a multiplicity of locations and positions that are socially constructed (Denzin 2000: 471).

I have found that 'finding themes' of commonality, within the comparative study, is the best way to analyse the data (Ryan & Bernard 2000: 781). In this sense, themes, such as identity, globalisation and representation etc. are identified prior to the data collection and then used as a basis of analysis. These themes were discovered or formulated through my prior experiences in the field, with the !Xoo Bushmen, and also through extensive reading on the subject of tracking, post-hunter communities and Bushmen. Alternatively, interaction with other researchers with experience in the same field or in similar topics gave me useful insight into what possible themes had already been identified, but not necessarily researched in the field. This facet of theme finding is quite common in ongoing research projects of a similar nature to *Rethinking Indigeneity*[30], where researchers are informed to a certain degree through previous research.

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[29] In October 2005.
[30] *Rethinking Indigeneity* is one of the previous phases in the ongoing project in Ngwatle and Witdraai being conducted by CCMS.

There are several points of reference, that can be used to identify points of entry or themes in research (cf. Bulmer 1979). Bulmer explains that implementing a systematic approach and going through background topical information of a particular subject, in a 'line-by-line' manner often reveals themes to the researcher. He outlines literature reviews, professional definitions, local commonsense constructs, values and researchers prior experiences as fruitful places that can be used to identify and establish themes (Bulmer 1979). In this case, my literature review and research into the ongoing project will allow me to identify relevant themes. These themes will then be used to analyse the data garnered through interviews in the field.

The following chapter, *Meeting the Trackers*, will demonstrate the systematic approach used to record the findings into sailable data and then be analysed using the themes identified through the course of prior chapters, specifically the literature review.

Chapter Five: Meeting the Trackers

The findings are presented in the form of descriptions, observations and memories of hunting, tracking and general cultural life obtained through interactions and interviews with each chosen community member. They highlight the differing perspectives held by members of the two communities. As mentioned in the methodology section, this dissertation utilises qualitative research techniques and ethnographic methods.

The findings are divided into two parts - firstly the trackers from the ≠Khomani community are individually introduced, followed by their unique perspectives on tracking. Secondly the trackers from the !Xoo community are communally introduced, followed by a combined explanation of their perspectives on tracking. The combined explanation of the !Xoo trackers is divided into two sections, illustrating perspectives from 2005 and 2007 respectively.

The ≠Khomani Trackers

Toppies Kruiper

Toppies Kruiper is the son of Dawid Kruiper, who was the self-styled traditional leader who played a large role in the ≠Khomani communities land claim. The research team and I met him in accordance with the UTTE, whereby his job was to take tourists tracking on one of the farms in Witdraai that were handed over to the ≠Khomani community during the land restitution claims. This allowed a lengthy informal face-to-face interview to take place of between two to three hours, during our tracking 'tour'.

Perspective on Tracking

Toppies displayed his tracking proficiency through the identification of different flora and explanations of the medicinal purposes of each plant. He offered in depth explanations as to how Bushmen once had to find *boes-medisyn*[31] in order to survive in the harsh environment. However, he was quick to explain that he still used much of the traditional medicine, which, in his opinion, worked better than much of the modern medicine he had tried.

Further on from the populated areas of Witdraai, which occupies a large portion of the re-allocated land, tracks were evident on the road. During this time Toppies seemed to be in his

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[31] Translated from Afrikaans "bush medicine" (Fieldnotes 2007).

element. "These are the tracks of a rat – you can tell how old they are in relation to the other tracks around it," he explained (Fieldnotes 2007). We came upon some hoof tracks and Toppies identified as donkey tracks. He explained that he was not going to try and trick us, but in the past he had falsely identified them on purpose as antelope tracks for some foreign tourist he had taken on the UTTE; the reason for this was to give the tourists '*wat hulle wil he*' (Fieldnotes 2007). This explanation seemed to open up a completely different critical level for our research team.

Toppies may have understood that we weren't particularly interested in the actual tracks, but more in himself and the Bushmen, since he opened up with an avalanche of folklore and 'Bushman' stereotypes. Toppies explained that he had a connection with the earth that had been passed to him from his ancestors. He knows how to track and hunt, because he is a Bushman. His connection with the earth means that if he left that area he would never be the same; he wouldn't know what to do, because this was all he knew. He wanted to be free to hunt traditionally anywhere he liked and live a traditional way of life. Tracking was part of his survival, firstly by bringing him food, but more recently as his form of employment. When I asked whether he could read, he explained that he could read a little, but he found no use for it where he was. He also agreed that tracking was the same as reading for him, because it was how he made sense of his world and it is what he got paid for.

Toppies proved adept at explaining complex issues and concepts associated with the Bushmen. He was also capable of providing different members of the research team what they needed for their research in the sense that he adapted and changed his lines of explanation in light of what the individual was interested in. I couldn't help but feel that he was feeding us what we wanted in a similar way to that he would give tourists what they want.

At the café, next to the administration building in which SASI is situated, we interacted with Toppies and his 'friends' at the same time. There was a stark contrast between 'Toppies the guide' and 'Toppies the community member'. Here he dropped all pretence of being a Bushman and did not once link any of the conversation to traditionalist explanations. In this makeshift group of community members I was told that there was a 'tracking school', which was used to pass on tracking knowledge to the younger members of the community. This incentive was run in part by Louis Liebenberg, who the Bushmen regarded as a 'great tracker'. 'Oom Liebenberg,' they explained 'would take them tracking with him, but he wouldn't let them joke around. If they went with him they had to explain the tracks in great detail. If they couldn't track on the same level as him then they couldn't go next time,' which

was sad, because they all loved to go tracking properly in the 'Park.[32]' It was interesting to learn of the tracking school, in light of what Toppies explained earlier about Bushmen being 'innate trackers'.

Adam Bok

Adam Bok, another member of the ≠Khomani community, was introduced to myself whilst Professor Tomaselli was visiting a Canadian Linguist that just so happened to be researching in the area. A curator of sorts for SASI, Adam was in the process of constructing a campsite, which was designed as a point of interest for tourists, which SASI also recognised as a form of community upliftment. Adam was responsible for overseeing and assisting in the building of bungalows, an entertainment area and fences/walls, all of which were still in the initial stages of development. He also moonlights as a motor car mechanic and has often fixed Tomaselli's Sani when required.

Perspective on Tracking

Around the camp fire, Adam explained that, although he could track quite proficiently, he did not track much anymore. All the animals on the farms, which were given to the ≠Khomani by the government, were exhausted 'a long time ago' (Fieldnotes 2007). When the ≠Khomani had first arrived in Witdraai there were several animals, mostly small antelope like steenbok and duiker, which were hunted, eaten and used traditionally as bush medicine and clothing material; such as ointment. However, 'the other' ≠Khomani had long since killed off most of the animal population. Adam now practices tracking passively, looking at the ground for his interest to see what had passed. However, Adam explained that, in his opinion, there was little of interest (in the way of flora and fauna) in the area nowadays and he had little to see besides rat, mongoose and occasionally porcupine tracks. Porcupines were of particular interest, because 'Bushmen', (by which he meant himself) used the entire carcass after killing one. Particular attention was paid to the porcupine stomach since porcupines eat herbs with several medicinal properties, which Bushmen in turn dry and crush and use as medicine.

In addition, Adam told stories; such as the tale of how the leopard got its spots, and folklore about how the Bushmen came to be. Furthermore, Adam explained that he had a special connection with the earth and wished to lead a traditional lifestyle hunting with a bows and arrows and living off the land. When I enquired whether he had ever done so, he explained

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[32] Through several inquiries, it remains unclear what Park they were referring to, however given the proximity it is most likely that they meant the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, which is approximately one hour away from Witdraai.

that he *had* hunted and gathered food etc., but in a very small capacity due to the pressures of the government, the law and farmers. He also explained that it would be a very easy transition for him to make if it was made possible for him - all he needed to be given was free reign on the land. I requested that he take me hunting with him, but he explained that he was too old to hunt, which I found quite strange considering that he had just explained that it would be an easy transition for him to hunt and gather traditionally.

Later, it was mentioned to Adam that we had gone tracking with Toppies. Adam asked what we had paid him and whether we would want to do something similar with him for the same price. He explained that he was a better tracker than Toppies and could describe Bushman culture much better than Toppies as well; however, we did not have enough time or money to approach the UTTE again. Adam seemed to lose interest following this part of the discussion and eventually left.

Silikat van Wyk

The road that separates Witdraai from Molopo Lodge has several vendors working on its side. They wear skins whilst making and selling arts and crafts to passers by and motorists, who are mostly tourists. These vendors sell a range of items from paintings and decorated crafts to leather bags, jewellery and decorative bows and arrows etc. On one occasion, a group of vendors saw us (white people/tourists) approaching, promptly removed their trousers and shirts and replaced them with leather outfits, thus solidifying their 'Bushmaness'.

Silikat, who died in 2009, worked as a vendor/artist, however, he did not wear traditional clothes and had a long-standing relationship with the UKZN researchers. This relationship is somewhat belligerent in nature, unless one is willing to buy his crafts. If not, Silikat refuses to talk, since he realises that his interaction has value to someone and can be assumed to have become commodified (See Dyll 2007). I was informed that interacting with Silikat would be fruitful for my dissertation, because a few previous researchers have included Silikat as a subject since he has the ability to answer critical and complex questions. After buying some of his wares he was willing to talk to me.

Perspective on Tracking

Silikat did not hunt/track often. He spent most of his time painting and making crafts. He explained that he felt exploited by all of those who pass. 'Everyone that goes here and talks to him drinks from him and leaves him feeling empty'. He 'wants to be a Bushman, but he also wants to live, but people come through Witdraai, talk to him and take his stories and he

doesn't get paid for them'. The stories he referred to were the tales of his life and his opinions. I commented that I didn't get paid for my stories or my opinions and asked why he thinks he should be paid for his to which he replied, because 'You don't stay here, you're not the same as me…' (Fieldnotes 2007).

Silikat interacted with numerous researchers visiting the Kalahari over the years. On their return, some brought their dissertations to show him and he 'saw books[33].' There is a supposition that students are paid for the 'books that they write' and Silikat resents not receiving any monies for information/stories that he presented to past students. When we explain that we are doing research in order to raise awareness about the ≠Khomani community he says that we are telling lies. I explained my project and how I was attempting to raise awareness and explain, through my writing, what is happening to people like him in the world. When I told him this he settled down briefly and said he would answer any questions that I have.

He explained that people in the ≠Khomani community track for different reasons. They track to find out what is happening around them; for instance, he can tell if there is a snake close by that may bite him, simply by looking in the sand for its tracks. He mentioned that it is not the same where I live, since there is no sand to see any tracks. People from Witdraai track and hunt sometimes, but they use donkeys, dogs and guns, because hunting is much more difficult with pressure and laws created by the government. I asked Silikat whether he thought that tracks in his context are the same as signs on the roads in mine; he agreed completely saying there was no difference – they both help us to understand what is around us.

After our interview I asked Silikat whether he was referring to me as one of those that 'take his stories' and he said yes. I explained that if he did not want me to explain what he had told me to other people I would obey his wishes. He said that he did not mind because I was working with Professor Tomaselli, but that if I wanted to record his stories in writing he wanted my sunglasses. What struck me is the sense of entitlement, because he is a 'Bushman'. I gave him my sunglasses and left.

Blade Witbooi

Blade, another roadside vendor and artist, differs quite drastically from Silikat. He was wearing a combination of traditional and contemporary dress when Lauren Dyll – a doctoral

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[33] For instance, in 2007 Lauren Dyll presented her Masters research to Silikat.

student and lecturer at UKZN, introduced the two of us. Blade displayed a more placid disposition and was prepared to listen and take his time to understand and answer questions in a sincere manner.

Perspective on Tracking

The ≠Khomani community, according to Blade, is not the same as it once was. After the land restitution, great interest was shown in the community, which has since waned quite greatly. There are others who sell their wares on the road, but are too young to know what a Bushman is and how they once lived. A point in case is Elvis. Elvis was a young adolescent (13 years old), who sells his bows and arrows, leather garments and ostrich shell jewellery. A previous interview with Elvis revealed his deep wishes to live the traditional Bushman lifestyle; he explained that he hunts with bows and arrows and can track as well as any ≠Khomani. However, Blade could barely suppress his laughter when I asked who Elvis is, who his father was and who taught him to hunt with bows and arrows. He explained that Elvis was adopted by the community, is one of the younger participants in the 'tracking school' and cannot hunt traditionally. In fact, it became clear that Elvis only had the most basic tracking skills when the CCMS team went tracking at !Xaus lodge on subsequent trips. Many people, according to Blade, have joined the community, since it serves their interests to be part of it and make a living from tourism. The area is too dry to make a profit from growing crops. This serves to confirm/consolidate presuppositions about representation and living up to stereotypes.

Blade hunts on a very small scale setting traps and snares for small mammals like rabbits and hares. If he was afforded the opportunity to hunt a slightly larger quarry, such as a porcupine/steenbok he would gladly participate; however, he would use a firearm/spear after tracking them down. Therefore the manner in which he tracks is somewhat traditional, although the practice of hunting is not traditional in relation to the earlier stereotypical hunting methods; with poisoned arrows for example. Gathering[34], on the other hand, is still practiced, though on a much smaller scale. In this process, he gathers medicinal herbs and plants or when he comes upon a rare root that is of particular interest/ importance.

Blade displays a complex understanding that their community will never be able to live the lives that their ancestors did, nor does he necessarily display a wish to. What is clear is that he wishes to retain Bushman culture in respect for his ancestors.

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[34] Gathering refers to the collection of flora used both for nourishment and medicinally. This pertains to the denomination of Bushmen as hunters and gatherers.

One aspect of the ≠Khomani community is that nobody was prepared to communicate/talk or even be friendly without a motive. Individuals would approach me with a hand-shake and a smile, have a short conversation about the weather or another triviality and then say "Okay, now you need to give me ten rand[35] because I have spoken so nicely with you". There is no comprehension of being a student, local or foreigner, all they see is that we are outsiders and we have come to benefit somehow from their presence. This facet of research in Witdraai was particularly problematic, because they cannot differentiate between research/tourism/social interactions. The level of commodification in the community has become so deeply entrenched that there is no way communicating openly, because there is constantly the awareness of ≠Khomani and the other.

The !Xoo Trackers at Ngwatle

In contrast to the ≠Khomani community research, interviews pertaining to tracking with the !Xoo were conducted in groups. The group interviews took place after Kort Jan chose a group of trackers that he believed had the greatest knowledge of tracking in the community. The following observations and findings form part of two separate interviews that I conducted - one in 2005 and the other in 2007. As explained earlier, in 2005 I went on my first research trip to the Kalahari Desert, where my focus was largely on hunting opposed to tracking. 2007 was my second research trip, which was undertaken in order to gather research material for my Masters dissertation.

2005: Kort Jan Nai, Sekhwande 'Viste Jan' Nai, Tam Tam 'John-John' Nai and Pedrus Motshabise

Introduction
In 2005 Kort Jan, Viste Jan, John-John and Pedrus from the !Xoo community took the males from the research group on a hunting tour of Ngwatle. As a form of background information, it is important to note that Ngwatle (the settlement they inhabit) was a rural settlement formed by the government to centralise any dislocated communities situated within, or close to, the game farms in the area. This also allowed the government and officials to monitor the communities and their actions more closely. They had lived in Ngwatle for a short period of time until the community realised how difficult it was to commute between the hunting grounds and their homes, which is when the came upon the bore-hole dug by a Canadian oil

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[35] The 'Rand' is the currency used in South Africa.

company[36], which appeared[37] to have shared water with the !Xoo community. They recalled their fondest memories of hunting and living a far closer life to that of their ancestors when living in Masetleng approximately a decade or so before 2005. Kort Jan enjoyed pointing out places in this area where he had tracked, hunted and killed a gemsbok and was evidently saddened that the future generations of his family would not have the same opportunity. He also expressed how he had tried to pass on knowledge to his children, which he had, though he was unsure if that knowledge would be passed on to the following generation. The community shared water with the prospectors and hunted in harmony for a number of years until the borehole had been welded shut and they were forced to relocate to Ngwatle at a crossroads about three hours drive east. However, on their return there were many more inhabitants and the !Xoo had become a minority, although they lived, and still do live, in relative harmony with their Basarwa neighbours.

Combined Perspectives on Tracking

Following the tour of their former home, Kort Jan led our convoy to the Masetleng saltpan, where most of the hunting and tracking had occurred place in the past. Saltpans make for good tracking, because they are the only large open areas in-between the savannah and are also catchment areas for rain. The party of trackers led us around the pan, locating various tracks and discussing what had happened at each point of interest. Debates and arguments between the markings and tracks were undertaken with great fervour and after much consternation and finally agreement the winner of the argument/discussion (usually Kort Jan) would explain to us what animal had passed and what it had been doing. One such time Kort Jan relayed that two gemsbok had passed around the scrub and would enter the salt point in a few minutes. Not paying attention, due to the jaded sense of time in the dessert, we walked on. Approximately two minutes later - Kort Jan pointed - two gemsbok walked across the pan. The accuracy of the prediction was surely not a coincidence. All around the pan this continued, with each member of the party taking turns to point out interesting roots, plants, animals, spoor etc.

After the tracking outing was completed interviews were conducted. One aspect of the interviews, which contrast the interactions with the ≠Khomani, is that the !Xoo are as eager to enquire about our (the researchers) lives as we are to enquire about theirs. The interview/discussion/conversation went in circles. Each question that was asked by us was answered by the respondents and then reversed contextually and directed at us, which we

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[36] See Chapter Three for more information.
[37] 'Appeared', since we only have the !Xoo's comments on the issue and there are no markings on the borehole in order for us to get a comment on the situation from the prospectors.

answered. For instance, I enquired; why do you hunt/track? After a discussion they came up with a few answers. Firstly, they explained, for food, which was not very often anymore and secondly, because they enjoy tracking to 'remember' and also know what is happening around them. Thirdly, they explained that they do it to feel fear, fun and know that they are in danger. Correspondingly they asked – what do you do that is the same as hunting is for us? The !Xoo were very interested in our culture and did not exhibit expectations of us to treat them any differently, because they were Bushmen.

Before we left to return to our camp we asked the trackers if they felt they had a special connection with the earth or some kind of spirituality that linked them with animals and the earth etc. Irrespective of how many times we rephrased the question, even when slightly leading towards an expected answer, the respondents could not comprehend let alone answer us. It was the only question that they could not answer, even through much conversation. Professor Tomaselli recalls another trip when he brought Vetkat and Belinda Kruiper to meet the Ngwatle contingency. He explained the ≠Khomani were explaining some spiritual awakening that they had felt in relation to the the !Xoo. Correspondingly, the !Xoo had absolutely no idea what the Belinda or Vetkat were trying to say. With this said – it may be possible that either; the !Xoo do not have the critical ability needed to answer highly complex questions, or that they are less aware of representations of themselves and are thus unaware of 'how they are supposed to be'. Tomaselli concluded that life at Ngwatle was far harsher than at Witdraai and that romanticisation was not part of the !Xoo cultural repertoire. They had memories of a warm, nourishing wind at Masetleng Pan, but a cold, cutting experience, at Ngwatle Pan where they currently reside (Tomaselli 2007). They had little time to construct stories for tourists who at that stage were few and far between.

2007: Sekhwande 'Viste Jan' Nai, Yee-Yee Lankman, Tam Tam 'John-John' Nai & Keatshaba Tsatsi

Introduction

The most recent field trip to Ngwatle was slightly different to the previous trip. I had already formulated a set of questions to ask the trackers and thus had a more focused agenda. However in 2007, Kort Jan was not present[38]. In his absence, Viste Jan, Kort Jan's eldest son had assumed the role as head of the family. Yee-Yee, John-John and Keatshaba were requested to accompany us on the tracking trip to the saltpan. The following arguments are

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[38] Kort Jan was hospitalised due to a severe chest infection that was presumed to be Tuberculosis. A later trip revealed that it was a severe case of Pneumonia.

explanations of the main themes dealt with in a discussion that took place after we had returned from tracking.

Combined Perspectives on Tracking

The !Xoo practice tracking in various ways, though not everyone utilises tracking in the same ways. Firstly they track in the process of hunting which is performed in both legal hunting and poaching. Secondly, they track to make sense of their environment. This point is slightly more complex, because the various trackers make sense of their environment in different ways. For instance, one person recognises the different shoe treads of various community members. In this way they ascertain who has come and gone around their abodes and in some cases has foiled burglaries and other crimes. Alternatively they are aware of what their children are doing, since they can see in which direction their tracks are going, who is accompanying them and even how long it has been since they have passed. These examples are in addition to the obvious use of tracking for finding animals. Tracking is further used to see what animals have passed, or more recently, where their flocks of goats and cows have gone during the day - allowing them to track down any strays that may be lost. On the other hand, if animals have been poached or killed by predators, they are able to work out or find their missing animals. Thirdly, they also track for nostalgia, to remember what they once did more frequently and for greater purposes (food). They speak of the past - a time when they tracked most fondly. Lastly they track for fun. When on the tracking trips the trackers explain that they love to track in groups and make it a competition of sorts.

They do not however hunt very often, because it is illegal and those that have been caught poaching were severely punished. The community survives with food parcels/donations from the government and pastoral farming, which is having a definite effect on the dessert environment (See Njagi 2005). It is quite difficult to understand what percentage of the community practice tracking and in what capacity. The elders of the !Xoo believe that tracking knowledge is dying with their generation, because there is no need for the younger generations to track, due to hunting being illegal, combined with the fact that animals are increasingly scarce. This is not to say that tracking is dying on the whole, but more that tracking pertaining to wild animals is becoming less pertinent. These facets of the economies of tracking in the !Xoo community display the complexity of cultural practices in small indigenous communities.

Furthermore, when asking the trackers about whether they think that tracking is the same as reading, they said that they think so. They explained that we (foreigners) read 'things' to

understand where we are. They on the other hand read signs in the sand and veld[39] so that they understand what is happening in 'their world'.

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[39] Afrikaans word for Savannah

Chapter Six: Where Has Tracking Come From?

This dissertation is formed as a comparative analysis of two Bushmen communities and their use of tracking. There are several reasons for analysing these marginalised communities that exist as part of misguided history lessons, children's stories or more aptly 'myths' of pre-modern civilisations existing in modernity. One of the reasons for raising the questions within this dissertation was to dispel certain myths, which seem to prevail especially in the public sphere and among many who engage with the subject of Bushmen. This criticism does not apply to likes of Gordon, Wilmsen, Chamberlin, the CCMS team, Biesele, Hitchcock, Durington, Marshall etc. This analysis is consistent with the view of globalisation "as a tool for creating awareness about representation and stereotypes of cultural identity" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 152). This analysis is split into two sections, one dealing with how the two subject communities *use* tracking, how they *represent* tracking and how they construct their identity through these representations. It has been constructed in order to best answer the key questions raised in the introductory chapters and which form the basis of the comparative analysis of the ≠Khomani and !Xoo communities.

Through this comparative analysis several themes will be broached and unpacked, such as identity, representation, stereotypes, cultures in a constant state of flux and globalisation, in order to understand and explain how tracking is used today, and to ascertain whether stereotypes still apply among the Bushmen too. Additionally, the question will be raised of how tracking is comparable to literacy, which links to culture being in a constant state of flux and depends largely on the context in which a culture exists. This analysis is "dedicated to the study of expansion of difference in human affairs (during an era of increasing globalisation)" (Hartley 2003: 10).

How Tracking is used in the ≠Khomani and the !Xoo Communities

Commonplace understanding, which can be identified by stereotypes of Bushmen that the general public identify with, assumes that the two communities would use tracking for the same reason: to find and hunt animals as nourishment. However, in reality, both Bushman communities do not comply with the aforementioned stereotypes, though tracking is still part of their everyday lives. In this sense I will focus on the 'focusing on the ordinary or 'everyday'' opposed to the 'sensationalist' aspects of Bushmen culture in the modern paradigm (cf. Williams 1976; Hartley 2003). Tracking forms part of the ≠Khomani and !Xoo communities lives' in different forms and for different reasons/uses, which can be largely

attributed to their differing contexts and, similarly, the pressures connected with existence within the differing contexts. This analysis will be adopting an "openness to textuality of everyday life" in the context of the !Xoo and ≠Khomani and investigate, "the role of media audienced within (them)" (Hartley 2003: 13).

The following section will deal with how tracking is used within the two communities and the reasons for its continued existence in a rapidly modernising world. I will be addressing tracking in terms of the different economies of tracking that are evident in the two subject communities. One point of interest in this argument is "how people (in different contexts) 'have' negotiated the management of their everyday lives and bodies by corporate and state agencies" (Hartley 2003: 13).

The ≠Khomani's Economies of Tracking

'Actual' Tracking

The ≠Khomani's economies of tracking range from somewhat traditional uses, such as hunting/poaching and making sense of their environment, to more advanced and modern uses, which are connected to tourism and sporadic film and advertising production. What is immediately evident is that their value of tracking stems as much from the stereotypes associated with Bushmen and tracking as the actual tangible uses of tracking. Therefore it is possible to separate the economies of tracking within the ≠Khomani community into 'actual' tracking and something that I will term as 'virtual' tracking.

The 'actual' uses of tracking are commonsensical and the assumed uses of tracking, which pertain to pre-modern uses and stereotypes; however, some elements are commonly overlooked.

Toppies and Adam explained that the ≠Khomani still track for hunting, although the population of animals in Witdraai have radically decreased and have almost ceased to exist. However, they explained that they do still practice tracking and hunting traditionally. Some members of the community were capable of hunting using a bow and arrow etc. These explanations continued until, through cross-examination and long conversations later, they both admitted that they had 'perhaps over-elaborated their descriptions' and that 'perhaps they still tracked, but didn't hunt traditionally'[40]. What was interesting about this interaction

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[40] These are not their actual words, but a translated meaning from information gained through interviews.

was their presupposed necessity to represent themselves in a pre-modern way, which I will broach in more detail through the analysis of identity.

Therefore they hunt stray animals that pass through their land. Alternatively, they also hunt animals, such as porcupines, which move freely through their own and surrounding farms. However, tracking is not as necessary as it once was or practiced as regularly, because the ≠Khomani hunt using firearms and 'hunting dogs'[41] for small mammals and birds. Hence, many of the traditional aspects of tracking have been phased out simply because there is less need of them. There is also a probability that less hunting takes place than Adam and Toppies implied, which I deduced from a cross examination of hunting questions that I asked Blade. He explained that very little hunting took place, because there were few surviving animals in Witdraai at that time.

Another dynamic of tracking is how it is used by certain cultures as a means to make sense of the desert environment. This is more so the case in indigenous post-hunter communities that live in desertous regions, where the sand makes tracking substantially easier and more useful[42]. Tracking, as a part of everyday life, allows an individual to see what has happened, if anything has passed through or remains in the immediate vicinity. It is largely assumed that tracking involves following animals, which in actuality is only the initial form of tracking. Silikat explained that he used tracking to keep track of his friends and family, as well as detecting and finding 'enemies', which speaks to the concept of tracking as a sense making device.

Virtual Tracking

'Virtual' tracking, as I envisage it, pertains to the worth tracking is associated with, in relation to the indigenous post-hunter communities who are renowned for possessing tracking 'pedigree'. Therefore, the ≠Khomani have a worth/value attached to themselves by the public, which stems from their ancestors who possessed renowned tracking ability. Therefore, tracking is a valuable commodity, even if the ≠Khomani are not gifted trackers, because the stereotypes of the Bushmen as trackers are well known and correspondingly marketable. This value is measured in the income they receive through tourism and film, television and advertisement production.

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[41] The dogs are mixed breed canines, which are used as hunting dogs, though are not necessarily bred as such.
[42] Tracking is easier and more effective in sandy/dessert conditions because the tracks, for the most part, are clearer and more distinguishable.

The ≠Khomani receive their income through various types of tourism, however there are two definite forms. Firstly, some of the ≠Khomani dress in traditional clothes on the roadside and sell curios[43] and traditional artwork, which is made by families. The dress is an important factor, because as mentioned above, they hurry to change into traditional clothes when they see outsiders (i.e. tourists) approaching. They have attached a value to their representation as 'true Bushmen'.

Secondly, and directly connected to tracking, the ≠Khomani operate a tourist orientated UTTE, as well as make and sell the aforementioned goods, in coordination with SASI. Through this experience, tourists are able to partake in a tracking experience with the Bushmen, who arguably have a reputation as the world best trackers. The interesting part in these interactions is that tourists do not want to learn how to track; however, they attach great value to the experience of 'going tracking with the Bushmen'. Toppies recognises this fact, which is visible in the explanation that he falsely identified donkey tracks as zebra spoor, for some unknowing/ignorant tourists, which has different implications on how I understand the ≠Khomani, but more importantly how tracking is used in their everyday life.

"The Bushmen… have suffered severely from the beliefs of the man on the street. To most men the Bushmen are an extinct race, aboriginal to South Africa: very primitive and apelike; a product of the Kalahari Desert, which has forced them to develop a heavy protruding rump; whose average life is less than a century, but who are nevertheless unable to count above two" (Goodwin 1936: 41).

Considering this facet of Bushman stereotyping and representation, there are several conceivable reasons that Toppies would choose to misinform tourists in the past. One important concept that one can deduce from this knowledge is that Toppies can tell the difference and alter his 'self' depending on whether he is interacting with researcher and tourist, local and foreign. One common representation is the 'dumb and innocent' tags that are attached to the ≠Khomani Bushmen (cf. Uys 1980). However, in reality they are extremely aware of outsider representations of themselves[44]. Toppies understands the worth attached to tracking and being a Bushman, or more specifically a true, pre-modern Bushman. Therefore tracking becomes a skill that has worth in the virtual sense. Toppies is not tracking for food; however, he is tracking for survival, albeit in a modern, globalising world. Through this line of understanding it is possible to conceive that cultural shifts/changes have taken place, since the ≠Khomani have found an alternative way to use their skills (or more appropriately their

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[43] Such as decorative bows and arrows, jewellery, paintings, decorated ostrich eggs and leatherwear.
[44] This idea will be broached in more detail in the section of this analysis dedicated to identity.

ancestors' skills) in a context that is overwrought by effects of globalisation. This speaks at once to the concepts of heterogenisation and homogenisation.

Tracking under the Influence of Globalisation

In order to introduce this topic it is important to be aware that "if one labels someone a Bushman, one does not simply give that person a distinctive identity, one also makes a value judgement about that person and indicates how that person is expected to behave" (Gordon & Sholto Douglas 2000: 151). The ≠Khomani have experienced globalisation and been living with the effects of globalisation for quite some time. However, globalisation has been less harshly felt due to the remoteness of their community. Hence they have acquired certain aspects of Western modes of being through growing interaction with western culture and norms, the homogenisation identified with globalisation. They dress in a modern 'fashion', when they are not enacting stereotypes for tourists, who are willing to part with their traveller's cheques. Additionally they are becoming accustomed to the pleasures of a globalised world where one has access to almost anything, at a price. More worryingly so, is an attachment by some to alcohol, which they buy from nearby bottle stores for their earnings, which appears to have caused rifts in their community and been a contributing factor to their negative portrayal by the media that offer the competing representations to the usual pre-modern descriptions. This is not to assume that they have the same modern day assumptions as many who believe that Bushmen have, "until a few years ago, been traditional hunters and gatherers" (Gordon & Sholto Douglas 2000: 11). It is clear however that the ≠Khomani have led a far more isolated existence than many could imagine living and thus are far less modernised than people growing up in overdeveloped metro poles around the world (White 1995; Simões 2001).

In comparison to some globalisation theorists who focus predominantly on either homogenisation and heterogenisation (cf. Levitt 1983) there are different possibilities depending on the contextual factors. This argument can be understood through the definitions of homogenisation and heterogenisation situated in the theoretical framework chapter[45]. In contrast to the aforementioned homogenisation paradigms, the traditional ≠Khomani are clearly adhering more closely to their re-constructed Bushman culture; furthermore, they are far more pro-active in their attempts to retain their 'Bushmaness'. This can be clearly seen literally and figuratively in their everyday lives. However, what is unclear is whether the ≠Khomani are attempting to retain their culture for cultural or financial reasons. This dialectical relationship is difficult to explain, but more so to judge, because each option is

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[45] See Effects of Globalisation in Chapter Three.

equally plausible. The traditionalists in the community would argue that the reasons for their retention of a supposedly original Bushman culture in a rapidly modernising world, is exactly for that purpose. They wish to live the way they have lived for eons and have the choice to live a traditional life similar to that of their ancestors. However, sceptics such as Held and McGrew (1999) would argue that the reasons are predominantly financial and their traditional cultural lifestyles are preferable because the communities are more marketable in that way (See Finlay 2009). A more likely conclusion is that, opposed to one or another, a combination of the two deductions is closer to the truth.

Another aspect is that Toppies portrays himself as more of a performer than a tracker, because he can, in fact, create an imaginary land full of animals in order to give tourists what they want. This is not to say that this is always the case or even that the situation is ever as extreme. The argument is that Toppies needs to have an in depth understanding of tourist, tracking and their expectations in order to fulfil their expectations. More importantly is the concept that the traditionalist ≠Khomani need to have a substantial understanding of what representations of Bushmen and their culture are, in order to fit into the stereotypes and hence make them more marketable. Similarly, and disturbingly so, tourists want to be part of the aforementioned 'act' or what they see as an authentic, spiritual experience, opposed to identifying with the reality that the impoverished community are dealing with.

The ≠Khomani are equally adept at dealing with academics who travel to research the community. Academics without similar experiences are not familiar with such fieldwork, complex subjects and contexts would have a demanding research experience. I daresay that I would have been most caught up in the representations, which were perpetuated by the ≠Khomani, had I not read and interacted with the background and contextualising research material, whilst situating myself within the greater research project. In this sense, it is not surprising to find citizens who explain their experiences of a primitive people, being oppressed by aggressive government and encroaching modernity. They would not be wholly wrong either, besides the 'primitive' description. One 'acts' in accordance with how and what they are expected to. Toppies was not deceptive in a 'deceitful way', where he took pleasure out of fooling the unknowing tourist; he was operating out of necessity to earn money and survive, which he understands, from experience, stems from his denomination as a Bushman. This dynamic of representation and stereotype is further perpetuated through mass media that engage with the pre-modern representation of Bushmen in general. This brings me to tracking and representation of Bushmen in film, television and advertising production.

As mentioned several times through the course of this dissertation, the Bushmen have been, in the recent times, represented as pre-modern characters out of a museum. Jamie Uys' film 'The Gods Must Be Crazy' (1980) is the holy grail of Bushman representation, but is also arguably the only reason that many people know that the Bushmen exist. When talking to foreigners about my research, it is their only point of entry into the topic, yet it is a point of entry nevertheless. Unfortunately, if a tourist's sole understanding rests on these representations, they would be sadly disappointed with their interaction with a 'true' Bushman, which can be likened to talking to a rural dwelling individual that faces the same problems many in underdeveloped poor communities. Instead, the ≠Khomani depict themselves as closely to tourist expectations as possible in order to consolidate their interests. Additionally, advertisements, such as the series of Vodacom advertisements in 2007[46], which made use of the ≠Khomani Bushmen, further establish the representation in younger generations and perpetuate stereotypes from *The Gods Must Be Crazy* in older generations.

The issue at hand, pertaining to the ≠Khomani Bushmen, is cultural commodification. In one sense, cultural commodification has negative implications, because a cultural group, such as the Bushmen, have different pressures on them to exist as their ancestors once did (or at least appear to do so in order to generate tourism interest). This effect also stems from the 'political' need be recognised as an autonomous culture. The public and media focus on these elements attaching words like dishonest, false and untrustworthy to Bushman stereotypes. However, very few recognise the pressures of modern society on remote cultures, or recognise difficulty some communities face in adapting to such unfamiliar surroundings. An alternative, positive effect of cultural commodification is that through this aforementioned self-representation, the ≠Khomani are retaining some cultural knowledge that would otherwise be lost in the echoing noise of this rapidly modernising world.

One would expect that academics pursuing knowledge and truth would attempt to address these stereotypes and offer a more succinct explanation of the Bushmen in order to correct those in the entertainment industry, however, representations have too been perpetuated through much academic discourse done in this field in the past (cf. Marshall 1958, 1980, 1992; Weinberg 2000). Although there is sterling work being done at present (cf. Tomaselli 2001; Simões 2001; Chamberlin 2004; Dyll 2004; Finlay 2009; Durington 2009) it cannot compete with the sheer extent of mass media broadcasting in the globalisation context and doubt that it ever will.

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[46] Explained in Chapter One.

The ≠Khomani exist in a context of South African post-Apartheid transformation, which had positive implications for all of those included in the 'extended' ≠Khomani clan. They were granted land in land-claims in 1999 and the government recognise them as the first people of South Africa. Therefore they achieved a level of respect, which has not been offered to many of the indigenous people around the world in various countries. This is important, because they have rights that are not afforded to many in other countries and to be specific, the !Xoo, who share similar Bushman origin, but not similar privileges.

The !Xoo's Economies of Tracking

Tracking is also widely used by the !Xoo, of Western Botswana, however, their economies of tracking starkly contrast those of the ≠Khomani. They too have actual and virtual uses of tracking, but in a drastically different context, which is where many of the differences are realised.

Actual Tracking in Everyday Life

The !Xoo live in a community where they are a racial minority and have adapted somewhat to exist in 'harmony' with their Setswana neighbours in Ngwatle, a rural settlement in the KD1 concessional area. Tracking is part of their everyday life less than one may expect. They use tracking whilst hunting, when they hold permits to hunt, although permits are infrequent and limited. Hunting is not traditional. They use spears and follow their quarry on donkey back. Tracking is undertaken in a similar fashion as it always was and there is a wealth of knowledge amongst the elders and teenagers, who were keen to prove their ability to the research team.

Animals are plentiful in the !Xoo's immediate vicinity and especially at more distant pans, a day's donkey ride away. Over a period of a few days the field team came across various mammals, such as wildebeest, springbok, gemsbok, steenbok, bat-eared foxes and eland etc., which indicates that, given the opportunity, the community could possibly support themselves from hunting, unlike the ≠Khomani. They also use tracking when poaching small mammals, although economies of hunting and tracking have changed quite rapidly for the !Xoo. Professor Tomaselli observed on his trip to Ngwatle in 2001 that he "agreed to take Kort Jan and Johannes to the hunting grounds at Masetleng Pan, about three hours' drive away. But they did not hunt, their dogs were sick, and they did not have their *pampiere*" (Afrikaans, archaic, for paper/ permits), they said. Previously, they could hunt in terms of quotas. Now they had to have their papers as well; "*jag met pampiere*" ("hunting with papers") is how they

referred to hunting after 2000. Paper is exchanged for meat. Both are in short supply due to the *pampiere* limitations on quotas, species, and seasons (Tomaselli 2003b: 2). Correspondingly, the law is such that if an animal strays into their settlement they are forbidden to hunt and kill it, irrelevant of the species. As mentioned above, the Botswana government maintain the law forcefully and perpetrators are dealt with swiftly and severely. Their dogs, if using any to hunt, are shot on the spot, all related goods - guns, meat, skins and donkeys - are confiscated indefinitely and the hunter arrested. However, the punishment is far more severe in reality - hunters that are caught by police are often beaten up and abused (Fieldnotes 2007).

Interviewees explain that Bushmen are still widely mistreated and oppressed by many Batswana[47], which is a central reason for them wishing to reside apart from other cultures. On the other hand, living in remote desert regions means that the !Xoo are unable to maintain a balanced diet. Their diet, which although subsidised by the government through monthly meat and food rations, is meagre and not healthy (Fieldnotes 2007). If hunters are willing to hunt or poach, given the risks of punishment involved, the situation appears worse than one would expect.

Ngwatle is isolated from its more developed neighbouring towns and receives few visitors. The closest tarmac road is hours away and the roads - deep sandy cutlines through the veld - are arduous at best. So much so, that the Botswana government wanted the community of Ngwatle to relocate to a more central town, with better access. There are several reasons that the community do not wish to leave, but the central reason for the !Xoo is that they do not wish to move away from their ancestral burial ground. The underdeveloped nature of the area lends itself to older forms of sense making, which is understandable, since there are less sense making devices, signs etc. Signs, information offices and explanatory pamphlets give way to an empty desert, sparse dwellings and disjointed footpaths. Furthermore, there is little in the way of cellphone reception and, apart from radio broadcasting, little or no regular mass media distribution. This environment and situation speak directly to a culture that incorporates tracking in their everyday lives.

The !Xoo use tracking to make sense of their environment to a greater extent than the ≠Khomani, which is largely due to their context. Through the interviews with the trackers I established that there were several actual roles that tracking played in everyday life. They used tracking to keep 'track' of their friends and family, using their individual footprints, shoe

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[47] A citizen of Botswana is a Motswana. Batswana is the plural of Motswana.

makes and wear and tear patterns on the underside of their soles as identification. In this way, the !Xoo can deduce several things about their immediate environment by simply looking at the ground. They explain that they could see that their daughter had left the house with their aunt earlier that day and following the direction of their footprints and the situational markings could ascertain where they were going. In modern society, one would simply send someone a message to their cellphone, which is what happens in the ≠Khomani clan. However, the !Xoo use the means of survival that are appropriate to their harsh environment.

The !Xoo also use tracking in order to follow and monitor their pastoral animals. There are no fences, paddocks or fields where the herders can keep their animals. Neither have they built any since the community scattered across a wider area after 1996. They simply mill around the immediate area and are monitored occasionally by the owners. The trackers explained that the animals did not stray far from the water in Ngwatle Pan, since there is no alternative source within a hundred-kilometre radius. Hence they use tracking to keep track of animals and find any that may have strayed from the main herds. Alternatively, and less frequently, they track predators or poachers that are responsible for animal disappearances. Therefore, tracking is an integral part of the !Xoo community's everyday life and has several practical uses. Furthermore, one may understand that remaining 'tracking savvy' is important as a literal connection to the !Xoo's livelihood.

Tourism is not a source of income for the !Xoo other than from the selling of crafts and ostrich shell jewellery. Ngwatle is merely a rural settlement where Bushmen dwell. They rarely dress in skins or traditional clothing and additionally do not represent themselves in any way; they simply are the way they are. Therefore, they have no reason to represent tracking in any way to the researchers. Furthermore, they lack the highly elaborated ≠Khomani conceptual framework (See Bregin and Kruiper 2004) to comprehend and answer complex questions about their own culture and spirituality, which to most tourists and academics would come as quite a disappointment. However, what one receives from the !Xoo are frank and honest answers, without symbolic and commercial manipulation to fit into the interviewer's frame of reference. This makes the trackers ideal candidates for a study in many ways, because they offer straight-forward answers, but on the other hand, this makes researching more challenging, because one is constantly altering questions in order for the interviewees to understand them. Why I foreground this element is because I am reminded of the challenging experience that faced me whilst investigating the !Xoo's virtual uses of tracking.

Virtual Tracking for Nostalgia

One of my findings, during our 2005 field trip to Ngwatle, was that the !Xoo track animals, even though they are not hunting, simply because they achieve an adrenaline rush whilst doing so. They explained, in uncertain terms, that they hunt because they 'are afraid, but not afraid and excited, but careful'. Before partaking in the trip I was warned by academics within the field of Bushmen studies that these are the kinds answers and explanations that are twisted, intertwined and doubled-up, which I should expect. However, after delving more deeply into the concept of tracking for no tangible purpose they began to explain that the reason they do so is a combination of the aforementioned and also that they are reminded of what they did in the past. Kort Jan explained that occasionally when he is following tracks of a gemsbok in a particular area he is in fact reliving experiences from the past. Therefore they also track for the purpose of nostalgia.

Nostalgia is an interesting reason to hunt/track, because it is the only economy of tracking identified within the ≠Khomani and !Xoo that has no tangible side effects or tangible purpose so to speak. Tracking for remembrance-sake is interesting, dynamic and quite surprising. It could be the equivalent of paddling a surfboard in a swimming pool in order to remember surfing. However the !Xoo have a far greater reason than one may expect, which will be summarised from a lengthy interview. The !Xoo use nostalgic tracking in order to connect with their quickly diminishing culture. They are able to appease their ancestors by doing that which was once a deeply engrained aspect of Bushman culture. Furthermore, through tracking in groups, albeit for no tangible purpose, proves to the individual and the group that they still possess that, which was once highly important. This is not unusual, because the ≠Khomani trackers explain that they have been tracking with Louis Liebenberg, where they are all given a chance to prove that they are expert trackers. However, the ≠Khomani do not track for nostalgic purposes amongst themselves in a similar vein.

There is great concern that tracking knowledge is dying out with the present generation of Bushmen trackers. These grave tidings are foregrounded as this is consistent with global homogenisation with its links to cultural commodification (Adorno & Horkheimer 1947). Throughout the world indigenous or marginalised communities have experienced a rapid loss of cultural knowledge and, in doing so, also lose a part of their identity[48]. As broached in the previous chapters, there is the assumption that all Bushmen are innate trackers of the highest order. However, the Bushmen learn about tracking in a similar way to how children learn at school. Older, more experienced individuals teach the younger trackers the knowledge of the

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[48] This is explained in more detail in the Chapters Three and Six.

trade. In a similar way, there are also individuals such as Louis Liebenberg who are attempting to retain Bushmen tracking knowledge.

Traditionally, as explained by Liebenberg in his book *The Art of Tracking* (1990), knowledge is gained by the youth through active experience in the 'field', which was where they lived. Other knowledge, of a more secretive nature, was protected by the older trackers and only passed down to the youth when they have attained a particular rank or height of proficiency. However, with the effects of globalisation and modernisation, much cultural knowledge is being lost through generations.

There are different ways that the ≠Khomani have retained some of their tracking knowledge. Toppies explained that Liebenberg promotes a school, whereby tracking knowledge is passed down to younger members of the community. This is not a school in the traditional sense and is more of a workshop of sorts, where the senior trackers educate the youth. In this way, there is a structure that is offered to the ≠Khomani in order to ensure that youth are given the opportunity to learn about tracking and how to track. This structure also allows the elders to actively gauge the progress of the students. Additionally, Liebenberg also takes some of the more senior trackers tracking in more animal populated areas, such as the KTP, on tracking trips. These expeditions serve a similar purpose to the 'tracking competitions' held by the !Xoo, where the ability of all the individuals are tested and shown off by the tracking participants. These experiences serve to hone the tracking skills that could otherwise become stale from less use, or more specifically, less use in areas where there is an array of high densities of different animals.

Another aspect is that due to the fact that the ≠Khomani, who are employed as tourism tracking guides, are indirectly retaining cultural knowledge. Through this on-going employment they are practicing tracking on a regular basis and, considering they need to explain their findings in detail to tourists, have to remain somewhat proficient. Hence, tracking and learning how to track have adapted in different ways in modernity and speaks to the concept of culture in a constant state of flux, which I will deal with in more detail hereunder.

The !Xoo's tracking knowledge learning is a stark contrast to the ≠Khomani's and are also much closer to the traditional paradigms of Bushmen learning (mentioned earlier) and is predominantly due to their context. Ngwatle is situated in a far more remote, isolated, less modern and more sparsely populated area than Witdraai. The rural nature of the settlement did not allow access to tarmac roads or many modern structural buildings (until 2009 when a

School was built at Ngwatle). Therefore the immediate vicinity is more appropriate for tracking, given that there is a greater area in which the community can ply their trade. The tracks are not broken or manipulated by surfaces that do not lend themselves to tracking. The area is covered by fine desert sand, which is ideal for tracking.

The way the !Xoo learn tracking links to their uses of tracking. They use tracking regularly in making sense of their environment on a daily basis. In this way, knowledge is passed from generation to generation in a similar way that it was in the past. Children learn about tracking as part of their everyday existence, although there is little direct reference therein through the community. There is little importance or emphasis on tracking among the community, however, the knowledge is still passed between generations. Testament to this is that when we went tracking to the saltpan in 2007. Keatshaba, was one of the representatives who was chosen to go tracking by Viste Jan and is in his early twenties, whereas the other trackers are in their forties or beyond. He displayed as much proficiency as his partners, but was respectful and more distanced than the more experienced and senior trackers, displaying his knowledge only when asked or when conferring with the other trackers.

However, on inquiry, the other trackers are worried that tracking knowledge will die with their generation. More specifically, they suspect that the growing separation of the !Xoo from nature and animals is leading to a steady dying of cultural knowledge in general. Hence, although the younger generations are able to use tracking in everyday life they are lost in the nuances of tracking animals and hunting, which they explain are casualties of a modernising world and aggressive government legislation which does not recognise Bushmen or the !Xoo as a separate culture.

What is clear through the analysis of the ≠Khomani and !Xoo's uses of tracking is that tracking still has certain uses in a modernising world, albeit alternative and more analytical. The ≠Khomani have found uses for tracking on a tourism orientated economic level, which has inadvertently allowed them to retain their culture, to a certain extent. The !Xoo exist in a more complex and situation, where their settlement, until 2007, was not recognised by the government as the ≠Khomani are, and thus are unable have the same tourist orientated economy. However, they do still maintain their use of tracking, even if it is more of a practical use in sense making. These points link to Liebenberg's (1990) concept of what he terms 'cultural evolution', but I refer to a 'culture in a constant state of flux'. One can understand how changes and shifts in how tracking is practiced are an example of culture that is never static and is always in the process of change, because, in a practical sense, it is how cultures have adapted in order to exist in a modernising world. Cultural shifts are more

noticeable in communities like the Bushmen, because they have been in contact with modernity for a shorter period and to a lesser extent than other citizens. Similarly, it is also easier to see the development of Bushmen culture, because the stereotypes associated with the Bushmen are predominantly caricatures of the past.

In conclusion, it is quite clear that globalisation has had a certain influence over the Bushmen and tracking. Additionally, it is possible to understand how the constantly changing culture, in relation to tracking, is visible through the alternative uses of tracking in the two subject communities. Thus it is clear as to how tracking has changed, but an important facet to analyse is how the representation of tracking has changed within the two communities and what implications this has in relation to concepts of representation and identity.

How Tracking is Represented by the ≠Khomani and the !Xoo

In order to understand the various dynamics within the two communities, it is important to gain an understanding of the academic pursuit behind remote community research. Complex representations and observations form part of anthropological and academic analyses of indigenous cultures. Traditions, spirituality and practices were, before their mass media representation, merely part of 'Bushman life'. When academics recorded their findings of unique cultures, such as the Bushmen, they were enquiries and collections of knowledge in order to better understand a culture (Dyll 2004; Durington 2009). It is quite unusual for a culture to interrogate themselves and understand their own culture on a critical level, because practices and traditions are part of everyday life and not usually questioned; at least, not on a deeply critical level. In this sense, it is not usual for someone to interrogate why a cultural practice is important to one's spirituality.

Representation is an important facet of identity, however, self-representation is arguably more so. Of course, there is the link between how an ethnicity is represented by the public and media and the stereotypes they portray. Additionally, as Barker explains, "stereotypes are regarded as vivid but simple representations which reduce persons to a set of exaggerated, usually negative character traits. Thus stereotyping reduces, essentialises, natualises and fixes "difference"" (1999: 36). This is because stereotypes adopt an exaggerated explanation of that which they represent. In this sense, the Bushmen do know how to track, but not in the same capacity or same way that most stereotypes and representations suggest. This connects to Simões' notion that it is "important to examine how an individual or group is represented from the outside (and whether they identify with or contest that representation) in order to

understand their identity" (2001: 34). The examination of the stereotyping of the Bushmen in the previous chapters will be used to explain whether or not the two communities identify with, reject or are oblivious to the representation of Bushmen at large. Furthermore, I will use Stuart Hall's theory of collective identity, encompassing the essentialist and non-essentialist paradigms of identity, in order to explain the ≠Khomani and !Xoo's sense of collective identity.

The ≠Khomani and Identity

The ≠Khomani exist in a highly complex web of politics, poverty and privilege (White 1995; Finlay 2009; SAHRC 2004; Robins 2001). One may note, through these conflicting descriptions, how extreme their situation is, however, the reality of the situation is in fact far more complex. In the past decades the ≠Khomani have made an astounding leap from being one of the most persecuted cultures/races in Apartheid South Africa, to being on of the most celebrated races/cultures in the 'New' South Africa. This is not to say that they are employed in high, well-paid positions, but they were granted land claims, formally apologised to and 'given back their dignity' by the post 1994 African National Congress government. Through this exceptional context, it is no surprise that the ≠Khomani possess a unique sense of identity. In order to comprehend the identity of the ≠Khomani community, it is also important to analyse the way certain cultural components are represented by outsider (the public, media etc.) but more importantly how the ≠Khomani choose to represent themselves.

Through the course of the previous chapters one is able to understand how tracking is intertwined and connected to the understanding of the Bushmen in general. This representation has been propagated through mass media, film, education systems and tourism publications. It comes as no surprise that most people view the Bushmen as one solitary race, or that most people are disappointed that the various communities have integrated themselves into modern society. In a sense, the aforementioned bodies of information set the public up for this disappointment through painting the Bushmen as their pre-modern ancestors. Additionally, it is also no surprise that the ≠Khomani are well aware of how they are represented and the expectations of the public.

Interactions, interviews and conversations with the ≠Khomani trackers made me realise that both the essentialist and non-essentialist understandings of identity are subscribed to by the community at different moments. There is the element, outlined by Hall, of how the ≠Khomani want to be recognised as one people who have endured a similar history of

oppression, shared circumstances and experience. In fact, the ≠Khomani have attempted, to comply with essentialist understandings. This can be seen and understood in relation to the way they wish to be known as a 'Boesman' and want to live the same existence as their ancestors. There is a link, on some level, that there is a "universal and transcendental spirit inside us on which history has made no fundamental mark" (Hall 1990: 226). One element, which throws their 'authenticity' into doubt, is that the ≠Khomani factor in this representation in order to make their community seem more 'authentic' for tourists and outsiders. However, there is also validity in their exhibition of an essentialist identity, though it is unclear if the fervent desire to make an 'absolute return' to the pre-modern culture of their ancestors is enough to assume that they have a deep-seated belief in the possibility therein. Either way, the ≠Khomani do subscribe to an essentialist understanding of Bushmen culture in these ways. What is interesting is the ≠Khomani's active resistance of non-essentialist and more global explanations, that is the non-essentialist understandings of culture where "past conditions, or 'history', are forgotten in the interests of producing the fantasy of the subject as self-constituted and autonomous" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 139). In contrast there is a stress to return to the traditional essentialist model where "an individual receives an identity through interaction with their 'community'" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 139).

In addition to the essentialist paradigms that the ≠Khomani represent in their projection of their own identity, there is also a definite element of non-essentialism within the community. The non-essentialist model, according to Hall, exhibits a collective identity that is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being' (1990: 226). Another element the non-essentialist model, which is of particular interest and importance in relation to the ≠Khomani's identity, is the recognition that is possible at once to possess a fractured and situational identity. Hence, instead of being a Bushman in the traditional sense of the word, who is solely concerned with Bushman culture and traditions, it is possible to be a Bushman, ≠Khomani, South African, man, husband, farmer and tracker etc. Each role has a different responsibility attached to it and has different influences on one's identity. Furthermore, the ≠Khomani identity reflects this fragmented dynamic, although the trackers do not necessarily wish tourists to become aware of their multifaceted identity, because they are substantially more marketable as pre-modern caricatures. Thus the trackers slip into a role and represent themselves as having the same identity as how they are represented by the mass media , which brings the model to a full circle.

The ≠Khomani are aware of how they are represented by the media and public, and expediently make a substantial effort to fit this stereotype. I am not saying that the ≠Khomani do not have a true Bushman identity, spirituality, culture etc. However, it is clear that the

≠Khomani identity is fragmented and is not the 'authentic, pre-modern, skin wearing' essentialist paradigm that they wish to represent to tourists and outsiders. Furthermore, it is not a situation where it is necessary to condemn them for this dynamic. It is, however, an interesting side effect of globalisation on small, indigenous, marginalised communities and an exhibition of the pressures connected with existence in a modernising world. Additionally, it exhibits that a dilemma arises when modern society that affords its citizens to fit into so many discursive roles is not happy when its expectations are challenged.

How Tracking is Represented by the !Xoo

This dissertation was designed and conducted through the connection between the ≠Khomani and !Xoo as post-hunter Bushman communities. A concept that has become increasingly important in this dissertation and analysis is how the context of a community has such an array of impacts on a great number of elements/facets of culture, none more so than identity. The !Xoo Bushmen exist in a similar dynamic to the ≠Khomani during the Apartheid era, in the sense that they are not recognised as a different culture. Furthermore, the Government used to manage them by limiting their food and water rations, as well as exerting the pressure until 2008 for them to relocate. The ≠Khomani were forced to re-locate when they had previously lived in or near the national parks, in doing so forsaking the connection they had to their ancestors. This was one of the premises of the land claims in 1999.

Tracking, to the !Xoo, is simply something that their ancestors did and what they continue to do. They do not make any in depth connection to how it influences their culture or spirituality. Furthermore, they do not possess the critical ability to explain in depth concepts or complex issues. The !Xoo trackers on both the 2005 and 2007 field trips did not make explicit representations of tracking or their prowess therein. However, they do explain that tracking is part of them and it is what they love to do.

A point of interest is that they fear that their descendants will not be able to track animals and have the same experiences, which they once had. This speaks at once to identity, in the sense that their fear stems from the fact that their children will not be able to have the same, shared experiences as this generation of trackers had, as well as those before them. The trackers on the 2005 trip 'recalled their fondest memories of hunting and living a far closer life to that of their ancestors' (Field notes 2005). Traditionalism and spirituality is brought to the fore through the !Xoo's actions and memories or what they say, though they do not make direct references to tradition, spirituality or identity. The !Xoo are aware they are Bushmen; they do

not flaunt it, or make it a focal point of our interviews/conversations. They are not aware of global representations of Bushmen, nor do they place particular importance on what others think or understand about them or tracking. Furthermore, they display interest in our 'western' culture as much as we are in theirs.

The ≠Khomani explain the nuances of Bushman culture and spirituality to tourists in a similar way to how academics record their findings in journals. They raise complex concepts and ideas dealing with common stereotypes, which ties in with the collective essentialist identity, which represents the 'essentialised past' (Hall 1990: 226). This raises many questions and proves unclear whether the ≠Khomani represent themselves in this essentialist mode in order to recover this 'essentialist' past as outlined in the collective models of identity. However, what is clear is that the ≠Khomani's identity is more fragmented than the !Xoo's.

Identity in the !Xoo's context is different and less pressured, because there are not the same overtures of societal pressures; such as, overt media attention, tourist interaction and foreigner interaction in general that is found in the ≠Khomani's context. The !Xoo do not represent themselves in the essentialist 'Bushman' mould, which suggests that they have little or no knowledge of how they are depicted in the media. Hence, the !Xoo are less aware of how they are represented by the media, which reduces the likelihood of their identity and their self-representation being altered, in comparison to the ≠Khomani. Furthermore, it is clear (though the previous paragraphs) that they do not make any attempts to elaborate, emphasise or embellish their sense of identity or self-representation by making use of Bushman stereotypes. Hence, the way the !Xoo represent tracking and hunting as part of their life, though they do not make any overt symbolic representations of which, speaks to the fact that tracking is part of their identity. They are secure in tracking's place in their culture without making direct reference to tracking being part of their 'Bushman' culture.

It is clear that the !Xoo assume a non-essentialist identity and do not attempt to foreground their essentialist 'Bushman' characteristics. Their identity is as much in a state of 'becoming' as well as of 'being' (Simões 2001: 2). Though there is no overt representation of the !Xoo as Bushmen, they still have clear connections to cultural practices and traditions of their ancestors, none more so that the practice of tracking. Although the !Xoo are not the 'authentic' Bushmen of history books, they display a less fragmented identity as Bushman descendants than the ≠Khomani, many of who wish to be viewed as a their ancestors. A possibility is that the !Xoo, who are less aware of the representations of themselves are also less prone to grappling with the dual dynamic of how others view them in comparison to how they view themselves.

Globalisation's Part in Identity Construction

The aforementioned concepts, of representation and identity, link directly to the effect of globalisation in two different contexts. Globalisation, in the two communities' context, can be measured in their sense of identities, self-representation and awareness of Bushman stereotypes, which are propagated and perpetuated through the media.

Globalisation plays a large part in identity construction. In this globalisation context there is an element of exposure to representations and stereotypes of many concepts, ideas, cultures and people. In the past, there was a strong sense of ethics, truth and knowledge, however; in modern society the essence of the boundaries of the mass media are endless, with a sole preoccupation with profit margins. Correspondingly, the media have chosen to widely represent the Bushmen as their Palaeolithic forbears, because the image of a rural dweller who is struggling with existence in modernising world is not nearly as marketable. So too has become the mental state of the people themselves, who find themselves in a similar dilemma of 'represent what sells'. Furthermore, this plays a large part in identity construction, because one very often clings onto stereotypes, as they are the 'norm' - albeit a norm created by the media. The problem arises when foreigners only wish to accept one facet of identity and do not acknowledge or accept the fragmented facets that exist within ones identity.

It is clear from the outset that the ≠Khomani live in a far more modern situation/context and have had far more contact with the media, foreigners[49] and hence have also felt a strong influence from globalisation. Most of the community members have cellphones, radios and also have contact with other media, such as television, (though to a lesser extent). They have interacted with both local and international tourists, filmmakers, advertisers and academics, most of whom lead their enquiries and purposes towards Bushman culture and stereotypes. These interactions have shaped an informal education on what the foreign expectations of the ≠Khomani are - as Bushmen/ descendants thereof. Furthermore, the ≠Khomani's identity, as Bushmen, has been shaped by the expectations and norms that are conveyed through the media and their selective reading of anthropological texts. Correspondingly, it is possible to understand how "identities are constituted in (and through) cultural representations (including those produced by television) with which 'we' (or more appropriately in this sense 'they') identify" (Barker 1999: 33). Hence, the 'Bushman' fragment of the ≠Khomani identity is the sole representation which they in turn choose to represent the media. Therefore, the influence of globalisation, which comes largely through mass media, also has implications on an

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[49] Foreigners, meaning tourists and other people who are not part of the ≠Khomani community.

individual's identity; in the sense that representations of the media often define a culture, like the ≠Khomani's, identity.

On the other hand, the !Xoo have 'felt' the effects of globalisation to a lesser extent and in a different way. This arises largely to the fact that they have had less exposure to different media sources, because they live in such an underdeveloped area. There is the additional element that "to a very large extent the subject has always been a territorial identity: *in place* as a member of a kinship group; *in place* as part of an ethnic collectivity; and definitely *in place* under the national principle of territoriality" (Schirato and Webb 2006: 148). However, the scale and scope of the media, which reaches the ≠Khomani, far outreaches the media infiltration in Ngwatle. The !Xoo do have exposure to some media, mainly radio, but more importantly, they do not have direct exposure to the producers thereof. This is an important facet, because there is evidence that the ≠Khomani's awareness of Bushmen identity, stereotypes and representation stems from their interaction with these 'producers'[50]. Therefore, the !Xoo are not acutely aware of the media's representation of the Bushmen, which can in turn be an exhibition of what extent globalisation has, or more appropriately 'has not', had an effect on them. Thus, the !Xoo do not represent themselves in the same way as the ≠Khomani, because they are largely unaware and somewhat untouched, in a direct sense, by the mass media.

Literacy and Tracking

Through this dissertation, the reader has been offered various accounts of how complex the practice of tracking is, however; another question of how tracking can be linked/comparable to literacy was also posed. Chamberlin's book, *If This is Your Land, Where are Your Stories* (2004), was the initial source of this enquiry[51] in which he makes the connection between reading and tracking. There are obvious connections between reading and tracking in the sense that both are taking in signs through sight and comprehended internally in order to create meaning. Literacy is used as the basis for communication and of understanding in the modern world. We are accustomed to reading signs (cf. Tomaselli 1996), which have become an intrinsic part of our everyday lives, that a Coca-Cola logo largely represents a café or tearoom where one can find refreshment. The use of road signs as navigation assistants is wholly part of modern culture, without which most people would be absolutely lost. These are only signs in the most literal sense, but are an effective example of comparison between

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[50] Filmmakers, advertisers, journalists and writers who have visited, or used, the ≠Khomani to produce their content.
[51] As explained in the Chapter Three.

written signs and tracks in the sand utilised by the ≠Khomani and !Xoo communities. In order to expand slightly and attempt to follow Chamberlin's enquiry through, the question was posed to the trackers.

Conceptually, there is the possibility that sense-making qualities expose a link between reading and tracking. One possibility is that tracking is used in remote, post-hunter communities in a similar way to how reading is used in the modern society to make sense of the environment. In the past, the ability to read signs and track animals defined whether one would eat and survive in the harshest environments. Thus communities that were the most adept at reading the environment were the most successful and similarly why the Bushmen survived in the harshest environment. Thus tracking became a quality that developed and was passed down generations in order to ensure the continuing survival of the clan or family. In modern society, the ability to track and read signs left in the environment is still a valid form of survival in a modernising world. Developed countries and populations have been post-hunter gatherers for centuries longer than the Bushmen. They need different forms of knowledge in order to survive. In this sense, reading books and worldly knowledge were needed in order to survive and often defines wealth or, in essence, the capacity for one family to survive.

If one takes into account the perspectives of trackers themselves, it is possible to understand how closely the ≠Khomani link the ability to read to gaining financial wealth. Toppies agreed that tracking was the same as reading for him, because it was how he made sense of his world and it is what he got paid for. Additionally, there is a strong element of understanding or knowing about our environment in both communities. Silikat explained that there was no difference between signs in the sand or signs on the side of the road, because 'they both help us to understand what is around us'. The !Xoo trackers 'explained that we (foreigners) read 'things' to understand where we are. They on the other hand read signs in the sand and veld so that they understand what is happening in 'their world''. Hence, there is a correlation in both communities in the way they understand reading, but also how they use tracking in a similar way to how we use reading in its most basic form.

Another perspective that arose in the research is reading for the purpose of enjoyment, in the case of the !Xoo tracking for nostalgic purposes. This is akin to reading novels or books for enjoyment's sake, which is a dynamic that I have not found in any of the research on tracking. Conceptually, tracking for alternative purposes and 'virtual' means, such as enjoyment, nostalgia and tourism, links to Liebenberg's concept of cultures in a constant state of flux. It is also indicative of how certain cultures and cultural practices are adapted to their

environments in different ways, depending on their contexts. Though ≠Khomani and the !Xoo do not have a depth in literature or reading, they are experts in reading the texts of the environment[52].

CyberTracking and Hope for the Future of Tracking

What is clear through the prior points is that globalisation and the rapid advancement of technology poses a set of unique challenges for remote communities. The growing redundancy of cultural practices in modern society is also increasingly evident, something that is apparent in both Witdraai and Ngwatle. Correspondingly, new and innovative ideas are needed to ensure the preservation of cultural practices and cultural knowledge bases in these communities. Both SASI and the UTTE are promising organisations, which undoubtedly improve the preservation of Bushman culture. However, Liebenberg's invention of CyberTracker is a groundbreaking move to record and store cultural knowledge.

CyberTracker utilises a hand-held device and user interface that allows the tracker to record information about the environment with pinpoint accuracy via GPS coordinates. "Some of the best traditional trackers in Africa cannot read or write. To overcome this problem the CyberTracker was developed with an icon-based user interface that enabled expert non-literate trackers to record complex geo-referenced observations on animal behaviour" (Liebenberg 2000). In this sense, CyberTracker connects the age old practice of tracking with digital technology and introduces exciting new possibilities for remote communities that "could no longer live as hunter-gatherers and needed jobs" (Liebenberg 2000).

Therefore, CyberTracker paves the way for, "the cultural transition from hunter-gatherer to the modern computer age. The ancient art of tracking can be revitalised and developed into a new science to monitor the impact of climate change on biodiversity. A new science that can help us solve one of the most complex challenges of the future" (Liebenberg 2000).
It is clear that, "the use by San game rangers of the CyberTracker is certainly a boost for mapping animal locations and movement patterns in national parks. Employment is created; population management is enhanced; and indigenous knowledge is encoded into information age technology" (Tomaselli 2001: 80). Liebenberg introduced

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[52] It is clear through this section that there are links between literacy and tracking and I think that there is a great deal more for one to analyse in further studies on the subject. However, I will not seek to elaborate further, because this topic is not a central focus of this dissertation.

CyberTracking to the ≠Khomani community; though it is unclear to what extent they have been employed to perform CyberTracking.

What becomes immediately apparent through these revelations is that tracking now offers the possibility of formal employment in the park, although in some cases, "the CyberTracker … is less useful to San hunters than it is to wildlife and conservation authorities, safari companies, and tourists. The bulk of the current use of the CyberTracker is by conservation authorities" (Tomaselli 2001: 80). What cannot be ignored, however, is that CyberTracking brings the Bushmen into the digital world and allows them to enhance, retrain and retain their traditional skills, drawing on their current skill set.

Chapter Seven: Where is Tracking Going?

Conclusions

Rapidly advancing technology, telecommunications and digital media are leading to a swift evolution of cultural practices throughout the world. These digital media, better transport and growing technology capabilities are making it easier to study and analyse remote communities such as the Bushmen and other indigenous cultures. Furthermore, and similarly, increased technology is also allowing us more ways to contest popular mediated representations of these minority cultures.

This research has used two communities of similar Bushman ethnic background in order to perform a comparative analysis. This argument has been formulated in such a way that globalisation and its effects on certain cultures can be determined. Additionally, this dissertation has contextualised the effects of globalisation in remotely situated communities.

Most globalisation theorists analyse the effects of globalisation in general terms. Using two similar communities, as part of this comparative analysis, has allowed a focus on the degree of that the effects globalisation is having in two specific contexts. The recurring themes of representation, identity, stereotypes and cultural shifts have formed the different bases of analysis. On one hand, there is an investigation into the Bushmen and how they have adapted to living in modern society. Popular media representations frame the Bushmen as a culture struggling to exist in a rapidly technologically developing world. They are depicted as being lost and unable to cope within modern society. However, on the other hand, after closer scrutiny, they have merely adapted, culturally and otherwise, to existence in their particular contexts.

One striking characteristic that is identified through this research is how an increased media proliferation has definite effects on identity. It is clear that the media's representation of Bushmen has infiltrated the ≠Khomani community's identity and has become part and parcel of their self-representation. It is also testament to the "entrenched and enduring patterns of worldwide interconnectedness" (Held & McGrew 2000: 235). Fragmented identities that are commonly associated with highly complex modern societies are also evident in the ≠Khomani trackers. This can be further observed in their ability to adapt in order to coincide with various visitors' spheres of reference; such as changing their clothes, conversation topics etc. This indicates an altering frame of "cultural meaning and the intensification of global consciousness" (Barker 1999: 36).

Comparatively, the !Xoo have had less exposure to the media, foreigners and academics. Their identity construction takes place within their community and their understanding of their own culture is developed through interactions with community members. There is no obvious element of representing themselves in any particular way. Additionally, they display a less fragmented sense of identity. In a sense, the !Xoo have a stronger cultural identity, because the media has had less of an influence on their lives.

Tracking was used as a lens into a culture known for being hunter-gatherers. Hence, popular stereotypes and representations of Bushmen in general were used as points of entry into the topic of culture in a constant state of flux. The concept of cultural shifts was the basis for an interrogation of how tracking has changed; from the more traditional aspects used in hunting to its adaptation in a twenty first century context.

The ≠Khomani's increase interaction with tourists, foreigners and media practitioners, which can be defined as "the intensification of world-wide social relations" (Giddens 1990: 64), has led to tracking taking on a form of entertainment. Their representation of tracking therefore coincides with this guise of a traditional cultural practice, which is not greatly evolved in comparison to tracking used by the ≠Khomani's ancestors. Tracking has become a means for the ≠Khomani to earn a living in modern society, as well as providing a lure for international tourists wanting to have a traditional Bushman experience. The ≠Khomani live just off a main road connected to Uppington[53] and their frequency of visitors is due to their accessibility. Tracking's evolution is an illustration of "the growing interconnectedness of different parts of the world, which gives rise to complex forms of interaction and interdependency" (Rantanen 2005: 149).

The !Xoo's use of tracking has too evolved, however, its trajectory is different to the ≠Khomani's. This is largely due to their contextual differences and the fact that the !Xoo live in a highly inaccessible region. The !Xoo do not use tracking for tourism or sell their cultural identity, because they get fewer visitors and foreigners. They do contract their tracking services to SBB which hosts big game hunters, however. While in this sense a service that is sold, they see it as a job quite different to tracking by themselves for themselves (and us, the researchers). In this latter sense, tracking is practice aimed at recovery of a sense of place, space, culture and time. The contextual evolution of tracking has led to its continuing use as a sense-making device in their environment. Additionally, tracking is still used in more traditional ways for hunting and tracking, though considerably less frequently.

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[53] A city in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa.

Literacy and its necessity in modern society is contested in remote communities. The concept of cultural negotiations and shifts also speaks to how particular cultural practices have shifted in order to fill particular roles in society. Instead of reading traditional texts, the ≠Khomani and !Xoo communities use tracking to make sense and define meaning in their context. In cities and modern society, knowledge and one's ability to exist successfully are attributed to what a person knows (or has read) and how successfully they can make sense of their environment. In less developed areas, the ≠Khomani and !Xoo's ability to make sense of their environment (through tracking) largely defines how successfully they exist in their context. Therefore, there are certain parallels which are drawn between literacy and tracking.

Modern society is discerned by an adherence to expectations, perpetuated stereotypes and rapid technological development. Though these traits it is interesting to analyse and attempt to understand how it effects different sects of society, none more so that those that exist in remote areas. What the future holds for a unique culture like the Bushman is an interesting concept. However, what is clear is that a culture can adapt, be sustained and exist in modern society, that is, given they have a motivation to do so.

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