

Dwelling in tourism

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Dwelling in tourism

Power and myth amongst
Bushmen in Southern Africa

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Cover photo: Shadows interacting: Toppies Kruiper of the South Kalahari Bushmen tracking and writing in the sand for my girlfriend Lisa, a semi-tourist, and me, an anthro-tourist, in Kgalagadi [photo: Stasja Koot]

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To Lisa and Timo, with love

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Prologue: Books and care

When I went to Sub-Saharan Africa for the first time in 1998, many people told me that once you have ‘touched’ Africa, you will keep going back. A cliché, maybe, but true for me. As a Masters student of anthropology, I had travelled a lot. My experiences as a *tourist* were abundant and varied, but *not* in Sub-Saharan Africa. It was then, during my first visit to Tsintsabis, Namibia, in 1998/1999 that I started *caring* for ‘Africa’ and specifically for ‘the Bushmen’.² And I now realise this is an essential part of the reason why I am still connected. It was then that I read Robert Pirsig’s philosophical novel *Lila* (1991) that triggered my enthusiasm for anthropology again after I had lost interest in it a bit, thinking it was not ‘scientific’ because it was not ‘objective’. *Lila* showed me that anthropology was important, and so I started *caring*. In the book, an anthropologist working with native Americans explains that “(t)he only way to find out about Indians is to *care* for them and win their love and respect” (*Ibid.*: 43). Today I am aware that my personal caring was the start of a paternalistic attitude that I developed over time.

Another book I read at the time was Robert Gordon’s *Picturing Bushmen: The Denver African Expedition of 1925* (1997), which changed my mindset and I began to see the Bushmen as ‘victimised’ people. It also familiarised me with the theme of ‘representation’. In 2001 I wrote some short prose entitled *Sketches of Tsintsabis*, where I wrote about reading *Picturing Bushmen*:

While reading, I realise more and more how important the views of other people have been, concerning the contemporary situation of the Bushmen. I think about many things that I was told about them so far and realise that I can put them in a better perspective now. Not only things from the research (my MA), but also remarks from tourists and other people. I think about it: “How much we all love the *primitive* Bushmen ... who really cares about them *now*?” (Koot 2002)

Obviously, victimisation, representation and caring cannot be seen as separate issues. Today, some 14 years later, my view has become a lot more nuanced but the *caring* has not become any less. Looking at this critically can raise questions such as ‘Which Bushmen exactly do you care for?’, ‘Do you care for all or just a few Bushmen?’, ‘Is caring not patronising to a certain extent?’, ‘And if so, at what price?’, and so on. And I do not deny such questions, indeed, I welcome them. However, I do not always have the

² The terms Bushmen, San or Basarwa are used to describe the original hunter-gatherers of Southern Africa and are all synonyms with slightly negative connotations (Saugestad 2001: 28-29). In this thesis I use the term ‘Bushmen’, which is sometimes considered derogatory or racist. It was dropped in favour of the term ‘San’, but this also has a derogatory connotation. The Bushmen had and still have over a dozen self-applied terms because of the tremendous linguistic diversity (cf. Lee 1979: 29-30). The continued use of ‘San’ by academics seems to further mystify the people that are in Namibia called ‘Bushmen’ by most people, while there is no reason to pretend that the change of term would reduce the invidiousness and racism that exists in the various relationships with other cultures, which is where the terms get their emotive content (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 6). The people of Tsintsabis tend to use ‘Bushmen’ and in 1999 and between 2003 and 2007 when I lived with them I became familiar with ‘Bushmen’ as a collective name for the (former) hunter-gatherers of Southern Africa. However, this does not mean I consider this to be a ‘better’ name, I needed to make a choice.

answers. I just know that from my personal experiences I care, and it is because of this that I am still connected with ‘the Bushmen’ today.

In the conclusion to my MA thesis, I recommended setting up community-based tourism in Tsintsabis (Koot 2000: 87-89, see Annex 7). And when I made this suggestion, I did not expect it to happen. But the idea of going back myself to achieve it later began to take shape. After I finished a second MA, this time in environmental studies (two super-structured years that turned out to be a very useful add-on for this PhD research) which allowed me a more ‘scientific’ or ‘objective’ approach, I started working on Treesleeper. I went back to Namibia in 2002/2003 for another six months, which was the start of Treesleeper Camp, and I then lived in (Windhoek and) Tsintsabis again from January 2004 until June 2007. The idea for this PhD came at the end of 2008 when Wouter van Beek asked me to write an article about Treesleeper (Koot 2012) for *African Hosts and Their Guests: Cultural Dynamics of Tourism* (Van Beek & Schmidt 2012b). The writing of this article rekindled a fire in me (the fire of care?) and we discussed my doing a PhD. I officially started at Tilburg University, the Netherlands in February 2009 even though I had a full-time job then and had been out of academia for about eight years. I decided to pursue this course as I felt I really knew about ‘something’. Bushmen? Tourism? Conservation? Or even, Africa? I was not sure then what exactly I knew ‘something’ about. I had noticed throughout the years that ‘we’ often lack an understanding of ‘them’, or ‘the other’, and vice versa. It is amazing how many people over the years have explained to me that ‘Bushmen, they don’t understand it’, ‘they just don’t get it’ and a variety of other similar remarks, in which ‘it’ generally refers to elements of modernisation, western thoughts and values such as handling money or tourists. Many people (from NGOs, tourists, blacks, whites, academics, journalists, politicians and so on) point a finger at the Bushmen once in a while, which is the easy way of talking about their problems: just say what ‘they’ do wrong, what ‘they’ do not understand, and you will be left with a feeling that ‘you’ at least have done your job. In the end, it is easy to blame the weakest, those in the margins of society. However, mentioning all that ‘they’ do not understand, I have learned, is simply a reflection showing that ‘we’, outsiders, often do not understand why they do what they do, when ‘they’ do not do what ‘we’ know is ‘good’. I do not deny the Bushmen’s own responsibility and their agency, in fact I argue for that, but ‘we’ so often forget to see our own perceptions and prejudices on Bushmen issues. Indeed, *caring* made me learn to listen and look more carefully. So I went back again because I *cared*, which is a very non-scientific and non-ambitious motivation but provided a very strong drive nonetheless. Based on my experiences, I wanted to say what was *really* happening in these often difficult relations and processes when Bushmen dwell in an environment of tourism and conservation.

I truly hope, in all humbleness, that I have managed to increase our understanding. You can judge for yourself. Happy reading!

Stasja Koot, Rotterdam, 2013

List of abbreviations

ASLF	African Safari Lodge Foundation
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CBO	Community-based organisation
CCMS	Centre for Communication, Media & Society
CPA	Communal Property Association (South Africa)
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (South Africa)
DLA	Department of Land Affairs (South Africa)
FSTN	Foundation for Sustainable Tourism in Namibia
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation
JMB	Joint Management Board
KA	Kyaramacan Association
KAZA	Kavango Zambezi TFCA
KFO	Kuru Family of Organisations
LAC	Legal Assistance Centre
LCFN	Living Culture Foundation Namibia
LIFE	Living in a Finite Environment
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism (Namibia)
MLR	Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (Namibia, formerly the MLRR, the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation)
MLRR	See MLR
NACOBTA	Namibia Community-Based Tourism Assistance Trust (formerly the Namibia Community-Based Tourism Association)
NACSO	Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisations
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NNC	Nyae Nyae Conservancy (formerly the Ju/Wa Farmers' Union)
NNDFN	Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia
NWR	Namibia Wildlife Resorts
RCC	Roads Contractor Company
SADF	South African Defence Force
SANParks	South African National Parks
SASI	South African San Institute
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
TFCA	Trans Frontier Conservation Area
TFPD	Transfrontier Parks Destinations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VSO	Voluntary Services Overseas
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa
WWF	World Wildlife Fund for Nature
ZAR	South African Rand

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Although it is at times a very lonely process, one cannot (and should not) write a PhD without the support of others. It is in these relations that I was really *taught* about life, in addition to the academic progress that I am sure I made, and most of my self-reflection happened because of my relationships with you all. The time has come to mention you individually and give you the respect and appreciation you all deserve. This PhD is not only my PhD, it is ‘ours’.

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Stasja Koot, Rotterdam, 2013

Note on orthography

‘Khoisan’ is the collective name for the Khoi-Khoi or Nama and Bushmen or San, who share certain physical characteristics and speak languages containing ‘clicks’ that can be written either in the ‘Khoisan system’ or the ‘Bantu system’:

Table 0.1 Click sounds in the two most common systems

	Khoisan system	Bantu system
Bilabial click	⊙	no symbol
Dental click	/	C
Alveolar click	≠	(‘tc’ can be used)
Lateral click	//	X
Palatal click	!	Q

Source: Barnard (2007: 9).

Except when names are written in the Bantu system, I use the Khoisan system in this thesis, as it is most frequently found in the literature. For a longer description of Khoisan ‘clicks’ and pronunciation, see Barnard (1992: xviii-xxv; 2007: 8-10), Saugestad (2001: 16; 2004a) and Widlok (1999: xvii-xviii).

“The less we’re involved with science, the better,” Susannah said darkly. In spite of her brief nap while leaning against the door ... (S)he looked haggard, done almost to death. “Look where it’s gotten this world.”

(From *The Dark Tower VII: The Dark Tower*, by Stephen King 2004: 146)

You know, they (tourists) are not always the same ... Some are friendly, some are not friendly, but still, you have to handle them, like an egg.

(≠Oma Leon Tsamkxao, Interview 73)

Introduction

Bushmen dynamics in tourism

Bushmen groups in Southern Africa were until recently living a hunter-gatherer lifestyle that created an image of them as icons of the past. Modernisation is now influencing the Bushmen's environment and one of the important elements is tourism, often in relation to conservation strategies, which play a central role in the image of Bushmen as hunter-gatherers. This thesis is about the dynamics of Bushmen who dwell in tourism.

Research into tourism has only recently started to focus on perceptions of host communities. This has been a relatively undiscovered field in tourism studies, partly because tourism as a social phenomenon was ignored by western social science (Nash & Smith 1991: 12-13; V. Smith 1989b: x-xi). This changed in 1977 with the publication of *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (V. Smith 1977). As Erve Chambers wrote, "(t)here is a lack of the native's point of view, an absence of *ethnography*" (1997: 2). A theoretical approach to the host side of tourism can be embedded in more general theories of cultural change, internal cultural dynamics and globalisation/localisation, that have been underdeveloped in the literature to date (Van Beek 2007b: 150). Indeed, when we speak of local and global perspectives, the latter is often afforded to beings outside the world, as total and real, whereas the local perspective, which is afforded to ordinary people or beings-in-the-world, is considered incomplete and illusory (Ingold 2000: 211). This difference is not hierarchical, it is a difference of kind, in which the local perception is based on engagement in the world that is dwelt in or inhabited. The global, on the contrary, is detached and disinterested, looking at the world as merely occupied (*Ibid.*: 215-216). Now that the view from these 'others' is ever more becoming a part of tourism research, this same voice should be included in tourism planning practices as well (Van der Duim *et al.* 2005: 286). An anthropological perspective on environmental management and policy issues, in which tourism plays a pivotal part, includes the human relational context that such interventions contain and can show the downstream effects for people and their environment (Campbell 2005: 292). In fact, "(a) major task for tourism researchers ... from the local to the global, is to provide analytical

and policy frameworks which firmly embed tourism within dynamic development processes and which can identify and inform sustainable pathways” (Richards & Hall 2000b: 305). The scientific value of this research is to show the various perceptions of Bushmen on tourist developments taking place in the environments in which they dwell. The social relevance is that these perceptions are often overlooked by policy makers, such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the government, donors, consultants and the private sector, that tend to take a detached, objectified position. To understand Bushmen’s perceptions on tourist developments I use Tim Ingold’s Dwelling Perspective and its special emphasis on so-called affordances (Gibson 1979; Ingold 1992, 2000), on which I will elaborate in Chapter 2. In short, the Dwelling Perspective looks at organisms relating to material and immaterial things in their direct environment, of which they are a part instead of detached from it as a world out there. These things are looked at for what they afford the organism, as affordances. This environment exists at the level of the Bushmen’s infrastructure (Harris 1979), where I analyse tourism-related changes in the Bushmen’s original economy and ecology in the world today in their environment where an organism-person dwells his/her whole life. In this, the dynamics of power and agency are important for understanding their perception and behaviour. Today, Bushmen dwell in tourism with images created of them in their environment, as dwellers in nature, although this is based on a myth, often related to the concept of authenticity. This concept is closely connected to the ‘invented tradition’ (Hobsbawm 1983) that Bushmen in tourism often have become. In line with nature, their culture is commodified; it has gained financial value. Continuing to build on affordances I look at the Bushmen’s economic approach to tourist developments. As an example of important affordances today, I use Marshall Sahlins’ concept of ‘indigenous modernities’ (cf. Robins 2003, 1999b) to explain that indigenous people look at modernities also to see what they can afford and in this way use their agency. I consider indigenous modernities to be material as well as immaterial, the latter as ideas and values. I do not see Bushmen as helpless victims of more powerful forces that are shaping their environment, such as capitalism and modern technology, but as agents that are actively engaging in this modern environment of tourism and in all the changes this brings.

To create these insights, I will analyse the following dynamics in this thesis. First, the dynamics of the ideas versus the material. Bushmen involved in tourism make active choices and constantly search for a balance between various values, ideas and the material benefits. Material and ideas in tourism can, and often do, go hand in hand. In this case, specific example of such ideas (although more will come up throughout this thesis) are the two very different ideas of representation. Today Bushmen tend to be seen as natural conservationists or ecologists and this relates to the (re)invention of tradition, myth creation and to the commodification of their culture and their natural surroundings. A different type of representation is the idea of *community* representation, which is about who makes up the community and how they are represented in tourism and development. In this, (traditional) leadership, local elites and the importance of formal structures are important. With the latter I mean that Bushmen are often represented by corporate organizations, often Community-Based Organisations (CBOs). Second, the dynamics of the Bushmen’s economic approach to tourist developments

play an important role at the level of infrastructure. My analyses considers whether this takes the form of a formalist or substantivist economic approach, although these older ideas are surpassed by looking at their economy from a cultural economic approach which is in line with the Dwelling Perspective. Third, the dynamics of land politics and policies matter, because these situations are different for every case study and I explain in the following paragraph how this research has been built around four cases studies. In some, people were displaced and are now landless and living on resettlement farms, whereas in another case people are being allowed to dwell in a national park or conservancy, and in yet another a group of displaced Bushmen has had a part of land returned to them. Fourth, the historical dynamics of the particular groups that can show the extent to which various processes in tourism are ongoing, static or changing. Fifth and last, but arguably the most important dynamics, are those of the Bushmen's agency in tourist developments they are involved in and consider them in relation to the power structures that they face today. Each case, and within each case each person affects what their capabilities are in tourism and this leads to different levels and situations of agency. The way they are included or excluded and the level of control the Bushmen have in relation to tourist developments is crucial. This is considered by looking deeper into their relations with and perceptions on the various stakeholders, such as the government, NGOs, local farmers and the private sector, that all function as mediators and influence this control. Various types of capital are used to explain these power relations, especially the concepts of symbolic capital and economic capital. In fact, the above dynamics cannot be explained in this thesis separately, because they are connected all in their own ways.

Altogether this creates a central question that I want to answer, which is:

How do Bushmen who dwell in tourism perceive power relations, myths, representation and agency related to tourist developments in their environment?

I will explain the theoretical background to these dynamics in the next chapter, and reflect on these and the central question in the conclusion (Chapter 7). Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 describe the case studies of four groups of Bushmen that are engaging in tourism. In this first chapter I introduce the Bushmen themselves and the related concepts tourism, development and conservation but first I will explain the relevance of the four case studies for the research.

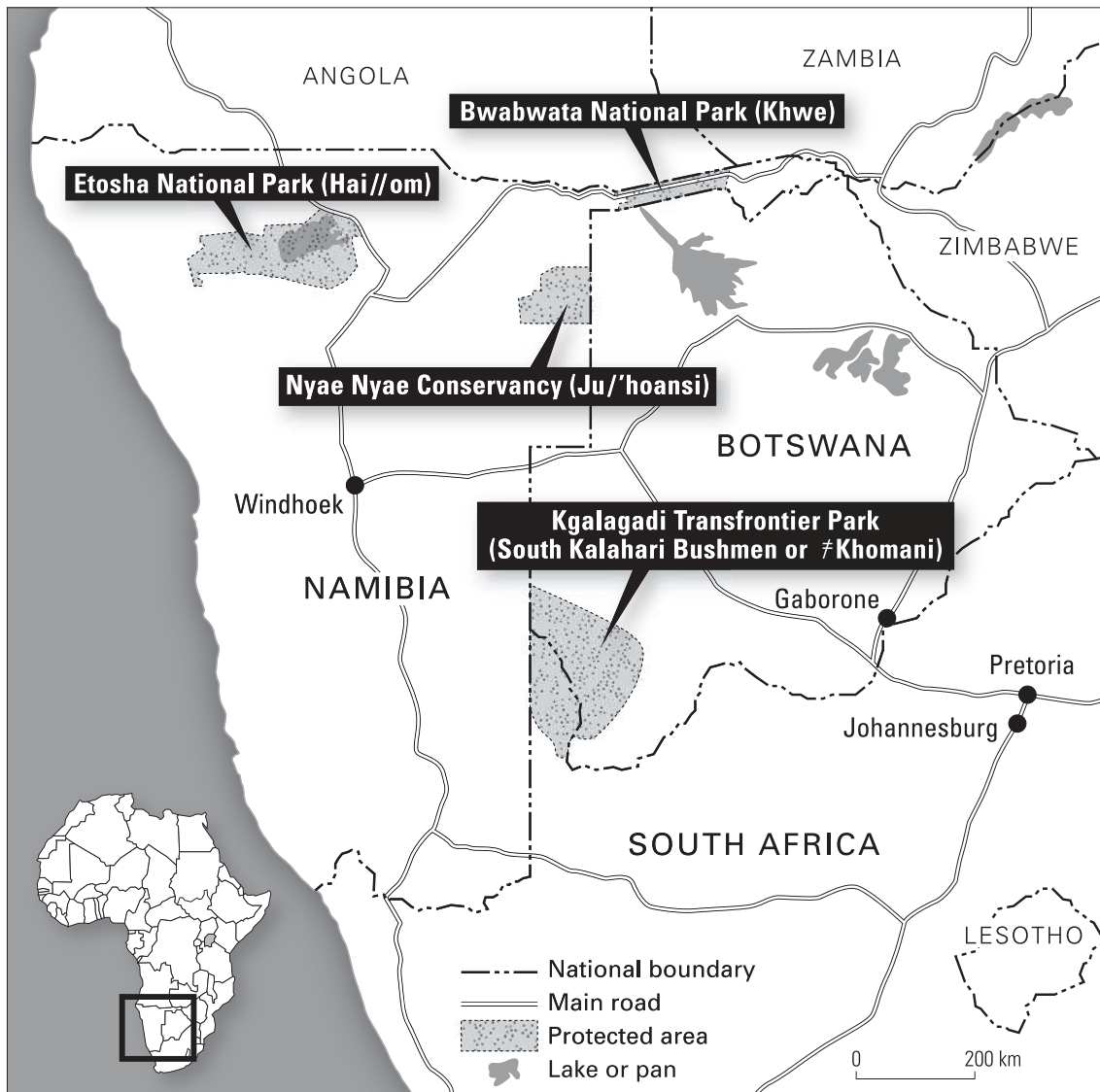
The four case studies

The four case studies on Bushmen in protected areas with various tourist developments are:

1. The Nyae Nyae Conservancy in Namibia where the Ju/'hoansi Bushmen dwell (Chapter 3)
2. Bwabwata National Park in Namibia where the Khwe Bushmen dwell (Chapter 4)
3. Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park in South Africa¹ where the South Kalahari Bushmen (or ≠Khomani) dwell on farms south of the park (Chapter 5)

¹ The Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park crosses into Botswana but my research focused solely on the South African side.

Map 1.1 The four areas of research



4. Etosha National Park in Namibia where the Hai//om Bushmen dwell mostly on farms and in towns outside the park (Chapter 6)

Each of the four chapters starts with an historical introduction and a description of the socio-economic and political context, before turning to the specific dynamics of tourist developments. The chapters conclude with a short analysis of the main dynamics of the particular case study. Just as Thomas Widlok (1999: 1), I consider the value of a case study that one can generalise from it “not in a statistical manner but in an analytical manner. Similarly, I provide multiple case situations not in order to demonstrate representativeness, but in order to present the theoretically important parameters which are essential for a valid description”. The case studies have to include basic commonalities to make comparison possible, because “(i)f we are to arrive at generalizations about the nature of human society on the basis of systematic comparison of ethnographically doc-

umented instances, we must at least be reasonably confident that we are comparing like with like” (Ingold 1986: 130). The four case studies consist of case situations that are not isolated observations but “systematically connected to underlying issues; they are interconnected with regard to the persons involved; and they are interconnected with regard to specific places” (Widlok 1999: 1). To select comparable cases, I used my previous work experience in Namibia and my experiences with the Hai//om, Etosha and Treesleeper which are described in Chapter 6.

As a methodological approach I used multi-site ethnography (see Annex 1) which makes use of comparison but without claiming an ethnographic grasp of the entire field of the chosen topics. This almost always involves a selection of sites that could potentially be included (Hannerz 2003: 207). This selection was made based on the dynamics described. For methodological reasons I decided not to go back to the case of the Hai//om (Chapter 6) for fieldwork but to work with a Masters student (Hüncke, 2010; see also Hüncke & Koot 2012). I was relatively familiar with the Khwe and Bwabwata as a result of previous visits so I knew about some of the tourist developments in this area. The fact that the Khwe lived inside a national park made it all the more interesting, since this is not very common in other parts of the world. I had also visited Nyae Nyae before but this became a case study I added at the suggestion of the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) Namibia (with whom I was cooperating, see Annex 1). The added value was the fact that the Ju/'hoansi virtually *are* the Bushmen icons and they have played an important role in creating the Bushman image. In addition, Nyae Nyae is a conservancy, a structure that is very popular today in Namibia and elsewhere, and this has made Nyae Nyae all the more interesting for comparative purposes. The land claim of the South Kalahari Bushmen in South Africa could potentially show what happened to the high expectations of tourist development once the Bushmen regained land. In addition, I was in a position to join the Centre for Communication, Media & Society (CCMS) of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. A research group at the CCMS organises regular field trips to the Kgalagadi area and I joined such a group as a research affiliate for ten days.

Bushmen hunter-gatherers

On culture, ethnicity and former hunter-gatherers

Today, Bushmen hunter-gatherers make up only a small part of the national populations of Southern Africa. When people talk of the Bushmen, they generally mean a certain group of people with similar characteristics mainly based on a (former) hunting and gathering existence, with various language groups and members living in more than one country. Map 1.2 provides a good overview of the main language groups and where the Bushmen live.

Back in 1969, Fredrik Barth (p. 11) wrote a ground-breaking introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, in which he stated that “we are led to imagine each group developing its cultural and social form in relative isolation ... each with their culture and each organized in a society which can legitimately be isolated for description as an island to itself”. He made an important contribution to anthropology by unravelling the

fluid and flux boundaries of ethnic groups. Bushmen are an ethnic group, divided into more ethnic groups such as the Khwe, Ju/'hoansi, Hai//om, and so on. Reasoning by anthropologists before Barth was based on the premise that cultural variation is discontinuous and that there are groups of people who essentially share a common culture in a separate society or 'ethnic units'. Today, however, there are no more closed spaces even if there ever were (Agar 1994: 121-122; Barth 1969: 9-10). Contact between cultures and changes that come along are widespread, and products and institutions of the industrialised world are present everywhere. Such changes are instigated by agents of change, the new elites in less industrialised groups that have more contact with the outside world. Amongst other strategies, agents of change "may choose to emphasise ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for the new purposes" (Barth 1969: 32-33).

Table 1.1 Population numbers of contemporary Bushmen, by country

Country	Number	Percentage of the national population
Botswana	47,675	3.3%
Namibia	32,000	1.8%
South Africa	4350	<0.02%
Zimbabwe	2500	<0.02%
Angola	1200	<0.01%
Zambia	300	<0.01%
<i>Total</i>	<i>88,025</i>	<i>±0.14%</i>

Source: Suzman (2001b: 5).

Today it is contentious to speak of 'ethnic groups', 'ethnicity', 'tribe' or 'race' but the terms are used everywhere (including this thesis), have kept their importance and thus need some explanation. Ethnicity refers to social relationships where classifications and differences between categories of people are seen as important and relevant in interaction. Ethnicity is then created and recreated in social encounters and situations and the way people cope with the challenges and demands in their lives, encompassing aspects of politics and meaning. Ethnicity is a relational concept that structures interaction and, although it is not synonymous with class, the two often coincide (Saugestad 2001: 55-59). Ethnicity tends to be based on the broader concept of culture, which I consider a fluid and flux concept that is always changing. It is different from ethnicity, although the terms are often used interchangeably. Barth (1969: 38) explained that

when one traces the history of a ethnic group through time, one is *not* simultaneously, in the same sense, tracing the history of 'a culture': the elements of the present culture of that ethnic group have not sprung from the particular set that constituted the group's culture at a previous time, whereas the group has a continual organizational existence with boundaries (criteria of membership) that despite modification have marked off a continuing unit.

Still, there is a counter-movement as well, for example when traditions are (re)invented (see Chapter 2). In today's globalising world there is a tendency to localise. Dif-

Map 1.2 The different Bushmen groups in Southern Africa



Based on: WIMSA (2011), reproduced with permission².

ferentiation comes with integration and the more the world becomes homogeneous, the more people respond by asserting their cultural distinctiveness (Sahlins 1999a: 410). In tourism, culture is often seen as being static, like the more old-fashioned anthropological views held before Barth. This does not mean that local people who ‘show their culture’ are not a cultural event and I see this as a response to wider, global forces of modernity,³ as processes and relationships of people engaging in their environment. People often still think of culture as something that a particular group of people *possesses*, as something that ‘those people’ have. Culture is thus a label for the shared actions and beliefs of some groups somewhere, based on the value-free recorded knowledge of objective facts. However, culture is something that also happens to them, to the people who encounter differences and change their consciousness to find out more about these differences (Agar 1994). Therefore “(c)ultural change or cultural evolution does not operate on isolated societies but always on interconnected systems in which societies are variously linked within wider “social fields” (Wolf 1982: 76). In culture,

² From WIMSA, KFO and Kwela Books.

³ Using the terms ‘western’, ‘the West’, ‘modern’, ‘modernity’ and the like seems inevitable but the concepts have troubled many scientists and there are well-known objections to adopting them. Although using the terms can create various dichotomies, we cannot avoid the anxieties of modernity or the West. The belief in the value of rational inquiry, as in science and when writing a thesis, is typical of the West or modern so I am acting here from a western, modern environment (Ingold 2000: 6-7).

perceptions, worldviews and symbology are essential elements (Bird-David 1997: 464) and can change accordingly.

Imagined, indigenous, inconvenient communities

Community is a concept based on ethnicity and culture and is often used as though it involves a homogeneous entity. The quote below from Megan Biesele & Robert Hitchcock (2011: 194) clearly explains why ‘community’ is a problematic concept:

Much Third World development work is today carried out under the banner of “coming from the people,” but without recognition that community opinion is an elusive commodity (since) community decisions are hard to make, and joint opinion is almost impossible to characterize, even through “accepted” representatives. Opinion is rarely unitary. Too often, instead, facile statements are made by outsiders, each one claiming privileged knowledge about “what the people want.” These statements may become the basis of decisions and plans that actually reflect First World projections.

There are still ideas in development work that are based on days ‘before Barth’. In line with this, Benedict Anderson (1983: 6) explained that true communities do not exist but that “all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined”. Most models of sustainable development consider the community to be a cornerstone of the development process, often defined in spatial, socio-cultural and economic terms (Barrow & Murphree 2001: 25; Richards & Hall 2000a: 1-2). In tourism literature too, the term ‘community’ is mostly associated with a set of common social characteristics and goals of a population in a specific local area, but in reality the boundaries are not clear (Richards & Hall 2000b: 302). There is a certain level of diversity within communities, which indicates that groups within communities and community members do not participate, benefit or share costs equally in tourist initiatives (E. Chambers 1997: 5; Richards & Hall 2000a: 7). In the literature on conservation, the concept of a community also lacks clear definition. Community conservation initiatives are increasingly being carried out by global networks of NGOs, private operators, international financial institutions, governments and donors. In these networks, such stakeholders are often in a position to handpick a group of individuals to represent the community (Brockington *et al.* 2008: 90). In Southern Africa, a community is generally automatically regarded as non-white and homogeneous (Ramutsindela 2005: 94). This belief fails to recognise structures of power both between and within communities (Van der Duim *et al.* 2005: 295-296) and the irony is that, while places and localities are becoming ever more indeterminate and blurred, ideas of ethnically and culturally distinct places are now ever more salient. Imagined communities are attached to imagined places, since displaced people cluster around imagined and remembered homelands, places or communities in a world that seems to be denying such firm territorialised anchors (Gupta & Ferguson 1992: 10-11).

Bushmen were the first, aboriginal or indigenous people in Southern Africa. There is no single definition of indigenous peoples and the term is problematic in Africa because many African governments think that all their citizens are indigenous. Often the term indigenous is used to refer to individuals and groups who are *descended from* the original population or ‘first nations’ who resided in a country. This raises particular

problems in Africa because it is the continent with the longest human occupation and has the greatest cultural and (human) genetic diversity, which makes it hard to determine antecedence since populations migrated over time and became hybrid. Nevertheless, many of the first-people groups identify themselves as indigenous, based on a distinct cultural identity from more dominant neighbours. As a result, they share experiences of dispossession of land and natural resources, discrimination, impoverishment and human-rights abuse. Indigenous is thus a relational term in which a group is only indigenous in relation to another group that defines the dominant structures of the state. The meaning depends on its context (Hitchcock & Vinding 2004: 8-9; Saugestad 2004b: 33-35). Hunter-gatherers consider concepts such as ancestry, generation, substance, memory and land that are based on the genealogical model that originated in western modernity to be very different from how ‘we’ see such concepts. Their view is based on an ongoing engagement with the land and the human and non-human beings that dwell there (Ingold 2000: 133-134, see also Chapter 2). In fact, the categorical opposition between indigenous and non-indigenous makes the contemporary indigenous people merely descendants of the colonially dispossessed. Most definitions of indigenosity entail the descendants of the people who lived on the land before colonists arrived from elsewhere. Attention is hardly ever paid to the relationship of these traditional inhabitants of the land, and the claim to indigenous status based on *descent* from an ancestral population goes together with the admission that ‘living *in* the land’ is just a faded memory. It implies that people do not create their knowledge and substance from the land or from their relationship with it but simply from direct genealogical antecedents. This means that the activity of dwelling becomes merely a matter of occupying the land, often in the context of a land claim (Ingold 2000: 150-151). In development rhetoric, the terms ‘indigenous’ and ‘aboriginal’ are usually based on the genealogical model. This makes sense since Ingold’s reworking of indigenosity

offers little hope to many of the peoples whom indigenous rights instruments were designed to help in the first place ... who ... have already lost their lands and who – by virtue of this – no longer enjoy a progenerative relationship with land in the sense he suggests. (Suzman 2004: 234)

I agree with James Suzman that the situation has changed profoundly – and such changes are the focus of this thesis – but I do not agree that Bushmen have lost their progenerative relationship with the land. This is continuing as the Bushmen still dwell in the land today. Only in the genealogical model is the idea of ‘living *on* the land’ appropriate, since this model views contemporary indigenous people as being detached from the land and the land is only a provider of resources. This point is elaborated on in Chapter 2. In addition, we should realise that people we label as indigenous are now operating in a modern-day political system in which they are encapsulated; they are not only indigenous, they are also inhabitants of nation-states and make choices accordingly. There is a contradiction when nation-states use discourses of homogeneity in the sense of nationalism, whereas the discourse for an indigenous identity is clearly one of being different (Ingold 2000: 151). Against this backdrop, Sidsel Saugestad’s description of Bushmen in Botswana as “inconvenient indigenous” is also relevant for the Bushmen in Namibia and South Africa. In her words, inconvenient “indicates an attitude that is rather dismissive, often condescending, ambivalent, but not overtly

hostile. The term is not a description of the group, it conveys an attitude *to* the group” (2001: 28).

Land loss and displacement

Over the last few centuries there was contact between Bushmen and other groups. Native Africans came from the northern parts of Africa (Wolf 1982: 41-42) and white colonists from the south. The new settlers brought livestock and agriculture that led to overgrazing and a reduction in game. The Bushmen’s recent change from bands of hunter-gatherers to being a settled people in villages means that they are now marginalised and diversifying their sources of livelihood. Some are employed, while others sell crafts, benefit from social welfare or are engaged in livestock and crop farming (ACHPR 2008: 18-21). Across Africa and much of the rest of the world where indigenous hunter-gatherers have lost their land, bushfood and game have been seriously depleted and people have become unable or unwilling to continue their nomadic hunting and gathering lifestyle, which has led to many becoming sedentarised (Woodburn 1988: 48-49). From the perspective of indigenous peoples around the world, the imposition of external concepts of land tenure, governance, sovereignty and law are a continuation of colonisation, with a crucial impact being the drastic reduction in their land base. In addition to losing their lands, indigenous peoples have lost their livelihoods, sacred sites, history, graves and religions, while the Europeans and colonial offshoots have offered their form of civilisation in return based on Christianity, property ownership and individualism (Hitchcock 2006: 229-230). This has drastically changed indigenous people’s relationship with the land, since most believe they are inseparably conjugated with nature. Non-indigenous people, on the contrary, usually see land as a resource for humans (Butler & Hinch 2007: 11). Today land is the most politically charged issue for hunter-gatherers. Attitudes towards land are embedded in local knowledge and long-standing relations between people and their environment and, in their view, colonial authority and the nation-state are the same thing (Barnard 2002: 13-16).

There is reason to believe that land dispossession will continue because land has become a scarce commodity, especially regarding conservation. National parks and game reserves all over Southern Africa have dispossessed large numbers of indigenous people (mostly hunter-gatherers), forcing them to resettle and leaving them worse off than before (Hitchcock & Vinding 2004: 15). In fact, hundreds of thousands of people in marginal areas worldwide are being displaced and are often forced to settle permanently elsewhere so that the authorities can set aside land for wildlife conservation (Chatty 2002: xiii). New studies of impoverishment through displacement from Central and East African parks have fed the current international debate on the approaches of major NGOs regarding establishing protected areas (Cernea 2005: 231; Chatty & Colchester 2002: 2). In addition, people all over the world have been displaced and resettled for tourism, which shows the distribution of power in tourist projects. Most studies reveal a deteriorating situation for those who have been displaced (Mowforth & Munt 2003: 236-237). A comparative overview of experiences in Southern Africa shows that displaced populations remain at risk of long-term social marginalisation (Rodgers 2006). Displacement captures all forms of disruptions due to the forced

uprooting of people from their economic, cultural, physical and psychological situations and does not necessarily only imply geographical movement, which is an aspect of displacement instead of its prerequisite. For example, the communities that host new settlers and villagers in and around protected areas are experiencing similar disruptions in their familiar environment (Gebre & Ohta 2005: 1-2) and are therefore being displaced. Resettlement programmes usually encompass government-planned movements of people. With increased state intervention in development, resettlement schemes have mushroomed all over the world creating opportunities for planners to introduce rapid social change. The resettlement process itself accounts for the creation of new communities (Pankhurst 1992: 10-13). The most important cases of involuntary resettlement among the Bushmen due to the creation of protected areas are shown in Table 1.2.

Most Bushmen groups know a land-tenure system called *n!ore*⁴ (traditional or ancestral territory, a Ju/'hoan word) that entails the sharing of natural resources among the members of a larger Bushmen community in a certain area. This concept is essentially different from the right of ownership of the land, which makes Bushmen vulne-

Table 1.2 Protected areas in Southern Africa that resulted in the involuntary resettlement of Bushmen

Park or reserve area (year of establishment), size and country	Comments	Reference in this thesis
Central Kalahari Game Reserve (1961), 52,730 km ² , Botswana	Over 1100 /Gui, //Gana and Boolongwe Bakgalagadi were resettled in nearby areas outside the reserve in 1997 and 2002	Annex 8
Chobe National Park (1961), 980 km ² , Botswana	Hundreds of Subiya and some Bushmen were resettled in the Chobe Enclave, where there are 5 villages in a 3,060 km ² area	n/a
Moremi Game Reserve (1964), 3880 km ² , Botswana	Khwe Bushmen were relocated out of Moremi in the 1960s	Chapter 4
Tsodilo Hills National Monument (1992, declared a World Heritage Site in 2001), 225 km ² , Botswana	Ju/'hoansi Bushmen were resettled away from the hills in 1995 but continue to use resources there	Chapter 3
Kalahari Gemsbok Park (1931), 37,991 km ² , South Africa and Botswana	South Kalahari Bushmen (≠Khomani) were resettled outside the park in the 1930s and some remained on the peripheries	Chapter 5
Etosha National Park (1907), 22,175 km ² , Namibia	Hai//om Bushmen were resettled outside the park and sent to freehold farms in 1954	Chapter 6
West Caprivi Game Park (1963), 5715 km ² , Namibia	Khwe Bushmen and Mbukushu were resettled in the early 1960s and Khwe and !Xun Bushmen went to South Africa in the 1980s	Chapter 4
Hwange (Wankie) National Park (1927, declared a national park in 1950), 14,620 km ² , Zimbabwe	Tyua Bushmen were rounded up and resettled south of Hwange Game Reserve in the late 1920s	n/a

Based on: Hitchcock (2004: 207).

⁴ The Ju/'hoan word *n!ore* seems to be the most widely used term for such territories. Other Bushmen language groups had their own word for this territorial unit, for example *gu* (/Gui), *g!u* (/Gana), *nong* (Nharo) (Hitchcock 2005: 191), or 'ngu' (Khwedam) (M. Taylor 2002a: 102).

rable compared to other groups that have intruded into the Bushmen's *n!oresi* (plural of *n!ore*) (Hitchcock 2006: 241; J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984: 82-84; L. Marshall 1976: 71). Land tenure in hunter-gatherer societies is not a surface area but includes paths and sites within a landscape, whereas in agricultural societies a two-dimensional kind of land tenure prevails in which the land is divided into plots (Ingold 1986: 153-154). With hunter-gatherers, ownership of territories, just as the ownership of animal kills, which a hunter is obliged to distribute, means that permission of entry is regarded equally with distributing meat. Denial can create disputes, just as the taking of resources can if permission is not sought first. In relation to territorial admission, ownership then does not really mean a division of access to resources but an ideological difference between 'hosts' and 'guests'. Therefore, unannounced intrusion is only a problem if one has not asked the hosts beforehand, and an owner cannot refuse outsiders access to resources. What we know as poaching is unknown among hunter-gatherers, boundaries were rarely long-lasting and territories were often renegotiated in another season (*Ibid.*: 134-137). Owners of the land are thus custodians of parts of the world that belong to all, and on behalf of the collectivity they exercise their rights and responsibilities. They have the privilege of custodianship but not that which is held in custody (*Ibid.*: 224). As sites and paths for hunter-gatherers derive their identity and significance within the whole country, in today's land claims it is not enough to simply allow native claims access to such protected sites. It is the whole landscape and the country in which the sites and paths are where they derive significance and identity. Land claims, even for only a fraction of that country, have led native people through a process of law to obtain a land title, something that inevitably means that traditional principles of land tenure were compromised. The designated indigenous lands that were divided between the various native groups rest on the notion of enclosed sites within determinite boundaries. The division of these lands has thus increased their fragmentation and a corresponding division of the native society into groups with potentially conflicting interests (*Ibid.*: 157-158).

From egalitarian to hierarchical

Other cultures accept that, to be a manager or to be a leader, you have to accept to be unpopular. A San manager or a leader knows that unpopularity is going to cut you off from the tribe and you are going to die in the desert without food. (Willemien le Roux, Interview 151)

The land situation for hunter-gatherers is closely connected with community dynamics and leadership. In the 1950s, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas (1959: 10) explained that Bushmen "have no chiefs or kings, only headmen who in function are virtually indistinguishable from the people they lead, and sometimes a band will not even have a headman". Indeed, in popular mythologies Bushmen societies were anti-hierarchical. Traditional Bushmen life contained features against the formalisation of leadership structures and there was a system of relative egalitarian consensus politics that ensured the distribution of food, the maintenance of social relations and the endurance of band and kin structures. However, there was space for both informal charismatic as well as loose institutional leadership based on age and competence. The in-migration of both blacks and whites over the last 200 years has encouraged the development of different

forms of political organisation and, to deal with outsiders, *ad hoc* but clear structures of leadership were established to coordinate resistance when communities were being pressured (Suzman 2001a: 106-107).

The relative egalitarian character of hunting and gathering societies does not mean that there was no individual autonomy, which is often seen as an important value. The individualism of hunters and gatherers as opposed to western individualism is not incompatible with the commitment to the whole, but actually depends on it. It is “an individualism grounded in the social totality” (Ingold 1986: 223). In the West, inequality is commonly considered a property of parts, individuals, who statistically generate the aggregate known as society, based on a hierarchy that inheres in the relations between these parts that constitute the whole. Social inequality is then understood as a consequence of the combination of individual differences and not from the determination of the whole. In hunter-gatherer societies, on the contrary, corresponding to the equality of a social whole that is undifferentiated and unbounded, egalitarianism means that the qualitative differences between individuals are eliminated in relations between them. The holistic sense of an egalitarian society endures despite the clear differences between individuals. Such differences are idiosyncratic variations that can in no way compromise the equality of relations that are the basis of their commitment to the whole, whereas such differences in the West are mostly considered the root cause of social inequality or stratification. Western cosmology and that of hunter-gatherers have been turned inside out: ‘We’ consider every individual as an exclusive private subject in a body as opposed to the rest of the world consisting of more such individuals, with whom we compete for success in the public arena. Hunter-gatherers do not see this dichotomy between private and public domains and instead of standing opposed to other individuals they are incorporated into his being. The things a hunter makes and uses, the places he knows and the people around him are all part of his own subjective identity, and his interests are those of the collectivity. His autonomy is constituted by his involvement in the whole and there is no conflict or contradiction between his individuality and that of the others because their world is also his world, they are the same (*Ibid.*: 238-240). This does not mean that there are no conflicts among hunter-gatherers. For example, boasting in hunter-gatherer societies is considered impolite and bad behaviour because extra effort cannot increase the total availability of animal protein for the group (Harris 1979: 81). Amongst Bushmen, leadership as an active achievement is discouraged, while skills that are learned and the knowledge that increases with age confer respect from others instead of authority over them. Of course, young leaders are now emerging with a foot in two cultures (Barnard 2002: 9-10) and these often formally educated leaders tend to follow civic instead of traditional law, while most of the older traditional leaders depend on traditional values and are either illiterate or have a low level of formal education (Useb 2001: 22).

Colonial governments in Southern Africa established traditional authorities to manipulate customary laws and practices for their own ends. It is therefore an imposed and not a ‘traditional’ system (Harring & Odendaal 2002: 25). In colonial times, the Bushmen’s traditional leadership structures were broken down for three reasons. First, the fragmentation resulting from the loss of land and from the need to provide labour

resulted in a situation where there were no coherent communities to lead. Second, the paternalist and authoritarian nature of farm life, where the only authority was the *baas* (boss, see also the next paragraph), created a new type of leadership. Third, in the context of farm and reserve life, pre-colonial systems of reciprocity and sharing were strengthened to minimise risks related to poverty at the expense of individual leaders (Suzman 2001a: 108). So Bushmen traditional authorities are part of the 'reinvention of tradition' as described in Chapter 2. In addition to the traditional authorities, corporate bodies were created to represent Bushmen communities in tourism, conservation and development. Egalitarian relations and the individual autonomy of hunter-gatherers elsewhere show that the institutionalisation of their cultures inevitably requires more hierarchy and more formal forms of social organisation (Widlok 1999: 13). Today, indigenous people are challenged by the fact that they are offered group rights in the form of corporate rights, while public sentiment in Southern Africa, as well as the law, are strongly biased against ethnic group rights. From the Bushmen's perspective, it is not indigenous people who have come on the scene but corporate bodies that mostly originated in Europe (Widlok 2001: 3-5). This corporatism is defined as

the way that the state restructures relations with its citizens so that only associations and other corporate bodies can take full advantage of state benefits and only they can participate fully in national politics. Only if citizens become members of such corporate groups ... may they hope to defend their interests ... and to have a say in national politics. (Widlok 2002a: 207)

Often the state and NGOs create CBOs that require leadership, chairpersons and delegates. Many of these corporate bodies followed patterns from the colonial period and are run by foreigners or externally trained elites (Widlok 2001: 9-14). Such CBOs are based on the backbone of a local community, suggesting that there is a natural entity or community leading to an organisation, while in fact communities are hard to define (Widlok 2002a: 210), as explained before in this section. In these communities, local elites tend to favour tourist developments, since they are often the ones who make a profit from them, and such local distributions of power need to be addressed (Mowforth & Munt 2003: 234).

Baasskap

In Africa, the colonised were often seen as animals, an idea that has been adopted on post-colonial state forms. This has resulted in two traditions of relationship between the coloniser in power and the native, the colonised. In the first, the native, as an animal, was too alien to carry the capacities to ever become another person such as the coloniser. The only possible relationship here was one of violence and domination, in which the colonised is regarded as property. In the second tradition, one could sympathise with the colonised, just as with an animal, and even love him/her. In this relation, familiarity and domestication are the dominant features. The coloniser might inculcate habits in the colonised, talk to him/her as a child, congratulate or reprimand him/her and, if need be, treat him/her violently (Mbembe 2001: 26-28). Such patron-client relationships were widespread in Africa in various forms, as social relations between unequal partners that are interdependent on each other. However, these dynamics are not merely top-down; to position oneself as a client creates a patron who, in return for the support of his client,

needs to take care of his client while not making him/her independent (Van Beek 2011: 40-41). The relationship is static, with both sides needing each other. It is the idea that patron-client relationships are essentially static that turns out to be crucial in tourism since this is why 'development' is hard to achieve in such relationships because development, however it is defined, tends to focus on change instead of a status quo.

Although strongly related to apartheid in South Africa, such patron-client relations go back a lot longer historically. The phenomenon of *baasskap* (literally 'bossedness') implies the natural role of whites as superiors, natural leaders and bosses of the non-whites. Such assumptions date back to the very start of colonisation in Africa and elsewhere and have been present ever-since. Indigenous Africans were automatically seen as second-class citizens in informal, often more remote, as well as in formalised, more settled areas. Apartheid then, was only an endpoint of this belief and its formal political translation. *Baasskap* was, and is, a social construction, that exists because of collective agreement among white South Africans of such white superiority, which implied great power to affect other people's lives for hundreds of years. Such collective agreement always finds expressions in material realities as well, that can feed back into the maintenance of the collective belief. Because most non-white South Africans were deprived of all but the most rudimentary education and never acquired decent jobs apart from those in the most menial positions, they might have appeared incompetent and poor in the twentieth century. However, apartheid, and *baasskap* as a central element in this political structure, *made* them incompetent and poor. This, in turn, fed back to the belief in *baasskap*. So clearly, *baasskap* is a social construction and a product of history *and* it continues to be an essential feature of contemporary human cultures as well. A social scientific understanding of South African culture would be impossible without taking into account the social construction of *baasskap*, which was at the heart of South African culture for a long time (Plotkin 2002: 5-7).

In line with this Suzman (1995: 12-18; 2000: 55-72) and Sylvain (2001) describe how the Ju/'hoansi Bushmen from the Omaheke region have historically evolved into a paternalistic *baasskap* relationship with their white Afrikaner bosses on farms, something that was also noted by Guenther (1996: 226-228) amongst the Bushmen in Ghanzi District in Botswana and Dieckman (2007: 207-215) amongst the Hai//om on farms around Etosha. On these farms, *baasskap* consisted of patriarchal power by a single *baas* or father figure as a structure for interracial class relations, in which the *baas*, apart from being his subordinates' boss, also had to take care of his people. The *baas* provides for workers who would otherwise have nothing and therefore have to be grateful for what they receive (Suzman 1995: 12-15; 2000: 55-59; Sylvain 2001). Farms can be seen as relatively discrete socio-political entities that have developed historically with little state intervention, which has enabled farmers to attain a level of personal power. Patriarchy has an essential place in such a relationship. In Afrikaner ideology, the Bushmen are racially inferior and seen as a 'child race' who need to be raised by the *baas*, whereas other tribes, such as the Owambo, Kavango and Herero were less likely to tolerate such attitudes and fall under a farmer's paternalism. In addition, farmers consider it their duty to discipline their employees, thereby uplifting and protecting them. Many farmers claim to know the Bushmen because they have grown up with them,

often even stating that they own them. However, hegemony cannot depend on domination alone and the subaltern groups need to accommodate as well for three possible reasons. First, this can be because of the ‘habituation’ of certain behaviour so that it is no longer seen as a form of control or not even seen at all. Second, accommodation can result from a collusion of interest between certain members of the subaltern and dominant groups, and third, there can be an accommodation based on a compatibility of ideologies. Bushmen can sometimes assist farmers in maintaining this paternalism and they regularly challenge it to turn it to their advantage in their struggles with a farmer based on reciprocity. A good farmer should not only help out with money – a salary for work provided – but also with in-kind payments such as food, school fees, clothes, livestock, clinic expenses, lifts to town and so on. These are not regarded as benefits by the Bushmen but as their due. Of course there are important gender and generational varieties based on class distinctions and ideological differences. Paternalism contains a wide range of behaviour, from discipline and punishment to benevolent care-taking. For many farmers *baasskap* reflected the natural order of relations and the Bushmen’s subordination is a demonstration of their superiority, while for many Bushmen *baasskap* saw the farmer’s authority not necessarily as natural but as an ability to control his workers using violence and their dependence on him (Suzman 1995: 12-15; 2000: 55-59; Sylvain 2001).

A good example of *baasskap* is a group of Bushmen that I visited on the hunting farm of Omandumba, who are connected with the Living Culture Foundation Namibia (LCFN).⁵ On Omandumba’s website, two quotes show a paternalistic and even naturalising attitude. First, “(o)ur Bushmen are looking forward to your visit” and second, “(a) little bushmanbaby was born here in May 2010” (Omandumba 2011, my emphasis). The word ‘our’ clearly shows a hierarchy in which the farmer owns the Bushmen (his children). The second quote could just as easily have been taken from a zoo’s newsletter where baby animals are newsworthy. The mention of the birth is striking to start with. In addition, the way it is mentioned, by using the word ‘little’, creates a feeling that it is talking about a cute and cuddly baby animal, about a pet. The second quote is therefore not only paternalistic but also naturalising. Such rhetoric is not exceptional in Southern Africa. Over the years I have heard many people talk of ‘owning’ Bushmen (not only farmers, although they tend to do it more than others), as well as giving them animal-like names or positioning them in nature. Today many (former) farmers or descendants of farmers work with Bushmen in tourism and when I describe examples of cooperation between Bushmen and the private sector, clear similarities with *baasskap* will be seen.

To a certain degree, I saw elements of *baasskap* in the relationship between tourists and Bushmen. Tourists often tend to know what is best for the Bushmen. For example, when I stayed at the Tsumkwe Country Lodge’s campsite, a tourist explained how he had walked through Tsumkwe and a few begging children had asked him for money. He told them that money was not good but porridge or other food was. When the children explained they wanted to buy sweets with the money, he explained that sweets were not

⁵ Werner Pfeifer, the LCFN’s initiator, is personally involved in this living museum at Omandumba, which is not supported by the LCFN because some foundation members do not trust the farmers, who they consider too old-fashioned.

what they really needed. He also explained that selling alcohol in the village was bad for the people. Sometimes, it is tempting for tourists to tell Bushmen how things ‘should be done’. As Nxing Xao, a Ju/’hoansi from Tsodilo Hills, Botswana, explained, “(s)ome (tourists) ... look at you as if you are a thief and they refuse to buy crafts from you. Those who are good, when they see you they show interest, smiling at you, showing that they are welcoming you” (cited in Le Roux & White 2004: 218). It is interesting that Xao talks about the tourist doing the welcoming, raising the question of who is the host and who is the guest, which can be a sign that Bushmen, often described as humble people, indeed give space in their culture to others, including outsiders, to say how things should be done. I can think of numerous examples from my own experiences where Bushmen asked if they could or could not do something, and if they had done it right, always assuming that I would know best, or at least better.

Dwelling in a modernising environment

The tourist bubble in Southern Africa

Most tourism in Southern Africa is nature based and is particularly focused on wildlife. This includes non-consumptive (photographic safaris) and consumptive (hunting) tourism. The natural diversity and compelling fauna of the Southern African savannas attracts tourists but compared to the rest of the world, the region’s tourism industry is still small, with total demand in 2007 being just 1.3% of the world’s market share (Spenceley 2008c: 13-16). Since the 1990s, Southern Africa has become part of the international tourism scene and it is now one of the fastest-growing tourist destinations in the world. Most of the safari companies operate in Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia, which explains why international tourists visit more than one country, attracted by the many national parks, game reserves and other protected areas (Mbaiwa 2005: 204).

Tourism in Africa has tended to develop in enclaves separated from the local communities. These are isolated, often large-scale projects with a considerable number of foreigners taking part, either assisting in international investments or actively involved in multinational corporations, primarily for visitors from overseas. Here tourists lead their own lives in self-contained entities, such as hotels, bars and swimming pools, with the only local contacts being with staff. It is a kind of ‘internal colonialism’ where the natural resources mostly benefit outsiders of the host region and the locals hardly benefit at all (Pearce 1992: 27; Sindiga 1999: 31-32). In this way, tourism has developed in Africa without the active participation of local people and most tourists spend their time in this enclave or environmental tourist bubble. Tourists move in this bubble that protects them from many features of the host community and helps them to ‘meet’ Africa (V. Smith 1989a: 13; Urry 2002: 52; Van Beek 2007b). For example, the Tsumkwe Country Lodge is advertised as “enclosed to keep elephants and other wildlife out, making it a safe environment for families with children” (NCL 2011b). The tourist bubble consists of professional infrastructural arrangements (hotels, staff, lodges etc.) together with arrangements that make the trip possible in the first place (transport, travel agencies and the Internet). In African tourism, the mediators in the bubble normally

interact with tourists, the one in the tourist's home country as well as the one in the African country. The degree to which the bubble is permeable is different in every tourist arrangement. For example, a very closed tourist bubble is a cruise ship, whereas a more permeable bubble is a backpackers' lodge (Van Beek 2007b: 152) or a community-based campsite.

A past of racism and apartheid has left its traces in Southern Africa. This is important in tourism because it is a white-dominated industry and the private sector in tourism is often considered by local Bushmen and sometimes by NGOs to be racist and supporting apartheid. I have looked into the issue in the local dynamics of Bushmen tourism in the private sector too, including joint ventures. For example, Martha Mulokoshi of the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation Namibia (NNDNFN), who has a degree in tourism, explained that "once I was having my friends over for lunch and she (a white ex-colleague) comes in and she makes a comment, 'Is this a zoo or what?'" (Interview 51), to explain later that "even for graduates, within the tourism industry you can come with your diploma and you can have your degree, but tourism is still white-owned" (Interview 94). As Belinda Kruiper, who lives with the South Kalahari Bushmen in South Africa, explained, "(n)inety percent of the time they (Bushman) do not really say truthfully to a so-called white person what their hearts feel. They're still intimidated by the very past, the white thing" (cited in Tomaselli 2005: 140). Indeed, "the issue of client-patron relations is never far below the surface" (Tomaselli 2005: 140). In my experience, racism goes far beyond the black-white division in Southern Africa but since tourism is white-dominated, this is what matters most here.

Bushmen, tourism and development

Many indigenous communities around the world see tourist development as something that can generate change economically, socially, culturally and environmentally (Colton 2002). Mainstream development comes from western civilisation in which the growth of science and technology over the past four centuries and the mastering and manipulation of nature have created material progress. Beyond technology and science, the social and human sciences have tended to be dominated by economic processes and material transformation, while there has been less attention for the ecological, cultural and socio-political context (De Kadt 1992: 52). However, after the 1980s, a socio-political approach became more dominant, arguing for a broader and more inclusive notion of freedom and well-being, without denying economic growth that could serve these. What mattered most was the alleviation of poverty (Chabal 2011: 101) although Keyan Tomaselli (2009: 9) found that an economic approach is still dominant:

Contradictions are always sharpest on the peripheries ... These contradictions cast a penetrating light on the centre/core – the relations between those (post)industrial nations that drive global financial policy and economic growth on the one hand, and those less developed countries that are supposedly amongst the beneficiaries of development aid on the other hand. Such growth is measured in terms of Gross National Product and not necessarily via indicators of the quality of life of individuals or communities, especially those on the edges of the peripheries. While awareness of exploitation amongst the marginalized, repressed and poor is high, their ability to change their circumstances, conditions and environments is usually low.

While the governments of Southern Africa all promote tourism, Bushmen communities are often confronted by the tourist industry as it is one of the few available sources of income. Most tourist development plans are focused on tourist development instead of the development of people, assuming that if tourism gets up and running, it will automatically benefit the local population. Such plans tend to be top-down, often instigated by NGOs, donors and governments and run in cooperation with consultants. The ideas of the local population (which are looked upon as a ‘one entity community’) in the area where the tourism will take place are barely included. Examples elsewhere in Africa have shown that conservation projects and tourism are seen as a panacea for the local people in policies and consultants’ reports, but they rarely generate significant income opportunities for local people and do not live up to the promise of income-generating tourist projects (Schmidt-Soltau 2005: 295). Relevant examples of such plans for this thesis are the *Tourism Development Plan for Bwabwata, Mudumu & Mamili National Parks* (Massyn *et al.* 2009), the *Tourism Development Plan for Nyae Nyae & N̄a-Jaqna Conservancies* (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009) and the *Tourism Development Plan for the ≠Khomani San Community* (Massyn *et al.* 2010). In these plans, the findings and recommendations are based on private-sector ideas, such as lodge and campsite operators, tour operators, professional hunting companies and potential developers/investors, but what is lacking is a reasonable local perspective. Such plans often lack the voice of the ‘other’, which should be heard in tourism planning practices (Van der Duim *et al.* 2005: 286). For example, in the plan for Nyae Nyae (and N̄a-Jaqna) Conservancies, the focus was on accommodation and tour operators, government employees, NGOs, trophy hunters, anthropologists and investors. Of the 44 respondents in Nyae Nyae and N̄a Jaqna together, only 8 were from local Bushmen (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009). In addition, the *Tourism Development Plan: ≠Khomani San Community* shows an almost complete absence of voice of the local Bushmen in ‘their own’ development plan because out of the 26 people consulted during this research, only one was a local Bushmen, namely the late traditional leader Dawid Kruiper (Massyn *et al.* 2010: 96-97). This representation by outsiders is accompanied by remarks that Bushmen need to act authentically throughout the reports. Other remarks based on myths or stereotypes have created false and useless images, such as “(t)he San hate to serve and feel humiliated when they must serve. These feelings are usually washed away in drink” (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 92). In addition, I observed a vast distance at a workshop on joint ventures in conservancies between the experts and the local conservancy representatives. While the experts gave academic and technical presentations, many of the local people had never even finished any (western) education (some did not even speak English) and needed support from NGOs in order to be understood. It is not uncommon in development work that experts are at the centre of decisions that may have huge consequences for local populations. For example, James Ferguson experienced the following:

In Zimbabwe, in 1981, I was struck to find local agricultural “development” officials eagerly awaiting the arrival and advice of a highly paid consultant who was to explain how agriculture in Zimbabwe was to be transformed. What, I asked, did this consultant know about Zimbabwe’s agriculture that they, the local agricultural officers, did not? To my surprise, I was told that the individual in question

knew virtually nothing about Zimbabwe, and worked mostly in India. “But,” I was assured, “he *knows development*”. (1990: 258)

Clearly, negotiations are all but free of hierarchy, control and power, and these are the central issues in any discussion on the environment, culture and human endeavour and development (Croll & Parkin 1992: 34). For example, Julie Grant (2011) describes a vicious circle of poverty, in which various elements in the situation of the ≠Khomani Bushmen seriously constrain them in their process of development. These constraints tend to strengthen each other. In addition to a lack of post-settlement support by the government, limited basic services and transport, limited productive potential of their land and the remote location – an argument that counts for most Bushmen groups – development processes tend to be instigated by experts from the West, often urban-based, who often dominate the process rather than facilitate it, while the rural local beneficiaries have trouble accessing and participating in such programmes. Often in the process development agencies tend to work closely together with local elites, thereby excluding many others, forced to do so because of the expected performance by higher management and donors. This increases a certain paternalism among NGOs. Other important constraints in development are psychological and cultural disempowerment, in which the first refers to a low self-esteem and the latter to a belief of cultural inferiority (Grant 2011).

There is a certain awareness in NGOs about their intermediary role. For example Willemien le Roux from the Kuru Family of Organisations (KFO) in Botswana told me that the KFO, the Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA, a leading institute on Bushmen issues), and the South African San Institute (SASI, the South African counterpart of WIMSA) tried to do too much, and she questioned the original ambitious vision that these organizations should in the end be led by Bushmen. Le Roux explained that

the support NGO (struggles) in between the community and the tourism market ... We (NGOs) actually disempowered the communities by trying to make them own these (NGOs), because it got out of hand. It is too big, too difficult, they don't understand all the administration and finances and you know ... a support organisation would have a vehicle, would have staff ... and those people are perceived by the community then to belong to us and why don't they do more? ... We (outsiders) sometimes have to step back and let things fail ... which for us looks like failure but for them it's allowing a process to come to an end ... but of course now with donor funding and so on you cannot have all these failures. (Interview 151)

According to Le Roux Bushmen who join an NGO run the risk of being rejected by their own people due to their egalitarian culture. Therefore, only small-scale projects should be set up because a manager should not become ‘too big’. This would mean that dependency on outsiders will continue.

Some NGOs seem to struggle with tourism as a development strategy for the Bushmen. For example WIMSA, the biggest Bushmen NGO in Southern Africa, has embraced tourism as a development concept today but they also had ideological doubts in the 1990s. Founder Axel Thoma said then that “if there was a possibility for San to escape tourism we would definitely support the idea but (since) there is no escape, we must do something to avoid further exploitation” (cited in SASI Annual Review 1998, p. 10, cited in Gordon & Douglas 2000: 247). Thoma's concerns were about tour

operators who did not consult the Bushmen on how they were portrayed in the tourist industry and that these operators have not found out whether it is in the Bushmen's interest to be drawn into the industry. In addition, he worried that the tour operators benefit while the Bushmen do not and that tourism can become an invasion of the Bushmen's privacy. WIMSA therefore started to facilitate various tourism projects (Thoma 1998). The LCFN is less worried about these issues and started various 'historic living museums' where local people expose themselves traditionally to tourists. In four out of the seven LCFN historic living museums, the projects are focused on Bushmen. Werner Pfeifer, the LCFN initiator, explained that they do not invest financially in the community but promised to bring in tourists and help with marketing if the local people themselves could set up a living museum (dressing up traditionally and showing traditional activities to tourists). In the end, they want to preserve all the local cultures in Namibia, teach tourists about these cultures and create income for the locals. Pfeifer explained that this strong focus on tradition is not a problem because the projects are called museums. As we will see, most NGO workers who have worked with Bushmen – including myself – tend to dominate them in ways that border paternalism and *baasskap*, but this does not automatically mean that there is no space for the Bushmen's own agency. I mention this because in western society we tend to consider (but not always practise) equality as a norm. Today, NGOs are part of the Bushmen's changing environment. Throughout this thesis, NGOs play an important role in the analysis because most of the tourist developments that are described are directly or indirectly related to NGO activities.

The historical development of conservation

Due to new technological developments in the 1800s, colonists in Southern Africa started to hunt large numbers of game and a lot of land was converted to agriculture. Concerns about the elimination of wild animals led the African colonial powers to start managing their wildlife, which resulted in the setting up of national parks to protect it. These parks soon became famous for their big game (Child 2009: 5-7). Today, such conventional conservation approaches are accused of ignoring the wider forces, causing environmental damage and imposing land-use categories in a top-down approach. Over the years, there has also been growing concern about the social impacts of protected areas on indigenous peoples (Chatty & Colchester 2002: 1).

In the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, within a 'fortress conservation' model (coercive conservation or the fences and fines approach), Eurocentric views on conservation were dominant. A network of protected areas was then set up across Africa, in which conservation meant the preservation of flora and fauna and the exclusion of people. Rarely were local people consulted and their needs for natural resources were ignored. People were moved off their land, often forcibly, to make room for wildlife. The principle behind this was to protect the park or reserve from damage that local communities supposedly inflicted on it, based on the assumption that human actions would automatically affect the physical environment negatively. Such dispossessed people stood on the side while game reserves were developed to cater for foreign tourists who came to gaze at wildlife, or sometimes hunt it. This pro-

cess went together with the view that indigenous people who rely on natural resources are backward or primitive and in some cases were considered attractive for tourism, such as the Bushmen, in which case they were allowed to remain in or near their traditional lands. The system was characterised by law enforcement and local people who went hunting became 'poachers', even those who had always depended on game meat in their diets (Brown & Jones 1994: 191-192; Chatty & Colchester 2002: 1-5).

An important change in the creation of national parks was the use of fences, which served to protect wildlife and keep it separate from the people (Spierenburg & Wels 2006). Fences imply a landlocked view, in which the park is 'nature enclosed', in which everything of significance can be pinned down to the surface although clearly the sky, the birds, the wind, the water in the rivers, the moon, the stars and the sun cannot be enclosed in such a way. Enclosures block the movement, of people and large animals, and convert places that people and animals inhabit to containers. External boundaries do not exist in nature, as horizons do, so the dividing up into compartments with parts for nature and others for society is not realistic. Whether we speak of fences, the water's edge, a garden border or a roadside, none of these marks the edge of nature or society since the boundary does not exist (Ingold 2005: 507-508). In this context, national parks and game reserves arose as an illusion of being natural systems without any influence from political, social or cultural developments around them. But in fact they are cultural structures. Bushmen have been among the most affected people in Southern Africa as a result of the establishment of national parks (Dieckmann 2003: 37) and fences and national parks are still being established in Africa today.

By the 1940s and 1950s colonial policies and some early independent governments were starting to change and the image of harmless, pristine natives was replaced by one of uncivilised and dangerous locals. Many indigenous peoples were resettled in the name of development, easing administration and service provision (such as healthcare) without paying attention to local indigenous priorities and perspectives, or even their systems of using resources. Indigenous spokespersons from all over the world often view conservation and development as two sides of the same coin in which they experience top-down impositions denying their rights to land and devaluing their indigenous knowledge and land-use system (Chatty & Colchester 2002: 5-7). For several decades now, a more pluralistic way of thinking about the world and how to change it has emerged and it has become clear that rural people do want their (grand)children to grow up with wildlife. They are not against conservation but it was the way in which conservation was applied in the past that they are against. In the late 1980s fortress conservation lost its credibility and was not seen as sustainable in protecting wildlife. Today, ecosystems are mostly regarded as dynamic and continuously changing and the importance of people in their development and functioning is acknowledged in this respect. Some conservationists in Africa now realise that the loss of biodiversity in protected areas stems from restrictions placed on local communities (Chatty & Colchester 2002: 8-14; Spierenburg & Wels 2006: 297). In the end,

(i)f the economy of the local communities is not vigorous, or is in a serious state of decline, the establishment of a wildlife reserve in its midst does not promote long-term sustainability ... (but if) the problems of the human population are addressed and the community anticipates benefit from a com-

bined conservation/development scheme, then cooperation and long-term sustainability are possible. (Chatty & Colchester 2002: 14)

In these new approaches, tourism is an important part of the strategy to ensure local people benefit from conservation but because of the developing aspirations of some of the targeted countries, conservationists have addressed development as a way of making conservation feasible against poverty and a dearth of development. This has led development and conservation thinking to converge around themes of small-scale community-based development, environmental sustainability and the empowerment of communities, mostly driven by NGOs (Butcher 2007: 22-41). Today, protected areas all over the world are favoured spaces for reclaiming or even reinventing the cultures of formerly disadvantaged people and for publicising indigenous knowledge to a wider audience (Carruthers 2003: 255).

Community-based natural resource management

Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) is a concept that promotes conservation and local development. Communities joining CBNRM projects have the right to the benefits from natural resources based on the legislation allowing regional or local bodies to benefit from protected areas and any activities taking place there. One such activity, and probably the most important, is tourism (Hitchcock 2004: 205-209). Where CBNRM has been involved, there have been serious costs to donors and this has led to doubts about the effectiveness of CBNRM from a development and income-generating perspective. CBNRM is a conservation strategy first and foremost and is largely donor-driven, attempting to reconcile global agendas with community needs. While it operates at grassroots level, it is not a grassroots strategy and the financial rewards are very limited in most instances. However, CBNRM was never intended to serve as the only or even principal form of income generation for communities, but it was always envisaged that it would provide wages for some and indirect benefits for others, expanding the number of income-generating options (Suzman 2001a: 137-138). Since CBNRM's focus is mostly economic and less on social and/or cultural benefits, it incorporates neoliberal economic thinking about markets and is based on the idea that people are fundamentally economic creatures (J. Taylor 2007b: 49).

Twelve NGOs in Namibia and a variety of local communities are involved in CBNRM and the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) has adopted the concept as an important conservation strategy outside protected areas.⁶ The Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) programme, which ran from 1993 to 2008, brought in major donor support for CBNRM in Namibia from USAID and WWF-US, and after 2008 it continued with other donors and government support. There was an increase in cash incomes, employment and in-kind benefits, and in the diversification of the benefits (Jones & Weaver 2009: 223-233). Indeed, financial benefits have been dominant to date in the CBNRM experience, which means that wildlife, forest products and tourist destinations have been commoditised. Revenues from trophy hunting are often given as an example of the success of CBNRM (Murphree 2009: 2555). Community involvement in CBNRM is limited in the sense that most initiatives start with a decision by the govern-

⁶ Today also inside protected areas, for example in Bwabwata National Park. See Chapter 4.

ment or private actors who want to control a protected area. The extent to which communities are involved is largely within the control of these actors and participation in CBNRM plans and literature often includes a brief consultation with local communities instead of substantial involvement in decision-making (Turner 2006: 2). For local people, CBNRM is often one of the few opportunities to acquire rights to natural resources, increase control over their land and gain income through tourism (Hohmann 2003b: 246). Donors such as USAID and WWF play an important role in the advocacy of CBNRM and conservationists state that the main aim of CBNRM is conservation (nature first) and that community development and ecotourism are included as a means to this end (Sullivan 2002: 160-161; cf. Butcher 2007).

This new approach to conservation is thus a continuation of past policies. The driving forces that implement policy tend to mask local differences and aspirations by communalising rhetoric, in such a way that “(d)isplacement in these contexts becomes something more subtle than the physical eviction of peoples from their land in the name of conservation” (Sullivan 2002: 159). Rural development and empowerment are confined to the protection of species that can be harmful to the local people and their economic activities. The deals are made between agencies that advise the community and tourist and hunting operators. The latter want to capitalise on wildlife, and CBNRM programmes and policy are thus influenced by the interests of conservationists, tourist and hunting operators, and tourists themselves (*Ibid.*: 165). So clearly,

(e)cotourism is often advocated as a sustainable option as it combines development with an emphasis on preserving wildlife and culture. However ... it also ties the development prospects for rural communities to a ‘nature first’ outlook that severely limits the prospects for substantial economic development. (Butcher 2007: i)

Sian Sullivan concluded that “underneath the rhetoric, CBNRM is not the radically and qualitatively different approach to conservation that it claims to be” (2002: 179). There are unrealistic and generally unvoiced expectations that African communal area residents should live with dangerous wildlife on their land, while trying to increase the populations of these species (*Ibid.*: 180). However, what the best solution is remains to be seen.

CBNRM can result in a human-wildlife conflict and the costs of this are not always sufficiently covered by the benefits of wildlife tourism. Wildlife can create crop-raiding, damage to the infrastructure and even to people’s personal safety (Spenceley 2008a: 180). This raises two fundamental questions:

(I)s it reasonable to expect that a structurally entrenched rural poor should continue to serve the fantasies of African wilderness projected by environmentalists, conservationists, tourists and trophy hunters? Or that a communalizing discourse equating rural development and ‘empowerment’ with wildlife preservation and foreign tourism will be ‘sustainable’, given both the constraints it imposes on individual aspiration and the dissatisfaction it produces in people who feel excluded? (Sullivan 2002: 180)

Claims for community participation in ecotourism are nowadays presented as an ethical approach to development but the agenda on which communities can participate are often shaped externally by NGOs, presented to poor rural communities and based on democratic credentials as their sole option, and justified by sustainability (Butcher 2007: 99), whereas NGOs are strongly influenced by donor agendas.

CBNRM in Southern Africa is frequently praised for allocating land to its highest-valued use, but this is largely an interpretation in financial terms from a market-based approach. This argument is a short-term perspective, typical of economic booms and busts and does not take into consideration long-term financial or even environmental sustainability (Murphree & Taylor 2009: 113). Sometimes CBNRM enthusiasts create the impression that it is a panacea for rural poverty, to gain donor support, but it should only be regarded as one part of a possible solution (Murphree 2009: 2557). Still, although not a panacea for rural poverty, Murphree considers CBNRM the only visible option, but exploration is clearly needed as to why, when and where CBNRM works or does not and how it could be improved when necessary (*Ibid.*: 2551-2553). For Bushmen too, CBNRM is associated with problems such as social exclusion and/or discrimination within communities and trusts. Marginalised groups, like the Bushmen, have fewer chances of participating than other groups in decision-making processes due to language difficulties and age, while others feel excluded because their social and economic benefits from CBNRM activities are fewer than those of fellow community members. Elites within a community do not always share the benefits equally and the views of the more marginalised community members are often ignored. CBNRM programmes have tended not to resolve conflicts between conservation and development and in many cases poverty alleviation has not been achieved. This is related to the different expectations of westerners, such as pristine habitats and culturally diverse populations, and those of the local population, like secure livelihoods, equitable development and access to resources. Local people often see the majority of benefits from tourism going to safari operators and companies. In addition, the degree to which communities have control over their land and resources is limited in Southern Africa by the nature of government land legislation and conservation and the institutional capacity of CBOs is often insufficient (Hitchcock 2004: 221-226). As a result of criticism of local people's involvement in conservation initiatives, some of the more powerful actors in conservation have promoted a more enforcing style, in which the protection of wildlife and biodiversity is again separated from the locals, a movement which is referred to as 'back-to-the-barriers'. In this view, fences and fines should be brought back and economic development and conservation are considered incompatible (Büscher & Dietz 2005: 2; cf. Sullivan 2006).

*The original community-based tourism*⁷

One strategy in CBNRM programmes is to start community-based tourism projects, often campsites with activities for tourists. Involvement and ownership of tourist projects by communities were widely supported from a moral point of view, an equity perspective, a developmental perspective and a business management point of view. The level and distribution of economic benefits depend on factors such as the attractiveness and type of the operation, the nature and degree of community involvement and whether earnings are used for community projects. Communities often need outside assistance to organise themselves, especially in the initial phases (Spenceley 2008d: 286-287).

Community-based tourism is characterised by empowerment, self-reliance, its (small) scale and is specifically intended for poor communities that want to initiate, manage, plan, own and control operations based on their needs and wishes. It is important that community members that are not directly involved in the tourism enterprise benefit too. As part of the community-based tourism development structures, many micro-level private enterprises can be seen as such but there is a deafening silence surrounding the incentives taking place in the informal sector and on financing such micro enterprises in tourism. Multi-institutional support is therefore another important characteristic for community-based tourism and consists of information provision, networking opportunities and capacity building from government, NGOs or the private sector (Giampiccoli & Nauright 2010: 52-54). Van der Duim & Caalders (2002: 757) also noticed how small-scale entrepreneurs at a local level do not receive enough attention in the national and international policies on tourism and biodiversity. Interventions today often focus on conservation and partly to create more equal sharing of benefits, which leaves out those engaging in their environment economically outside the corporate bodies. The ideal community-based projects are run entirely by the community and all members should receive direct benefits. This requires a more centralised approach whereby communities have rights and greater control over decision-making and resources so that their dependency on higher-order institutions (often government) decreases (Hitchcock 2001a: 48). However, the multi-institutional support for commu-

⁷ I call this section '*original* community-based tourism' because it is about tourism in which (a selection of) the community *owns and manages* the project, as opposed to joint ventures that I describe in the next section. Today, the term 'community-based tourism' is being used increasingly to describe cooperation with the private sector in joint ventures (see, for example, Spenceley 2008d: 287), something I disagree with. The Namibian Tourism Minister explained the importance of the latter 'community-based tourism' (joint ventures) for the future (TNN 2011c). Today, even NACOBTA, *the* NGO for community-based tourism in Namibia, is making the shift from original community-based tourism to assisting communities with the creation of joint ventures, but they still talk about community-based tourism (NACOBTA 2011). Although there is a role for the community in joint ventures, the dynamics differ from those of the original community-based tourism enterprises (such as campsites); in joint ventures the focus is on high-level tourism with large financial benefits, for example a luxury lodge or trophy hunting. As joint ventures are hardly '*community-based*' a better term, at least in the case of the Bushmen, would be *community-involved* tourism because community members (mostly a CBO representing the whole community) *are* involved but the projects are generally not rooted or based in the community at all. The joint ventures that receive attention in this research show that Bushmen feel excluded from the projects. The use of the term community-based tourism for joint ventures is therefore incorrect because it creates the impression that the community has a big say in them, while in fact most Bushmen consider themselves sidelined.

nity-based projects does not always have a business approach. Donor agencies and NGOs frequently consider participation, gender, empowerment and capacity building but neglect a decent business plan for marketing, administration, target groups, cooperation with the private sector, product development and/or channels of communication. In the end, tourism *is* a business and many community-based tourist enterprises struggle with the basic principles of business management and are established without a business focus. Nonetheless there have been economic benefits (Spenceley 2008b: 370-371; 2008d: 300).

To assist communities with marketing and bookings, the Namibia Community-Based Tourism Assistance Trust, previously the Namibia Community-Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA), was set up in 1995. This NGO was funded initially by the WWF LIFE project and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and focused on closing the gap between community-based tourism and the private sector and improving cooperation to avoid misperceptions on both sides. NACOBTA used to support community-based tourism projects with marketing and bookings, two essential elements in a business. However, an often-heard complaint within the private sector is that staff at NACOBTA and at NGOs in general do not always have enough business expertise themselves and are not able to teach others how to run a business. In addition, the understanding of market dynamics at community level is low. Communities have changed a lot in the twenty years since independence and capacity has grown, but community tourism remains limited. The new NACOBTA, the Trust, is more focused on joint ventures with the private sector to improve cooperation and help local communities develop tourism initiatives (NACOBTA 2011; Schalken 1999). But even today NACOBTA is seen by tour operators as inefficient and to be lacking decent marketing and business expertise, and there seems to be a big gap between community operations and the requirements of the private sector (Lapeyre 2010: 769). For example, the Cardboard Box Travel Shop states on its website that “(m)ost of these places (NACOBTA community campsites) cannot be *reliably* booked in advance and work on a first come first served basis. Therefore we do not offer bookings for these community establishments” (CBB 2012). In addition, various other NGOs have also lost confidence in NACOBTA due to internal and leadership issues and its inefficiency. Community tourism can thus be seen as pro-poor initiatives with a questionable level of sustainability for three reasons. First, it has proven costly and challenging to mainstream community tourism projects in the competitive tourism sector; second, the communities have weak institutional and managerial capacity and third, donor and NGO support is often inadequate and cannot solve the challenges faced by communities working in tourism (Lapeyre 2010).

Community involvement in joint ventures

The rationale in joint ventures is that a community cooperates with a private tour operator that has the investment, management and marketing expertise to run a business. This creates possible benefits for the community, such as cash, employment, infrastructure and skills. The two common forms are when a tourist lodge is established by a private operator on communal land under a formal agreement with the community or when a

community has control over a hunting quota in a demarcated wildlife area that it can lease to a trophy hunter (Ashley & Jones 2001: 407; Haug 2007: 7). Since the 1990s a growing number of lodges have started marketing themselves as (partly) Bushman attractions but so far no Bushmen community owns or runs its own lodge. There are examples of early joint ventures, such as the Intu Afrika Lodge, that approached WIMSA in 1995 with a proposal to transform it into a tourist attraction with a Bushman theme and cooperate with a group of !Xǀó Bushmen (Suzman 2001a: 135-136). In the marketing of this project, the Bushmen were advertised as the last of their kind and few in number while the stories told to the tourists about them were fanciful (Garland & Gordon 1999: 276-277). In reality, they lived in a village about two km from the tourists and only dressed up in traditional outfits for tourist performances (Guenther 2002: 49). The hybrid and non-local community was advertised as having traditional skills but lacked the basic training they required to turn their skills into income generation. Intu Afrika and the tourists served as benevolent do-gooders, taking the Bushmen out of their primitive, disempowered and traditional state (Garland & Gordon 1999: 277). For the Bushmen at Intu Afrika working there was not a choice as they felt pressured into it by their poverty and unemployment. They complained of social tensions, unfulfilled promises of land and a tourist levy by the owners. And the labour conditions led some workers to explain that they were just a duplication of those found on commercial farms (Sylvain 2002: 1080-1081). Places such as Intu Africa show the early cooperation between Bushmen and the private sector. Today the number of joint ventures has increased and community members still complain about late payments, poor housing, waste management, bad treatment, family favouritism and sometimes even fear of the lodge owners or hunters. Lodge owners, on the other hand, complain about community staff not being honest, reliable and loyal, of them being drunk, stealing, quarrelling and lacking any business sense.

From an economic point of view, joint-venture operations tend to be more successful than other CBNRM tourism projects, based on a business attitude and marketing and promotional skills. Especially regarding trophy hunting, joint ventures tend to generate more revenue than photographic tourism, while photographic tourism has a higher economic multiplier because it creates jobs and wages (Spenceley 2008a: 179). Still, the private operator tends to make most decisions in many joint venture agreements and the community mainly gets money, goods and jobs, while it could be more useful to have joint ventures in which the private operators and community trusts share the risks and responsibilities (Hitchcock 2001a: 48). The commitment of private operators to community aspirations is essential and partners have to be chosen carefully (Murphree & Taylor 2009: 113). One of the main tasks of the private operator is to empower the people and help with capacity building, but this does not always work out as planned. In post-independent Namibia, white South Africans dominate the (eco)tourist industry (Ramutsindela 2005: 58), just as in South Africa. Throughout my fieldwork I spoke to many young, talented and educated Bushmen who did not feel attracted by joint ventures or other private lodges. Consequently, I felt justified in wondering if “there (is) enough capacity in the *white* community, so dominant in tourism, to really *empower* the Bushmen? ... The talented ones do not accept the *baasskap* system anymore. Why are

these young, talented people not working at the joint ventures?” (diary, 7 July 2010). Some elements of *baasskap* in the relationship between the (mostly white) managers at lodges or hunters and the Bushmen seemed to limit the pool of Bushmen who were willing to work at these lodges (with internal community pressure, often from elders). Ironically, the ones that could truly make a difference by being able to run such a place were the ones who preferred to go their own way in life instead of working for a *baas* in an old-fashioned environment. This obviously limits the possibilities for empowerment and the chances of truly owning the lodge in the end (although the latter is often one of the set goals).

Different cultures or ideologies – subsistence culture and capitalism – work together in joint ventures as if symmetrical, while basic power differences in which capitalism defines the dominant code of conduct are overlooked. Even if local communities can acquire large sums of money and thereby opportunities for economic development by selling their resource rights, the community is also giving away power, ownership and the opportunity for sustainable development. Joint ventures have the potential to turn local communities into passive, dependent participants left on the periphery of the tourism sector (Haug 2007; Mbaiwa 2004). Often a contract gives the local group official ownership of a lodge but in reality there is no sense of ownership. In addition, private operators do not take development or capacity building seriously or they simply do not know how to put it into practice. For example, a spokesperson for Wilderness Safaris explained at a workshop on joint ventures that NGOs have a role to play in establishing trust with communities for the private sector. This shows a tendency to believe that NGOs are closer to the community than the private sector, while in reality the manager of the private enterprise works with the trainees every day. So a private operator needs to spend time and energy on establishing this trust himself, as was the idea of joint ventures in the first place. By saying that this is an NGO’s duty, the private partner is denying its own responsibility in the creation of mutual trust with the community. Such processes, however, are long and complicated, and require expertise.

Theoretical approach

On hunter-gatherer economics

An affluent society and the immediate return economy

A lot of our early information about hunting and gathering societies and their traditional way of life was based on the writings of early anthropologists, traders, missionaries and explorers whose tendency was to depict the hunter-gatherers' life as a hard, never-ending struggle for food in a harsh environment (Ingold 2000: 65). They were considered poor as they did not produce any surplus and therefore living close to extinction, hungry and suffering from chronic diseases (Harris 1977: 11). This changed when Marshall Sahlins named the Bushmen's and other hunter-gatherers' subsistence economy as the 'original affluent society'. He explained how common western understanding of affluence in those days meant the easy satisfaction of people's material wants. Affluence then could be achieved in two different ways. First, wants could be satisfied by producing a lot or, second, by desiring little. The western concept of market economies is based on the first idea that man's wants are great, or even infinite, the formalist economic idea of maximisation as described later in this section. What is different from our own view is that of desiring little, based on the assumption that man's material wants are finite and few, and the technical means to acquire these are adequate. The second strategy allows people such as hunter-gatherers to enjoy material plenty (Sahlins 1972: xviii-2). Looking at it as Sahlins did, the primitive societies had few material possessions, but they were not poor, since poverty is above all a social status and therefore can be seen as an invention of civilisation (*Ibid.*: 37). This controversial vision became highly debated and criticised by a broad spectrum of scholars from various disciplines but most specialists agreed that Sahlins had touched a new and essential idea about the hunting-gathering way of life (Bird-David 1992: 25-27).¹ In fact, "in drawing

¹ For example, from a dwelling perspective of the environment (see next section), as a relational sphere where hunter-gatherers continually develop their life-world, the idea of an affluent society does not make sense, because this implies the western idea that the environment exists as a world 'out there',

attention to the explanatory power of hunter-gatherers' trust in the environment, Sahlins did point the way towards a culturally oriented theory of hunter-gatherers' economic behaviour" (*Ibid.*: 28).

The idea of the 'immediate return economy' developed in line with this, whereby the Bushmen were thought to store only small bits and not to plan for the future (although there are exceptions to this, such as the storing of mangetti nuts). They would value sharing over accumulation and people who share were seen as good and failing to share was an act of bad faith and anti-social. The exchange of movable property is characterised by a delay, that enables the unemployed or underemployed to reap benefits. This attitude is very different and even contradictory to that found in most other societies (Barnard 2002: 7-8). In addition, activities are oriented to the present in the immediate return economy, instead of the past or the future. This means that food and other resources are obtained for use on the same day or over the next few days. Simple, easy and portable tools were used and people did not hold a return or yield – either material or social – for labour applied over time (Woodburn 1988: 32). The nature of societies based on this immediate return economy are, or were until recently, societies of equals where members were equal in status, power and wealth. Equality is actively promoted while inequality is actively restricted. Of course, society members of most of these societies have experienced inequality in their dealings with members of other ethnic groups, and increasingly too within their own groups (Woodburn 2005: 21-22). Today the immediate return economy is seen more as an exception and not as a general rule amongst hunter-gatherers and if we look at the environment as a process of development, then it is not a passive container filled with resources in abundance that is to be taken and saturated with various personal powers. The environment is alive and in it hunter-gatherers maintain relationships with these powers in order to survive. As in other societies, they have to look after and care for it, so they have to treat animals and plants with respect, minimising disturbances and damage to the local environment. Personal relationships that were built up and maintained with various powers in the environment matter all the time (for example throughout previous hunts in history) and this contradicts the idea of an immediate return economy (Ingold 2000: 67).

Indeed, in addition to the important social role of sharing, it was found in the cosmology of various immediate return economies that sharing is something that also happens a lot 'with nature', although in these economies 'nature' as such, based on the western dichotomy of nature-culture, generally does not exist. They view the world as an integrated entity and nature, in western terms, is commonly constructed mechanistically, whereas for hunter-gatherers "nature seems to be a set of agencies, simultaneously natural and human-like" (Bird-David 1992: 29-30). Sahlins's earlier suggestion that hunter-gatherers have limited needs is only true up to a certain point. They also seem to delight in abundance if the situation allows it and they have demanded food and other material items from anthropologists and members of their own societies. While this may initially seem contradictory, it makes sense that these people construct their material wants from their natural *and* social environment, with whom they both have a

separated from the human society, based on the nature-culture dichotomy that hunter-gatherers do not use (Ingold 2000: 67-70).

sharing relationship. They require their environment to provide but not to produce more. Whatever they obtain, they exhaust it and enjoy it and the persistence of their demands stays regardless of what they already possess. Their material wants are thus restricted within a sharing relationship. Technological objects can also be appropriated from the environment and have to be shared between the people and the environment. They should be used and then returned to the environment via other people, or directly. From this perspective, it is not true, as was Sahlins's idea, that hunter-gatherers' wants are only few but they follow the 'sharing way' to affluence, meaning that they want a share based on the material means available in their environment. Contrary to the western formalist economic view, in which scarcity is the starting point (see later on in this section) hunter-gatherers, in their cosmic economy of sharing, see the environment as providing for their needs and take affluence as their starting point. This explains why the immediate return economy makes sense, but only to a certain degree because it leaves open questions such as the ecological conditions needed to live by such an economic model, and whether the supposed abundance of resources is true or imaginary. These questions mostly remain unanswered in western science and policies because we tend to think in western terms (*Ibid.*: 31-32).

Encapsulation and commercialisation

For us with a western background and coming from a capitalist mindset, you see so clearly the potential of something that can be done but you don't see the community networks that exist around it. And those community networks is their economy. We don't see that economy, we just see 'o, but you can get much more money' but you don't see how that economy imposed on their economy is going to destroy the fibre of the other one ... Tourism has in its core the force of destruction what it is that we want to sell. So you want to sell this product, the beauty of it, while the capitalist world and culture and means that we bring in that they (Bushmen) also want, that has the potential of destroying what we try to sell. How do you toss that game? ... It has positive elements of self-esteem and cultural knowledge, preservation and also income-generation, but it has in its core ... the people fear that it keeps them back, it keeps them who they were and they want to move on. (Willemien le Roux, Interview 151)

In this quote, Le Roux of the KFO from Botswana explains how the western economy is destroying the traditional economy of Bushmen hunter-gatherers. Although I do not believe that a true 'destruction' is taking place, Le Roux does refer to processes of 'encapsulation' and, specifically, 'commercialisation'. Today, most hunter-gatherer groups participate in a mixed economy, engaging in cash transactions within the context of western capitalism. This means that so-called traditional activities are gaining new economic meaning, especially in tourism.

Indigenous groups are increasingly being incorporated into the economic sphere of the globalised world, where they commoditise their produce to obtain essential items for consumption (Tadesse 2005: 6). The Bushmen's economy also fell under the influence of worldwide processes of encapsulation, which is "the general incorporation of groups into structures of larger and more powerful entities such as the nation state and international institutions" (*Ibid.*: 2-3). In the process of globalisation, most of Africa's participation was never simply a matter of 'joining the world economy' but was rather one of spatial and highly selective processes of encapsulation of global connections with many examples of exclusion and disconnection (Ferguson 2006: 14). An important part

of encapsulation is commercialisation, which “is a key aspect of the economic dimension to encapsulation. It is often an important part of a conscious effort made by indigenous peoples to cope with the loss of economic autonomy” (Tadesse 2005: 4). Apart from the loss of economic autonomy, the subordination of a local economy to outside control is another aspect of commercialisation, something that Sahlins called the replacement of a regime of *generalised* and *balanced* reciprocity to *negative* reciprocity (in the latter there is an attempt to appropriate something for nothing, and people look to each other to maximise utility at the expense of the other) driven by market forces (Lee 2005: 23; Sahlins 1972: 191-196). The condition of full or partial encapsulation comes with the penetration of market forces into their small-scale, subsistence and exchange-based economies (Lee 2005: 16). This results in values from the capitalist world, such as cash and commodities, that cross a permeable barrier and are converted into values of the ‘traditional economy’ of sharing. For example, a group of Ju/’hoansi Bushmen who worked in the Gold Mines of Witwatersrand in South Africa returned dressed in western clothes that they had bought with their wages from the mines. Within a few days of returning home, their wardrobes had been dispersed among family and friends through the cashless *hxaro*² exchange network (*Ibid.*: 24-25).

This commercialisation takes place all over Africa and in development, structural adjustment programmes have been adopted, in which western economic terms are used as a prerogative as being necessary for concepts such as ‘efficiency’ and ‘economic growth’, that are rarely justified but automatically assumed to be ‘economically correct’. In this terminology, institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) tend to focus on comparative advantages in Africa, which are there to be utilised efficiently so that economic growth and development take place. Recently, this logic of ‘economic correctness’ has been joined by the desire to ‘get the politics right’ (Ferguson 2006: 77-79). Indeed,

(w)elfare in Africa has long been understood as first of all a question of relations among people. This, I would suggest, is a politically and theoretically rich understanding, vastly more so than the IMF-World Bank’s impoverished conception of the economy as an amoral, technical system. Against the truly fetishized view that would see “the market” as a natural force to which human life simply *must* submit, the African insight that markets, prices, and wages are always *human* products is a powerful one. (*Ibid.*: 82)

So important players in encapsulation and commercialization are, apart from market players, the various institutions that are not market players (but often have alliances with market players). An important example are the nation-states. In tourist developments, governments have an essentially important role since they often have the power to plan and control such developments. Loans, overseas aid and tourism-related international investors are largely channelled through governments that are also the stakeholders who have to create a favourable national policy to assist tourism developments. Governments in developing countries are frequently influenced and put under pressure

² *Hxaro* is a social feature of the Ju/’hoansi of gift giving. It involves a balanced and delayed exchange of non-food goods, such as ostrich-egg jewelry, so that people are linked in a complex network of mutual reciprocity. It serves to reinforce social alliances and to facilitate mobility, creating long-term mutual support (Bieseke & Hitchcock 2011). This also shows that an ‘immediate return economy’ is never fully ‘immediate’ but also partly ‘delayed’.

by larger international institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank, the United Nations, other (more powerful) governments or large international NGOs. In addition to these external influences, government tourist policies are also influenced by internal factors, such as conflicting priorities and interests with NGOs or within the government itself. The latter often show when responsibilities for tourism developments are divided between various ministries or government departments. Governments thus play an important role in the politics of tourism (Mowforth & Munt 2003: 252-256). Although the role of the nation-state is still essential today, a clear shift took place among these institutions and the market changing the role of the state tremendously since the early 1990s. Today this shift from government to governance is shown because the traditional separation between the state, the market and civil society are disappearing and the relations between these spheres tend to exceed the nation-state. At the global and the local level, this resulted in new coalitions between civic organizations, market players and the state, in which the state today made room for an abundance of various local and global actors in continually changing alliances and different levels of power (Van der Duim 2011: 83-84; cf. Büscher & Dietz 2005).

Superstructure, structure and the primacy of the infrastructure

This thesis analyses the Bushmen and their changing economy under the influence of wider forces that are apparent in tourism. This is done at the level of infrastructure. At the end of the 1960s, Marvin Harris (1979: ix; cf. 1968) launched ‘cultural materialism’ as a research strategy to “understand the causes of differences and similarities among societies and cultures”. Cultural materialism is based on the idea that socio-cultural adaptation is achieved through the interaction of a human population with its environment and that the interaction of people and the environment forms one system (Harris 1968: 659). As a theoretical orientation, cultural materialism makes researchers “look first to the physical and social environment for explanations of cultural variation, on the assumption that culture is mostly adapted to the physical and social environment” (Ember & Ember 2007: 166). This environment is called the infrastructure, originally a Marxist concept but “Harris broadened the Marxian notion of infrastructure so that it included ecological and demographic forces as well as technoeconomic ones” (Kuznar & Sander-son 2007: 3).

At the level of infrastructure, there is a mode of production and one of reproduction. The mode of production includes the technology and practices for basic subsistence production, especially the production of food and other forms of energy (for example hunting, agriculture, ethno-botany, magic, or industry), whereas the mode of reproduction is the technology and the practices in a society for regulating (expanding, limiting or maintaining) the population’s size (for example, contraception, mating patterns, taboos, demography, religion, the nurturing of infants). In addition to infrastructure, a society consists of a structure and a superstructure. The organizational aspects of a society take place at the level of structure, meaning government, education, production regulation and so on, whereas the superstructure is the ideological dimension of a society (Harris 1979: 51-54). Essential in cultural materialism is the principle of ‘infrastructural determinism’, a term that Harris later changed to the ‘primacy of the infrastructure’ (1999:

142). This major principle of cultural materialism means that modes of production and reproduction determine the structure and the structure determines the superstructure. The practical and material conditions relating to subsistence in the infrastructure are decisive in a society. The argument that priority should be given to infrastructure is based on the idea that society adapts to the environment through infrastructural practices, which is based on two assumptions. First, human beings must consume energy to obtain energy and other life-sustaining products, and, second, man's ability to produce children is bigger than the ability to obtain energy for them. Based on the idea that human beings can therefore never change these two laws, in cultural materialism there is a "strategic priority of ... infrastructural over structural and superstructural conditions and processes" (Harris 1979: 56). Although modes of production and reproduction (infrastructure) in all probability determine the structure, which in turn determines the superstructure, cultural materialism does not argue that *all* system changes come from alterations in infrastructure or that the structure and superstructure are just passive reactors. In fact, they do influence infrastructure but if changes in a superstructure or structure are not compatible with the existing modes of production and reproduction, these changes are not effective or lasting (*Ibid.*: 72-73). In anthropology therefore, infrastructure-focused studies should be given strategic priority because if the goal of science is to find law-like generalisations, one should start by studying "(i)nfrastructure (which) is the principal interface between culture and nature (and consequently) priority for theory building logically settles upon those sectors under the greatest direct restraints from the givens of nature" (*Ibid.*: 57).

The focus in this research is also on the level of infrastructure. It is here that people, in this case the Bushmen, live in their environment and where their economic and ecological interactions take place. It is at this level that they engage continuously in their environment. This thesis focuses on tourism-related developments at the Bushmen's infrastructural level.

Substantivist versus formalist economics

In ethnography, it has been shown for more than a century that economies in other times and places and in industrialised societies consisted of more than just the exchange of goods and services at markets. In this anthropological view, economies consist of the acquisition, transfer and production of services and things. Whereas processes, such as the production of material things, take place outside formal markets and many transfers take place via practices such as inheritance, bloodwealth, reciprocity, bridewealth and so on in a variety of forms, modern, especially neoclassical economists tend to exclude such processes and focus exclusively on competitive bidding or market transfers. Exceptions to this are when the logic of market trade is used for the interpretation of such exchanges outside the market, in which the exchanges contain different social and moral parameters (Gudeman 2005: 94). Most anthropologists have developed their economic anthropological ideas under the influence of the pervasive neoclassical western economic theories (Bird-David 1997: 463). At the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s a debate took place in which the formalists and the substantivists differed as to the interpretations of so-called 'primitive' economies. The formalists applied the models

of western neoclassical economic science, especially the microeconomics, to these societies, as if the models were universally valid. This is a business perspective, in which the formalist method assumes these economies as an underdeveloped version of western ones. The substantivists, on the other hand, regarded this formalist practice as unfounded and saw the need to develop a more appropriate analysis for these societies. In this view, different societies would be honoured for what they were (Sahlins 1969: 13-14; cf. Sahlins 1972: xvii-xviii). At the heart of this debate is a different meaning of 'economy'. In the formalist sense, economy is an activity where human behaviour is seen as a relationship between ends and scarce means to obtain maximum benefit. In this line of thinking, economy becomes something rational, a subgroup of human behaviour, a coordination of the logical and the practical, whereas in the substantivist view, it is an activity of culture as such, in which economy is seen as a sub-division of the socio-cultural order. In the latter, it is not about the way people act but the way culture is organised and it is the material life-process of a society, the processes of appropriation of materials from nature and the subsequent distribution into that society (Sahlins 1969: 15-20). Substantivists have embedded the economy in the larger social structure, looking at reciprocity, technology, social institutions and customary practices to produce and exchange material items and food. This perspective is consonant within mainstream cultural anthropology, not least because of the cultural relativist standpoint. Only a few societies have a market, but all have a substantive economy, whereas the formalist economic theories were developed based on the idea of capitalist market-based economies (Sandstrom 2007: 86). At first, using the formalist approach in anthropology seems unlikely, but

(d) individuals who are Eskimo, Lakota, Ahante, and Kiriwina of the Trobriand Islands, for example, allocate their resources in a rational manner like the people on Wall Street and in other financial capitals of the world? The proposition may appear preposterous. But the basic idea is the reasonable assumption that people, regardless of cultural affiliation and whether or not their society is market based, will use their reason to *increase benefits (no matter how defined)* and *reduce costs (no matter how defined)* with the idea of increasing their own overall level of utility. From this perspective, economics is a decision-making discipline and it applies anywhere and anytime that people make strategic choices. (*Ibid.*: 86-87, my emphasis)

Most social scientists, especially those doing cross-cultural research, find the formalist approach too orthodox and not all the economic rules of a market-based society can be applied so easily to other societies. However, when looking at the economy as the allocation of scarce means towards alternative ends, it makes sense to include a formalist approach too. If the means that are used and the ends of the actors are *undefined*, it comes down to individuals optimising or trying to increase various types of value, material *and* non-material. People differ in what they want and even in strong market-based systems not everybody spends all their means just to maximise their money. They can also use their scarce means for scarce items such as prestige, leisure time, community involvement or a nice garden, and it is in understanding people's non-material motivations that social sciences can make a significant contribution to economic theory (*Ibid.*: 87-88). For this reason, I feel it is relevant that the costs as well as the benefits are *not defined*, since this leads to a broader, more usable concept of formalist economy. It makes an economy not directly financial, as we tend to see 'economy' in

the West. Even social relations, for example interactions within a company or a family, are reduced to the result of rational selections within certain constraints (Gudeman 2005: 94). The formalist and substantivist approach are incompatible because of their distinct epistemological approaches. It is therefore unfortunate that the formalist approach is not popular amongst academics, especially anthropologists, because it is unfairly linked to a conservative economic and political perspective of neoclassical economics. However, this is based on the idea, rooted in capitalism, of projecting our own view of humans as creatures maximising utility onto the 'other', but formalism does not necessarily consist of a political standpoint. It sees a fundamental similarity among people everywhere. Formalism explains how human beings are the same at a profound level, while still having big cultural varieties. It then becomes more ethnocentric to assume that only people who live in market economies allocate their resources rationally, as if the others live in a world without economic problems (Sandstrom 2007: 88-89). I support the idea that the formalist approach is better for explaining processes and relations at the level of infrastructure where human beings engage in manifold relations in their environment, both material and non-material.

Towards cultural economics

In a way it would be logical to approach the economy here from an ecological economic viewpoint, because I look at ecology and human engagement with their environment at the infrastructure level and ecological economics is the study of the interactions between economic and ecological systems, it is the field where they overlap. However, in this, the economy, meaning the world's economies all treated as one single system, is located within the environment, meaning the whole natural environment or planet earth. Human economic activity is seen as the material and energy exchanges with the environment and it is necessary to satisfy human beings' needs through the interaction with nature (Common & Stagl 2005: 1-2). So in ecological economics the natural environment is considered a place 'out there', as planet earth and therefore I have two reasons not to use this approach. First, I am only concerned with the infrastructure here, the environment in which human beings directly engage through dwelling (and this does not happen in the global environment, as described in the next section) and second, I do not support the culture-nature dichotomy on which ecological economics is based. In a hunter-gatherer's perception, the duality of nature and culture does not exist, and they live in just one world in which they embrace human beings, animals, plants and features of the landscape they live and move in. In this one world they act as undivided beings (body and mind), or 'organism-persons' that relate to human as well as non-human entities in their environment and there is no absolute separation between these different spheres (Ingold 2000: 46-47). So in line with the dwelling perspective as described in the next section (in which material and immaterial things are seen as affordances, as what it affords an organism), and because I use the formalist economic approach but leaving open room for different cultural varieties of this, I follow Nurit Bird-David's idea of 'cultural economics', that developed building on the ideas of the substantivist approach. In this perspective on economies, material life is seen as being embedded in culture and is about the cultural constitution of the material life (where culture is con-

sidered the anthropological sense of perceptions, symbology and worldview) (Bird-David 1997: 464). If developing countries do ‘not develop’, the usual suspect is the local culture that does not conform to business-style economic rationality and progress to become good and happy like that of westerners. Even today, based on the global advances of neoliberal ideology, ‘cultural economics’ are met with strong counterclaims of the use of money and market rationality (Sahlins 2003 in Sahlins 1972: ix-xi). Bird-David (1997: 464) wonders in this sense “(i)f capitalism is a cultural system, is neo-classical (formalist) economic theory (the theory currently used by most academically-trained Western economists) a Western cultural way of thinking about the economy?”. The value of looking at capitalism as a cultural system is that it involves a critical approach to the understanding of the economic and a perceptiveness of the cultural issues, such as worldviews, ideas and symbols, which are specific anthropological contributions to economics (*Ibid.*: 473-474). From this point of view, substantivist and formalist economics again can be considered as different definitions of the economy instead of contradictions. Therefore, I consider formalist economic behaviour as embedded in culture, or better, to avoid the trap of the culture-nature dichotomy, *embedded in the environment*, which can give it a different character everywhere, in line with the cultural economic approach. For example, it can be regarded rational economic behaviour to share with kin, because it will provide the individual benefit that one is taken care of and also shared with when one gets older. If this idea is shared amongst a group of people such as hunter-gatherers, it is a cultural variant of formalist economic behaviour. In the end, rational behaviour to gain maximum benefits, can be defined different culturally, first of all because it is culturally different what these benefits entail. Therefore, a cultural anthropological formalist approach to economics is possible and useful.

In line with a cultural economic approach, the dwelling perspective as described in the next section goes beyond the debate of formalist or substantivist economics by introducing the concept of affordances. Although the formalist approach is a very useful tool to analyse tourism developments at the infrastructure level, now that we look at the economy as a broader *part of the environment*, and thereby human beings, as economic creatures, are also a part of their environment, it is time to move to the dwelling perspective and these affordances.

Dwelling, power and agency

Culture, nature and the environment

Tim Ingold (1992: 39) defined ecology as “the study of the interrelations between organisms and their environments”. In this, “an environment is that which surrounds, and therefore – at the very least – it presupposes something to be surrounded” (*Ibid.*: 40), which means that “there is no organism without an environment, but there is no environment without an organism” (Lewontin 1982: 160, cited in Ingold 1992: 40). Later, Ingold (2000: 27) would explain that “(a)n approach that is genuinely ecological ... is one that would ground human intention and action within the context of an ongoing and mutually constitutive engagement between people and their environments”. Based

on this, three preliminary points emerge about the notion of environment. First, an environment is *relational*, which implies that ‘environment’ is a relative term to the being who is in the environment, taking on meaning, coming into existence and developing only in relation to this being. Second, environment is *processual*: environments are continually under construction, never reaching completeness, just as organisms themselves. And together with organisms they form a totality, *a process of development* or growth in time. Third, environment is *not nature*. Based on the first two points, the concept of environment should not be confused with that of nature since looking at the world as nature can only be done by a being who does not belong there as a detached scientist from a distance where the illusion of not influencing the world by its presence can be maintained. This means that the distinction between nature and environment is related to different perspectives of seeing ourselves as beings situated *within* a world – the environment – and as beings *without* it – nature. There is a tendency to relate ourselves, humanity, as being external to nature and history but because we continually shape our environments and they shape us, they are fundamentally historical processes. Expressions such as ‘the natural environment’ should thus be treated with caution because the combination of these terms assumes that we imagine ourselves already to be beyond the world, as if in a position to intervene (*Ibid.*: 20).

It is often believed in ecological anthropology that humans and their environment are mediated by culture and that culture is the human mode of adaptation. Culture was considered as a means for humans to adapt to their environment, as well as a superorganism that is itself undergoing adaptation in which human beings are only carrying subjects (Ingold 1992: 39; cf. Steward 1955). However, if we look at culture as a system of symbols and see humans constitute their constructs upon the external world, this assumes that the environment itself is empty of meaning. And if culture is the means for human beings to adapt to the environment – which is flux without form and meaning prior to the cultural ordering – then culture adapts to nothing and the idea of adaptation is simply a way of confirming the existence of culture. This is a contrast and we cannot therefore agree with both (Ingold 1992: 39). Whereas anthropology is a comparative study of different cultural worldviews, the natural sciences investigate the workings of nature by having the capacity for abstract or universal reason, thereby studying the ‘real’ reality of nature. With this capacity for reason, humanity was distinguished from nature in the western scientific discourse, and the knowledge and practices of people in other cultures was bounded by the conventions and constraints of traditions. Instead of working from the stale nature-culture dichotomy, Ingold’s aim is to replace it “with the dynamic synergy of organism and environment, in order to regain a genuine ecology of life” (2000: 15-16).

Many anthropologists have claimed that nature is a cultural construct, but what exactly is meant by this is unclear. In fact, the people who supposedly operate within a natural economy, namely hunter-gatherers, have a different view of themselves and their environments. They reject the ontological dichotomy between culture and nature, or between conceptual form and physical substance. In their thoughts and practices there is no separation of the mind and nature where the mindful subject has to cope with a world full of physical objects. However, this does not mean that the hunter-gatherer

worldview is distinctive, and that it is 'at one' with their environment compared to others that are not. Rather, in the hunter-gatherers' perception, the human condition, like that of any other creatures, is based on an active, practical and perceptual engagement with the dwelt-in world. With such an 'ontology of dwelling', this can help us better understand the nature of human existence when compared to western ontology, since the latter is based on the position that the mind is detached from the world and that before any engagement in the world, the mind has to build an intentional world in consciousness. These are not simply alternative ways of viewing the world but it is a contrast between two ways of understanding the world, in which one – the western way – is like the construction of a view, or a process of mental representation, while for the other – the hunter-gatherer way – it is not building but *dwelling*, not construction but engagement, and it is not a way of creating a view *of* the world but rather of taking up a view *in* it (*Ibid.*: 40-42). Indeed, dwelling is opposed to building, in which man constructs a world *before* he lives in it, as if man and the environment are separated *a priori* entities that interact. In this approach worlds are made before they are lived in (*Ibid.*: 178-179). So if we consider building and dwelling as two opposite analytical worldviews, in processes of modernisation a third possibility arises called 'lodging':

People who lodge live in an essentially foreign environment; in ecological terms this implies that people, when confronted with a given environment or a given change in environment which is beyond their control and did not happen as a result of their interaction with that environment, have to adapt to changes or new circumstances. In the lodging concept, the environment is dominant and people have to shift their way of life according to its contingent properties and independent changes. Here, the environment is not only discernible as something beyond human society, but also as an independent variable impinging on and informing human existence (Van Beek *et al.*, forthcoming).

So although I will mainly use the dwelling perspective in my analyses, I am aware that lodging can become important as well, due to the modernizing character of the Bushmen's environment. This does not mean that they do not dwell, they *do* dwell, and therefore I use that perspective, but the question arises how much their environment is dominating and beyond their control. This is something I hope to clarify in this thesis.

Knowledge in such a system is not formal or transmissible outside practical applications but is based on feeling, sensitivities and skills in the environment and based on intuition, which in the tradition of western science and knowledge is usually seen as inferior. But it is the foundation of any system of knowledge or science because people are always situated in a certain environment with many relationships (Ingold 2000: 25). These ideas can also be applied to that part of the environment where human beings meet other human beings, so we often call that part the 'social environment' because any environment for any animal includes 'conspecifics' or individuals of the same species (Ingold 1992: 53-54). In fact, social life was always a part of ecological life and it is hard to distinguish the two (Ingold 2005: 503).

Affordances

To overcome the culture-nature dilemma, Ingold starts from the proposition that in the intercourse of the life process, persons remain with their environments based on the notion of the mutualism of person and environment. He was inspired by Gibson's 'ecological psychology' that elaborates on an ecological approach to perception, in

contrast to the dominant cognitivism in psychology (Gibson 1979; Ingold 1992: 40). Ecological psychology focuses on the idea that perceptual activity does not take place in the working of the mind as a response to bodily senses but in the intentional movement of the total, indissoluble mind and body in its environment. Compared to cognitive science, which is based on the idea of a static receiver, the emphasis on movement is essential here (Ingold 2000: 166).

In addition to Gibson's ecological psychology, another influence on Ingold's idea of perception is Von Uexküll's Theory of Meaning or *Bedeutungslehre*, in which the term *Umwelt* or 'subjective universe' of organisms is used "to describe the environment as constituted within the life project of an animal" (Ingold 1992: 41). The meaning of a stone, for example, for an indifferent observer, is just part of his environment as a shaped, hard composition of a certain size and as such a 'neutral object'. However, various animals may have co-opted with the stone in various ways. A crab, for example, might have used it to hide under, a bird might have used it to open snail shells or an angry man may have thrown it at an adversary. In the *Umwelt* of the crab the stone is shelter, for the bird an anvil and for the man a missile. These different qualities of one object are *acquired* by the object, in this case the stone, that emerged out of its various relationships with subject organisms. From this perspective, various organisms fit the world to themselves and do so by ascribing functions or qualities to the objects that are then integrated into their own system. Their *Umwelt* is a matter of mapping out or projecting their internal organisation onto the world and an organism organises nature this way. Closely related to this idea is how animals perceive environmental objects in terms of what Gibson calls *affordances*, in what they can provide, for good or bad, although Gibson's affordances are not subjectively added to the neutral object but exist independently and are inherent in the object, whether or not they are put to use. For Gibson, different animals can live in a shared environment and share their various perceptions of what that environment affords. Human beings, when compared with non-human animals, contain linguistically grounded, symbolic intelligence and a consciousness and would therefore theoretically have the capacity to hold a 'designer orientation' towards the environment. However, Ingold argues that on a daily basis, humans tend to immediately perceive the world in terms of what it affords. Such a process of perception is the functioning of a total system in the brain, the receptor organs and their neural and muscular linkages within an environment. It is the whole animal (human or non-human) that perceives, not only the mind, which leads to a new state for the perceiver. It is not a matter of the mental processing of external sensory inputs into percepts but it goes on continuously, also as a process of action because we perceive the world as we act in it. We actively pick up and seek information about the properties and qualities of the objects we encounter, while moving around and exploring the environment. This knowledge is essentially practical, about what the object affords (Ingold 1992: 41-46; cf. Gibson 1979: 127-143; cf. Ingold 1986: 2-4). Gibson (1979: 127) says that

(t)he *affordances* of the environment are what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either for good or ill ... (An affordance is) something that refers to both the environment and the animal in a way that no existing term does. It implies the complementarity of the animal and the environment.

While Gibson's reasoning leaves one contradiction, namely that he considers the environment a set of objective conditions that exist in advance and independent of the organisms, Ingold (2011: 78-79) added the relational aspect to these affordances, based on Von Uexküll's idea that the 'quality' of a thing is not intrinsic to the thing but only acquires significance because it is drawn into a creature's activity. For Ingold (1992: 46) then, "(a)ffordances are properties of the real environment as directly perceived by an agent in a context of practical action".

The amount of information available to the perceiver is unlimited. Organism-persons thus learn to perceive in a culturally appropriate manner by simple hands-on training in daily life and not by acquiring conceptual schemes and programmes that can help to organise sensory data in some kind of representations of a higher order. It is the successful accomplishment of daily tasks that makes one notice and respond fluently to the easily noted aspect of the environment. Learning continues throughout one's life and is inseparable from a person's life in the world. In this idea of affordances, other persons (conspecifics) or animals in the perceiver's environment can 'act back' and so interact with the perceiver. This means that behaviour *affords* behaviour as well (Ingold 2000: 166-167) and we should not only look for affordances in the physical but also in the social environment. Especially when relating to tourism and conservation, it is the social sphere where most of, but not all, affordances are likely to appear since "(t)he richest and most elaborate affordances of the environment are provided by other animals and, for us, other people" (Gibson 1979: 135).

The dwelling perspective

The dominant assumption in anthropology is that people construct the world before they can act in it (Ingold 2000: 153). In this, there is no place for agency as the world is re-constructed in the perceiver's mind before (s)he has any meaningful engagement with it. This means "that worlds are made before they are lived in; or in other words, that acts of dwelling are preceded by acts of worldmaking" (*Ibid.*: 178-179). The dwelling perspective, on the contrary, is the

perspective that treats the immersion of the organism-person in an environment or lifeworld as an inescapable condition of existence (in which) the world continually comes into being around the inhabitant, and its manifold constituents take on significance through their incorporation into a regular pattern of life activity. (*Ibid.*: 153)

From the dwelling perspective, life is the very process in which form is created and kept instead of the revelation of an already existing form. In addition, 'being in the world' by 'agents-in-their-environment' is the point of departure instead of separate individuals who confront the world 'out there' (*Ibid.*: 173). Dwelling does not by definition occur in buildings or houses in their physical structures. There is more to dwelling than simple occupation (*Ibid.*: 185). Human life is a process embedded in time that contains processes of creating the landscapes in which people live. This landscape is an enduring testimony and record of the lives of past generations who dwelt there and all left something of themselves behind (*Ibid.*: 189). Later, Ingold (2011: 12) explained that to dwell, for him, means "literally to be embarked upon a movement along a way of life". Therefore, the organism-person who perceives can also be seen as a wayfarer who

follows paths and trails along. This traveller lives a life, observes, develops skills and understanding, and the path is the primary condition of being and becoming (*Ibid.*: 12).

When using the dwelling perspective, one should be careful to look at the hunter-gatherer perception of the environment as opposed to the western view of it, as if these are an absolute opposition. They are not single perspectives; in reality both are present and among hunter-gatherers there are a range of perspectives. Even though such ideal types can illuminate differences, and thus clarify explanations, this runs the danger of covering up the complexities and diversities in a society (Kenrick 2002: 197-198). Especially when looking at western phenomena such as tourism and conservation in hunter-gatherer societies, we need to realise that the process of growth in this historical environment has created various influences and those of the hunter-gatherers and western ones have blended. This does not make Ingold's idea of dwelling less valuable, probably the contrary, but it means that caution is needed not to see them as opposed, dualistic or even hostile environments. From the perspective of dwelling, there is only one world we can perceive. Indeed, this perspective between hunter-gatherers and the West is not only applicable to hunter-gatherer societies but is a valid structure for human beings everywhere (*Ibid.*: 208).

Concepts such as nature and society are politically loaded and therefore Ingold regrets having used the term 'dwelling' because it sounds too comfortable, as if tensions were absent and the human inhabitants were at peace with the world and themselves. Instead, although dwelling is in some way being at home in the world, home is not always comfortable or pleasant and we are never alone there. This implies fields of power and if the dwelling perspective entails openness to the world, where should we place struggle, closure and defeat? Is it a good foundation for a political ecology? The political is conspicuous by its absence in the dwelling perspective (Ingold 2005: 503). In addition, the localism and comfortable aura of the term 'dwelling' seem out of tune with the prime emphasis on movement (Ingold 2011: 12). Still, when I look at tourist developments and conservation as affordances, this means there is room for interpretation of the political ecology. Affordances, as already said, can exist for good or ill, and social relations and interactions and thus power relations too are important affordances. This makes the dwelling perspective useful when analysing tourism and conservation developments among Bushmen hunter-gatherers. There are many ways in which human beings interact, in a social – and sometimes political – way, leaving space for the interpretation of power relations and therefore of the political economy. The absence of the political in the dwelling perspective therefore depends only on which part of the environment, which relations and processes, one looks at. In my opinion, it cannot be absent if the environment contains whole life-worlds. This is the surpassing character of the dwelling perspective. For this reason too, it does not matter if we look at economics as substantivist or formalist, since both are valid and do not exclude the other but they are surpassed by the perspective of dwelling, which also includes all the economic activities human beings engage in as a part of their environment.

Conservation: Dwelling in a global environment

Today we are being confronted with ideas about what the environment entails, often in images of wildlife, landscapes and people, with facts and figures delivering a message of change. This ‘looking at’ the environment runs the danger that we may forget that we actually *dwell* in it, we *inhabit* our environment as a part of it, and it is a part of us. We hear, see, feel and smell the environment continuously, we *perceive* the environment (Ingold 2011: 95). In this way, discussions about conservation are embedded in the discussion about the global environment, a discourse in which we, collective humanity, look at the globe as if it was an object of appropriation, a place where we do not belong but that belongs to us. We have inherited the earth and we have to manage it for our successors. This means intervention but intervening is an *option* and we can choose whether or not we intervene. An implication is that we look at the world from the outside, as if we were outsiders who can either live in or outside the environment, whereas in reality we have no choice but to live within it. The western notion of intervention in nature is similar to the idea of production: It has become an historical process in which human producers transform nature. In fact, we have created and produced our own environment (Ingold 2000: 214-215). In this way, the world “is rather presented as a spectacle. They (humans) may observe it, reconstruct it, protect it, tamper it or destroy it, but they do not dwell in it” (*Ibid.*: 215). Scientists who talk about the global environment tend to see humans as being detached, as if we surround the environment, so that we are more exhabitants than inhabitants. This is because the global environment is simply too big to relate to *as* an environment (Ingold 2011: 96) and only at the level of infrastructure can we perceive the environment that we dwell in.

In the twentieth century, thinking and acting in both anthropology and conservation was based on the nature-culture dichotomy, as if they are oppositional contrasts. Today, more mutualistic frameworks are emerging, for example in participatory conservation (such as CBNRM, see Chapter 1) where local voices and indigenous perspectives are being taken into consideration, whereas there was growing attention in social theory for the cultural and political baggage that comes with imposing natural states on environments that were historically characterised by an engagement between human beings and their environment (Campbell 2005: 280). The hunter-gatherer perception of the environment differs fundamentally from the so-called scientific environmental conservation today as it is advocated by many western NGOs that want to protect wildlife. Scientific conservation is rooted in the view of a separated nature, subordinated to the world of humanity, leading to the idea that merely by inhabiting it, (civilized) humans are bound to alter an environment from its ‘natural’ state, so that we may think of such environments as a wilderness, meaning that they exist in a genuine natural condition without influences from human civilization (Ingold 2000: 67). Resistance to nature conservation by local populations was often explained by the negative economic consequences on their lives, which led to economic incentives in conservation programmes for these people in order to create support for their projects. According to the dwelling perspective, this approach is limited and shows the radical ontological dissonance one can expect when the objective material environment is separated from the involvement of human beings (Campbell 2005: 288). The consequences of nature conservation for hunter-

gatherers are huge because land and animals are sealed off and human intervention is banned. It is no coincidence that wilderness areas are often inhabited by hunter-gatherers because they are seen as being the true inhabitants of a pristine environment. In scientific conservation, to the embarrassment of some conservationists, hunter-gatherers do not fit, except as a part of the wildlife, of the protected nature. Hunter-gatherers themselves are involved in the environment essential for their life-world and this is incompatible with the principles of scientific conservation, where detachment is a prerequisite. The way that hunter-gatherers consider themselves as custodians of their environment is very different to the scientific notion of conservation. The two should not be confused. Hunter-gatherers do not consider themselves responsible for the survival of wildlife species, but in our one world, humans are insignificant and only a small part. They need to keep up a dialogue with their environment by maintaining a balance in their relationship with its various powers and looking after it through direct engagement with the parts of the environment (Ingold 2000: 68-69; cf. Fennell 2008). From this point of view, rhetoric about hunter-gatherers as if they were the 'true conservationists' does not make sense, but this is widespread amongst stakeholders such as NGOs, government and donors as I experienced in my work with the Bushmen. Programmes such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Park-People project and the Global Environment Facility (GEF) are based on assumptions of material losses for local people due to conservation practices and therefore some benefits of conservation, such as income from tourism, should be returned to these people via development programmes for alternative livelihoods and income generation. This material substitution for losing access to one's environment means, at best, that people's environmental needs are now considered an instrumental matter, ignoring people's environmental engagements that contain social action and matters of identity and power (Campbell 2005: 291). Conservation is clearly also a political activity. Phenomena such as fences blocking local people's movements, wildlife populations being a threat, authorities travelling in expensive vehicles or by plane, access restrictions, quota limits and so on are all having an impact on the political and social environment of these local populations. In interactions with officials and bureaucrats they are often unskilled, and if they do not cooperate with this new regime and the rules and regulations that come with it, they risk eviction, loss of livelihood or even criminal prosecution (Ingold 2005: 506-507). Such societal structures of conservation relate closely to issues of agency, power, enablement and constraints, as described below.

Agency, power and enabling constraints

A vast body of work on tourism demonstrates that local communities in developing countries hardly reap any benefits from tourist projects and that they tend to lack power, control and ownership. Their voices are neglected in strategies for developments in the industry and they are not in a position to match the financial resources that external investors have. Still, there are examples of communities that have taken a certain degree of control and exercise power over tourist developments in their environments (Mowforth & Munt 2003: 211). At least partly this depends on the agency of the local people, an important concept in relation to affordances. It thus needs clarification. I recall that

Ingold considered affordances “properties of the real environment as directly *perceived by an agent* in a context of practical action” (1992: 46, my emphasis). The agent, (s)he who possesses agency, is the one who applies meaning to the various properties of the object, the one who decides what it affords and thus creates the affordance. What it affords depends not only on the various qualities of the objects, but also on the level of agency as possessed by the agent. Although it is frequently assumed that agency refers to people’s intentions, I follow Anthony Giddens who explains that it refers

not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their *capability* of doing those things in the first place (which is why agency implies *power*: cf. the Oxford English Dictionary definition of an agent, as ‘one who exerts power or produces an effect’). Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently. Whatever happened would not have happened if that individual had not intervened. (1984: 9, my emphasis)

In this thesis, I consider agency to be the capability and power of Bushmen to act in the tourism sector. In line with the dwelling perspective, action is a flow or a continuous process in which agents bring about many things that they did *not* initially intend but nonetheless make happen. So the action of an agent is dependent upon the capability of an individual to make a difference in the course of events, which means an agent can exercise some sort of power (*Ibid.*: 9-14). For an effective analysis of tourism, especially when tourism is inherently connected to concepts such as development, communities and sustainability, power relations need to be acknowledged, especially because tourism tends to take place in a context of inequality (Mowforth & Munt 2003: 44-45). Power means that agency can be transferred between two parties, which implies a relational balance based on three different types of capital that can translate into one another. First, economic capital is easy to convert into money and is mostly institutionalized as property rights. Second, cultural and symbolic capital is under certain conditions convertible into economic capital. It relates to the educational qualifications of an agent (cultural capital) and to prestige, honour and the public exposure of an agent (symbolic capital). Third, social capital is only convertible into economic capital under certain circumstances and is made up of connections or social obligations. In this network of social exchange relations, social capital can be institutionalised in forms of a title of nobility (Bourdieu 1986; Van Beek 2011: 27-29). Cultural capital means one has the skills to know and appreciate what is culturally significant in various types of consumption, such as what to wear, drink or eat and what holidays to take. One has to know the significance of original features in various processes such as gentrification, or whether backpacking is currently more significant than ecotourism. Cultural capital is not something that can simply be bought, as opposed to economic capital. Tourism as a commodity also embodies ‘sign value’ by its symbolic meaning, in the way that tourism and travel embody attributes such as personal qualities, character, resourcefulness, sensitivity, ‘worldliness’ or adaptability. Tourism in this way is not only meant for enjoyment, it is also a strategy for building up a reputation that, in turn, can be converted into economic capital (Mowforth & Munt 2003: 120-121). Bushmen can thus support tourists to build on their cultural and symbolic capital, which means the Bushmen’s authenticity is in fact commodified economic capital. Although their authenticity is

economic capital for themselves, it is converted into cultural and symbolic capital by the tourists. Authenticity is elaborated on in the next section.

In various traditions of social theory, a society is linked with the constraints it imposes, in some cases as the phenomenon that regards it as the defining characteristic of social phenomena. However, structural properties of social systems are constraining but enabling at the same time (Giddens 1984: 162). Structure, when considered as rules and resources, is seen as both enabling and constraining in relation to agency and power. Power, in this sense, is never merely a constraint but is also at the origin of the agents' capabilities to achieve certain intended outcomes of action. Various forms of constraint in a society are therefore also, in different ways, forms of enablement because while they restrict or deny certain possibilities of action, they also open up possibilities. What is a constraint for one person is another person's enablement, although such asymmetries do not exhaust the scope of power. Relations of power tend to be embedded in modes of conduct that are taken for granted by those exercising this conduct, mostly in routinised behaviour (*Ibid.*: 169-176). Examples of such power relations of Bushmen dwelling in tourism are *baasskap* and their relationship with NGOs or with governments. Bushmen always have agency, although to varying degrees, to make a difference, as the concept of 'indigenous modernities' clearly shows, which I will explain next.

Indigenous modernities in a double vision

We need to be careful when considering the dwelling perspective as an opposition to the western, scientific one, since today both can be found amongst hunter-gatherers. This is clearly shown because the survival of indigenous peoples is also dependent on modern means of production, communication and transportation, such as rifles, radios and motorised vehicles. They can acquire these products with money from public transfer payments, wage labour and so on. This integration of industrial technologies and systems into indigenous cosmologies is what Sahlins calls indigenous modernities (1999b: vi-vii), a concept that builds on affordances in the environment. For example, in the remote areas where Bushmen still live, "(e)very San man wants a car now" (Martha Mulokoshi, Interview 94) and when I drove around in these areas doing fieldwork in a small 4 x 4, many Bushmen asked me what I would do with it when I left, what price I would want for it and so on. Cars and cell phones are amongst the most valuable modern items for the Bushmen because of the remote areas in which they live. In various Bushmen settlements, people live in concrete, brick houses with corrugated roofs that get extremely hot in the summer, but many prefer these European-style houses today³. As a Yukon leader once stated,

(w)e take whatever technology works and shape it to our purposes and uses ... Apparently that bothers people who want us to remain pristine, or to admit to our contradiction of wanting technology and controlling and preserving the resources of our own use. (Jorgensen 1990: 69, cited in Sahlins 1999b: xv).

Human agency leads various indigenous groups to consider the encroachment of the capitalist world and ideas as just a passing moment, although this moment has lasted

³ See Ferguson (2006: 18-19) for a comparable example in Lesotho.

longer than a century in some places. Their first impulse is not automatically to become like us but to become more like themselves. For this, 'our' commodities can be helpful, but people are selective and can transform its usage for themselves. Western goods can be used to develop their own ideas, so that the indigenisation of western objects takes place. In this way, many non-industrial people have not entered the capitalist world economy as passive objects of exploitation but are active agents continually engaging in their environment. As people already have their own ideas of what is good or not, it makes sense not to become like us but the question is, above all, why they should want to. Still, numerous examples show a change to 'development' in which the selective relation to an eclectic one with western commodities took place, to become 'modernised', just like us (Sahlins 1992). This means that indigenous societies are neither traditional nor modern, but hybrid.

NGO and donor agendas are however at the heart of a dual mandate, since they are trying to promote the cultural survival of the indigenous people – for example by focusing on language projects – while on the other hand they want to help them socialise into becoming 'modern citizens', for example by implementing democratic decision-making processes. So whereas NGOs tend to follow hybrid strategies, advocates of modernisation and traditionalism on both sides seem to share a discomfort with the hybrid (Robins 2001: 841-843). In western development thinking by the state, donors and NGOs alike, there is a tendency to continue the artificial divide between modernity and tradition, instead of recognizing the hybridity (Robins 2001: 843-844; 2003: 279-280; Sahlins 1999b: vi-vii). This is partly also due to the dependency of NGOs on western donors who, in some cases, want the authentic people, who they often consider a homogeneous group while at the same time advocating neoliberal and democratic values (Robins 2001: 845-851), to imitate the western lifestyle and 'become like us'. This is something that originates in colonial ideas of civilising subjects according to the image of Europeans (Ferguson 2006: 158-161). Today, there are Bushmen who think in a more businesslike manner when it suits them or who want to apply national (formal) law instead of traditional law, or who want to open a bank account for their monthly salary because it means they do not have to share it amongst family members. Such examples show a continuously changing life-world, which does not automatically mean that the modern takes over the traditional but simply that values of modernisation are integrated into Bushmen communities, just as rifles, cars, cement houses and electricity have been. I therefore argue that 'indigenous modernities' are material *and* immaterial. These affordances in their environment are intrinsically embedded into the value systems, norms, meanings and beliefs of indigenous peoples. Immaterial indigenous modernities, as affordances, are everywhere and can be related to by Bushmen if they dwell in the environment of tourism and conservation. It is not only the material environment that has become hybrid because of rifles, cars, cell phones and so on, but also the immaterial environment, with values such as democracy, human rights, national law, profit maximisation, corporatism and other concepts that were introduced in the processes of encapsulation and commercialisation. To distinguish themselves, some indigenous people compromise with the dominant groups and their ideals. In many cases they have no problem claiming to be the best ecologists in the world (Sahlins 1993: 19), although this

idea, as I explained earlier in this section, does not make sense when seen from the dwelling perspective.⁴ However, from an indigenous perspective, it makes sense to claim it because it will increase one's cultural and symbolic capital. Whether it is true or not that he really *is* 'the best ecologist' does not matter, it is *the idea* that he is the best ecologist that matters here, which is an affordance *and* an immaterial indigenous modernity (since the idea can be classified as modern and western, it is how 'we' see 'them') for the indigenous person. This, it seems, is a conscious choice, a matter of agency because "are they not just acting as proxy critics of Western society, deceiving and undoing themselves by mystifying Western values as native cultures? ... (L)ocal peoples' inventions and inversions of tradition can be understood as attempts to create a differentiated cultural space" (*Ibid.*: 19-20).

Post-modern critiques of development concentrate on cultural and discursive logics of development such as western imperialism and ideological domination, thus tending to (over)emphasize language, text, labels, culture and meaning. This can be seen as a response to former dependency theories that focused on the economics of underdevelopment, in which interventions in developing countries reproduce capitalist relations of economic exploitation, production and dependency. This way the post-modern critiques run the danger of obscuring material realities and the ways in which people in the developing world themselves actively appropriate and creatively reinvent labels and homogenizing categories to fulfil their material and cultural needs with development resources (Robins 2003: 269-271). Development does not need to be perceived as a process that acts against the interests of the poor, since people in developing countries exercise agency in their complex negotiations with external agents and forces. Some fruits of modernity and development are embraced by the local poor (*Ibid.*: 280-284), whereas others are utterly rejected, or both at the same time. I argue that Bushmen's agency is strongly influenced by governments, NGOs, donors and the private sector, in such a way that it constrains them in many ways, while enabling some in many others. They initially tend to embrace NGO and government interventions only to become disappointed and frustrated later when they realise that new possibilities and ideas (enabling) usually come with certain strings attached (constraints). Although they experience little power and control over these processes themselves, in relations based on domination and paternalism from various external agents, they *are* important actors themselves in these processes. It is within this framework that they manoeuvre at the level of infrastructure to receive more benefits than costs, which in many cases divides a community even further.

The authentic Bushman in nature tourism

Bushmen dwelling in cultural ecotourism and African nature

It is often thought that hunter-gatherers, unlike pastoralists and cultivators, have yet to find ways to bend nature to their purposes (Ingold 1986: 11). In western anthropological accounts and other literature, hunter-gatherers were stereotypically portrayed as savages, surviving examples of the 'natural' state of man, who 'live like animals' or 'live

⁴ See Fennell (2008) for the myth on indigenous stewardship.

little better than animals' (Ingold 2000: 61-62). Bushmen, as we will see, have not mastered their environment in this way and when it comes to tourism are often still considered part and parcel of nature.

Tourism consists of encounters between hosts and guests and although these encounters consist of paradoxes and contradictions there are various ideas about what is authentic or interesting (Van Beek 2007a: 88). The Bushman as an icon of nature is something that is also called the Bushman myth (Gordon & Douglas 2000), which should be seen in a wider context of romanticism about a wild Africa, the African myth. On an African Parks Foundation promotional DVD, Africa was described as "the earth's grand theatre upon which the great natural drama's are played out on an almost unimaginable scale" (AP, n.d.). This shows a distant, detached approach from nature ('out there'), something we humans can observe or gaze at as if in a theatre. In this way, tourists are often detached from the things they come to see, either nature or culture, something John Urry (2002) calls the tourist gaze. By looking or gazing at objects, a tourist creates distance from it, to become detached from the object in the end. Often tourists just gaze, looking from a separated position, normally from the safe world of the tourist bubble that takes away their participation in the lived-in world. The tourist, in relation to the object gazed at, is reduced to the eyes or more often to the camera (Urry 2002; cf. Van Beek 2007b: 148). This gaze is also an aspect of domination, in the sense that tourism is a social formation where power imbalances take place. Those who are not accountable to them (the tourists) watch and judge the hosts, while the hosts are aware of this (Urry 2002; Van Beek & Schmidt 2012a: 8). Although the gaze, i.e. the visual, is by far the most important of the senses in African tourism, this was criticised because today's tourists are tending to search for a much more embodied tourism, in which more senses are used than only the eyes (Franklin 2003: 213-264; cf. Van Beek & Schmidt 2012a: 18).

What the tourists are looking for is often predetermined. The tourist sector in Southern Africa has typical branding strategies that tap into a semiotics of the image of the wild Africa, in which they show a romanticised vision of the continent as a spectacular place, sparsely populated by some western explorers and exotic people. The idea of a glorious Eden for wildlife fits the dream of a refuge from the technological age but tends to ignore the history of struggle and dispossession that has taken place in the rural areas, as if the African environment is devoid of politics (S. Ellis 1994: 54; Massyn 2008: 228). The African myth is that, in the European perspective, Africa and its people only get personality and meaning against the background of the physical landscape. This old European and Romantic view of African landscapes is still the dominant unique selling point in international tourism, where Africans have to fit the myth of the wild Africa, something that can severely limit, hinder and obstruct agency at the level of local communities. These essentialist representations of African wilderness are created and recreated by members of the new elite who have bonded with members of the old elite, often in tourism and other conservation-related activities (Draper *et al.* 2004: 346-347; 2007: 216). In the past, this led to a clear distinction between good and bad natives in nature conservation, in which good natives are traditional, with a livelihood based on indigenous knowledge and they are perceived as being closer to nature. Good natives

are therefore compatible with environmental managers designed for protected areas, while bad natives are in some sense modern and lead modified lifestyles removed from nature, and are greedy for consumer goods. They are a threat to nature. This enforced primitivism may not even be a conscious policy but comes from the subconscious imposition of latent, deeply held values in conservation. Policy makers naturalise and objectify the other, who then becomes separated from the policy makers (Draper *et al.* 2007: 224-232).

This taste for nature – including the people that belong to nature – can be traced in the West all the way back to Romanticism and Protestantism in the seventeenth century when nature was granted spiritual significance as opposed to reason and rationality (Van Egmond 2007: 13-21). This is especially true for ecotourism, which focuses on the spiritual side of nature and solitude, but also on the moral obligation to protect it, including any inhabitants (*Ibid.*: 109). Ecotourism is a term often used in the conservation literature and misapplied to nature-based tourism, while in reality ecotourism encompasses a much wider set of environmental concerns on accommodation and local ownership, and nature-based tourism is a form of conventional tourism (Brockington *et al.* 2008: 134-135). Many examples can be found in the ecotourism literature where indigenous people are characterised as the wise protectors of the land and can function as an example for non-indigenous people who can begin to live in harmony with nature just like them. In fact, traditional societies often had difficulties managing resources in a sustainable way and over-utilisation became the norm. The ethical superiority of indigenous ecotourism is therefore doubtful. If the ecological impact within traditional societies is low, this is not because of conservation-mindedness but is due to local conditions, such as low population density, the absence of a market (for example logging) and poor technology (Fennell 2008).

What Valene Smith (1989a: 4) defined as ‘ethnic tourism’ was focused on visits to such exotic, indigenous peoples. Today this would mostly be called ‘cultural tourism’, since “(i)n most instances, the term *ethnic tourism* has been used to refer to activities that engage tourists in the experience of cultural events and situations that are distinct from their own” (E. Chambers 2000: 100). However, the problem with defining cultural tourism is that it has expanded, and so have the meanings attached to it (Richards 2007b: 2). Often, cultural tourism takes place on the margins of nature-based tourism. In this, the presence of humans weakens the concept of nature as being magical and renewing. The parallel with colonial-style ‘fortress conservation’ is evident (see Chapter 1) but another way of getting closer to nature is by meeting the people of nature (Graburn 1989: 31-32). The image of the wild Africa has led western tourists to search for ‘comfortable adventure’ in the African game parks where they can see unspoilt nature. In this view, traditional or indigenous people have become a part of African nature; they travel in the wilds, while keeping the wilderness at a distance. Tourists come to see Africa and in this perception, the continent is often seen as one country (Van Beek 2007b: 154-155; Van Beek & Schmidt 2012a: 4). Westerners are fascinated by those considered less developed, and tourism offers the opportunity to observe the people they consider to be closer to nature. When marketing, such people are often ‘naturalised’ for tourist consumption and are shown in photographs, for example, in

traditional dress with the local flora and fauna (E. Chambers 2000: 79-80). Such combinations of ‘cultural tourism’ and ‘ecotourism’ are called ‘cultural ecotourism’ in this thesis. The Bushmen dwell in cultural ecotourism.

Invented tradition, myth and authenticity

So although it is a myth that native people are the conservationists of nature, in tourism this myth is often linked with the important, but meaningless, concept of authenticity. The focus on the Bushmen’s traditional lifestyle in tourism is what Eric Hobsbawm calls a constructed and formally instituted invented tradition. These are “attempt to establish *continuity with a suitable historic past ... (and) are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition*” (1983: 1-2, my emphasis). When there is rapid transformation in a society and old traditions are less likely to function effectively, inventions of traditions tend to occur more frequently because the social patterns on which the old traditions were based lose value (*Ibid.*: 4-5). Invented traditions, however much they may initially seem to be a simplification of traditional cultures, are important cultural responses to the encroachment of the western capitalist system and they are invented in the specific terms of the people who construct them as an indigenisation of modernity to acquire their own cultural space in the global scheme of things (Sahlins 1999a). For example, encounters between tourists and local people have often resulted in the villagers’ adoption of the tourists’ expectations based on the tourists’ pre-existing image of the villages, which resulted in performances with little resemblance to local traits, original rituals or normal conduct (Tomaselli 1996: 102). Since colonialism, European categories have been absorbed by Africans, and Bushmen have frequently internalised the western discourse on Bushmen, which has now become their mythical image (Tomaselli 2005: 146). Boorstin (1961) argued that tourism was an example of a ‘pseudo-event’ that was contrived and artificial as opposed to reality and MacCannell (1976; cf. Goffman 1959) explained that tourists are interested in their hosts if their hosts’ lives differ from their own. The hosts’ lives take place in ‘back regions’ (backstage), while tourists get to see a ‘staged authenticity’ (‘front regions’ or frontstage), constructed by the hosts or the ‘other’ they are searching for. Although both authors say it in a different way, they believe that what tourists get to see is a myth based on the empty concept of authenticity.

This search for authenticity is an important characteristic of tourist modernity and is based on the belief that authenticity was lost somehow and only exists in the past or in other faraway places. Modernity is associated with inauthenticity (MacCannell 1976: 3), which was illustrated by a Dutch tourist I met who was looking for authenticity and spirituality among the Bushmen. He told me, after watching three movies about Bushmen including the influential *The Great Dance* (Foster & Foster 2000), that

it was really all about their hunting rituals and their hunting and how they experienced this and so on and I found their connection, how they actually crawl into the animal and how they have a spiritual experience *of nature*, that really appeals to me ... (I was told by the director of *The Great Dance* that) I could actually best go to Tsumkwe, because there it is accessible and according to his feeling it would be more authentic. (Stef van Beek, Interview 143, my emphasis)

This quote shows how westerners tend to see nature as being separate from human beings (who can thus have an experience *of* nature) and how some Bushmen are considered to be more authentic than others. As Elizabeth Garland & Robert Gordon (1999: 280) stated, what counts as authentic has no fixed content and even though cultural characteristics, such as ethnic originality and historical stasis are conflated with authenticity, these are not the same thing. The tourist mentioned above turned out to be an authenticity coach so when I asked more about his search for authenticity amongst the Bushmen, the conversation went as follows:

Q: If these old men (Ju/'hoansi Bushmen) tell you 'a relation with the animals, no way, I go to the Catholic church every Sunday where I pray and I believe in God'. Would that disappoint you, would you find that *not* authentic?

A: If he was a Christian?

Q: Yes, because originally that's not their religion.

A: Look, you could also have an own nature religion, and have mixed that with Christian something. And I think that I am more interested in their own roots instead of what they have taken over from the West.

Q: OK, that's clear. So you would like to communicate that traditional spirituality, you would like to find out more about that?

A: Yes, that's what it is about for me. (Interview 143)

So the attraction the Bushmen hold for tourists is the focus on their (ascribed) identity as the primitive others of a pristine fantasy from a 'Lost World', semi-officially marked and marketed by indicators as being a scarce resource, off the beaten track, almost extinct and so on (Garland & Gordon 1999: 271; Guenther 2002: 51-52). In fact, 'othering' is an essential element in tourism of representing and socially constructing other peoples and places (Mowforth & Munt 2003: 74). It is this search for authenticity that can also explain why tourists often do not want to be tourists; it is because they *are* the West, the modern, the inauthentic. This was shown also when I met Erwan Guyon, a French field manager with African Eagle, a big tour operator in Namibia. I recalled the informal conversation as follows:

(E)thnic tourism is now really rising in Namibia and Erwan had an interesting quote, he said 'tourists now really want to go and see ethnic tourism so they wanna go and see Bushmen, Caprivi, Owambos and then they are there and their remark is 'But this is just a village *for tourists*' and then he said 'Well, what *are* you?' (diary, 15 March 2010, my emphasis)

Authenticity and otherness go hand in hand and show a (western) desire for preservation and aestheticisation, in which primitivity is promoted and authenticity has become the main commodity (Mowforth & Munt 2003: 74), even though authenticity is based on a myth. Urry (2002: 12; cf. Burns 1999: 85) rejects the idea of the search for authenticity as the key motivating factor for tourists. He believes that it is the difference between one's normal place of residence/work and the tourism experience that is a key feature in the organisation of tourism. Tourists' basic motivation is to experience things in reality that they have already experienced in their imagination. Tourism therefore involves daydreaming and the anticipation of new and/or different experiences, in which advertising and other messages from the media clearly relate to these expectations (Urry 2002: 13-14). The tourist bubble has an essential place in all this. It does not only create a comfort zone for tourists, it also produces information about the other and filters that information too. So it is the tourist bubble that in the end decides, mostly uncontested,

what the best place for tourists to go is, what is interesting or what is authentic. In fact, the bubble itself should be authentically African. 'Bubble authenticity' in Africa means that the roofs are thatched with grass, with African woodwork and visible mosquito nets (Van Beek 2007b: 157-159; Van Beek & Schmidt 2012a: 15). It is therefore outsiders who determine what really is authentic to the rest of the world, often not the authentic people themselves. There is a big power difference between those representing and the represented. The concept of authenticity is then inherently connected to power relations (Mowforth & Munt 2003: 47). It is the outsiders who define cultural and symbolic capital in this way, something that they themselves as well as the authentic people can convert into economic capital.

Bushmen's double nature in tourism

The current tourist identity of the Bushmen has a double nature, in which they are both the primitive cultural objects as well as modernising producers of tourism. This latter part of their tourist identity is a new genre in tourism that emphasises not only their cultural difference from westerners but also the ways in which they are similar to other marginal peoples in the process of encapsulation and commercialisation. Where the first label of Bushmen 'others' locates them almost automatically outside modern time and space, and often in nature, the second, modernist label posits them as active agents and participants in the tourism industry in which they choose to benefit from commodifying themselves through commercial and legal transactions. Interestingly, both discourses co-exist comfortably and sometimes their status as others is the very thing that makes their modern role possible at all because it is the other that they ultimately have to sell (Garland & Gordon 1999: 275-279). Although authenticity has no fixed content, cultural features, such as an isolated existence lived in harmony with nature, are part of the wider Bushmen image and are thus construed as authentic. However, there are tourists who seek an authentic experience in which they are willing to accept that the tourist product itself does not necessarily have to be authentic. Tourism then becomes a quest for authenticity, in which the tourists are looking for an authentic quest. This is a quest for ideology that enables tourists to see their modern selves as authentic even if the Bushmen are clearly not. Tourists might easily regard Bushmen who are engaged in tourism as primitive and modern at the same time, halfway through an imagined development process. This ideology of the tourist is the one of western socio-economic development, which encompasses Bushmen as both primitive and modern, of being and becoming (developed). Guidebooks and brochures often emphasise this economic importance of tourism for Bushmen, so that tourists will be encouraged to consider themselves as helpful agents in their process of development. In this way, tourists can consider themselves patrons of the Bushmen instead of exploitative consumers. This authentic quest then denies the historic circumstances that have contributed to the current status of Bushmen, while denying them a fully modern status compared to the developed tourist (*Ibid.*: 281-283). As marginalised people, they tend to ask money or products from wealthier tourists. I have met various tourists over the years who did not believe that Bushmen were in need of money, thus demonstrating a belief in the Bushmen's authenticity as money-less and relying on nature for subsistence, and that this

would spoil them anyway (just as candy for kids) because they do not need it or would only spend it on alcohol (cf. Hitchcock 1997: 100-101). In line with this, Chambers (2000: 80) explained that “local residents readily perceive the often patronizing attitudes of visitors who view themselves as more knowledgeable and sophisticated in the ways of the world”.

Nature for sale

The concept of nature can also easily be converted into economic capital. In fact, “(n)ature is, and of course has long been, ‘big business’, especially through the dynamics of extracting from, polluting and conserving it” (Arsel & Büscher 2012: 53). In the end, authenticity is something that is not only applied to the cultures of nature but also to nature itself. For example, MacCannell (1992: 115) described national parks as an expression of the guilt that accompanied the destruction of nature on an unprecedented scale. In response to this, parks were created that are ‘museumised’ nature and that are also the good deed of industrialised civilisation. A park is an area defining the boundaries of what we can and cannot destroy, and we are not supposed to bring our social needs, desires, statuses and so on into a park; it is considered authentic or historic nature.

Today, national parks and other protected areas are important institutions of a more capitalist or neoliberal approach to tourism and conservation. A protected area is not only authentic nature, it also contains financial value and should, according to many, be run as a proper business. For example, the African Parks Foundation states that “an expert group of conservationists and businessmen put their minds to finding a solution to Africa’s conservation challenges ... All were impressed ... with the innovative business oriented method by which it will ensure the future of Africa’s wildlife” (AP, n.d.). As tourism is so closely connected to nature conservation in Southern Africa, it plays an essential role in any business approach. Some have already embraced this idea. For example, Anna Spenceley (2008a: 180) described why, to create responsible nature-based tourism focused on wildlife, a business model approach should be adopted when possible, with tourism as the main drive behind it. Another group of scholars has looked at protected areas as a continuation of colonial practices. For example, Maano Ramutsindela (2005: 2-6) considers protected areas a product of colonialism that emerged from western views of nature and as untouched by humans. The colonial practices around national parks are continuing in the post-colonial period. Tourism increases the financial value of nature, when conservation and capitalism are based on the same economic principles. And today local people “ally with safari hunters and tourist companies to sell the experience of new tourist products on the international market ... The lines between conservation and capitalism blur” (Brockington *et al.* 2008: 5-6).

Most of the benefits from nature (conservation) that are meant for local people are constructed at the global level. Important questions concern the benefits and who defines them. Additionally it is often unclear how to separate the benefits of nature conservation from those of other development programmes (Ramutsindela 2005: 106). Discussions about conservation and protected areas frequently focus on the costs and benefits for the people. Benefits that advocates list are legion, such as safeguarding

ecosystem services, aesthetic pleasure and providing recreation for tourists from which local economies can profit. The costs are also numerous. People are displaced and denied access to resources. In addition, parks can displace people: They are written out of the landscape's history, creating a sense that they do not belong. Often what is a benefit to one is a loss for another and individuals may change and experience new circumstances. In many cases, the costs are regarded in terms of natural resources and benefits in terms of development (projects), training and opportunities to join the market economy. Two important circumstances for the people in and around protected areas have to be kept in mind. First, benefits such as training and development projects are indirect, contrary to the immediate benefits that people could receive from the environment. This is an important distinction in poor communities where food insecurity is an issue. Second, displaced people are often not well absorbed into the market economy, while the concept of development is focused on the idea that people will move to market-based livelihoods (Brockington *et al.* 2008: 73-74).

The creation of culture

Bushmen's mythical images are being sold in various ways in the post-modern age of hyper-mediated realities or, even better, these images are used in advertising. Often, that which is sold does not have anything to do with the actors but with the encouragement of consumption for profit. Ironically, the people used for this advertising may well be unable to afford the products themselves (Tomaselli 2005: 136). Ethnic commodities are contradictory in the sense that, seen from the conventional assumptions about value and price, the appeal of such commodities lies in the idea that they resist the rationality of ordinary economics. However, this does not mean that those who commodify their identities will always remain dupes of the market, although it might seem to be this way at first. There are numerous examples in which they enter into 'ethno-preneurialism', where there is a good level of tactical and critical consciousness (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009: 20-27). Many tourists are prepared to spend cash to see something that changes their popular image into an asset capable of generating returns (Suzman 2001a: 134). This process of commodification is described by Cohen (1988: 380) as

a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices from a market.

This emerges when a culture is in decline because of forces outside tourism. In such cases, the tourist market becomes a way of facilitating the preservation of the cultural traditions that would otherwise perish (*Ibid.*, p. 382). For Bushmen, tourism is a potential strategy for generating income and regaining control over the production, reproduction and packaging of their own image (Suzman, 2001a, p. 135). A clear example of a commodified aspect of Bushmen culture is the trance or healing dance. Today Bushmen engage in dancing work and expect to be paid for it, except when healing their own family members. As dance has gained a monetary value, it has become a product and a service. This change is directed in two ways. First, inside their own community, where Bushmen who are ill now pay for the dance, and second, outwardly to non-Bushmen,

Photo 2.1 Bushman Art and African Museum, Windhoek, Namibia



Source: Hüncke (2010: 111), reproduced with permission.

mostly tourists. The latter types of dances have changed a lot compared to the original and are mostly devoid of any curing (Guenther 2005). This example shows how Bushmen's relations, also with other fellow Bushmen, are evolving under the influence of changing elements in their environment, in which tourism is playing an important role. This process has been going on for almost a century. Dressing up and entertaining tourists can be seen as an elaboration of the hunting and gathering strategy that started in the 1920s in national parks. It is ultimately much easier to do this than to engage in a long hunt in which the rewards are uncertain (Garland & Gordon 1999: 274; Guenther 2002: 49).

Examples of Bushmen images in tourism are everywhere. Souvenir shops in places such as Windhoek, Cape Town, Swakopmund and Maun are full of Bushmen imagery. In Windhoek, for example, the 'Bushman Art and African Museum' souvenir shop⁵ has had a statue of two hunting Bushmen outside on the pavement in downtown Windhoek for many years. Rudolf Namiseb, a Hai//om Bushman, sold crafts there in the past and

⁵ The word 'art' is incorrect if meant as if this was a traditional cultural creation, but still the concept is widely used in relation to indigenous people. Hunter-gatherers were painting and carving figures for thousands of years but only recently have these paintings and carvings been called 'art' in the western art world. Here they attract admiration and curiosity, and sometimes high prices, and today some of these people are engaging in the conventional art world, selling objects or displaying them in galleries or museums. However, hunters and gatherers of the past never 'produced art' in this sense, they simply painted and produced carvings (Ingold 2000: 131).

explained how good it is that the statue shows tourists traditional Bushmen because this way they become interested in the culture. As an affordance, this commodification of his culture affords him pride. Commodification should not be seen as a synonym for exploitation, but more as the creation of new culture based on old traditions. It is a continuation of the invention of traditions but in an increased capitalist setting. In general in tourism, the word Bushman has positive connotations. For example, at the popular Okonjima cat farm in Namibia, there is the Bushman Trail for tourists and similar names show up all over Southern Africa, with or without Bushmen involvement. Today, ever more Bushmen are taking an active part in the process of imaging (Tomaselli 1999: 131-132). Ethnicity, as an expression of culture, has become a commodified phenomenon. It remains to be seen though who will benefit and who will suffer, since the ethical, political and economic consequences often remain uncertain. According to some it could be a panacea for development whereas others worry that it will exacerbate or even reinvent long-standing behaviours and relations of extraction and inequality (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009: 140-143).

Icons of the past, icons of the West: Ju/'hoansi dwelling in the structure of Nyae Nyae

Welcome to the Northern Kalahari: Representations

Who represents the Bushmen? Do they need to be represented? Or maybe the first question should be whether representation of a certain group of people by others is even possible. In the end, do we not all live in different environments?

When I visited the office of the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDNFN) in Windhoek before I left for the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, I was asked to sign a “Media and Research Contract of the San of Southern Africa” that is “(a)pproved by the WIMSA Annual General Assembly on 28 November 2001” (WIMSA 2001).¹ For the original version by WIMSA see Annex 3. It is aimed at people who are working in one way or another on the representation of the Bushmen, such as journalists, researchers and so on. Its purpose is to control and protect the intellectual property of Bushmen and it is apparently common today that researchers send their proposals to WIMSA to ask for a contract before they continue (B. Festus 2003: 3-4). Armstrong & Bennett (2002: 188) speak of “growing resentment at the seemingly endless interest of academics and journalists in their communities, and what they (Bushmen) see as the persistent failure of these people to represent the San and their concerns as they would wish them represented”. In addition, Tsamkxao ‘Leon’ ≠Oma would later tell me that it is better if “as a local person ... (you) don’t let somebody else represent your culture or your history” (Interview 73).

After I and an NNDNFN employee had signed the contract in Windhoek, I took it with me to the Nyae Nyae Conservancy because somebody from there also needed to sign it.

¹ A similar contract is used by SASI in South Africa (cf. Grant 2011: 143-144) but I was not asked to sign it before or during my fieldwork, although I presented my research and fieldwork plans to a delegation including SASI employees. Only in 2012 they asked me to sign the contract and I sent it by email long after my fieldwork.

I asked for assistance from the NNDFN people working in Tsumkwe and various people at the office of the Conservancy, including Conservancy members, but nobody seemed interested in the contract and in many cases people did not even know what I was talking about. After a week or two I gave up and stopped asking. I still have the contract at home in the Netherlands and it has still not been signed by the Conservancy. It shows what I had also experienced in Tsintsabis before, that people do not care so very much about contracts, signatures and paperwork. Jeursen & Tomaselli (2002: 37) noted that the NNDFN was trying to prevent exploitation, while some of the villagers' emphasis was on short-term gain. They believed that the Foundation was trying to prevent them from starting agreements with people by themselves. If not supported by those representing them, contracts and agreements of representation become the problem instead of the solution, and a situation emerges in which the NGO does exactly what they are aiming to prevent. They may not exploit the people financially but may appear to take away the people's own responsibility when it comes to choosing who they do and do not want to work with. *They limit agency*. According to Kxao Moses ≠Oma, "(w) never wanted to represent our communities. That was a white people's idea in the first place" (cited in 1994, as quoted by M. Dawson-Smith, cited in Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 186). So during my first days in Nyae Nyae and Tsumkwe, I wondered why I had had to sign a contract that the people who dwelt in the region did not care about. Later I concluded that they do not want to be represented by anyone other than themselves because they themselves are the icons.

Introduction: Ju/'hoansi dwelling in a changing environment

Why Nyae Nyae?

I call the Ju/'hoansi 'icons' because more than any other Bushmen group, the Ju/'hoansi symbolise the traditional Bushmen of the past as they are perceived in the West: They almost *are* the Bushman myth. In anthropology (but also elsewhere), they were often used to refer to the 'standard' of what 'real' 'pure' or 'typical' hunter-gatherers are like. They have received a disproportionate amount of attention from writers, film makers, photographers, academics and from civil society. In their own way, such visitors were affordances who changed something in the Ju/'hoansi's environment. Despite all this attention, Ju/'hoansi perspectives remain remarkably backgrounded while mediated by the same intermediaries who retain most of the control over the studies, images and interpretations (Suzman 2001a: 39; Tomaselli 1999: 131). But of course, these icons have moved on as well, as I was told in an interview by Tsamkxao 'Leon' ≠Oma:

You have to explain to them (tourists), if you want to see a real Bushman you will never see a real Bushman ... Not like the traditional way, but I can still show you some of the things that they still have ... But ehm, the culture is busy, I mean, changing and so on, and very soon it will die. (Interview 73)

The way I interpret Leon's words is that this 'culture' is not dying at all but changing. What he was really trying to tell me was that a new life world is evolving and that some old skills, habits and artefacts are gaining new meanings or are sometimes being replaced by other customs and habits. Old meanings and customs slowly change as people interact in their (continually changing) environment, which is influenced at least

in part by the interest of so many outsiders. The environment of the Ju/'hoansi is characterised by its relative geographical isolation, significant funding from donors, the fact that it is a relatively homogeneous group and the concept of a conservancy that, based on CBNRM, combines conservation with development. Of course, with icons such as the Ju/'hoansi, 'development' here entails some cultural ecotourism.

Early Ju/'hoansi relations

The Ju/'hoansi are part of the !Xun (in the past often called !Kung or !Khung), who are divided into three ethno-linguistic groups. Today the central !Xun of Namibia and Botswana are called Ju/'hoansi, which means 'real people'. The !Xun are amongst the most studied of any of the world's ethnic groups but when anthropologists speak of the !Xun they often in fact mean the central !Xun, the Ju/'hoansi (Barnard 1992: 39-40). For a long time, they were seen by anthropologists as the 'typical Kalahari Bushmen' who were untouched by the outside world and were therefore a fine example of hunter-gatherers. Their relative isolation, the scarcity of water in the area and the difficult land to farm have, until recently, led to few Bantu or whites settling permanently in the region (Suzman 2001a: 40). The Ju/'hoansi live on both sides of the Namibia-Botswana border. The Nyae Nyae area lies in Namibia and the Dobe area in Botswana. The Marshalls² have mostly concentrated on the Namibian side of Ju/'hoansi territory since 1951, which overlaps the current Nyae Nyae Conservancy. In the past, the Namibia-Botswana border had no effect on the movements of the Ju/'hoansi, who formed a loosely united population without a structured political unity. The people used to intermarry and worked for Bantu groups as well as those who lived in more traditionally organised bands (Lee 1979: 39-42; 1984: 147; J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984: 38; L. Marshall 1976: 18-20).

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Ju/'hoansi came into contact with Owambo, Kavango, Hai//om, Herero, southern !Xun and a few whites (J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984: 34-36). However, an outbreak of tsetse fly in Bechuanaland (Botswana) in the 1940s forced hundreds of Herero pastoralists to move to the Dobe area and more than 18 families (about 120 people) with 4000 cattle moved to Dobe in 1954 before continuing into South West Africa to settle near the Nyae Nyae waterholes. The South African police later forced them to withdraw and a cattle fence was erected along the border with Bechuanaland in 1965. The Ju/'hoansi were not immediately affected by these restrictions and could continue to visit kinsmen and hunt even after the fence was constructed (Lee 1979: 84-85). While most other Bushmen populations were fully integrated into the dominant political economy, the Bushmen in Nyae Nyae maintained a much more traditional lifestyle. In the 1950s around 1000 Ju/'hoansi were estimated to be living in Nyae Nyae in about 37 communities that were organised on kinship ties and territorial rights. They moved around within their specific *n!oresi* (traditional terri-

² In 1951 the American couple Laurence and Lorna Marshall, together with their two children John and Elisabeth, went to Nyae Nyae for the first time and stayed involved with the Ju/'hoansi for many years after. This resulted in lots of film material by John Marshall, who would later also become an activist (see also J. Marshall 1984; J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984; Van Vuuren 2009), and some classic anthropological books (see, for example, L. Marshall 1976, 1999; Marshall Thomas 1959).

tories) and would occasionally join other bands at permanent waterholes during the dry season (Suzman 2001a: 40). Compared to the 1950s, the area they now inhabit is roughly 10% of the original 90,688 km² (ACHPR 2008: 88).

Before 1953, the area was closed for white settlers and Bantu and the Ju/'hoansi came under the administrative responsibility of the South African administration that established the Tsumkwe settlement to transform the Bushmen into subsistence farmers or wage earners (Suzman 2001a: 40). The newly appointed Bushman Affairs Commissioner, Claude McIntyre, set up camp here in 1959 and explained to the Bushmen that they were occupying land that was valuable for farming and for which Europeans and Bantus longed. However, he explained that

(t)he Government ... wants to give you a chance to become civilized and to lead normal happy lives ... But this depends on your own efforts ... You must become like other people – self-supporting ... It would be very wrong of the Government to allocate land to people who cannot use it properly. (Bantu 1961: 627-628 cited in Gordon & Douglas 2000: 175)

Clearly, the opposition between *engaging in* an environment on the one hand and *living on* the land (meaning the surface, a resource to be used) on the other was introduced here, which left them no choice but “to transform deep cultural patterns in a single generation” (J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984: 39). It also shows how in these days ‘to become civilised, normal, like other people’ was the norm, in fact ‘development’ meant ‘to become like us’, modernised and western (Sahlins 1992), adopting the standard set by South African colonists. McIntyre, who was generally regarded as a friend of the Bushmen, promoted modern life by focusing on settlement, personal property and agriculture. He also established large gardens and Tsumkwe showed a steady and at times even dramatic growth. In 1952 Tsumkwe was a settlement of 25 inhabitants but by 1974 over half of the 2000 Ju/'hoansi of Bushmanland were living there on government subsistence in a cash economy (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 175-176). In Tsumkwe, the Ju/'hoansi were entitled to a weekly ration of *mielie miel* (mais for porridge) if they had a dog tag, which were issued to those who were listed in the Marshall genealogies as being Nyae Nyae inhabitants (Lee 1979: 85). The South Africans demarcated Bushmanland in the Ju/'hoan territory as a Bushman homeland in 1970, to which the Ju/'hoansi objected, especially regarding the establishment of a game reserve, the Khaudum Game Park, to the north. The territories of the Ju/'hoansi were reduced by 40,000 km² and were incorporated into Kavango, Hereroland and the Khaudum Game Park. The establishment of Khaudum meant that several Ju/'hoansi had to be moved from their *n!oresi* to Nhoma and Aasvoëlnes in central Bushmanland. The Ju/'hoansi were confined to the eastern half of Bushmanland. The western half had never been their territory and contained fewer resources (Barnard 1992: 45; 2007: 58; Suzman 2001a: 41). The setting up of Bushmanland decreased the area the Ju/'hoansi had with more than 70% and they lost access to water and natural resources. About 1000 Ju/'hoansi were required to live in eastern Bushmanland in an area that could support only 275 hunter-gatherers (J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984: 5).

The construction of a school and an administrative camp in Tsumkwe started and the South African Defence Force (SADF) added a military camp and recruited Ju/'hoansi as soldiers in 1978. Since then many individuals have given up hunting and gathering and

started living off wages earned from working with the military because the population became too large to engage successfully in traditional subsistence techniques (Barnard 1992: 45). The strengthening of the fence between Namibia and Botswana did not prohibit the Ju/'hoansi from moving across the border but it cut them off from their hunting and gathering areas on the other side (Lee 1979: 428-431; 1984: 147-150). Just like other resettlement schemes, Tsumkwe became a rural slum with social disorganisation and easy access to alcohol. An SADF base, Battalion 36, was organised at Tsumkwe in 1978 and many Ju/'hoansi were attracted by the high wages being offered there. Unemployment, alcohol abuse, bad nutritional levels (because of changes in diet), fighting and disease became daily life for the Ju/'hoansi in Tsumke (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 10-11; J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984: 44). Activists and anthropologists, such as John Marshall, Claire Ritchie and Megan Biesele, tried to encourage cattle husbandry among the Ju/'hoansi. Their efforts were at least partly successful but during the war of independence in the 1980s, they met with opposition from South African wildlife officials and the South African army that wanted to restrict the Ju/'hoansi to traditional hunting techniques so that they could develop a game reserve which would also partly act as a buffer zone between Namibia and areas controlled by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) (Barnard 1992: 45; J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984: 123-157). Today, when people look back at the days of South African occupation they are not always seen as being bad. In an elder Bushmen's perception, the white soldiers kept out the black soldiers and there was "everything, food, everything, money" (Interview 68). The army was an affordance, bringing many resources along, often in the sense of indigenous modernities.

This kind of idealising of the days of the South African army can also be seen when talking to Bushmen in other parts of Namibia. Basic necessities, such as food and healthcare, as well as cash salaries, are often mentioned as reasons why life under the South Africans was better than life today. Obviously, in the Bushmen's environment, the affordances available changed and cattle, agriculture, cash and alcohol became more attractive. This, of course, has changed relations amongst the Ju/'hoansi themselves and with outsiders.

The threat of dwelling in a plastic stone age environment

It was announced in 1976 that the Nyae Nyae area would become a nature conservation area in the near future but increased military activity in Bushmanland, the establishment of the Ju/Wa Farmers' Union and the return of many Ju/'hoansi to their *n!oresi* prevented this from happening (Suzman 2001a: 41). This was still one of the biggest threats to the Ju/'hoansi in the early 1980s. They were to be allowed to hunt on the reserve with bows and arrows and gather with digging sticks 'forever' but most of them would be moved to western Bushmanland (Lee 1986: 96; J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984: 10-11). In Nyae Nyae, they would not be allowed to keep cattle or maintain gardens, their children would be taught at school how to hunt and gather and 'hunting bands' would be organised and supervised by bush rangers. This would provide the opportunity for a special class of tourists to be flown in to overnight campsites and conservation officers, including eight Ju/'hoansi, who would do nature walks for them. This was all

to protect the ‘Bushmen’ (J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984: 11; Tomaselli 2005: 115-116). While about 2000 Ju/’hoansi would have to leave the reserve, the few left would become the main attraction wearing skins and entering a subsidised plastic Stone Age (J. Marshall 1984). It seems that the Ju/’hoansi of Nyae Nyae were left with two options: Either living traditionally on a game reserve, an option for only a few of them, or leaving the area altogether. In a letter to the administration, the Ju/’hoansi leader /Gaishay ≠Toma responded that “(a)ll Ju/wasi do not want a nature reserve ... When the whites wanted to make a nature reserve ... they did not tell us that no cattle, no gardens, nothing will be allowed in the reserve” (cited in J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984: 12-13).

If they were to hold onto their traditional *n!oresi* in Nyae Nyae, the Ju/’hoansi realised in the late 1970s that they had to return to them and that they needed to supplement their hunting and gathering with alternative means of income. People wanted to follow a few individuals who could lead them out of the ‘place of death’, as Tsumkwe was called then, and they followed ≠Oma Tsamkxao who started to lead his people back to their *n!oresi* (Biesele 1993). By 1981, the first three groups of Ju/’hoansi had left Tsumkwe again to go to their *n!oresi* to settle in small villages, raise crops, tend stock, hunt and gather. Discouraged by the problems in Tsumkwe, this process continued until 1990 by which time about thirty groups were again living on their land in Nyae Nyae. This was supported by their first organisation, the Ju/Wa Farmers’ Union that in turn was supported by the Ju/Wa (Bushman) Development Foundation, which was set up by John Marshall and Claire Ritchie in 1981. The Ju/’hoansi were relatively well organised compared to other Bushmen groups and attracted donor support (Biesele 1993; J. Marshall & Ritchie 1984: vii-10; Suzman 2001a: 42). This organisation into corporate bodies at an early stage has clearly helped them to gain a certain level of power.

John Marshall’s nightmare? The structure of conservancies

Instead of being a game reserve, the Nyae Nyae Conservancy was established after independence. In a promotional brochure by the Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisations (NACSO), a communal conservancy is described as “(a)n enchanting mix of ... *iconic cultures* ... *dynamic communities committed to sustainability (with) a common vision* ... a healthy environment (that) diversifies economic opportunities and drives economic growth (and) charismatic, free-roaming wildlife (including) Africa’s Big Five” (NACSO 2013, my emphasis). The ‘nature first’ approach is obvious, with ‘iconic cultures’ that are ‘committed to sustainability’ and share a ‘common vision’ and, of course, with the charismatic Big Five. Such development marketing rhetoric is based on ideas of a homogeneous community entity, an economic approach to development and the commodification of nature. And last but not least, it is based on ‘authentic’ cultures. The Namibian Minister of Environment and Tourism, Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, said that “conservancies are not areas for wildlife and tourism *only*. They bring *additional opportunities* for rural people to manage wildlife and tourism along with their normal activities of livestock management and crop growing” (Nandi-Ndaitwah 2012: 5, my emphasis). Again the ‘nature first’ approach dominates although these areas are not only for wildlife and tourism, but activities such as agriculture and

pastoralism are also mentioned. What about the Bushmen's normal activities? Is hunting-gathering seen as normal?

In reality, a conservancy is a geographical area as well as an institution dedicated to conservation, tourism and development. The term 'conservancy' emerged in the 1970s in an apartheid-structured South Africa and Namibia to describe the consolidation of exclusive rights to wildlife among cooperating white farmers, mainly through the employment of game guards to militate against poaching on freehold land by black neighbours. Alongside these developments, conservationists were concerned about the future of Namibia's wildlife in its communally-managed homelands where the causes of wildlife losses were beyond the control of the local people. Community game guards were introduced to protect the large mammals and they contributed to the recovery of wildlife in the 1980s (Sullivan 2002: 163-164). A Namibian law was introduced in 1996 to devolve proprietorship over wildlife and concessionary rights over commercial tourism to people on communal land, while the state remained the owner of the wildlife. A communal conservancy is thus a legal entity that permits its members to share the benefits accrued from any natural resources on that land. The land is legally owned by the government but communities have rights of occupation. Within the geographical area of a conservancy, there are zones for different uses such as wildlife, wildlife hunting, wildlife viewing and agriculture. Conservancy members have management responsibilities and can reap benefits from this. For these activities, they require a defined boundary and membership, a legal constitution, a representative management committee and a plan to allow the equitable distribution of benefits so that they can recommend hunting quotas, enter into agreements with private tourist operators and develop tourist enterprises (LAC 2006: 28; Spenceley 2008a: 162-163; Sullivan 2002: 159-164). Garth Owen-Smith, the co-founder of the NGO Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC), one of the pioneering NGOs in Namibia for CBNRM and conservancies, explained the importance of such a structure for the communities. He said that

the tragedy of the commons is not that the commons cannot work, it's that there's no structure within that community living on that common property. There's *gotta* be a structure, if there's a structure it can work. And conservancies, as imperfect as they are, *are* a structure. (Interview 30, my emphasis)

Within this structure, which enables and constrains at the same time, the long-term viability is threatened because of population growth, in-migration of other groups and possible changes in land tenure. Still, Bushmen are concerned about the domination of other groups who reap most of the benefits (ACHPR 2008: 114). A conservancy for the Nyae Nyae area was a nightmare for the late John Marshall, who promoted a modernist argument in favour of farming (Tomaselli 2005: 126), instead of the Bushmen being made icons in the 'plastic Stone Age' (J. Marshall 1984). He was against the idea of a conservancy and cultural tourism because it would make the Ju/'hoansi more dependent on funds trickling in that would be controlled by outside donors, instead of becoming self-sufficient (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 220-221). Clearly, in Nyae Nyae, John Marshall's nightmare came true, as a tourist brochure by the Nyae Nyae Conservancy explains that "Nyae Nyae ... is one of Namibia's last true wilderness areas. It is a place of magic and unspoilt beauty (where) you have the chance to discover the mystery of

the Kalahari while also getting to know the remarkable Ju/'hoansi people" (NNC, n.d.: 1).

Nyae Nyae Conservancy becoming

When Ju/'hoansi, with support from the Ju/Wa Farmers' Union and John Marshall, went to the National Land Conference in Windhoek in 1991, they presented the map below depicting 200 *n!oresi* in East Bushmanland (LAC 2006: 36). This clearly showed that the Bushmen were using the land and that they had a well-defined relationship with it (LAC 2006: 37). International funding for the various NNDFN programmes was abundant after independence (Bieseles & Hitchcock 2011: 156). The development of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy cannot be viewed without the support of NNDFN. Both followed parallel tracks.

Table 3.1 The development of the NNDFN and the Nyae Nyae Conservancy

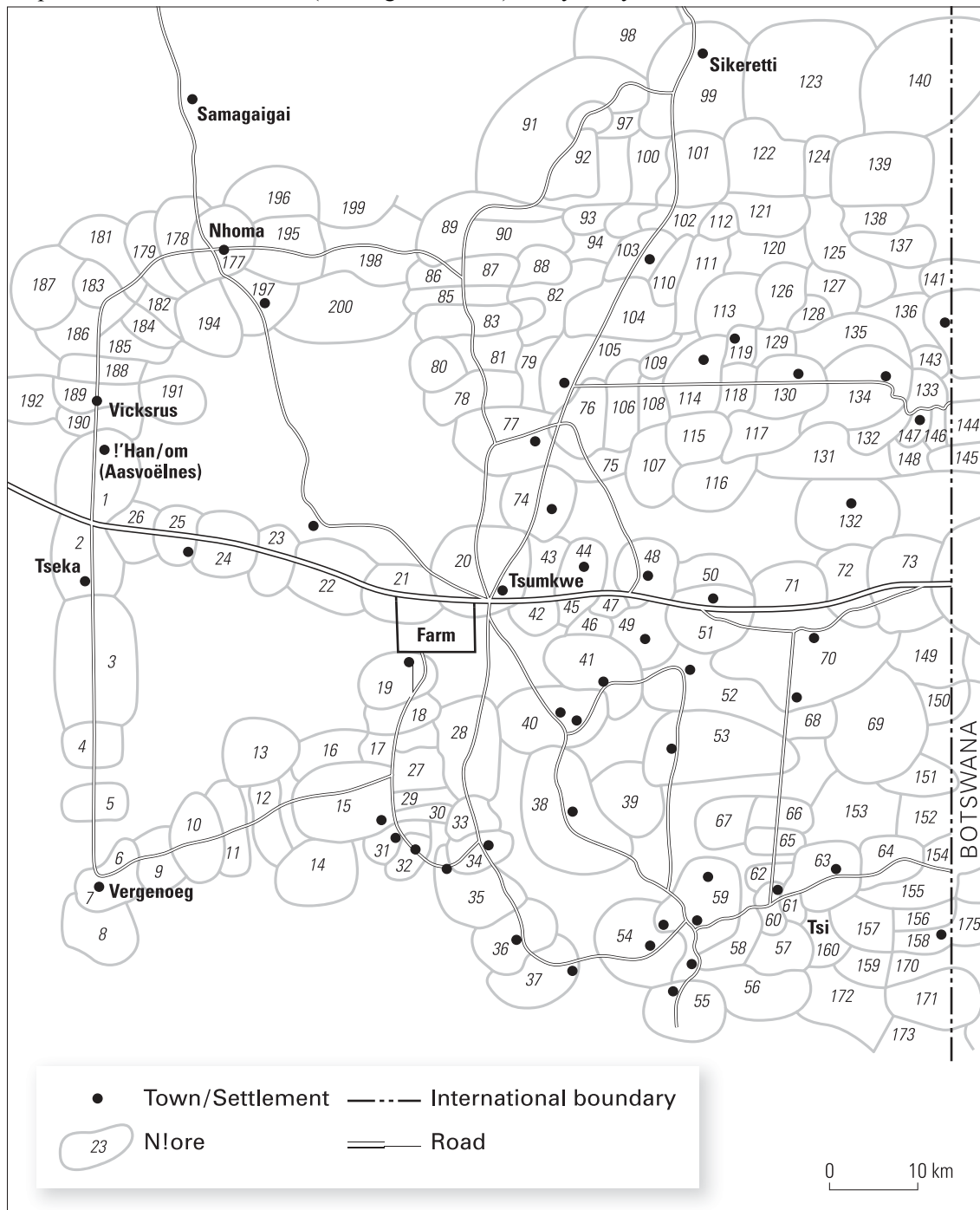
Year	Organisation
1981	Ju/wa Bushman Development Foundation (first called the Cattle Fund and the !Kung San Foundation)
1986	Ju/wa Development Foundation Ju/wa Farmers' Union
1993	Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN, or 'the Foundation') Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative
1998	NNDFN ('the Foundation') Nyae Nyae Conservancy ('the Conservancy')

Based on Bieseles & Hitchcock, 2011

Today, the NNDFN is the main NGO supporting the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. The latter is a geographical area as well as a legal body and the CBO represents the settlements in the area. The headquarters of the Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative and the NNDFN were established in Baraka in 1991 and there was a growing divide in those days between the settlements that felt regularly consulted and received assistance, especially in the Tsumkwe-Baraka-/Aotcha triangle, and settlements where the people felt cut off (Botelle & Rohde 1995: 153). So for the various groups of Ju/'hoansi in Nyae Nyae these corporate bodies fulfilled a different meaning.

Just as the Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative, the Ju/wa Bushmen Development Foundation wanted to 'Namibianise' itself after independence and the potentially discriminatory word 'Bushmen' was removed from its name in 1991. Giving up its ethnic focus made working with the post-apartheid government of the new Namibia possible. First called the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation, the 'of Namibia' part was added later. In addition, the NNDFN became increasingly aware that its board and staff should move away from expatriates and include more Namibians, Ju/'hoansi as well as others (Bieseles & Hitchcock 2011: 154-155; Widlok 2002a: 211). In the early and mid-1990s there were a lot of expatriate staff and projects would often fall apart when these people left. Though regularly referred to as an indigenous Namibian NGO, the NNDFN staff at the time consisted mainly of white foreigners without any Ju/'hoansi working for the

Map 3.1 Ju/'hoansi *n!oresi* (hunting territories) in Nyae Nyae



Based on: Biesele & Hitchcock, 2011, p. 55, reproduced with permission

NGO, making it a 'white-driven NGO', with the intention of ultimately turning over the control of development programmes and funds to the Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative. This type of paternalism is not unusual in development projects (Garland 1999: 85). The NNDFN's vision in its early years was based on a few key assumptions. One of these was that the Ju/'hoansi were seen as not being ready culturally for their modern circumstances, based on western representations of them as 'Stone Age' people. In addition,

the founders of the NNDFN assumed that farming and cattle were crucial for economic development. And at a political level, a representative democracy was considered the best way forward, whereas they were traditionally seen as a group without political organisation extending to local kin-based groups. These assumptions clearly reflect western norms for a legitimate model of labour and for the liberal idea of political society, namely democracy (*Ibid.*: 83). Today, many Ju/'hoansi still complain about the NNDFN's dominance. Kgao Visser, a former manager of the Conservancy, explained that the advising role of the NNDFN often turns into decision-making, thereby overruling the Conservancy. Another example in relation to the Conservancy was stated by ≠Oma N!ani who wondered

(w)hy ... Europeans get together and talk to each other and decide everything and then tell us about it as if we were little babies still nursing? Long ago we said we didn't want Nature Conservation to have control of everything. There wasn't one person who wanted it. (cited in Bieseles & Hitchcock 2011: 91)

Arno Oosthuysen, the owner of Nhomu Safari Camp, explained that the Bushmen's humble and egalitarian origins put them in a subordinate position and they accept leadership and dominance from other groups easily, also in tourism. Apart from the NNDFN, many Namibian ministries, journalists, writers, academics, some private corporate sponsors and organisations as the United Nations define themselves based on the mandate of 'helping' the Ju/'hoansi on their behalf (Garland 1999: 81). NGOs in the early 1990s realised how uncomfortable the Ju/'hoansi felt with them representing their community because the Ju/'hoansi are not fond of 'speaking for' others in social life. Young and old Ju/'hoansi leaders have therefore always resisted western ideas of democracy. For example, when Kxao Moses ≠Oma was the Conservancy manager, he attended a conference in Copenhagen and when he was later asked if he was going to recount his experiences in the settlements in Nyae Nyae, he responded that it would take him years to tell the community everything. He would only be able to tell them a little bit at a time, otherwise people would blame him of bragging. This care in communication shows clear adherence to egalitarian ethics in spite of changing times and values (Bieseles 2005: 198). Ju/'hoan communication is not only based on powerful consensus in decision making but also on inclusiveness in order to keep members of their group in the loop as far as possible. This allows space for the tolerance of multiple points of view and is an important social strategy for dealing with demands in a hunting-gathering *and* a post-hunting-gathering society (*Ibid.*: 192-193). In line with this, Widlok (2005: 15) explained how "the community of San speakers sets limits to individual San to whom international organisations ascribe the new function of being a multiplier and representative".

Partially due to the establishment of a strong civil society with serious financial backing, Nyae Nyae is still inhabited by a relatively homogeneous Ju/'hoansi who have been represented by their own traditional authority, Chief Tsamkxao Bob ≠Oma, since 1998. Better known as Chief Bobo, he has broad support among the Ju/'hoansi and is assisted by seven councillors. He describes his goal as "to connect the community and the Conservancy and the government" (Interview 71). After independence, some younger leaders began to emerge who were less idealistic and community-oriented than

the elders but they seem to have been more concerned with personal advancement and job security (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 181).

Since the early 1990s, the Ju/'hoansi have experienced problems in the southern areas of Nyae Nyae and Tsumkwe, with Herero pastoralists coming from G/am with their cattle in search of grazing land and better water resources. This has increased tensions between the Bushmen and the Herero (Harring & Odendaal 2002: 83). Martha Mulokoshi from the NNDFN explained that

(t)he people here (Ju/'hoansi) are quite defensive ... There is a little location (in Tsumkwe) that these Herero people are having from G/am, where they are having houses made out of plastic ... and I keep asking myself: 'Why, why would they want to come from G/am and come and stay in plastic houses like that?' (Interview 51)

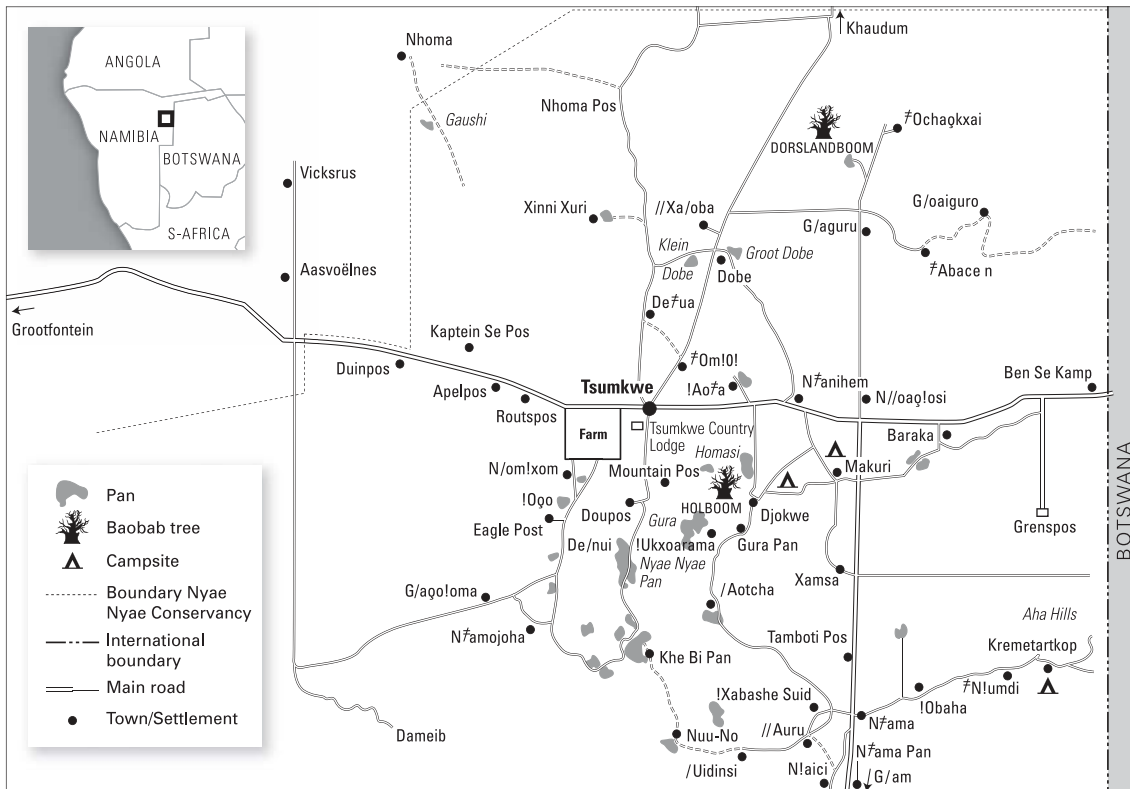
The marginalisation of the Herero from G/am has meant that they consider the Ju/'hoansi as privileged and the 'pets' of western development workers and anthropologists because the Ju/'hoansi get more attention and support (Hays 2009: 32). This support has been extended to the government and tourism industry, and a respondent (who wanted to remain anonymous) told me that people working for Namibia Country Lodges and the MET secretly inform *The Namibian* about what is happening at local meetings where the Herero were described as being dominating to the point of intimidating, especially to the Ju/'hoansi. It was reported that there are verbal threats against the Ju/'hoansi and that they are afraid to report this to the police or the MET. One Bushman was even said to have been shot at by a Herero but he did not report the incident due to fear or reprisal. The relationship between the Ju/'hoansi and the Herero is tense and based on (historical) stereotypes. Herero tend to be wealthier because they own cattle and they are seen as patriarchal and sometimes aggressive (*Ibid.*: 26).

Dwelling in a new environment: Nyae Nyae and Tsumkwe

Today Nyae Nyae is the second largest conservancy in Namibia and covers approximately 9030 km², which is roughly 10% of the 90,688 km² that about 1200 Ju/'hoansi occupied in the 1950s. The low population density – of about 2000 inhabitants – today makes it a suitable environment for wildlife. The administrative centre of Tsumkwe is not a part of the Conservancy and Nyae Nyae is located off Namibia's major tourist routes (ACHPR 2008: 88; NNDFN 2007).

Many Ju/'hoansi live in Tsumkwe but the majority live in the 36 surrounding bush settlements in Nyae Nyae, most with just a few huts and a few dozen people. In the 1990s, the main sources of income were wages, pensions, craft sales and livestock, while people's food came from hunting and gathering, crops, food aid, bought food, milk and poultry. People complained of their dependency, for example on food aid and pensions, and a lack of employment. Gathering nowadays is more symbolic and from a nutritional point of view contributes less than food aid, shop-bought foods and hunting (Botelle & Rohde 1995: 61-70; Suzman 2001a: 46-52). However, many people explained that they are keen on farming as well as income-generating opportunities (cf. Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 226) but today the NNDFN or other NGOs no longer support agriculture. People still like to practise hunting and gathering but they are restricted in

Map 3.2 Nyae Nyae Conservancy



Based on: NCL (2012), reproduced with permission.

that they are only allowed to hunt with spears and bows and arrows. The use of guns, horses and/or dogs is strictly forbidden.

One of the major tourist attractions in Nyae Nyae is the Nyae Nyae Pan, which attracts many animals. Ju/'hoansi in Nyae Nyae are worried about the impact of elephants on their water points. The human-wildlife conflict was partly solved by constructing walls of rocks and cement around the waterholes (Hitchcock 2006: 247). However, the stable supply of water throughout Nyae Nyae has led to an increase in the number of elephants and this is likely to further increase in the future. Their continuous presence in the area where they only used to appear seasonally is bad for the woodland's diversity and can endanger people's lives, although they are good tourist attractions (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 52).

Today Tsumkwe is mixed socially and ethnically because many non-Ju/'hoansi have moved into the area for government jobs. Ju/'hoansi are often considered as being 'lower' compared to other groups but they also tend to stand back at meetings with other tribes. A good example is that the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Child Welfare built a craft centre six months after G!hunku craft shop was built (as described in the next section). Additionally, in the years afterwards, a barber and a post office were set up and the result today is that hardly any of the people working there are Ju/'hoansi while there are no crafts being sold. Tsumkwe is not a part of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and shows quick processes of hybridisation, contrary to the Conservancy. With few exceptions, most of the Ju/'hoansi working in Tsumkwe occupy low-level positions

and the younger generation, especially those Ju/'hoansi from Tsumkwe, want to do things differently, eg. by concentrating more on farming.

Ongoing support for the NNDFN is shown in a number of ways and focuses on issues like natural-resource management (including trophy hunting and crafts) and tourism development (campsites, joint-venture lodges). To promote tourism, the NNDFN has updated an information booklet to assist the Conservancy in their communication with tourists and it has installed new road signs to improve the area's accessibility (NNC, n.d.; NNDFN 2007). Kgao Visser explained that the people in the settlements complain a great deal and do not always appreciate what is done for them, which is part of the reason why he stopped working for the Conservancy. Although most settlements are visited regularly, there were complaints in the past and to a lesser degree still today that the people are not being heard by the Conservancy and that most decisions are made in Tsumkwe and the opinions of the people in the Conservancy itself are not taken into account.

In the early 1990s, a CBNRM programme was introduced for Nyae Nyae to improve game management (Botelle & Rohde 1995: 147-148). In 1992, there was a series of meetings between the Farmers' Cooperative, the NNDFN and the MET to find recommendations as to the best way of implementing CBNRM and tourist activities in Nyae Nyae. That same year, USAID signed an agreement with the Namibian government and funded the LIFE project. From 1995 to 2002 the NNDFN was supported financially by LIFE to a total of N\$ 6.9 million, with additional funding from the WWF of N\$ 1.6 million (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 201-204). Although the Nyae Nyae Conservancy is often promoted as a relatively successful example of CBNRM and a conservancy, it has remained difficult, according to Jakob 'Jakes' Kolbooi of the MET in Tsumkwe, to make people understand what a conservancy and CBNRM entail. The CBNRM project has on the whole been successful, although it is not sufficient to support a significant proportion of the Nyae Nyae population (Suzman 2001a: 43).

The creation of the Conservancy was described to me as being a connection with the Ju/'hoansi's traditional culture and with a focus on wildlife.

San believe that it was a God given thing to hunt and to live with animals ... and they believe that Nature Conservation is taking away their rights, but when this concept (conservancy) comes in ... people start to realise that they regain the system that they believed was given by God to the people so basically people are now aware of what benefits can these animals bring. (Kxao Moses, Interview 86)

This quote shows a clear change in perception of the Ju/'hoansi and their relationship with animals. Previously, they were the privileged custodians of their environment, whereas the way Kxao Moses describes the relationship today, the animal has become 'the benefits' it can provide, as a natural economic resource in the system of a conservancy. The Ju/'hoansi's relationship with animals is changing under the influence of CBNRM.

Tourism dwellings and affordances in Nyae Nyae

Evolving Ju/'hoansi relations in tourism

The Ju/'hoansi are natural hosts. Not at all averse to visitors, they are instead hospitable, friendly people, when visitors take the time to greet and get to know them. (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 100)

In the quote above, Biesele & Hitchcock mean tourists when they speak of visitors, who normally come for one or a few days at most. If we consider visitors as NGO employees or consultants, we are talking about people who take a more permanent position in the Ju/'hoansi's environment: They become people who also dwell in that environment and enter into various longer-term relationships, amongst themselves and with the Ju/'hoansi. Not all expatriate visitors experienced the Ju/'hoansi as natural hosts; some were even fired by them. Here we look into early and contemporary relationships in NGO development work, specifically on tourism, from the early 1990s until today.

The plans to start with tourism and a conservancy created confusion amongst the Ju/'hoansi (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 205). In 1994, Elisabeth Garland arrived in the area for a three-month consultancy on tourism, believing she had been hired by the local Ju/'hoansi, although it turned out that she had been taken on by the NNDFN expatriate staff, while the Ju/'hoansi did not know who she was or her reason for being there. The staff told her that all existing tourist ventures should be incorporated in the Farmers' Cooperative's control and individual entrepreneurs should be discouraged from beginning new projects if not working through this centralised body. The idea was that revenue from tourism could be equally distributed to the entire population of Nyae Nyae. NNDFN expatriates clearly knew what was best for the Ju/'hoansi, even though some individual entrepreneurship had already proven successful. Tourism, it turned out, was the last thing on the Ju/'hoansi's mind then and she noticed strong segregation between the expatriate staff and the Ju/'hoansi. The latter were frustrated and complained about a lack of control over revenue from the projects and access to vehicles. Apparently there were many paternalistic talks among white expatriates who noted the irresponsibility of the Ju/'hoansi. Altogether, this tension led to resistance among the Ju/'hoansi, which resulted in some expatriates being fired by the Ju/'hoansi (Garland 1999: 86-91; cf. Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 153-167). In addition, some villages (Kaptein se Pos and Klein Dobe) wanted their own rights in the 1990s to make contracts with whoever they wished, but the Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative wanted to manage the process more equitably. Clearly, this raises questions about the decentralisation of authority so that benefits can go to the participating villages, households and individuals (Tomaselli 2005: 128). From 1998 to 2002 conflicts continued on the treatment of employees and community members by the safari operator and the social and environmental impact of tourists and hunting clients on the Nyae Nyae region. Other concerns were that the benefits of tourism only reached a very small proportion of the population, that it was dependent on an uncertain market and that the number of tourists visiting Nyae Nyae was very small. This resulted in the Conservancy coming up with a set of regulations that they hoped would be followed by NGOs, private companies and the Namibian government (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 209-210). Elements of *baasskap* can be clearly recognised in the Ju/'hoansi's relationship with NGO expatriates but the

Ju/'hoansi also took big decisions and, dissatisfied on one occasion, even fired the patron, something that would not have been possible on farms in the past. (They would then have simply left the farm.)

Today, in addition to the opportunities the Conservancy and CBNRM can bring to some, for others they can have a restricting and delaying role in relation to people's private initiatives. Starting a business is hard because so many things have to be organised in Windhoek. Some people complained of the dominance of NGOs, especially the NNDFN, donors and consultants. Decision making tends to take a long time and is heavily influenced by outsiders, according to Steve Kunta, one of the freelance tour guides in Tsumkwe who has worked with tourists for years and who would like to start his own campsite with activities. However, he sees that the Conservancy, as an institution, does not really understand tourism but still has the authority to give permission for individual projects and takes decisions slowly because of meetings at various levels, while those behind it are disappointed by decisions being made by the NNDFN and the WWF. Even if permission is granted by the Conservancy, it is possible, for example, that they choose another project location for your project, which can be demotivating for people if they have to start up something for themselves.

Kgao Visser, the former manager of the Conservancy, said that he had suggested converting the buildings at Baraka, the old NNDFN headquarters, into bungalows for tourists from Botswana, based on the idea that it is close to the road and accessible to 2 x 4s. The people of Baraka were indeed 'promised' a tourist place with a campsite by the Conservancy. Then the NNDFN advised waiting for an expert's report, the *Tourism Development Plan* (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009), and the report eventually stated that there was no money for the suggested renovation. The experts recommended a lot of developments all over Nyae Nyae but nothing for Baraka. Mulokoshi explained that they encouraged the Conservancy to follow this *Tourism Development Plan*, which was written to prepare for Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) funding. The plan describes the Bushmen as either 'authentic' or 'not authentic' and this way supports the Bushman myth, in which Nyae Nyae contains

the area's indigenous San people, whom are universally known to be ancestors of 'the world's first people' and continue to live in harmony with the environment ... It is recommended that the above message be provided to visitors entering the area through the design and construction of regional gateway points. (*Ibid.*: 88)

The above recommendation made me think of an amusement park for tourists, exactly the 'plastic Stone Age' that was described by John Marshall (1984), in which tourists enter a geographical area where one can gaze at wildlife *and* Bushmen, the latter as fragile products in an African landscape. The job of the 'ancestors of "the world's first people"' (I wonder who is not), in this case referring to the Ju/'hoansi, is to be ready for the tourists, as the mystical 'other' instead of as active stakeholders. In the plan, traditional Bushmen culture is considered a major attraction but the quality and number of authentic Bushmen cultural activities should be improved (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 23). Again, culture here is seen as static and isolated.

Nyae Nyae has become a part of the Kavango Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA TFCA), a huge cross-border conservation initiative (see Chapter 4). It is

expected that KAZA will increase the number of tourists (cf. Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 96) and thereby create benefits for the community, who will be able to sell more crafts, and for private lodge owners. However, the local Ju/'hoansi that I talked to were not even aware of any plans to create the KAZA TFCA. Kgao 'Goodman' Cgaesje said that "I am not aware of that ... Sometimes information, some of us didn't get it, so we get it late, when it was already on the pipeline" (Interview 64). Even Wendy Viall from the NNDFN in Windhoek was unaware of these plans:

Q: Nyae Nyae is gonna be part of the KAZA, the tranfrontier conservation area.

A: Sorry, the what?

Q: KAZA, Kavango-Zambezi, did you hear about that?

A: No. (Interview 65)

In addition, local (Ju/'hoansi) tour guides were not aware of the plans either, which shows how the Ju/'hoansi have been excluded from tourism developments that will influence Nyae Nyae. Biesele & Hitchcock (2011: 26) concluded that

for the Ju/'hoansi ... in spite of the rhetoric about public participation and the benefits of tourism that are supposed to accrue to local populations, eco-tourism programmes, more often than not, serve to dispossess poor local people and have only limited social and economic benefits as well as many risks.

They continue to believe that Ju/'hoansi, in this complex globalising world, are dominated by others outside their local communities who make decisions for them, as happens with indigenous people all over the world (*Ibid.*: 27). Clearly, they see the Ju/'hoansi's environment as one in which their agency is becoming severely limited.

Tracking skills as a new affordance

Tourism has, nonetheless, been seen as a way of valuing the Ju/'hoansi's traditional skills. Ashley (1998: 331) explained how, due to tourism, "Ju/'hoansi tracking skills, which were dying out, are gaining new value for tourist-guiding in former Bushmanland". It is argued here that, in the case of new values for traditional skills, we should be careful not to act as if we are talking about the same skill. The skills have gained a different meaning in a changing environment, encapsulated in tourism and therefore capitalism. The affordance of tracking skills has changed. Whereas in the past, tracking was a social phenomenon with the goal of acquiring meat, today it is still social but has become a financial resource too, in the end also as a means of acquiring food or other things. The meaning of tracking has changed considerably and tracking skills are unlikely ever to be the same again.

Let me illustrate this with an example. Recently, in cooperation with IRDNC, the Conservancy worked on a tracking project in six villages in the southeastern corner of Nyae Nyae to identify traditional master trackers from the older generation who could pass on their knowledge to youngsters (Alpers 2009). A main concern was that some of the elders were struggling with poor eyesight. For this reason, two of the elders made too many mistakes and one of them refused to admit this. Other elders agreed that he was right even though at first they had a different opinion. The man was not included in the training programme for younger trackers due to these mistakes but the next day this led to tension amongst the remaining elders who feared they might be the next to fail.

Then Louis Liebenberg, who was in charge of the group, decided to let them discuss the tracks together and come up with a consensus. They consistently gave the right answer, which shows the role of critical discussion and consensus. The project also illustrates the changes that have come with tourism, whereby most animals are spotted *from a vehicle* by trackers working in tourism on a daily basis. Before, tracking and hunting took place *on foot* (feeling, smelling, hearing) and animals such as lions, leopards, cheetah and wild dog were then rarely seen by traditional Ju/'hoansi trackers, who used to base their knowledge of these animals mainly on the tracks they saw instead of by *seeing* them. Therefore, it is more difficult for 'traditional' trackers to get to know the tracks of 'tourist' animals. On top of this, trackers from the tourism industry have had the benefit of using a guide book as a reference. In one case, the trackers gave the wrong answer collectively, but then they were shown a guide book after which they admitted their mistake. The authority of a book is evident here (Liebenberg 2009). This example demonstrates several things. First, it clarifies a change in the meaning of skills: They now afford something different because the skill itself has changed due to changes in the environment (using a car, the type of animal being tracked). Second, it shows a subversive attitude by the Bushmen, which can be seen in their nervousness and acceptance of white authority over *their own* tradition (either as a person or, indirectly, the authority of a book). Without denying any of the tracking qualities of Liebenberg or the writer of the handbook, it is clear that *they* decide what is 'right' and 'wrong' when tracking and deciding what to track. They therefore influence what tracking means for the Ju/'hoansi. Third, based on the previous two points, a process of detachment from their environment can be noted. These Ju/'hoansi trackers do not track *in* their environment but this new type of tracking is based on looking *at* it, as if nature is 'out there' to be seen, to be followed and to drive through in a car. Altogether, the tracking project does not have a lot to do with so-called 'traditions' but it is simply another affordance.

On photos, dancing and money, money, money, money

Tourists come to Nyae Nyae mainly to see the Ju/'hoansi and only then for wildlife because there are far better places to see wildlife that are less remote, such as Etosha. They can call or visit the Conservancy office in Tsumkwe from Monday to Friday for information. When self-drive tourists arrive in Tsumkwe and want to visit Nyae Nyae they are often not aware that they have to pay a small fee to the Conservancy to enter. Sometimes they ask for local tour guides from Tsumkwe to join them in the Conservancy and people in the Conservancy have realised that they can ask money from tourists for having their photos taken. Martha Mulokoshi from the NNDFN told me that

within the Conservancy people think every tourist that comes, they should make money out of it. They're starting to make their culture become like a whole business thing, you know ... If anybody wants to take a picture it's money, money, money, money. (Interview 94).

Mulokoshi believed this can be bad for tourism development in the area and that a system of set prices would be better because tourists do not like to be approached only for money. This shows the 'double standard' the NGOs have to struggle with. On the one hand, the capitalist values of profit maximisation is promoted in tourism, based on

the formalist economic idea that individuals want to gain benefits, in this case financially, while on the other hand this can ‘make their culture become like a whole business thing’, based on the substantivist idea that they ‘should be respected as they are’, meaning authentic and living in nature as if their economy is not – and should not be – influenced by outside capitalist influences, while this is exactly what the NGO does once working on tourism (and in various other strategies). This double vision is also there amongst tourists, who also tend to believe it would be better if the Ju/’hoansi did not become too business-oriented but remained traditional because the guest wants a tourist bubble with set prices and authentic natives, instead of becoming ‘walking wallets’ (cf. Van Beek 2007a: 96-97). Whatever authentic natives are I leave open for now, but from this perspective they are *not* connected to money and the tourist’s capitalist world. However, in the business of tourism, tourists themselves are an affordance, including their wallets. In line with this, traditional dancing was originally a healing activity but when done for tourists, the shamanistic elements are excluded and the social function is limited. Critics tend to say that a dance for tourists is only done for the money, following the logic of market exchange, and that it lacks the spiritual, psychological and social function. However, the Ju/’hoansi consider tourist activities as a necessary resource that they do not automatically reject, and therefore embrace the cash it can generate to make a living (Jeursen & Tomaselli 2002: 43). Traditions are something highly valued by the Ju/’hoansi; they are something they are proud of partly because tourists come from far to see them *and* because they can make money from them. They are important affordances with a price tag based on the old-fashioned view of culture based on isolated, static groups of people.

Into the wild: Makuri, Djokwe and Aha Hills community campsites

The Ju/’hoansi of three settlements in Nyae Nyae – Djokwe, Makuri and Aha Hills – have created their own community-based campsites, although tourists can go to all the settlements in Nyae Nyae, talk to the chief and camp there, but this hardly ever happens. Still, people at many settlements now want campsites but demand from tourists is not high.

Djokwe, Makuri and Aha Hills are characterised by one or more large Baobab trees, where one can camp in the wild. The respective communities manage and own the sites and there is a guide in the group. The campsites have no reception or staff around and no toilets or showers, only a cleared field to pitch one’s tent. If the people in the settlements hear a car arrive they will come over, ask you for payment and show you a paper listing activities that you can do. This is also available in the Conservancy office in Tsumkwe. Sometimes the staff come over only the next morning and if they are unlucky, the tourists have left already. Today Djokwe and Makuri are very well signposted inside Nyae Nyae, with support from the Foundation (NNDNFN 2007). Previously, both settlements were visited regularly by guests from the Tsumkwe Lodge but today they only receive a few tourists from Tsumkwe Country Lodge (as described in the next section), who then come to see the ‘Holboom’ and the other big Baobab trees. In the early days of Djokwe and Makuri, owner Arno Oosthuysen at the Tsumkwe Lodge played a role in instructing the people about tourists’ wishes, while NACOBTA and the

WWF offered support with capacity building. When the Djokwe and Makuri campsites were constructed, the money generated was meant to increase facilities, but this did not happen. However, this should not be a problem, as Maxi Louis, the secretariat coordinator of NACSO explained, because even though these campsites might not be the best ones, one should market them as being in wild and remote places. She explained how in the process you need to follow the pace of the community, which happens in Nyae Nyae because the people there take their own decisions. Although I support the last remark in the sense that people always make their own decisions (and therefore this is an almost automatic remark in development rhetoric), it says nothing about their agency and it is doubtful whether these community campsites are not in fact dependent on NGO support for their own wishes. The people in the settlements would like to upgrade the campsites but NACSO and the consultants want to keep them as wild places, with ‘authentic culture’. Indeed, in the *Tourism Development Plan*, keeping them basic is also advised as is marketing them as such since “(t)he rationale for this operation lies in the demand for *wilderness*, bush camping, as well as *authentic* and accessible cultural tourism activities” (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 76, my emphasis). However, according to Mulokoshi at the Foundation, what these places need first of all is *more* marketing – at the moment there hardly is any – as well as training in hospitality and tourism and basic infrastructure. Apparently there is some funding available to develop water and toilets, but there will be high maintenance costs due to regular damage by elephants that are attracted by the water. The Foundation is not sure what to do next. It could well be that past problems with wildlife, especially elephants, will result in keeping the places wild since this solves the human-wildlife problem (elephants are attracted by water and can damage pipes, tanks and taps). It would be logical to consider toilets, showers and of course capacity building on maintenance and hospitality, and to increase the business mentality of the Bushmen but while this is something promoted in most other places, in this case it seems more comfortable to ignore the Ju/’hoansi’s own wishes so that the human-wildlife conflict does not come to the fore. There are numerous examples of community-based campsites in Namibia where there is no human-wildlife conflict and there are usually toilets and showers, such as at N//goabaca, Omatako Restcamp in the adjacent N̄a Jaqna Conservancy, Treesleeper, Bum Hill, Nambwa and so on. All these places have enough sense of a wild Africa for the average tourist, with a basic, but very decent, tourist bubble infrastructure. By keeping Makuri and Djokwe wild, the local Ju/’hoansi are left with the choice of either staying in tourism as they are now or playing the role of the ‘authentic other’. The presence of big game is attracting tourists but for the local Ju/’hoansi this is also a restriction on growing in tourism, whereas for institutions it seems to be the most comfortable position to embrace the authentic Bushmen in the wild. It shows the double vision of NACSO and the consultants, to continually find a balance between the ‘pristine’ and the ‘modern’, dominated by a nature first approach in which the ‘authentic other’ in wild Africa fits best. The local Ju/’hoansi at all three campsites stated that they would like to increase basic tourism infrastructure at Makuri and Djokwe, such as toilets and showers because it *is* possible. Arno Oosthuysen of Nhoma Safari Camp does not believe that the communities are ready to maintain a campsite with running

water and toilets and that today's demanding tourists would be satisfied with long-drop toilets. Water tanks and septic tanks would be needed but this will cost money and attract elephants. A wall of stones or electric fences can be used against elephants but this all has to be maintained. According to Oosthuysen, whether it is a community campsite or not, a tourist has a basic standard and wants things to be clean and neat. He does not believe in keeping them 'wild' because once a big group is there, things become dirty and smelly. It sounds romantic but will not work. If NGOs or consultants truly asked people about their wishes, they would hear that they wanted to invest in infrastructure and serious capacity building for a longer period of time. They would be investing in the people's wish for an upgrade of their business.

Makuri Camp was built in 1994 and most of the tourists who visit the campsite are independent with their own 4 x 4 vehicles. A variety of traditional activities could be done here, such as observing traditional dances or joining a hunting-gathering expedition. These authentic cultural activities were coupled with other dynamics that disrupted the idea of a pure and authentic 'otherness', such as discussions about fees or arguments as to what to spend tourist money on. Apart from observing the Ju/'hoansi's otherness, tourists experienced tourism in Makuri as fundamentally an income-generating activity for their hosts (Garland & Gordon 1999: 276) in which formalist economic behaviour dominated. In 1997, NACOBTA supported Makuri with some hospitality courses but after that they never heard from them again. Today, the staff would like to receive training for more people because there is only one tour guide in Makuri, N!aici Kashe, who is also the camp manager. In Djokwe, the Ju/'hoansi also live in an environment with wildlife. They have tried some agriculture but lost all their crops in 2009 because of elephants. Another elephant attacked the people in the settlement for water and the people were not allowed (by MET) to shoot it or a hyena that killed some goats, for which they were never compensated. The Djokwe campsite started in 1999 with support from the Conservancy and some people got on-site training on hospitality from NACOBTA and again in 2009 in Tsumkwe. A viewing deck at a Baobab tree as well as basic toilets were built but the latter do not work anymore after they were damaged by elephants and cattle in 2007. They want to repair the broken toilets and to build stones around the block so that elephants cannot knock it down again.

The Aha Hills campsite, also called Kremetartkop (Baobab Hill), is the newest of the three campsites and was built by the community of ≠N!umdi in 2006. There is one special activity here which is to climb the Aha Hills, although this is not mentioned on the sheet we were shown with the set prices and activities for the whole of Nyae Nyae. Before they cleared the field for the campsite, visitors sometimes just stared at the beautiful hills and then drove away, which instigated the idea of starting up the area's own tourist activities. Sao, a community ranger,³ acts as the camp manager and tour guide and the money they make goes into a bank account at the Nampost office in Tsumkwe. However, the number of tourists has been very limited. They therefore want to install toilets and showers but lack funding. Another issue was that they welcomed a film crew once who paid N\$ 18,000 (a price that is also on the list) and this went mostly to the Conservancy (N\$ 15,000) and a smaller amount (N\$ 3000) went to the settlement.

³ In Nyae Nyae, community rangers report poaching and other wildlife-related issues.

The structure of the Conservancy is clearly a communal structure, in which the whole of Nyae Nyae is supposed to share through a centralised body, namely the Conservancy. This type of sharing cannot be compared to the Bushmen's traditional way of sharing the affordances of the environment because the group is now a lot bigger and with many people there are no reciprocal relationships in the way there used to be, partly because they live far away. It also does not seem to motivate private entrepreneurship and most people are more focused on the N\$ 15,000, they 'lost' instead of on the N\$ 3000 they gained.

Photo 3.1 Broken toilet at the Djokwe community-based campsite



Author's photo

The people at Aha Hills do not have any problems with tourists but in some cases *boers*⁴ left without paying in the morning, even after they went to talk to them. The visitors said it was just a field underneath a tree and there was no shower or toilet. They then accepted this, which again shows a submissive attitude to the *boere* first of all, but also demonstrates that the idea of installing some basic showers and toilets makes sense based on the Ju/'hoansi's idea of developing the campsites into a real business. Indeed, the people in Makuri did not feel entitled to increase the prices without more infrastructure to offer the tourists, and they asked even less than what is on the standard sheet (where prices are indeed quite high compared to what you would get at other Namibian campsites). There are even some vague plans to build a lodge near Aha Hills but in the *Tourism Development Plan* it is only a 'low priority' proposition to create an Aha Mountain Lodge concession as a joint venture (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 69-76).

⁴ *Boers* is a common name for white people, often used for local (Namibian/South African) whites but sometimes also for others, such as overseas tourists. I was regularly called a *boer*.

So the Ju/'hoansi have limited tourism options at these community campsites. They have the most basic kind of campsite one can imagine, which is comfortable for outsiders who tend to concentrate more on joint ventures and trophy hunting, where 'big money' can be made. Money it seems, has now become the standard for success in CBNRM. Strangely, such bigger projects aimed at financial gain are also driven by images of a wild Africa and the authentic other in marketing. There are clear and easy options to offer more affordances to the Ju/'hoansi in community-based campsites, but so far most institutions have not taken these projects seriously. Part of the reason for this could be that community-based tourism in Namibia is often seen as having failed, especially in the private sector, which is where the consultants and NACSO currently have their focus.

Crafts: G!hunku, ostrich egg and trade

The market for crafts in Nyae Nyae did not turn out to be as strong as many people had hoped at the beginning of the CBNRM programme, but it is also a way to keep culturally important skills, passing on some knowledge of plants and other resources (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 210). Still, approximately 16% of the income earned by the residents of Nyae Nyae in 2002/2003 came from craft sales (Hitchcock 2006: 246). Crafts are made throughout Nyae Nyae and Tsumkwe and there is a history of trading them through various channels. In most of the settlements skilled people are making ostrich egg jewelry and souvenirs with a variety of beads.

One of the first to buy crafts from Nyae Nyae was Rudolf Namiseb, a Hai//om, who has traded crafts since the mid 1990s. To sell the crafts, he hikes throughout northern Namibia to places such as Otjiwarongo, Tsumeb, Grootfontein and various guest farms. Transport for crafts is very limited and if people from Nyae Nyae sell their crafts in Tsumkwe, they want to carry big bags of food back to their village so it can be hard to get ostrich egg shells to make crafts from. Most craftsmen and women use more than one channel for selling. Independent traders such as Namiseb, the NG Kerk in Tsumkwe, the Foundation's G!hunku craft shop, the Hui-a Khoe project in the Baraka area and direct sales to tourists are the various sales channels. Some Ju/'hoansi complained about underpayment, especially by independent traders. They get the best prices from direct sales to tourists, which shows how the Ju/'hoansi today clearly think in terms of profit maximisation by trying to sell to those who offer the best prices, but also, in terms of efficiency by taking big bags of supplies back to their settlement on the limited opportunities they have for this. Crafts are an affordance in the sense that they are an option for a material exchange for a direct financial or other material benefit, although the Ju/'hoansi are dependent on outsiders for ostrich egg shells and indigenous modernities, such as transport by car, so they are not in control of this affordance.

The G!hunku craft shop is in the middle of Tsumkwe, next to the Conservancy office. It is also the Conservancy that owns it. For the past few years the main buyer was Mud Hut Trading, which sells and exports them, also at a big craft centre in Windhoek that is a very popular place among tourists. G!hunku is very dependent on Mud Hut so they would like more clients, preferably from overseas, to reduce this dependency. The Foundation undertakes quality training in the villages and if Gabriel

Hipandulwa, the NNDFN programme officer, or anyone from the Conservancy goes to Nyae Nyae, the crafters try to use their transport for their crafts. In 2008 the Conservancy's craft programme had a turnover of N\$ 120,000 and is a subsidised programme producing relatively small financial benefits for the craft makers. The sustainability and viability of this project is questionable (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 59-60). Namiseb complained that he had not been allowed to sell crafts at G!hunku for the last two years, and I was told this was because he is a Hai//om, not a Ju/'hoansi. This was confirmed by T/wa, who works at the G!hunku shop, who said that "Ou Rasta (Namiseb) is not a real Ju/'hoan. The real Ju/'hoansi from Nyae Nyae Conservancy they sell here. G!hunku is not for other people" (Interview 56) whereas others told me that he underpaid crafters. Still, people at Baraka do not sell to G!hunku because "they make apartheid" (Baraka group, Interview 68), they do not receive egg shells from G!hunku, and they are dissatisfied with the help they receive from the Foundation. People at Xamsa, on the contrary, were quite happy with the prices they get from G!hunku. In general, people are not very happy with the quality checks, they just want to sell their crafts and this creates insecurity.

Photo 3.2 A common sight in Nyae Nyae, using ostrich eggs for crafts



Photo: Lisa Gootjes, reproduced with permission

Another channel for crafters is the NG Kerk (Neder Gemeente Church) in Tsumkwe. Here a system of trading crafts was set up with the assistance of a preacher who then left Tsumkwe and was replaced by Gerrie /Ai!ae /Ui, a young Ju/'hoansi man. They exchange crafts from settlements in Nyae Nyae for food. It is the church's longest-running project and when the preacher goes to the villages, they bring the word of God and exchange crafts at the same time. They also distribute ostrich egg shells to the settlements and, if possible, take old clothes and food that they receive from overseas. Tourists can buy crafts at the NG Kerk in Tsumkwe, although the craft shop is hard for tourists to find. The focus is on exporting crafts outside the area to Windhoek, Swakopmund and South Africa. They also do a quality check and sometimes people get angry when the church does not want to buy their crafts. Another way to sell them is through Ina Cramer, the wife of one of the trophy-hunting operators in Nyae Nyae. She works for the Hui-a Khoe Foundation, which runs a small shop where people can get food in return for their crafts. Hui-a Khoe exports crafts to Germany, South Africa and other places in Namibia and it is estimated that this project brings in at least N\$ 100,000 a year and assistance with training, marketing and product development (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 60). Cramer explained that she was going to stop her involvement with the Hui-a Khoe craft project and it will probably be included in the NNDNFN's craft project (email, 28 March 2012).

The Living Hunters' Museum at //Xa/oba

//Xa/oba is a settlement about 23 km north of Tsumkwe on the way to the Khaudum National Park, where the Living Hunters' Museum was set up with the support of the Living Culture Foundation Namibia (LCFN). The initiative comes from a Ju/'hoansi man from Grashoek in the adjacent N=ǀa Jaqna Conservancy, where the first and most successful 'living museum' was built. The museum opened in //Xa/oba in February 2010. Some of the elders of //Xa/oba originally came from Khaudum but were resettled when it was gazetted as a game reserve (Lee 2002: 195). The Ju/'hoansi here make crafts to sell directly to tourists and to G!hunku and they offer the tourists activities such as dancing performances, a bushwalk and a village tour. The elders are happy to wear traditional clothes but some of the youngsters are shy about doing so, especially the ones who go to school. Employees at the Foundation expect that the KAZA TFCA will increase the number of tourists because more tourists will take the road through Khaudum.

Werner Pfeifer of Living Culture and people from //Xa/oba went to the Conservancy before setting up the project but when the museum started there was some tension between the LCFN and Chief Bobo. Apparently Living Culture did not go to the chief first although before starting a business or a project in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy one should ask his permission. Bobo felt sidelined, although Living Culture did agree on the project with the Conservancy. However, what bothered him most of all was that they asked his permission only *after* the museum had been set up. He does not have any problem with this specific project but it is his task to ensure that people will not be exploited and will in fact benefit. He now just hopes that more settlements in the vicinity of //Xa/oba will benefit from the museum. The Conservancy thought that they had only

suggested //Xa/oba but not given permission because they realised that Chief Bobo needed to be consulted in advance. This process shows the limitations of entrepreneurship that many Ju/'hoansi experience today. In their environment, they have to consult various institutions, a chief, the Conservancy and the MET before starting a project. The enculturation of the Ju/'hoansi's environment into the world system, here exemplified by the structure of a conservancy, means that the rules of the game have changed. Today things are formal, which brings opportunities on the one hand but such opportunities come with new rules and regulations.

When a Dutch tourist went to //Xa/oba in April 2010, he told the people that he was not interested in the paper with prices, explaining that he was not a tourist but a traveller. In the end he paid only N\$ 30 and a bit of cabbage that he had left for one night's camping (for him and Steve Kunta). Just as South African *boers* who left campsites without paying, this shows the power of the dominant. The new rules in the environment of the Ju/'hoansi can be easily broken, especially by more powerful outsiders, including tourists who sometimes tend to believe that prices everywhere in developing countries or the informal sector are negotiable. When Lisa and I visited the museum in May 2010 I was shown the same activities on a sheet of paper that I did at Onduramba hundreds of miles away (see Chapter 1). Apparently the activities have been standardised by the LCFN, who have clearly enclosed culture in a static, isolated container. We chose to see a dance the first time, in which people were dressed in traditional clothing. Lisa told me that it was acceptable that the man welcoming us was in western clothes but after we had paid, he changed into traditional clothes to join the group. To her, it then felt like a show because they were 'at your service', which felt unequal. In the end, she danced with the people during their performance, something actively suggested by the Ju/'hoansi.

Photo 3.3 Lisa dancing with the Ju/'hoansi from //Xa/oba Living Hunters' Museum



Author's photo

As Pfeifer of Living Culture explained, in the end it is a living *museum*, they show their past, in which they use their traditional clothing, to make some money and preserve a bit of their culture. The income from the activities is partly going to the performers and partly to general village necessities, such as school fees for the children.

When we went back to the museum in August 2010 after the first few months of the project, the people of //Xa/oba had started to believe in it because the number of tourists was growing (which could also be explained because the high season had just started). NNDFN employees claimed that they saw the project as a limited form of development, since it creates income and positive attention for traditional culture but hardly any capacity building. Still, the people in //Xa/oba would like to see their project grow and attract more camping guests. It seems as if they are more interested in direct benefits. Interestingly, in //Xa/oba we saw three ‘sets’ of activities. First, the Conservancy activities on paper in Nyae Nyae; second, activities set up by LCFN; and third, activities for the Tsumkwe Country Lodge in //Xa/oba, Doupos and Mountain Pos (see the next section also for the latter). In all cases it was outsiders determining the prices but I did not get the impression that the Ju/'hoansi were worried about this. They simply wanted more tourists so that they could make more money, a very clear example of formalist economic behaviour. In the case of the third set of activities, it is interesting that the Tsumkwe Country Lodge had chosen to visit //Xa/oba with tourists too, whereas Chief Bobo would like the benefits to be spread out over more of Nyae Nyae. From the perspective of the lodge, it is understandable as the tourist product is ready in //Xa/oba and the Ju/'hoansi are the authentic icons that tourists come to Nyae Nyae for. For the people in //Xa/oba it is also clear: They can make money by using their authenticity as a product.

Another cultural village?

The Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing wants to build a cultural village to showcase the culture of the Ju/'hoansi about 10 km east of Tsumkwe on the road to Botswana. Funding for this is coming from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Ministry is there to facilitate the work between the community and the UNDP. Initially, building in Mountain Pos, Doupos or ≠N!umdi (Aha Hills) was suggested, but at a later stage it was decided to build it closer to Tsumkwe where it would still be accessible with a 2 x 4 vehicle. The plan is to build some basic accommodation, a campsite, cultural activities and a place for craft sales. NNDFN became involved in the project at the beginning of 2010 when the UNDP presented its plans and when it appeared to be only a small initiative. It later turned out that there was significant funding available but a lot of this went into the research project. The availability of such funding – nobody could tell me the exact amount but Mulokoshi from the Foundation said it was “millions” (Interview 94) – triggered the writing of a quick proposal by the Ministry. It then became a donor-driven project. Still, Chief Bobo and more Ju/'hoansi liked the idea that the Ju/'hoansi could have their own tourist place in or near Tsumkwe, which could then serve as a base for visiting Nyae Nyae, and people from all over Nyae Nyae could benefit by getting jobs there or by selling crafts.

The people of //Xa/oba do not want another cultural village as they hope tourists will come to //Xa/oba. As is normal between businesses, competition is seldom welcomed with open arms. In addition, Oosthuysen of Nhoma Safari Camp is afraid that donors are, once again, investing in a government project where tribalism will exclude the Bushmen from jobs, as happened at the craft shop in Tsumkwe (see earlier in this chapter), where there are no Ju/'hoansi working and where no crafts are sold. Steve Kunta believes this is not a priority for Tsumkwe but that Tsumkwe is more in need of a backpackers' hostel or something comparable instead of another cultural village because he has met many tourists who have come here without their own transport and Tsumkwe should serve as a base from which to visit the other settlements in Nyae Nyae. For some, a cultural village in or just outside Tsumkwe is seen as an enriching affordance, whereas for others it is another ambiguous government project. Clearly, after the failed initiative to build the other 'craft centre' that never turned out to become a craft centre, some of these doubts are understandable.

The private sector in Ju/'hoansi environment

From Tsumkwe Lodge to Nhoma Safari Camp

The Tsumkwe Lodge was started by Arno and Estelle Oosthuysen in 1994 as a relatively small lodge. With no telephone, electricity or fence around the property, they lived there in a caravan and Oosthuysen used to send self-drive tourists to local tour guides in Tsumkwe. In those days he offered tourists tours to outlying villages where they could see cultural performances and buy crafts. Oosthuysen himself used to pay the villagers and a group of women from Nhoma explained in 2000 how "Arno has given us life" (cited in Felton & Becker 2001: 33). Tsumkwe Lodge would take a mobile shop to the villages and most of the staff were Ju/'hoansi. Rudolf Namiseb, a Hai//om living in Tsumkwe, was a driver and tour guide at the Tsumkwe Lodge for four years in the 1990s. He took people from there to places such as Djokwe, Makuri, Doupos and Klein Dobe.

In the early 1990s, Oosthuysen wanted to form a partnership with the Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative but they did not want to work with him and he was described as a "very Afrikaner" boss whose temper could change quickly, but he brought in tourists (Wendy Viall, Interview 65). Steve Kunta explained that he used to work at the lodge as a tour guide for Arno from 1999 to 2006. He also received independent travellers from the lodge who were looking for a tour guide, was allowed to keep keys, made trips into Nyae Nyae and to Nhoma, and sometimes got food in addition to his salary. Oosthuysen used to drive and Kunta took the tourists into the bush. Kunta described these days as good times. Another freelance tour guide from these days, #Oma Leon Tsamkxao (son of Chief Bobo), was in charge of the lodge when the Oosthuysens were out. This level of trust was appreciated and Oosthuysen would sit with the people and discuss his plans with them. In December 2007, Oosthuysen sold the Tsumkwe Lodge to Namibia Country Lodges after the latter won a tender in which 16 companies put in bids. He sold the lodge because Namibia Country Lodges had plans to start tented camps in Nyae Nyae and Oosthuysen did not want to compete with them. He was also fed up with the lodge

and the many problems in Tsumkwe, the noise of the generator, the dogs and so on. Tsumkwe, to Oosthuysen, is far from being the 'real Africa'.

After Oosthuysen sold the lodge, he moved to Nhoma, which is between Nyae Nyae and the adjacent N̄a Jaqna Conservancy. It is a settlement of about 110 Ju/'hoansi, most of whom were resettled from Khaudum after the government established a game reserve there (Thoma & Piek 1997). Oosthuysen had been visiting Nhoma with tourists since the 1980s and had taught people about tourism. Nhoma Safari Camp is a luxurious tented camp with well-trained staff and when I arrived, I was warmly welcomed, which was a very new experience after staying at the Tsumkwe Country Lodge campsite, where the management is timid. However, the Ju/'hoansi of Nhoma are worried about their relationship with Oosthuysen, who they described as strict and they are often unjustly accused of theft. In addition, the people of Nhoma do not understand why they receive the same amount of money if they do activities for two groups of tourists at the same time. They would prefer to be paid per tourist. The Nhoma Ju/'hoansi believed that they were missing out on benefits, such as money and meat from trophy hunting, because they were not a part of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. They feel excluded and would have liked to have more influence on decision-making processes in the area. They have thus applied to be included in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy but are unhappy because this process is moving very slowly. However, they make some good money with films being shot in Nhoma and it is doubtful if they would also be willing to share that with the rest of the Conservancy.⁵

Oosthuysen's move from Tsumkwe to Nhoma shows elements of *baasskap*. As the Tsumkwe Lodge and later the Nhoma Safari Camp were both privately operated, the Ju/'hoansi only had to cooperate with him. This relationship was obviously ambivalent, with most people describing him as a 'good' boss although others saw him as too rough, but rarely as unfair or mean. Altogether, he was a connected *baas*, who was close to the people he worked with, and people felt that he cared for them. Oosthuysen has been a very important person in the Ju/'hoansi tourist environment throughout the years.

Tsumkwe Country Lodge

What happened to the Tsumkwe Lodge after Oosthuysen sold it in December 2007? Tsumkwe Lodge was, and still is, the central tourist point for Nyae Nyae. It was re-named Tsumkwe Country Lodge, after the chain of lodges from Namibia Country Lodges. Namibia Country Lodges also took over the Tsumkwe general store and petrol station, which they upgraded, to create good tourist services in the centre of Tsumkwe. They also have plans to support the people of Tsumkwe. I received a document from their American activity manager, Stacey Alberts, called 'Namibia Country Lodges: Current Projects for Development' (NCL, n.d.). The projects include a training academy for Ju/'hoansi, focusing on traditional skills, work ethics and hospitality and tourism; a plan

⁵ An interesting case of agency was when Lisette van der Burg, an MA student I cooperated with, was sent away by Oosthuysen after a three day stay with the Ju/'hoansi of Nhoma because a filmcrew was about to arrive. Oosthuysen told Van der Burg that he had a contract with the Ju/'hoansi of Nhoma giving only him the right to work in the village but the Ju/'hoansi were not aware of that (Lisette van der Burg, pers. comm.).

to clean up Tsumkwe; and a community park. They also want to increase the number of tourists and upgrade the accommodation facilities. During the second half of 2010, Namibia Country Lodges completed the final stages of construction of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge (TNN 2010a: 6) and the number of rooms has increased from 9 to 25 (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 54). According to Oosthuysen, a big increase in the number of tourists runs the danger of exhausting the people in the villages, something that is not understood by Namibia Country Lodges due to a lack of cultural understanding of the people.

Today, the campsite is still noisy in the evenings due to the generator and when I stayed there in 2010 there was hardly any cleaning or maintenance being done, but it is the only campsite in Tsumkwe. Apparently Willem de Wet, the managing director of Namibia Country Lodges, wants to outsource the campsite to the community in the future because lodge and campsite guests do not always mix. The terrain is fully fenced against elephants and cattle but this also keeps out the many local Ju/'hoansi who want to sell their crafts or beg for food. When they beg, they often point to their stomachs, something that makes tourists uncomfortable if they are themselves eating. I called this 'bellying'. The lodge offers tourists the chance to visit Bushmen and places such as the Nyae Nyae Pan. There are now only a few Bushmen working at the lodge, but the Tsumkwe Country Lodge is based on traditional Bushmen culture, which is also symbolised in their logo.

Photo 3.4 Logo of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge



Source: NCL (2011a), reproduced with permission.

Therefore it is especially interesting that Tsumkwe Country Lodge lost most of its Ju/'hoansi staff after the takeover. The newly appointed white manager explained that the lodge came with staff and if there was a vacancy they would first approach the Conservancy, but they advertised the more senior positions in the paper. The staff were taken on a three-month trial basis so that both sides could see how they worked together. However, most of the staff left in these three months because they were dissatisfied with the new management. The staff did not resign officially but simply did not show up for work anymore. They left for two reasons: Dissatisfaction with their salaries (some told me they were cut) and a bad relationship with the new management. Some people wondered why one of the local staff working at the lodge, Leon, was not employed as the new manager. Instead of working on better relations with the local staff, a

top-down idea of starting a training academy in tourism was developed to strengthen the Ju/'hoansi's traditional skills and to provide hospitality training, while there were good, qualified staff at the lodge when they took it over. Nonetheless, the Conservancy and Chief Bobo agreed to these courses but Chief Bobo believes that the Tsumkwe Country Lodge should instigate more benefits for the wider community of Nyae Nyae, like those that were in place before the takeover.

One example of a guide who left after the takeover was Steve Kunta, who worked many years for Oosthuysen's Tsumkwe Lodge and then only at the Tsumkwe Country Lodge for two months from the end of 2007 to February 2008 (although he had received a training) because Kunta had to cut the grass and was treated in a way that did not befit a tour guide. In his opinion he was demoted. Alberts explained how they would like talented guys such as Kunta to manage the lodge but wondered if they could ever do so. She felt sorry for all the people who had left the lodge, understanding their feelings towards the new management but she also explained that people were not always willing to work themselves. Alberts has a good working relationship with the Conservancy and was specifically employed "to get the Ju/'hoansi employable" (Interview 88), something that she experienced as a frustrating task, mainly because people who are unsatisfied, for whatever reason, tend to simply not show up anymore. What she believes is needed is some fully employed role models, "so they have something to look up for and inspire to because there is no work history in this culture" (Interview 88). But although Namibia Country Lodges intended to employ more Ju/'hoansi, there is no formal obligation for them to do so, which was something that the managing director of Namibia Country Lodges from Windhoek, Willem de Wet, wanted out of the contract. Apparently he said that

if we can't find enough from the pool of candidates in the community we will have to go outside the community to get people to train ... So we definitely want to hire more Ju/'hoansi, but they need to adhere to the same standards, they need to be able to work. (Stacey Alberts, Interview 88)

This quote is all the more interesting when realising that most Ju/'hoansi I spoke to considered the new management lazy and uninspiring.⁶ There are still four Bushmen working at the lodge today. Two of them, /Kaece ≠Oma and Ephraim Romanus, have worked there ever since it opened. When they compare the days of Oosthuysen with today, they complain about how things got worse after the takeover. Their salaries were cut and there is now hardly any communication between staff and the management. Oosthuysen used to swear but this did not bother them because he did not hit them and would always come over to talk to them. In addition, Oosthuysen would help if they were ill, whereas the current manager tends to spend most of the day at home. So it would seem that the Bushmen consider the Namibia Country Lodge's management to be lazy as well, whereas the manager himself, on the other hand, sees it as part of his job to limit employees' drinking, to teach them the rules of a big company and "to make them good people" (Interview 55). A certain level of paternalism is clearly present:

I call them my children, the Bushmen, and we identified a big problem here ... We (Namibia Country Lodges) want to build a classroom, a community centre and in this community centre we want to organise a course for the children of the community about the culture of the San people, which must

⁶ Alberts is not part of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge management.

be taught by the elders, those who stay in the villages, about their own tradition. Because it looks as if it is starting to die out. (Interview 55)

In addition to paternalism, there is a strong focus on the Bushmen's traditional culture. As is so often the case, it is outsiders who are determining how this culture should be preserved, looking at culture as a static, isolated construct, while many of the youngsters in Nyae Nyae want to be educated, wear western clothes and find employment, all of which are likely to distance themselves from their traditions and involve them in a modern consumer economy (Jeursen & Tomaselli 2002: 46). The double vision of the NGOs tends to be there also in the private sector. In addition, the symbolic capital of 'Bushman authenticity' is converted by Namibia Country Lodges into economic capital, for example by using it in their logo or because their activities are mainly focused on the Ju/'hoansi, whereas since the take-over Bushmen were so far only disadvantaged, losing economic capital by not showing up anymore for their jobs. However, the latter is their own choice and therefore is an active decision based on their agency in their relationship with the new management. Nonetheless, the take-over by Namibia Country Lodges has reduced the Bushmen's agency.

The experience of the Foundation and the Conservancy with the management of the lodge is fragile. While the Foundation sometimes considered it hard to work with Oosthuysen before, things became more difficult with the new manager. Wendy Viall explained that "(t)he Conservancy has to try and take it up, but people are quite scared to take forward issues ... but I think a management style is quite a difficult thing to criticise" (Interview 65). Interestingly, looking at the level of infrastructure, it is the management style that can be decisive for the Ju/'hoansi. This is where life really takes place, on a daily basis, for the ones working (or not) in the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. I do not believe an NGO should refrain from criticising the manager of a private operator. In these enterprises, be it a joint venture or not, this position is often based on the *baasskap* system, which means that the manager has a crucial position and this relation is an affordance for good or ill in the worker's environment. In addition, Conservancy members complained that the management of the lodge just takes people into Nyae Nyae without making the tourists pay the N\$ 30 entrance fee and some tented camps that were supposed to be built since 2004 (as described in the next paragraph) never materialised. Altogether, the takeover by Namibia Country Lodges has been disappointing for the Ju/'hoansi and many feel that since then tourists have tended to stay away from Nyae Nyae. They blame Namibia Country Lodges as well as the Conservancy since

(t)his is what they wonder, what has happened when Country Lodge came in. Why was it easy before and difficult today? What has happened? What did the people of the Conservancy and the Country Lodge do that there are no tourists today? (Interview 69).

A lot comes down to the bad or non-existent communication between Namibia Country Lodges and the local people. The people feel ignored since

we are the local people, and we know the place better than (the new manager), but if anything happens, or when he comes up with an idea, he never comes and asks the local people first. He just takes his own decisions without asking the local people. (Tsamkxao 'Leon' ≠Oma, Interview 73)

Most of the local Ju/'hoansi feel sidelined since the takeover by Namibia Country Lodges.

Tsumkwe Country Lodge now visits three settlements with tourists in the Conservancy: Doupos, Mountain Pos and the Living Hunters' Museum at //Xa/oba (for the latter see also the previous section). In the three villages, the Ju/'hoansi do traditional dancing, bushwalks, sell crafts and so on. The lodge alternates visits to the settlements, which is criticised by people who say that it used to be better when the lodge visited more places in Nyae Nyae. The idea of visiting additional places in Nyae Nyae can be seen as being based on the idea of sharing, that an affordance should be used by all. However, the group has grown a lot and today Nyae Nyae numbers about 36 settlements. The lodge decided to use a more pragmatic business approach, namely to visit Doupos and Mountain Pos first, and later //Xa/oba. These settlements were chosen for three reasons. First, these three settlements are close and most tourists do not want to drive to faraway places. Second, Doupos and Mountain Pos are on the way to the Nyae Nyae Pan and third, not all villages are ready to receive tourists with activities and traditional clothing. //Xa/oba recently started a Living Hunters' Museum, whereas Doupos and Mountain Pos have been receiving tourists for a longer time. They agreed on the prices with the Conservancy: N\$ 850 for a full day's programme and N\$ 500 for half a day as a set price for the whole group. This led to complaints about the amount being too low as it has to be shared amongst up to forty people, but also that they do not pay the individuals who do most of the work for the tourists. This complaint shows how individualism as opposed to sharing has taken root in settlements. Apparently the Conservancy was never happy with visits to only three villages because they believed more settlements in Nyae Nyae should benefit from tourism and they received complaints from the other settlements. Even the lodge's tour guides, Simon Kazibe (a Khwe man originally from Omega, Bwabwata) and Smallboy Tsamkgao, a local Ju/'hoansi, are questioned about this by people from the settlements. Personally, Kazibe and Tsamkgao believe it would be better to take tourists to more villages. The Conservancy is concerned that the three villages would have disproportionate access to tourist revenues from Namibia Country Lodge activities, but Namibia Country Lodges has agreed to even out the situation by setting up a training academy for Ju/'hoansi to get jobs in tourism (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 222). I wonder how a training academy will 'even out' access to tourism revenues since these are very different affordances in the Ju/'hoansi's environment. Revenues are direct benefits, whereas a training academy is only indirectly beneficial for a small group of people in the long run, assuming it will be successful and tourist numbers will rise.

In the past, tourists that went to Doupos complained to the NNDFN office in Windhoek about bad behaviour in Doupos, and when I visited Doupos there was a lot more begging and local people pushing their crafts on tourists compared to other places in Nyae Nyae. Reliance on tourism is insecure for the people because it is seasonal and they cannot make a living from it, and competition in Nyae Nyae has grown. In addition, the Ju/'hoansi of Doupos are not satisfied because the Conservancy has restricted the distribution of cattle, since there would be too many and they can spread disease to the wildlife. They would prefer the tourists to pay them directly but this is not allowed by the lodge, which frustrates some people and they claim to feel robbed by the lodge. The community of Ju/'hoansi at Mountain Pos is smaller than in Doupos. They were not

as dissatisfied about their working relationship with the lodge as the people of Doupos, although they would like to increase the amount they receive for a full day of activities to N\$ 1000. For them, the main problem is the number of times that tourists come to visit as to make a decent living, they need six to ten groups a month, while they currently only receive tourists once or twice a month. Their self-made road sign on the way to the Nyae Nyae Pan shows how they have embraced the Bushman image to attract tourists.

Photo 3.5 Self-made road sign to Mountain Pos displaying the Bushman image



Author's photo

Waiting for the tented camps

Even before Namibia Country Lodges took over Tsumkwe Lodge, they had signed a joint-venture agreement with the Conservancy to build two tented camps in Nyae Nyae. This was supported by the NNDFN and the camps were supposed to create a minimum of 16 jobs over ten years, with an annual rental income for the Conservancy. NNDFN's task was to mediate to ensure the terms of the Conservancy and Namibia Country Lodges were met (NNDFN 2007). The idea goes back to 2003 when Namibia Country Lodges were planning to build one camp at Xamsa and the other one at Nhoma Pos.⁷ The concession was put out to tender in 2003, but no tented camps have yet been built (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 65). Oosthuysen explained that the friendly relationship between Namibia Country Lodges and the WWF helped them get the concession. Whatever the reason, it turned out that Namibia Country Lodges was not in a position to

⁷ This is not the same as Nhoma, where Nhoma Safari Camp is situated. See Map 3.2.

build the camps. After long delays, the NNDFN kept asking Namibia Country Lodges in Windhoek what would happen but a lack of communication spread rumours that they simply did not have enough money, while I was also told that the leasehold was too uncertain for Namibia Country Lodges to acquire a bank loan. However, they did have enough money to buy Tsumkwe Lodge after the signing of the agreement and this created suspicion locally and at the NNDFN, who said that they heard different excuses every time and received no clarification. After the agreement was signed in 2004, a percentage of the profit from the tented camps was supposed to go to the Conservancy. Stacey Alberts said that the initial plan was to build the two camps and employ many local people but that they never got the leasehold for a piece of land in Tsumkwe where they wanted to build a base camp. They did not want to start building the tented camps unless they had a decent base camp in Tsumkwe for vehicle repairs and so on. According to the *Tourism Development Plan*, “(t)he original development concept was to build a new mid-market lodge near the airstrip in Tsumkwe, with luxury satellite camps situated in the north and south of NNC (Nyae Nyae Conservancy)” (*Ibid.*: 84). As a result of the long delays in getting the leasehold, Namibia Country Lodges allocated funding that was originally meant for the tented camps to purposes elsewhere in Namibia and they later suggested that the Conservancy try to make a 50 : 50 deal and apply for Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) funds. The Conservancy agreed but they needed to raise their own 50% first. When the leasehold for the tented camps would be approved, it would be in the Conservancy’s name. In 2010, this was still in progress and it seems as if the government has delayed the leasehold a lot. The Conservancy wanted Namibia Country Lodges to start building anyway but Namibia Country Lodges still wanted a base camp first. The leasehold for the base camp in Tsumkwe was also still in progress when I stayed there (and I doubt if they need it since they have bought Tsumkwe Lodge in the meantime). Altogether, this created a lot of distrust between the NNDFN, the Conservancy and Namibia Country Lodges. Kgao Visser explained that the Conservancy did not want to work with Namibia Country Lodges anymore but that the NNDFN would always go and talk to them to settle matters.

The ‘new’ Tsumkwe Country Lodge became the base camp for business in Tsumkwe and tourism in Khaudum National Park⁸ and Nyae Nyae from 2007 onwards. There is no formal agreement between Tsumkwe Country Lodge and the Conservancy because Tsumkwe falls outside the geographical boundaries of the Conservancy. However, they need to work together because the lodge visits Nyae Nyae with tourists. In some settle-

⁸ Khaudum National Park lies to the north of Nyae Nyae and is part of the former geographical territory of the Ju’hoansi (L. Marshall 1976: 21-24). In 2008 the Gciriku community (a Kavango people, not Bushmen) was granted a tourism concession inside the Khaudum National Park, for which Namibia Country Lodges was appointed as preferred partner (Humphrey 2009). What was strange was that in a press release by Namibia Country Lodges from 2011, on their website as the ‘NCL Newsletter’, they state that they “secured a Joint Venture contract with the Khaudum North Complex consisting out of three conservancies with a focus on job creation for the Bushmen communities” (NCL 2011a, 2011c). This is unlikely because nowhere else can I find any relationship between the joint venture of Namibia Country Lodges for Khaudum and a Bushman community. Instead, the MET approved an agreement between the Geiruku Traditional Authority, Muduva Nyangana and George Mukoya conservancies and Namibia Country Lodges in 2010 to redevelop the Sikereti and Khaudum camps in Khaudum National Park in the Kavango Region (cf. Humphrey 2009; TNN 2010b: 3).

ments in Nyae Nyae people are still keen on the plans for a tented camp because they expect to benefit from tourism if these are built, but most of them had lost all interest in the camps by 2010 and did not believe that Namibia Country Lodges was ever going to build them. However, Mulokoshi of the NNDFN explained to me that if the MCA funds ever materialised, cooperation with Namibia Country Lodges could still help the Conservancy, which lacked marketing and hospitality capacity.

Throughout the years this ambivalent situation has raised expectations in several of the settlements in Nyae Nyae. For example in Kaptein se Pos, because of repeated visits by Namibia Country Lodges. North of Kaptein se Pos there are long sand dunes and because of this natural beauty, Namibia Country Lodges has been interested in building an overnight village here (cf. Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 84) to create jobs and offer tourists the chance for day trips to Mountain Pos and Doupos. The Conservancy stopped the process because of the troubles with the tented camps, for which they held Namibia Country Lodges responsible. They did not want Namibia Country Lodges to start another project. In addition there was frustration at the Conservancy about Tsumkwe Country Lodge not paying the entrance fees for tourists they took into Nyae Nyae. Later in 2010, *Travel News Namibia* mentioned that Namibia Country Lodges still had plans in Nyae Nyae as well as in Khaudum National Park. They now have plans “to build a small luxury camp at the southern end of the Nyae-Nyae Pan, and a second camp in the north of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy” (TNN 2010a: 6). According to Oosthuysen, a reason for the delay in building the tented camps was that Namibia Country Lodges was waiting for MCA funding in Namibia. He explained that “these people are busy to con the Bushmen. They lie and cheat every day” (Interview 81). The original locations of Xamsa and Nhoma Pos have now been abandoned in the plans and Stacey Alberts said that they were told by a consultant not to start a tented camp in Nhoma Pos because Namibia Country Lodges now also has a concession for Khaudum and Nhoma Safari Camp is nearby (cf. Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 54-55).

Clearly, Namibia Country Lodges takes a central role in tourism in Nyae Nyae and Tsumkwe and, either advised by consultants or not, has changed plans throughout Nyae Nyae for many years now, raising expectations amongst various groups of Ju/'hoansi, varying from the workers at the Tsumkwe Country Lodge to the Conservancy and various settlements. Although the Bushmen, NNDFN and the government also played a role in this, the relation between Namibia Country Lodges and the Ju/'hoansi is currently troubled. Instead of investing into the relationship with the local Ju/'hoansi, to build up social capital, their focus seems to have been mainly on economic capital. Although some well-meant initiatives were tried, so far the results are not satisfying. It is interesting that today in tourism in Namibia the role of the private sector is considered pivotal, while in this case it is shown that their role can also be demotivating and even disempowering.

Meet the hunters

The meaning of hunting

When I bought *South African Hunter*, the magazine portrayed a traditional, iconised Bushman in the desert with a bow and arrow and another two inside (SAH 2010). In general, the portrayal of Bushmen is not unusual as a marketing symbol for commercial hunting operators and represents a ‘real’ hunting culture (see for example Photo 6.1). But with few exceptions, most people in Africa who are defined as hunter-gatherers risk arrest and imprisonment if they engage in subsistence hunting due to colonial and post-colonial conservation laws (Hitchcock 2001b: 139). Today, it seems as if “(t)he hunters have been turned into scavengers by state policy” (Tomaselli 2005: 40) and hunting is considered an abnormal subsistence strategy by Southern African governments, to be promoted all over once it creates economic capital.

Subsistence hunting is limited today for Bushmen whereas commercial hunting has been introduced and joint ventures are being signed between conservancies and trophy-hunting operators. In Namibia about 75% of farmers hunt wildlife, 15-25% do so commercially and there are about 400 registered commercial hunting farms (Turpie *et al.* 2004: i). Apart from these private farms, conservancies also have concessionary rights to start joint ventures for hunting, for which the MET awards hunting quotas (thus holding the ultimate power over wildlife) (Hohmann 2003b: 211). Since the 1970s the lucrative market for international trophy-hunting tourism on private land has developed. Some hunting and guest farms had suitable tourism attributes and have developed into ‘pure’ game farms (Barnes & Jones 2009: 115-116). Trophy hunting is a luxurious and organised type of tourism, and Tomaselli (2005: 55) states that today “in the guise of adventure tourists, they (hunters) tend to be lazy slob who kill from the comfort and safety of 4 X 4s and helicopters, after spotter planes have located the prey”. In contrast, when Bushmen killed an animal for subsistence hunting it was eaten and used for a variety of other purposes such as for clothing and blankets (see for example Fourie 1928: 100-103). Hunting was a social activity, not only amongst the hunters but also with the environment, whereas today conservation projects in Southern Africa revolve around a limited number of large mammals. These animals are linked economically and psychologically to hunting and are part of a white South African masculine identity, in line with a long-standing association between military men and game parks all over Africa (Sullivan 2002: 176-177) as former soldiers often make good game wardens because they are used to life in the open and to weaponry (S. Ellis 1994: 55).⁹ A romantic image in this masculine activity is evident, as the president of the Namibian Professional Hunting Association (NAPHA) wrote that

(h)undreds of years ago the hunter might have stood by a fire and recounted the great deed to his clan brothers, while the old men nodded their approval and the young boys back in the shadows listened in wonder. It hasn’t changed much ... The story of the hunt and the memory of the stalk are what need to be remembered. (Brand 2012: 7)

⁹ In fact, the term Big Five refers to the five big animals in Africa that proved hardest to hunt on foot in the old days.

This quote could just as well be about traditional Bushmen as about modern-day trophy hunters. Considering the meanings attributed to wildlife by many local groups and especially hunter-gatherers, wildlife has greater importance than simply its nutritional or monetary value, something that is often overlooked in conservation policies (M. Taylor 2002b: 471). Indeed, Tomaselli (2005: 58) wondered about this change from hunting as a subsistence strategy and an existential and spiritual aspect of culture to trophy hunting today, as if wildlife has become just another commodity without ontological significance. For trophy hunters, their sport is all about ‘mastering nature’ in Africa, a true ‘wilderness’, and so on:

The bull elephant is the true monarch of the African wilderness – a mighty ambler with a far reaching pace.

Yet, at the same time, a monarch of a time now past; a time when the wilds stretched to all horizons of the dark continent and where no creature in his right mind, would dare to attack a mighty, mature bull elephant – except man. In those good old times now past, the chances were well balanced. (Denker 2012: 16)

The Namibian MET Minister feels it is

common knowledge that tourism in general, and trophy hunting in particular, has grown to be one of the most important industries in Namibia in terms of its strong contribution to the Gross Domestic Product, creation of employment, training opportunities and the wellbeing and social upliftment of our rural people. (Nandi-Ndaitwah 2012: 4)

I agree that trophy hunting creates employment, although not in substantial numbers, and the training opportunities are very limited in this type of hunting. The automatic assumption that the Minister seems to make is that the well-being and social uplifting of rural people will follow after a community generates income from trophy hunting. The main reason to start a joint venture with a hunting operator is that it creates finance. Big money is involved, which can function as an engine behind a CBNRM policy. Trophy hunting shows, more than any other tourist development, that the Bushmen today dwell in an environment where finance is an important affordance and it is the most profitable CBNRM activity. It should be realised that trophy hunting is not something that Bushmen are connected with because of their traditions of subsistence hunting. It is a western, mainly white, phenomenon, based on an idea of a wild and romantic Africa, in which modern technologies such as guns and cars are crucial. The most important relations in trophy hunting today are those with the Conservancy, NGOs and of course with the hunting operator, whereas subsistence hunting was a social activity amongst a band of Bushmen. In trophy hunting, Bushmen take the place of assistants for conservationists and romanticists, whereas in the past they were custodians of their environment. In this sense, it is important to note that things such as meat handouts, which could be considered one of the main benefits of trophy hunting in Namibian conservancies,

might satisfy a consumptive event, but cannot meet these other aspects that the *process* and experience of the hunt also satisfies ... Hunting and other practices *vis-à-vis* environment are also accompanied by stories, songs, humour and joy: by a rich symbolic, metaphorical and affirmative language of relation-ship and conceptualisation. (Sullivan 2006: 119-120.)

Trophy hunting is therefore an enablement for the wider community, providing very welcome cash income and some meat (economic capital) and jobs for those who use their agency to work for a commercial hunter. However, the rules and regulations con-

cerning trophy hunting are decided by outsiders (NGOs, donors, the government) and the MET decides on the hunting quota, which constrains Bushmen's agency in this affordance. It is often said that this activity suits the Bushmen because it is 'so close to their culture' but that idea is invalid because trophy hunting is a modern activity based on new power relations that evolved in the processes of encapsulation and commercialisation, which has nothing to do with subsistence hunting. Today subsistence hunting is severely limited and the decrease of this went together with a loss of social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital for the Bushmen in ways that cannot be replaced by trophy hunting.

Hunting in Nyae Nyae

Unlike many other places in Africa, the hunting-gathering Ju/'hoansi of Nyae Nyae are still allowed to hunt as long as they use traditional weaponry: Bows, arrows, spears and clubs. Today, the only people who are allowed to use guns for hunting are trophy hunters who enter the area with a hunting safari company. This created some frustration amongst the Ju/'hoansi in the 1990s because they were troubled by the wildlife, especially elephants and lions, and were not allowed to kill the animals. They felt discriminated against when they realised that people who could afford to pay large amounts of money were allowed to hunt these animals (Hitchcock 1997: 111-116; 2001b: 139). Economic capital this way is converted into the trophy hunter's wish for symbolic capital, in which the hunter is after a masculine and romantic idea, and the Bushmen are happy to receive a small share in these unequal relations of power.

A safari hunting concession for Nyae Nyae was granted in 1986 to Anvo Hunting Safaris by the South African Administration. The Ju/'hoansi Farmers' Union expected to receive the revenues but the fees went to the South African government, which led to controversy in the years afterwards between the Ju/'hoansi and the Department of Nature Conservation (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 77-78). In 1998 the Nyae Nyae Conservancy signed a joint-venture agreement with La Rochelle Hunting and Guest Farm, that could then occupy a former hunting camp at Klein Dobe while the Ju/'hoansi were granted hunting and farming rights (Tomaselli 2005: 126). The agreement entitled La Rochelle to a hunting quota and brought employment opportunities to the Ju/'hoansi, whereas the income from the agreement was divided among the various Ju/'hoan communities in Nyae Nyae and invested in development projects (Sylvain 2002: 1077). The financial benefit from the La Rochelle hunting contract would grow from N\$ 260,000 in 2000 to N\$ 280,000 in 2002, and for the 2000 Conservancy members from N\$ 110 in 2000 to N\$ 120 in 2002 (Sullivan 2002: 170). In addition, elephant meat was distributed among the various settlements (Suzman 2001a: 43).

African Hunting acquired the hunting concession in Nyae Nyae in 2002 and they employed 26 men and 2 women. Again, the meat was distributed, which was an important contribution to the protein needs of the Ju/'hoansi, but others pointed out that elephant meat was something that few Ju/'hoansi ate (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 209; Hitchcock 2006: 246). Kgao Visser told me that they received around N\$ 1.2 million a year for this hunting concession, which is used for cash benefits and the operational

Photo 3.6 Dried elephant meat



Author's photo

costs of the Conservancy. Today it is only the people in the area where the animal was shot who receive any meat but this has changed because MET wants it to be distributed to all the villages. The hunter is responsible for its distribution and there are many hunting operators interested in Nyae Nyae (ACHPR 2008: 88). Hunting thus creates meat and cash for individuals as well as income for the Conservancy, which is used to pay the community rangers and Conservancy staff who implement projects and arrange governance meetings (NNDNFN 2007). A lot of the rhetoric about the value of CBNRM is related to the financial returns from trophy hunting, which are relatively high when compared to other kinds of activities in Nyae Nyae (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 210-211). Hunting provides lots of economic capital.

After MET has approved a new quota, hunters are interviewed and the Conservancy then chooses the company they believe they can best work with to start a joint venture. The idea is that they do not only look at the financial benefits but also for respect and willingness to invest in infrastructure such as boreholes and solar panels. Today the cash benefits to the Conservancy members from trophy hunting are N\$ 300 for everyone over eighteen. People appreciate trophy hunting, and, for some, it is their only financial benefit. In certain settlements, they combine this income to buy goats, while in other settlements individuals keep the money separately. Each settlement makes its own decision. As some of this cash goes to *shebeens* in Tsumkwe, the Foundation has tried to tackle this in the past with a mobile shop at times when cash is distributed, which saves people making an expensive trip to Tsumkwe.

Not all villages in Nyae Nyae benefit equally from hunting. The hunters are connected with a small group, who will get the jobs and meat, based on the area where hunting takes place. Sometimes the Conservancy uses a car to distribute meat to additional villages. For example in Xamsa and Mountain Pos, people complained that they never got meat from hunting and the people of Doupos remembered that over the years

they had received elephant meat from hunting three times, which they did not see as a true benefit. At the hunting camps, men are employed for tracking and physical labour, while the women do the laundry and cleaning. Although there is only one hunting concession in Nyae Nyae, there are two hunters active because the main contractor, the elephant hunter, has subleased part of his contract to another hunter. There is a striking difference in people's opinions of the two hunters.

Relations with the elephant hunter and the subcontractor

In the hunting camp of the elephant hunter, the main contractor (African Hunting Safari's) in G/aguru in the northern part of Nyae Nyae, there are around sixteen adults and some children too. The men work as trackers and do physical labour in the camp for N\$ 35 a day and the women do cleaning and laundry. There are two men who stay there all year round to take care of the place outside the hunting season that lasts from April to October/November. These Ju/'hoansi come from various villages in the north of Nyae Nyae to work at G/aguru. After a kill, elephant meat is distributed to the villages near where the elephant was shot. In a group discussion, the workers told me how unhappy they were here but that they do the work simply because of a lack of options. The elephant hunter is strongly disliked, something that was confirmed more widely in Nyae Nyae. I was told that the work was heavy and the pay was low. For example, when doing heavy physical labour, such as collecting wood or distributing meat to other villages, the elephant hunter would never help by using his vehicle. They said that if they complained, he might threaten to shoot them and the Ju/'hoansi workers believed this, based on a rumour in Nyae Nyae that he once shot a person in Kavango.¹⁰

A: (The elephant hunter) always says 'You must not talk about money, if you talk, I will shoot and kill you'.

Q: Did he talk like that?

A: Yes, he talks like that, his people they say so.

Q: He tries to scare you a bit?

A: Yes, but we think he is not trying to scare us, he will shoot ... He has shot people, that man.

Q: Is he from the war?

A: No, he was not in the war, when he hunts he can shoot people when he is angry.

Q: How can he do that?

A: He shot one man because of money. He shot one man when he started there in Kavango Region.

Q: Did he go to jail?

A: No no. Ah, no no, he has lots of money, he paid. (Interview 68)

They see the hunter as being strict, someone who will fight and argue all the time, for example if you do not walk quickly enough,¹¹ he might hit you, even if tourists are around. The workers feel as if they cannot communicate with him. He runs his own mini shop where the workers can buy products and where payment is often made from the hunter's shop on account, with the result that at the end of the month there is no money left. The Ju/'hoansi workers do not know the prices in the shop as the hunter is in control. In the past, workers complained at the Conservancy and from then on the

¹⁰ I mention a rumour because I am not sure if this is true or not. This does not matter here, as the point is that, in the life world of the Ju/'hoansi, it is widely believed.

¹¹ Contrary to most of the hunting operators who hunt from a car, this hunter does most of his hunting on foot.

elephant hunter started to deposit N\$ 100 a month into every worker's bank account. Another complaint was that they sometimes received tips from tourists in foreign currency, such as US Dollars or Euros. He would offer to change this for them, giving them far less than the original value. As they were afraid of him, they did not dare to question the amount they were given. One day, a hunting tourist did not want to tip the elephant hunter and gave the money directly to the worker, who went to change it himself. Later this man was told that he was not allowed to come back anymore. The hunter would explain to tourists that the Bushmen do not understand how to handle money so he would receive the whole tip. And if somebody was ill, he would give them medicine but would order the person to turn up at work in any case and, if this was impossible, he would reduce the salary. As an extra, the Ju/'hoansi perform traditional dances for tourists after an elephant has been shot but do not receive any extra payment for this, apart from some candy, cool drinks or food. So when I asked about their most important wishes, they mentioned that they wanted another hunter.

It seems as if their wishes have been granted because the elephant hunter himself decided not to renew his concession in 2011 (Denker 2012: 16). He explained that he "will miss Bushmanland with its huge, ancient Baobabs, but above all, its humble, kind-hearted people, whose outstanding tracking skills played such a crucially important role in the success of the past twenty years" (*Ibid.*: 19). Clearly, the hunter had a very different perception of the environment than his Ju/'hoansi workers did, who explained that this hunter was chosen by the authorities and the Conservancy simply because he paid the highest amount for the concession. The Ju/'hoansi workers from the hunting camp told me that they have had no influence on this. All they can do is to complain about such matters at Conservancy meetings:

Q: Why don't you change to another hunter?

A: The way I understand it, last time they talked, here this man (the elephant hunter), he also wants to go, he is tired.

Q: Is he an old man?

A: He is an old man, so last year he wanted to go. This man said he has problems with us, he wants to go, but these men, the WWF, they have come from Windhoek and they have said 'No, (the elephant hunter) will stay here'.

Q: Okay.

A: Yes, I was there and I heard it.

Q: These men from WWF said so?

A: Yes, they said this man pays very well for the Conservancy. (Interview 74)

Of course, these workers have the option of quitting their jobs and, over the years, many of them have done so. However, it should be remembered that jobs and other livelihood strategies are scarce in Nyae Nyae. The Conservancy and WWF tend to prioritise the economic capital this elephant hunter brings in which shows the different agendas of these corporate institutions and a group of local workers, whose first interest is mainly in acquiring some economic capital for subsistence first of all. This might also explain why in the Conservancy the image of the elephant hunter was better compared to the image that his workers told me. At the Conservancy I received confirmation that they basically had a good relationship with the man and that the problems with the workers were limited to various financial and salary issues, which is not uncommon in joint ventures between conservancies and private-sector operators. But this main con-

tractor always pays the Conservancy well. Of course, the payment is crucial for the Conservancy because it brings in a lot of money on which most of their activities depend, while most of the other (CBNRM) activities go directly to the people. So whereas the Conservancy's relationship with the hunter is an affordance to bring in the finances that enable them to do many of their activities and to create goodwill and support within Nyae Nyae, he is an affordance for the workers, bringing in a job and lots of frustrations, which they accept because of a lack of opportunities in their environment.

Some of the Ju/'hoansi who worked for the elephant hunter also worked for the subcontractor, Ernst Cramer, who they are very fond of. Accounts from that camp, not far from Baraka to the south, are different compared to those about the elephant hunter. There is no formal relationship between Cramer and the Conservancy (that works through the main contractor, the elephant hunter). The subcontract consists of non-elephant parts of the hunting quota, such as kudu, duiker and so on. Initially, all the meat from kills by Cramer's hunting tourists went only to the workers, but later he started dividing it amongst other villages in the area. And workers come here from a variety of settlements in the area, and they are happy with their work. They enjoy it, receive food and a decent salary of N\$ 400 a month throughout the whole year (also outside the hunting season). Sometimes the people in Cramer's camp do traditional dancing for the hunting tourists, for which they receive an extra N\$ 600, depending on the price they themselves agree on with the tourists. When this happens, people from the nearby Makuri and Baraka settlements come over to join in. The workers feel free to talk to Cramer if there are any problems and he listens well and helps with the work, for example collecting wood by car. In addition, any tips go directly to the workers. An extra affordance that came with Ernst Cramer's hunting was his wife, Ina Cramer, who supported the women from the settlements around the hunting camp who sell crafts through the Hui-a Khoe Foundation, as described earlier in this chapter. In 2012 she stopped, as did Ernst Cramer with the trophy hunting (Ina Cramer, email, 28 March 2012), although some Ju/'hoansi were hoping he would take over the whole contract. Clearly, at Cramer's hunting camp the workers' agency is a lot bigger.

Discussion

The case study of the Ju/'hoansi highlighted how a group of Bushmen were able to continue to live in their own environment despite the pressures on land. However, their land area has decreased enormously and modernisation has changed the environment. The meaning of hunting and gathering has changed profoundly too under the influence of new relations. In fact, the tense relationship with Herero pastoralists and domination by whites (some of whom, in turn, blame the Herero of domination and see themselves as the protecting patriarchs of the Bushmen and nature) has characterised their history, resulting in a conservancy, which means a different set of rules and regulations favouring conservation, and thus tourism. These power relations are processes that continue today, with the Bushmen being considered the rightful owners of Nyae Nyae based on the genealogical model, but they have never been made the rightful owners. They are dwellers in Nyae Nyae who are allowed to use various resources. This approach cannot

be separated from the system of land tenure, in which the Herero, as pastoralists, are considered a threat *to* nature (and therefore to tourism) whereas Bushmen, as hunter-gatherers, are seen as the people *of* nature, belonging there as natural conservationists. In fact, the Bushman myth is very strong amongst the Ju/'hoansi due to their historical relations with filmmakers, anthropologists and the media. For this reason, I called them the Bushmen icons, although they were made icons in the West where they functioned as the prototype for what a real Bushman has been or should have been since the 1950s. What is unique to the Ju/'hoansi is their relatively homogeneous community and this has maintained the Bushman myth amongst them, since for outsiders it was easier to see them as authentic. So in this way, mythical ideas about what a Bushman is or should be, an important element from the superstructure, influences the infrastructure directly. Although these ideas originate from the superstructure, players at the level of structure have introduced them throughout history and many such ideas have taken root in the Ju/'hoansi environment. However, today some Ju/'hoansi want to broaden their livelihood options with cattle and crops or they have other demands for affordances from modernity but they are severely constrained in this due to the conservancy structure and their image of traditional conservationists in an environment of mythical nature. Interestingly, although the conservation and tourism movement tends to consider the Ju/'hoansi as the rightful owners of Nyae Nyae, there is also a tendency *not* to regard them as the rightful custodians of their environment since NGOs, the private sector, donors and the government do not consider them capable of being so. This, in fact, could be realistic to a certain extent because agency relates to capabilities and the capabilities needed in today's modern world differ substantially from those from when the Ju/'hoansi dwelt in their environment. This shows how the interests of the more powerful are not always compatible with those of the marginalised who have the right to dwell in Nyae Nyae but not on their own terms, and *only* if they adapt to the new rules and regulations as decided by institutions and market players at the level of structure (for example by tracking with modern devices, which maintains the image of authentic traditional conservationists but is separate from how and why they used to track). I therefore consider this Conservancy a clear example of an environment where dwelling has turned into lodging, and where modernisation has allowed them various modernities but still constrains them in various other ways, often beyond their control.

As an important part of the CBNRM strategy, tourism is being promoted as a tool for the development of the Ju/'hoansi, especially now that the private sector has stepped in to make up for the 'failure' of community-based tourism in the past. The focus on tourism as an enablement is John Marshall's nightmare, with the Ju/'hoansi potentially becoming plastic Stone Age relics. This nightmare is turning into partial reality since the Ju/'hoansi's commodified product as icons in tourism has become their authenticity, created mostly by western outsiders. However, Marshall's nightmare is not necessarily a nightmare for the Ju/'hoansi, since they themselves at times do not mind playing at being relics because they prefer some economic capital and can use their authentic image (symbolic capital) in tourism as a commodified product. (The clearest example is the living museum.) Community tourism initiatives in Nyae Nyae have existed for years (Djokwe and Makuri) and new ones are still appearing (//Xa/oba and Aha Hills), in

which this plastic Stone Age is a central element. In all the settlements I visited, people explained that they welcomed tourism and traditional culture, and they tended to see tourism as a panacea for economic capital. This way they embrace the iconic myth but most of these traditions have gained a new meaning in today's modern environment, as can be seen in tracking, hunting, crafts or at the living museum in //Xa/oba. These new meanings are often based on rational (formalist) economic ideas aimed at maximising benefits. For example, people want toilets and showers at the community campsites in order to attract more tourists and thus income for the settlement (which can then be shared). Today, new meanings of affordances are often capitalist and in line with the formalist economic approach. This does not mean that there are no values left, such as sharing. Ju/'hoansi can still share in a settlement, but they now want more to share so that they all have more. In their view, they no longer 'desire little', as in the original affluent society, but they want more material indigenous modernities such as income from tourists, money in general, alcohol, cars and so on, all coming with other immaterial indigenous modernities such as new types of prestige, good working conditions and power in a hierarchical structure. So their wishes and values are also strongly influenced by ideas at the level of superstructure. The rational maximisation of profit is now considered better for the group, but sharing with the whole Conservancy tends to create frustration (for example, with film-making fees or the distribution of meat after trophy hunting) and differentiation between those who do and those who do not benefit from any profits. It is interesting to note that outsiders such as NGOs, consultants, donors and tourists all seem to share the double vision in which they play a big role in applying western capitalist values and democratic structures but sometimes condemn the Bushmen once they start using comparable material and immaterial indigenous modernities (such as money, cars, individualistic or capitalist values) in their own way, which makes them no longer 'authentic'. Various non-Bushmen tend to treat them as if they are *not* a part of modernity, as shown by ideas that Bushmen today 'want a car' or 'cannot handle money'. However, cars, cell phones, money, democracy and the like are what is frequently considered development, and these are important material and immaterial elements in their environment today.

The Ju/'hoansi in the community projects of Djokwe, Makuri and Aha Hills tend to see themselves as being dependent on NGOs such as the NNDFN or NACOBTA (or other outsiders) and have created a waiting attitude, in which they view their own agency, rightly, as very limited. Looking at their capabilities in the environment where they dwell, this limitation is understandable and their waiting attitude is therefore logical. Any training courses given earlier at community campsites were only short and they have not created any lasting effect. It is therefore questionable whether these projects ever had a serious chance. Although often criticised, this waiting attitude and dependency make sense to a degree from a local point of view because people realise that the NNDFN and the government (especially the MET) with donors such as WWF and consultants in the background do take the most important decisions that are influencing their environment today, and this mostly happens through the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. Their dependency is then created in the structure of a conservancy, which limits their agency and day-to-day activities in the infrastructure. While these outsiders consider

Nyae Nyae as ‘one community’ (that is relatively homogeneous), the smaller settlements of Ju/’hoansi are more focused on their direct environment. All 36 settlements have their own different interests and levels of agency. For some, tourism is important but for others it is absent. So whereas the conservancy structure enables various tourism developments as ideas created at the level of structure, it constrains others, such as agriculture or private entrepreneurialism and it creates large bureaucratic and hierarchical structures that most marginalised Ju/’hoansi tend to ignore because they do not feel they have the agency to handle them. To consider the conservancy structure in Nyae Nyae, community representation is thus idealistic, and not realistic. Today the Ju/’hoansi’s agency, although relatively advanced for a Bushman group, is limited within this structure.

Direct relationships at the level of infrastructure, for example with the Tsumkwe Country Lodge or the trophy hunters, show how these relations matter most for people at a daily level. Here too, power relations are evident. The controversial takeover of Tsumkwe Lodge by Namibia Country Lodges highlights how the private sector is not necessarily the saviour it is often considered to be. Just as an economic trickle-down effect, I argue that an ‘education trickle-down effect’ is not an automatism, as is often assumed in discussions amongst government officials, the private sector, donors and NGOs. In the end, learning means that one should actively engage in the environment, at the level of infrastructure, where the learning takes place. In fact, after the takeover by Namibia Country Lodges, Ju/’hoansi were in fact *disempowered*, which is all the more ironic when one realises that there were well-trained, qualified staff already working there. The similarity between the previous owner Oosthuysen, who left for Nhoma, and the new manager shows that in both cases a *baas* has the ultimate power to decide what is good for the people. People’s agency is consequently used to see if these are affordances that are meaningful to them, in which case they join the *baas* and establish a relationship with him, to dwell and learn together with him, or they consider the affordances of the *baas* to be meaningless or negative, in which case they turn away and look for better affordances in their environment. This is again a rational economic approach to gain benefits that is clearly embedded in cultural economics because it is the social relationship that decides how Bushmen will use their limited agency and how they will respond to it. In line with this, I could not have thought up a better example of the strong opposing views on trophy hunters where relationships are characterised by *baasskap*. In the case of the elephant hunter, fear dominates the relationship, and this limits the Ju/’hoansi’s agency to the level of doing the job *only* because they have hardly any other options in their environment, which makes working for the elephant hunter nothing but a survival strategy, and those who could leave did so. This also shows how the conservancy structure is dependent on finances, which creates different interests for stakeholders at the level of infrastructure compared to those at the level of structure. With the sub-contractor, Cramer, the Ju/’hoansi workers’ agency is greater and fear is absent, which demonstrates that a certain level of empowerment *is* possible in a *baasskap* relationship, in the sense that the Bushmen’s agency can be increased in various ways depending on the relationship. Still, the essence of *baasskap* is static and is a hierarchical patron-client relationship. And although I agree with Wendy Viall of the

NNDFN who said that it is hard to criticise a manager, one should be aware that these are key positions now that the private sector is strongly involved in development. In addition, one can wonder what the expertise of the new *baas* is on development or empowerment and whether the idea of 'trickle-down education' truly works.

Tourism after the war: Khwe Dwelling inside Bwabwata

Welcome to West Cap: Suspicions and support

It was four years ago when I last visited West Caprivi or West Cap, when driving to Bwabwata. I phoned Friedrich Alpers of the Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC), whose number I got from WWF Namibia. He asked me if my research permit was in order because the Intelligence Services of Namibia would check anything and anybody staying in the area for any length of time, especially white people. I was a bit nervous because my permit was not in order then. Alpers and I met soon after my arrival at N//goabaca campsite and he explained more about West Caprivi's past and the tensions between ethnic groups and the politics behind them. I did not realise that the situation was still this tense. We decided it would be best if he informed the Intelligence Services and traditional authorities to explain who I was, why I was there and which car I was driving. The next day I joined Alpers at the board meeting of the Kyaramacan Association, the biggest local CBO, where I presented my research in a short introductory talk to them and some government officials from the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET). Alpers's attitude to such tensions is to create openness where there is (potential) suspicion (although I must say he recommended that I try not to be too specific about my focus on the Khwe as this might be too sensitive). I never had any trouble during my stay in Bwabwata and still greatly appreciate Alpers's efforts to introduce me in Bwabwata. I had originally hoped for some informational support from an NGO but I did not really expect the active support I received in Bwabwata. Then again, I did not expect to be checked out by the Intelligence Services and for them to be so suspicious. Welcome to Caprivi ...

Introduction: Khwe dwelling in a suspicious environment

Why Bwabwata?

While the Ju/'hoansi were Bushmen icons, this was not at all the case for the Khwe. They are not that well-known and, as they have mixed with other groups, they do not look much like typical Bushmen. More than any other group in this thesis, they had a violent history and traces of this can still be seen today. And feelings and suspicions from those days influence all types of development, including tourism, because one of the pioneering NGOs of CBNRM is active in Bwabwata, namely the IRDNC, and there are plans to start tourism as part of the CBNRM programme. Some projects are already up and running.

The most unique aspect here is probably that the Khwe live inside a national park, which is not very common. In many ways, this offers opportunities and projects similar to those we saw for the Ju/'hoansi in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. And many of these initiatives have been instigated by the LIFE project and the same donors. Although the programme in Nyae Nyae, with all its ups and downs, was relatively stable for many years, there is more chaos in Bwabwata and more distrust of and pressure on the Khwe. The history of Bwabwata National Park is dominated by conflict over the land and resources. Since the 1950s the Khwe in West Caprivi – the area that is nowadays Bwabwata – have been struggling for ownership of the land because other groups were trying, and sometimes succeeding, to migrate into Khwe territory and to occupy the land. Although the focus of this chapter is on the Khwe, who are the largest group of Bushmen in Bwabwata, there is another Bushmen minority group living in the area, namely the Vasekele !Xun. Reference will be made to the latter and incorporated in the story of the Khwe.

Early Khwe relations developing in a violent environment

The Khwe used to inhabit an area that today covers four different countries: Angola, Zambia, Namibia and Botswana (Suzman 2001b: 6). Bwabwata is at the centre of this area. Life in West Caprivi prior to independence is not as well documented as that of some of the other Bushmen groups for two reasons. First, they did not fit the stereotypical image of pure and foraging Bushmen and, second, West Caprivi is geographically remote and has been kept isolated for military purposes (Boden 2009: 29). From the early twentieth century onwards, West Caprivi and its surroundings were a region of shifting relationships and struggles between pre-colonial and colonial states and the people living there. Numerous migrations and displacements took place and the Khwe lived on the periphery of the realms of several Bantu groups. This contact extended back over several centuries, which means they are not recently acculturated but have an older, more hybrid culture. Some of them were clients, servants or slaves (J. Taylor 2008: 318; 2009: 418). A census carried out in 1996 counted a total of 6000 Khwe spread over the four above-mentioned countries, of which about 3000 to 4000 were living in West Caprivi, while another 1000 lived in South Africa (Robins *et al.* 2001: 61; Suzman 2001a: xviii). In total around 5500 people living in Bwabwata, most of them Khwe (around 4000), Vasekele !Xun (around 300) and some Mbukushu, the latter

living mainly on the western side of the park. There are about ten villages, mostly based on former army camps, and there are also some smaller settlements spread across the park (Suzman 2001a: 54).

Hunting and gathering was always one of the major economic activities of the Khwe (Orth 2003: 137) but they shifted between a variety of economic activities, including agriculture. In pre-colonial times they practised agriculture in addition to hunting and gathering and traded with various neighbouring groups (*Ibid.*: 134). According to Diemer (1996: 19-20), it was the Mbukushu who taught the Khwe agriculture but Orth (2003: 142) claimed that they learned it from their (grand)parents, which emphasises their economic independence. What is clear though is that the Khwe and Mbukushu have been involved in a symbiotic relationship for a long time. Khwe elders remember helping in the fields when they were young as well as hunting and gathering. Economic dependency took the form of enslavement¹ or a patron-client relationship between the Khwe and Mbukushu in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century (Boden 2003: 182). Such interactions were marked by hostility but there are also numerous examples of inter-marriage and trade in the twentieth century and of Khwe labour for Mbukushu agriculturalists (Orth 2003: 125). And today many of the Khwe have Mbukushu names. The Mbukushu are a Bantu people who expanded into the area in the late 1800s but many left in the 1940s because of the spread of the tsetse fly (Hitchcock & Murphree 1998: 168). In addition, colonial policies to protect white-owned livestock were not favourable to the Mbukushu in West Caprivi. The Khwe escaped displacement because they did not own cattle and were less visible due to their more mobile livelihoods (J. Taylor 2009: 424-425).

Under German colonial rule, the Caprivi Strip remained a mainly 'untouched' area (LAC 2006: 5) but the boundaries were an important legacy left by the Germans (Boden 2009: 33). Later the South Africans were planning to create a homeland for the Khwe east of the Kavango River but at the request of the Department of Nature Conservation, the South West African administration announced that the entire area between the Kavango and the Kwando rivers would be the West Caprivi Nature Park in 1963, changing it to the Caprivi Game Park in 1968. A likely reason for declaring West Caprivi a nature conservation area was not to protect its natural resources but to control population movements along the Angolan border because of independence movements in Zambia and Botswana and the war of liberation in Angola. The Khwe had permission to reside in the new park but their options for hunting and gathering or practising agriculture were substantially limited (Boden 2009: 39-40; Brown & Jones 1994: 85; Orth 2003: 132). From the 1940s onwards, foreigners and whites became significant actors and symbols in Khwe-Mbukushu relationships, mainly because of their role as protectors of the Khwe and as promoters of the differential treatment of the two groups, in which the South African administration repeatedly undermined Mbukushu political authority. This was important in the shaping of Mbukushu and Khwe identities (J. Taylor 2009: 430-431).

¹ When relationships developed in the context of incorporation and subordination between the Khwe and Mbukushu, these were complex. 'Slavery' is often used but oversimplifies the relationship (J. Taylor 2009: 421-422).

Most Mbukushu were resettled from the West Caprivi Game Reserve to the Kavango homeland in 1979 (Brown & Jones 1994: 85-86). The South Africans were creating a military zone in West Caprivi in the 1970s and the Mbukushu favoured the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), South Africa's opposition. The South African Defence Force (SADF) built Camp Alpha, which was later renamed Omega, in 1973 and their arrival in the area must have been seen as salvation by the poverty-stricken community of the Khwe. The SADF started recruitment campaigns for trackers in the bush and Bushmen had little choice but to join since they would be sent back if they refused to enlist in the army. In the second half of the 1970s the military presence expanded tremendously, which had a huge impact on the Khwe's social and economic life (Boden 2009: 51-52; Orth 2003: 133). In many ways the South Africans gave the Bushmen, Khwe and Vasekele !Xun, a special position and the image was created that Bushmen were separate and distinct, physically as well as mentally, with animal-like instincts, which fits neatly with the stereotypical image of 'primitive people' (Battistoni & Taylor 2009: 119-120). The superhuman qualities of Bushmen were grounded in animality instead of humanity and South African soldiers were proud of what they had done for these "last representatives of the stone-age" (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 2). To the outside world, South African army officers would state how they had uplifted the Bushmen and had shown a paternalistic attitude whereas, for Bushmen soldiers, the army brought jobs and other benefits, such as a clinic and churches for communal support. Tracking was especially important and showed new power relations as the South Africans required the Bushmen to complete a tracking course with a test in which the fundamentals of tracking were taught (*Ibid.*: 189-196). The army, to the Bushmen, became an affordance in their environment and this disappeared in 1989. As West Caprivi was declared a military zone for so long, the game reserve was never really managed as a conservation area until the army left. After the war, SWAPO, the ruling party of the new government after independence, contributed to a stigmatised identity for the Khwe in the 1990s and the early 2000s, based on their history of collaboration with the South African army (Battistoni & Taylor 2009: 114). Overall, the Khwe and Vasekele !Xun of Bwabwata believe that the current government still blames them for past cooperation but many believe that the new President, Hifikepunye Pohamba, has fewer of the old sentiments compared to his predecessor, President Sam Nujoma, and is more interested in supporting development in the area.

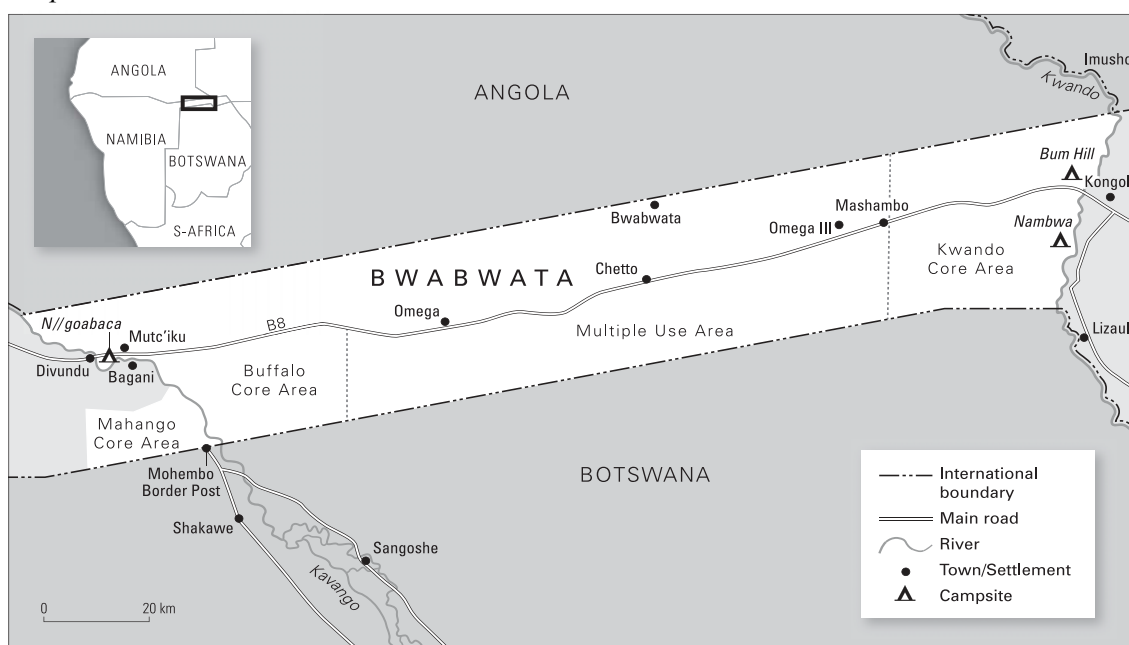
As Suzman (2001: 16) said, "(t)ourists do not go to places where they fear they might tread on a landmine or be shot". It is therefore disappointing that long after the SADF left, the Khwe in Bwabwata saw two more conflicts between 1998 and 2002, while some early tourism developments and plans had already started. First, following an attack on Katima Mulilo (East Caprivi) in 1999, close to 1000 Khwe fled to a refugee camp in Botswana because of harassment and intimidation by members of the Namibian army who stayed in the area after the attack. The majority of the Khwe appear to have played no part in the secession and the attempt was mainly supported by Mafwe people from East Caprivi. Second, at the end of 1999, the struggle in Angola was partly fought on Namibian soil, with the permission of the Namibian government, and the Kavango and West Caprivi region became dangerous due to banditry by Angolan troops (Bat-

tisoni & Taylor 2009: 124-126; Boden 2003). In January 2000, three French youth were killed on the B8 about 15 km west of Omega, which led to a steady decline in tourism in the Kavango and Caprivi regions. As a result, foreign governments advised against travel to these areas. To rescue Namibia's tourism industry as a whole, travel to the northeast was specifically discouraged. Tourism in the area only started to recover at the end of 2001 (Boden 2003: 178) and even today there are deep fears in the community and a serious distrust of the Namibian government. There is a myth in Namibia that the Khwe are enemies of the state and this has resulted in their exclusion from development and resources. The Khwe believe they are being denied an equal position in society (*Ibid.*: 195-196).

Dwelling in a national park

Bwabwata is 6100 km² and rainfall is very high in this area by Namibian standards, with 550-600 mm per year (MET, n.d.-a). The park encompasses the western part of the Caprivi Strip and is 180 km long and 32 km wide, bordering Angola and Botswana and the Kavango and Kwando rivers. The park provides a niche market away from the mass tourism of Etosha and the Chobe National Park in Botswana. It has a lot to offer and is comparable to the Okavango Delta in Botswana. The government is thus keen to develop the area's tourism as it is a perfect stop en route between African tourist highlights such as Etosha, the Okavango Delta in Botswana and the Victoria Falls in Zambia/Zimbabwe.

Map 4.1 Bwabwata National Park



Based on: Massyn *et al.* (2009: 71), reproduced with permission.

The whole park falls under the responsibility of the MET but because of the presence of people there, other ministries also have responsibilities and there are clinics, schools, fields, housing and a prison. Responsibility for these fall under the various ministries. The MET is seen by the local people as only focusing on conservation, and as being slow and too easily dominated by other ministries. The Caprivi Strip has experienced frequent changes in administrative responsibilities and the last, in 1998, led to Bwabwata being administratively divided west of Chetto. The western part of the park now falls within Kavango Region and the eastern part is in the Caprivi Region. The Khwe have interpreted this as government action to split their community and it has caused confusion about administrative matters, with people being sent backwards and forwards between offices in the regional capitals of Rundu (Kavango) and Katima Mulilo (Caprivi) (Boden 2003: 165-166), which are more than 500 km apart. Clearly, the relation with the government until today is tensed and there is a lot of distrust both ways. As an affordance, the Namibian government is more than anything, unreliable for the Khwe, although it differs per ministry. Of these ministries the Khwe have the strongest relation with the MET and this will get more attention throughout this chapter.

After independence and later after the conflicts in 2000, a lot of weapons were left behind and traded for cheap prices, which led to an increase in poaching. The IRDNC started looking for opportunities to “change people’s attitudes towards wildlife” (Karine Nuulimba, Interview 17) because it was considered impossible to catch all the poachers. The wildlife in Caprivi Game Park belonged to the state, which changed with the conservancy legislation in Namibia in the mid-1990s when the WWF favoured a conservancy in this area. They believed that Mbukushu people moved into the area because of these plans and their relatively densely populated area west of the Kavango River was expanded. However, the WWF thought a conservation area was an unlikely scenario (WWF 1997) and with funding from WWF-US, USAID and the MET, IRDNC started to implement CBNRM in West Caprivi in 1992. When the conservancy application for West Caprivi was prepared in 1996, with the support of IRDNC, the process was terminated by the government. A letter from MET to the informal Chief Kipi George in December 1996 explained that the legislation for communal area conservancies expressly excluded proclaimed game parks or nature reserves as part of a conservancy (Boden 2003: 183; Rousset 2003: 6-14). So even though Bwabwata never became a conservancy, Brown & Jones (1994: 84-95) recommended a CBNRM project for West Caprivi in 1994 and many of today’s projects in Bwabwata can be traced back to this time, including trophy-hunting, community campsites, the community game guards and other tourist developments. When the MET released a plan to change the status of the Caprivi Game Park into Bwabwata National Park in 1999, this was done to improve the management and nature conservation in the area and to allow the communities to benefit equally from wildlife and tourism. To represent the community in Bwabwata, it was decided that the best option was to establish a residents’ association, which evolved into the Kyaramacan Association (or KA, as most people call it now). In those days, people were still afraid to meet government officials and most people were unable to speak to the officials anyway because they hardly spoke any English. They often felt belittled by them and the IRDNC wanted to start building up confidence through Kyaramacan. The

IRDNC believed that the match between the Khwe and a CBNRM programme was outstanding. Whereas in other communities where the IRDNC worked, such as East Caprivi, people wanted to start a conservancy because of the benefits and the Khwe wanted a conservancy to protect the animals and resources. In line with this, most Khwe favour CBNRM activities as they see them as relating to the Khwe's traditional culture. For example, Joel Boyongo explained that "(w)e are rich. I am not talking about shops and houses and so, but we are rich in our culture ... This monitoring (of wildlife) is not from today, no! It's from our forefathers" (Interview 11). Again it is tempting to see the Bushmen as the natural conservationists here, based on the romantic image of the Bushmen being a part of nature, but I doubt this for two reasons. First, CBNRM originally started here as an anti-poaching strategy. Why would this be necessary if the Khwe were protectors of animals? Second, many people in Bwabwata told me they would still like to hunt if they would be permitted. This idea of hunter-gatherers as natural conservationists carries the risk of looking at hunter-gatherer people as the people of nature and as natural conservationists of the global environment, instead of custodians dwelling in their changing environment. Interestingly, various Bushmen today see *themselves* as the natural conservationists, which is an adapted Romantic idea originating in the West and they did not see the world as a dichotomy of nature and culture. However, in their perception it makes sense to build on this idea, because it opens doors in the conservation movement that is a dominant power in their environment today. In that way, the idea is an affordance to the Bushmen that can be used to their benefit. What I do not doubt is that the Khwe have a strong relationship with the local wildlife, including the big mammals. For example, when I told Joel Mbambo that I had seen a large elephant bull on the B8, he immediately knew which animal I meant, and even started to describe its life history. Wildlife is a part of the Khwe's environment and they have built up relationships with these animals. But as in any relationship this is also an affordance that they use rationally to maximise benefits, as in formalist economics. We should not therefore see the Khwe as natural conservationists based on the bigger idea of saving the global environment and the big mammals.

In 2007 the Cabinet approved recommendations to establish the Bwabwata National Park and provisions were made in the new plans for communities living adjacent to Bwabwata to develop tourism within its boundaries. Some of the communities east of the Kwando River managed to establish conservancies, while the Khwe were still waiting for deproclamation of parts of the park. East of Bwabwata, the Kwando and Mayuni conservancies were registered in December 1999 and the Mayuni Conservancy was given permission by the MET to develop a community campsite, Nambwa, in the Kwando Core Area inside Bwabwata. This left the Khwe feeling outmanoeuvred. According to them, there is a strong bond between themselves and the local wildlife and losing access to wildlife by fencing and the lack of legal rights to establish a conservancy within the park were seen as discriminatory. Even though possibilities were kept open for certain activities, such as trophy hunting, they will now only be able to get benefits via the MET (Boden 2003: 183-185). This shows the dominant position of the MET in relation to the Khwe. Today the Khwe – and to a certain degree the Kyaramacan Association too – feel cut off from the government's top-down decision-making processes

and the Khwe have at best become passive participants in development projects (Hewitson 2010: 105-107). Due to various inconsistent and confusing laws by Namibia's government, there was never any legislation to deprive the Khwe of their land title (LAC 2006: 48). As people live in the park and because of the CBNRM activities, Bwabwata resembles the Namibian conservancy model. According to the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) "(t)he problem is that the 'planning' has not included the Khwe as the traditional owners of the land within the park" (*Ibid.*: 12). Indeed, the rules and regulations that come with a national park have essentially changed the Khwe's options in life concerning the development of their environment. All the laws are enabling in some ways but constraining in others. Joel Mbambo, who did not benefit from the CBNRM programme, explained how these laws are part of his environment today and are therefore part of him. However these laws have had the effect of detaching him from his environment as well.

I want to go collect fruits ... We don't know how to farm, we don't have cattle. Our tradition is bush, but the law (now) works with the bush ... and this is very difficult, to go in the bush without the law because the law is there in the bush and me ... I agree that the law says the fruits are there in the top, and the tree is big. And I want the fruits. But the law says you cannot cut down that tree ... I know the law but the hunger it will do me that I can cut. Because of that then I cannot leave it to go I just sit in the home if I die I die if I suffer I can suffer, because of the law. (Interview 10)

Today, most of the Khwe embrace hunting and gathering as well as agriculture but they are restricted in their activities and demotivated because of various laws, inequalities and the destruction of their crops by wildlife. For example, people in some villages are allowed to keep cattle whereas in others they are not, which is seen as a great injustice. In addition, hunting is almost completely forbidden, with the exception of springhare, but when big game destroys people's crops their requests for compensation from the MET fall on deaf ears (ACHPR 2008: 76-87; Rousset 2003: 41-46). Most people consider compensation to be a slow and uncertain process. Conservation initiatives have created a protected status for many such animals but elephants, buffalo and hippopotami, are causing problems. Between 1994 and 2010 the elephant population in Bwabwata rose from 3500 to around 8000 (Hewitson 2010: 63). While most community members appreciate the decrease in poaching, they also believe that the conservation policy blocks other developments. Concerns amongst local people because of rising wildlife numbers, especially elephants, are numerous. People play drums, burn grass, use torches and 'chilli bombs' or bang pots and pans in the middle of the night to scare them away. This is dangerous and has even led to some deaths. If they do not try to scare the animals away, their season's harvest will be eaten and hunger will be the result. Today, the Khwe favour tourism developments (cf. Hewitson 2010: 90-93) although only a few have so far actually benefited from tourism enterprises in or outside Bwabwata. From their marginalised position, they seem to embrace any development idea with ease.

Kyaramacan for the Khwe?

The IRDNC, an NGO working in Caprivi since the early 1990s, was instigated by the WWF that has always also been a key funder in the area (Butcher 2007: 147). The people of Bwabwata are represented in the Kyaramacan Association, a CBO and a legal body that was recognised by the government and registered in 2006. Kyaramacan

operates with the MET inside Bwabwata (KA 2009). In a MET magazine, *Sandpaper* (2008: 10), Kyaramacan was described as being multi-ethnic with the aim to

encourage the social and economic upliftment of its members, derive benefits from the sustainable management and consumptive and non-consumptive use, of natural resources in the area, and to enable its members to gain rights to develop tourism and related enterprises in the West Caprivi.

They employ more than 50 people, of whom 43 are ecological monitors.² Interestingly, people working for Kyaramacan, the IRDNC and the WWF made it clear that the Kyaramacan does not just represent the Khwe (or the Bushmen if you include the Vasekele !Xun) in Bwabwata but also the other people living in the park. Although formally Kyaramacan is an organisation representing the whole community in the park, including Mbukushu, and does not represent a specific ethnic group, it is informally considered a Khwe organisation that protects Khwe interests. For example, David Singhoni from Mutc'iku, when asked if Kyaramacan was a Khwe organisation, said that "(i)t's a Khwe organisation" (Interview 40). And Alpers of the IRDNC also suggested this in two slips of the tongue:

(T)o me the fact that this government, the honourable Minister of Environment and Tourism has signed a head concession contract with Kyaramacan a few months ago, is the biggest endorsement of this Namibian government, of recognising Kyaramacan *as the Khwe, no, not the Khwe, as a people's association, representing all the people inside Bwabwata*. That means there is a contract between *the Khwe, no, not the Khwe*, I correct myself again, between Kyaramacan and the government. (Interview 46, my emphasis)

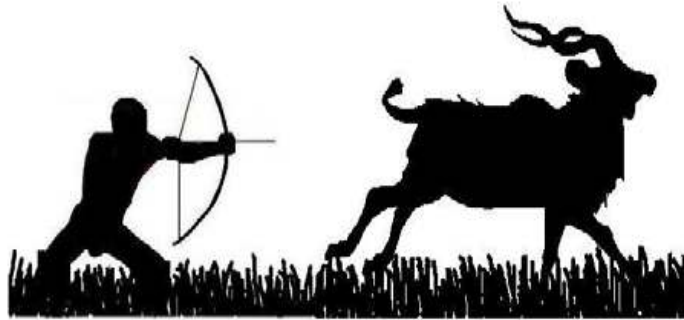
Kyaramacan is part of Khwe identity, which is a dissociated identity from their neighbouring groups and from the government (Orth, 2003). From the Khwe's perception, it shows how their 'Bushmaness', as an important part of their identity, is an affordance in their environment, so in fact they are their own affordance, or else their image amongst other people is their affordance. In the end, it helps to be Khwe to receive benefits from CBNRM programmes, in which they are often seen as natural conservationists, whereas their neighbouring Mbukushu for example are clearly not; they are seen as the ones who do not dwell in nature but in agriculture, which is considered a threat to nature. In addition, the Bushman image is much valued in tourism and, as will be seen, CBNRM in Bwabwata mainly consists of tourist projects. Working with this Bushman image or not highlights the double vision of NGOs. For example, the IRDNC helped to apply for a conservancy, while WIMSA applied for recognition of the Khwe leadership. This is one area in which people were advised to work together with other people, such as the Mbukushu (for a conservancy) and stresses their exclusive rights to reside in West Caprivi and their distinctiveness as a cultural group (for recognition of their leadership) (Boden 2003: 168-169). To obtain stability and security in today's independent Namibia, the Khwe are using their identity in this continually changing en-

² As an important part of the CBNRM, an initiative to train 'community game guards' was started. Twenty-seven men are community game guards and all are Khwe, comparable to the community rangers in Nyae Nyae. Their main task is to monitor poaching and report wildlife issues to the MET, such as elephant attacks on crops. Their female equivalents are 16 'plant monitors' or 'community resource monitors', who ensure the right use of plant species in Bwabwata. It is forbidden to collect those, either as bushfood or for other purposes, anywhere in the park. Special areas have been demarcated and one needs a permit to make sure that the harvesting of plants, such as the famous Devil's Claw, is done in a sustainable way.

vironment that is characterised by their “ambition to represent themselves as a cohesive and thus distinct ethnic group, to strengthen Khwe self-esteem and to claim legitimacy as an indigenous people in the national, regional and global discourse” (Orth 2003: 144).

Photo 4.1 The Kyaramacan Association’s logo

KYARAMACAN ASSOCIATION



Source: KA (2010b), reproduced with permission.

Alpers of the IRDNC explained how he was fired a few times by Kyaramacan in his first two years because he was sometimes “closing the sugar pot” (Interview 14). After money went missing, the Khwe did not want to confront each other, as Alpers explained, “(n)obody confronted him (the suspect), nobody, not even my colleagues. And it is a typical San thing ... let’s ignore it for five years and it will go away, it will go away” (Interview 14). This idea was confirmed by Karine Nuulimba, also of IRDNC, who explained that “people don’t like to confront ... Because there’s such a culture of avoiding confrontation that it leads to a culture where there is a lot of dodging the truth” (Interview 17). Kyaramacan and the IRDNC cooperate on a daily basis and people in Bwabwata respect their work but cannot always see the division between the organisations, especially those who are not involved or working for them. Joel Mbambo said that “(f)or them KA and IRDNC they know each other ... they are like one group” (Interview 23). Many of the active IRDNC employees in Bwabwata are Khwe, which makes the distinction less visible for the broader community. Within Kyaramacan there is sometimes a feeling of frustration that the IRDNC is too dominant and in the end makes too many of the decisions. Within the broader community of Bwabwata, many felt they did not benefit from CBNRM projects but that only people working for Kyaramacan and IRDNC do so. They often feel sidelined because “only ... members of Kyaramacan and members of IRDNC ... benefit” (Joel Mbambo, Interview 23), while “the management ... (t)hey’re not looking of how the whole community would develop” (Bothas Marinda, Interview 31). In many ways, the IRDNC acts as a protector of wildlife and the Khwe people, and while this is sometimes criticised, it is likely that without the IRDNC the Khwe would not be living in Bwabwata or would be even more dominated than they already are. The symbiotic relationship between Kyaramacan and IRDNC is a strong one and not always clear to everybody in the park. In fact, because

many of the IRDNC employees are Khwe today, although not leading the institution which is done by non-Khwe, this means that it is unlikely that IRDNC will pull out of Bwabwata at some point.

Who is the boss of Bwabwata?

People have come to live with the animals as opposed to the days when they were enemies ... The dream I had in the past has come true in the Bwabwata National Park. (Chief Mayuni in MET, n.d.-a)

This quote comes from Chief Mayuni, the winner of the Conservationist of the Decade Award, and is on the front page of a MET brochure for tourists about Bwabwata. Interestingly, Mayuni sees people and animals as enemies in history, something that cannot be said about hunter-gatherers who dwelt in a shared environment with wildlife, but who experience big troubles with large mammals at the moment because of the human-wildlife conflict, and therefore they can sometimes be seen as enemies *today*. In another MET leaflet promoting Bwabwata, another quote was used by the same chief (MET, n.d.-b). Chief Mayuni is from the Mafwe tribe who are mostly living outside Bwabwata in East Caprivi. It shows how the MET ignored the Khwe and other people living in the park in the marketing of this tourism product internationally. It is not clear why the MET chose a quote about Bwabwata by someone who is not living in the park. The brochure also describes the benefits of a people's park without making any reference to the Khwe (MET, n.d.-a). The fact that Chief Mayuni is an award-winning conservationist might have to do with the choice of how MET markets Bwabwata to tourists. Another reason could be that the Khwe have had trouble getting a chief recognised, so there was no Khwe chief to promote Bwabwata. In fact, the Namibian government has not accepted the fact that the Khwe have their own chief. Every ethnic group in Namibia has the right to its own traditional authority but the Khwe have been denied this right.

There is abundant oral evidence that the Khwe themselves had working institutions of leadership with so-called 'responsible owners of settlements'. They settled conflicts within the community, represented the community in conflicts with outsiders and granted access to land, water and other resources. A certain genealogical relationship with a predecessor, special personal qualities and a good reputation were the criteria for this (Boden 2003: 186). Two Khwe chiefs were appointed by the South African administration and the people of West Caprivi were asked to vote for an overall chief in 1989. Kipi George was elected but the people in the central area did not immediately accept him because George was not yet 25 years old, which meant that he was not accepted by many of the elders (Brown & Jones 1994: 48). George was not recognised by the government either so he never became an official traditional authority based on the argument that the Khwe had no history of chieftainship and that West Caprivi used to belong to the Mbukushu (Boden 2003: 185). Both arguments, although they were likely politically grounded, are true up to a degree, since the Khwe did not have chiefs as such, but there is no reason to deny their current need for a chief for political representation, since the environment has profoundly changed. The second argument that West Caprivi used to 'belong' to the Mbukushu is confirmed by Hitchcock & Murphree (1998: 168), in the sense that they have started to occupy lands there since the late 1800s but left because of

tsetse flies, while they were also displaced by the South Africans (J. Taylor 2009: 424-425). So these arguments do not make sense to deny the Khwe political leadership today, as was also done, for example, for the Ju/'hoansi. After George's death in 2000, Thadeus Chedau was chosen as an acting chief, and some people still see him as such. In May 2006 WIMSA assisted with democratic elections for the Khwe in order to choose their own chief (WIMSA 2007: 20). Of three candidates, the one who won, Lieb Kampa, pulled out for various reasons, which made the second candidate the winner. However, these elections were not recognised by the Namibian government and this candidate is therefore an 'unofficial' or 'unrecognised' chief. People from the eastern side of Bwabwata do not regard him as a leader and in the western parts of the park people have mixed feelings about this. On the one hand, the Khwe realise the importance of recognising a Khwe traditional authority, while on the other many do not trust this unofficial chief. There are mixed emotions about his leadership. When I wanted to interview him, he was only willing to talk if I paid N\$ 15,000 for this 'consultancy' because so many people asked his opinion without paying him. I was even shown a list with various consultancy rates. I decided against interviewing him. According to Nuulimba of the IRDNC, "very often the leaders that are selected by the people themselves are not the leaders that are necessarily the wisest" (Interview 17). Among the Khwe, there are three reasons given why the chief is still not recognised by the government. First, many Khwe think that the Mbukushu traditional authority has strong ties at a top political level, including direct contact with former President Sam Nujoma, and that he wants to dominate in Bwabwata. Second, the unrecognised Khwe chief has a brother who was involved in the crisis between 1998-2002 and the government is afraid that the brother will disrupt the currently stable situation (J. Taylor 2008). Third, the elections arranged by WIMSA seemed to be organised quickly and lacked support and clarity in the community and in the government.

The first point here about the Mbukushu chief needs some elaboration because it influences daily life in Bwabwata. This chief considers Bwabwata National Park part of his area and thus views the Khwe people as his subordinates. However I have not spoken to any Khwe who accepts him as his/her chief. Most believe that his motivation for trying to get Bwabwata is because of the lucrative hunting concessions. He lives outside Bwabwata, west of the Kavango River, and does not see the Kyaramacan Association as representing the people. Today he still has influence in the government in Windhoek and locally. Khwe people complained that the regional councillor in Divundu works together with him and throws away Khwe papers with requests for the government in Windhoek. This situation, in combination with the long history between the tribes, has led to a negative view of Khwe people on the Mbukushu. Overall, Mbukushu were described as people who have come to take a lot of land for farming, ploughing and grazing and to dominate the Khwe. The relationship between the two groups is tense. Today WIMSA and the LAC are still working on recognition for a Khwe traditional authority and the community at Omega 1 was notified in 2011 that their houses would be taken over by the police, a threat that was supposedly spearheaded by the Mbukushu chief. According to Tienie Mushavanga of Kyaramacan, the Khwe were told that those who did not follow orders would be removed by force, while a police ser-

geant said it was only a request. Legal experts believe this could be a tactic to intimidate the community and force them off the land (J. Smith 2011).

Tourism dwellings and affordances in Bwabwata

Caprivi: A golden minefield

On the eastern side of the Kwando River there is the small settlement of Kongola where there are numerous lodges and campsites, and there is Mashi Crafts in Kongola. The population in the area is mainly Mafwe, with a few Mbukushu. In East Caprivi there are various national parks and conservancies: Mamili (or Nkasa Lupala) National Park and Mudumu National Park (MET, n.d.-c). There are four conservancies; Kwando, Mayuni, Mashi and Sobbe (NNF 2009). Some lodge operators explained that they are experiencing an aggressive approach and tribal tensions in Caprivi. The big safari company, Wilderness Safaris, owns three lodges in East Caprivi where they have experienced difficulties because their management does not always understand local community dynamics. They see a big role for traditional authorities in conservation and tourism but they can create problems because they have so much power. Apparently many government officials are afraid of the traditional authorities and the area's violent history still makes it vulnerable. Caprivi was simultaneously described by tourism operators as being a 'gold mine' and a 'minefield waiting to be stepped on'. 'Gold mine' was mentioned with regard to the area's natural beauty and 'minefield' referred to the political and social instability of the region. Both descriptions are valid, which makes the Caprivi a 'golden minefield'. IRDNC and Kyaramacan are attracting potential new developers to the inner areas of Bwabwata because of its high tourism potential and the benefits to the community. They were advised to do this by the Caprivi Parks Consultants (Massyn *et al.* 2009), whose advice they are said to follow.

The whole traditional authority situation shows a dominance by other tribes of the Khwe. This is also evident in the case of two community-based campsites in the eastern part of Bwabwata in the Kwando Core Area. The first, Bum Hill, is situated just north of the B8 and the second, Nambwa, is about 14 km south of the same road. Bum Hill is operated by the Kwando Conservancy and the Mayuni Conservancy owns Nambwa. Both are made up of Mafwe and Mbukushu (NNF 2009) and there are no Khwe involved in these campsites. In 1991 Chief Mamili of the Mafwe agreed to discourage his people from settling in what was then called the Kwando Triangle if the region became a focus for tourism development. There were then only two Bushmen families living in the Triangle and the idea was that people living across the Kwando River would be able to benefit from the Triangle, which was previously used for poaching ivory and meat. By establishing tourist facilities in the area, such as exclusive lodges, hut accommodation and campsites, the number of people settling there would be limited and the wildlife would be protected (Brown & Jones 1994: 175-184). A 1999 cabinet recommendation opened the way for community-based tourism in Bwabwata, Mudumu and Mamili national parks, which resulted in Bum Hill and Nambwa being allocated to the Kwando and Mayuni Conservancies respectively (Mayes 2008: 7).

Nambwa campsite is run by a Mafwe community (and a few Mbukushu) from Choi on the east side of the Kwando River. The elders of the Mafwe tribe, the chiefs (including Chief Mayuni), requested the place from the government and it was built in 2003. The IRDNC supports Nambwa and Bum Hill, they organise training courses for the locals and help with bookings. In the past, NACOBTA did most of the bookings for both campsites but numbers have decreased and this task was taken over by the Caprivi Promotional Project. Attractions in the area include game drives through the Kwando Core Area (the Horseshoe at Nambwa is a particularly popular drive) and sometimes the staff from the campsites take people on nature walks, explaining the traditional medicines and the natural surroundings. A few safari companies come to visit regularly and lodge owners from the eastern side of the Kwando River visit the Kwando Core Area for game drives. Although very beautiful, Bum Hill campsite is closer to the B8 and thus not as peaceful as Nambwa. Bum Hill has treedecks, some of them looking out over the Kwando River.³ Some Khwe do not understand that both campsites are within Bwabwata, while the communities that own the campsites have their own conservancies on the other side of the Kwando River. They accuse politicians of favouritism. A reason given for choosing to position the campsites within Bwabwata is that the wildlife is plentiful there and the Mafwe people on the east side of the Kwando experience damage to their crops by wildlife. They were given this land so that they also gain benefits from the wildlife in Bwabwata. Altogether, the Khwe feel, and indeed are, excluded from any non-consumptive tourism developments in the eastern parts of Bwabwata or at the eastern banks of the Kwando River, a beautiful part of the Caprivi gold mine, where other people who are politically more powerful have established businesses already long ago. The government has sidelined the Khwe community in a phase when the newly acquired capital after independence was divided because they do not recognise the Khwe as a distinct ethnic group. Therefore, they never really got a serious chance to compete and therefore as affordances, the Bum Hill and Nambwa campsites symbolise the Khwe's political neglect and marginalisation, whereas for the communities at the other side of the Kwando River, the projects are economic capital.

Crafts, Mashi and Khwe baskets

Craft making in Bwabwata was developed as one of the pillars of the CBNRM programme, which started in 1995 under the IRDNC. The West Caprivi craft group called Gya Xai Khoeji was set up and all the resources used in craft making in West Caprivi can be found around Bwabwata village⁴ or are obtained from East Caprivi (Symonds 2010: 4-6). During the 1998-2002 crisis, the Khwe craft industry was seriously threatened because the area around Bwabwata village became a no-access zone under military control so the IRDNC provided transport to an area about 150 km away in East Caprivi to collect palm leaves to secure craft earnings (Boden 2003: 179).

³ When we started Treesleeper Camp (see Chapter 6) we went with the Tsintsabis Trust on a trip to this part of the Caprivi and the treedecks at Treesleeper were inspired by those at Bum Hill.

⁴ There is one village inside Bwabwata National Park called Bwabwata. For clarity, I call it 'Bwabwata village'.

The main crafts that people, especially women, make are baskets like those traditionally used for gathering bushfood, and some of the men do wood carvings. The baskets are made from palm leaves but these are in limited supply in Bwabwata and there are restrictions on gathering them for reasons of sustainability. Some master weavers teach craft makers how to make the baskets and it is important to connect with the (tourist) market and get the right materials. In the past, the IRDNC helped to transport craft makers to where the palm trees were and to take them with their baskets to Mashi Crafts in Kongola (the main selling point), but this assistance has stopped. At first, the IRDNC organised buying trips to the various villages in West Caprivi as this was considered the most effective way of getting the products to the market and later, baskets were taken by the people themselves using lifts from IRDNC staff (Symonds 2010: 4).

Photo 4.2 Typical Khwe baskets at Mashi Crafts, Kongola



Author's photo

As a result of transport difficulties, crafters in Bwabwata would prefer to have craft shops along the road in Mashambo, Chetto, Omega, Mutc'iku or Omega III depending on where they live, so that they do not have to spend money on transportation. In Chetto for example, there were plans to build a craft shop but these never materialised because Kyaramacan lacked income due to problems with trophy hunting (see further on in this chapter). In Mashambo, on the B8, there is also a small building, which was originally built as a craft shop. According to the IRDNC, there are still plans to start a craft shop there. Anna Kativa from Omega III explained that in the past she had tried to stop tourists to sell them baskets along the road but they never stopped. Joyce Sitapata, the IRDNC facilitator for Mashi Crafts, said that there were plans for a craft shop in Omega III but the money allocated for the project disappeared, although the building, built by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, is still there. It is unsuitable be-

cause it is neither dust nor weather proof, there are no storage facilities, it is not secure, there is no furniture and there are no display shelves (*Ibid.*: 12). In general, tourists do not visit the villages in the park as these are situated outside the tourist bubble. So a basic craft shop at the side of the road could be easier for tourists. This means that Khwe crafters need to introduce elements of the bubble into their environment if they want to benefit financially from the crafts by selling them to tourists. They want to maximise benefits from crafts that they consider economic capital.

A place where this bubble element is secure is Mashi Crafts, which is the main selling point for crafts from West and East Caprivi. A Mashi Crafts committee is responsible for this project and is made up of ten people from the conservancies in East Caprivi and from Bwabwata. In 2009 it sold crafts amounting to N\$ 216,224, of which only N\$ 15,703 were sales from West Caprivi (*Ibid.*: 8). This means that only about 7% of the total are local Bwabwata sales, which is far below East Caprivian sales. The Khwe from Bwabwata are not motivated to use Mashi for two reasons. First, the distance to Mashi is large and it costs them money to get there and, second, money in the past has disappeared when they sent their crafts with other people. In addition, all the products at Mashi Crafts undergo a quality check and there is always the risk that products will not be accepted. People in the eastern part of Bwabwata are obviously more positive about Mashi Crafts because it is geographically closer whereas people in the western part of the park rarely use the shop. The baskets are therefore mainly produced in the eastern half of Bwabwata, especially in Chetto, Omega III and Mashambo. The people in Omega and the Mutc'iku area were also given training opportunities but have shown little interest (*Ibid.*: 4). As an affordance crafts mean a lot more for the Khwe in the eastern half of the park as they do for those living in the western half. At certain times of the year there are no Khwe baskets available at Mashi Crafts because it is more profitable to harvest Devil's Claw from April to October. In addition, there are communication problems between the eastern villages in Bwabwata and Mashi Crafts due to a lack of public telephones and there is no cell-phone reception there (*Ibid.*: 11). Still, crafts are sold at good prices in souvenir shops in Windhoek and Swakopmund and in lodges for amounts a lot higher than can be realised locally. Mashi Crafts also distributes their arts and crafts to Windhoek for sale at bigger craft centres supporting local Fair Trade initiatives. Sitapata explained how it can be hard to communicate with the Khwe due to their different language and that the variety of crafts from Bwabwata is now limited to baskets, while the Khwe used to sell more items, such as bows and arrows in the past. Interestingly, the 'authentic' Bushman products are not sold anymore by the Khwe today, showing that in some cases they embrace this image (for example the Kyaramacan logo, see also the previous section) whereas in others they ignore it, depending on what the image can afford them or not.

East of Bwabwata, the Mafwe people have no problems with finding transport to Mashi Crafts and community resource managers in the adjacent conservancies go to the villages to collect craft items, and the various lodges east of the Kwando River buy crafts directly from local people. At Nunda Lodge, west of the Kavango River, a lot of wood carvings are bought from Zimbabweans, but no local crafts by the Khwe are sold. In the Khwe environment, Mashi is thus a little-used affordance, especially when com-

pared to its possibilities. The lodges, however, are not a real affordance for the Khwe although the conservancies east of the Kwando have established good contacts. West of the Kavango, the Mbukushu chief does not allow Khwe to work at the lodges on his land or to sell their crafts there. But most Khwe would be too afraid to do so in any case.

The crafts also show that the Khwe community in Bwabwata cannot simply be seen as one homogeneous community where all people share the same kind of interests in conservation and tourism. Although practically very limited, people in the east of Bwabwata engage in crafts and resources to produce them because it can create economic capital. To them, crafts are an enablement of the CBNRM programme but severely constrained by the problems with transport. However, Khwe in the western half of the park hardly engage in crafts, they look for other affordances. Just as in Nyae Nyae, we saw how most individual settlements within the park now want to try to capitalise on crafts since they would all see a shop at the roadside *near their own village* as an affordance for economic capital. So here we see internal competition within the Khwe community.

Hiyemacan //Au

Hiyemacan //Au is the name for a cultural group for tourists in Chetto led by Anton Dakomba and his family members. In the mid-1990s there were already positive views of tourism in and around Chetto, with people dreaming of a guest house, a craft centre, a museum and trophy hunting (Diemer 1996: 84-86). Trophy hunting has emerged as being of wider benefit to Bwabwata. Anton Dakomba is 32 years old and has always been interested in Khwe traditions and the history of war. Part of the reason is that, being physically handicapped, he was never employed in the South African army and so was in a position to learn about traditions at a time when most other young men were in the army. He was able to observe the war from a relatively safe position and one day had a dream in which he saw that he had to help his people develop themselves through cultural activities. Dakomba made his own leaflet giving his personal life story, a short history of the Khwe, some basic Khwedam words and some explanation about the musical instruments and traditional dances that can be seen by tourists (Dakomba, n.d.). The leaflet is meant to attract tourists to attend a dancing activity. A picture of Dakomba in his wheelchair, combined with his life story, reveal a local perspective on marketing, in which Dakomba's personal history is at the forefront. His life-history is an affordance to attract tourists. It explains how, as a four-year-old, he got polio and the South African army wanted to send him to Windhoek for treatment. However, suspicious family members thought that little Anton would be kidnapped or that his legs would be cut off and they 'saved' the boy by not letting him board the army plane and delivered him back to his parents. After he finished Grade Ten, he started working on his dream of developing Khwe youth and adults through cultural activities (*Ibid.*), which resulted in Hiyemacan //Au. Dakomba explained how he saw that Khwe traditions were not taught to the youth by the elders and to him this was important. Hunting is forbidden today and wildlife has become a competitor when it comes to finding bushfood.

Dakomba's story resulted in a film group trying to make a documentary about his life. Clearly in this documentary Anton's life plays a central role (Wicksteed 2010). The leaflet and the plan for the documentary show a focus on poverty, sadness and the days of the South African army, and Anton's story symbolises the broader Khwe story. Victimisation and his history and personal tragedy are used in a context that romanticises traditions and the past:

Today he lives in abject poverty in a wild and remote corner of Africa, yet his music has become a rallying cry for his people, and he has become something of an African pied piper, exhorting the Khwe youth to root themselves in their rich ancestral culture.

Through Anton's traditional songs we celebrate and explore the musical culture of the hunter-gatherer life way, while through Anton's original compositions we explore his people's tragic modern history and his own courageous struggle with life as a disabled person. (*Ibid.*)

Photo 4.3 Anton Dakomba watching a performance of his Hiyemacan //Au group



Author's photo

The Khwe of the Hiyemacan //Au have thus commodified a personal tragedy and linked this in a broader context to Khwe history. They do not only use the Bushman image as an affordance but have added a personal history.⁵ Hiyemacan //Au wants to attract tourists passing on the B8 and they are welcome to overnight there with their own tents. There is no fixed campsite with toilets and showers but Hiyemacan //Au is happy for tourists to pitch their tent in or near the village. The traditional dance by the Hiyemacan //Au is comparable to Bushmen dances elsewhere with an energetic group of about fifteen dancers, including men, women and children, who perform in traditional clothing. The women and girls sing and clap with the drums in the background while two or more men or women perform a lion dance or an eland dance in the middle.

⁵ As far as I know the documentary was never made in the end.

The group would like to do it in full traditional clothing but lack money to buy the necessary skins and are not allowed to get them from hunting.

The biggest problem for Hiyemacan //Au is that they receive hardly any tourists. Chetto is in the middle of the park and there is no accommodation nearby and no proper cell-phone reception. It is impossible for tourists to make a booking beforehand and the project thus relies on passers-by who see a small road sign. Dakomba goes to Divundu regularly to organise the project but most of the tourists passing Chetto are on their way to accommodation on the edge of or outside Bwabwata, which makes a longer stop difficult. They have requested support from Kyaramacan, WIMSA and the IRDNC but apparently these organisations have never supported them, much to the group's disappointment. They blame Kyaramacan, WIMSA and IRDNC of helping themselves and their families instead of the broader community. When I asked how these organisations could help them, they claimed they needed increased numbers of customers and help building a place where the group could perform their traditions for tourists. Clearly, the project is not only focused on cultural preservation, it is also an attempt to convert symbolic capital into economic capital via tourism and the assistance they ask is the market (tourists) and basic elements from the tourist bubble (the product is there already). IRDNC does not support Hiyemacan //Au because the project is mainly based on one family and therefore does not benefit the broader community. This shows again how the interests of smaller groups are not always compatible with those of the broader community and most NGOs tend to focus on the broader community. In line with this, corporate CBOs are set up with the same target group. Indeed, Joseph Mahingi, the chairman of Kyaramacan, would later say about Hiyemacan //Au that "(t)hose people they don't know what business is. They like getting money from the business and music for their own, while that thing is for the whole community" (Interview 48). This was confirmed by the IRDNC that claimed that they were there to support the community as a whole by assisting Kyaramacan and that Hiyemacan //Au is an initiative that was set up and run by a small group, mainly by one family, within the community. However, today such broad 'communities' are big and live spread out and this approach carries the risk of excluding important elements at the level of infrastructure for various groups within this community. The rules and regulations are created at the structure level, but important values (that could be seen as part of the traditional culture that such organisations try to 'preserve') such as entrepreneurialism to assist one's own family, can this way be overlooked, even when such projects are of good quality and carried by the people at their own initiative. In addition, such groups also dwell with a CBNRM programme in their environment with all its rules and regulations so if they do not join the corporate institutions, they dwell inside a national park without any support. This means that CBNRM for such a group limits their agency severely, and is more of a constraint than an enablement.

A living museum in Mutc'iku?

The Living Culture Foundation Namibia (LCFN) contacted Kyaramacan and a group of Khwe in Mutc'iku about setting up a living museum there. Around Mutc'iku, just as in other places in Bwabwata, traditional dances still happen and when the LCFN visited

the Khwe for the first time in 2009 with some Bushmen from Grashoek in the N/a Jaqna Conservancy, they explained their vision of cultural preservation by creating a living museum. Trevor Foster, the owner of Nunda Lodge on the west bank of the Kavango River, talked to Kyaramacan about helping to establish a museum for tourists from his and other lodges. He is keen on working with the people because

(w)e know these days the only way to protect anything environmentally in this type of instance, is to get people involved in it. The people who are living here ... so it's been more than a year of talking so far and hopefully it (living museum) will start getting somewhere in the near future. (Interview 27)

The 25-year-old David Singonhi from Mutc'iku wanted to hear more about the concept and was invited to manage the living museum in Mutc'iku. In May 2010 he explained that a group of actors was chosen and some youngsters walked through the bush with elders to learn about the different purposes of trees and plants. Singonhi was busy organising the necessary materials for the project and getting more young people involved but some people in Bwabwata were starting to see each other's projects as competition. About Hiyemacan //Au, Singonhi said that "(a)ccording to how we had spoken and how we had negotiated or put in the policy with Kyaramacan and IRDNC, in this area should be *only one* living museum, *which is only approved by them*" (Interview 40, my emphasis). Interestingly, Singonhi considers Kyaramacan and IRDNC the ultimate powers to decide on tourism projects, which makes sense because in reality that reflects the situation although the MET and traditional authorities (the unrecognised one for the Khwe and the Mbukushu chief) should also be counted. Most of the Khwe however, do not regard themselves as powerful on such issues and consider their agency limited, they feel as if Kyaramacan and IRDNC represent the Khwe in Bwabwata, for good or ill. Although there could be competition between such a new living museum and Hiyemacan //Au, Singonhi said how they could avoid being in each other's way, because then "(t)hey show different things and we show different things here" (Interview 40).

Just as at Hiyemacan //Au, it is difficult to obtain animal skins for this project as they are not allowed to hunt. He asked the LCFN to provide funds but they never assist financially or materially, only with ideas. Singonhi thus asked Kyaramacan for animal skins, since at this stage the skins are the only reason why they had not yet started in Mutc'iku. The LCFN already started marketing and put it on their website as follows:

Since the beginning of 2009 we are working together with a group of Khwe-San to build a Living Museum for the "Bushman of the North". At the moment a very motivated project group which is living in the Bwabwata National Park in the Caprivi is busy making traditional clothing and crafts and preparing the spot for the Living Museum. (LCFN 2012)

Singonhi explained that the reason why the centre would be built in Mutc'iku is that it will provide easy access for the many lodges on the west side of the Kavango River (the Mbukushu area) and they are planning to provide information for the lodges in the area and at N//goabaca community-based campsite not far from Mutc'iku. The latter is an important place for the new plans because it means tourists can stay overnight in the Khwe area instead of in the Mbukushu area, which is already full of lodges, something that has led to frustrations in the past. As Joel Mbambo who lives in Mutc'iku explained,

(t)hey (tourists) come from that side (the other side of Kavango River) to our village, they come to take a photo of our how ... we make our house, in Mutc'iku ... what food we eat, which traditional beer we drink ... then they pass, they go ... To Mbukushu side. (Interview 10).

Clearly, the Khwe's agency is biggest when they maneuver within the set up structures by MET, IRDNC and Kyaramacan. Outside these structures there is little space to move.⁶

On the banks of the Kavango River

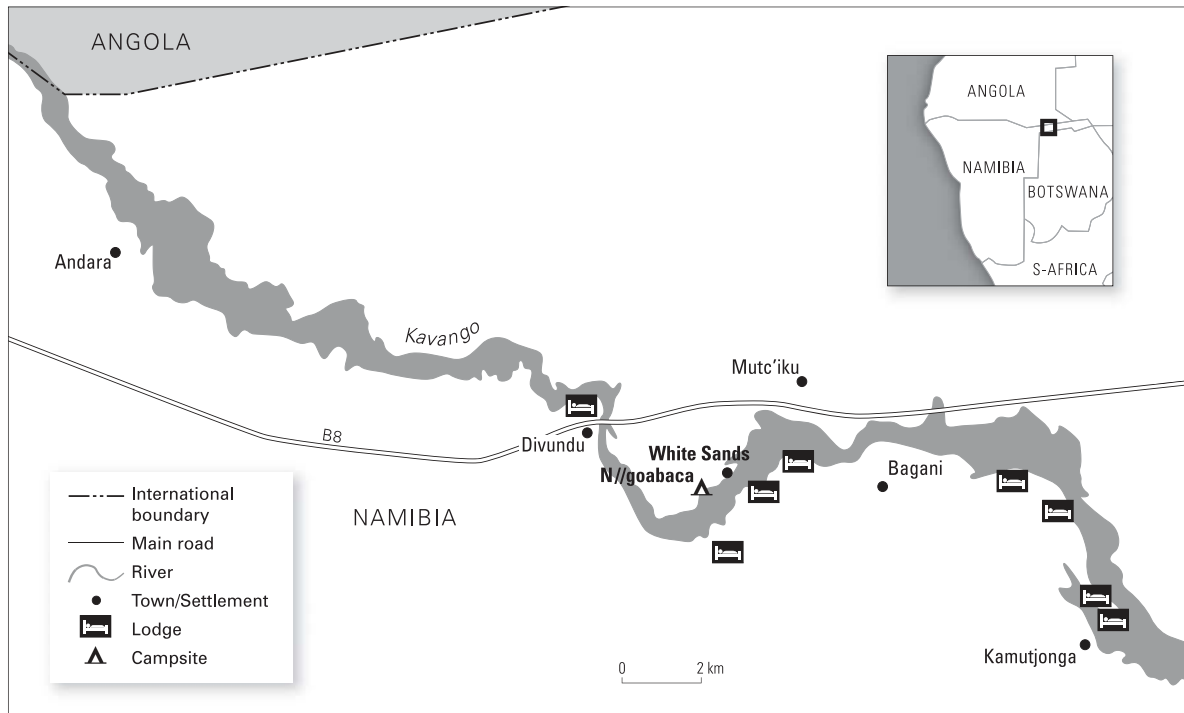
Boiling water: N//goabaca, a prison farm and White Sands

In the west of Bwabwata, the Popa Falls can be seen in the Kavango River, although they are more like rapids than a waterfall. They are a small tourist attraction and the Namibia Wildlife Resorts (NWR) runs the Popa Falls Rest Camp on the west bank of the Kavango River from where tourists can go to see the falls. It is also possible to see them from Bwabwata from the N//goabaca community-based campsite. The story goes that one day a few tourists came to N//goabaca in the evening and asked the staff the following morning if the sound in the background could be switched off. That 'sound' was the Popa Falls. The sound of running water was apparently not a part of these tourists' perception of the environment. At N//goabaca, the Kavango River has a stretch of sand from where one can see the Popa Falls. The small white beach, generally referred to as 'White Sands', is surrounded by bushes and sometimes hippopotamus graze there at night. N//goabaca means 'boiling water' in Khwedam, thus refering to the falls. Apart from the N//goabaca community-based campsite, plans to develop White Sands, a concession in the Buffalo Core Area (see further on in this section) and a living museum in Mutc'iku (see previous section), there is no tourist development on the eastern banks of the Kavango River in Bwabwata, unlike on the western banks where there are plenty of lodges on Mbukushu land.

There was a conflict over the land of N//goabaca in 1992-1993 when the Mbukushu wanted to start a campsite there and brought grass to start building. The (unrecognised) Chief Kipi George then burned the grass and tried to acquire the place because it is on Khwe traditional land. The Mbukushu finally got tired of the confrontation and left the area to the Khwe. The building of N//goabaca was started in 1993 by the IRDNC and a commercial building enterprise using local Khwe as labourers. Since then, the campsite has been run by four different managers and Daniel Kampati has been in charge since 2008. In the early days, NACOBTA became involved in its marketing, bookings, funding and training courses on finance and hospitality and they have distributed posters and brochures and put N//goabaca on their website. In addition, a campsite bank account was set up and the four staff and the manager were paid by the IRDNC so that the campsite's profits could go into the account. The campsite was officially opened in May 1997 and hopes were high of economic improvements in the lives of the Khwe commu-

⁶ Later I heard that the living museum in Mutc'iku is not going ahead anymore, but that the community was negotiating with a nearby lodge owner (Magdalena Brörmann-Thoma, email, 25th of June, 2012). I am not aware of the reason for this change.

Map 4.2 The area around N//goabaca and White Sands



Based on: Massyn, *et al.*, 2009, p. 111, reproduced with permission

nity (Orth 2003: 123). After the hunting concession in 2006 (as described in the next section) Kyara-macan was given the responsibility of paying campsite staff and the plan is now that the staff will be paid out of N//goabaca's income in the future.

The government of Namibia built a prison farm, the Divundu Rehabilitation Centre, next to N//goabaca in 1995. The prison fence is where the property of N//goabaca and White Sands starts and it was built on land under the jurisdiction of the unrecognised Khwe leader Kipi George. The Khwe were not consulted in the planning stages but were concerned that the Rehabilitation Centre would have a negative impact on tourism in the area so they sent a letter to the government requesting that the project be disbanded. This request was ignored however. The building of the prison proceeded with the consent of the Mbukushu chief and after its completion, the government announced plans to extend the Rehabilitation Centre onto the area currently occupied by the N//goabaca campsite and White Sands. Apparently there were plans to expand the prison farm as early as 1995, which was organised between the Mbukushu chief and the Ministry of Prisons and Correctional Services and the chief assured the prison authorities that the area was under his jurisdiction and symbolically handed over the land at the inauguration ceremony (Daniels 2004: 57-58; J. Taylor 2007b: 137; WWF 1997: 45). Respondents gave two reasons for its extension. First, a water pump for the prison was needed and N//goabaca is situated on the river, and, second, they needed land for staff housing. A third possible reason was that the government was going to use the prison as a way of getting their hands on a valuable tourist asset and a fourth one that government officials wanted to put up holiday bungalows for themselves (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 245). In the years that followed, the Khwe were assisted by WIMSA and

the LAC with its appeal to the government to find an amicable solution (Daniels 2004: 58-59). Earlier agreements had been verbal or written down on odd pieces of paper, but this time the N//goabaca case against the extension of the prison farm was won by the Khwe and the Rehabilitation Centre was not extended. This was a significant victory with a strong symbolic meaning for the Khwe, and it increased their confidence (Orth 2003: 123).

Although the campsite is next to a prison farm, the staff say everything is safe. It is very easy to escape from the prison and this sometimes happens. The police then come looking for the escapees at the campsite. The staff do not consider the prison a problem from a safety point of view for N//goabaca but they complain that Khwe people do not get jobs there and feel excluded from the possibilities the prison could bring them. Some people in the area call it a hotel because they believe life is a lot better inside the prison fences than outside. Nonetheless, various people, including Khwe, believe that the prison creates a negative impression for tourists, as Trevor Foster of Nunda Lodge explained:

You know that whole place is going out to tender, the White Sands. Certainly if I had to do that development the first thing I would do is, I would change the entrance, not to run past the prison, you know. If you bring people (tourists) into a bush environment like that you want to bring them in there they mustn't even *think* that there's a prison ... I don't think there is a real dangerous threat but it's not a nice feeling. (Interview 27, my emphasis)

Ironically, there is already a road from N//goabaca and White Sands to the B8 further on from the prison and one sees nothing but a field behind a fence. But the road sign that took so long to be put up was placed on the other road that runs past the prison, meaning that often all the prisoners are outside, taking a stroll, laughing and/or screaming when one drives past. This sign directs tourists away from the tourist bubble, towards the bubble again at the end. It is doubtful, however, whether there is much safety felt from the bubble by tourists at N//goabaca.

N//goabaca is almost twenty years old, and in all these years there would appear to have been no attempts to set up activities. The staff are still waiting for input from Kyaramacan, the IRDNC or a private operator, which shows their dependency on outsiders. But in case of N//goabaca, it means a lot to the Khwe that they are the owners. N//goabaca is an affordance in the Khwe's environment, linked to some financial benefits and feelings of exclusion on the one hand, and pride on the other. N//goabaca is an affordance in the Khwe's environment, that was run down from 1998 to 2000 and even closed due to the violence in the area and the absence of tourism from 2000 to 2003. In 2005, the MET invested an amount of N\$ 350,000 in renovations (Le Roux & White 2004: 130; Mushavanga 2009) but in the same year the government in Windhoek increased pressure on Kyaramacan explaining they would lose the White Sands part of the area if it was not being used and kept 'underdeveloped'. In response, Kyaramacan put up a few toilets and showers to show it was part of N//goabaca. Over the years, expectations as to how the campsite could benefit the community have become more realistic, as Nuulimba of the IRDNC explained that

(w)hen this was developed there was an expectation that this would benefit the entire residents of West Caprivi ... What we've learned about tourism through the years is that it ... it will contribute. The same applies to conservation ... It's *part* of a solution. (Interview 17, my emphasis)

So whereas one ministry ignored the Khwe and their tourism project, the MET in fact supported the N//goabaca campsite financially at a later stage. It shows the low level of cooperation between the various governments. In the end, once a campsite is established, it does not make sense to construct a prison immediately next to it. N//goabaca's symbolic value is important. After Bum Hill and Nambwa were constructed at the other side of Bwabwata, N//goabaca showed that Khwe can also engage in their own tourism project. In that way, N//goabaca is an important affordance to the Khwe. Interestingly, White Sands was considered as 'underdeveloped' by the same government, showing a clear tendency to demand the maximisation of benefits from the side of the government.

Still boiling: N//goabaca community-based campsite

On the B8, the highway that connects tourists in Namibia with the Victoria Falls, there is an official signpost to the right for N//goabaca. It took five years (or nine years according to some) to get the signpost put up because of objections from the Mbukushu. From there, a sandy road goes all the way to the campsite, another 4 km further on, most of it passing the prison farm. N//goabaca consists of four private, luxurious, spacious and clean campsites, all with a wooden deck to pitch a tent, a shower block with a toilet and shower and a grass roof over a sink. Traditional Khwe baskets are sold at reception, made by people from Omega, Chetto and Mashambo. Tour operators do not visit N//goabaca on a regular basis but there are five people working there: Four of them Khwe and one Vasekele !Xun. They all live in the nearby settlements of Mutc'iku and Mushanshani, north of the B8. As Mutc'iku is spread out, it depends on where employees live as to how far they have to walk to work but normally it is more than 4 km. They prefer to sleep at home but can use a few old tents behind reception. However the female staff explained that they cannot stay there because they have small children and they cannot bring them to the campsite, the tents leak if it rains and sometimes poisonous snakes are found in the tents. In March 2010 the staff members agreed with the IRDNC to build a house at the campsite for them.

Their jobs are mainly cleaning the campsite, welcoming tourists and lighting the 'donkeys'.⁷ Small repairs are done by the men but when I stayed at N//goabaca the bigger repairs were being done by a company from Katima Mulilo, while two staff members assisted. When I returned in May 2010 Kambati, the manager, explained how badly the repairs were done and wondered why Kyaramacan was wasting so much money on such a bad handyman. Bigger repairs such as these are reported by the manager to Kyaramacan, who in turn organises things, often together with IRDNC. When I stayed there, money was not coming in due to the troubles with trophy hunting (see next section). Still, the employees are welcoming Kyaramacan and the IRDNC for their support and the IRDNC has installed a local Khwe facilitator for N//goabaca, who holds regular meetings with the staff to advise them. Although the staff said that sometimes they do not trust him, they do not confront him either. Kambati presents the number of tourists, the expenses and the income at a monthly Kyaramacan board meeting. In March 2010 there was about N\$ 80,000 in the campsite's bank account, which had been

⁷ A heating system for water using fires.

generated through tourism in the years before and prior to some of the revenues being used for hospital and funeral costs for people in the community so in this way N//goabaca is a clear affordance to some of the Khwe. The employees all like to work with tourists and in some cases a tourist is considered a role model or a friend. Sometimes staff get some food or a T-shirt which the tourists leave behind. While a few staff members said that tourists never created any problems, others mentioned cases of tourists complaining, drinking a lot or getting angry. They say the place looks bad and then they argue why they have to pay and in that case the Bushmen just do not ask tourists to pay. An old manager of N//goabaca explained that it was mostly tourists from South Africa who created problems, especially when they drink, and that this can create fear amongst the staff:

Mostly these people from South Africa, our friends, *boers* ... They are the people who little bit bring problems, not people from Europe and other, they don't have problems, they have respect ... The guys they will drink, they stand up and even the toilet is broken ... You see these guys are doing the way they are feeling ... Here in the campsite, we are sweating. (Joel Boyongo, Interview 11)

Boyongo calls the South Africans friends in this quote but at the same time they can make the Khwe sweat. This is in line with the idea of *baasskap*, in which the authority is the caring one. A *baas* can be a friend but also a frightening person who one can better avoid. The current manager, Kambati, sees it differently in the sense that he does not get afraid but tends to keep his distance. He explained that

maybe he is drunk or not drunk ... I will be angry to them, or I will not be angry to them. If he insults me, I can just stay quiet ... After the second minute I can come and ask him 'What problem is it that I did to you, sir?' ... But in my heart I cannot get angry, yes. (Interview 12)

The staff at N//goabaca do not take the insults personally and if there is trouble, their strategy is to let the tourists behave this way and not make them pay. Even for day visits to Popa Falls, certain tourists argue with the staff because they feel they should not have to pay for something made by nature. The staff said they just accept it if tourists do not want to pay, although these are only occasional incidents. So the staff shows submissiveness in relation to tourists.

The jobs to them are affordances because it makes them feel proud to work with tourists. If tourists want to take pictures, this is not a problem but, contrary to what was seen in Nyae Nyae, they hardly ever take pictures of the Khwe people; who believe the main motivation for tourists is the area's wildlife and natural beauty. For some things N//goabaca is still dependent on the IRDNC and limited in its usage of their environment. For example, when I asked for firewood, the staff told me they would have to ask the IRDNC to organise it because they had a car. The bush around N//goabaca is protected so they are not allowed to collect firewood there and therefore are restricted when it comes to organising the firewood themselves. In general, I noticed a lot of dependency, complaints, a sense of waiting and a lack of business capacity. For example, a tour guide explained how N//goabaca was run badly in the past because of Kyaramacan and the IRDNC, who gave management positions to people not capable of running the organisation. Another respondent believed that the management was not good because they did not receive the necessary training. In his opinion, you need at least six weeks' training before you can run a (tourist) business since "you can't train someone for two days,

that's not a training ... It's a party" (Bothas Marinda, Interview 31). Marinda believes that Kyaramacan is responsible for organising these training courses but one of the reasons why Kyaramacan does not work efficiently is that the IRDNC guides the decisions and in the end often also makes them. There are unfortunately no activities at N//goabaca but staff members would all like to add activities. Mostly, they just hang around in the staff area behind the reception. When tourists ask what there is to do in the area they are directed to the two nearby Core Areas, Buffalo and Mahango, where they go to view wildlife. In addition, people in Mutc'iku and the wider community do not see proof that the campsite will do something for them and there is suspicion that the people of Kyaramacan (often referred to as the headmen) claim most of the benefits. In the community, people wonder what the benefits to the community are apart from employees who get a salary, although in 2004 there was some money distributed to the community via Kyaramacan. It seems that there is some jealousy amongst people in the area. N//goabaca had a turnover of about N\$ 70,000 in 2008, with 1051 nights sold (Mushavanga 2009), while there are campsites in Namibia that earn around N\$ 200,000 a year. For this reason, IRDNC wants N//goabaca to be part of a joint venture with White Sands. The private partner could then help to improve marketing and management while everything would still belong to the community. In this way, N//goabaca will be a part of one business entity, consisting of a lodge at White Sands and the N//goabaca campsite.

Who will get white sands and N//goabaca?

Today White Sands is owned by the Kyaramacan Association but it was not an easy process for them to get this far. Adjacent to the white beach there are bushes and ruins of buildings left by people who tried to settle here before, including government officials, tour operators, hunters and fishers. White Sands was always popular with tour operators and therefore many tried to start a business here, with varying degrees of success. From 1994 to 1999 there was a hunting camp (Mushavanga 2009). The Namibian government granted a Permission to Occupy (PTO) to this white-owned hunting concession to allow them to put up a lodge. Again, the Khwe were neither consulted nor compensated for occupation but the PTO expired and the venture failed due to the violence between 1998 and 2002 (LAC 2006: 10-11). Since then, various investors just started building, after paying the chief of the Mbukushu or the unrecognised Khwe chief (cf. J. Taylor 2007b: 139). Some of the operators later showed a letter to Kyaramacan with the respective chief's signature. These processes were unplanned and uncoordinated. According to Alpers of the IRDNC,

(i)n 5 years about 8 different people ... wanted this land. They corrupted, they bribed, they manipulated to get this land because it's pretty, it's beautiful. And now, like I said, two weeks ago Kyaramacan received it officially. So it's a big victory for the community to finally have this land. (Interview 6)

Apparently the unrecognised Khwe chief 'sold' White Sands to an operator in 2007 to build a lodge without consulting his headmen and in January 2010 Kambati of N//goabaca remembered how two South Africans who wanted to build a lodge visited White Sands and almost paid this unrecognised chief when they asked Kambati for help and explained their plans. Kambati then sent them to Kyaramacan and asked for assistance from IRDNC who explained the tender process. I was told by various respondents that

the unrecognised Khwe chief as well as the Mbukushu chief had tried to sell White Sands.

Kyaramacan, assisted by the IRDNC, gave a presentation in Windhoek in April 2009 to explain to the government why they should be the head concessionaires (Mushavanga 2009). This resulted in a twenty-year contract between Kyaramacan and the MET, and Kyaramacan are now the head concessionaires for White Sands. It probably helped that it was specifically stated that the concession should be offered to Kyaramacan in the *Tourism Development Plan* for the national parks in the northeast of Namibia (prepared for the MET by the Caprivi Park Consultants) (Massyn *et al.* 2009: 113). Kyaramacan prepared a tender for White Sands in 2010 to find a developer to build a lodge with, see Annex 4. As part of the plan, N//goabaca campsite will be upgraded (better shower blocks, roads and marketing) and they want to add six extra sites. Alpers of IRDNC explained that an investment of about N\$ 40 million is needed to cover the plans for White Sands. This will include a lodge with thirty to forty beds, a restaurant and a swimming pool, all built to meet ecological standards. Kyaramacan expects an income of between N\$ 300,000 and N\$ 500,000 a year as a concessionaire's fee, in addition to jobs and other benefits. The choice to build a smaller camp or a fishing camp is not valuable to the community according to Alpers because financially they could benefit a lot more from White Sands if there was a bigger lodge. A good partner would build a decent lodge, market it well and bring in a lot of tourists. In addition, the character of the operator will be examined, if he is aggressive, drinks a lot, and so on. As a bonus, crafts could be sold at the lodge. After twenty years, Kyaramacan and the MET can extend the agreement if they want to. Based on this decision, the private operator might continue with Kyaramacan.

Community members have high expectations and most of them believe that a lodge will bring them financial benefits, and staff at N//goabaca are excited about the idea too. They expect to be taught more skills and to receive a higher income, and that it will be easy to run a new lodge. Foster at Nunda Lodge thought that the tender was very ambitious and that the way it was set up means that they are looking for a big player. He doubts if that is what the community needs because joint ventures are difficult to manage since the local people need to support the idea as well. In the end, on 29 October 2010, a tender for a twenty-year concession on a lodge for the White Sands–N//goabaca area was released (ASLF 2010a: 6) but I was not able to find out who finally signed the agreement or if this happened at all. I agree with Foster that the plans are ambitious to say the least and although various community members embrace the idea, joint ventures have not yet proven to be the development institutions for Bushmen IRDNC assumes they are. As learning institutions for Bushmen communities the private sector so far did not really achieve a lot. Although money is an important affordance today in a capitalising environment, it is *not* development in itself, only at best *a means to* development, whereas it contains the essential habit of creating more problems than solving them (see, for example, the problems with trophy hunting in the following section), especially amongst the marginalised. So to measure the level of success of a project mainly, or only, in financial terms would not only be shortsighted, it could cover up the various problems that Bushmen encounter in general when they engage in tourism. Of course,

money is an important affordance in their environment today, but it is definitely not the only one. Clearly the Khwe are enthusiastic and interested in the potential maximisation of economic capital from this concessionaire, which could come together with other benefits such as status, pride and self-esteem, but so far they are still in need of assistance to run the campsite. It then becomes reasonable to ask whether it is wise to involve them at this stage in higher level luxurious tourism? The gap between running a campsite and a luxurious lodge is enormous, so care is needed that the focus will truly be on *learning* for the Khwe, if they want to run the lodge by themselves in the end. *Baasskap*, based on a static hierarchy, is a threat to this in the white-dominated tourism industry. Of course, White Sands enables the Khwe to position themselves more seriously in tourism but it also carries the risk of failure, conflict, exploitation and frustration. As an affordance, it makes sense that the Khwe embrace the idea at this stage, since they hardly have anything to lose. However, if there is one thing that the affordance White Sands for the Khwe shows, many years after the ‘victory’ at N//goabaca, is that the Khwe *can* indeed acquire a position in tourism. But, after all, in both these achievements they showed a strong dependency on outsiders, which means these outsiders are important affordances today in the environment they dwell in. Starting more joint ventures can increase this dependency.

Further downstream in Buffalo and on the other side of the Kavango

In addition to White Sands, there is another potential site for a lodge inside Bwabwata at the Kavango in the Buffalo Core Area. Here there is the potential for a medium-sized lodge that could be run as a joint venture (Massyn *et al.* 2009: 123-126; MET 1998: 3). However, this is taking a long time due to politics because the chief of the Mbukushu is trying to get this concession as well. In 2008 the MET was still keen on a concession for this area as the Minister wrote that

(t)ender proposals be invited for developing a tourism lodge in the Buffalo Core Area and the right to the best tender be allocated on the basis of their development and design vision, community involvement vision, environmental vision, and overall investment vision. (Konjore 2008: 3)

In the *Tourism Development Plan*, this concession was rated a high priority for development but it was not made clear who should be the head concessionaire. It says that because there is currently no legal structure to represent the community west of the river, the concession could be a direct award by the MET to a private company and benefits to be shared by the Kyaramacan, the MET and the neighbouring community (Massyn *et al.* 2009: 125-126). It is not clear to me what exactly is meant by this since there is a formal legal body – the Kyaramacan Association – that represents all Bwabwata inhabitants, that could be the head concessionaire since the Buffalo Core Area is located inside Bwabwata National Park to the east of the Kavango. It could also be that they mean to make the Mbukushu people living to the west of the river the head concessionaires, and that their chief’s wish is indeed being heard by the consultants for strategic reasons, although he already has a lot of influence on and benefits from tourism on the western side of the Kavango.

In fact, to the west of the Kavango River is an area that currently falls under the jurisdiction of the Mbukushu traditional authority and the government wants to make it

a conservancy because more people would then benefit from it and currently only the traditional authority benefits. A conservancy could create benefits from hunting in the Mahango Core Area (see Map 4.1). On the west bank there are nine tourist establishments, some with campsites such as Ngepi Camp, Mahangu Safari Lodge, Nunda Lodge and so on. No Bushmen work in any of the lodges while there are 217 tourism jobs in total (*Ibid.*: 18). This is considered discriminatory by the Khwe. Joseph Kapinga from Mushanshani told me he hoped for the same number of lodges on the east side of the Kavango River for the Khwe people. There is a strong belief that no Khwe could get a job at one of the nine lodges, so they do not even bother to apply. Some Khwe say that Khwe people tried in the past to get jobs at lodges there but then they were told by Mbukushu that it was the Mbukushu's side and Khwe were not allowed to work there. The lodge operators have to request permission from the Mbukushu chief to start their business and they pay him a fee because he has the land title. Out of the nine lodges on this side of the river, six are on Mbukushu land. These are organised in the Hambukushu Lodge Owner's Association, which was set up to speak with one voice to the chief, but they only meet about once a year. So clearly, the Mbukushu are strongly involved in the tourism sector west of the Kavango River just outside Bwabwata, where especially their chief holds a powerful position. From a formalist economic point of view man is never satisfied materially and will look for the maximisation of benefits, and therefore it could be that the Mbukushu chief is opting for the Buffalo concessionaire inside Bwabwata and that the consultants agree on this to satisfy his political power, so that the Khwe as well as the Mbukushu in the end both receive a concession inside Bwabwata. This would be a very political solution and out of balance (since the Mbukushu already benefit from tourism at various lodges), showing the power structures in tourism in and around Bwabwata and ignoring the proximity of a much bigger group of Khwe in the area for whom this concession is also an affordance.

On benefits and conflicts: Trophy hunting

A changing relationship with the affordance 'animal'

The MET allowed the people of Bwabwata to have a share of the park's resources in July 2006 and a hunting concession was publicly tendered by Kyaramacan with the support of the IRDNC, the Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF) and the WWF to find the two best hunting companies. The concession consists of two parts, one for the Buffalo Core Area in the western part of Bwabwata and another one for the Kwando Core Area in the east (see Map 4.1). The unique thing about this concession is that it is the first time that hunting has happened inside a national park. Whereas trophy hunting attracts international hunting tourists, the Kyaramacan contract has to be with a Namibian-registered hunting operation and Kyaramacan thus put the hunting concession out to public tender to find the operators with the best offer, which basically means the most jobs, best price and highest social impact. A community game guard and an MET park ranger go out on a hunt together to check whether things are going according to the contract, whether the right animals are being shot and so on. The IRDNC and Kyaramacan encourage hunters in the tender process to offer more than only meat and money, and

they state the importance of training and jobs for drivers, guides, skinners, trackers and the like. They also ask hunters to donate something to the community such as a clinic, a car, a radio system or some form of education.

Wildlife, which is often a threat to the community, then becomes a movable asset. The Kyaramacan Association made a total of N\$ 2.4 million in both 2006 and 2007 and had 36 tons of game meat distributed to the people in Bwabwata. The Cabinet decided that, because it is in a national park, they should get 50% of this for the Game Products Trust Fund. In 2006, N\$ 100,000 of the N\$ 1.2 million left was distributed to the people via the headmen of the villages, which in some cases created conflict. In 2007, a total of N\$ 300,000 was distributed and every villager, including children, received N\$ 136. People felt that money should be distributed individually rather than at village level, something that was supported by Kyaramacan that encouraged community members to use the money for projects and school fees rather than alcohol (Kamba, n.d.). This tendency to demand individual benefits is in line with the formalist economic view. In addition to these financial benefits, 17 local residents were employed for tracking and skinning and meat was distributed to the community. With the N\$ 1.2 million per year, Kyaramacan was able to pay the salaries of the community game guards and community resource monitors, community projects, a vehicle and conservation-related costs as well as the salaries of Kyaramacan employees (KA 2009: 4). Just as in Nyae Nyae, trophy hunting had become the financial engine behind the CBNRM programme. With the introduction of trophy hunting, the Khwe's environment changed in such a way that finances or simply money became an ever-bigger player in that environment. Of course, money had already been there for many years and it is not a new affordance to the people, but two things were new. First, the big sums belonging to the Khwe (or, to Kyaramacan, representing also non-Khwe) that were distributed to all people, including the people who had nothing to do with hunting (most of the people) in a direct way, for example by working for the hunting operator. Indirectly, this money is a way to settle the bill and cover the costs of living with wildlife and in this way all inhabitants relate to hunting because of the many restrictions the CBNRM programme has created inside the park. It also makes up for some of the dissatisfaction among the people who complain about not getting any compensation for wildlife damage from the MET, while the government takes half of the revenue made with trophy hunting. Second, the Khwe have always dwelt with wildlife, but now this wildlife is literally a moveable financial asset. For example, an elephant has acquired a different meaning and is now a financial affordance with a certain value. This latter idea is a lot clearer when compared to non-consumptive tourism where animals, 'wildlife' as a total given, also acquire financial value but it is only in trophy hunting or consumptive tourism that every other individual animal carries a potential price tag (within the limitations quota). In this way, the various affordances 'animals' are commodified into products to be sold.

Bribery, jealousy and conflict about big money

To continue the benefits of hunting in 2006/2007, Kyaramacan received a three-year hunting concession in March 2008 from the MET that led to a tender opening in April 2009 (KA 2009). This led to bribery, jealousy and conflict because many people wanted

it and therefore the MET stopped the hunting concession to Kyaramacan then. However, bribery at a local level, and even within Kyaramacan, has a different meaning for different people. The story goes that some people within Kyaramacan and the unrecognised Khwe chief had direct contact with hunting operators who were interested in the tender. For some, this was a normal happening, while for others it was bribery:

(T)here were some hunters, trying to bribe the community to get the concession in Bwabwata National Park. I think the whole business stopped due to that concept ... If something happens like this, say, a colleague or someone comes to me and says 'I like to give you this thing, because I see that you are in need of it', or 'You are suffering of hunger so I can give you this thing, you have to use it'. If you take that thing then the others view it as a bribery, I don't know how they call bribery ... That's where the hunting stopped. They say it's bribery because there were some hunters that came to us, trying to talk to us, be friendly with us, give us something while they are passing, greeting us and all these things. And then the Ministry of Environment and Tourism including IRDNC say these hunters are bribing us. (Tienie Mushavanga, Interview 35)

Clearly Mushavanga of Kyaramacan saw the early contacts with the hunters as reciprocal relationships, since the hunters afforded 'things' (whatever this was, money, a car, a handshake or some food, it was an affordance to him) but it was seen as bribery by the MET and IRDNC and this created long delays. In addition, the IRDNC believed that Kyaramacan was misusing some of the money, which has led to suspicions by the MET and it, in turn, was often blamed by Kyaramacan members of being too slow in their response time or of not responding at all, which led to Kyaramacan members as well as hunters becoming impatient. By April 2009, Kyaramacan had selected two hunting operators. One of these, Huntafrica Namibia, already had concessions in East Caprivi (Huntafrica 2010). Interference by the unrecognised Khwe chief and Huntafrica Namibia made the MET stop the process even though all the papers were ready for the concession. During the process of selection, no contact with the hunting operators is allowed to prevent anyone influencing the situation but at a meeting in which Kyaramacan and MET had to choose the best hunters, the unrecognised Khwe chief called loudly for Huntafrica Namibia, who in turn called the MET's head of the committee to influence the process in his favour. Alpers of the IRDNC explained that this was a strange action by the chief, who was publicly showing that he was trying to influence the process.

He (the chief) phones them (Huntafrica Namibia) in front of everyone, and he speaks so loud that all of us hear it. And he says these guys do this and this, IRDNC and WWF, are manipulating the process and we should go ahead and he tells the hunter ... phone Kaminga (chief control warden of the north-eastern parks) who is head of this committee, phone him straight and object. So he puts the phone down and the next moment Kaminga's phone rings and it's the hunter phoning him, and that's violating the tender procedure. (Interview 14)

Apparently the unrecognised Khwe chief had already made a deal with this hunter and was annoyed by the plans. Many other people confirmed the story but within Kyaramacan it is said that Huntafrica Namibia never did anything wrong and they even wanted to set up a trust with Kyaramacan. In the end, this was resolved in court but the relationship between Huntafrica Namibia and MET/IRDNC has been damaged. Some Kyaramacan members told me that they still want to work with Huntafrica Namibia, while the IRDNC blamed Huntafrica Namibia for influencing Kyaramacan members without following the legal tender procedures. This could partly be for cultural reasons.

Apparently Huntafrica Namibia has threatened the IRDNC a few times with legal action and when I asked Alpers why Kyaramacan members are still positive about Huntafrica Namibia, his response was as follows:

Because they promise ... They (Khwe) are hungry and they're desperate, they listen to anybody ... In the past ... there was a highest offer from one of the hunters but he had a bad relationship with the community, he shot at the dogs and he shot at the community collecting veldfood. When his name came up on the tender display he had a US\$ 50,000 higher bid than the second highest. They denied him, they said 'No we don't want him we don't like him, he doesn't regard us as a people'. (Interview 46)

This story is contradicting because on the one hand it shows that the Khwe use their agency not to choose only the highest bid (representing them as wise people choosing a respectful hunter), while on the other hand they can easily be seduced to acquire affordances (representing them as dependent people without agency, in need of guidance and protection). In the end, why would it be necessary to involve yourself as an NGO to protect the Khwe against 'bad' hunters if the Khwe are capable to choose not only the highest financial benefit but a hunter that shows respect as well? This makes the role of IRDNC all the more interesting. They tend to take a position in which they become the Khwe's protectors or patriarchs, but representing them as wise, smart and self-sufficient as well. In this way IRDNC is engaged in a patron-client relationship with the Khwe through Kyaramacan in which the latter functions as the informal representing body of the Khwe. At the end of April 2009, the tender process was supposed to be readvertised but, according to Kyaramacan members, the MET has not done so. Another promise was made at the end of May but again nothing happened and in June Kyaramacan went to see the Minister in Windhoek. They have since been a few more times but they have never had any answers.

After not receiving their salary for ten months, the community game guards called a strike in May 2010 and did not go on patrol anymore, for the first time since 1992. This was a result of the difficult negotiations between Kyaramacan, the MET, the IRDNC and pressure from the hunters. Trophy hunting had not taken place since 2007 and then some things happened again in March 2010 which is why another delay became likely. Seven of the ten Kyaramacan board members and a few headmen signed an agreement with Huntafrica Namibia. Alpers believes that Huntafrica Namibia is pushing the Kyaramacan members. They may be bribing them but that has not been proven and Huntafrica Namibia does not seem to realise the consequences of their activities. Other explanations given for the signing are that people are becoming desperate and that a contract is a western concept that does not mean that much to the Khwe. Personal relationships are more important. Local Khwe feel good about the hunting concession but now that there has not been any hunting in the past few years it has become a point of frustration.

In the end, a tender for the trophy-hunting concession was released by Kyaramacan Association, assisted by the MET, on 8 November 2010 (see Annex 5). It is for five years and covers Bwabwata East and Bwabwata West. The value of the two concessions together is N\$ 4 million a year – of which half goes to the MET for the Game Products Trust Fund again – and 20 permanent new jobs will be created. The other N\$ 2 million will be used by Kyaramacan to support conservation and development programmes in

the park. The idea is that the concessions will bring in training and social investments (ASLF 2010a: 6; 2011b: 12; TNN 2011a: 28). The successful bidder for Bwabwata East was Allen Cilliers from Hunting Safaris and for Bwabwata West it was, as expected, Huntafrica Namibia (TNN 2011a: 28). Trophy hunting is often presented as the big money maker in CBNRM. This makes sense because there is big money to be made with hunting. Obviously, the community is keen on hunting since this has produced direct benefits, namely money and meat. It also shows the dependency and wait-and-see attitude of the people. They strongly believe that other outsiders are needed to develop them. It is doubtful whether the 'giving of meat and money' helps the people to become self-sustaining, although they want to be. It is not empowering and creates more dependency. Money has been an important affordance in the Khwe's environment for a long time but 'big money' where one receives a share for free is a relatively new affordance, and is creating disputes, jealousy and even some cases of bribery between CBOs, NGOs, ministries and private operators. At the local level, it provides jobs but for most people it will increase the wait-and-see attitude and feelings of dependency on other people.

The Khwe diaspora: Dwelling in an international tourism environment

*International powers in conservation and tourism:
The rise of transfrontier conservation*

Of all the Bushmen groups in this research the Khwe specifically live in a diaspora more than the other groups. This is for two reasons. First, a group of Khwe and Vasekele !Xun moved to South Africa after the South African army left the Caprivi and, second, the original lands where the Khwe dwell today were split up by various geographical boundaries. These boundaries are an important part of their environment today and there are now Khwe living in five different countries: Namibia, Angola, Botswana, Zambia and South Africa. Here I describe the case of Khwai, a Khwe settlement in Botswana where they have a long history of tourism because of the Okavango Delta and the Moremi Game Reserve, followed by the tourist developments amongst the Khwe and Vasekele !Xun of Platfontein in South Africa. But first of all I will describe the rise of the Kavango Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA TFCA), which is an initiative that promises a lot of tourist development in Namibia, Angola, Botswana and Zambia.

Bwabwata and Nyae Nyae are areas inside the KAZA TFCA, which includes part of Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia. TFCAs are "areas of land and/or sea that straddle international (or sub-national) borders, that are jointly or cooperatively managed for conservation and/or sustainable nature resource utilization" (Suich 2008: 187). TFCAs aim for a blend of conservation and development objectives by establishing linkages between government-managed and protected areas and community-managed multiple-use areas. Tourism is considered a driving force, specifically as a means of achieving the objectives of economic development and poverty alleviation (*Ibid.*:

187-188). In the end, the idea is that tourists can cross the borders within a TFCA with a single visa that is valid for the whole area.

Around the year 2000, transfrontier conservation became a dominant theme and some believe that the promotion of TFCAs was a reaction to the difficulties that environmental organisations were experiencing with local institutions in community-based conservation (Spierenburg *et al.* 2008: 88). The WWF suggests that TFCAs have the capacity to strategically develop sustainable tourism, which in turn could support the costs of conservation management while also providing entrepreneurial opportunities and employment for the poor (Spenceley 2008b: 367). However, not everybody at the WWF is equally enthusiastic about the idea. Richard Diggle, the WWF Namibia coordinator for Caprivi, explained how the dynamics of transfrontier conservation are being pushed by strong forces within governments, conservation and the tourism sector, based on the assumption that conservation and tourism will bring the communities benefits, while in reality the trickle-down effect is limited. He explained that “(l)ots more hotels, lots more money and lots more elephants ... While the people ... are probably still suffering more than all the animals” (Interview 32). This idea was confirmed by more people in civil society. Transfrontier conservation is first of all good for the animals, while the benefits for local communities remain uncertain and depend on the ability of the communities to access resources and join tourist initiatives.

One of the prime lobbying and facilitating organizations to establish TFCAs and transfrontier parks is the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF), which established a development programme focused on making the communities inside TFCAs partners in the growth of tourism. However, this cohesion is mainly found at the level of the European as well as African elite who promote the idea of TFCAs based on identification with nature and the landscape rather than the nation state. This imagery is rooted in colonial times and is a view that includes Africans in the concept of landscape only if unchanged by modernity (see Chapter 2). The contradiction is that if poor local communities developed economically and materially, they would no longer be part of these old European aesthetics of the African landscape (Draper *et al.* 2004: 341-343). Supporters of TFCAs in Southern Africa have continuously argued that the development of ecotourism will bring economic growth. The rationale that TFCAs can pay for themselves because of ecotourism development is strongly linked to the CBNRM’s agenda, where communities manage and profit from ecotourism ventures within TFCAs (Duffy 2006: 96). Along this line, the protection of cultural diversity goes hand in hand with the protection of the environment. Local people are seen as having a flawed relationship with nature *and* the market and they should therefore be “brought out of nature and into the market so that they can return to nature as competent conservationists” (Igoe & Brockington 2007: 442). In this way, local communities have been identified as key stakeholders in the implementation of TFCAs, and are therefore often a central focus for funding agencies (Duffy 2006: 95).

Bwabwata encapsulated in KAZA

The Caprivi region is at the heart of the KAZA TFCA (see Map 4.3), which contains Bwabwata as well as Nyae Nyae. Back in the early 1990s, Brown & Jones (1994: 81)

suggested establishing transborder parks in the West Caprivi area to increase its attraction as an international tourist destination. In 2006, the five countries signed a Memorandum of Agreement to work on the establishment of this TFCA, which is home to around 250,000 elephants, the largest contiguous population in Africa, and important and famous tourist attractions such as the Victoria Falls, the Okavango Delta and the Chobe National Park (Suich 2008). The KAZA area is often seen as being ‘underdeveloped’ in terms of its tourism potential (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 12). In the end, a treaty for KAZA was signed in 2011, see Annex 6 for the press release.

Map 4.3 KAZA TFCA



Based on: PPF (2012a), reproduced with permission.

Most people in the KAZA region live in rural areas and rely on rain-fed agriculture. They are still poor, while tourism has grown rapidly over the last decade (Suich 2008). The Peace Parks Foundation's website explains that "(c)onservation and tourism will be the vehicle for socio-economic development in the region" (PPF 2011a). In fact, "(t)hrough cultural tourism, the TFCA authorities aim to celebrate and nourish the rich cultural diversity within the area, allowing communities across borders to share their age-old knowledge and symbolic traditions with each other and the world at large" (PPF 2011b, my emphasis). Interestingly, 'to celebrate and nourish the rich cultural diversity' and share their 'age-old knowledge and symbolic traditions' shows the longing for the African myth, for Africa as a wilderness destination where locals have to 'fit' the African landscape (cf. Draper *et al.* 2004), as if the tourists can enter a theme park with authentic Africans, while in reality these locals dwell in a modern environment. So also amongst conservation NGOs we find the double vision of development on the one hand as opposed to cultural preservation on the other, in which culture is treated as a thing human beings possess, denying the hybrid reality in which human beings embrace various indigenous modernities.

Just as in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, people from the Khwe community in Bwabwata were hardly aware of the creation of KAZA, except for those working for NGOs. The only Khwe man I spoke to who knew about it, Swabi Alex Kamiyo, worked for WIMSA and saw it as a positive development because of the jobs it would create, but he was worried about the exploitation that can come with tourism. Alpers of the IRDNC supports the plans for KAZA because it will create marketing and more political will in the five countries at a high level. Nuulimba explained that the IRDNC's main task is to promote CBNRM in KAZA because the focus is often purely on conservation, such as corridors for game, which worries her because it might increase the human-wildlife conflict. She was concerned about local management and how important it is not to manage this from Johannesburg or Stellenbosch (where the Peace Parks Foundation has its headquarters). Some big conservation NGOs have spent vast amounts on research into biodiversity, often with great maps, but only a little effort on CBNRM. However it is important that "you start with the people" (Karine Nuulimba, Interview 17), because

it could easily become a very high level political, you know, treaties, technical steering committees comprising PS's (Permanent Secretaries) of different ministries of environment and tourism from different governments that meet together once every couple of months and ... it could easily just become ... a useless bureaucratic high level talk shop ... So our challenge is to turn it into something that is real and meaningful for people on the ground. (Karine Nuulimba, Interview 17)

Foster from Nunda Lodge believes there will be plenty of benefits from KAZA TFCA, saying that "there must be hugh benefits ... let's face it, tourism and so on, does offer hugh work opportunities. If you had to take the lodges away here (west of Bwabwata), what work opportunities are there for the people?" (Interview 27). As we already saw however these jobs are not available for the Khwe. Not everybody agrees that 'jobs' are always 'benefits'. For example, the founder of the IRDNC, Garth Owen-Smith, said that "(t)hey need the jobs, they get the jobs ... Jobs are not really a benefit ... if people pay me my salary they're not giving me a benefit. I *work* for them!" (Interview 30, my emphasis).

Often, there is a lot of attention in transfrontier conservation for community projects in the marketing strategy. It is doubtful if this does justice to reality, as Diggle of the WWF said that

my particular interest is ... if communities and conservancies have a voice in a transfrontier engagement. And often if it is, it's window dressing, we're gonna make sure that it's real, not just because of the opportunities ... but also because of the threats because transboundary initiatives sometimes steamroll over a community's interest. (Interview 32)

When KAZA matures, tourist numbers passing through Bwabwata are expected to grow significantly (Massyn *et al.* 2009: 13). The KAZA TFCA is an affordance to the Khwe, although so far they were hardly involved and were ignored in the project planning stages. In their environment KAZA did not seem to exist, it was all happening at the structure level. Bwabwata is so far an elite plan devised by ministries, global conservation NGOs and private operators, which is exactly what Nuulimba from the IRDNC and Diggle of the WWF were afraid of. The local Khwe are not very aware of the new plans, although they are supposed to benefit from them with the creation of more tourist developments. It is doubtful whether more tourism in Bwabwata will benefit the Khwe at this stage, when running a campsite such as N//goabaca is still a tough job and the White Sands tender still needs to be proven to be a successful formula. Of course, when marginalised people are asked if they want a lodge, they will agree and see it as another affordance in an environment where the number of affordances is decreasing. They are however responding from a marginalised position. At this stage, they are not capable politically, economically and/or socially of benefitting from tourist developments either inside or outside Bwabwata, apart from some financial benefits via trophy hunting. I doubt therefore if more tourism in their area and hence more affordances will automatically benefit the Khwe. Since they are barely involved in the whole process, it is more likely that they will be excluded again and overruled by stronger parties with different agendas.

Khwai, Khwe far away, Botswana

On the borders of Botswana's Moremi Game Reserve, which is for the most part located in the Okavango Delta, there are a few groups of Khwe that were particularly affected by the growth of conservation and tourism. Examples of such villages are Gudigwa, Mababe, Xaxabe and Khwai. I describe here the village of Khwai as an example of a village where similar relations and processes are part of the Khwe's environment.

Tourism, initiated by hunting and photographic safari companies in the 1960s, started to grow along the northern sandveld of the Okavango Delta. The village Khwai moved to its present position in 1963 to allow the creation of the Moremi Game Reserve, which otherwise would have enclosed the land on which the Khwe people of Khwai used to live. Recollections of these resettlements are still vivid and some people remember how their huts were burnt down and they were transported to areas which they had no part in selecting. This happened under the authority of British colonial officials and Batawana traditional chiefs (Madzwamuse 2005: 49; Mbaiwa *et al.* 2008: 162). So the Khwe here were forcefully displaced by stronger powers. In 1967 the Khwai River Lodge was built 4 km downstream from the present site of Khwai (M. Taylor 2003: 259). The people

were threatened with another move in 1992, this time by their own Minister who explained that the government wanted to develop the area's tourist potential. The community then formed a committee to begin a CBNRM programme to avoid removal and the village proceeded to set up its own community-based safari enterprise (M. Taylor 2004: 164). Interestingly, they used CBNRM and tourism to avoid another displacement, which means that such programmes can, at the level of infrastructure, become affordances that allow the Bushmen to continue to dwell in their environment. Although the growth of tourism provided job opportunities, it was not until the 1990s that the Bushmen started to get jobs in the sector due to their previous lack of English. Later on, if they got jobs, their lack of formal education, low salaries and mistreatment often made them leave. In 1998 people from Khwai occupied only nine of the seventy-four non-management jobs in the three lodges that were run in the vicinity of the village and one lodge even started an explicit policy of not hiring staff from Khwai (M. Taylor 2002b: 472-473).

The Khwai Community Trust was established in 2000, consisting of Khwe Bushmen (the majority), Tawana and Subiya people. Their activities include craft sales, work at the three safari lodges and leasing off some of their hunting quota to a hunting operator, which guaranteed them Pula 1.6 million in addition to benefits such as jobs and food (Hitchcock 2001b: 150-151). The Trust then attempted to reinvest this money in the construction of two safari camps, which created employment opportunities for 78 people. Since the implementation of these CBNRM activities in Khwai, the attitudes of residents towards tourism and wildlife management have been a lot more positive (Mbaiwa 2002: 116-117). The Trust is different from others in that it ties membership to ethnicity. It is essentially a Bushman trust in which non-Bushmen can only become members if they are accepted by the board. Non-Bushmen have criticised this, saying it is discriminatory, but some Bushmen say it is discriminatory that, according to the Botswana's Constitution, Bushmen do not exist (Mazonde 2004: 148). Compared to the Kyaramacan Association, the Kwai Trust is more realistic in acknowledging its ethnic focus. However, there does not seem to be a choice for Kyaramacan since the Khwe in Namibia are still not recognised by the government. Due to continuing struggles in 2001 over the management and organisation of their CBNRM programme in the Khwai community, the Trust's hunting quota for 2003 was not set by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (Hitchcock *et al.* 2006: 23). This shows a similarity with the trophy-hunting stories from the Khwe in Bwabwata, especially during the years before the 2010 concession. The Khwe Bushmen are dependent on the government for setting the hunting quotas in Botswana too and therefore their access to wildlife resources is enabled, but constrained, because the government in the end takes the decision. Hunting happens at the governments terms, not at the Khwe's terms. So their agency is limited within the structure of rules and regulations as set by the government.

Displaced people from Moremi, such as the Khwe, want easier access to the game reserve, which is now only allowed for tourist purposes, and the people of Khwai are unable to pay the park entrance fee. They do not see the need to pay since they consider the area to be theirs historically (Mbaiwa *et al.* 2008: 163). It is the environment they have dwelt in for ages that they are now cut off from. Khwai is a busy tourist village

because it is situated at the north gate of Moremi and functions as a transit point between Moremi and the Chobe National Park. The Tsaro Game Lodge, the Khwai River Lodge and the Machaba Lodge are all on the Khwai River and clearly have a different view of wildlife from the people from Khwai. They are keen to keep the area as a complete wilderness area for tourism and wildlife management, while local households are experiencing crop damage, livestock damage from predators and unsatisfactory compensation from the government. The 'nature' in Khwai is carefully staged for tourists seeking an authentic wilderness, and most of the area's publicity brochures do not mention the local population or culture or, if they do, they speak of the Bushmen as a non-threatening part of the prehistoric landscape. In reality, most tour operators would prefer these villages simply not to be there because they threaten the unspoilt picture of the wilderness they are trying to create (M. Taylor 2003: 259-266). In this respect, the government and tour operators see domestic animals, such as dogs and donkeys, and littering as destructive for the tourist industry. Both the government and the tourist industry have proposed that Khwai be relocated elsewhere, away from Moremi, which goes against the government's CBNRM strategy. It would therefore be more appropriate to empower the community and make them stakeholders in the wildlife-based tourism industry instead of relocating them once again (Mbaiwa 2002: 119-120; Mbaiwa & Darkoh 2006: 51-52).

A part of the perception about Bushmen as icons of nature is that they are nomadic. Due to the perceptions of others of their nomadism, they are thought never to settle anywhere but the Bushmen's concept of territoriality has often been in conflict with that of government officials and tour operators due to a lack of knowledge about the Bushmen's geographical locations. In oral histories, the elder Khwe of Khwai refer to 'Khwaai' as their traditional area, a much larger territory than the one they were confined to for the last few decades, including parts of Moremi and the Chobe National Park (Bolaane 2002: 86-88). These traditional territories are called *ngu* in Khwedam and the meaning is similar to that of the Ju/'hoan word *n!ore* (M. Taylor 2002a: 102, see also Chapter 3). In 2005, the government finally gazetted Khwai as a permanent settlement after the inhabitants resisted relocation. This might well have been to do with the highly controversial court case of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in 2002 (Mbaiwa, *et al.*, 2008, p. 169, see also Annex 8).

Khwe further away: Wildebeest Kuil, Platfontein, South Africa

The !Xun and the Khwe have travelled a long and hard road to be your hosts here at Wildebeest Kuil. They feel a strong affinity to the ancient San people who created this priceless art. And the future of Wildebeest Kuil is assured, as long as the !Xun and the Khwe own it. (WK, n.d.)

This quote comes from a promotional DVD that is for sale and is also shown at Wildebeest Kuil, Platfontein, South Africa. It does not do justice to reality and in fact further mystifies the Bushmen in four ways. First, the !Xun and Khwe do not act as true hosts and definitely did not come from Angola and Namibia 'to be your hosts'. Second, they do not feel 'a strong affinity to the ancient San' who made the rock art at Wildebeest

Kuil.⁸ They came from thousands of kilometres away at a completely different time. Third, it is doubtful if the future of Wildebeest Kuil is assured as long as they own it because this has not been proven at all, and fourth, they never did ‘art’, at least not in the western sense of the term. What they did do was to paint and carve (cf. Ingold 2000: 131, see also Chapter 2). Of course, there is *contemporary* Bushman art, that is often seen as a tool of development in tourism to generate income, often two-dimensional drawings of animals and Bushman-like figures reflecting old rock paintings (Barnabas 2010: 427-428). Quotes such as this produce a false picture for visitors of the Bushmen of Wildebeest Kuil by treating Bushmen as if they are all the same, as if there is only one type of authentic Bushman.

There were three processes of resettlement for the Khwe people who currently live at Platfontein, South Africa. First, around 6000 Khwe and !Xun from Angola were resettled in Namibia in the mid-1970s when members of their group joined the South African army to fight SWAPO. Second, resettlement took place after the war and around 6000 Bushmen (4500 Vasekele !Xun and 1500 Khwe) who worked for the army were airlifted from Namibia in 1990 in the final days of South Africa’s occupation. They were taken to a provisional tented army camp in Schmidtsdrift about 80 km from Kimberley which became the largest settlement of Bushmen anywhere. The reason why more Vasekele !Xun, who mostly came from Angola, moved to South Africa is because they did not have such a strong social network in the Caprivi as the Khwe (Chennels & Du Toit 2004: 98; Saugestad 2004b: 28). The whole group was immediately given South African citizenship and the army claimed that by relocating these Bushmen of mainly Angolan origin, they had kept their promise because they faced an uncertain future in the new Namibia. An important reason why they went to South Africa was their fear of the new Namibian SWAPO government that they had been fighting against and they also expected a brighter future in South Africa than in Namibia (Douglas 1997: 45). The third process of resettlement came after a land claim when a group of Tswana claimed Schmidtsdrift as theirs and won it back. This meant that the Bushmen needed to resettle again, this time on a farm called Platfontein about 15 km from Kimberley (Chennels & Du Toit 2004: 104). Platfontein is considered a better place to live than Schmidtsdrift where people were living in old and dirty tents.

Some of the families from Platfontein still visit friends in Bwabwata. Namibian Khwe explained that there is a lack of money for visiting Platfontein and they recall how their families were split up. For example, Divaki, a community game guard in Bwabwata, explained that “(m)y child also and my wife also went to South Africa. There is another woman whom I have married later” (Interview 7). The Bwabwata Khwe believe life is better at Platfontein because there they go to school, can find work,

⁸ Here I refer to the strong mythification that takes place by unjustly connecting the Platfontein community with ‘ancient’ Bushmen, but that does not mean that the rock art itself is without meaning for the Platfontein community. Barnabas (2010: 427) argued that “(t)he Platfontein community feel an affinity to the engravings and even though they have no formal claim to the rock art there is evidence of the influence of these engravings on their contemporary art”. In such contemporary indigenous art, the artist tends to be seen as indigenous first of all, and only secondary as artist, satisfying (tourists’) demand based on ideas of authenticity in the African art market and the West. On the other hand, the art provides a platform to the artist to engage with the ‘outside world’ in a powerful way (*Ibid.*: 430-431).

live with white people and the Khwe and !Xun in Platfontein live together peacefully, although in separate areas. Wealth from South Africa can be seen in Bwabwata when young guys come from Platfontein with a car. Namibian Khwe who have visited Platfontein say it is a good place but that it lacks trees and good Caprivi bushfood. Clearly, the environment is different in Platfontein compared to Bwabwata and living at Platfontein means one is closer to a big town, namely Kimberley, whereas there are no such towns near Bwabwata. Some of the elders in Bwabwata who were in Schmidtsdrift or Platfontein disliked it because the traditions had gone and people had lost respect for each other. On the other hand, some elders said that they should have gone with the white people to South Africa because life is better there. The different environment in South Africa compared to Bwabwata creates mixed emotions amongst the Khwe of Bwabwata since some of them seem to like the modern things available there whereas others do not.

However, there are few jobs in Platfontein, most of the people live off welfare, alcohol can be a problem, especially at weekends and on public holidays, and there are also occasional ethnic conflicts between the !Xun and the Khwe. Both Bushmen groups want to make money from cultural tourism and sometimes companies from Kimberley hire a traditional dancing group. An attempt to build a lodge at the farm was unsuccessful. The Communal Property Association (CPA, the legal body that represents the community, see also Chapter 5) and traditional leaders tried to create a game lodge on the farm. In 2006, a German and a businessman from Kimberley stepped in and paid ZAR 1 million to renovate the old farm house. The idea was to start a joint venture and create employment and training as a benefit for the community. Some of the activities planned included hunting and a cheetah rehabilitation centre, which could also be used for team days for people from Kimberley and schools from Kimberley could come to watch game (other game farms are far away). Later, the two men came into conflict with the !Xun and Khwe traditional leaders because they restocked game on the farm but then the community shot most of it, which resulted in the German and later the South African withdrawing from the project. Now there is a building in ruins and the South African San Institute (SASI) is currently helping to initiate two cultural villages, one for the !Xun and one for the Khwe, as part of the 'Footprints of the San' tourist project (SASI, 2012c, see also Chapter 5). The expectation is that tourists will visit both villages and because there is tension between the tribes, they want to keep them separate. I believe it is unlikely that tourists, who generally come to see Bushmen and not specifically the '!Xun' or 'Khwe', will visit both projects. Competitive feelings between the !Xun and Khwe have the potential to divide the community even further and strengthen their respective identities.

The Wildebeest Kuil Centre has been home to the Northern Cape Rock Art Trust project at Platfontein since 2001. The South African Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) financed the project and managed to set up the centre in twelve months. The original plan was that the whole area would become a game farm, based on the plans for the lodge at Platfontein. However, the main attraction is a series of rock carvings on a small hill behind Wildebeest and today the McGregor Museum in Kimberley manages the site on behalf of the Trust (WK 2011). In the early days, the

Bushmen from Platfontein got jobs at Wildebeest but today the benefits come only from selling crafts that they make. Without many tourists this is a slow process and the jobs as tour guides at the rock engravings are now done by two non-Bushmen working for the McGregor Museum. A variety of reasons were given for this. First, the walk from the living quarters at Platfontein to Wildebeest takes about an hour and people do not have transport. Second, salaries were low, and third, the motivation of the !Xun and Khwe was doubtful. The current tour guides explained how previous Bushmen guides sometimes did not show up, arrived late or left early. In three and a half years there were sixteen people from Platfontein working at Wildebeest Kuil but all of them left. Jobs and involvement by the Bushmen from Platfontein have declined dramatically and the McGregor Museum assists Wildebeest with ZAR 7000 a month to make up for the limited income from tourism. Clearly, the focus of Wildebeest is to protect the rock art but the !Xun and Khwe are not interested in this. They do not associate themselves with it because it is not theirs or even their forefathers. Obtaining a piece of land was more important for them. Wildebeest is a niche market in tourism in the Kimberley area in the Northern Cape, appealing to discerning, well-educated tourists with their own transport. A new plan to improve tourist numbers in Wildebeest is to create an archaeology route that would include other archaeological sites in the Northern Cape too (Morris *et al.* 2009). If this happened, it would mean that Platfontein would be included in the SASI's 'Footprints of the San' itinerary (see also Chapter 5) as well as in an 'archaeology route'. As an affordance Wildebeest Kuil has proven of limited value to the !Xun and Khwe; the connection with Wildebeest hardly exists, historically, socially, culturally and politically. In fact, Wildebeest is situated somewhere outside the Bushmen's environment or, at best, at the edge. Financially it does not afford what it was supposed to. At Wildebeest Kuil and Platfontein it is unlikely that the Vasekele !Xun and the Khwe will benefit financially from tourism in the near future. They simply do not live in an environment where tourism affordances are widely available. The basics for decent tourism are lacking. The few affordances that are there are very uncertain and it is unlikely that this will change in the near future with no game reserve or national park nearby. In the end, tourism in Southern Africa is nature based, and in this part of South Africa, the Northern Cape, a more general problem is attracting tourists to the area. Let's stay in the Northern Cape and see if there are more affordances in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park area where the South Kalahari Bushmen live. Kgalagadi itself is the largest protected area of the Northern Cape and there are plenty of Bushmen and lively tourist developments there.

Discussion

The Khwe have always been engaged in a symbiotic relationship with the Mbukushu and Mafwe Bantu groups and with whites, but often with conflicting interests and agendas. In their relationship with the Mbukushu, they are generally pushed into subordination, something that was even worse when many of them worked for the South African army. Traces of the Khwe's involvement in the Namibian liberation war can still be seen and after independence they were also involved in two violent conflicts, mostly against their will. This has continued to generate tension and suspicion between the var-

ious ethnic groups, institutions and government departments. When the conservation movement started to focus on Bwabwata after independence this was the second group of whites to show a protective, paternalistic attitude to the Bushmen, at least partly because they saw them as natural conservationists. So once again, an element from the superstructure, a mythical idea, has directly influenced the infrastructure. Today, the Khwe are engaged in a tense relationship with the Mbukushu and in a symbiotic relationship with the conservation movement, in which the NGO IRDNC, together with the WWF, some other donors and the MET, have set the rules and regulations of what living inside a national park may entail. There are opposing interests between the Mbukushu and the conservationists, especially in relation to land tenure, and both have good connections in the government. The Mbukushu chief is in a position of influence at a higher level in Windhoek, while the conservation movement has good ties with the MET and supports CBNRM in Bwabwata. The rules and regulations, as set by these players at the level of structure, continue to influence the Khwe's environment as enabling constraints. Today, the Khwe also have a direct relationship with the MET via the Kyaramacan Association (although the IRDNC tends to play a pivotal role in this), an institution that is formally supposed to represent all the inhabitants in Bwabwata but informally is more of a Khwe organisation and strongly identifies with the Khwe Bushmen and the Bushman myth. Through Kyaramacan, the Khwe have gained formal political power (but not *as* Khwe), which the government has denied them by not accepting a Khwe chief. To the Khwe, a recognised chief is an essential affordance politically and the current government of Namibia has ensured that they have remained voiceless, whereas the Mbukushu and Mafwe have recognised chiefs for a long time. This situation has provided the Mbukushu and Mafwe with power and possibilities for gaining economic capital, which has resulted in tourism affordances immediately east and west of Bwabwata but also inside the park with the Bum Hill and Nambwa community campsites, leaving the Khwe sidelined and with limited agency.

The affordance of the authentic Bushman for the Khwe is limited because they have never been seen as real Bushmen. Still, they want to gain economic capital in tourism, for example by making crafts (baskets), developing a living museum in Mutc'iku or performing (Hiyemacan //Au). For these activities, practical support is limited and in the case of the latter they are considered 'not community enough' for support by the more powerful corporate institutions such as the IRDNC and Kyaramacan. The development of small-scale entrepreneurialism has proved to be a slow and difficult process for various Khwe, in which people expect more support from outsiders (IRDNC, WWF, MET) and insiders (IRDNC, Kyaramacan) because they feel as if they are not gaining any benefits from the CBNRM policy, while they are embracing tourism, and they can only benefit if they operate according to the rules and regulations set by outsiders. What they are demonstrating is the wish to be active in the wider cultural economy in order to maximise profits, but they feel constrained in this due to their limited agency. At the N//goabaca community-based campsite, their ambiguous relationship with the government was shown, since the MET has supported N//goabaca financially, while other ministries have ignored the Khwe completely and built a prison farm adjacent to N//goabaca, thus downgrading its tourist potential. An upgrade of the campsite is planned in

line with a tender for a private operator to build a lodge at White Sands. This is something the Khwe support, and they are showing strong dependency on outsiders in this but the plans are highly ambitious and the benefits will be focused mainly on economic capital, just as in the trophy hunting concessionaires. Still, in the recent history of the Khwe, acquiring the affordances N//goabaca and later the tender for White Sands and the hunting concessionaires are important achievements because it demonstrates that they can indeed be seen as a people politically, although it is unlikely that this would have happened without outside support, in this case from the IRDNC in particular. The different agendas for Kyaramacan, the local Khwe, the unrecognised Khwe chief, the MET, the IRDNC and the private hunting operators are shown for the hunting concessionaires. High financial benefits have complicated matters socially and created a power game between the various stakeholders. While the discussion has focused on whether or not bribery was involved, this was not particularly significant to some of those involved who focused more on relations with the hunter, exchanging affordances to maximise profits for both. Big money has created turmoil in Bwabwata, something that also showed in the early 'sale' of White Sands by the Mbukushu chief and the unrecognised Khwe chief, before Kyaramacan officially won the tender. Interestingly for the hunting concession, Kyaramacan was the corporate body that was targeted for lobby activities by the IRDNC *and* a hunting operator, while some Kyaramacan members were blamed for breaking the formal rules due to the influence of hunters. As a result of this political turmoil, the majority of Khwe were left without any benefits from the affordance of trophy hunting. However, it is unlikely that the regular provision of money and meat – although welcomed with open arms – will essentially change the marginalised status of the Khwe Bushmen. Interestingly, the government (MET) has decided that it needs half the money that comes from trophy hunting because it is taking place on state land. They are thus showing their dominance over the Khwe once again, but also that money does not automatically mean (em)power(ment) for the marginalised. The Kyaramacan members' own initiative to engage in a relationship with the 'bad' trophy hunter (as seen by the IRDNC) demonstrates how they can use their agency by ignoring some formalities and their most important support NGO (IRDNC) and initiating their own activities. However, they dwell in a patron-client relationship with IRDNC (and most likely also with the trophy hunters) and are therefore dependent upon this NGO in many ways. The argument was primarily between the two patrons, the IRDNC and Huntafrica Namibia, *via* the Khwe. The IRDNC provided the biggest enablements and affordances to date for the Khwe in Bwabwata, while also constraining their agency. Interestingly, the Khwe's agency is very limited in policy making, and they are excluded from wider plans that will influence them, such as the creation of KAZA and the planned increase in tourism that will come with it. The Khwe were not even aware of KAZA, although negotiations have been going on for about seven years. Some people at IRDNC and WWF have realised that such 'elite policy making' can be a threat to local communities, but KAZA was still not known by the Khwe in Bwabwata. So at a certain level, information stops, not crossing from the structure level to the infrastructure, although plans are likely to influence the infrastructure level in the future. This shows once again how decisions are being made *for* the Khwe instead of *by* them. Just as for the Ju/'hoansi in Nyae Nyae, it

seems as if dwelling as the Khwe once did in Bwabwata has now turned into lodging because of their limited control over the various affordances in the changed environment that they are being confronted with and have to adapt to. Control lies mainly at the level of structure and their environment dominates.

The Khwe Bushmen are more spread out than any other group of Bushmen in Southern Africa. Although dynamics in tourism amongst the Khwe in Botswana and South Africa differ slightly, various similarities can also be identified. They all tend to act without political power and with agency limited to the infrastructure level, where they dwell in marginalisation. The tourism enablements are thought out at the structure level, leaving them sidelined. In Khwai, Botswana or Platfontein, South Africa, they are constrained in dwelling in tourism by their own authentic mythical image. While this image can be commodified and can function as an affordance, it can also be a constraint, making the powerless Khwe nothing but authentic ornaments of nature in tourism.

Imagined and branded: South Kalahari Bushmen dwelling in a land claim outside Kgalagadi

Welcome to the Southern Kalahari: The researcher's gaze and contradictions

On a cold, sunny morning in June 2010 we (the Centre for Communication, Media & Society, CCMS, and research affiliates) had our first encounter with local Bushmen when Martha 'Vinkie' van der Westhuyzen described SASI's projects, the people and the history of the area. Then from afar we heard a noise and saw a donkey cart coming our way with two or three drunken men on it. One of them turned out to be the traditional leader Dawid Kruiper, who came over to meet us. He asked 'Prof.' Keyan Tomaselli for money and complained about Pieter Makomele from the government, Nigel Crawhall and SASI and wondered what the big Zimbabwean postdoctoral researcher from CCMS, Nhamo Mhiripiri, was doing in our midst. He called Nhamo *kaffir*, and later called him 'the boss' because he was so tall.

Mhiripiri found the encounter with Kruiper interesting. He enjoyed meeting him because he had heard so much about him but had never met him before. Kruiper requested a photo with Mhiripiri, even though it is normally Kruiper who asks money for photos taken of him. As Mhiripiri is quite tall and Kruiper quite small, Mhiripiri said that Kruiper tried to befriend him by using humour. This turned the tables around and all the attention was now directed towards Mhiripiri, the researcher, *and* Kruiper. As Mboti (2012: 64) explained, "(r)esearch amongst or *with* people is distinct from research with *objects* because objects do not return the researcher's look/gaze". To me, this photograph symbolises the gaze that is returned from the researched to the researcher, as well as the many contradictions in this part of the Kalahari.

Tomaselli's book title *Where Global Contradictions Are Sharpest: Research Stories from the Kalahari* (2005), summarises how I experienced my stay in this part of the Kalahari. It was full of contradictions. We camped in temperatures of minus 11°C and felt the heat of the sun during the day, the encounter with Kruiper as described above was full of humour but sad at the same time, we saw material wealth at the Molopo

Lodge and the results of poverty and hopelessness just outside the fence, we saw drunken people lying beside the road, we saw the big difference between blacks and whites, we saw strong ideas about apartheid and about equality, we experienced loud noise in the middle of the night and were woken up by drunken Afrikaners pitching their tent next to ours at Molopo and we experienced peace, quiet and tranquillity on the top of a sand dune at the Kalahari Trails, and so on. Indeed, the Kalahari is not only full of contradictions; the Kalahari is full of *extremes*.

Photo 5.1 A contradiction of tall and small and a returned gaze: Nhamo Mhiripiri & Dawid Kruiper



Author's photo

A few weeks later, after I interviewed Kruiper, he asked me for a lift to a nearby farm. It was then that the man who was so rough when we met him drunk the first time, told me soft-heartedly in his friendly and quiet voice, to turn around when we were on the way to the farm because my car might break down on the bumpy gravel track. Although transport is a big problem for the people in this part of the world, he kept saying that he did not want my car to break down because I gave him a lift, ending almost every other sentence with *myn jong* (my boy). He was extremely empathetic, friendly and relaxed throughout the interview. Kruiper, the traditional leader of the Bushmen, is the

personification of the contradictions of the Kalahari. Sadly, two years later, in the middle of 2012, I received an email saying that Dawid Kruiper passed away on the morning of the 13th of June in Upington (Keyan Tomaselli, email, 13 June 2012). Apparently his funeral was a media circus with the government showing off as do-gooders while ignoring local community members (Grant 2012: 1-2).

Introduction: South Kalahari Bushmen dwelling in a ≠Khomani environment

Why Kgalagadi?

More than any other Bushman group, the ≠Khomani, as most people call the South Kalahari Bushmen today, are an imagined community with invented traditions. In fact, the group was made up of smaller groups for a land claim to increase its chances of success. The authentic Bushman identity, in this case as ‘authentic’ ≠Khomani, was used before and after the land claim and it is a phenomenon that has played an important role in the process, either required or acquired by the people (W. Ellis 2010: 181). This identity is still being used and required, especially in tourism, and many people realise that this continues to push the South Kalahari Bushmen to the edge of imagination. Today the South Kalahari Bushmen are even *branded* as ≠Khomani.

The South Kalahari Bushmen are interesting because they are so extremely imagined, which is linked with capitalist strategies such as branding. In addition, their successful land claim shows what happened after an indigenous group of people got its land back. This is the only case study in this thesis in which Bushmen actually became the formal owners of land.

Early South Kalahari Bushmen relations

At the beginning of the twentieth century, various groups made up the South Kalahari Bushmen who lived and hunted in most of the southern half of the still-to-be-established Kalahari Gemsbok National Park and the northern part of today’s Mier Reserve. The dominant language groups were ≠Khomani, /’Auni and N/amani (Robins *et al.* 2001: 6). In 1865 the Baster Chief Dirk Vilander and his pastoralist followers started to occupy lands in the current Mier area and Rietfontein (White 1995: 29) and as time passed, more white and coloured settlers moved into these territories. This forced the South Kalahari Bushmen to move deeper into the Kalahari or to work in servile relationships with the white farmers and coloured stock owners. Later, some became clients of white academics and state officials and were allowed to live in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park where they could work as herders and game wardens in return for limited hunting rights, wages and clothes (Sylvain 2002: 1081; White 1995: 31-32).

The Kalahari Gemsbok National Park was established in 1931 after Piet Grobler, the then Minister of Lands, successfully lobbied for the establishment of the park (Ramutsindela 2005: 31; Schenck 2008: 18). Grobler was a staunch Afrikaner nationalist and due to his cultural and political values, the area was populated mainly by Afrikaans-speaking families. He explicitly wanted the park to become a refuge for the Bushmen so that they could avoid extinction. At first, visitors were not allowed and for tourists, it

was not only too remote but there were also no facilities or rest camps. One of the local landowners, Johannes Le Riche, was appointed as warden and the Le Riche family would become the dynastic wardens of Kalahari Gemsbok. In 1938, at the request of South Africa, the colonial authorities in Bechuanaland (now Botswana) proclaimed a game reserve on their side of the Nossob River that would be administered by the South Africans (Carruthers 2003: 260). Later, Johannes's brother Joep (officially Joseph) Le Riche, 'the man who cared', was appointed temporarily but stayed in this position for 36 years (SANParks 2012; Schenck 2008: 19). Many of the current elders of the Bushmen lived in the park during the Le Riche days.

In 1936 the South African Minister of Native Affairs was impressed by the South Kalahari Bushmen and wanted them to continue hunting in the park, just as Grobler did. He stated that "(w)e must treat these Bushmen as fauna" (cited in Hitchcock *et al.* 2006: 9). However, the eviction of the Bushmen from their land started as early as the 1930s and the land became part of the newly established Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, although it was only in the early 1970s that the most decisive evictions of Bushmen from the park took place. The first attempt to obtain a tract of land for the South Kalahari Bushmen was initiated by Donald Bain who had wanted to establish a Bushman reserve since 1925 (Gordon 1995: 30). He told spectators

what an unremitting struggle these children of nature are fighting ... (N)o matter how primitive or rascally ... these individuals are still living beings, and if reserves can be created for wild animals, why can we not stand together and create a reserve for these unfortunates. (Meyer, n.d., cited in Gordon 1995: 29)

The Minister of Native Affairs promised that the Bushmen could continue traditional hunting in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park but when the park fell under the South African National Parks Board this right was denied them, partly because they were not seen as 'pure' or 'traditional' Bushmen – most of them spoke Nama or Afrikaans and some hunted with dogs – and also because they were thought to be a threat to the game that was there for tourists.¹ Bain's efforts to establish a reserve were supported by a number of prominent academics and scientists but never materialised due to opposition from local farmers who were concerned that a reserve would affect their access to cheap labour. In 1940, De Villiers and the ethnologist Dr. van Warmelo decided that a reserve was of national importance to preserve the Bushmen's language and culture for further study and to create a safe haven for this marginalised group. However, opposition from the National Parks Board and local farmers, who considered such a reserve a land value deliberation and believed it was not right to establish such a reserve 'among whites', made this politically sensitive so most of the Bushmen finally integrated into the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, preferring their patronage relationship with Joep Le Riche. The reserve was ready and the land was there but the main actors in the process were not the Bushmen but a patronising colonial government and other private and public benefactors (Schenck 2008: 78-84). Power relations had become hierarchical, often based on *baasskap*, and the Bushmen now dwelt with various new actors in their environment.

¹ This is strange reasoning as there were no visitors to the park in these early days (Carruthers 2003: 260). I assume there were *plans* to start tourism in the park then.

In the apartheid era, from the 1950s onwards, the remaining small Bushmen groups were classified as 'coloureds' and were reduced to dwelling in harsh and poverty-stricken conditions in remote parts of the Northern Cape. After a long war of social attrition, almost all the Bushmen left the park in the early 1970s and settled in the neighbouring reserve of the Mier where they were classified as coloureds. Very little was known about the Bushmen living in South Africa during the apartheid years and they were generally thought to have become extinct (Carruthers 2003: 261-262; Robins *et al.* 2001: 6-7). Some of them settled in the township of Welkom, about 10 km south of Kalahari Gemsbok, others started living and working at cultural tourist facilities in the Northern Cape, while yet others started to move to different parts of South Africa, Botswana and Namibia. As a displaced indigenous group, the Bushmen were assimilated into or dominated by local pastoralist groups and their cultural practices survived only sporadically while their hunter-gatherer lifestyle was severely compromised or effectively destroyed (Grossman & Holden 2009: 365). Clearly, the environment they had dwelt in for a long time had now changed beyond recognition in a limited time span, and they were entering into various new relationships, also with white farmers. The majority of South Kalahari Bushmen worked as farm labourers in harsh conditions. Paternalism, surveillance and social control made them docile and dependent in an ultra-conservative white farming community (Robins *et al.* 2001: 42). In the park, the Afrikaner staff held onto the old *baasskap* system. Belinda Kruiper, who came from the Cape, used to work in the park and would later marry into the Kruiper family, facilitated meetings between tourists and the Bushmen outside the park while the white employers in the park could not believe why she would do so, although the tourists seemed to enjoy it (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 22-23). Many of the current elders of the South Kalahari Bushmen used to work in the park, which is frustrating since today one can only work there if they have a certain level of formal education. Adam Bok clearly explained that

Kgalagadi Park, it was built by uneducated children, not the ones that went to school and finished secondary school, but it was the uneducated children that made the park into what it is today ... Dawid Kruiper, Ou Buks Kruiper, Ou Gert Swartz, Willem Swartz, Jan van der Westhuyzen, Vet Piet, they built it up. (Interview 102)

This sense of exclusion is still felt today among most elders and shows how modernisation is playing an ever more important role. In addition, Bok sees the park as something that was built up in their environment, and he wants to emphasize their role in this process, seeing the park as symbolic capital of the Bushmen elders.

Dwelling in tourism at Kagga Kamma

When working a few years in tourism for a tour operator in Kuruman (Northern Cape) named Lokkie Henning in the late 1980s (Grant 2011: 97), the Kruiper family, a group of about thirty former farm workers, were 'discovered' to be Kalahari Bushmen. In 1991 an Afrikaner farmer, De Waal, subsequently offered them board and lodging on his farm in the Cedarberg Mountains in the Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve, a few hours north of Cape Town, where they staged a daily show for tourists. The Kagga Kamma management actively discouraged personal contact between the Bushmen and the tour-

ists in a backstage environment, which resulted in the group being portrayed in the media as the last surviving group of hunter-gatherers, appearing regularly in the tourist literature, newspapers and on television (Gall 2001: 39-40; Robins *et al.* 2001: 2-7). The reason given by the owners as to why tourists should not visit the Bushman camp was that it ensured privacy for the Bushmen but the conditions of the settlement compared with the tourists' luxury accommodation casts doubts on this reasoning (White 1995: 41). The traditionally dressed Kruiper family attracted a great deal of national and international attention from CNN, *Time* and *National Geographic* in the 1990s (Robins 2000: 57-58). The promotional material on Kagga Kamma highlighted the Bushmen's presence as representatives of the Stone Age, as stereotyped images of 'pure' Bushmen living in harmony with nature (Buntman 1996: 271; Gordon *et al.* 1996: 267-268). This carried the danger that the people would start to see themselves as having this seemingly authentic lifestyle, representing a culture that was not necessarily their own and it might then 'museumise' them (Buntman 1996: 276-278). Indeed, Dawid Kruiper explained that "*I am an animal of nature. I want people to see me and know who I am. The only way our tradition and way of life can survive is to live in the memory of the people who see us*" (cited in White 1995: 17, my emphasis). 'Seeing', in this case, can be taken as being entirely mediated by the market because they lived at a simulated hunter-gatherer camp and were invited by the owner of Kagga Kamma who urged them to dress traditionally for tourists and display their crafts (for sale). After the usual cultural performances, tourists would return to their luxury chalets and the Bushmen would exchange their loin cloths for western rags and move to a shanty settlement. It is precisely by removing the traditional traces they enacted for tourists that they ended up not as just beggars in ordinary clothes, however miserable their lives might have been in some ways, but by being seen, they became a people with a culture ("tradition and way of life") and in turn could *see* themselves this way (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009: 10-11). So also here in South Africa, the authentic Bushman image had become a trade product, an affordance in the Bushmen's environment for survival, but also an important aspect of their identity.

The Bushmen at Kagga Kamma did not have a cash income apart from what they earned from selling crafts. The owners argued that they were provided with free accommodation and with limited rights to use the flora and fauna for subsistence purposes (which they are incapable of because the environment differs substantially from the Kalahari and is very rocky) but the Bushmen were seen as incapable of handling money. In addition, they believed that Bushmen should not hanker after money or consumer goods if they truly wished to live traditionally. Some of the crafts are sold to the management who sell them to tourists for double the original price, but this is done exclusively in the form of credit to the store's accounts, which are under the control of the management. These working conditions led to resistance. Sixteen Bushmen left Kagga Kamma while others sometimes showed up late for performances or they performed poorly. They worked there because they lacked better options (White 1995: 40-46), which showed how Bushmen could also use their agency but limited to the level of infrastructure. This changed after Regopstaan Kruiper, the father of Dawid Kruiper, told his dream to the human-rights lawyer Roger Chennels about returning to the Kalahari

(Walker 2000) and Chennels became the lawyer of the extended Kruiper family in the 1990s. In the end, the management of Kagga Kamma gave up on the Bushmen because they were considered unreliable and not disciplined enough to work in tourism but also because of the negative publicity they created (Tomaselli 2012b: 27-28). The Kagga Kamma case shows something often overlooked in cooperation between the private sector and the Bushmen, namely that “(t)he Kagga Kamma owners were former sheep farmers, now businesspeople, not social or development workers; they could not ... have been expected to understand the finer points of representational or anthropological theory, ethics of tourism or development theory” (*Ibid.*: 26).

After the South Kalahari Bushmen left Kagga Kamma in May 1999 to return to the Kalahari because of the land claim, the owner of the farm replaced them with coloured people in order to be able to continue the shows for tourists. This created considerable controversy and some leaders felt exploited again. The involvement in tourism at Kagga Kamma has provided some of the Bushmen with skills and capacities to engage with outsiders such as tourists, NGOs and journalists, but they were historically caught up in paternalistic client-patron relationships and their dealings with outsiders were shaped by dependency on farmers, tourists, donors and NGOs. However, they were not only passive victims of exploitation by film makers, the Kagga Kamma management and tourists, since for more than a decade they obtained an income from tourism, participated in a successful land claim and took their own decision to leave Kagga Kamma. So Bushman imagery based on primitivist and tribal discourse is not always imposed from above by the West on powerless victims. These are often reshaped and rearticulated from below (Robins 2000; Robins *et al.* 2001: 7-32). In line with this, the Bushmen at Kagga Kamma are neither ‘untouched’ hunter-gatherers nor are they isolated from modernisation and the industrialised world. They produce crafts and perform services for tourists, which shows that they actively participate in the global cash economy (White 1995: 25).

The land claim and the creation of the ≠Khomani myth

In 1995 the South Kalahari Bushmen launched a land claim with the assistance of Roger Chennels, resulting in a formal ceremony at the Molopo Lodge with the then Deputy President Mbeki, the Minister of Land Affairs Derek Hanekom, Petrus Vaalbooi, Dawid Kruiper and many others on 21 March 1999 (Robins *et al.* 2001: 7). It was Hanekom (cited in Finlay & Barnabas 2012: 139) who said that “(w)e are here today celebrating more than just the settlement of a land claim. We are celebrating the rebirth of the ≠Khomani San nation”. Originally the National Parks Board resisted the land claim and disputed whether the group of claimants had really lived inside the park, while questioning the group’s identity and the status of ‘indigenous people’ in the Constitution. However, there was political support for the claim (Carruthers 2003), which might have been stronger due to all the international attention the traditionally dressed Bushmen attracted. The claims were intensified by stressing their aboriginal and tribal status and the stereotypical representation of these Bushmen as primordialist (Robins 2000). The claim consisted of four groups of people who in their own way had all required or acquired a Bushman identity to become part of the claiming ≠Khomani group. First, the

original claimants were the people from Kagga Kamma, who were mostly members of the Kruiper family. Second, another group of original claimants were three family groups that were linked to the removals from the park in the 1930s. A third group consisted of N/u speakers, although most of them did not have links with the dispossession due to the proclamation of the park in 1931. This group was chosen because of their Bushman identity. Fourth, officials from the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) advised the claimants that their claim would be stronger if they included all the Bushmen from the Northern Cape, which resulted in what many call 'fake' Bushmen participating in the claim. Clearly, the issue of Bushman authenticity and identity is strongly related to the land claim (W. Ellis 2010: 185-187).

About 300 adult Bushmen were involved in the land claim and around 450 emerged from the diaspora following the land claim (Robins *et al.* 2001: 2). Although they tend to have low literacy levels, particularly in rural areas, the first phase of the land claim was successfully completed by early 2000, which meant a transfer of ownership and management of six farms in the Southern Kalahari over an area of approximately 38,000 ha about 60 km south of Kgalagadi. In August 2002 the second phase of the land claim was completed. The community then received another 25,000 ha inside the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park and significant cultural, symbolic and commercial rights for approximately half of the park (Chennels & Du Toit 2004: 104-108). The part inside Kgalagadi is called the !Ae !Hai Kalahari Heritage Park and one of the commercial rights in the park was to establish tourism activities, such as taking tourists on guided walking trails and organising overnight facilities and infrastructure to support such activities. Others were the right to build a San cultural village with an information centre, to set up a permanent rest camp and to establish a community gate levy for a trust account for Bushmen development projects (Grossman & Holden 2009: 365; Robins *et al.* 2001: 26-27). While the ≠Khomani were busy with their land claim, the Mier community, which experienced a history of dispossession and inhabited parts of the park, also claimed some land. This was complicated because the area they claimed overlapped with land claimed by the Bushmen, while many Bushmen were also partial beneficiaries of this claim since they had become Mier residents. Still, both land claims were resolved the day before the scheduled handover ceremony in March 1999 (Grossman & Holden 2009: 367). Shortly after the claim, Steven Robins (2001: 834) wondered why this harmonious cohesive community had so quickly become a fractured group of individuals that was trying to maintain the idea of a community. In addition, while there was worldwide attention for the Bushmen's land claim, silence surrounded the claim of the Mier, as if the Bushmen were living in the area as a separate group (W. Ellis 2001: 256).

With the recognition that the Bushmen had used Mier land in the past, the Mier agreed to hand over 7000 ha to the ≠Khomani before 27 May 2008. This would preferably be land located next to !Ae !Hai. In addition, South African National Parks (SANParks) would contribute up to ZAR 500,000 for the setting up of this conservation area, which is meant for conservation, eco-tourism and culture and to a lesser extent for housing and agriculture. If the Mier would be late on this they would, by agreement, increase their part to 8000 ha but in 2006 and 2007 Farms 24 (Rolletjies) and 26 (Son-

derwater) were transferred to the ≠Khomani (Boesmanraad 2009: 1; EcoAfrica 2008: 8; Holden 2007: 60-61). Rolletjies is 2983 ha and Sonderwater 3037 ha (Massyn *et al.* 2010: 63) so they are 6020 ha together and it would seem that this deal has not yet been completed. This was all still part of the agreed second part of the land claim. A third farm, Blinkwater,² is situated in between Rolletjies and Sonderwater. The ≠Khomani are now planning to buy Blinkwater so that they have three adjoining farms that they could fence and make into one game farm to use for conservation and traditional activities. Another option would be to exchange Rolletjies or Sonderwater farm for Blinkwater so that they would have one piece of land instead of two separate tracts (see Map 5.1). The tourist activities that were proposed to develop this traditional conservation area might have been inspired by the Ju/'hoansi living museum in Grashoek, Namibia (*Ibid.*: 76). It is clear that the focus of outsiders in Kgalagadi is again on the Bushmen as traditional, primordial people. In their environment, their primordialism has become an affordance. However, it is doubtful whether these Bushmen are all real Bushmen and, if so, whether most of them are not from the ≠Khomani group. In this case, '≠Khomani-ness' is the affordance.

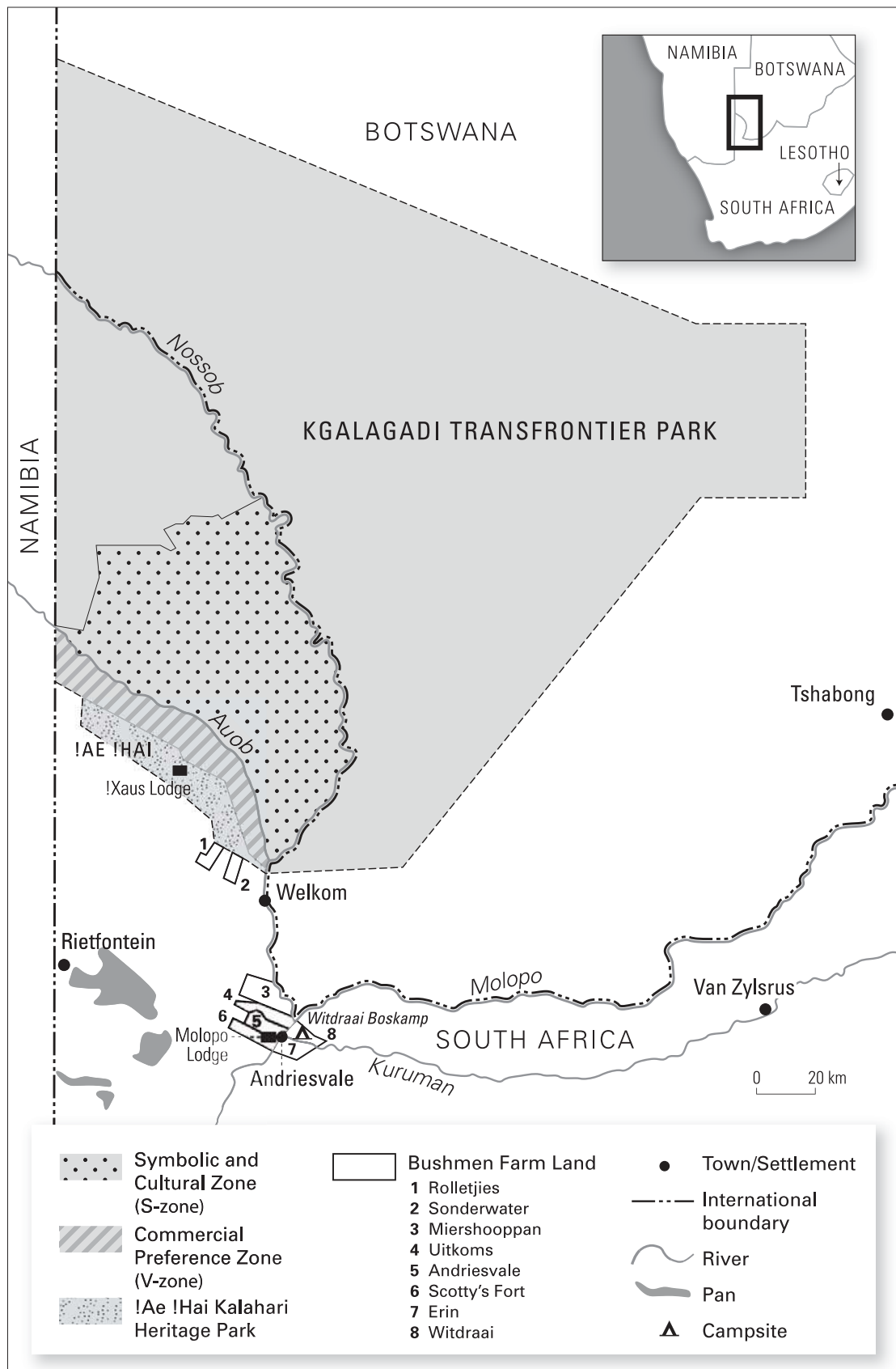
The original ≠Khomani clan does not have a lot to do with the ≠Khomani group today. The present ≠Khomani are a politically and economically constructed group based on a myth and, as such, have more to do with the whole land claim than with a traditional group of hunter-gatherers. Chennels himself said that "(i)t is a myth that there is a community of ≠khomani San. At the moment there is no such thing" (1999, cited in Robins 2003: 277; cf. W. Ellis 2010: 185). Even the name ≠Khomani is a label attached by outsiders and is a misnomer wrongly applied to western N/u speakers in the 1930s (Schenck 2008: 105). The term was first ascribed by Dorothea Bleek in 1911 to the western Bushmen in the area (W. Ellis 2010: 185). In the new South Africa after apartheid, the symbolic value of the Bushmen and the idea that they would go back to their land created sympathy but most '≠Khomani' who joined the land claim lived in Kuruman, Upington or other faraway rural villages or towns in the Northern Cape. In addition, many people are a mix of one of the South Kalahari Bushmen groups, the coloureds (Mier) and the Nama. People started to see themselves as ≠Khomani because of the land claim but in reality they often do not know where they come from or to which group they originally belonged. Petrus Vaalbooi told me that he could not understand why the government changed the name prior to the land claim from South Kalahari Bushmen to ≠Khomani San, and he said that he is not a ≠Khomani or a San, but that outsiders decided to name them so. He explained that he is *a Bushman*. And Ruben Festus from Upington explained that

I am not so familiar with the word '≠Khomani', this is a word I received only recently ... it is hard for me to respond, because I do not know what it means ... But what I can tell you Stasja is that I am a descendant of the Kalahari Bushmen through my mother's side. (Interview 135)

Festus, who is a member of the Kruiper family, explained how the research done by SASI in the 1990s led to corruption because many people wanted to benefit from the

² This is also the farm where Belinda and Vetkat Kruiper stayed. Their life at Blinkwater and that of the 'Riverbed Kids' is described in *Kalahari RainSong* (Bregin & Kruiper 2004).

Map 5.1 Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park and the farms



Based on: Massyn *et al.* (2010: 12), reproduced with permission.

land claim.³ It was in the government's interests to incorporate as many Bushmen into this claim as possible to reduce the chance of further claims. Being a 'Bushman' thus became a desirable asset (Schenck 2008: 99). In line with this, Julie Grant explained that some Bushmen will tell you they can hunt traditionally but in reality they cannot. They do this probably to justify a Bushman identity in relation to the land claim.

After Dawid Kruiper's death in June 2012 his funeral was used by the government who apparently turned the event into a media circus, showing themselves as do-gooders while ignoring local community members. They honoured Kruiper with a state funeral because of his role in the land claim, which sounds appropriate and generous. However, most of the present government departments hardly supported the South Kalahari Bushmen since the claim. For the funeral though, an unsealed road, two car parks, a tent and portable toilets were erected for all the attending officials, things that never happened for the Bushmen since 1999. While the tent was fully packed with officials and media many of the local Bushmen could not fit in anymore and had to wait outside, and it seemed as if the government was mainly concerned about being *seen* to do the right thing (Grant 2012: 1-2). This event shows the power relations between the local Bushmen and the government, and in this case the government uses the symbolic capital of the Bushmen to be seen, to show to the nation that they do the right thing. The Bushmen's authenticity, or even the Bushmen personified by Dawid Kruiper, is symbolic capital that the government converts to strengthen its own cultural capital.

Dwelling on the farms after the claim

Six adjacent farms called Erin, Andriesvale, Scotty's Fort, Miershooppan, Witdraai and Uitkoms, were claimed first and Sonderwater and Rolletjies are uninhabited, are far away and planned for the traditional conservation area. In total, the Bushmen received eight farms, but they only live at six of them. There are towns and settlements around the six farms that are important for the Bushmen, such as Ashkam, Rietfontein, Welkom, Loubos, Philandersbron and Noenieput. Some people come from these places and still have family there. Before the claim, many Bushmen lived in Welkom, just outside Kgalagadi. Most of the other farms in the area belong to white South Africans, mostly Afrikaners, and Bushmen sometimes work there, often for very low wages because the farmers believe they cannot handle money. This creates a vicious circle in which the Bushmen are unmotivated and go job-hopping, which in turn confirms the white farmers' ideas of Bushmen as lazy and unreliable employees.

Despite the successful claim, the Bushmen continued to live in poverty-stricken and difficult conditions, and were denied their basic human rights. They complained about intimidation and maltreatment by the police, the sexual and physical abuse of Bushmen children at school (in Askham) and the passive attitude of the DLA in their land and settlement developments. In addition, there were many issues that needed attention in

³ Many people on the farms are of the opinion that those Bushmen living in nearby towns such as Upington should not be allowed to have a say in the management of the farms. These Bushmen, of which Festus is an example, tend to be higher educated and therefore also more powerful (Keyan Tomaselli, pers. comm.). Indeed, "urban based ≠Khomani elites, with their superior education, have tried to influence the development process to their own benefit at the expense of the ≠Khomani living on the farms" (Grant 2011: 48).

the ≠Khomani communities themselves, such as governance, substance abuse, factionalism and interpersonal conflict (Hitchcock *et al.* 2006: 24-25; SAHRC 2004). All these struggles resulted in government intervention in 2002 due to a lack of capacities to manage all the aspects of their newly acquired land and a lack of leadership within the community. Close supervision and control by the DLA was needed for an indeterminate period. The ≠Khomani currently manage the land under a form of benign curatorship (Chennels & Du Toit 2004: 104-108). The new ≠Khomani community started its task of managing the six farms, which was challenging as they mostly have little formal education or previous experience of land management or ownership. There is little adequate support from NGOs and the government and even functioning community representation has not yet been achieved. The empowered few have become richer at the expense of the impoverished majority (Grossman & Holden 2009: 366). Belinda Kruiper believed that the land claim was a formal arrangement but that in reality it had brought conflict and community division because “it came with a lot of strings attached – most importantly, development, the Western version. Everybody was determined to help the Bushmen, and all had their own agendas to impose” (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 92). So the story, which was supposed to be one of hope and transformation, has turned into one of decay and disillusionment. Little development has taken place since the land claim due to a lack of support from the government and divisions within the community.

There is a lot of distrust within the Kruiper family. For example, Andrew Kruiper from Welkom explained about Dawid that at the land ceremony Thabo Mbeki “told him (Dawid Kruiper), you must be careful for the vultures, and for the hyenas. It looks to me as if the hyenas and vultures have already started eating from Oupa Dawid” (Interview 129). Indeed, the Kruipers feel as if they are the original and traditional claimants, and now many others have become involved. Most people do not believe that Dawid Kruiper is still capable of leading the Bushmen but they all see him as the rightful traditional leader because he is descended from the previous leaders Ou Makai and Regopstaan, according to the genealogical model. Belinda Kruiper, who married into the family, was very harsh:

I will always love and honour him. However, as a leader, I have no respect for him. We no longer sit and discuss politics the way we used to because he has nothing of value to say. All that comes out of his mouth are tired clichés ... (His intentions) were sound. But they were *overwhelmed by bigger forces*. He became caught up in a game too big for him, a pawn in other people’s agendas. (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 95, my emphasis)

The fact that Dawid Kruiper was ‘overwhelmed by bigger forces’ shows the encapsulation of the people and how traditional leaders can play an essential role. By such ‘bigger forces’, I believe Belinda Kruiper means more powerful institutions such as NGOs, the government, the media, scientists, private operators and consultants. These forces are relations of the Bushmen and are an everyday reality in their environment today, leaving their traces at the infrastructure level. To some these affordances create a variety of benefits which they can maximise in a formalist economic way, whereas to others these affordances are more like threats. For example, Dawid Kruiper himself remembered how he was involved in the early days of SASI, explaining that he

saw WIMSA is a big cow with milk. So I want some advantages from WIMSA, I want to take out some money from them. Such a big cow ... Then they started SASI ... But still I do not have ad-

vantages, SASI is on my land and they make money there and I get nothing from that. I am nothing, they just take over. (Interview 120)

In Dawid Kruiper's environment 'advantages' are seen as money, one of the most important affordances for Bushmen. This makes sense, since in today's world money creates various possibilities. However, it seems to be as if money has now become the number one goal in many development projects, while in rhetoric surrounding it money is not a goal, but a means to other ends. The Bushmen's integration into the cash economy has let them take over the capitalist idea of money as a goal in itself, an idea they could well have picked up from the various NGOs or private operators they work with, but also from farmers or tourists, and today money is an important part of their value system, whether one is traditional or western.

Traditionalists and westerners

An often-mentioned conflict in the community of the South Kalahari Bushmen is the split between the traditionalists and the westerners. While they presented themselves as homogeneous and cohesive before the land claim, as part of the strategy to achieve the claim, they turned out not to be as cohesive as first thought. This was shown after the land claim when tensions, intra-community divisions and conflict appeared, especially between traditionalists and westerners and their respective leaders Dawid Kruiper and Petrus Vaalbooi (Robins 2000: 66-69; 2001: 841-842). In general, Bushmen societies are seen as authentic when their main livelihood strategy is hunting and gathering. This has led to a devaluation and marginalisation of other livelihood options (W. Ellis 2010: 192). Kruiper, who used to work in the game park, is seen as the 'authentic, traditional' leader and Vaalbooi became the first chair of the Communal Property Association (CPA).⁴ Westerners tend to be materially better off; engage in stock farming as well as game farming and feel that a return to a traditional lifestyle is impossible, whereas traditionalists feel that only game farming should take place on the land (W. Ellis 2001: 260). In addition, westerners are keen to learn about modern, technological developments. For example, Vaalbooi explained in *Out of Eden* that the Bushmen can never return to life as it was and that it is more important now to learn about video recorders and computers (Vredeveld 2001). So Vaalbooi and other westerners embrace many of the indigenous modernities in technology and farming methods, whereas the traditionalists still embrace the image of the primordial Bushmen and tourism as indigenous modernities.

The division between traditionalists and westerners makes no sense in reality, since people are very restricted in their traditional livelihood options and a real traditional lifestyle based on hunting and gathering as subsistence is unrealistic today. The Bushmen were forced to legitimise their land claim by showing cultural characteristics based

⁴ Communal Property Associations or CPAs were created in South Africa after 1990. They became structures for communities to reclaim land, even in national parks (Ramutsindela 2005: 69). These CPA structures were criticised throughout South Africa because communities often lack the expertise and capacity to manage the land collectively (Holden 2007: 61; Schenck 2008: 98). After the land claim, the CPA was supposed to become the developing institution for the area, the local CBO, but this never materialised and they were accused of mismanagement and fraud. The CPA has not operated since 2006.

on their traditional lifestyle as hunter-gatherers, while another group of Bushmen, who had lost their land to commercial farmers, ended up as impoverished farm workers and lost their ties with and possibilities of returning to a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. The latter were denied claims to the land because they had no cultural characteristics associated with the Bushmen while their pristine desert landscape had become farmland (Sylvain 2002; cf. Draper *et al.* 2004: 350). The tensions between Vaalbooi and Kruiper seem to be exaggerated and the distinction between traditionalists and westerners is blurred since most people are part of both; they farm and make crafts. Adam Bok, an older tracker, explained how traditions are important and must be kept alive but he also knows how to farm and would like to get the right equipment for farming. Ouma /Una, who lived in a beautiful farmhouse, said she would like to live in a grass hut but rejected traditional clothing because it would look improper on an old woman (Schenck 2008: 107). This shows how, not only practically, affordances can be based on both traditional and western materials in the Bushmen's strategy for a livelihood but also how the value system of their environment is a mixture of both. To say that traditional clothing looks *improper* on an old woman is an indigenous modernity and a western value has entered the environment of the indigenous person, something that is more common amongst the Bushmen, as has been shown elsewhere (Hüncke & Koot 2012).

Traditionalist behaviour is not a continuation of the romanticised past but a revolutionary break with the past, a clear example of Hobsbawm's 'invented tradition', which

is visible even in movements deliberately describing themselves as 'traditionalist', and appealing to groups which were, by common consent, regarded as the repositories of historic continuity and tradition, such as peasants. Indeed, the very appearance of movements for the defence or revival of traditions, 'traditionalist' or otherwise, indicates such a break. Such movements, common among intellectuals since the Romantics, can never develop or even preserve a living past (except conceivably by setting up human natural sanctuaries for isolated corners of archaic life), but must become 'invented tradition'. (1983: 7-8)

The traditionalists distance themselves from townspeople such as tourists, donors, researchers, NGOs and so on and also from the westerners. They do this in various ways and one of the most visible ones is to dress in what is seen as traditional clothing.⁵ By behaving 'traditionally', they continue to show that they are real Bushmen or ≠Khomani who belong to this area and to Kgalagadi. They are claiming the right to be here and showing that the land belongs to them according to modern rules and legislations. The traditional standpoint is a revolutionary change of identity, a break with historical continuity, and, above all, it is based on invented tradition. It is invented, for a large part, by and because of tourism and expectations. This shows how traditionalists have made the choice to embrace their traditionalism in today's world, to show it and to be seen, instigated by NGOs, tourism consultants and private operators.

⁵ An interesting comparison in this respect is the revival of traditional clothes amongst groups of European farmers around 1900. These farmers revived not only regional dress but also folk dances and other rituals for festivities, which on the surface appears to be a nostalgic longing for a past culture that has disappeared. In reality, however, it turned out that it was more of a demonstration of class identity (Hobsbawm 1983: 7-8).

Tourism dwellings and affordances at the farms

Bushmen and extreme tourism in the Northern Cape

Unsealed roads in Kgalagadi, the area's remoteness and little through traffic made the Northern Cape the least-visited province in South Africa between 2007 and 2009, and most visitors drive past the Bushmen's tourist projects. Indeed, "(a)t present, the ≠Khomani tourism ventures benefit from (sic) the passing trade of (Kgalagadi and hunting farms), however, tourism as a livelihood strategy for ≠Khomani individuals is constrained, due to the limited number of tourists to the area" (Grant 2011: 153). In addition, not everybody believes tourists come for this group of Bushmen outside the park. For example, Martin Engelbrecht, the Head Park Ranger of Kgalagadi, explained that "(v)isitors come to see a national park in a natural pristine state, not to see other people living outside the park" (cited in Walker 2000).

The Northern Cape is not a main international tourist destination and most of their tourists are South Africans. For wildlife, people prefer parks such as the Kruger. To include the Northern Cape, and especially this far-northern outpost of the Kalahari in and around Kgalagadi, takes time and overseas tourists often come to spend only a few weeks in the country. Domestic tourism, such as 4 x 4 trails and hunting, are more popular and cultural tourism is not likely to become a major industry, although there are various plans for more projects. Before they start, it is important to conduct market research. From the farms to the north on the road to Welkom and the park there are a few more private tourism enterprises, such as Kalahari Trails, a guest house and campsite run by the Welsh Anne Rasa, a retired professor of biology who used to study the park's desert animals. Across the entire area of the six farms there are more game farms, hunting farms and guest houses but these employ hardly any Bushmen. Rasa explained that she gave up working with Bushmen because they were unreliable and not used to a working environment. This fits remarks made by Mhiripiri and Tomaselli, who explained that the work ethic of the Bushmen is a problem: They do not understand tourism and tourists yet. When Mhiripiri compares this with his experiences amongst Zulus, he explained how white culture dominates tourism because "it seems those lodges or cultural villages that have got white capital and white managerial skills (Zulu enterprises) seem to be faring better than the ones that are taken by local (Bushmen) people" (Interview 95). Of course, in general such a work ethic cannot be seen apart from poor treatment, poor wages and having to stay away from your family and children for a long time (Tomaselli, pers. comm.). An example of this that we encountered with the CCMS group was when we tried to listen to stories being told around a fire at the Molopo Lodge campsite by two local Bushmen elders, Buksie Kruiper and Gert Swartz, and that were translated by Dion 'Kummsa' Noubitsen (one of the few English-speaking Bushmen in the area). However, it appeared that both men had been drinking and they were interrupting each other loudly and stumbling around the campfire. This was clearly not a positive tourist attraction and maybe fits better with the concept of 'extreme tourism'. In 2010, the Northern Cape Province had plans to start marketing the province for 'extreme tourism', including the 'extreme culture' of the Bushmen. This concept derives from a branding proposal to increase the number of international tourists who could be attracted by 'extreme' activities such as sky-diving, endurance marathons in

the desert, car races on salt pans and so on. Applying the concept to Bushmen culture would, according to people from SASI, carry the danger of exploitation: Because people dwell in poverty, commercial operators should give something back if they want to use this 'extreme culture' of the Bushmen. This concept was meant to attract more tourists to the area, so the traditional culture is a marketing affordance for the government. Tomaselli (pers. comm.) explained that the CCMS groups also cautioned the Province for the symbolic implications of this branding strategy if attached to cultures and groups such as the Bushmen.

Crafts: The stalletjies, a suricat and Sîsen

The first thing that catches one's eye when arriving in the area is the craft makers along the road side. Dawid Kruiper (cited in Le Roux & White 2004: 216) said that "(w)e just depend on craft making, that is our best income, after everything we've tried". The road stalls, or *stalletjies* in Afrikaans, are found in various places but mostly opposite the entrance to Molopo where local crafters try to sell their products to tourists. They are a part of the image of Molopo since it is the first thing the tourists see. More of them can be found at the T-junction in Andriesvale and on the road north to Kgalagadi. Some *stalletjies* are empty almost every day and look deserted, while others are more frequently occupied by traditionally dressed crafters and a few relatives or friends. In some cases I saw children too who were also dressed traditionally. In 2004 some young Bushmen children were said to be entertaining tourists during school hours but were told to go back to school. A lifestyle in which they can make ZAR 200 entertaining tourists is more appealing to these children (and their parents) than going to school so it would seem that "tourism and education are clashing" (SAHRC 2004: 24-25).

The crafters have learned to adapt their products to tourists' wishes, for example by making necklaces and bracelets a bit bigger and bows and arrows that can fit into a suitcase. The crafts sold here are not always indigenous but the people know what will sell. In 2003 Isak Kruiper pointed out that dressing up for cultural tourism is also a form of homage to the spirits, even if used for cultural tourism. It meant more to him than only making money and it was a way of preserving an older and more spiritual way of life. He thus created existential and cultural meaning while performing for tourists. Critics of cultural tourism, however, often see such performances as victimising the observed. Apparently the service level at the *stalletjies* was not always as high as it is today (Tomaselli 2005: 46). On the contrary, some travel agents warned clients in 2001 about the Witdraai *stalletjies*, since some tourists had been sworn at and had to negotiate roadblocks if they did not buy anything (*Ibid.*: 92-93). The crafters also show tourists how they make things, which is often appreciated. At a *stalletjie* I passed with Lisa, we met the salesman Isak Gooi and his wife while his older brother walked in drunk and became aggressive and pushy. Gooi, however, understood that this could create an uncomfortable feeling for guests and kept him away from us. In addition, he was dressed traditionally with a depiction of a lion on his *!xai* (loin cloth). It showed how the Bushmen's reinvented tradition has blended with African nature.

Photo 5.2 Isak Gooi and his wife at their *stalletjie* with a lion depicted on his *!xai*



Photo: Lisa Gootjes, reproduced with permission.

Most Bushmen, traditionalists and westerners, expressed pride in their culture and with dressing-up at the *stalletjies*. The traditionalists at the roadside seem to play an important role in the overall identity of the South Kalahari Bushmen, whether they be traditional or western. Some people added that this is important because it shows that the Bushmen are still alive and not extinct, which is sometimes thought. Again, it shows that these Bushmen want to be seen.

In my experience, the crafters asked small and reasonable amounts for having their pictures taken and for giving interviews, varying from what I myself wanted to give to between ZAR 20 and ZAR 30. Elsie and Schalk Bok's children asked ZAR 5 per child for a photo, which they told me is used for school fees. (It was a public holiday the day I met them.) After a few encounters on the road when I interviewed some people and took pictures, I concluded that

these people are all very friendly and welcoming and easy to talk to, and they do not really ask hundreds of dollars for a talk or for a photo. They just want to make a bit of money. Well, who can blame them? (diary, 06 July 2010)

My experience contradicts that of some other researchers of the CCMS group, who warned me that the crafters would ask unreasonably high amounts. In addition, I did not see them immediately going to the liquor store (as I was told would happen), although I do not deny that this must also sometimes happen. In fact,

(t)he roadside craft sellers were keen to make immediate sales, claiming that they were ‘closing’ soon. (A woman) realised that what was ‘closing’ was not the stall, but the liquor store either for lunch or at night – that’s why the sale needed to be made in all haste! (Tomaselli 2005: 102)

Or, as Hendrik ‘Krom’ and Anna Januarie said, “(t)he road stall guys are like family, but when they are drunk we pray for them” (Interview 108).

At one of the *stalletjies* I met Elia and Dos Festus who had a tame suricat that they had saved because her mother died. They fed her and protected her from the traffic and they were looking for a male suricat for her. Elia used to work in Kgalagadi and told me he knew animal behaviour but some tourists had offered him ZAR 1000 for the suricat, which made him angry because he considered her a child and was not planning to sell it. After my interview with Elia and Dos I talked to Anne Rasa of Kalahari Trails about them having this suricat because Rasa also had one. I regretted mentioning it because Rasa said she was going to look into it since Elia and Dos Festus probably did not have a licence for the animal. It was never my intention to create trouble for Elia and Dos and their tame suricat. Moreover, it showed once again how Bushmen tend to be excluded from many formalities, whereas lodge owners, politicians, white South Africans, Europeans and so on are more likely to be included. Formalities, such as licences, are a part of their environment today, in such a way that not having access to something can block other affordances in their environment, in this case a caring relationship with a suricat.

Another crafter, Blade Witbooi, runs an additional project making clay products that started with a workshop and some funding from SASI in 2004. It began with ten people but today only Blade is left. The others went to !Khoa ttu for training (see Annex 9), found another job or just dropped out of the project. The work is dusty so people did not always like it. Left alone in this project, Blade dreams of becoming more of an entrepreneur and would like to grow so that other people from the community could join him. He wants to create a website and sell his products on the Internet but money is not the only reason why he is still making clay products. He loves doing so. Witbooi mostly sells his art at guest houses, lodges and to tourists on their way to Witdraai Boskamp. He currently lacks funding for more equipment and does not want to sell through Sisen because he thinks he will lose 30% of any potential profit. Later, in 2013, I was informed that his ceramic studio was decommissioned and that he became a ranger at the Erin Game Farm (Keyan Tomaselli, pers. comm.).

Sisen is the more organised and formal project in the area where local Bushmen can sell their crafts. ≠Khomani Sisen means ‘The ≠Khomani are working’ and it is an independent craft cooperative that receives organisational and technical support from SASI. Elders and young people produce crafts for the tourist market using old cultural knowledge for new types of livelihoods (SASI 2012a). Sisen started in October 2000 (OA 2012) selling homemade crafts that were brought to the shop. When they are sold, 70% of the price goes to the crafters and 30% to a bank account to cover salaries, petrol and other running costs. The people working in the shop are paid by SASI but not out of the 30%. In its early days, Sisen was quite successful and it grew bigger, registered as a small business (the so-called Section 21), was run by a committee and had a board and a director. Later, Sisen would rent a part of the building next to the bottle store on the Molopo premises but the behaviour of clients at the bottle store scared off tourists. Over the years, the store has moved to various places on the farms and finally to its current

location in a small building at the entrance to Molopo Lodge. Annetjie van der Westhuyzen, who worked in the shop in the early days, told me that people complained that she was not a 'real' Bushman and that too much work went to one family (her sister is Vinkie from SASI). The crafters at the *stalletjies* do not take their crafts to Sîsen but sell them at the roadside because it is quicker and they believe they make less money if they sell through Sîsen. Although a small amount is taken off for running costs, the income people can make is about the same because prices at Sîsen are a bit higher. Sîsen is a good place within the tourist bubble whereas most of the *stalletjies* are an encounter in which the bubble walls are more permeable. The Sîsen shop is currently a bit out of the way for those not going to Molopo and is not visible from outside the lodge. Most of the visitors to the shop are Molopo guests. Antonia Eiman and Koos Titus are the two shop attendants and both come to work by bicycle, Antonia from Koper Noord about 5 km away and Koos from Askham. Antonia is happy to be at Molopo Lodge because there is so much drinking at the bottle store. She explained that when Sîsen was located in the same building as the bottle store, she did not like working and tourists complained about it to the Molopo management, which was one of the main reasons why the current building was put up in April 2010. Koos started in June 2010 as a volunteer but the plan is that he will also get paid in the future.

Dagga and disillusion at Witdraai Tentepark

The Witdraai Tentepark was started in the early 2000s by the NGO Rainbow Mantis from Johannesburg and some community members. Nearby was the Tentedorp, where some of the local community members lived permanently. Rainbow Mantis was an organisation focused on culture and not on profit. Tomaselli (2005: 73) wrote about staying at Witdraai Tentepark in 2001 that

(i)t takes a lot more resolve to exit the farm, having to fend off intoxicated individuals at the gate, begging us for food, money, and telling us their hard luck stories, parading their children for effect, and blaming us for everything that went wrong in their lives.

The Tentepark was also a place where locals went for entertainment, with or without tourists. I received a flyer from Dion 'Kummsa' Noubitsen about a charity event that took place at Tentepark at full moon one month in 2005. This is very colourful and in a sort of 'hippy style', with romanticised Bushmen rhetoric. The event was '*celebrating Humanity as an integral part of Nature*' and the venue was the '*Cradle of Humankind*'. At the same time, the hippy-style drawing and an electric guitar show how various ideas were being borrowed from modernity (RM 2005) and thus becoming indigenous modernities. Anne Rasa of Kalahari Trails explained how a hysterical woman arrived there one day and said they had donated beds, mattresses and bedding for the Tentepark but that she had just seen a drunken Bushmen place where, if a tourist car arrived, they would immediately swarm all over it. Apart from the *dagga* (marihuana) being used there, Rasa said that the location, at Witdraai opposite the Molopo bottle store, was the worst they could have chosen.

Dagga is used by some of the Bushmen and this is linked with Rainbow Mantis and the Witdraai Tentepark. Although some people told me that it is part of their tradition, this would seem unlikely. Even Dawid Kruiper explained just after the land claim that

dagga is the stuff that makes Bushmen experience real freedom (Vredeveld 2001). Sussie Aries from SASI told me that *dagga* is not really a tradition. It was sometimes used as a medicine but not smoked all day while Noubitsen said that some people tried to grow it in the area but that mice and suricats ate the plants and it failed. This made it hard to get it and some people were arrested for trading it and possession. He explained that it should only be used in a spiritual way and for meditation, to create knowledge and strength, which is how it was used at Tentepark in the past. Rainbow Mantis and the Tentepark were accused by the police of possessing and trading *dagga*. Rasa explained that one day the Rainbow Mantis people came to explain to her that *dagga* was part of the Bushmen's tradition, which she believes is nonsense since it does not grow in the area. Since then she started calling them the '*dagga* boys'. Belinda Kruiper, on the contrary, wrote that *dagga* was a part of the Bushmen's life for a long time and an integral part of their sacred ceremonies (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 92, 108), but then again, she was called a *dagga* addict by others. Apart from cases of drunkenness and antisocial behaviour, the police were often involved in cases involving the illegal use and possession of *dagga* (SAHRC 2004: 23). It seems that *dagga* is, above all, a part of an invented tradition of an imagined community.

In the end at Witdraai Tentepark beds, chairs, toilet pots, water pipes and the water tank got stolen by local community members or taken away for other purposes and Tentepark closed in 2005. Apart from theft, mismanagement is seen as a major reason while game was eating the grass and reeds of the huts. Noubitsen explained that he would like to reopen Tentepark so that there could be a place for entertainment for the local community again.

Trophy hunting, biltongjag and traditional hunting

The trophy-hunting industry in South Africa is relatively well developed and based on a combination of resident and visiting hunters. Trophy hunters are estimated to spend four times the amount a non-hunting tourist does. Their hunting takes place mostly on private land and the Northern and Eastern Cape Provinces are popular hunting destinations (Bothma *et al.* 2009: 147-155). There are many hunting farms in the Northern Cape and hunting is one of the biggest income generators there. Today the Bushmen also want to create some income through hunting on the Erin and Miershooppan farms. The idea is to combine this with non-consumptive and cultural tourism and at Erin it should be possible to hunt with Bushmen trackers, maybe including modern bow hunting or even traditional weapons, for which there is a very high demand in the international trophy-hunting market. In addition, guided walks, storytelling, traditional dancing and craft making could also be offered. This hunting activity was given a very high priority in the *Tourism Development Plan*. A Request for Proposal was issued for a private partner to develop a hunting and tourism concession for Erin, which was a first step in the implementation of a larger tourism plan supported by the African Safari Lodge Foundation (ASLF). The Tswalu Kalahari Game Reserve donated 20 gemsbok in June 2010, while another 80 head of game were waiting to be transported when the fence was ready

(ASLF 2010c: 4; Massyn *et al.* 2010: 69-72).⁶ Nineteen gemsbok arrived in July 2010 but the preferred bidder failed the Bushmen and discussions were taking place with a financier about the possibility of setting up an operating company with the Bushmen, with the idea of transferring the company to them over time after income had been earned and skills and capacity built up. An annual concession fee would then still be paid to the CPA (ASLF 2010b: 8). An earlier attempt to start cultural tourism at Erin in 2006 was abandoned because the builder made some bad calculations. There is already a dancing *kraal* (enclosed area), a *braai* (barbeque) area and some other tourist infrastructure.

In June every year, white hunters come to Miershooppan for so-called *biltongjag*,⁷ hunting for hartebeest, springbok or gemsbok and the community has a game account that is controlled by Fonnies Brou of SASI and Pieter Makomele of the Department of Land Affairs (DLA). There used to be a wider variety of animals at Miershooppan (such as ostriches and eland) but many people explained how the game there was shot, either by white *biltong* hunters or by the people themselves. In addition, the fence at Miershooppan was badly maintained and this has caused problems and resulted in animals being moved to the neighbouring Kalahari Trails. Still, the further development of *biltongjag* and even some trophy hunting at Miershooppan was rated a high priority in the *Tourism Development Plan* (Massyn *et al.* 2010: 84). This is interesting now that a decent community representation is lacking and there is no guarantee that, if new game would be introduced, this will not be shot too. Some Bushmen are also busy organising traditional hunting at the farms, for themselves as well as for tourists. The plan is to do this inside the !Ae !Hai Kalahari Heritage Park but there are many restrictions. Anne Rasa told me there are hardly any Bushmen left who can do this because most of them have worked as farm workers over the years and no longer have the knowledge required. Julie Grant confirmed this but said that they will tell you they can, as part of their reconstructed Bushman image. Hunting is an essential element of this affordance.

//Uruke, the narrow path of the hunter

The South African San Institute (SASI) was set up in 1996 (Hohmann 2003a: 12) as the South African counterpart to WIMSA. SASI works with two field coordinators, who are community members from Andriesvale. For the tourist projects they are Martha 'Vinkie' van der Westhuyzen and for the other projects Fonnies (Frederick) Brou. SASI built an information centre for tourists opposite the Molopo Lodge but this is hardly ever visited. Today there is a certain level of distrust between various community members and SASI due to a combination of unfulfilled promises and unrealistic expectations. Many Bushmen complain that NGOs are only there to make money for themselves and that they favour certain groups or families. SASI was criticised for of a lack of management skills and for having too broad a scope, including agriculture, education and tourism. For example, Dawid Kruiper explained that SASI is using 'his' people for tracking today, without asking his permission, and he blames SASI for taking 'his' chairs, computers, cups and tents, without understanding anything about Bushmen tradi-

⁶ Andries Steenkamp told me that this is not a donation but a loan.

⁷ *Biltong* is a popular snack in Southern Africa made of dried meat.

tions. It is interesting that Kruiper, as the leader of the traditionalists, is worried about these indigenous modernities. SASI is keen to represent itself as a Bushmen organisation, with the first picture on their website and their logo revealing the Bushmen as primordialist icons of nature.

Photo 5.3 SASI homepage picture and logo



Source: SASI (2012d), reproduced with permission.

Such imagery comes back throughout SASI's tourist activities, in leaflets and on their website, in visuals and texts. For example, they have established an eco-tourism route through the Northern Cape called 'Footprints of the San', which is described on their website as follows:

Footprints of the San is a thematic cultural tourism route⁸ guided by the San. Participants' journey *back in time* to experience a glimpse of what traditional life was like for *the oldest inhabitants of the world*. The route is completely unique in all of South Africa and connects the **Cultural Villages** of the !Xun and Khwe at Platfontein near Kimberley (see Chapter 4), and the **//Uruke San Bush Camp Adventures** in the Kalahari ... Each of these tourism experiences are community-based, sustainable tourism initiatives with a strong focus on the culture of the San people. (SASI 2012b, my emphasis)

The //Uruke project consists of SASI's tourist activities in the Kalahari. //Uruke means 'the narrow path of the hunter' and the SASI information centre is the place to organise these tourist activities. Vinkie explained that tracking was the most successful //Uruke project, in which 26 people had found a job but only when there were tourists. They work as guides, trackers or in the office. The trackers show tracks but they often do not speak English and the guides act as a mediator between the tourist and the tracker, translating from Afrikaans into English. One of the main problems in the tracking programme is the excessive drinking among trackers and guides, which they also do sometimes when they meet tourists. Vinkie explained that she had set up stricter rules about such behaviour.

A famous South Kalahari Bushmen tracker was the late Karel Kleinman, better known as Vet Piet, who was one of Dawid Kruiper's cousins. Together with Louis

⁸ Although SASI promotes the cultural villages as part of 'a thematic cultural tourism route', Keyan Tomaselli (pers. comm.) explained that the !Xun and Khwe villages are not aimed at tourists but are used for the occasional festivals.

Liebenberg (see also Chapter 3), Vet Piet worked on tracking skills which allowed him to participate in game conservation and wildlife management in Kgalagadi based on modern technology and traditional Bushmen tracking skills (Buntman 2002: 80-81). The Bushmen trackers were taught to monitor the movements and behaviour of wildlife with specially developed hand-held computers and SANParks issued certificates of competence (Fabricius & De Wet 2002: 153). This use of technology shows how people can use indigenous modernities to become more like themselves, in this case ‘more Bushman’ by adapting their tracking skills to their changing environment. Vet Piet was born in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park and learned his bush skills from Regopstaan Kruiper, Dawid Kruiper’s father. In 2004, Vet Piet and his training team initiated //Uruke with the goal of training a new generation of Bushmen as trackers (SASI, n.d.), while SASI provided English courses for the guides. It was the first SASI project and today, //Uruke has become the name for all tourist projects and activities (//Uruke, n.d.). Sadly, Vet Piet died in a car accident but was honoured in the park with a borehole dedicated to him.

In the past, Vet Piet had a good relationship with the first game wardens from the Le Riche family and although he was later honoured with his own borehole, when Dries Engelbrecht became the chief warden in 1990, Vet Piet lost many of his privileges. Apparently the two men had a tense relationship for many years (Isaacson 2001: 160-161). Vet Piet (cited in Walker 2000) said in *Regopstaan’s Dream*:

Photo 5.4 A borehole in Kgalagadi, dedicated to Karel ‘Vet Piet’ Kleinman



Photo: Lisa Gootjes, reproduced with permission.

My story is not very nice. Those men who came in now, they always want to come and tell you, who grew up in the park, what to do and how to do it. That is wrong. People told me that I can't obtain a senior post if I cannot read and write. I have to train them anyway. They don't know the park and they don't know the dunes.

Tracking is an example of the South Kalahari Bushmen's symbolic capital, as an important element of their authentic Bushman image. They can use this to convert it into economic capital in programmes such as //Uruke, but today outsiders such as the government, NGOs or tourists tend to decide the value of this capital.

Witdraai Boskamp

On the ≠Khomani website (see further on in this chapter) three different campsites are mentioned (Khomani 2012a), although in 2010 only one was operating, namely the Witdraai Boskamp. The other two, Witdraai Campsite (an unserviced area designated for camping at Witdraai Farm) and Erin Campsite which was described as a 'tranquil campsite', were not in operation. Another option that is mentioned on the website but that I did not hear about during my stay was being able to stay with the local people in cultural home-stays, in which "travellers may enjoy the opportunity of staying with a local family and are treated as a guest rather than tourists" (*Ibid.*).

Witdraai Boskamp was completed in 2009 (KFO 2010: 37), after community members started building in the mid-2000s. The location was identified by Toppies and Isak Kruiper, and Elisabeth 'Sussie' Aries managed the camp initially. The camp is not very well signposted and is about 8 km from the SASI information centre in Andriesvale, Molopo Lodge and the main road, and is only accessible by 4 x 4. The camp has decent toilets and showers and there is a *boma* (enclosed area) with a kitchen. Although the campsite has an attractive setting, it has not caught up with the market and its general organisation lacks accessibility. Shanade Barnabas explained that it was difficult to make a booking for our CCMS group with SASI. She did not receive replies to emails, which is problematic if tourists want to book a place, and in the end she needed to make a conference call to get the booking done and confirmed. When we stayed there, there were no staff around and services and payments had to be organised 8 km away at the SASI information centre. When a repair needed to be done because there was a water leak we had to drive all the way there before we could get any assistance, and the centre was closed on Saturdays and Sundays. We were lucky to have Julie Grant in our group who knew most of the SASI staff cell-phone numbers and could get things organised (cf. Grant 2011: 228-230). This 'community camp' seems to lack a community, at least nearby. It is geographically divided from the beneficiaries and employees. At SASI they realise this problem and one of their main goals is to organise permanent attendance at the camp, also for security reasons. Opposite the information centre there is Molopo Lodge where there is a campsite, and further along the road to Kgalagadi there are some more camping possibilities. The competition is fierce. Witdraai Boskamp seems to lack a business attitude within the competitive world of tourism. Collin Coetzee, a camp attendant and driver who works on the maintenance of Boskamp and trained for nine months at !Khwatvu (see also Annex 9), explained that the main problem is a lack of tourists because the place is not well-known. To improve this, they need more market-

ing and a decent road sign like the official one at Molopo liquor store (see Photo 5.5), but they lack funding. Theft among local people at the Boskamp was also a problem in the past.

One activity at Boskamp that can be booked at the information centre is traditional dancing. Oulet Kruiper, Dawid's daughter, is in charge of a traditional dancing school and learned traditional dancing from her mother and elders from the age of ten. So far, they have hardly done any dancing at Boskamp because there have been too few tourists. The price varies according to the number of tourists and they mostly do healing dances. Once up and running, SASI is planning to return the Witdraai Boskamp to the community. A committee for Boskamp was therefore set up but some community members blame SASI for not doing this already and of keeping Boskamp too much in their own hands. Andries Steenkamp explained that a tour operator had wanted to bring a group every month but that the committee wanted to manage everything themselves even though they lacked the capacity. This has not yet materialised which means that the camp is missing out on a steady source of income. According to Steenkamp, people tend to blame SASI for such issues but forget to mention their own responsibility. Witdraai Boskamp is an affordance for the community that shows the continuing balance of an NGO between the competitive world of tourism and the lack of capacity in a community to adjust to this. It is doubtful if an NGO such as SASI has enough capacity about business management themselves to teach others about this.

Molopo Lodge in the middle of the farms

'Come here Bushie, come, come to us, we buy you dinner tonight': A contradiction

God knows I want to break free. (Deacon, 1984)

The Queen song 'I Want to Break Free' will always remind me of Molopo Lodge where it was often played loudly at the bar in the evenings, so that we could hear it as far away as the campsite. This is especially striking when I later found out that "(t)his song became an anthem for the ANC in South Africa in the late 1980s when Nelson Mandela was still in jail and the white government's apartheid policies were still in place" (Songfacts 2012). During my stay at Molopo, I got the feeling that apartheid was not yet really over.

Molopo is situated in the middle of the six farms but close to Andriesvale where most of the people live. The land on which Molopo is situated was not included in the claim because it was too expensive. The first owner of Molopo Lodge was Jopie Bothas, who ran it as a community meeting place for the Afrikaners in the area and the occasional tourists passing through were just an extra. Bothas sold Molopo to a German, who installed Roger Carter as the manager. Carter tried to establish relationships with the local Bushmen but many of his initiatives failed. In 2001, the Germans sold Molopo to the current owner and Carter resigned following a dispute. After this new owner took over, he upgraded the place step by step. Initially his relationship with the Bushmen was bad and he had a succession of managers, including his brother (cf. Tomaselli 2005: 110). At one point, the Bushmen were even banned because they were behaving badly but the relationship has improved recently. For example, the owner has built a small

shop for Sîsen on the Molopo premises at the entrance gate and the bar is still a meeting place for the local Afrikaner community who have parties there once in a while. Most people working at Molopo are whites and coloureds, the latter mostly working in lower positions. It is one of the few places in the area that offers work. And Hendrik Januarie is one of the few Bushmen working at Molopo as a safety guard, although he does not have the right papers. The contradictions between the tourists and the Bushmen are enormous; some visitors come to the area with a Toyota land cruiser and a caravan worth more than a million rand, while the Bushmen are selling crafts at the roadside for just a few rand.

The current owner explained that lack of discipline was the reason why the previous owner went bankrupt. He experienced a difficult time after the land claim, when Bushmen had a militant attitude and said that the Kalahari now belonged to them. They were not welcoming to whites and he noticed racial tension, explaining that Bushmen were coming in drunk, sitting in the dining room, asking to watch television and so on. Foreigners used to buy them drinks and behave as if these are now ‘their Bushman’, saying things such as “(c)ome here Bushie, come, come to us, we buy you dinner tonight” (Interview 100).⁹ Today locals are not allowed any further than the campsite or the bottle store and they are kept away from the restaurant, bungalows and the bar area. Clearly, the Bushmen have been placed outside the tourist bubble here, for the protection of tourists and the tourist business. Some Bushmen admit that there was inappropriate behaviour at Molopo in the past, especially at the bar. Still, they consider Molopo is showing a racist attitude and they hold the owner responsible for this. In their perception, it is not clear why their behaviour is considered inappropriate whereas the same type of behaviour is allowed by whites. Now that they are not allowed in anymore – with the exception of people who sometimes have business to do at Molopo, such as SASI employees – the Bushmen feel they have lost their main place for entertainment. To the South Kalahari Bushmen, Molopo is an institute connected to the wider racist and oppressive attitude that they experience amongst Afrikaners, including the police, and some of them believe that they are still just cheap labour. In the end, the owner decided that teaching them discipline was necessary to allow Molopo to grow as a business, since “your business is as healthy as your community. If your community is sick, your business is sick” (Interview 100). As he is not fond of the other projects being done here, Molopo has attempted to start working with the community. In his view, paternalism and money are the keys to development:

(T)hey must be prepared to listen, and to listen, and to listen ... To get to their level you must drop big time. You know we are living here (raises hands), they are living there (lowers hands)! ... Otherwise they don’t understand you, they don’t think like you, they don’t understand you ... You must appoint a custodian. Like me who lives here ... I know them better than anybody knows them ... Let them make money. You know, money gives you self confidence. But they need a custodian that can drive them or lead them in the right way. (Interview 100)

‘Understanding’, in this view, is undoubtedly a one-way process, in which Bushmen have to understand ‘us’ (whites, westerners, capitalists or similar people who ‘know

⁹ Interview 100 was conducted by Keyan Tomaselli. Shanade Barnabas and I attended (see also Annex 2).

how the world works'), not the other way around. This view is a clear example of *baasskap*. In the community, money is often seen as a synonym for development, just as the owner reasons in the above quote, but there are some people who have a different perception of the situation, partly because a lot of money that is made in the community is spent in Molopo's liquor store. For example Adam Bok explained that the owner is a community member and has other responsibilities as well:

I like (the owner), I am not angry at him, but only because of that one manner, he is like a boss, because he has money. But money is not everything in life ... your manners, you can have money, but the way you handle your fellow people, that you can handle in such a way that you can start a relationship with your people and your community, and love and peace must be there. (Interview 102)

Bok sees the relationship with the owner as a priority in his environment, instead of money. As an affordance, Molopo Lodge has the potential to offer more benefits than only the maximization of financial profits. In fact, Bushmen do not profit from the Molopo Lodge at all financially which is a necessity in the way the owner sees development. And Molopo's night guard is not convinced that money is a positive affordance for the Bushmen, because "if these people (Bushman) get money, when tourists are many, the money comes in for the ≠Khomani San, but ooooooh, then the drinking starts" (Hendrik Januarie, Interview 108). Still, over the years the owner has tried to set up various projects with and for the community, sometimes with SASI, but most of them have stopped (but the Sîsen shop started off well). Today, Molopo and SASI continue to work together organising game drives at Miershooppan with Bushmen trackers from //Uruke and tourists can have breakfast at Witdraai Boskamp. The Molopo activities on the farms seem to attract some interest from visitors but the signage and marketing are low (Massyn *et al.* 2010: 66). Sussie Aries at SASI explained that it is difficult to work with Molopo and that the current owner is not really interested in the Bushmen but happy to make money out of them. In other words, she believes that in this relation of *baasskap* the control is in the hands of the *baas*, who is interested in converting the Bushmen's symbolic capital into economic capital. To him money is a key to development, but according to some Bushmen there are various other benefits that could be afforded by Molopo, such as a good relationship or a place for entertainment.

Twenty-ten: Watching soccer in the Molopo bar

The community was able to watch the first part of the 2010 World Cup soccer, called 'twenty-ten' by most, on a big screen that was set up in Andriesvale by a Christian group doing missionary and charity work. Unfortunately they left after the group stages and the people could not watch the knock-out phase of the competition because the only place where the tournament was being shown was in the bar in Molopo Lodge, which was out of bounds for them.

Mega events such as the Olympic Games or the World Cup are often promoted for the economic, tourist and social benefits for the country, but even if positive benefits are achieved, these are vastly uneven within nations. FIFA's rhetoric on development and benefit for poor communities as well as a purely macro-economic justification of the event is suspect and twenty-ten was held in big cities, which excluded the rural poor. The 'development dreams' of twenty-ten are illusory for most South Africans while

economic and political elites support the philosophy of a global neoliberal economy. FIFA used the concept of community-based tourism in poor communities to promote the event, while their policies and their monopoly of it have framed it within a global neoliberal context. The ‘trickle-down’ effect is still embraced in such events, while this was widely criticised as a strategy for economic growth (Giampiccoli & Nauright 2010). Indeed, when we stayed at Witdraai Boskamp and Molopo Lodge during twenty-ten I only saw one ‘soccer tourist’ at Molopo.

We (from CCMS and later only Lisa and I) watched some of the games in the Molopo bar where we noticed quite a macho culture based on hunting, racism, drinking and sexism. For example, when I was gone for a few minutes, men, often quite drunk, started buying Lisa drinks, black soccer players were called *pisang* (banana) or *kaffir* and young hunters from the area could get their heads shaved after they shot their first trophy, a ritual that went together with serious drinking (cf. Tomaselli 2005). These hunters were previously described by the owner of another campsite as “a bunch of hooligans with cooler boxes, who own rifles, who are running away from their wives, and who would shoot five animals before successfully killing one” (Tomaselli 2005: 43-44). This does not mean Molopo was unfriendly towards us as we felt welcome but local Bushmen complained to me, wondering why the whites could get drunk there and misbehave, and they cannot. I could only sympathize with their arguments. There seems to be a double standard and, to a certain degree, the whites’ behaviour might even be an example for the Bushmen. As Anne Rasa of Kalahari Trails explained, “something which I don’t think is very polite, but I often ask myself: Who learned what from who? ... I really don’t know who learned what from who, I mean some of these Afrikaners here are very rough, very rough” (Interview 128). Rasa does not allow hunting parties at the Kalahari Trails anymore because the men urinated all around the campsite in the past, left empty beer cans everywhere, sometimes sang anti-*rooinekke* (redneck) songs and the campsite was left stinking and filthy. In addition, Belinda Kruiper said:

The ‘Boere’ also partied, got drunk, got into fights and hit their wives. As far as I was concerned, what the Bushmen did was just human weakness, no different to what went on in any other community, my own included. The difference was that in other communities, the screaming, shouting and abuse happened behind closed doors. The Bushmen didn’t have the luxury of walls to do it behind. So it all hung out on the roadside for everyone to see. (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 40-41)

So concepts such as ‘entertainment’ have entered the Bushmen’s environment, often together with alcohol and various types of other inappropriate behaviour, something that happens in other groups that visit the Molopo bar. However, when Bushmen entertain or misbehave, it is more visible compared to other groups, although in a bar this difference should not be too big. What is striking at Molopo is the policy to exclude *all* Bushmen from the bar, suggesting that they are seen as ‘one and the same’, ‘one group’ or even ‘one community’ instead of different individuals. It would make more sense to exclude only the troublemakers and allow the rest in, but the relationship is not one in which Molopo people *see individual* Bushmen. Apart from some SASI employees and prominent figures, I did not get the impression that people at Molopo really knew the Bushmen living there, their names, their children and so on. They are only seen *as Bushmen*, and therefore excluded *as Bushmen*. Another reason why the Bushmen are not allowed in the bar is simply because they hardly have any money to spend and therefore could

turn into inconvenient indigenous people begging for drinks from guests, intruding with all their inconvenience into the tourist bubble. When Bushmen dwell in other environments, they sometimes seem to carry this inconvenience with them and sometimes this environment is the tourist bubble. It seems as if Bushmen are *treasured* in the bubble as traditional icons, but *unwelcome* as people looking for entertainment in a way many others do, so as marginalised dwellers in a modern environment.

'There at the bottle store, there blood has flown'

Now that the bar is inaccessible for the Bushmen, the ones who do want to drink and who are looking for some entertainment are allowed to buy their cheap alcohol at the Molopo liquor store, which is one of the few places between Upington and Kgalagadi where people can buy alcohol. For passing tourists, it is well signposted at the main road to Kgalagadi. While the road sign is a clear invitation to visit the store, the path to the store from the back looks less welcoming. It is this fenced path that the Bushmen often take.

Photo 5.5 The sign to the Molopo liquor store



Author's photo

Photo 5.6 The Bushmen's fenced path to the Molopo liquor store



Author's photo

Various reasons were given for excessive drinking amongst the Bushmen, such as hunger, boredom and frustration, which leads to violence, health problems and even death. The owner cynically remarked that “there’s only one project that worked here ... my liquor store” (Interview 100). Blade Witbooi, who does not drink or smoke *dagga* himself, does not see the bottle store as the problem. He believes it all has to do with self-confidence and self-perception, with people’s character. Bushmen tend to drink in public because of their communal culture: They simply hang around a lot more outside, often lacking a decent and comfortable house or a bar. Their drinking is therefore more visible but that does not mean that all of them drink all the time. There is a small group of adults in the community who behave badly when they drink. Apart from regular violence and fights, there are various stories of South Kalahari Bushmen who died and all three are strongly associated with the bottle store, which led to some people demanding its closure.

The reason why we brought the (South African) Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) here ... is to shut down the bottle store so that we could do the investigation properly ... Optel was not the only person that got killed in connection with that lodge. There’s three Bushmen, right since the land claim started, were getting killed, close to that bottle store. Next to the side of the bottle store, since they have got that place. (Noubitsen, Interview 109)

In 2002 a young woman, Joanna, was killed in a fight next to the liquor store. Jan van der Westhuyzen explained how her head was pulverised but the incident was never investigated by the police (Wicksteed & Snel 2013). Many people in the community believe that Molopo staff were involved and that there were racist elements involved but that the police were bribed and ignored the case. And in 2010 Dawid Kruiper’s baby grandson died in unexplained circumstances. The story goes that his youngest daughter was too drunk to walk and fell over with her baby who most likely died because there was too much alcohol in his mother’s milk. He choked to death and was found with blood coming from his nose.

Another death, and by far the most controversial, occurred in January 2004 when Optel Rooi, one of the //Uruke trainers, was murdered by the police, which raised issues about human rights. Rooi was shot because he was allegedly breaking into the bottle store, although opinions vary. Two policemen were accused of murder (Hitchcock *et al.* 2006: 25; KFO 2005: 56). Derek Hanekom, the Minister of Land Affairs during the land claim, attended Rooi’s funeral and said that “there could not possibly have been a justification for the shooting of a person even if a bottle store had been broken into, which apparently did not happen” (Wicksteed & Snel 2013), whereas the owner explained how the shooting was a clear case of Rooi breaking into the bottle store and then the police shooting him. Today, people in the community believe that the owner of Molopo pays to cover things up. In the movie *Death of a Bushman* various explanations are given as to why Rooi was shot, but in none of them do the Bushmen feel any support from the police. Instead, they feel intimidated and angry and believe that there was a conspiracy between the police and the Molopo management in this case to conceal the true cause of death (*Ibid.*). In the end, two policemen lost their jobs but were never arrested. Apparently a young policeman bought a new car after he lost his job and people in the community therefore think he was bribed. The police are seen as being discriminatory and the Human Rights Commission wrote that “they (two policemen) claim to

have acted upon a charge of housebreaking and theft or attempt thereof. No evidence or details of such charge were brought before the Panel” (SAHRC 2004: 22). However, Anne Rasa of Kalahari Trails explained that Rooi was a renowned thief so she could imagine he might have broken into the bottle store but she believed the community’s response can be explained as a long-running hatred for a white Afrikaner policeman that the Bushmen did not like because of his lack of tolerance when it came to the use of *dagga*. Apparently the community blamed him and made his life terrible in the months afterwards, even throwing stones at him. In the end the constable was found guilty in court based on evidence surrounding the bullets that were found.

Isak Kruiper also told me that two people died as a result of stabbing incidents after drinking at the bottle store and the 2002 documentary *Out of Eden* mentioned deaths due to drunken quarrels (Vredeveld 2001). Jan van der Westhuyzen summarised it as follows:

Optel was shot dead there, Joanna was killed there, the child lay dead there ... There at the bottle store and to where the road stalls are, from those trees and back, there blood has flown, there blood has flown. Our people amongst each other, Dawid (Kruiper)’s children amongst each other, who killed each other, who make each other to nothing. (Interview 124)

Many people in the community claimed that they would be a lot happier if the store was closed down. Belinda Kruiper believed that

(t)he Bottle Store ... became a lucrative source of revenue for the Lodge. Its resurrection coincided with the downward spiral in the Bushmen fortunes. This was the time of the first land grants, of disillusionment over the dreams that were betrayed, the breakdown of the community and escalating violence. There are some who believe that the proximity of the Bottle Store is what fed the collapse of the community. (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 57)

Vinkie from SASI explained that the community could close the bottle store down and after the shooting of Optel some people wanted to do so but apparently there were not enough votes in favour of this and it did not happen. Although it is doubtful if closing the bottle store would truly stop the drinking and associated problems, the store and alcohol are clearly affordances for the Bushmen that they have to cope with as it threatens the stability of the local people. Interestingly, this affordance was introduced into their environment by a tourist operator and it still exists. In relation to this store, various incidents resulted in the deaths of Bushmen, and this showed how they feel ignored by a formal institution, namely the police force. Their relationship with the police was always bad and around the time of these deaths it became much worse.

Tourism dwellings and affordances inside the !Ae !Hai Kalahari Heritage Park

A return to the old ways in Kgalagadi, the place of thirst

Kgalagadi, which means ‘place of thirst’ (PPF 2012b), is a transfrontier park, which differs from a transfrontier conservation area (TFCA) because they only include state protected areas (national parks), while TFCAs such as KAZA (see Chapter 4) include a variety of conservation and multiple-use areas, such as wildlife management areas, forest reserves and conservancies (Whande & Suich 2009: 374). It is a very dry and sandy park and some parts have beautiful red sand dunes. Tourists visit it for its wildlife,

mostly along the two dry riverbeds of the Nossob and Auob Rivers that form the main tourist routes (see Map 5.1). The South African side of the park has a lot more infrastructure compared to the Botswana side, including more accommodation facilities and boreholes, which means that most animals stay on the South African side of the park. Of the park's total area, only 27% lies in South Africa (PPF 2012b), where some Bushmen still work, although normally not in high-level positions. In May 2000 Kgalagadi became the first transfrontier park in Africa, consisting of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (South Africa) and the Kalahari National Park (Botswana). The launch of the transfrontier park was the culmination of fifty years of cooperation on conservation and was therefore set up in only five weeks. It is argued that the creation of Kgalagadi was an important instrument for protagonists of transfrontier conservation to instigate marketing the concept in the region (Ramutsindela 2004: 66). Indeed, the establishment of Kgalagadi was delayed until after the finalisation of the land claim in 1999 because the Bushmen were seen as an asset to the new transfrontier park and would attract international tourists (Carruthers 2003: 263). The declaration of Kgalagadi was highly symbolic and stimulated by the transfrontier conservation movement in Southern Africa, while politically it was easy compared to the other, more complex transfrontier conservation areas in the region (Büscher 2009: 102).

The land claim was surrounded by narratives about a 'return to the old ways', something that was common worldwide. Such narratives are about a lot more than only the loss of land, and include nostalgia for the lost community that often takes on mythical, idealised and romantic qualities. The claimants of the South Kalahari Bushmen, after returning to their land, expected a return to this old way of life with the authentic Bushman identity that they had been deprived of. They expected a range of rediscoveries, believing they would be able to live again as their ancestors had done, as hunters and gatherers who would *really* hunt and gather. Various NGOs played a part in reinforcing such ideas, and such nostalgic perceptions of how the Bushmen had lived in the past now decided the proposals for development. To the disappointment of many claimants, this magical recreation never happened on the farms and when this realisation set in, people shifted their nostalgic focus onto the park, believing that once they got back parts of the park, things would happen there (W. Ellis 2010: 192-193). An example of this was when the Living Culture Foundation Namibia (LCFN) was called in by the ASLF in May 2010 to help establish a living museum for the South Kalahari Bushmen. After some successful meetings, twelve South Kalahari Bushmen went to the Nharo Bushmen Museum in Namibia in September 2010 (which was closed shortly afterwards because of lack of interest) for eight days. Apparently the South Kalahari Bushmen left with more traditional knowledge and returned home (ASLF 2010b: 8-9; 2010c: 6; LCFN 2010). This shows again how all Bushmen groups are seen as one and the same, based on the image of primordial hunter-gatherers who can simply 'exchange traditions' as an element of invention based on the idea that all Bushmen are the same as an authentic other. In line with this, Elsie and Schalk Bok attended the meeting with LCFN and said that they were serious that such a museum should be located in natural rural surroundings, in the *veld*, without telephone lines or other signs of modernity visible. Of

course, this is all part of the commodification of the Bushman product, based on the romantic image of them in the West.

If local people in South Africa have strong historical linkages to the land they can be involved in the co-management of parks to achieve biodiversity conservation, ecological sustainability, social equity and economic benefits. This led to so-called contractual national parks, in which land owners sign a contract with the government to retain the title and negotiated rights (Grossman & Holden 2009: 357-358). When the contract was signed for the !Ae !Hai Kalahari Heritage Park (see also Map 5.1), four important points were agreed on for the Bushmen. First, they could use 25,000 ha in the southern area of the park for cultural practices (hunting, gathering, ecotourism) but this area could not be used for permanent residence. Second, they were entitled to conduct ecotourism projects in partnership with SANParks in the so-called 'V Zone' for commercial use. Third, they received symbolic and cultural-use rights for the rest of the park for non-commercial activities, so that the elderly could take the youth to the park to explain about traditional life (in the so-called 'S Zone') and fourth, a jointly owned commercial lodge (by the Bushmen, Mier and SANParks), !Xaus, would be built where Bushmen would be employed as trackers and in other capacities, with training and a view to managing the lodge in the long term if they wished to do so (EcoAfrica 2008: 8; Grossman & Holden 2009: 366-367).¹⁰ The !Ae !Hai contract park was to be co-managed by a Joint Management Board (JMB) consisting of South Kalahari Bushmen, Mier and SANParks representatives. On the side of the Bushmen, the Park Committee consists of Oom Jan van der Westhuyzen, Oupa Jan Pieterse, Tannie Sensie Mondsinger from Upington, Oupa Dawid Kruiper, his son John Kruiper and David Kariseb from Welkom. Apart from the construction of !Xaus Lodge, hardly anything was achieved in the first four years of the JMB's existence and many meetings were cancelled or postponed, which led to growing frustration. The majority of the Bushmen lived about 60 km from the park and could still not visit it because of a lack of transport and complicated procedures concerning visiting the land. In 2004, some of the original claimants wrote the Welkom Declaration, in which they stated these problems and sent the document to SANParks and the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT),¹¹ which resulted in a group of elders and youngsters visiting the park for three days in 2006. This was a turning point in relations, although a certain level of mistrust between SANParks and the community remained and institutional transformation still seems necessary (Holden 2007: 63-65). Petrus Vaalbooi explained that in the end it was mostly SANParks that had to give permission for anything in the park, so he says it is doubtful if this land was *really* given back to the Bushmen. Permission is needed even for com-

¹⁰ Later, in addition to !Xaus Lodge (see next section), another joint venture lodge was planned, for which the Southern Auob concession was proposed. This was rated a very high priority in the *Tourism Development Plan*, based on its high financial and economic potential (Massyn *et al.* 2010: 45-49). The ASLF is looking for further funding for this ecotourism lodge (ASLF 2011a: 3-4). The Boesmanraad was called in by ASLF and Oupa Jan Pieterse told me that this was supposed to become a fully South Kalahari Bushmen-owned lodge. Anne Rasa thinks it will not only be a disaster for the poor water situation in Kgalagadi but also for the Bushmen because the private-sector operators tend to use the Bushmen in their marketing simply to make profit.

¹¹ Today the DEAT is known as the National Department of Tourism (NDT) (Finlay & Barnabas 2012: 140).

mercial and symbolic rights, so he does not believe that the Bushmen would have truly acquired freedom in the park. Clearly, there are many strings attached to this part of the land claim.

Back-to-the-top: Boesmanraad and the African Safari Lodge Foundation

In addition to SASI, another organisation, a CBO, is also active in tourism developments in the area. This is the Boesmanraad (or Bushman Council), which was started in April 2009 and consists of ‘Oupa’ Jan Pieterse (manager), Barbara Raats (cybertracking) and Luce Steenkamp (administration). The office is situated in a small building at Witdraai. The Bushmen representatives on the JMB have strong ties with the Boesmanraad or they are a part of it. In an encounter with Belinda Kruiper in Andriesvale, I told her I was on the way to Boesmanraad and she wondered “what does it (the Boesmanraad protocol) mean for Bushmen who just love their land, who don’t want to become a guide like the white people?” (diary, 06 July 2010), referring to the dominance of white-driven tourist development. People, including traditionalists, tend to feel excluded from !Ae !Hai. For example, Elia Festus explained how the Boesmanraad took away his right to go into the park and Isak Gooi said that the dominant Kruiper family, who are working closely with the Boesmanraad today, exclude other families, such as his.

The Boesmanraad are technically and financially supported by the African Safari Lodge Foundation (ASLF), which, as the name suggests, has a strong focus on tourism. The ASLF aims to facilitate the rebuilding of the ≠Khomani’s cultural identity and to re-establish their connection with the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, by starting activities inside and south of the park in the traditional conservation area and on the Rolletjies and Sonderwater farms. The ASLF’s *Tourism Development Plan: ≠Khomani San Community* is “an initiative of the ≠Khomani San Boesmanraad (Park & Traditional Warden Committees) funded by the Ford Foundation and the Embassy of Finland through the African Safari Lodge Foundation” (Massyn *et al.* 2010: 1). It was conducted by a team of tourist planners with input from ecologists, the latter being the technical advisors to the Boesmanraad, David Grossman and Philipa Holden. The findings were only presented to the Boesmanraad and the JMB and discussed with the Boesmanraad (*Ibid.*: 9), but apart from these activities I cannot find any local Bushmen perspective(s) in the report. This would seem to be the next top-down initiative, in which outsiders determine tourist developments. In the Kalahari these are often unidirectional policies sent from governments and NGOs, based on western technological and socio-political values. In this, conversation with the beneficiaries is often lacking and modernisation in developing countries often becomes a synonym for westernisation. Despite a lot of development rhetoric, modernisation is still the main strategy (Dyll 2009: 41) and although institutions tend to support the traditional, this is only an invented tradition, as an affordance within the context of modernisation. In fact, the invented tradition seems to be a prerequisite for other developments to take place, such as the building of lodges, because it gives the Bushman a place in the process.

According to Francis & Francis (2010: 220), the Boesmanraad was established to rival SASI. Indeed, Noubitsen explained that the Boesmanraad was set up because people were disappointed with SASI. Although there are different focus points between

the two organisations, there are also some points of cooperation. Firstly, Jan van der Westhuyzen, the father of SASI's coordinator for tourism (Vinkie), is on the Boesmanraad and on the JMB. Secondly, trackers who were trained in the SASI programme //Uruke can work in the park for Boesmanraad activities today and thirdly, the two organisations concentrate on geographically different areas. And while SASI's projects mainly take place on or around the six farms from the 1999 land claim, the Boesmanraad's activities concentrate on !Ae !Hai, Sonderwater and Rolletjies.¹² This last point means they are not really in each other's way geographically but the approaches of both organisations seem to differ. The way the Boesmanraad was set up raised some eyebrows at SASI:

You know, when the Boesmanraad was chosen, the community was not informed. They did not tell anybody, we just heard that there is a Boesmanraad now, but I think it is a good thing, because at least they support the JMB, but first, after the mistake they made, they should have informed the community. (Annetta Bok, Interview 107)

This idea was confirmed by others too and it emerged that most Bushmen did not know anything about the Boesmanraad, especially in the towns in the wider area away from the farms, but also on the farms where most people had heard of them but knew nothing of what they were doing. For example, Oupa Jan Pieterse of the Boesmanraad drives around in a black *bakkie*¹³ today that is funded by a Canadian donor through the Peace Parks Foundation. This led to complaints in the community as people do not know who is allowed to use the car, when and for what purposes. Oupa Jan Pieterse gave me a paper from the Boesmanraad meant for the community that was entitled '*Bekendstelling*', which is Afrikaans for 'Launch' or 'Announcement'. It says:

ANNOUNCEMENT

THE BUSHMAN COUNCIL

The Bushman Council (Boesmanraad) is a forum *founded by the people for the people* to manage and develop Witdraai, Erin, Welkom and the Traditional Heritage Lands and the Park, in a coordinated manner and in cooperation with the committees of Witdraai, Erin and Welkom, the Joint Management Board, Park Committee and the Director General of the Department of Land Affairs. (Boesmanraad, n.d., my translation and emphasis)

It is interesting that rhetoric is used as if this is a CBO set-up with 'the people', even 'founded by the people', whereas in reality only a very small, select group is involved. Various people now blame the ASLF and their technical advisors for disrupting the community, being too much in control of the funds and not providing transparency. For example, Ruben Festus, who used to work with them, said that they misuse the name of the Kruiper family in funding, focusing on Dawid Kruiper because he is easy to convince and this avoids the better educated and more critical Bushmen. Festus feels sidelined and explained that ASLF's technical advisors decide how the funds are spent. In 2009 Festus sent a letter to the ASLF saying that the Upington Traditional Families wanted to discuss how

¹² This boundary is not strictly defined since the *Tourism Development Plan* by the ASLF also includes advice for the six farms and, as explained before in this chapter, the ASLF played a role in the hunting concessions for Erin and Miershooppan.

¹³ A common Afrikaans word for a pick-up truck.

funds (Ford Foundation) monies were spent ... If A.S.L.F. does have monies and the *power* to provide or to spend it; we would be please (sic) if you can give us a progress report as well. This will give us an opportunity to review *our* options regarding a way forward ... *you alone work with the funding monies* and you alone will have all the answers to our questions. (Festus, letter to Philipa Holden, 6 January 2009, my emphasis)

This shows the relations of power surrounding development funds. Outsiders tend to become part of the Bushmen's environment but they often come in with complete control over these funds. The funds are then only accessible if one builds up a good relationship with the affordance 'the outsiders'.¹⁴ In addition, NGOs and consultants or advisors can have the power to exclude and thus disempower people in marginalised communities, depending on their own agendas. Often, Bushmen tend to turn their backs when they disagree with outsiders, something I also often noticed in Tsintsabis. This was explained by Ruben Festus in a fundraising proposal:

However our (South Kalahari Bushmen) character is of such a nature that it accomplished the one thing that has eluded mankind from the down of time ... *the ability to agree to differ!* When a conflict of interest arises between two of us (Bushman), one will invariably pack his belongings and move into a new territory to avert confrontation! (2009, my emphasis)

As we saw in Chapter 4 the people of IRDNC also thought of the Khwe Bushmen that they could so easily turn their back on problems, not confronting others, avoiding conflicts. Festus calls this a lot more positively 'the ability to agree to differ', and by having this ability it creates agency for the Bushmen. We can see that within Bushmen communities there is a tendency not to debate a problem until one was proven right, but in their cosmology there is an affordance in their environment, which is to agree to differ. Their perception of handling conflicts then becomes different from that in western cosmology, where we tend to prove our rights and wrongs and thereby ourselves. Bushmen hunter-gatherers, as we saw, do not need to. In fact, boasting was considered a bad habit and therefore one would not try to 'prove' oneself anyway. Based on the idea of relatively egalitarian societies, it makes complete sense not to solve a problem in the way 'we' believe one should solve it, but to solve it by 'not solving' it; by accepting the different opinions, that are all needed, all valuable and all part of a wider dwelt-in environment. There is enough space for all these opinions in the environment and some Bushmen handle their problems based on their ability to agree to differ. Once the differences are clarified, the problem *is* solved, and one can peacefully go one's own way again. How different this works in a western cosmology, where we tend to claim autonomy over issues by proving that we know what is right or true, often based on 'proofs' and 'facts'.

What the relationship between the community, the Boesmanraad and the ASLF also shows is how the community approach, as promoted by SASI, is losing value, since the community is reduced to just one stakeholder that can simply 'announce' the new developments being worked on. In this case, the new power relations in the Kalahari tend to

¹⁴ Festus is not the only person complaining about these technical advisors influencing development processes and having a strong influence on Dawid Kruiper, and this goes further than only processes in tourism. For example, in relation to a discussion about building houses on Erin Farm, Andries Steenkamp said that "(t)he Community has decided, but Dawid (Kruiper) ... and David Grossman and Philipa (Holden) ... say we can't build houses on Erin because that's traditional land, but ... the traditional land is the land of the Community" (cited in Grant 2011: 235).

be moving towards more top-down development, maybe instigated by a lack of belief in the community approach. In a way, this parallels the ‘back-to-the-barriers’ approach in conservation, it is the equivalent process of a ‘back-to-the-top’ approach that is taking place in tourism development today, in which the voice of the community is excluded. The community or its critical members become hazards that are in the way of all externally planned developments. Still, for these outsiders, the Bushmen’s image as primordial is an affordance very useful for their purposes and will therefore be used in strengthening the gap between them and the Bushmen, by using the image in development rhetoric and, as we will see below, in *branding*.

Branding a new ≠Khomani identity

The ASLF considers branding the Bushmen as ≠Khomani to be an essential step if they want to develop in tourism since “(f)or the Khomani San to have a presence in the competitive world of travel and tourism in Southern Africa, it needs to have its own brand identity” (ASLF 2011a: 3). In line with this, GRID Branding & Design, which developed a special ≠Khomani website, stated that they “have assisted the ≠Khomani San in the development of their new identity and beautiful logo” (Khomani, 2012c). The development of a brand-new identity for the ≠Khomani is being done to attract more tourists to participate in Bushmen activities and this idea is based on the ≠Khomani myth in which the ≠Khomani are seen as a homogeneous and strongly imagined community. This raises some serious issues because

(w)hile the translation of the *Bushman myth* into a *Bushman brand* may benefit the community as marketing strategy guaranteeing income generation, the accompanying immobility of an “authentic” ≠Khomani identity ... continues to contribute to the division of the community and thus hinders the realisation of the potential for material sovereignty and development the ownership of land has brought about. (Schenck 2008: 89-90)

This website is also mentioned by the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF 2012c), which also promotes the !Ae !Hai with pictures of traditional Bushmen (see Photo 5.7). Marketing plays an important role in the commodification and the image creation of the Bushmen, in which it does not matter that the ≠Khomani are in fact a myth. It seems that various organisations have different agendas when promoting the Bushmen. If necessary, an invented culture can be made into a brand with a new identity. Isak Kruiper told me that

we are world famous. We do advertisements, we do movies, we do everything. But the development of tourism is weak on our (traditionalist’s) side. There are projects but we do not benefit from them ... (M)any people have said the traditional people do not live anymore, the Bushman is dead, there is no more Bushman. (Isak Kruiper, Interview 121)

This fuels the idea that one reason for joining such activities is to be seen.

At the time of writing, a movie called *A Bushman Odyssey* was being made by Wicksteed and Symons about the Kruipers and their historical relationship to places in Kgala-gadi. This cultural heritage mapping project will be accompanied by a book on the Kruiper family heritage by Glyn in cooperation with the Peace Parks Foundation and South Africa’s National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund (Kickstarter 2012). Today, it seems as if the Kruiper family is being branded more than any other South Kalahari Bushmen

Photo 5.7 Traditional Bushmen and a dead pangolin¹⁵ in !Ae !Hai



Source: PPF (2012c), reproduced with permission.

group. For outsiders, they have become the essence of the traditional ≠Khomani and, to survive, cultures, “like brands, must essentialise ... successful and sustainable cultures are those which brand best” (Chanok 2000: 24-26, cited in Comaroff & Comaroff 2009: 18). Tomaselli (2012c: 170-171) even speaks of the ‘Kruiper currency’, based on the ‘Kruiper brand’. In this, “names become brands with a value”, and the Kruipers are among the best-known Bushmen in the world. This idea of bringing together branding, marketing, identity and culture is not new and it seems as if fantasies sometimes work better than reality. In the reproduction of culture, not in an anthropological sense of culture, contemporary advertising techniques are instructing the masses, to objectify culture for the market (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009: 18). In this way, ‘culture’ itself, as an image or a fantasy, becomes an affordance itself. The ≠Khomani culture and based on that the ‘≠Khomani brand’ have been amongst the most essential affordances in the Bushmen’s tourist environment for almost a century:

As ethno-businesses open up, they are hunting for the brand, the unique aspect about a culture. In the case of the ≠Khomani it is not the search for the unique in their culture which determines their relationship to ethno-business, it is rather the survival of remnants of a culture as a result of what has been

¹⁵ Ironically, the dead pangolin in the picture symbolises everything the Peace Parks Foundation seems to reject, since it is a widely protected species in Africa, often hunted and eaten for their bush meat (see, for example, NRF-NZG 2012). In Tsintsabis, Namibia, I was once offered a pangolin for sale, kept in a cage by a Hai//om woman who was afraid that authorities would find out she possessed one, so she specifically asked me not to tell anyone. She also told me she might be able to receive big amounts of money for it, due to its endangered status *and* because it is widely believed that pangolins have diamonds in their bellies.

marketable over the past eighty years; it seems as if the process of branding has shaped the community's understanding of their culture over time. After nearly a century on the ethnic-market, are ≠Khomani still selling a product inspired by their culture or has the product become their culture? (Schenck 2008: 102)

For some, such as the Kruipers and most Bushmen who tend to be closer to the traditionalists, the product has now become their culture.

After the land claim, NGOs and donors had different reasons for providing support for 'cultural survival' on the one hand and modern/western ideas and democratic practices on the other. A stabilised Bushman identity suggests a 'detrribalised other' (westerners) and it is exactly this contradiction that is prevalent in donors' and NGOs' development agendas: The aboriginal or 'First People' versus the 'becoming' modern citizens (Robins 2001). This double vision of NGOs has entered the community's environment, since many community members today also use a double standard when it comes to being traditional or western. For example, Jan Pieterse of the Boesmanraad told me that Boskamp is not 'purely natural' because there is a shower block there and at the same time he drives around in a big black car. Or Jan van der Westhuyzen, who explained how good it is to go back to nature and to use natural medicines from the bush, but he uses a cell phone as well. What is happening at the moment is that the Bushmen are choosing their indigenous modernities, such as a car or a cell phone, to strengthen their identity, to become 'more Bushmen', to become more *seen*. And indeed, the ≠Khomani brand is one such indigenous modernity, as part of a hybrid strategy to survive in the Kalahari, since Bushmen who dwell in tourism, dwell in traditions as well as in western materials, ideas and values. And although the power in this branding seems to be with outsiders, some of the Bushmen embrace it and engage in it, using their agency to continually invent (and reinvent) their tradition.

Tracking with Toppies and writing in the san(d)

One of the activities at !Ae !Hai is 'tracking and trails'. These walks can be tailor-made and should be booked at the office of the Boesmanraad (Khomani 2012b). The youth feel left out and some community members think that certain other community members, especially the Kruiper family, dominate this project too much. One day Lisa and I went to arrange a day of tracking in !Ae !Hai, entering the park at Imbewu Camp, the symbolic entrance gate to !Ae !Hai for the Bushmen. It was not easy to book, and after various misunderstandings, we left for Welkom with Toppies Kruiper, a leading tracker and Dawid Kruiper's son. In Welkom we needed to pick up the key for Imbewu from Andrew Kruiper and, after some delay and confusion, we finally drove off, with permission and the key, from Welkom to the Imbewu entrance. I still wonder how we could have arranged all this if we had been without a car and not able to speak Afrikaans. As a tourist, I doubt if we would have been able to do it.

We had a very interesting walk through Kgalagadi, with Toppies proving to be a knowledgeable guide. We spoke Afrikaans with him. At a certain point, we tasted some hoodia and then he cut off a small piece of his hair and buried it in the sand, explaining that if you take something from nature, you have to give something back to nature in return. Toppies showed a reciprocal relationship with nature, not with the hoodia plant as such, but *with nature as such* based on the western concept of nature as different

from culture, as if nature is something ‘out there’, an object. This is an example of hunter-gatherer dwelling today, in which values, traditional and modern, are hybrid. The sharing with nature is there, with a part of his body showing the dwelling of the whole organism/person in his environment but in the way he explained it, nature was now western, it is that area in life where people are not supposed to dwell at all. In fact, what Toppies did was to exchange a part of his body with ‘the global environment’ that we are supposed to preserve, that we have to care for. He also explained that the Bushmen have always had a deep understanding and knowledge *of* nature, thereby talking as if the Bushmen stood distanced and out of nature, but what I think he really meant was that they used to dwell in the environment and the landscape where the three of us dwelt that day. The values and opinions of hunter-gatherers today tend to be influenced by other ideas and values that have now entered their environment, so any environment is hybrid, a mix of unlimited ideas and values. Of all the affordances in an environment, the indigenous modernities are chosen that best suit their situation. Rhetoric on their relationship with nature were plenty, but they spoke about it in a western way, not as dwelling in an environment, but as knowing nature, in which nature is one entity, according to the western view of Bushmen as primordial creatures of nature, who *know* it best, when looking at it from a distance.

Throughout the day, Toppies explained many things by writing or drawing in the sand (see cover photo). This is something I also saw in Tsintsabis: Bushmen often communicate via the sand. One reason could be that there is simply not always a pen and paper around, but there could be other explanations. Tomaselli edited a book entitled *Writing in the Sand* (2007) and the title is not a coincidence because the communication style matters and symbolises more than ‘just communication’. According to Belinda Kruiper (cited in Dyll 2009: 55), “NGOs should let the Bushmen draw in the sand to explain how they feel and what they want. They are not stupid or illiterate, they have different ways and one is drawing in the sand”. Lauren Dyll (2007: 122) explained that, when she had a conversation with Toppies:

In all his explanations Toppies drew pictures in the sand to punctuate and reaffirm what he was saying, or perhaps to clarify his statements. This intervention suggests applying a critical approach to received understandings of development communications strategies. By encouraging Western methods of communication *only*, such as top-down approaches generated by proponents of the modernization paradigm, development workers are in fact denying the validity of local methods and knowledge, and in so doing gain only a superficial understanding of people’s development needs and requirements.

In line with this, I met many Bushmen, in places other than the Kalahari, who are not capable of reading and writing on paper or of using a computer. By coming in and automatically assuming one’s own way of communication is *the* way, one closes off other possibilities, probably unintentionally. However, many Bushmen *can* write, but they do so in the sand. As long as they feel the freedom and space in their environment, they will do so when necessary. Maybe not with letters, but they draw, point and show things; they communicate via the sand. This shows how subtle habits and behaviour have different meanings in different environments, so NGO workers should not immediately open up their laptops in a meeting with Bushmen. Although a laptop is a great indigenous modernity for many Bushmen, it can block communication (unless it is used with computer-literate Bushmen). There will be time and space for that too, but first talk

calmly and, most of all, listen and look at the sand, so that the drawing starts, namely the writing in the sand. Only then can you truly communicate with Bushmen because you will then be dwelling in their world, although I have to admit things have changed for the younger generation.

Sand, then, is an affordance, to be used in communication or otherwise. Although I have elaborated here on writing in the sand, I can give numerous other examples in which I experienced how Bushmen hunter-gatherers communicate using affordances in their environment in different ways, such as the air, the wind, the sun, a fence, the rain, a stone and so on. I remember how I used to ask what happened last week, asking whether it was on Monday, Tuesday or which day of the week, to be answered that it was the day when the wind blew so hard. The best examples might come from when I asked for directions, getting answers varying from, ‘at that soft round stone you go that way’, ‘where the trees become higher’, ‘where the bushes were eaten by a kudu’ and so on. To me, this kind of communication is similar to writing in the sand because it is communication from Bushmen dwelling in their environment. Of course, today communication is also hybrid and people use western reference points as well, but there is still a lot of that other type of communication happening.

!Xaus Lodge, the heart of !Ae !Hai

The affordance !Xaus, a financial development success?

After the land claim, South Kalahari Bushmen and Mier could offer a concession to private developers for a lodge in the park. Together with SANParks, they decided to establish a ‘cooperation lodge’, which is similar to a joint venture, and the JMB invited concessionaires to build the lodge and operate it for seven years (Ramutsindela 2005: 114). The DEAT allocated ZAR 6.5 million to build !Xaus but the construction still showed many development failures typical of strategies that lacked relevant knowledge of the local context, culturally, environmentally and from a market point of view. The lodge was built in a very remote location off the tourist route, the electricity was supplied by a noisy and expensive generator and the roads were bad. Most important though, there was sheer neglect for about five years due to the owners’ (Mier and ≠Khomani) disbelief in the project and the state and donors lost interest (Dyll 2009: 48-49). There was a disregard for local knowledge during the construction of !Xaus. For example,

(d)uring a visit to the lodge before it was completed in July 2007, the ≠Khomani advised the builders that they were using the incorrect thatch for the chalet roofs. Their warning was ignored and the wind wreaked havoc on the initial roofing. (*Ibid.*: 56)

So DEAT’s goal of encouraging community participation was clearly disregarded and the appointment of a commercial operator in 2006 created a shift in paradigm from a modernisation top-down to a participatory bottom-up approach (*Ibid.*: 48-49). Glynn O’Leary, CEO of Transfrontier Parks Destinations (TFPD), negotiated with the Bushmen and the Mier and they agreed that the cooperation lodge should be managed by TFPD, a so-called “black-empowered Lodge Management Company” (!Xaus 2012a) on behalf of the ≠Khomani and the Mier. Later on, DEAT would allocate another ZAR 1.5

million and SANParks ZAR 1 million, so that the lodge could be finished (Finlay & Barnabas 2012: 140). !Xaus means ‘heart’ in Nama, a name that was inspired by the large salt pan nearby with a distinctive heart shape. The name also symbolises the agreement between SANParks, the Mier and the South Kalahari Bushmen (!Xaus 2012a). The lodge was originally planned to be positioned half on Mier and half on ≠Khomani land but the location has shifted to Mier land and in 2007 Belinda Kruiper became the first manager and Bushmen community operator for TFPD at !Xaus, although she left after a year (Dyll-Myklebust 2011b). Apparently her focus was more on the ‘spiritual’ or ‘telepathic’ management of the place (Van der Oever 2007, in Tomaselli 2012b: 21).

In my interviews, most local Bushmen were positive about their encounters with O’Leary, whose “riveting story-telling ability secures an empathetic rapport with !Xaus’s ≠Khomani stakeholders who recognise someone with whom they can relate” (Tomaselli 2012a: 19). However, this does not automatically mean that they were satisfied with the !Xaus Lodge since O’Leary will not stay at !Xaus permanently and therefore at the level of infrastructure, the Bushmen’s relations with the daily management are a lot more important. This is similar to the position of Willem de Wet in Tsumkwe, who is the managing director of Namibia Country Lodges (see Chapter 3). These are people in powerful positions but at a distance and as far as I know, they have good intentions for the people. They only visit from time to time and when they do, they come to explain promising intentions to the people. From their position, normally with many more responsibilities in various tourist enterprises, it is near impossible to include the voice of the people in these policies directly and they are reliant on their managers in the field, who then become the mediators for such big tourism companies. When Bushmen dwell in tourism, at the level of infrastructure, it is the managers and other people from the companies in the field that matter most, since with them they will dwell and engage in more permanent relations. The directors are affordances to be liked because they bring good things but they are to be feared because they are powerful. So the Bushmen will automatically take a submissive position in these relations, liking them, being polite and saying yes to any new and promising plans. Bushmen will look back on such visits as enjoyable, classifying the director as a good person but most of all, hoping that the manager that will come to be among them is just as good because that person will be their new *baas*.

The focus of !Xaus is on international tourists, contrary to the rest of the area where domestic tourism is dominant (Massyn *et al.* 2010: 39). Apart from providing jobs to both communities, the lodge provides a monthly rental based on turnover to community-representing organisations. After ten years of operations, the Mier and the Bushmen will set up a trust together to receive a 10% equity stake in the lodge management company. Donor funding is owned by the lodge and therefore by the communities, while the lodge also assists in channelling funds for spin-off projects in the communities (!Xaus 2012a). The jobs offered by !Xaus are permanent instead of seasonal, thereby offering long-term employment and in addition to wages employees receive transportation, work clothing, full board and housing as well as pension funds and death and disability benefits. Of course, employees also receive trainings (Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay

2012: 135; Mezias & Fakhreddin 2013: 4-5). Although most employees are Mier, recently the number of ≠Khomani has increased (Tomaselli, pers. comm.). Most Bushmen feel completely cut-off from all the funds for and revenues from the lodge. Most of them received no feedback from the CPA, some of whose members complained that communication with the various government departments failed (Dyll 2009: 52-53). Since its formation in 1999 the CPA members were replaced several times due to malfunctioning, especially with regard to financial and land management issues. This malfunctioning was largely based on a lack of capacity for their responsibilities in managing and allocating the community's property to individual members, such as regarding water access, land use, hunting and gathering, residence and grazing (Grant 2011: 220-227). Today the CPA is not functioning anymore and TFPD has chosen that they do not want to get involved in community governance issues (Tomaselli, pers. comm.). Although TFPD has a strong focus on community development, they do not want to show this for commercial reasons. They are afraid that the concept of 'community tourism' will keep tourists away. Indeed, they "aim to attract tourism by offering world-class operations and a high quality experience on par with comparative commercial lodges" (O'Leary, email, 12 May 2011, in Dyll-Myklebust 2012: 180). One of the activities for tourists is a visit to the Bushman Craft Village, a recreated cultural village where Bushmen make and sell their crafts and demonstrate some traditional games (!Xaus 2012b). They work here on a two-week rotational basis but three Bushmen trackers work permanently at the lodge, two of them are South Kalahari Bushmen and the other one is from Platfontein. Although the Bushmen and Mier own !Xaus, a take-over of the lodge is still a far-off dream. To date, the Bushmen were 'just' the 'traditional' Bushmen and the better educated Mier got most of the other jobs, which makes sense since the idea of 'cultural tourism' is based on the ≠Khomani culture (Finlay & Barnabas 2012: 137-140). So the Bushmen's symbolic capital is converted into economic capital, by TFPD, the Mier and the South Kalahari Bushmen. The Mier are seen as more educated and reliable because they show up, whereas the Bushmen have an image of not showing up, are uneducated and so on. In addition, Bushmen barely speak English. To reduce this difference, TFPD sends people with potential for training to their other lodges and they receive training in tracking, guiding and hospitality. In addition, the lodge has a house fund, which gives the workers the option of saving part of their salary to build a house. Abraham de Klerk, the newly appointed manager, explained that this can help the Bushmen because in their sharing culture if one makes some money and goes to the shop, the others will come and ask for a share. In the Bushman Craft Village at !Xaus more than 58 local people have stayed at least once since the lodge opened in 2007, and they all received a small stipend, food and accommodation. Once a group returns their sales can continue because craftsmen can leave items at the lodge's curio shop (Mezias & Fakhreddin 2013: 5-6). TFPD does not charge anything in return and there is no charge of any value added tax (Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay 2012: 136). The total of purchases from the lodge's curio shop made by crafters at !Xaus and others in the area went up from ZAR 55.600 in 2008 to ZAR 100.000 in 2010 (Tomaselli *et al.* 2011).

Dyll-Myklebust (2011a: 1-2) explained how CCMS's research at the lodge "was applied to shape business decisions to rescue a project that was subject to every costly development mistake in the book. Despite this !Xaus, led by TFPD with research provided by CCMS, is a story of development success". This led to the TFPD model, which is an example of for-profit philanthropy. This model is based on a public-private-community partnership and can serve to guide other such partnerships in participatory lodge and tourism development (Dyll-Myklebust 2012). This success was shown because !Xaus won an award, generated more than ZAR 5.1 million in income, Mier and Bushmen make up 85% of the staff and now own this asset worth ZAR 11 million (Dyll-Myklebust 2011a: 2). In 2011, !Xaus was also certified by Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) (Mokone 2011) and a lot of !Xaus revenue was spent in the area to create an 'economic multiplier effect' on local crafts and curios but most of it went on operational costs in Askham and Upington (Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay 2012: 135-136). In the first six years the total economic benefit to the Gordonia area was ZAR 13.7 million of which the owner of the lodge received ZAR 6.3 million. For the owner, so for the Mier and ≠Khomani communities, this amount included the general maintenance and insurance of the assets, the JMB rental, local staff and crafter remuneration and income from crafts (!Xaus 2013). The multiplier effect is especially evident in the wider Gordonia area, where !Xaus invests lots of revenues into the local economy. For example, they buy firewood from the local community and they use small businesses such as the Kalahari Supermarket in Ashkam and the Orange River Cellars for supplies, as well as a sewing cooperative (Vezokuhle) in Upington for their fabric items. A local artist, Themba Masala, even sold for over ZAR 75,000 through the curio shop (Mezias & Fakhreddin 2013: 5-6). Without doubting all these results, I want to stress that this economic multiplier effect does not automatically benefit the local South Kalahari Bushmen, since they often lack the power positions needed to profit from it. It is unlikely that serious amounts spent in the area on operational costs will benefit the Bushmen financially and thereby reduce social inequalities and contradictions. In the end, most Bushmen fall more or less completely outside the formal economy (but they do dwell in the cash economy), so how would such spending reach them? When I ran into the people from !Xaus Lodge (the white people working there including the management), they were buying supplies in the Kalahari Supermarket in Askham, loading a full *bakkie* and obviously spending a lot of money. This, however, is a white-owned store and therefore it is unlikely that such spending will reach many Bushmen, unless one works there anyway. It is more likely that the spending helped the owners of the shop financially thus *increasing* the financial contradiction between the haves and have-nots. A trickle-down effect is all too often assumed to happen automatically but this is hardly ever the case, precisely because the poor have fewer possibilities to benefit from this money and they are active more in informal economic activities with relatively small amounts of cash circulating. In addition, it is doubtful if many Bushmen indeed realise they own a ZAR 11 million lodge (with the Mier) and, if so, what the consequences of this will be in the community. Most people do not feel they have anything to say about it. !Xaus is often seen as a white-run enterprise where some community members, and only if you are a profound traditionalist, can make a bit of money by being there and selling crafts. There

is still a strong feeling of exclusion from !Xaus. Therefore, apart from these financial successes, the question arises as to whether a certain level of empowerment can also be reached in the relationship between the Bushmen and !Xaus, in which “(e)mpowerment does not simply mean the involvement of community members in aspects of the project; it means that they should be actively engaged in discussion and implementation of knowledge and ideas” (McLennan-Dodd & Barnabas 2012: 142). Since in the end, O’Leary of TFPD said that, because !Xaus Lodge is a luxury lodge, it requires more skilled staff compared to other tourist ventures in the area (Grant 2011: 257). This is exactly what creates such a contradiction: Luxury tourism ventures are introduced amongst the most marginalised where, due to this marginalisation, such staff is limited. It is therefore a doubtful strategy to start joint ventures amongst such marginalised and disempowered groups as the Bushmen. Instead of closing the gap, they tend to magnify the contradictions.

‘Forever he will stay a boy’: Bushmen perceptions of !Xaus

What I found at the farms, where most !Xaus employees live, was a strong feeling of exclusion from the lodge, even by the people who work there. Amongst workers and their family members, the general tendency was that people simply work at !Xaus because there are hardly any other options, not because they enjoy it. They believe their salaries are too low and the manager’s behaviour is rude and disrespectful, although a change of management was taking place during my fieldwork time. This was welcomed by most people. Even Luce Steenkamp from the Boesmanraad said that “many work there for a while and then they come back and they do not want to go there anymore” (Interview 119). In addition, the feeling that the Bushmen are (part) owners of !Xaus is very limited. Even Dawid Kruiper needed to be told again when I asked him who the owner was. He said

(m)an, I actually do not know who is the owner. Because, let’s say the Bushmen will not go there, then the lodge will not make money. He (the new manager Abraham) said he is not the boss of !Xaus. We are the boss. Together with the Mier. (Interview 120)

Apart from the fact that it is strange that the traditional leader is not even aware of his own people’s ownership, Kruiper does realise that the Bushmen *are* an important tourist attraction for the lodge. He was well aware that the Bushmen’s symbolic capital was converted into economic capital by the lodge, and because the Bushmen owned a large part of !Xaus, he considered this, rightfully so, as ownership. Interestingly, Bushmen hardly convert this power into any serious economic capital, or they do not know how to do so. In general, Bushmen realise this, especially those who work at !Xaus. Isak Kruiper even said that “we are the advertisements for !Xaus” (Interview 121). !Xaus’ cultural tourism is focused on the Bushmen and on the !Xaus website and in promotional materials one can see South Kalahari Bushmen, represented as traditional hunting and gathering people (Finlay & Barnabas 2012: 142-143, cf. Finlay 2009). Petrus Vaalbooi does not look at !Xaus as ‘development’ but more as a place where the old patron-client relationship is re-established, exactly as it was during apartheid. And for this reason, he does not understand how the Bushmen can own !Xaus. He said that

(y)ou do not feel as if you are in control, you are just under the boss, as in the old days. This is what hurts me. All these people who are educated in various projects, mostly tourism, they cannot reach that level of self-sufficiency. Forever he will stay a boy. (Interview 125)

This reflects a broader feeling amongst the South Kalahari Bushmen, that !Xaus is simply there but people do not see it as development. !Xaus then, in the Bushmen's environment, is an important affordance that establishes the importance of the Bushman identity, or the ≠Khomani brand, in tourism, and creates the feeling that the Bushmen are seen, that they are the real Bushmen. And this is an important benefit for various Bushmen. However, they tend to consider !Xaus an affordance in their environment that they have a relationship with, but not as something they possess in the western sense of the word.

When I met Jan 'Basie Bacon' Titus, whom I was told by Anne Rasa was one of the best young trackers among the Bushmen, he showed me a certificate for hunting guiding and one for tracking, as well as a letter which he had received from the ASLF when he was ready to become a tracker at !Xaus. It said that

(i)t is clear to us all that you are a naturally gifted guide and if it were not for your issues with alcohol you would have been unanimously selected ... (I)f you are guiding in the Kalahari, not only do you represent the lodge but you also represent the Khomani San Community. (Rodwell van Hasselt, ASLF, letter to Jan Titus, 19 May 2010)

Basie, who sells crafts at the road side today, explained that he felt unjustly treated and belittled because he was not the only one who was drinking. In his opinion, Bushmen are not in control of their own development processes but "I am still at the back of the *bakkie* ... we can sit affront in the *bakkie*. But I also don't want to sit left, because where do I drive? I want to sit right (behind the steering wheel)" (Interview 134). Indeed, it is not only drinking but also the formalities that arrived in the Bushmen's environment, such as education, that exclude them. For example, the position of the main guide at !Xaus was taken by a young white man, an outsider, which created frustration and confusion amongst some of the Bushmen who believed they were better guides. The new manager Abraham de Klerk later told them that this new guide is better with books and that they are better in the field, and that they should help each other. In addition, Isak Kruiper explained that the Mier held positions as field guides but he accompanied these guides on drives and game walks, adding tracking skills and knowledge. However, he was not introduced to the visitors or given credit for this information (Grant 2011: 141-142).

'Get off your fucking ass Bushman': Baasskap at the fire

When we, the CCMS group, received a visit from the departing manager of !Xaus at Witdraai Boskamp at the campfire one evening, this was to become an interesting event. This manager, a former overlander guide, arrived with a (white) tour guide trainee and a young Bushman employee. Our group was talking quietly and having dinner but after the arrival of the !Xaus people, the atmosphere changed. The manager, who I thought was close to being drunk, was loud and making jokes and the young Bushman was also drunk, saying 'ai-ai-ai-ai-ai-ai-ai' all the time, exactly as happens in *The Gods Must Be Crazy* (where it is the white man who says this throughout the movie when he gets into trouble). The manager's humour was macho and sometimes sexist, focused on drinking

and full of stigma about ‘life in the bush’ (having met many tour guides in Southern Africa I had become quite familiar with such rhetoric). What I found interesting was that many of the manager’s jokes involved the young Bushman who had to answer questions, and he also talked a lot on behalf of him, and the Bushman did exactly what the manager asked of him. This was *baasskap*. The encounter created interesting opinions about working relationships at a cooperation lodge or joint venture. For example, Lisa explained to me how the manager came in that evening and then “(t)here was a young Bushman (who) was really there as (the manager)’s little boy” (Interview 153). Indeed, the relationship between the manager and the Bushman was called a master-servant relationship by Nhamo Mhiripiri, who could not believe that Bushmen and whites were capable of maintaining an equal relationship in this part of the world. Empowerment is therefore the big challenge and the question is whether the ‘masters’ are truly teaching the ‘servants’ at joint ventures, and if they are even capable of doing so. Mhiripiri believes that in reality they are still the boss, especially in the bush. And most of the joint ventures with Bushmen are remote in the bush.¹⁶

Local people on the farms would later complain about the manager’s racism and swearing. The !Xaus workers see no other possibilities for work but they said that they are afraid to speak to the manager directly. For Annetta Bok, who would later work for SASI, this was the reason why she did not want to work there herself:

I was going to work there as a tour guide, I am a qualified tour guide, but me and him (the manager) we had a meeting and in this meeting I could see that I could not work together with him. The manner, it’s the boss attitude and the power, all have to listen to him and that’s it. I feel it does not work like that, we should all be equal. (Interview 107)

In addition, Bok did not want to be separated from her children for too long, and !Xaus is far from the farms. It is important to see that people, who tend to be very close to their families, are being taken away for two weeks at a time, which makes working at !Xaus less attractive. More talented young people did not want to work at !Xaus for this very reason, the distance and also the manager’s style. Another example is Blade Witbooi, who explained that he used to go to !Xaus for tracking and making crafts but that he does not do so anymore because of the manager, with whom he frequently clashed. Witbooi said that he is one of the few who is not afraid to speak out, while most remain silent because they are afraid. Witbooi was delighted to hear that Abraham de Klerk would take over, which gave him more confidence in a future for !Xaus. An additional reason for Witbooi as well as for Dawid Gooi is language. They completed some training to become armed guards but did not receive a certificate because the examination is done in English (both are Afrikaans speaking), which left them feeling unempowered (Dyll 2009: 56). One of the few English speakers, Noubitsen, could not stand the manager’s swearing and left, adding that most people simply accept a lot because there are

¹⁶ Interestingly, most CCMS researchers and affiliates were mild in the opinions they voiced about the manager. Those who knew him personally from previous trips were obviously close, which can create a different relationship to the Bushmen’s, especially where the relationship between the manager and Bushmen is tense, as was the case here. Tomaselli (2012a: 6) is aware of this methodological issue since “(f)or us (CCMS), the research danger – the edge if you like – was the researchers’ Self-Other relationship with O’Leary and his company. The pull of action and advocacy research – to take sides – was overwhelming from the start”.

very few other job opportunities. Some of the road-stall attendants also told me they do not want to go there anymore due to the manager's behaviour towards them, which they claim is lacking in respect. "Get off your fucking ass Bushman" (Interview 112) was the type of thing they heard there too often. Some others thought the manager was not as bad, for example Isak Kruiper said that the cursing is just "a *boer's* language when he gets angry" (Interview 121). Oom Jan van der Westhuyzen, who represents the Bushmen on the JMB, said that they received many complaints about this behaviour but that there is not a lot they can do because O'Leary of the TFPD chooses the manager. This will logically increase the feeling of exclusion from one's own development, and even ≠Khomani at the JMB do not seem to be in a position to do anything about people's working conditions. If I were a Bushman, I would not feel like I owned !Xaus as the feeling of *owning* !Xaus is outside the Bushmen's environment. !Xaus is only an affordance where one can get a job in a *baasskap* relation, but it is almost unimaginable from a Bushman's perspective to be a (part) owner of the lodge. Bushmen simply do not own lodges.

Discussion

The South Kalahari Bushmen dwell in an environment full of contradictions and one that is heavily influenced by a created and imagined ≠Khomani identity and a land claim, two phenomena that cannot be seen as separate in the Kalahari. At the Kagga Kamma private game reserve, the traditionalist group of the Kruiper family became acquainted with tourism and felt they were seen as a people. Here tourism was connected with an invented tradition. In the process of the land claim, the South Kalahari Bushmen became probably the least cohesive of all the groups in this thesis, and although some are focusing more on an invented tradition as an important affordance in tourism, most of them do not embrace this strategy. To gain benefits, westerners tend to focus on farming and technology. The division between traditionalists and westerners, as far as it is a clear-cut division, is not specifically about the direction of development in a direct sense, in which the 'return to nature' is seen as opposed to 'technology and farming', but it is centred more on agency and identity, in which the traditionalists usually connect to the primordial Bushmen image and the westerners to modernisation. Both are development strategies, or even survival strategies, based on the Bushmen's belief of what works best in today's world. However, in this modernising world, farming, technology *and* the Bushman image in tourism are all affordances in the sense of indigenous modernities and most of the South Kalahari Bushmen combine elements of both. What the land claim has also shown is that land is not an automatic solution to development but can, in fact, also increase problems and disputes, and may lead to an ever-stronger disbelief in the Bushmen's capabilities in processes of development as seen through western eyes, and even to disempowerment. Their agency was limited when the government wanted to play a bigger role and took back the lead in the process, which only created greater frustration amongst the Bushmen who were once again sidelined. Now they have land, but have lost their agency because they lack the capabilities to manage it. Land possession is thus a frustrating affordance because it has entered their environment without agency to control and manage it. Due to the land claim the

≠Khomani are a group of people that was created, strongly influenced by the idea that they are one homogeneous community while in fact they are more hybrid than any other group described in this thesis. In addition, this group was strongly imagined, based on ideas of the primordial Bushmen.

It is doubtful whether the strong focus on tourism by various NGOs, donors, consultants and the government can be justified for the South Kalahari Bushmen or ≠Khomani on the scale that it has been to date. Possibilities for cultural ecotourism in this part of the Kalahari are severely limited due to a lack of tourist interest. In other words, there is a very limited market for this type of tourism and, despite some good development rhetoric amongst various NGOs, the South Kalahari Bushmen are destined to continue dwelling in the margins of tourism, engaging in activities such as selling crafts at the roadside, some occasional tracking or translating, or work at community camps such as Witdraai Tentepark (in the past) or at Witdraai Boskamp today. However, the Bushmen also benefit from these activities in ways that are not financial. For example, the //Uruke tracking programme or dressing up traditionally increases their symbolic capital, and the Tentepark used to increase cultural capital. Still, they are hardly in a position to convert these activities and the Bushman myth into economic capital, which many of them want to do, and they remain dependent on outsiders. So these projects and activities are enabling in their own way, but the creation of economic capital in the highly competitive world of tourism is severely constrained by their weak market position in a limited market. Despite this situation, various institutions and private operators at the level of structure continue to promote tourism as a panacea for the development of the South Kalahari Bushmen, based on the myth of the ≠Khomani Bushmen. We see here how ideas in the superstructure influence the daily reality of the Bushmen's environment. More than anywhere else, another myth was used by the various stakeholders in the structure and infrastructure of Bushmen and non-Bushmen, considering the ≠Khomani as one cohesive community, while in reality it is a fragmented and dispersed group of people.

Economic capital is also the focus of the private sector and the South Kalahari Bushmen are involved in two relations with a private-sector partner, Molopo Lodge in the middle of the farms and !Xaus Lodge in the !Ae !Hai Kalahari Heritage Park. Initially, !Xaus started off as a failed government initiative and the private sector was called in to rescue the project as a joint venture (cooperation lodge) with the Bushmen and the Mier. The private operator TFPD did indeed rescue the project but the South Kalahari Bushmen lack a feeling of ownership and are not empowered. In both !Xaus and Molopo, *baasskap* dominates relations at the infrastructure level and the Bushmen feel excluded from decision-making, despite private-sector partners identifying themselves as Bushmen do-gooders who know what is best for them. The Bushmen's only capital in these relations is their symbolic capital. In the case of Molopo, alcohol highlights how the Bushmen are excluded in two ways and are likely to remain so. First, drinking at the Molopo bar has created friction between Bushmen and certain tourist bubble standards (they became a threat to the bubble's comfort), whereas other groups can engage in this environment with more freedom, showing behaviour that is ultimately not so different. Bushmen, however, have no economic capital to offer in the bar and can turn into

beggars as they are stripped of their symbolic capital in such an environment. The management of Molopo therefore decided that all Bushmen should be excluded from the bar. Second, the bottle store and some related deaths have revealed the bad relationship between the South Kalahari Bushmen on the one hand and Molopo and the local police on the other. The stories show that Bushmen do not feel supported at the level of infrastructure or structure, the government, the police, the private sector or even NGOs, which creates only more frustration. For some, their environment is becoming a vicious circle of drinking and frustration, and outsiders in more powerful positions are judging them, often from the level of structure. Such power relations were also shown at the !Xaus Lodge where alcohol symbolises a double standard used for Bushmen and other groups. Whereas a Bushman tour guide was dismissed from his job because of a drinking problem, others, including the (departing) manager of !Xaus, could celebrate by drinking. Bushmen drinking is not the real problem but one needs to know when and where drinking is appropriate, based on western cultural principles, and how to behave when drinking. In this part of the world, those in power allow drinking in a bar or off-duty whereas it should not be done on the street or on-duty, and so on. In fact, it is considered a problem when Bushmen drink, while for other groups it is often a celebration. This double standard is a symbol of power relations and not of a drinking problem as such. One should be aware of the appropriate behaviour once drinking has happened and something such as begging – which could be a sign of an egalitarian sharing culture – is not allowed, whereas hunting initiation rituals, cursing, sexist and racist behaviour *are* often accepted behaviour. However, even if a Bushman showed this ‘appropriate’ behaviour, it is considered a problem. In tourism, these dichotomies tend to be clear and dominant, so if Bushmen want to work in this sector they have no choice but to adopt these values, but their image as drunkards works against them. And although !Xaus might become a financial success, Bushmen are barely profiting from it apart from a few jobs that require them to stay traditional and keep them enclosed in their Bushman myth, their symbolic capital. The #Khomani brand is thus an important, even an essential, enablement, for cultural tourism, but it also keeps Bushmen, according to Dawid Kruiper, as ‘animals of nature’, which can constrain empowerment in other aspects. However today it still enables them to be seen, just as it did at Kagga Kamma. In addition, various young, educated South Kalahari Bushmen explained that they did not want to work for the previous manager at !Xaus and left or did not start working there because he treated them badly or they expected that this would happen. This illustrates the distance between the intentions of private operators and probably well-intentioned policies in cities far away, at the structure level, as opposed to relationships in the environment of Bushmen who dwell in tourism. Although the relationships at the infrastructure level are the most important for the Bushmen on a daily basis, decisions at the level of structure (such as the appointment of a manager) may influence the infrastructure continually. And such decisions tend to be penetrated by mythical ideas from the superstructure.

Although the South Kalahari Bushmen today have access to, and limited rights in, the !Ae !Hai Kalahari Heritage Park, only a small fraction of the people are genuinely interested in these rights and activities, namely the icons of the traditionalists, forming a

≠Khomani brand today, in which the Kruiper family is playing a leading role. The activities in !Ae !Hai are very top-down, although rhetoric by institutions tends to claim the opposite and is based on the invented tradition of this imagined group of Bushmen, in which the static image of the people of nature and natural conservationists plays an essential role, in addition to the idea that they are one homogeneous community. However, in reality, westerners as well as traditionalists use hybrid strategies for survival and various affordances (western as well as traditional) blend continually. And now that the product of the Bushman myth has become the culture of this group, they seem to be destined to continue to play this role until something better comes along, which is unlikely because the idea of the myth is only intensified once it gets branded. If the government uses the South Kalahari Bushmen for branding extreme tourism, this will only increase the status quo. Interestingly, the traditionalists of the ≠Khomani are the only group I met with people who are striving for a way back to the old days: They want to start hunting and gathering again. Still, this group uses indigenous modernities in many ways. More subtle cultural changes and habits remain unnoticed, such as Bushmen who tend to relate more with nature today in a western way or in ways that westerners want to see them do so, or in hybrid ways of communication, such as writing in the sand, or the ability to agree to differ.

The landless: Hai//om dwelling at farms outside Etosha

Welcome to Tsintsabis: Farms, fences, fieldwork and friendliness

In January 1999 Andrew Vergotine from the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR)¹ called me in Windhoek to say that I could have a lift on a truck the next day. I got ready to go to Tsintsabis, a resettlement farm in the north near Etosha, where I was about to start my fieldwork for my MA thesis (Koot 2000).

As I had seen before on a short tourist trip to Etosha, the road from Windhoek to the north was fenced all the way. All I could see was farms and fences, high fences, low fences, big farms and bigger farms. The fields were beautifully green in the rainy season and there was green all around as far as the eye could see under a light blue sky. Some cattle, some goats, an occasional donkey cart and space, lots of space is what we saw as we passed through Okahandja, Otjiwarongo, Otavi and Tsumeb, where we took a gravel road for the last 60 km to Tsintsabis. I have hitchhiked and later driven these roads many more times since then. The wide landscape gets greener the further you drive north, and Makalani palm trees start appearing more frequently from Tsumeb to Tsintsabis straight up out of the bushes, pointing high towards the endless blue sky. Sometimes there are a few people sitting in the shade along the roadside, most of them Hai//om, something I did not know then but this is Hai//om land. That day there would be no rain. The gravel and dust our truck created as we drove along came up and hung in the air. There was no wind, it was hot, I was sweaty and dusty and I wondered what to expect at my final destination.

So we arrived at Tsintsabis, where there is something of a gate left from the old army days. To the left lived Nghidipo Haufiku of the MLRR with his wife Esther. They welcomed me as I was going to stay in the adjacent house under the same roof for the next five months. It was an empty house apart from a little water in the taps from time to

¹ The MLRR is the precursor of the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR). I use both terms here interchangeably depending on the period I refer to.

time and an old iron bedframe without a mattress. I realised I was not prepared for this, since I had brought nothing to cook on, nothing to eat and nothing to sleep on. I had just brought clothes and books. Fortunately Nghidipo and Esther showed me some African hospitality and invited me to eat with them. It was also in these months that the first basic ideas for Treesleeper Camp would develop and I would write them down later in my MA thesis (see Annex 7). I still remember how I discussed the relationship of the people of Etosha with Geelbooi Thaneb at a certain point, and that he showed me a letter in which the development committee had asked the MLRR to help them build a lodge because so many tourists passed through Tsintsabis on their way to the park. In those days, tourism was seen as a panacea for development, especially the pro-poor and community-based variants.

The next day, after a bad night's sleep, I hiked to Tsumeb and back to organise some basic items and this was the start of a great stay on the farm, and I would return there for a much longer visit a few years later. I enjoyed living at Tsintsabis, a resettlement farm that lay between commercial farms. This is a land of farms and fences and only after passing the veterinary fence to the north do you get to communal land. Up towards Tsintsabis, there is nothing but farms and fences ... Such was the start of my fieldwork amongst the Hai//om of Tsintsabis in early 1999: Farms, fences and friendliness. Welcome to Tsintsabis!

Introduction: Hai//om dwelling without land

Why Etosha?

This is a personal case study because, to me, the story of the Hai//om, especially with regard to Treesleeper in Tsintsabis, is partly my own story. When I arrived in Tsintsabis for the first time in 1999, I could not imagine that I would keep coming back. But I am happy I did and am grateful to all the inhabitants of Tsintsabis, most of whom I know personally, for always welcoming me back. This is where the caring started, and then things, inevitably, get personal. This personal history has given me various insights that I describe throughout this thesis. A lot of my critical notes at least partly apply to me and my position within the Treesleeper project, so inevitably I talk more about myself in this chapter. In fact, as regards Treesleeper, I was an anthropologist/consultant (MA student), an NGO worker, a community representative (trustee) *and* a *baas*, and therefore I have no choice but to look critically at my own position within the project. As a researcher/anthropologist, which is my latest identity in relation to the project, I was also a tourist in 2010. I even used to call Treesleeper 'my child' or 'my baby' to friends and relatives in the Netherlands, so indeed I have shown clear signs of paternalism. My identity in relation to this project was multiple and ever-changing and these are not separate entities but fluid identities constructing my process of dwelling in Tsintsabis, showing my position and relations over the years. Treesleeper, without doubt, is an important part of my identity, and always will be. However, I hope I can focus on the Hai//om here and give them the attention they deserve because I realise that although I was a deciding factor in the Treesleeper process, it is *their* perceptions I want to clarify here.

Just as we saw with the South Kalahari Bushmen, many of the Hai//om used to work on farms, often after being evicted from Etosha. Many still do so today as there was no land returned to the Hai//om as was the case for the South Kalahari Bushmen, although currently some attempts are being made to remedy the situation. Compared to the Khwe and the Ju/'hoansi, the Hai//om never even got a level of access to resources. This might have been to do with the fact that they originate from Etosha and its surroundings whereas Kgalagadi, Nyae Nyae and Bwabwata are relatively small tourist attractions, Etosha is an affordance based on mass tourism. There are not many tourists who visit Namibia who do not visit Etosha, which is a classic national park that separates nature and culture as if people never had anything to do in this environment, based on the fences and fines approach or fortress conservation. This has to do with the amount and diversity of game in the area. In addition, the area is suitable for farming and this has historically attracted settlers and led to the many farms around the park. Altogether this left the Hai//om as dwellers without land, according to the western concept of ownership.

Early Hai//om relations around the Great White Place

The Hai//om language is similar to that of the Damara and Nama, although their accents are regionally different.² This linguistic similarity is one of the main reasons why Hai//om as an ethnic label has been problematic; they were often not seen as 'pure' Bushmen and were regarded as a sub-category (Dieckmann 2007: 3; Suzman 2004: 223). There were reports of Hai//om hunter-gatherers in several locations in and around the Etosha region but there is disagreement about the extent of their settlement. Various researchers have mapped their geographical territory differently in the past (Barnard 1992: 217; Dieckmann 2007: 35-36). The Hai//om are the largest 'subgroup' of Bushmen in Namibia (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 7), numbering around 11,000 in 1980 (Gordon 1997: 177). Their lifestyle was semi-nomadic³ without permanent settlements and the conditions for hunting and gathering were good due to large amounts of game. Before colonial settlement, they were in contact with a variety of other tribes for whom they were sometimes cattle herders. Although they rapidly became absorbed into some Bantu cultures and although contact with neighbouring groups changed their hunting and gathering patterns, this never turned the Hai//om into cultivators or herders. Their interaction with other non-hunting and gathering people has turned their egalitarian social economic system into a hierarchical system with a delayed return economy in which wealth can be accumulated (Widlok 1999: 62). Trading salt (from the Etosha Pan) and copper was done with the Owambo (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 25-28) and the Hai//om granted access to their land to !Xun, Owambo and Germans, which often created mutual benefits (Widlok 2002c: 25-26). When Herero pastoralists met the Hai//om,

² The official name of the language is Khoekhoegowab, which "is the Language of mainly the Damara, Hai//om and Nama" (Haacke & Eiseb 1999). In reality, people rarely speak of Khoekhoegowab but of Damara, Nama or Hai//om, often depending on their ethnic group. This may create the idea that these are different languages, while they are, in fact, all Khoekhoegowab.

³ Hai//om could stay close to a waterhole for five to six months, which is longer than most other Bushman tribes (for example, the !Xun who moved away after a few days) and therefore they made more stable houses.

this resulted in the raiding of Herero cattle, which led to the Herero indiscriminately killing any Bushmen in sight. This relationship has always been bitter. When the Bantu tribes from the north brought a lot of livestock into the area, this resulted in a reduction in the amount of bushfood available and the Hai//om were driven away from their ‘great places’, like Okarusu and Naidaus, to the fringes of the Etosha Game Park (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 28-32). Etosha means the ‘Great White Place’ or ‘Place of Emptiness’, referring to the enormous Etosha Pan inside the park (Berry *et al.* 1998: 6).

When Etosha celebrated its centenary in 2007, the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) used the slogan ‘100 Years of Conservation’. This is in some ways a dubious slogan since conservation was often not the motivation for creating Etosha: the incentive was mainly economic. When Etosha was established in 1907, it had a clear purpose, namely to benefit settlers and the colonial administration in a direct and material way with game meat. Etosha was not yet fenced then and the main reason for declaring the game reserve was to control white hunters’ activities (Dieckmann 2001: 128-129; 2003: 42-46; 2007: 75-76).⁴ Gordon & Douglas (2000: 78-81) mention ‘Bushman patrols’ around 1910-1915, when the Bushmen were hunted, often resulting in death (which in some cases was preferable to capture). In 1928 Bushmen were forbidden to possess bows and arrows – their most important weapon for survival – while if other blacks or settlers were found with ‘Bushman bows’, these were considered ‘curios’ (Gordon 1997: 61). However, the Bushmen were also in some ways appreciated in the park and early in the twentieth century, tourism was already being promoted and the Hai//om were used to attract tourists. It was hoped that tourism and big-game hunting would lead to settlers (*Ibid.*: 102-103). So the Hai//om’s presence in Etosha was often tolerated or even actively encouraged because they were considered part and parcel of the park, and they sustained the image of a ‘wild’ Africa. However, this Bushmen image could also result in eviction from Etosha if they did not live according to European notions of ‘traditional Bushman custom’ (Gordon 1997: 119-120; Gordon & Douglas 2000: 123-124). The exact number of Hai//om in the park is not clear, but most likely a few hundred to 1500 lived there, mainly in the southern parts of the Etosha Pan. They did not reduce the game in the park and some officials preferred them to be in the park hunting game instead of moving around outside it and committing stock thefts on farms (Dieckmann 2003: 48-49). From the 1920s to the 1940s, the park authorities used the Hai//om to entertain tourists, who gave them fruit, sweets or clothes and took photographs (Dieckmann 2003: 64; 2007: 150). And in 1925, American scientists went looking for “(t)he Most Primitive Race on Earth: The Heikum Bushmen of the Kalahari” (Hulse 1926 cited in Gordon 1997: 1), with the aim of having them on photo and film in such a way that “Bushman were portrayed as the quintessential primeval people ‘uncontaminated’ by ‘contact’ – a situation created by their own choice” (Gordon 1997: 61). In general they were happy to meet other people, including tourists, and a 59-year-old man explained how “(t)he Germans brought them ... with lorries to Okaukuejo, and there they had to do traditional dances. They danced and played traditional games, and when they had finished, they were taken back” (Kadison //Komob cited in Longden 2004: 29).

⁴ Later, in 1963, there would be political motivations for reducing the area of Etosha because homelands for various black groups were required under the apartheid regime (Ramutsindela 2005: 42).

In addition, some Hai//om were employed in jobs such as road construction and repairs, combating *veld* fires, keeping waterholes clean, assisting the police, informing on white poachers, stray stock and Owambo deserters, and providing cheap labour. Many Hai//om experienced these changes as new opportunities and not as a threat (Dieckmann 2003: 51-53; Gordon & Douglas 2000: 123-124). So they welcomed these new affordances as enablements.

However, these enablements were accompanied by various constraints. From the late 1940s onwards, officials placed more restrictions on the Hai//om in Etosha, especially with regard to their stock and hunting (Suzman 2004: 225). And after 1942, officers started to classify and count the Hai//om as ‘wild’ (those staying at waterholes) and ‘tame’ (those who regularly worked at the stations) (Dieckmann 2003: 48; 2007: 146). An old discussion that had already started during the German colonial period, namely about creating a Bushmen reserve (at first, in 1906, only for scientific purposes, but this never materialised), was raised again in 1936 and once again in 1949 (Dieckmann 2003: 57-59; 2007: 87). A commission under the colonial administration recommended that there be two ‘Bushman Reserves’, one for the !Xun – later to become the Nyae Nyae Conservancy – and one for the Hai//om, to preserve the identity and the race of these groups. The reserve for the Hai//om was to be set up adjacent to Etosha, where they would also get hunting rights. However in the final report in 1952, the recommendation for a Hai//om Reserve was left out. The reasons for this were that they were not considered ‘pure’ Bushmen and that they were seen as a threat to the game in the park. In the end, some of the Hai//om went to Owamboland but most were moved to rest camps where they formed a labour pool for farms, while some stayed to work in Etosha (Dieckmann 2003: 59-63; 2007: 188-192; Gordon & Douglas 2000: 165-166; Longden 2004: 25). In the end, the Hai//om in Etosha were told by Harold Eedes, the Native Commissioner of Owamboland, to leave Etosha in January 1954 or they would be considered trespassers and would be arrested and put in jail from May that year, with the exception of those Bushmen employed by game wardens (Dieckmann 2007: 191-192). In reality, the expulsion from Etosha was a gradual process and even today there are still Hai//om living in the rest camps and at the gates of the park (Dieckmann 2007). Still, things could have been completely different if academics and administrators in those days had viewed the Hai//om as ‘pure Bushmen’ in need of ‘preservation’. One wonders if in that case it would

have been possible to accommodate them in the Park? Could one then imagine that they would have fitted into the image of ‘the wilderness’ for tourists? Had this happened, the Hai//om would have become part of this artificial island, ‘preserved’ like nature, without any chance of an autonomous development as part of the wider society. (Dieckmann 2001: 143)

But in the end, the Hai//om remained a people without land of their own and the original co-existence of tourism, nature conservation and the Hai//om was disrupted because of the logic of dividing land instead of sharing it, in which the conservation lobby appeared a lot stronger than the Hai//om (Gordon 1997: 141; Widlok 2003: 100).

Even after 1954 many Hai//om were still moving into Etosha and in 1962 between 150 and 200 Hai//om were living in the park at Namutoni and Okaukuejo (Gordon 1997: 140). In the years to come, more funds for the development and expansion of

tourist facilities became available and some Hai//om were able to stay in the park under close supervision at the rest camps of Okaukuejo and Namutoni and near the two entrance gates of Von Lindequist and Andersson.⁵ Until the 1960s they performed traditional dances at Okaukuejo for tourists twice a week, but these stopped because the younger generation did not want to be looked upon as ‘wild’ anymore. Later some Hai//om also lived at Halali, a third tourist camp, which was built in 1967. The fencing of Etosha was finished in 1973 and the Hai//om who stayed in the park helped with these jobs. In 1984 there were 244 Hai//om living in Okaukuejo, Namutoni and Halali and at the two entrance gates. Some had been to farms first and returned later to join the labour force that was needed for all the tourist developments. Looking back at the removal, most people had not anticipated its consequences (Dieckmann 2001: 140-141; 2003: 70-74; 2007: 198-201). After Namibia’s independence in 1990, the political environment changed but new concepts concerning nature conservation and tourism, such as CBNRM and community-based tourism, never reached the Hai//om, most of whom do not live in communal areas and who remained landless (Dieckmann 2003: 75-77). In 2000 there were 339 Hai//om living at the ‘locations’ of the fenced rest camps of Okaukuejo, Halali and Namutoni or at the two gates (Dieckmann 2007: 278).

Today, if Hai//om want to visit the park, they “have to pay to go into the tourist section to visit. I have been in jail many times because they found me in Etosha without a permit” (Petro //Gam//gaebeb, cited in Longden 2004: 32), whereas tourists to the park will find out very little about the people who used to dwell in Etosha. They can buy a little book in the camp souvenir shop that was produced for the Xoms /omis project (Dieckmann 2009). This initiative was started in 2001 by the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) and is a cultural heritage project that produces products to sell in Namibian bookshops, such as maps, postcards and brochures, that document the Hai//om of Etosha. The profit is used for income-generating activities (for example, training tour guides) (Dieckmann 2007: 319). Xoms /omis is run by the LAC and they have also made a leaflet (LAC, n.d.) and a website (Xoms 2011).

Dwelling on the farms

In colonial times, it was manpower and not land that was a scarce resource in Africa, and historical records on traditional Hai//om land suggest that they shared their land and resources with neighbouring groups, which was beneficial to both. In those days, sharing land – with parallel-use rights by different groups – was a viable option that some of the colonisers seriously considered. (It even happened from time to time in the colonial period.) Dividing the land was closely connected to the ideology of apartheid and the Namibian government has continued to follow this line of thought since independence (Widlok 2003: 91-101). When white settlers moved into the area at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Hai//om found themselves in an awkward situation. The new settlers claimed large areas of land and the Hai//om lost their resources much faster than any other group because they lived in Namibia’s best farming area. However, the arrival of the first white farmers was not initially a serious threat to the Hai//om because they

⁵ The Andersson Gate is sometimes called Ombika (cf. Dieckmann 2003, 2007)

were used to sharing their land and resources (Dieckmann 2007: 70). Nonetheless, the pressure on land rose as more and more people wanted their own land. The new livestock would eat bushfood, which meant a decline in the Hai//om's basic food resources, and the new settlers also hunted game and brought in fences. An important change was that there were now people telling them that they could or could not be on 'their' land and Hai//om families started dwelling and working on the new settler farms.

There are very mixed remarks from the Hai//om about dwelling on the white farms. For example, based on interviews with elderly Hai//om by younger Hai//om,⁶ there is a tendency for the elders to see farm life, including the relationship with the farmers, as a good time. When they complain about those days, it is often about the lack of education on the farms (Pickering & Longden 2006). On the other hand, there are reports about beatings, rape and bad payments and some old people told me they were beaten when they lived on the farms. Even when I was living in Tsintsabis, I heard numerous stories of Hai//om who felt mistreated on white farms, for example because payments were in kind (food, milk or porridge) and not a salary and that sometimes, the farmer would just pay them a little bit of food and give them the rest in alcohol and/or tobacco. This seems to be a continuation of old habits, since the station commander at Tsintsabis Rural Police Station reported back in 1936 that "(f)armers find the Bushmen the cheapest kind to engage as it is a known fact that most of these Bushmen are only working for their food and tobacco, and now and then they get a blanket or a shovel" (LGR Magistrate Grootfontein 3/1/7, Annual Report, 1936 cited in Gordon 1992: 249-250). This shows that the Hai//om's interest for economic capital changed from a general material to a more financially material demand in today's modern environment. In addition, I heard various people, especially elders, explain that they wanted to return to the old days when the whites were in charge because then 'everything' was taken care of. There were clearly differences between the individual farmers but also in Hai//om's perceptions of the world and how it should be. According to some, the apartheid days were good because food, water and other basic necessities were taken care of, whereas others believe that more modern affordances, such as education, are valuable today. This implies a shift in Hai//om's values, in which certain values, such as the wish for education, are indigenous modernities. The Hai//om were not only victims of the colonial system, since they did not only sustain the innovations of colonialism but also took any chances that came with it (Dieckmann 2007: 94). And if they were unhappy with their situation on their farms, they could fall back on a variety of resistance strategies. First, mobility: they could move away. Second, at a daily level they could complain, argue and negotiate, for example about small rations or permission to hunt. And third, they could steal or slaughter a farmer's livestock. Fourth, they could simply avoid doing the work that they were supposed to do (and because of the size of the farms, it was impossible to monitor them everywhere). Fifth, they could use 'hidden transcripts' behind the back of the dominant in their own language (such as rumours and gossip about specific farmers) (*Ibid.*: 217-228).

⁶ I mention this because it takes away a potential bias not to talk openly about their relations with white people.

In the last two decades before independence, the number of people employed on farms decreased by 36%, mainly as a result of the ratification of labour and social-security legislation and changing farm practices, such as the increase in safaris and guest farms, which shows how, indirectly, some Hai//om lost their jobs due to the growth of tourism. This instigated the rapid growth of resettlement camps and increasing numbers of people seeking casual labour in the communal areas, which hit the generational farm workers hardest, such as the Hai//om who lacked access to a communal area or the right of residence outside their workplace. This led them to move to settlements such as Oshivelo, where begging, informal labour, prostitution and welfare keep them dependent (Suzman 2004: 226-227). So the increase in tourism, already before independence, is not an automatic guarantee for development. The result of the Hai//om's move to farms throughout the area is best understood when looking at a map showing the area's Hai//om population in 1982.

Map 6.1 Hai//om population in and around Etosha, 1982⁷



Based on: Marais (1984: 38-39), as adapted by Dieckmann (2007: 205), reproduced with permission.

Historical maps showing Hai//om settlements demonstrate political bias or motive (Longden 2004: 14) and, with regard to the above map (the original by Marais), Thomas Widlok (personal communication) explained that Hai//om settlements north of the Etosha-Tsintsabis line were left out because they were 'inconvenient' for the colonial administration.

Sylvain (2002) wrote of the Omaheke San, who are Ju/'hoansi and mostly live on farms today, that their culture was shaped by their landlessness and marginalisation, making them look very different compared to the 'indigenous' Ju/'hoansi who dwell in

⁷ To show its location, Treesleeper Camp was added on this map but it was non-existent in 1982.

Nyae Nyae. This can also be said of the Hai//om, not when compared to other Hai//om but when contrasted with other groups of Bushmen. Indeed,

(t)he recognition of the distinct cultural identity and indigenous character of the incorporated farm San is complicated by two things: Not only do these San, because of their landless underclass status, not conform to the image of indigeneity drawn by indigenist discourse but they also fail to conform neatly to the dominant definition of Bushmen, as it is articulated by farmers, by non-San Africans, and by the western media, all of which define Bushmen identity in term of the paradigm established by the segregated Nyae Nyae Ju/'hoansi. (*Ibid.*: 1079)

Tourism dwellings and affordances around Etosha

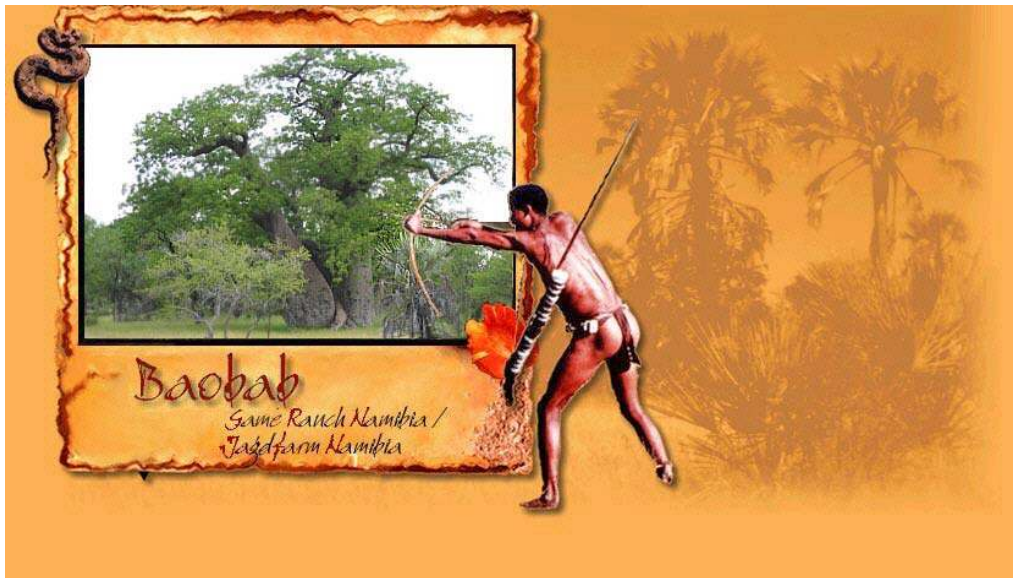
Many of the farms began their tourist activities due to their proximity to the Etosha National Park, which is the biggest tourist attraction in Namibia and the sixth largest national park in the world, attracting close to 100,000 visitors a year and home to an abundance of wildlife (Dieckmann 2003: 39; Suzman 2004: 221). When tourists drive through the park, either on an organised tour or alone, most of them go between the Andersson and the Von Lindequist gates in the eastern half of the park as the western part is closed to the public (except for a few tour operators who have privileged access to it).⁸ The main road lies just south of the enormous dry, Etosha Pan. Inside the park, there are three tourist camps; Okaukuejo, Halali and Namutoni, that are run by the Namibian Wildlife Resorts (NWR), a parastatal of the MET. At the Andersson and Von Lindequist gates, Hai//om are allowed to sell crafts but not in Okaukuejo, Halali or Namutoni, where people are in less of a hurry but the tourist bubble in these rest camps is not very permeable and tourists do not meet any locals here apart from NWR staff. There are, in fact, still Hai//om residing inside the park, situated at a discreet distance from each of the three tourist camps. Those who are employed in the park live here with their families and a handful of retired Hai//om who have retained residential rights due to their long service. Since independence, their population has grown and few Hai//om of working age have a job, which has created tensions between them and 'outsiders' as some Hai//om complain that things became worse after independence due to all the other ethnic groups joining the labour market in Etosha. Elders and employees claim that life is getting worse and their children do not have access to jobs in the park anymore. Young Hai//om have difficulty finding employment and feel that they should be the first to be offered work in the park. In April 2002, a group of young Hai//om marched to the administrative centre in Okaukuejo to protest against the appointment of former South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) liberation fighters instead of locals (Suzman 2004: 230-231). The total number of Hai//om residents in Etosha varies but it is thought to be between 370 and 450, spread over Okaukuejo, Halali, Namutoni, the Von Lindequist Gate and the Andersson Gate (Lawry & Hitchcock 2012: 19-20).

Just outside the gates, a wide variety of upmarket tourist establishments are to be found, often on (former) farms, and sometimes with campsites. And those adjacent to the park offer game drives into the park. Some of these companies have vague connections with (Hai//om) Bushmen or they use the Bushman's mystique as a marketing tool. For example, on the eastern side of Etosha, the !Uris Safari Lodge's homepage

⁸ A third gate, King Nehale Gate, was opened in 2003 but is less frequently used.

(!Uris, 2012) states that “(m)odern day **Bushmen** will greet you from their homes, inquisitive of intruders in their quiet lives” or there is the Baobab Game Ranch, a hunting farm near Tsintsabis, where tourists can do a ‘Bushman information trail’ and buy ‘native crafts’ (BGRN 2012a). The latter’s homepage is characterised by the picture below.

Photo 6.1 Homepage of the Baobab Game Ranch



Source: BGRN (2012b), reproduced with permission.

Although their image is sometimes used, the Hai//om do not generally engage in conservation, hunting and tourist activities. Game resources have either been nationalised or privatised and are controlled by farmers and bureaucrats (Widlok 1999: 67).

In addition to commercial enterprises, initiatives were taken to get the Hai//om their own tourism-related projects. On the southern side of Etosha, there is a Hai//om craft and tourism centre in Outjo with a ‘botanical garden’ for tourists that opened in 2004. The centre was built with the support of WIMSA (Longden 2004: 17) and was intended to be a place to develop income-generating projects that would benefit the Hai//om specifically and, secondly, be a cultural meeting place that would create peace for the whole Outjo community (WIMSA 2004: 63-72; 2005: 46). Apparently many Hai//om were not informed about the plans and a leadership struggle (as described in the next paragraph) also hampered the initiative (Dieckmann 2007: 319). Several Hai//om also produce wooden ornaments (especially animals) and jewellery to sell to tourists in Outjo, but success has been limited because the tourist market was overwhelmed by ‘ethno items’ that were often sold more professionally elsewhere (*Ibid.*: 266). So although Etosha is an affordance for Hai//om in various ways, they often feel sidelined from tourism in and around the park as well. In tourism, their image as ‘pure’ Bushmen can reappear and prove useful in marketing.

Who represents the landless?

In 1996, a few years after independence, the Hai//om chose a traditional authority, Willem /Aib from Outjo, who had earlier been accused of financial mismanagement. The Hai//om felt unhappy about the leadership having such a strong focus on Outjo and specifically on families and /Aib was in the end never recognised by the government (Dieckmann 2003: 77; 2007: 312). Many Hai//om never accepted him as their chief and this was the start of a leadership crisis (LAC 2006: 15). /Aib was serious about claiming back the Etosha National Park and its surrounding regions, referring to the landless state of the Hai//om compared to other groups because landlessness has contributed to the reproduction of Hai//om's marginality, in which they are caught in a trap of poverty and dependency (Dieckmann 2003: 76; Suzman 2004: 230-231). /Aib, however controversial, was aware of this, saying that "(w)e do not have a home to go to like some other ethnic groups in the country ... We feel this is a free country and we also want to enjoy the fruits of independence" (cited in the New Era 1993: 2, cited in Malan 1995: 105). /Aib was involved in a demonstration at the gates of Etosha in October 1997 to inform tourists peacefully (while armed with bows and arrows) that they were entering ancestral Hai//om land. However matters got out of hand when people made roadblocks and the police came in and used teargas and sjamboks and 73 members were arrested, although the charges against them were later dropped (Daniels 2004: 59; Dieckmann 2003: 77-78). They were told that this "was not the way to register a claim with the government. Writing a position paper at the land conference and forming a registered association was more like it" (Widlok 2001: 16). However, the Hai//om have never succeeded in registering their own association and the land issue has never been fully settled (Widlok 2001: 16; 2002a: 214). In response to the demonstration, the government offered the group under /Aib's leadership resettlement plots on farms to the south of Etosha but /Aib wanted a share of Etosha's profits. The government continued its strict division between nature reserves, commercial farms and government-owned resettlement farms and when they offered the protesters some land, they felt they had responded adequately to Hai//om demands. The strategy of dividing the land instead of sharing it was used again (Widlok 2003: 100-101), thus continuing colonial approaches to land tenure.

In 2004 a new traditional authority in Outjo, 'King' David //Khamuxab, became the new self-appointed leader, but with government assistance. His recognition was not the result of democratic elections by the Hai//om majority (WIMSA 2005: 47). I remember how the news of a new chief was received with suspicion in Tsintsabis where people had not voted. Although //Khamuxab does not enjoy uniform support amongst the Hai//om, he has been recognised by the government. This is an important development because it facilitates communication and negotiation between the state and the Hai//om community (Dieckmann 2009: 4). //Khamuxab chose his traditional councillors (or headmen) himself, and this is Geelbooi Thaneb in Tsintsabis. In my experience, most people in Tsintsabis never truly supported /Aib *or* //Khamuxab (cf. Dieckmann 2007: 315). Some Hai//om argue that the political affiliation of //Khamuxab with SWAPO played a key role in his recognition, which deepened divisions within the community (Dieckmann 2011: 180). I was told that another advantage for the government of having

//Khamuxab as a Hai//om chief – as opposed to /Aib – was that he does not want to make claims to Etosha, which he confirmed explaining that

(w)e would like to go back to Etosha, but if we did so, our living conditions now would make it difficult ... I accept that we will not go back to Etosha and I think we should stay here with these conditions for now, because of the rules and regulations. (David //Khamuxab cited in Longden 2004: 65)

//Khamuxab is not very fond of other community-based representations that have been established in the wider Hai//om community, such as the //Nasoneb Trust or the Xoms /omis project (ARD 2010: 18), whereas Hai//om on the eastern side of Etosha complain that there are hardly any projects for them compared to those in the Outjo region. WIMSA, for example, also has a strong focus on the Outjo area in their Hai//om-related projects. In Tsintsabis, the Hai//om want their leaders to stop the immigration of other ethnic groups but they do not believe that the chief or the local councillor fully support them in this. They would prefer a chief in their own area instead of one from Outjo, which they consider too far away (see Map 6.1). Today, leadership in the Hai//om's environment has become an affordance: They have to handle the modern idea of traditional leadership in accordance with democratic principles as this is an important part of the political system in which they live. So far this has proven to be a complicated concept, where the relationship with the national government is magnified as one in which they tend to be in a dependent position.

In addition to the struggles with leadership, various NGOs were set up to represent the Hai//om. WIMSA and the Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS) organised meetings in various Hai//om settlements between Outjo and Tsintsabis in 2000 with the goal of choosing representatives for a Hai//om development trust. This trust, the //Naisa !Nanis San Development Trust, was established in 2001 and was supposed to facilitate communication and transportation between various Hai//om settlements, the lack of which was also the biggest obstacle to founding the organisation. Organisational models used by other Bushmen groups do not always suit the Hai//om because they are very scattered and socio-economically diverse (Dieckmann 2003: 78; Widlok 2003: 110-114). One of the ten specific aims of this trust was “(t)o facilitate San participation ‘in tourism and agriculture’ (running a camp in Etosha)” (//Naisa !Nanis San Development Trust draft constitution cited in Widlok 2003: 113). In the end, //Naisa !Nanis did not get off the ground due to leadership disputes (WIMSA 2004: 70). Later, in July 2008, the Hai//om traditional authority, elders and community representatives met at the WIMSA office to talk about past disagreements within the Hai//om group and at another meeting it was agreed to set up an umbrella body, //Nasoneb, for the Hai//om in 2009 to coordinate development and lobby (WIMSA 2009: 12-13). I never heard anything about the organisation or even the plans during my fieldwork in 2010 (or since). In 2012, Lawry & Hitchcock (2012: 73) found at least eight Hai//om support organisations that had been set up over the past two decades, even without //Naisa !Nanis and //Nasoneb. Issues of representation are intertwined with those of leadership and NGOs. Hai//om do not seem to ‘objectify’ leadership positions but they tie them to the person engaged in the position. An organisation therefore stands or falls depending on the person(s) in charge. In the NGO culture, it is hard to separate the persons from the positions they are in (Widlok 2008: 17). Throughout the years the representation of the wider Hai//om

community has become very messy, with failed initiatives to set up Hai//om CBOs or NGOs and a lot of controversy surrounding the traditional authorities. Because Hai//om dwell geographically very spread out in very different environments (in Etosha, on commercial farms, in towns, on resettlement farms), the various groups of Hai//om all have different interests. The Namibian government seems to have picked out a small group to represent them based on their own interests, without support in the broader community, which makes the issue of representation of these landless people even more political. It is doubtful if a wider representation of all Hai//om is a reasonable possibility.

Land and tourism affordances for the Hai//om east of Etosha

The Hai//om struggle to get land allocated to them can be seen as a part of a revitalization of the Hai//om identity and throughout time there was a transformation in the ways in which they related to land in and outside of Etosha (Hitchcock 2013). After independence, the government purchased several farms in traditional Hai//om territory but most of them were allocated to others better suited (better informed, educated and connected) for the application process that, ironically, sometimes led to Hai//om having to leave their land because the farmer had sold it (Suzman 2004: 231-232). Today, some live on farms without employment, and the changes in agricultural methods, the uncertainty brought about by the government's land reform programme, minimum-wage legislation and a shift to tourist farms have only led to increased unemployment. Ever more unemployed Hai//om are thus moving to the fringes of small agricultural towns (LAC 2006: 17). When CBNRM and community-based tourism was on the rise, the Hai//om never benefitted from such projects (Dieckmann 2001: 141-142). Under current conservancy legislation, it is difficult to form a conservancy on government resettlement farms because the legislation applies to communal land in particular (ARD 2010: vi). As was already seen (Map 6.1), most Hai//om have always lived on the eastern and southeastern side of Etosha and this is still the case today. However, in spite of a few failed attempts, there was never any land purchased for them in this area and most of the Hai//om political power and the relatively successful purchases of farms took place south of Etosha in an area called Little Etosha (as described in the next paragraph). Here some of the attempts that relate to the Hai//om east of the park are described.

The government tried to purchase a block of farms on the Namutoni side of Etosha for the resettlement of Hai//om in the mid-2000s. They tried to acquire two farms: Sachsenheim and Operet. Sachsenheim was already operating as a tourist lodge, with plans to establish an area of 40,000 ha for the resettlement of Bushmen adjacent to the northeastern boundary of Etosha and close to Oshivelo. There was some discussion about opening up the park to these farms, which would give the Hai//om a potentially lucrative tourist operation connected to Etosha (LAC 2006: 16-17). However, the MLR was still negotiating for the Ruimte and Operet farms in 2010, while the purchase of Sachsenheim and another farm, Geluksanker, had not materialised (ARD 2010: 9). The idea of resettling Hai//om started in relation to the planning of Etosha's centenary celebrations in 2007, whereby the government could no longer ignore the original inhabitants of the park. The MET was initially closely involved and aimed to address the socio-economic needs of Hai//om adjacent to Etosha (Dieckmann 2011: 157-168), so

when Etosha celebrated its centenary in 2007, MET Minister Willem Konjore said that a tourist facility to benefit the Hai//om community was going to be developed at Oshivelo and that two neighbouring farms would be purchased by the government and developed into conservancies with huge tourism potential for the Hai//om. The Oshivelo airstrip was to be upgraded and an entrance gate near Oshivelo was supposed to benefit the Hai//om community. Hai//om children performed traditional dances during the celebrations and Chief David //Khamuxab attended (Shigwedha 2007a, 2007b; TNN 2007). Despite all these promises, nothing serious has emerged in the way of tourist activities for the Hai//om in the east. When I stayed at Sachsenheim in 2007, it was still being run as a private commercial farm and when I returned to the area in 2010 nobody was talking about land reforms east of Etosha, I was only told that the government was looking for farms there but that these had turned out to be too expensive. The one thing that did happen was that the Onguma Lodge started the Namutoni Hai//om Trust, which made the government warn the Hai//om to ensure they got real benefits instead of becoming servants at the lodge. A trust was set up by lodge owners on the eastern side of Etosha (Dieckmann 2011: 184; MET 2007: 3). Some MET officials were sceptical about Hai//om entering into joint ventures with the private sector, arguing that many of them had good capacities and skills already because of their employment at the lodges around Etosha, whereas other tourism experts and officials believed that the Hai//om would initially need a private-sector partner to start a tourist business (ARD 2010: 6). Still, “(t)he //Heikom (sic) Bushmen Development Trust was formed in 2008 to uplift the //Haikom (sic) Bushmen community around Onguma Game Reserve” (Namibweb 2011). The aim of the trust is “to undertake and assist in community development and poverty-alleviation initiatives for the benefit of the community” (MET 2007: 11). It turned out that this trust had raised nearly N\$ 300,000 by 2011 and, with //Khamuxab’s support, this is being used to lease a farm (Ondura) where the community can farm plots, something that is not supported by all Hai//om in Oshivelo and the government (Jones & Diez 2011: 19). The Namutoni Hai//om Trust was set up with little or no consultation among the Hai//om in the area and control lies with the founding members (MET 2007: 11). Clearly, the plans of the Namutoni Hai//om Trust have little or nothing to do with the Hai//om, at least not in the planning stages:

The Onguma Lodge corporation is currently leasing one of the farms that the government is negotiating to buy (Ruimte), and wants the farm to remain under their control for tourism and hunting purposes. Onguma would pay the trust for these use rights. Onguma owners do not want people settled on Ruimte farm. This scenario highlights the fact that the trust was initially set up without any Hai//om involvement, and raises questions about the legitimacy of using land purchased by the GRN (government) for resettlement exclusively for private tourism. (ARD 2010: 16)

This land should ultimately become part of a larger private game reserve, from which the Hai//om are supposed to benefit. The Onguma owners also want to limit resettlement at the Operet Farm. In 2010, Hai//om leaders in Oshivelo were still waiting for a meeting with the Onguma owners about the Namutoni Hai//om Trust. However, since no farms were purchased in this area, the formation of a conservancy has made no progress and the Hai//om of Oshivelo are becoming bitter and desperate (ARD 2010).

Another land issue for Hai//om people is further to the east in an area called Mangetti West, which is northwest of Tsintsabis. This is a large block of government farms run

by the defunct Namibia Development Corporation (NDC), a government parastatal. Around 130 Hai//om live here in an informal settlement ('Farm 6') and have nowhere else to go. The NDC's demise made this land available for land-reform purposes and people here are concerned that they will be displaced again because of their lack of political influence. Rumour has it that the farms will be allocated to wealthy Owambo farmers who have good connections with SWAPO. This is ironic if one realises that these Hai//om are living on state land that was formerly Hai//om traditional land, so they could be resettled to exactly where they are now living (LAC 2006: 19-20; cf. Widlok 2002a). The state never considered the Hai//om living at Mangetti for a variety of reasons. First, there were prejudices against the Bushmen, second, there were suspicions surrounding a local economy of hunting and gathering, third, there was a bias to support agriculture or pastoralism and, finally, there was a failure to recognise different social modes of organisation and land holding. The last aspect in particular shows how the local Hai//om on Mangetti lacked the formal corporate organisation that is required by NGO and government advisors. When MLR officials are faced with illegal fencing in the area that dispossesses the Bushmen, they are often not interested and do not believe there are alternatives. Individual Bushmen who have either lost land or are in the process of losing it cannot make a land claim because they lack the corporate support required. This shows the Hai//om's need to form community-based organisations and trust funds if they want to negotiate with the state on land issues. There was illegal fencing in the area and clear influence of wealthy cattle owners coming into the area and claiming the land, thus excluding and impoverishing the Hai//om, while traditional Owambo leaders from faraway are entitled to make decisions about the division of land. Without a decent system of registration by some kind of corporate organisation, the new rights of Namibian civilians since independence are not available to all, especially not to troubled, marginalised and dispersed groups such as the Hai//om (Widlok 2001: 15-16; 2002a: 212-215; 2003). Such corporatism has become strong and influential for the Hai//om due to the process of encapsulation, today a corporate organisation is a legal affordance.

Hai//om as well as !Xun were not included in the creation of another tourism affordance, the Mangetti National Park in southwest Kavango Region along the Grootfontein–Rundu road, a fenced area on the edge of former Hai//om, !Xun and Kavango lands, where income has been generated through hunting, game farming and game sales since the 1970s. After independence, the MET managed the game park with the Ukwangali traditional authority on whose traditional land Mangetti is situated, together with the Kavango Regional Council for Regional Development. After consultations, it was decided in 2008 that Mangetti was to become a contractual park between the MET, the Kavango Regional Council and the Ukwangali traditional authority. This joint management should produce benefits for local communities through tourist activities, campsites and possibly a middle-of-the-range accommodation facility (ACF 2008; Sikopo & Paxton 2009: 29). This shows how new power structures can exclude Bushmen from conservation politics taking place at least partly on their former geographical territory. This is changing the meaning of such tourism affordances as the Mangetti National Park into another loss of land.

Little Etosha

Today, something called 'Little Etosha' is slowly emerging to the south, adjacent to Etosha and east of Okaukuejo. This process has its roots in the first years after independence when there was a plan to grant the Hai//om a concession to operate a potentially lucrative tourist camp and a community tourist lodge at the !Gobaob waterhole, well away from the main routes into Etosha. This was discussed informally between Gert Hanekom, the Minister of Environment and Tourism at the time, and Hai//om elders. These plans have not been operational for very long but many Hai//om are hopeful that they will come to something, although cabinet directives have reaffirmed the inviolability of national parks, which has left little likelihood of progress.⁹ However the possibility of gaining land adjacent to Etosha is looking a bit more promising under the government's land-reform programme (Suzman 2004: 231-232). Between 2006 and 2012 six farms were acquired for the Hai//om, again with the idea of creating economic benefits based on tourism, agriculture and game. Deputy Minister Leon Jooste said that he hoped that the white-dominated tourist industry would bring benefits to the Hai//om through joint ventures, while the government would be closely involved to ensure they were not taken advantage of (M&G 2008). For two of the farms, Werda and Tsabis (see Map 6.2), there are plans to start a tourism project with a private-sector partner (Lawry & Hitchcock 2012: 19). Initially, the Hai//om in Etosha and those from Oshivelo (east of Etosha) were targeted as the main beneficiaries of these resettlement initiatives, with a focus on wildlife, tourism and the creation of conservancies. In the end, the Cabinet approved the purchase of farms and the creation of conservancies for the affected Hai//om (Dieckmann 2011: 168-169). However, the Etosha Hai//om do not want to leave the park but want a place to build a lodge, which is a very ambitious plan. Still, there are large funds available for tourism developments in Etosha, which is creating opportunities for the Hai//om. Consequently, the Hai//om asked researchers and NGO specialists about buying farms south of Etosha for the relocation of Hai//om from Oshivelo. The advice to the MCA was, however, not to buy them because they did not believe that the Hai//om chief would use the farms for the benefit of the wider Hai//om community and because the government does not have a decent development plan. They thus expect the conservancy to become some kind of resettlement farm, with high unemployment and extensive poverty. In addition, the Oshivelo Hai//om do not want to move to these new farms. Apparently there are too many people and not enough coordination between the ministries. I was told that the MCA's response to the report was that the advisors were too negative.¹⁰

The MCA is aware of the Hai//om living in Etosha and believes that they would be better off if they were resettled on the newly acquired farms:

Although involuntary resettlement is not anticipated to result from this activity, an important social issue at ENP (Etosha National Park) is the ongoing negotiations between the GRN (government) and the San Ethnic group regarding the voluntary relocation of the San from their ancestral land within the

⁹ Today the Cabinet has changed its mind since there is now a concession in Bwabwata inside the national park for White Sands, as described in Chapter 4 (KA 2010a).

¹⁰ I asked various people for this report in 2010 but for some reason it was confidential. I guess this is because it is critical of the plans of the government and the MCA about forming conservancies. I did finally receive it and was able to use the relevant information here (ARD 2010).

National Park to government-purchased farms outside the National Park. MCA Namibia will support these negotiations by providing resettlement experts to perform a census of San individuals living in the park and establish minimum standards for land improvement on these new farms. (MCA 2009: 21)

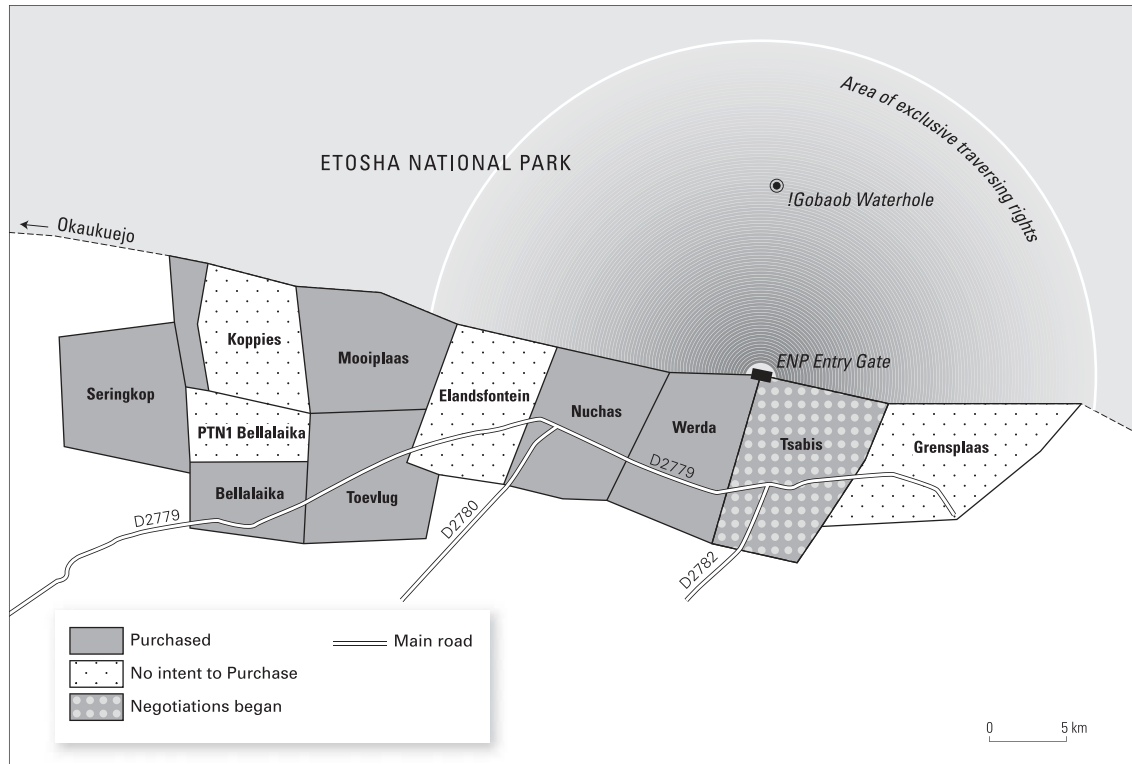
So while the MCA and the Namibian government are ‘supporting’ the Etosha Hai//om to acquire land, they are simultaneously encouraging them to leave their homes in the park, which makes their agenda double-sided. People living in Etosha are worried about being able to stay in the park if they no longer work for MET or NWR, and MET and other officials have explained that indeed only people working at MET or NWR and their immediate families are allowed to stay and others would be encouraged, not forced, to move to resettlement farms or other places (Lawry & Hitchcock 2012: 58).¹¹ In 2007, it was estimated that 110 Hai//om were living at Halali and 150 at Okaukuejo, of which 64 were working for MET or NWR, which led to the MET stating that “the rest are retired or unemployed and are essentially *illegally* staying with relatives” (MET 2007, my emphasis)¹² and in 2012 MET “announced that those Hai//om who are not employed in the park or who are directly related to a current employee will have to move out of Etosha National Park” (Hitchcock 2013). If, as the MET does, you consider most of the Hai//om as ‘illegal’, the above makes sense, and the fact that they prefer to resettle them out of the park. For the Hai//om, this is now an environment of ongoing encapsulation of modernisation and different political ideologies, in which they have become illegal on their own ancestral lands, although this land was reduced to an almost immeasurably small size compared to where they used to dwell. Today, the Hai//om of Etosha are ‘in the way’ because they live in a national park where there is a nature-culture dichotomy and, based on this old-fashioned fortress conservation ideology, people are not supposed to dwell in national parks. They are considered inconvenient indigenous people who would be better off on a farm, according to outsiders such as the government and the MCA who ‘support’ their resettlement, especially when it is involuntary. But what ‘involuntary’ means is being pushed to farms adjacent to the parks. This pushing is enforced because MET offers those moving to the farms various housing materials such as corrugated iron sheets, windows, doors and other building materials (Hitchcock 2013). In addition, one should realise that the traditional authority is closely connected to and befriended with MET employees in Windhoek and the park, because he used to work there. A respondent explained to me anonymously that there are big pressures from SWAPO, //Khamuxab and a strong minority within MET for the Hai//om to leave Etosha, whereas nobody seems to care about other people staying there, such as the Owambo, Kavango, Herero or Damara who work there. Suspicions are that these influential individuals aim for more jobs for non-Hai//om (anonymous respondent, email, 10 January 2013). The Hai//om’s value for conservationists and tourists is limited and by some other groups they are seen as a threat to economic capital, although this would have been different had the Hai//om dressed traditionally and em-

¹¹ In June 2012, the LAC was considering a court case for the Hai//om in Etosha (Ute Dieckmann, email, 22 June 2012).

¹² It can be hard to estimate the number of Hai//om dwelling in Etosha because it is changing all the time due to family members dwelling there daily, monthly, seasonally or annually depending on various factors such as schooling times, the payments of pensions, job opportunities, salaries and environmental changes (Hitchcock 2013).

braced the Bushman myth, using their symbolic capital. They have become too modern to continue living in a national park. At the end of 2012 an MET official responsible for building houses at the new farms indicated that 47 households agreed to move to the farms, whereas 22 had not and 21 remained to be surveyed (Lawry *et al.* 2012: 9).

Map 6.2 Little Etosha in the making, September 2012



Based on: Lawry *et al.* (2012: 7), reproduced with permission.¹³

The acquired farms were all handed over to Chief //Khamuxab with the idea that the Hai//om would start benefitting from tourism, including hunting safaris and lodges and other commercial activities. Handing over a resettlement farm to the traditional authority is unique for Namibia because there are no legal provisions for this. Today there are still tensions surrounding //Khamuxab and the broader Hai//om community, including some who moved to the farms. Still, Deputy Prime Minister Hausiku has suggested that more adjacent farms should be added to ensure a vast area for all the envisaged projects so that a 'Little Etosha' for the Hai//om could be created (Dieckmann 2011: 180; Hitchcock 2013; NS 2011). By 2012 the government was purchasing a total of nine farms, two of which would be designated as tourism concessions to start a joint venture for a lodge with exclusive traversing rights into a part of Etosha to bring tourists to the historically important !Gobaob watering hole for game watching. In the end, it seems, !Gobaob was back in the plans for the Hai//om (Lawry & Hitchcock 2012). By 2012

¹³ From the Millenium Challenge Account Namibia.

about 121 Hai//om families dwelt on the four farms Seringkop, Bellalaika, Toevlug and Werda, while the MET proposed that the three most easterly farms Nuchas, Werda and Tsabis would be used as a wildlife and tourism concession. As part of this concession the !Gobaob Community Association, a CBO established in September 2012 consisting of adult Hai//om farm residents, would be allowed to bring tourists into this small part of Etosha (Lawry *et al.* 2012: 1-7). This concession should be operated with a private company for a lodge with approximately 24 beds from where tourists can be taken to the !Gobaob waterhole (Lawry & Hitchcock 2012: 18-27).¹⁴ This lodge would best be built at Tsabis, which is not yet purchased, because it is situated in attractive landscape (Lawry *et al.* 2012: 5).

A continuing issue was the participation of the Etosha Hai//om in this association. They have considerable knowledge of the park and tourism management and some still work there. Based on their long-term relation with !Gobaob some of them want membership, but the MET decided in early 2012 that only those Hai//om dwelling at the resettlement farms should receive such benefits, which is likely to create social and political divisions (Lawry *et al.* 2012: 16-17). The Hai//om from Okaukuejo have shown particular interest in the wildlife and tourist concession farms of Tsabis and Werda. In addition, they have advocated for Hai//om to become tour guides and for more attention to be paid to the Hai//om's cultural heritage, with a view to them becoming a part of Etosha's image. Cultural activities for tourists as well as a Hai//om cultural centre inside the park could be part of new tourist plans (Lawry & Hitchcock 2012: 56-57). The Okaukuejo Hai//om have worked with tourism for almost a century and live near Little Etosha. Still, it was advised that:

(t)he potential for developing wildlife and tourism on the existing resettlement farms in the Seringkop area is minimal, because the envisaged human settlement there will diminish the necessary "ambience" for operating tourism and associated wildlife activities. In addition, the land is mostly flat and unattractive, with few appropriate sites for tourism facilities. In order to develop viable tourism and wildlife activities, land should be purchased to the east of the existing farms and zoned for these purposes. (ARD 2010: viii)

The farms recommended east of Seringkop *were* purchased and the consultants advised developing joint ventures for up-market tourism that could be linked to an exclusive concession to !Gobaob. Such a concession, however, should be treated with caution due to the high expectations amongst the Hai//om and the diversity of the community as it is unlikely to increase many people's incomes (ARD 2010: viii). In addition, there is some doubt as to whether the farms are large enough for wildlife, tourism and other CBNRM activities and whether tourism on these farms could fill a niche in the market. Several lodges in the area already organise day trips into Etosha at fair prices, and these lodges are often close to the main road with easy 2 x 4 access to the park (*Ibid.*: 19-20). The farms have been purchased but this was a slow and costly process because farms around Etosha are highly valued and many have good tourist infrastructure already (*Ibid.*: 15-16). So far, some private tourist enterprises have shown interest in the Little Etosha project and because of the proximity of 'Big' Etosha, there is commercial

¹⁴ In addition some tourism, wildlife and a campsite were recommended for the farms Koppies and Mooiplaas (Lawry *et al.* 2012: 55).

tourism potential for these concessions. One businessman even donated a car to the traditional authority, which was widely seen as an attempt to receive a concession in the potential conservancies at a later stage (Dieckmann 2011: 184).

Dwelling in Tsintsabis

Tsintsabis resettlement farm

The settlement of Tsintsabis started when the Germans created a police station to control the region when farmers began settling in the area shortly after 1915. Camels were used for transport and there was plenty of wildlife. When South Africa got a mandate to rule the country,¹⁵ more policemen started to arrive. They built the first houses and Hai//om started to work for them as translators, cleaners, cooks and camel herders. Over time, the South African police put more restrictions on the Bushmen. Thomas Inibeb from /Gomkhaos, who is of mixed Hai//om and !Xun descent, explained in 1999 how “(w)e were hunting and gathering bushfood ... but if the police would see us hunting you could be taken into jail”. In the following years, the supervision of the South African police increased and “(a)t the police stations like Tsintsabis, prisoners were leg-ironed and tied to an iron ring in the cement floor of the corrugated iron cell to prevent them from escaping” (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 279).

From about 1982 until 1990 the Namibian war of independence was also felt in Tsintsabis. The police station in Tsintsabis became an army base for the South African Defence Force (SADF) and many Hai//om became trackers for the South African army. It was a period of fear and the road from Tsintsabis to Tsumeb was known as the ‘Road of Death’ (Van Rooyen 1995: 1). It was an insecure, unstable and fearful time, and the South African army was considered strict and cruel but it also provided work and food, functioning as an affordance creating enablements and constraints simultaneously in the Hai//om’s environment. Just as with the farmers, the army was also an affordance offering stability in some basic demands, while also dominating the people and their environment. For example, they prohibited hunting and traditional ceremonies just like the police had done before them. Only a few Hai//om lives were lost in this war as most of the fighting took place further north (Widlok 1999: 4). After independence, Namibia remained functionally divided into two distinct land-tenure zones: A series of communal areas that were managed by the tribal authorities before independence and a large, commercial farming zone. Of the 22 farms that the government purchased after independence in regions where many landless Bushmen reside, only one farm (Skoonheid) was set aside for the resettlement of Bushmen, despite the priorities set down in the national resettlement policy. The government made no farms available to landless Hai//om until recently and all the MLRR managed was taking over the administration of Tsintsabis (Suzman 2004: 228-230), which is situated at the northern edge of the freehold zone where the communal land starts.

Resettlement is a complicated process and only in some cases was a relatively large amount of compensation paid to people who had lost their homes and assets. In general,

¹⁵ Officially South Africa got South West Africa (as present-day Namibia was then called) as a mandate to prepare it for independence and they practically colonised it (Bayer 1990: 11).

planners have tended to focus on the loss of homes instead of means of production, such as wild resources and land. Forced relocations out of protected areas have instigated poverty, environmental degradation, social conflict and violence because of the restrictions imposed on hunting, fishing and gathering (Hitchcock & Vinding 2004: 15-16). Due to their past of exploitation and discrimination and their current marginalised status, the Namibian government has explained that the Bushmen are amongst the main target groups to benefit from their resettlement policy (Harring & Odendaal 2002: 39). In the Namibian land-reform programme, most Bushmen are directed to group resettlement farms, where the farm is allocated to a group of people who are expected to use it communally (Gargallo 2010: 29-32). Such farms are characterised by deficiencies, although these are not necessarily unique to Namibia. For example, beneficiaries in Namibia are brought to the farms without any proper investigation of the infrastructure, the capacity for new farmers or the suitability of the land for the beneficiaries. In addition, there is hardly ever an environmental assessment, the services by the MLR are seen as poor, many of the MLR coordinators are not properly qualified and beneficiaries do not have the correct certificates to lease their land. Altogether, the current group of resettlement projects had painfully failed most of the national production objectives (*Ibid.*: 45-49) and, for Bushmen, the resettlement is often an impoverishing experience (Armstrong & Bennett 2002: 191), which results in “a rapidly growing group of black (mainly political and economically empowered) elites (that) still makes use of the “previously disadvantaged” label in order to claim added privileges” (Dieckmann 2011: 160).

Against this background, the Hai//om of Tsintsabis had to find a new way of living in an area where they dwelt after Namibian independence. Since 1991, Tsintsabis has been a group resettlement farm of 1862 ha (Harring & Odendaal 2002: 65), which is comparable to a decent-sized commercial farm. It is situated about 120 km east of Etosha (Von Lindequist Gate, the Namutoni side, see Map 6.1). Most of the people live in the central part of Tsintsabis, with its concentration of brick buildings that also house a school, a medical clinic and a police station. Around Tsintsabis village, there are plots and bush where people live in huts and shanties. The 1991 population of Tsintsabis was 464, divided between 96 households, and by 1998 there were 1050 people living in 196 households (MLRR 1998: 40).¹⁶ There are two small communities of Bushmen living in the nearby sub-settlements of /Gomkhaos (mainly !Xun Bushmen) and !Khosines, a few kilometres from the centre of Tsintsabis. Tsintsabis is on the border of freehold farmland and communal land, divided by the so-called Red Line (veterinary fence), a fence running from east to west constructed by the South Africans to prevent the livestock of the poor black population from mixing with their healthy livestock, but also to separate the black population under the apartheid regime from the white farms.¹⁷

¹⁶ Based on her 2009 fieldwork, Hüncke (2010: 15) estimated 3000 inhabitants then. Although I have seen Tsintsabis grow fast since I first arrived in 1999, I believe 3000 is a very high estimate. It could include the two camps for temporary road construction workers (Hüncke 2010: 39). In the same year, Berndalen (2010: 38) estimated the community to number 1000.

¹⁷ The Red Line is a cordon of several hundred km that was originally put in place after a cattle plague in 1897 across the northern part of the territory. Its additional functions became the supervision of trade with the Owambo and it aimed to stop the smuggling of ammunition, fire arms and liquor (Dieckmann 2007: 69). Oshivelo, Etosha and Tsintsabis all border the Red Line to the north. For some people,

A development committee was set up in the first years after independence with the help of the MLRR and WIMSA but it lacked the necessary skills, expertise and means to start development projects and has become more of an informal problem-solving institution than a strong legal body working on development. Basically, it lacked agency for this. However, its social role is important since it consists mostly of elders from the village. One of the main problems is members' low literacy level, the fact that they hardly speak English (but Hai//om and Afrikaans). This committee (or the 'Tsintsabis San Committee Association') is a WIMSA members' organisation that was established with a bank account for private donor funds but because of distrust among residents, the four signatories required were never approved. After the appointment of the first trustees, other residents in Tsintsabis came forward asking to have them replaced because they were not trustworthy. It seems as if Hai//om find it hard to know today who they can and cannot trust, also amongst themselves. In addition, the logistics of such a body are complicating since the trust represents a large dispersed group (Widlok 2003: 112; WIMSA 2007: ix). When I stayed in Tsintsabis between 2003 and 2007, the members of the development committee did not see themselves as a WIMSA member anymore (although they had done so in 1999). Most were negative about WIMSA's support, but WIMSA continued to mention the Tsintsabis San Committee Association as a body they supported in their annual reports up to 2007 (cf. WIMSA 2005: iv; cf. WIMSA 2007: ix). The relationship between WIMSA and this CBO is characterised by a high degree of inactivity, distrust and disbelief amongst the Hai//om.

Income comes from the monthly pensions of the older people, farm work, some hunting (and the sale of meat), traditional healing or from *shebeens*, where groceries, alcohol and soft drinks are sold.¹⁸ Young people complain of boredom and a lack of opportunities and some hang around at the *shebeens*. Most people depend on hitchhiking for transport and have to pay a petrol fee for rides. Today, some Hai//om and !Xun in and around Tsintsabis hunt, although the number is decreasing, and some of the older men go hunting in the communal area north of Tsintsabis and on the nearby Oerwoud resettlement farm. There is still game on most of the farms but hunting there would be a double offence: Firstly, trespassing and secondly, stealing the livestock or game. The limited possibilities for subsistence hunting are ironic when compared to some of the hunting farms around Tsintsabis, which are making large amounts of money from trophy-hunting tourists, such as La Rochelle (who also used to hunt in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy) or the Baobab Game Ranch. Gathering bushfood still happens but the intention at a resettlement farm is also to become self-sufficient small-scale farmers. This rarely works and many people still depend on food aid and other sources of in-

especially Westerners, the fence symbolises the border with the 'real Africa' to the north as opposed to 'white' or 'colonial' Africa to the south of the fence.

¹⁸ Nearly all *shebeens* in Tsintsabis are run and owned by non-Bushmen (Hüncke 2010: 26). The number grew rapidly between 1999 and 2010, but it is impossible to count them as they come and go. During my last visit to Tsintsabis in June 2010, people told me that the deputy prime minister had just visited Tsintsabis and said that all *shebeens* needed to shut because of the trouble they caused. It is not clear to me if this was simply based on a patronising attitude by the government as described by Dieckmann (2011: 175-176) or if it was more a legal matter, since I expect that most of the *shebeens* operate without a licence, or either on a combination of the two.

come, but agriculture is the core motivation of the government's resettlement scheme. Harring & Odendaal (2002: 65-66) noticed that the carrying capacity of Tsintsabis was seriously exceeded due to its agricultural potential, that agricultural assistance from the government is not sufficient and that there is a lack of business skills amongst community members.

Outsiders in Tsintsabis

Since independence, other ethnic groups have moved into Tsintsabis, which is not 'one community' and, as Anna Hüncke (2010: 46) concluded, it is a place where people live in different groups at the same place, and the fear of outsiders creates a common basis for 'old' villagers (Hai//om and !Xun) to form some kind of a 'village community'. Especially when it comes to government jobs, such as in the police and teachers, Bushmen are the victims of discrimination and tribalism and many of the jobs in Tsintsabis are given to outsiders. This process of 'outsiders' coming in has continued ever since and there are ethnic tensions between various tribes. Bushmen fear that they will lose their land and are afraid of being dominated by 'stronger' tribes, in which the !Xun people consider themselves to be even shyer and more excluded than the Hai//om (*Ibid.*: 26-32). In addition to the process of ethnic division, family ties are still very important in Tsintsabis and two families, that of the headman and of the chairman of the development committee, have seen rivalry over the years. Other groups that do so to varying degrees are political and religious groups (*Ibid.*: 33-38). According to the Legal Assistance Centre (2006: 18), "Tsintsabis represents a failed model of rural settlement that is all too common in Namibia".

The government decided top-down that the road between Tsumeb and Tsintsabis that continues all the way to the Angolan border will become a tar road, which has resulted in a lot of community dynamics. The Roads Contractor Company (RCC) brought in workers and built a big camp in Tsintsabis for them and another at the Muramba Bushman Trails, where people from the Middle East and other African countries stayed (Hüncke 2010: 39). Although most of these people are Namibian (90% out of 350 workers), only a few are from the surrounding areas (Berndalen 2010: 38). Again, the Hai//om feel threatened that Tsintsabis will be taken over by other people and wonder who will send these people away after the road is finished. Tsintsabis is already too small to give everyone a reasonable plot, so the pressure on land will only increase with more people. In addition, many people complain that some of the RCC workers buy alcohol for young girls and treat them as prostitutes. Some girls as young as 13 or 14 have been paid for sex (cf. Berndalen 2010: 38), which apparently also happened at Treesleeper Camp where RCC workers stayed. There are now about 40 or 50 people from Tsintsabis working for RCC and these jobs are much-wanted affordances because the salaries are good. However, the work is temporary and local road workers have complained about paternalism and racism by the foremen (for example him calling them 'stupid Bushmen'). They have also blamed RCC for paying them less than the minimum wage but people were afraid of losing their jobs, so it was hard for them to speak out (Hüncke 2010: 40-41). Treesleeper employees told me in 2010 that they expected more tourists and day tours because of the new tar road that goes to Angola, which is

now opening up to tourists. Treesleeper will be easier to reach for tour operators but there is an expectation that the number of thefts could also increase. Changes could include a rise in the number of *shebeens*, more unwanted pregnancies, increased prostitution, higher HIV/AIDS rates, and more criminal activities and domination by other tribes. Some tour operators are worried that the natural culture of Treesleeper could take on a different character if more people (tourists) visited the place and if Tsintsabis grew into a more urban settlement (Hüncke 2010: 41-45).

Introducing Treesleeper Camp

Right from the beginning, when we started with Treesleeper, personally as a manager I did have that strong feeling that I wanted to prove a lot of people wrong what they have been thinking, that San people will always fail or Hai//om will fail if they're running the project entirely owned by them ... It's not only of doing well as a business, but it also means an answer to the misconception of the people that San people do not always manage the project well. (Moses //Khumûb, Interview 2)

In this statement, //Khumûb considers Treesleeper an affordance creating financial benefits (doing well as a business) but one that could also improve the image of Bushmen who often tend to be connected with failed projects. For example, the LAC (2006: 18) visited Tsintsabis in 2006 and mentioned "(a) small camp, Treesleepers, built with donor funds on the outskirts of the village, has few campers and is far off tourist routes". Their comment makes sense because in these days Treesleeper had only just started to receive tourists and we were finalising some of the last structures for the campsite. I do not agree though, that it is situated far off the tourist route. Compared to most other Bushman tourist projects, its proximity to Etosha makes it better situated than, for example, Nyae Nyae. The LAC was involved in a supporting role as they were helping to establish the CBO Tsintsabis Trust, in which they were also represented. But let us begin by seeing how Treesleeper started.

Since 1993 the development committee had plans for tourism to increase income-generating activities in Tsintsabis, so they asked the MLRR and a few NGOs to build a lodge for them. Most people in the community of Tsintsabis were still keen on tourism in 1999 and, with some pressure from me, the idea emerged of creating a community-based campsite (Koot 2000: 87-89). Whereas the request for a tourist project originated within the community, the shift of idea from 'lodge' to 'community-based campsite' was my idea, based on some of my travel experiences in Namibia. In addition, I had lived amongst the people for a few months already by then and did not see enough capacity to run a lodge or any other type of upmarket tourist enterprise at that stage. So as a student researcher in 1999, I influenced the community's plans and ideas by suggesting what I deemed to be right for them, showing the first signs of paternalism. In the end, Treesleeper Camp, which can be described as a sustainable community-based tourist camp, was set up. It is not part of a bigger CBNRM programme (as is the case with most of the other tourist projects involving Bushmen communities) but 'just' a case of community-based tourism 'on its own' at a resettlement farm, focused solely on the development of the local community instead of a means to conservation. This is an essential difference. The working relationship with the MLRR was therefore always a lot stronger than with the MET. For an extensive rationale of my first ideas as to why community-based tourism would fit Tsintsabis, see Annex 7.

Two years after recommending tourism for Tsintsabis (*Ibid.*), I contacted donors in the Netherlands. From then on, it was a matter of fundraising, organising and lobbying the Namibian government, NGOs and donors (mostly in the Netherlands but later in Namibia too). Although I paid regular visits to the community and discussed progress and plans, it took time for the older generation to accept and understand the structure and vision of Treesleeper, as some school boys explained:

They (the school boys) remember their parents' and grandparents' first reactions after they heard that Treesleeper was going to be build in Tsintsabis. According to the boys they were afraid that the white people (Ferry Bounin and me) were going to claim their land, like white people did during colonisation and the apartheid regime. The boys say it took them a long time before they changed their opinions. After several meetings with Stasja and the (Tsintsabis) trust, they started to understand that the camp site was meant to help develop them. (Troost 2007: 66)

A big difference between the elders and the younger generation was education. The older generation in Tsintsabis was not raised with western education and the focus of Treesleeper was on young people, preferably with English-language skills, to work with international tourists. Today, this is still important:

(E)ducation plays an important role, that most of the people that are employed at the (other) community campsites ... people are just taking them right from the community without them having been exposed to tourism or gone to school, so language is the problem but at Treesleeper we are a bit selective that we look at the people that have education, that have grade 10. (Moses //Khumûb, Interview 2)

It would seem to be very simple. If one wants to start a business, a western sign of commercialisation in Bushmen communities, one needs the relevant expertise to do so. Therefore, western education is essential for Bushmen to work in tourism. However in many projects we have seen so far, Bushmen got jobs that they were not capable of doing because they lacked the expertise necessary. And the ones who did have the expertise, often refused to work due to social conditions and behaviour (for example in the joint-venture lodges). This implies that a modernising attitude – or ‘becoming like us’ – is an important part of such a development process if one wants to start tourism, which is, after all, a very competitive business. Western education is an indigenous modernity that is used by some and ignored by others. Therefore many of the elders are excluded from the practical, day-to-day running of the business and from the higher managerial positions. Looking back, I believe we could (and should) have involved some of the elders more due to their knowledge and because they had leading roles in the community. This is something I often overlooked because of my beginner's enthusiasm, fanaticism and impatience. In addition to western education and as part of the educational process, various training trips were undertaken by trustees and staff members.

Still, something changed in the perception of many people in the community after the building started:

(W)hen we were making this here (pointing around at the camp structures) ... All people could not believe that we can do something like that but then they come here and they say ‘Oooh, man, I am just there at the house but I do not know you guys have built such a clear thing’, but they had not believed it but they believe it now. (Simon Saroseb, Interview 1)

Saroseb is the night guard and handyman at Treesleeper and he explained the change in the Tsintsabis villagers' perception of how they could achieve something. When the

borehole and water pump were installed, optimism was created in the village and this increased belief in the project. People in Tsintsabis tended to complain about NGOs and the government but now they saw something happening in their community. Still, Hüncke (2010: 141) felt that the direct reach of the Treesleeper project on the community of Tsintsabis was small and “(i)t is probable that tourism does not start new processes in Tsintsabis, but rather intensifies processes that are already existent in hosts’ identity formation”.

Treesleeper is situated on a typical Namibian dry riverbed with large trees. The treedecks, inspired by the Bum Hill campsite in Bwabwata (see Chapter 4), connect to the name of the Hai//om. It is sometimes said that the name ‘Hai//om’, meaning ‘Tree-sleeper’ or ‘bush sleeper’, refers to past times when people had to climb trees to escape wild animals or sleep on some rudimentary tree platform to avoid mosquitoes by lighting a fire of *tamboti* wood underneath (Berry *et al.* 1998: 4; Friederich & Lempp 2009: 51-52), although I have never seen proof of this. Treedecks are platforms on poles next to big trees where tourists can camp up high in between the trees (Photo 6.2).

Photo 6.2 Treedeck



Photo: Kirsi Mäki, reproduced with permission.

A new road system was created all through the camp. Werner Pfeifer from the Living Culture Foundation Namibia visited Tsintsabis in 2005 and held discussions with a group of people about starting a living museum. However there was no response from the local people and although this was formally separate from Treesleeper, it was obviously connected to the idea that Treesleeper would bring tourists into the area. Treesleeper started its own activities with the help of local expertise and Rudolf Nami-seb, the Hai//om craft trader who was then living in Tsumkwe (see also Chapter 3).

Namiseb helped with the bushwalk and would later sell crafts at Treesleeper. In addition to Namiseb's souvenirs, local people – mainly from Oerwoud and /Gomkhaos – sell their items at Treesleeper.

Payments were all made through the Tsintsabis Trust, which had a bank account in Tsumeb, and Ferry Bounin and I were in charge of it for the first eighteen months. (We were also trustees.) When Bounin left the project in 2005, Moses //Khumûb became the other signatory and about a year later I resigned from the trust and Gerson Gaoab, another trustee who would later become the chairman, took over my role as a signatory. All these steps were discussed in the Tsintsabis Trust. Some of the younger permanent employees opened bank accounts for their salaries so that they were able to save some money, something that is very hard if one lives in an economy of sharing. Funding came from various donors in the Netherlands and Namibia. Treesleeper Camp was complemented with a cultural centre and a big, relaxing treedek in the riverbed (Makalani Deck) in 2006, using only solar energy for power and hot water. And there was the Treesleeper website, www.Treesleeper.org (Treesleeper 2011c).¹⁹ Equally important are the activities offered. Tourists visiting Treesleeper can do a bushwalk or a village tour and attend a traditional performance.

Treesleeper and the Trust had an institutional network of donors, tour operators and NGOs and in its initial phases I was involved in various spin-off projects in the community, mostly financed by the Foundation Kune Zuva (KZ 2013). This made me as a person an affordance in the Bushmen's environment. After June 2007 when I left Tsintsabis, Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) assisted the project for almost two years but the position of project manager was handed over to the local camp manager, Moses //Khumûb. The VSO volunteer's job was to assist on the side and to act as a coach. An agreement with African Eagle, a French tour operator, was signed to rent one campsite all year round where Treesleeper built eleven tents, which provides a steady income for the project. The Tsintsabis Trust used some of the profit from Treesleeper in the community, for example for the kindergarten. The current Treesleeper employees want to upgrade the project into a guest house or lodge. In fact, //Khumûb raised funds himself to implement this upgrade and, at the time of writing, this is in fact happening. In March 2010 Treesleeper was granted N\$ 1.2 million by the MET (from European Union funds) to upgrade the project but one condition was that they would start building in June 2010. This was a challenge because it was the start of the high season, but the grant was targeted at upgrading community campsites before the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. In the end, building started in the middle of 2011, partly because //Khumûb, who had been involved in Treesleeper since 2004 and is today the driving force, was diagnosed with a heart problem in the second half of 2010 and had to work less on his doctor's advice. He therefore decided to take a break for a year and went to the !Khwatla Centre in South Africa (see Annex 9) to study and be away from the pressures and stress that working for Treesleeper can sometimes bring. Plans for the future include organising trips to Etosha so he also applied for a vehicle for the Tsintsabis Trust and hopes that this will be possible in 2015. Over the years, the number of tourists has grown and this

¹⁹ In its early days, the website was meant to update donors and other involved parties, but it changed in 2006 into a marketing website where tourists could make bookings for accommodation and activities.

trend seems to be continuing. However, in January 2013, I received an email in which //Khumûb explained that the financial situation of Treesleeper had worsened. The building process is delayed for too long now and therefore various tour operators received complaints from their clients that Treesleeper looks like a building site and many tours for 2013 were cancelled, but individual bookings tend to continue. //Khumûb feels as if the Trust and the government do not care enough about these problems (email, 7 January 2013). In another email he explained that the misunderstandings with the government are plenty on this financial crisis, since it is “regrettable to learn that the contributing factors in this case were preventable, but its (sic) difficult for the Government officials to comprehend the situation and understand the potential barriers” (email, 8 January 2013). //Khumûb further explained that early warnings were ignored by the government and therefore buildings are just standing empty spoiling the natural beauty. His main concerns are that there is a lack of understanding from the involved parties in the fragility of the tourism business, wishful thinking about unrealistic community benefits and a lack of the socio-political context.

Outsiders as affordances dwelling in the Hai//om environment

‘Boesman, praat die taal!’: Paternalist relations

In some cases, the white population, government officials and tourist providers (especially hunters or farm owners) are suspicious of Europeans doing research on the Bushmen and have developed a defensive attitude (Dieckmann 2007: 22; Hüncke 2010: 20). In the region around Outjo and Okaukuejo, Dieckmann (2007: 22-23) experienced how

(a)ccording to their (whites) perception, some of these foreigners had already entered the country with a biased (anti-racist, anti-colonial) world view without even knowing the realities of Namibia but publishing articles or papers which did not fit the complex reality and were essentially not favourable towards the white citizens of the country.

I did not specifically experience any negative or suspicious attitudes during my fieldwork, such as those described here, but when I lived and worked in Tsintsabis I remember how some of the white farmers were amazed to hear that I lived in Tsintsabis and many of them got interested in what I was doing. Others were very critical and paternalising towards me and Treesleeper employees. I believe the difference was that I was not a researcher then, so I had not gone there to write about them and publish articles: I had already ‘made my choice’. I stayed with the Bushmen and worked with them. In addition to the people I met in a business setting (for example those who worked in building and so on), I was a potential client²⁰ as well. Still, in my relationship with the Hai//om I worked with, we developed a certain attitude in response to paternalism.

In the area around Tsintsabis, white farmers’ perceptions of Bushmen were often based on the Bushmen’s connection with nature and their lives as Stone Age people, but with a low moral and cultural standard and therefore in need of ‘development’ (cf. Hüncke 2010: 84-85). For example, Ombili is a farm frequently visited by tourists (mostly Germans) on the road between Tsintsabis and Etosha where !Xun and Hai//om are taught agriculture and craft making and there is a school. The Ombili Foundation

²⁰ Not as in patron-client relationships.

was established by local farmers and former army staff after the army's retreat (Widlok 1999: 129). In 1999 the Ombili Board consisted of whites only and no Bushmen were involved in making decisions. I then spoke to people at the Oerwoud resettlement farm where the people (mainly Hai//om and a few !Xun) had left Ombili due to low salaries and bad treatment. If they resisted, they were chased away. Another group of Bushmen had split from the Ombili Foundation residing north of Mangetti West, returning to what they considered to be their land. After many problems with support services, harsh treatment by local Owambo and an environment with less wild fruit than it used to have, some of them moved to Tsintsabis and others grudgingly returned to Ombili. Some were re-admitted to Ombili after working without pay for several weeks, according to the farm management, "to even out the work input that the others had provided in the meantime" (Mais-Rische cited in Widlok 2003: 109). In 2010, a tour guide explained how they showed the Bushmen's teeth to the tourists, as if showing an animal and a farmer close to Windhoek recalled how he had visited Ombili at the end of the 1990s and he disliked it intensely because they showed Bushmen as if they were showing animals, pointing out physiological features when they were standing in front of a group. Although I heard stories like this, I have never seen it myself, but in line with this Hüncke (2010: 85-86) explained that

the Ombili representative was convinced that Bushmen do not have a thinking of the future and that they lack the responsibility for their own lives ... Having in mind that they (white farmers) associated this way of life (of the Bushmen) with backwardness and described their own way of life as something to strive for, it became clear that they positioned Bushmen inferior to themselves.

In 2007 we visited Ombili with the Treesleeper staff as a training exercise and were welcomed in a friendly manner by an Owambo worker who explained the project and agriculture, and the school's choir sang for us. Local Treesleeper staff met friends and family and we were not shown any physical features of Bushmen (which would have been odd anyway, being with a group of mainly Bushmen). Widlok (1999: 129; 2002a: 212) saw Ombili as one of two of the larger service centres in the area, the other being Tsintsabis, and noted some striking similarities, notwithstanding the opposed perspectives of the initiators in the way they mediate between Hai//om economic activity and larger economic domains. First, both centres bring together a large group of Hai//om and !Xun and, second, they are controlled by more powerful economic elites (commercial farmers at Ombili and the MLRR at Tsintsabis) and they are both run by non-Hai//om staff. Colonial patterns have thus been extended. In line with this, today local farm owners tend to claim the right to determine who is or is not a Bushman and some commented that they are not 'real' Bushmen in Tsintsabis because a mixed ethnic origin leads to people not being able to keep up their cultural knowledge. In their view, the Treesleeper guides were not capable of presenting Bushmen culture. Instead, someone with a deeper knowledge should engage in cultural tourism of Bushmen, such as local commercial white farmers who grew up with them (Hüncke 2010: 113). This way of thinking reflects an (illogical) feeling of hierarchy. Why would farmers who also come from a different culture have more to say about Bushmen culture than the Treesleeper tour guides, assuming it is true that they also come from a 'different' culture, or that they are not 'real'? This demonstrates the tendency amongst farmers to speak for the

Bushmen, as a *baas* and therefore the one who owns and knows them, often with the result of leaving the Bushmen without a voice. In this *baasskap* is static, just as the perception of what culture is (or should be). This last idea, culture as static, fits ideas about culture in tourism very well.

The relationship with whites also shows a generation gap, in which the elderly Bushmen are still humble when dealing with whites, while the younger generation shows a more rebellious attitude to such domination. This rebellion is often hidden because most people are too scared to speak up in front of a white farmer. For example, when we did business with a white person at Treesleeper, we often asked each other what that person was like, and whether or not (s)he was ‘*boertjie* style’, which was a term we used for someone with a paternalising, bossy attitude. When George Tsam, a Treesleeper employee, was asked about the road by a white man in a truck near Tsintabis, he started to answer in English. The response of the white man was ‘*Boesman, praat die taal!*’²¹ When George came back, he told us the story and we all laughed. From then on it became a joke to say ‘*Boesman, praat die taal!*’ amongst Treesleeper employees. These are only small acts of rebellion but they can be compared with ‘hidden transcripts’ which “represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant” (Scott 1990: xii, cited in Dieckmann 2007: 226) and in that way they are comparable to one of the strategies of resistance the Hai//om have used for a long time on farms.

Although the Hai//om of Tsintabis are mostly connected to white farms, more and more farms in the region have today been taken over by black farmers and they can also show signs of domination and *baasskap*, for example the Owambo farmer from the area who told me that Bushmen

don’t want to work and they like to live in big colonies. But I am still busy with Bushmen; you know, these people are the most ignored in Namibia. I really love them, *they are my kids*. Sometimes even more than my family, *I bring them up*. (respondent in 1999, my emphasis)

In 2006, another black farmer came to visit Treesleeper and asked if I could send some guys over to his farm, about 30 km away, so that they could also build such a campsite with treedecks for him, assuming automatically that *I* (the white man) decided these things for them.

Treesleeper and Muramba

The co-director of Ombili and the neighbouring farmer of Tsintabis started commercial tourism activities based on Bushmen culture called Muramba Bushman Trails in 1994. The farmer himself is the tour guide, assisted by a Hai//om employee (for example to show a trap or to make fire). The farmer is very knowledgeable about traditional culture and speaks Hai//om. As an educational experience on Bushmen culture, Muramba achieves a high standard. However, the man has a strong, mostly negative opinion about politics, scientists and Bushmen ‘development’, and voices them in front of tourists and others without hesitation. Basically his message is that it is better to stay away from the Bushmen if you have not grown up with them or speak their language. He has written a

²¹ Meaning ‘Bushman, talk the language!’, in which ‘the language’ is Afrikaans.

very informative book about Hai//om traditions and their connection with Etosha, with a preface that states that

the author does not write it as an outside scientist, but easy as an expert of the land, who is so known to the living habits of this tribe as only someone can be who speaks the language since childhood. Therefore the book is accessible for the broader reading audience, free from academic discourse and theory-based judgements. (Haacke cited in Friederich & Lempp 2009: 9, my translation)²²

This is continued by the farmer himself. Explaining that

(m)y big advantage is my knowledge of the language and my grounded knowing. Because I speak the Hai//om language fluently, doors open that stay closed for others. Through direct dialogues my informants were often a lot more open hearted and they told me important things that I did not even ask them for. (Friederich & Lempp 2009: 17, my translation)²³

Not doubting this ‘grounded knowing’, what I find more interesting is that the book itself, about the Hai//om, was only written in German. Treesleeper staff was interested in the book because of its well-documented knowledge but since it was in German they lost interest. The Hai//om were thus excluded from the ‘broader reading audience’ of this book in which they are the subjects, even those who are well educated and literate. To me this shows how there is always a distance in relations of *baasskap*, and although speaking Hai//om might have opened some doors, something I do not doubt, the hierarchical relationship keeps other doors closed.

While setting up Treesleeper Camp in 2003/4 I investigated the possibilities to take over the farm of the Muramba Bushman Trails in the name of WIMSA, whose idea it was to turn this into a community development farm, including the planned tourism project that would later become Treesleeper. However, when I and Joram /Useb of WIMSA (a Hai//om from the area working for WIMSA in Windhoek) arrived, we needed to stay overnight and /Useb’s family already prepared a bed for me. However, I was called in by the farmer in the evening to sleep at the farm and when I said I was fine there he explained that I could not sleep amongst the Bushmen on his farm. Although this was a hospitable gesture, it also felt as a clear sign of separation limiting the Bushmen’s contact with outsiders, and thereby their agency as well. The result of the negotiations was that the farmer told me that he was not willing to sell it to WIMSA, because their opinions about Bushmen differed too much and because WIMSA did not develop the Bushmen, whereas he did. In addition, WIMSA was not in the position to pay the price he asked due to a lack of funding and when I explained to him the idea was to start *community* tourism, he responded that Muramba *is* a community project, because the people working there are all from the community, get a decent salary and it is all about their culture. Still, Hai//om or !Xun were not owning or running the project in any way, their agency was kept to a minimum.

²² The original text: Der Verfasser nicht als außenstehender Wissenschaftler schreibt, sondern schlicht als Landeskundiger, der mit der Lebensweise dieses Volkes so vertraut ist, wie es nur jemand sein kann, der die Sprache von Kind auf spricht. Somit ist das Buch zugänglich für die breiteste Leserschaft, frei von akademischen Diskurs und durch Theorie beschwerten Urteilen.

²³ The original text: Mein großer Vorteil ist meine Sprachkenntnis und mein fundiertes Wissen. Da ich die Hai//om-Sprache fließend spreche, öffneten sich mir viele Türen, die anderen verschlossen blieben. Im direkten Dialog waren meine Gesprächspartner oft sehr viel offener und teilten mir auch wichtige Dinge mit, nach denen ich sie gar nicht gefragt hatte.

When attempts to buy Muramba did not work out, I continued with my original plan to start community tourism in Tsintsabis and the farmer explained to me and Bounin in 2004 why Treesleeper would never succeed. There were various reasons he gave us, for example, Treesleeper employees needed to learn German to work with tourists, or we had built too close to the riverbed so that the river would one day wash everything away, and so on. Interestingly, he also offered to help us sometimes and he did with finding a good spot for the waterpump and with advises for the bushwalk. Then again, he regularly met elders from Tsintsabis to whom he explained how we needed to build and run Treesleeper and some of these elders came to us explaining what we needed to do. Bounin, I and most of the Treesleeper staff started to regard him as a typical *baas*, not only on his farm but also for Tsintsabis and its surroundings. It shows how *baasskap* is a phenomenon in the Bushmen's environment that is not restricted to the farm only. White farmers sometimes show a protective attitude to Bushmen, saying how unequally they are treated in society and how other ethnic groups, such as the Owambo, have invaded their territories. This shows a strong empathy for the Bushmen because they have a 'common enemy', the new black elite, that is trying to steal land from them (Hüncke 2010: 86). In the end, we started to avoid the farmer because it was hard to work with him practically at Treesleeper because our opinions were simply too different. However, being neighbours, we would sometimes meet accidentally and, in some cases, we were accused of 'doing things wrong' at Treesleeper, such as 'having Rasta hair' (Rudolf Namiseb) or 'not looking decent' (three Dutch interns that we had for a few months). Throughout the process we felt evermore that the farmer was not fond of Treesleeper and the way we had set up the project, not because of the reasons he gave but because, as the *baas* of the area, the project showed how he was losing the control and authority he was used to, and different ideas and values (about development and broader) were influencing 'his' Bushmen. *Baasskap* is based on a static relationship with clear hierarchy, and at Treesleeper we challenged these values. Part of the reason could also have been that Treesleeper was becoming competitive with Muramba.

Bushmen or part-Bushmen: Is there any trust in the Tsintsabis Trust?

Widlok (2002b) wondered if there is any trust in a Trust for the Hai//om. He also mentioned the importance of state-accepted, legal bodies or organisations for marginalised communities to organise themselves and achieve a political voice (Widlok 2001, 2003). For this reason, the Tsintsabis Trust was created as the legal body owning Treesleeper and was set up with the help of the LAC. It was important for a variety of reasons. First, Tsintsabis needed to have formal community representation and an owner of the project. Second, this was the way that a bank account could be opened, which is a necessity for a fundraising project aiming to become a business. Third, a plot was needed. Since Tsintsabis was – and still is – owned by the MLR(R), they needed to allocate 10 ha of land for the project to a legal institution. LAC and the MLRR both had a seat on the Board of Trustees. The reason for LAC being on the Board is that they can assist the Tsintsabis Trust in case of legal matters and the MLRR suggested themselves that they (represented by the 'development planner' of the region) should be there to keep an eye on the project. The decision to allow a seat for LAC in the Tsintsabis Trust proved fruit-

ful over the years in four ways. First, LAC wrote the Deed of Trust (TT 2004). Second, when African Eagle and Treesleeper drew up a contract, LAC advised the Trust on this. Third, when there was a theft at Treesleeper (as described in the next section), they advised the Trust as to a legal solution and fourth, they built up capacity within the Trust, explaining the meaning, position and power of the Trust. By being part of the trust (instead of just advising from Windhoek), trustees get a feeling that the LAC is there for them, so it will be easier to contact them and ask for assistance.

The MLRR's request to be in the Trust (this was a requirement to allocate a plot to the Trust) shows the government's paternalising attitude, as described by Ute Dieckmann (2011: 175-176).²⁴ To acquire official land allocation from the MLRR for the Tsintsabis Trust was time-consuming and chaotic, as most of the MLRR employees, from the local level in Tsintsabis to the Permanent Secretary in Windhoek, could not explain where the allocation could be acquired. Although nobody challenged the project when we explained what it was all about, we were misinformed at all levels. One of the reasons, we believed then, was that it was uncommon to allocate a plot to a legal body on a resettlement farm (where plots are normally allocated to people) and it therefore fell outside the scope of normal procedures. So in December 2004, we decided to start drilling the borehole, although our application was still being processed. In the end, there was pressure from the donors and we expected a group of volunteers from Raleigh International Namibia to assist with some of the building in early 2005. We were often referred by MLRR officials to the MET because of the tourist character of the project but because it was on a resettlement farm, it fell under the responsibility of the MLRR. A few years later, the then MLR actually used Treesleeper as an example for some of its employees of a tourism development project on a resettlement farm. Within the MLRR, there were people who saw the value of tourism on resettlement farms, but the idea was simply not widespread. A resettlement project coordinator from Windhoek said:

The Ministry of Lands Resettlement and Rehabilitation does not seem to be aware of the potential that lies in promoting community-based tourism and conservation among beneficiaries ... All the Ministry needs to do is to maintain the infrastructure of these farms. Why is it that so many commercial farmers these days turn to guests and hunting farms? It is because they know that they can make money out of it. (cited in Harring & Odendaal 2002: 56)

In general, the MLR still perceives agriculture as the best land-use practice and they rarely include Bushmen culture in their development plans (Hüncke 2010: 94-95). I remember the MLR member who was a trustee of the Tsintsabis Trust as a constructive person who explained a lot and was respectful to the local people. However, other

²⁴ In line with this, it is worth mentioning that I was told in 2012 that the funds of the MET that were currently used for the upgrade (as described in the previous section) came with a few conditions. When Ferry Bounin visited Treesleeper in 2011 it was explained that the new expenses for the lodge had to be paid directly by the MET (so the invoices went directly to MET) and that the MET would always choose the company. Instead of letting the management of Treesleeper or the Tsintsabis Trust choose their own providers, the MET would choose and often they would not choose the best or cheapest but companies with family relations. This not only shows the paternalistic attitude of the donor, but also how politics and business are interrelated and how development funds can be connected to more interests than only 'development'. This was confirmed too when I received an email from Toos Verbruggen of the Connected To Namibia Foundation after a visit to Treesleeper explaining that the building contractor had turned out to be incapable but that because he was the son of a minister he would therefore keep the job (email, 19 April 2012).

(younger and Bushmen) trustees often felt shy about opposing him in public if they disagreed. There is a good chance they have felt the same about Bounin and me at various moments.

Apart from a seat on the LAC and the MLR, Bounin and I represented the FSTN, which was used to generate income for the project from Dutch donors because some donors we found in the Netherlands demanded a legally binding Dutch body. Bounin and I also started as Trustees, mainly for practical reasons, which was criticised by WIMSA because it meant that the Trust was not run entirely by Bushman:

(T)he “Tsintsabis Trust”...was initiated or assisted by a Dutch national (me) who had previously conducted research in the area. The Deeds of Trust states that the objectives are “to uplift the living standard of the community of Tsintsabis through the community tourism activities by providing funding to the Treesleeper Project in Tsintsabis” (Trust 2004) ((TT, 2004)). The Treesleeper Project is not explained any further in the Deeds of Trust. This trust is not working together with WIMSA, for several reasons, one of them is the fact that non-San people are Trustees. This is regarded with suspicion by members of WIMSA, however, at the end of 2004 it was being discussed whether organisations which are not fully “San-owned” should be permitted to apply for membership to WIMSA. (Dieckmann 2007: 318; TT 2004).

I was not surprised to read about the above ‘suspicions’ by WIMSA in the years when we were setting up Treesleeper as we had an ambiguous relationship with WIMSA and this was a big issue for them. According to Francis & Francis (2010: 223), there is a danger in political advocacy and socio-economic development interventions of creating further injustice in society and of constructing barriers between people if they are based on ethnicity. Since Tsintsabis is a hybrid community, the Tsintsabis Trust never concentrated on this matter very much and did not consider it relevant in these days. Early in the Treesleeper process, we tried to work with WIMSA, an idea that we dropped later since we found them to be unreliable and impractical. For example, before the Tsintsabis Trust was established, I asked WIMSA if I could deposit possible funds in their account. I was informed that this was not a problem, so when a Dutch donor told me that they were willing to donate (either € 10,000 or € 15,000), the regional co-ordinator (who is himself a German) rejected the donation because in his opinion the community was not ready to receive such a sum. I was stuck and in the end had to tell the donor we were not ready for the donation, whereas I had first told them that WIMSA would be taking care of it for a while. After that we had some contact about a Bushmen/non-Bushmen trust and when WIMSA told us we should create a full Bushmen trust, we wondered why they advised this *after* we had set up the trust. At a later stage, they sent a researcher whom they worked with, who passed through Tsintsabis to relay the message to us that WIMSA did not agree with the fact that the Tsintsabis Trust was not fully Bushmen. However, she added that even at WIMSA there were different opinions on this. From then on, we classified WIMSA as an ‘ivory tower’ NGO and ignored them,²⁵ preferring to concentrate on founding Treesleeper. This is an example in which Bounin and I ignored local advice and made our own decision, since many of the local elders warned us in the beginning that it would be better not to work

²⁵ I realise I am critical of WIMSA. To give the full picture I want to add that these experiences are from the years 2003-2005 and many changes took place at WIMSA after that. Therefore these stories do not reflect my most recent views on WIMSA.

with WIMSA, who they considered dominating, unreliable, ‘only for the Outjo Hai//om’ and so on. Bounin and I ignored this advice then and expected WIMSA to be an interesting organisation to work with but in the end discovered that the local people had a much stronger point than we had first believed. A few years later, Moses //Khumûb would join the Namibia San Council at WIMSA as the camp manager of Treesleeper and he was also asked by WIMSA to study in Germany for 2.5 years but did not take up the offer because he is against any ‘brain drain’ and was committed to Treesleeper. In my opinion, this was a strange request if one realises that //Khumûb was, and still is, the driving force behind Treesleeper, and it shows that WIMSA also has a hybrid agenda, which is not always the same as that of the Bushmen. And although they sometimes enable various developments, they also come with constraints.

‘Maybe they just don’t like shoes’: NGO relations, development and business

The role of the FSTN, represented by Bounin and myself, from 2003 to 2007 and the effect we had on Treesleeper was significant, maybe sometimes too much so because we also worked for Treesleeper every day. A former employee and trustee said in 2007 that

I do not think it is a community project, but it is Stasja’s...project. We like Stasja, and we do not want to talk negative about him, but he takes most of the decisions and he can lay his opinion on the members of the trust and the personnel of Treesleeper. (cited in Troost 2007: 58)

To deny this statement would be an example of bad self-reflection, and I agree with this past employee about my position in the project. Without always realising my own position of power, I tended to take or at least influence many decisions, sometimes showing an unawareness of cultural sensitivities and, by doing so, demonstrating clear signs of paternalism (in the first 18 months often together with Bounin). An example I clearly remember is when I was still in charge of the project towards the end of my stay in Tsintsabis in 2007 when I had just bought T-shirts with collars with ‘Staff’ written on them and all staff members had received such a shirt to wear at work. When I saw a young brother of one of the staff walking round in one of these shirts, I asked how he got it and told him that these shirts were meant only for staff members, so to change and not wear it anymore. Of course, I was completely right from a western business perspective; the shirts had been bought and were the property of Treesleeper, to be worn by the staff when working and if family members started wearing them they would soon look dirty and worn, which would make the investment less profitable. However, I had overlooked the fact that the families in Tsintsabis shared their clothes with one another: It was common and people do not have their own wardrobes, as we often do in Europe. This is a case of generalised reciprocity in a sharing culture. I had known this for a long time and often saw T-shirts, caps or other clothes worn by various family members but had not expected them to do the same with a ‘business asset’, the Treesleeper staff’s shirts. In those days, I was continually in a balancing act between western economic (business) values and hunter-gatherer sharing economics. Despite the bottom-up approach in community-based organisations, external NGOs run the danger of creating top-down structures if an organisation’s plans and views determine the projects too much (Hüncke 2010: 100). So in an organisational way, and acting from a position of

power (for example with Bounin and me controlling the funds in the beginning), NGOs can be dominating, not doubting for one moment that our intention was to create a 'community-based' project. As //Khumûb explained, there is not always enough attention for the communities' feelings and ideas, and if "people don't have shoes and they say 'Oh, you don't have shoes', you run and buy a lot of shoes. Maybe they were already given shoes but maybe they just don't like shoes" (Interview 2).

When handing over processes at Treesleeper when the FSTN was stepping back (i.e. when I left in June 2007), we arranged it so that Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) would add a volunteer to the project who would function as a coach for Treesleeper but we all agreed that //Khumûb was trained and ready for the job. Working with the VSO volunteer was sometimes hard for //Khumûb because the volunteer was a white, European man in his fifties and it was hard for //Khumûb to manage an older man. In a country where apartheid and *baasskap* were so dominant for decades, it would be naïve to believe that such hierarchical feelings have totally disappeared. Most local people will listen to white people, especially if they are older and male, a lot more than they would to a young Hai//om man. The presence of an outsider in a community, whether Bounin and I in the early days or the VSO volunteer later, can undermine local leadership structures. This was something we also saw in Nyae Nyae and Bwabwata and to a lesser extent in Kgalagadi, especially when change is taking place and under the influence of encapsulation, from a relatively egalitarian and sharing environment in which the Bushmen lived to a more western hierarchical system of leadership. The tendency in such societies among many people is to see the outsider(s) as the leaders of development, which creates a situation in which the term 'community-based' becomes fuzzy. Such NGO workers then become important affordances themselves. As //Khumûb explained:

Imagine if I sit down here as a manager and try to implement something here at the camp, will my fellow San people listen to me, will they do it? Do they know why I am saying 'You have to do this', will they accept it as coming from a San speaking person? But at the other (community) campsites what I have seen there is lots of involvement of different organizations, and not at the positions that they just advise but also directly sometimes involved in management to say things must be done this way and this way. So I haven't seen an organization that is entirely run by that community which was intended, there was always either being a European or either being a Namibian there was either somebody from a specific organization spearheading the management of that specific campsite or anything that the community might own. (Interview 2)

//Khumûb explained that after almost two years of working with a VSO volunteer, the Trust decided that they would not continue with another volunteer. In his opinion, if NGO workers came to support, they should not stay too long because NGOs can encourage dependency. According to //Khumûb, the automatic thinking of VSO volunteers is that when the contract ends, they start asking how they will be replaced, which is not a sign of thinking sustainably.

When I stayed in Tsintsabis while I was working for Treesleeper, I favoured a business approach to tourism that was based on the rationale that tourism is business, so if you do not treat it as a business, in a competitive world, your development goals, whatever they are, will fail. Although my view has changed to a certain degree, I still see tourism as a business. I experienced how many NGOs, on the contrary, tended to view tourism as only development. Of course, theoretically, business and development go

together easily but in reality this is not always the case. In 2003 I was critical of the Omatako Valley Rest Camp at a meeting in the WIMSA office, unaware of the important role that WIMSA had played in this project, explaining that Omatako lacked a business mind (for example, due to bad maintenance or because activities were not clearly offered to us as tourists on arrival). This made the regional co-ordinator explain how the Bushmen culture is an 'asking culture' so the tourists should ask for activities. I thought this was more of an idealistic than realistic idea because I could not imagine tourists being aware of this. However, there is a danger that business rules can sometimes run into conflict with local habits (for example, the value of capitalism and of acquiring individual wealth in a sharing economy). WIMSA seemed to be less focused on these business principles and more on development principles. Tomaselli (2005: 93) had found out that WIMSA had already given tourism training courses for Bushmen in 2001-2002 so that they would understand visitors from abroad and their needs and expectations better. However, their report "makes no mention of customer relations, the need to treat tourists with dignity, nor of the need to develop entrepreneurial skills, no doubt implied in its course curriculum".

Another example of the different approaches was when Treesleeper worked with Raleigh International Namibia who provided building materials and voluntary labour in 2005-2006. Some criticism from other NGOs was that Raleigh was very focused on the development process of the – mostly British – volunteers and all the physical work they do competes with labour opportunities for villagers. This is true but there were some clear practical and cost-saving (business) advantages of working with Raleigh. They paid for some of the building materials for the cultural centre and they brought building tools that we would otherwise have had to buy ourselves. In addition, working with Raleigh meant that many young local Hai//om worked for a few weeks with Europeans. This was an important experience for them to get an understanding of the cultural differences and was therefore good preparation for working with tourists. They lived with people who were more or less 'like tourists'. So from Treesleeper's point of view, although maybe not completely according to development principles, working with Raleigh was an important affordance. Ideologically this might not have been perfect, but there was clearly a lot that Treesleeper *did* get because of the good contacts and working relationship with Raleigh.

We also asked for funding and training for Treesleeper from NACOBTA but because NACOBTA was busy setting up projects north of Etosha they did not want to support Treesleeper financially. I was also told that they did not believe Treesleeper was in a good location, which is surprising if one considers the projects they were setting up then north of Etosha far off the main tourist routes. However, we could apply for membership at NACOBTA once Treesleeper was established and then they would be able to help with marketing, bookings and maybe (financial) training courses, i.e. with capacity building to increase business thinking. This makes sense because

(r)realising that in CBT (community-based tourism) we have to do with rural, marginalized communities, these tasks are of vital importance. The average person from a rural community lacks financial means, knowledge of tourism and tourists, a booking system and the knowledge and possibilities to do marketing. (Bounin 2006: 50)

NACOBTA was assisting with the (business) gap in community tourism. I did however hear rumours from NGO officials and tour operators about NACOBTA spending money too freely, while not really adding value to projects. They used to distribute leaflets and have a website (NACOBTA, 2011), which I visited last in early 2011, but this later disappeared. At Treesleeper we decided not to give NACOBTA membership a priority because we felt that bookings and marketing should be done locally but Treesleeper did become a member of NACOBTA a few years later. When I asked Treesleeper staff in 2010 what the benefits of membership were, they told me they did not know. //Khumûb told me they did not receive any bookings from NACOBTA so he started wondering why Treesleeper paid them between N\$ 300 and N\$ 400 a year in membership dues. What bothered him was how NACOBTA was trying to represent the Treesleeper project because

(i)f you are producing a brochure I would not mind if the total reflection of Treesleeper is reflected in the brochure that's what I want so that I can get the clients, but if you just make up something quickly and print it, you know, I don't know where they get the picture but I saw that old picture in one of our files of Treesleeper from /Gomkhaos where there is an old woman sitting close to a hut ... And they put that picture in saying that is Treesleeper Camp. (Interview 2)

Instead of waiting for NACOBTA, //Khumûb uses a self-written marketing plan today to request funds from donors (//Khumûb, 2010). However most donors told him that they do not support marketing initiatives. Having finished a course in tourism and marketing, //Khumûb started to realise that donors and NGOs are sometimes in need of marketing too and he thought that some NGOs might use Treesleeper in their marketing, making their role look bigger than it was in reality. For example, the Connected To Namibia Foundation (CTNF), a small Dutch initiative, wrote on their travel blog how “(o)ur foundation has been *heavily involved* in setting up Treesleeper. Today Treesleeper is a well-run community campsite and *the foundation can withdraw*” (CTNF, 2011, my translation and emphasis),²⁶ making their role look a lot bigger than it really was.

Today, stereotypical ideas about Bushmen are also rooted in some NGOs. A Namibia Development Trust (NDT) representative stated: “San do not have a future thinking ... They have been hunters and gatherers and so they just collected the food they needed” (cited in Hüncke 2010: 101). This argument is unconvincing since many Bushmen *do* have a long-term vision, even for their offspring's lives, but living in abject poverty puts them in a position of only having to survive and of having no other means of survival. It is too easy to explain away the lack of a future perspective by ethnic belonging or a former way of life (Hüncke 2010: 101). Today, NGO workers and representatives (including myself) are important relations and affordances of the Hai//om, with whom they dwell in development. In the case of Treesleeper, this development is tourism and outsiders heavily influence the development process. The tendency to become paternalistic is ever present and many of them do so, which can be explained at least partly by the Bushmen's behaviour that allows this space for such outsiders and the fact

²⁶ Original text: Bij de oprichting van Treesleeper zijn wij als stichting intensief betrokken geweest. Inmiddels is Treesleeper een goed lopende community campsite geworden en kan de stichting zich terugtrekken (CTNF 2011).

that they are used to outsiders (such as white farmers) being their boss. NGO workers may become a *baas* in their own way. This, however, is a more subtle kind of paternalism and can be obscured beneath community and development rhetoric. The outsiders tend to be relatively wealthy, educated and familiar with the world of modernisation that encapsulates the Bushmen's environment today and this puts them in a powerful position in the Bushmen's environment, offering indigenous modernities to those Bushmen who are interested in them.

Treesleeper: An affordance

Treesleeper: A job and theft affordance

As an affordance, Treesleeper is present in Tsintsabis today, creating a variety of meanings and functions for the Hai//om. The majority of the Tsintsabis community is proud of Treesleeper but because people often have a wait-and-see attitude and expect employees or trustees to tell them more, many villagers do not always identify with the project (Hüncke 2010: 50-64). Communication between the Trust and the community has at times been limited but clear communication to the overall community can prevent problems. Today the Tsintsabis Trust and Treesleeper staff holds regular community meetings where people can ask all kinds of things. Treesleeper can only afford work for a few people, which can lead to very personal discussions between some families and can create envy. For example, two of the most influential families in Tsintsabis used to accuse each other of taking the jobs. Such family conflicts were also noticed by Troost (2007: 68-70) and Hüncke (2010: 65-67), who both found that the heads of the families complained about the other family working for Treesleeper, while overall, people in Tsintsabis are not happy about having two such prominent families there as they believe it reduces the chances of other people being employed. However, when I returned in 2010, no one from these families was still employed at Treesleeper. In addition, a few individuals had turned against the project, especially older people in relatively important positions who wanted to gain financially, but the Trust had decided that part of the profit should not go to individuals but to projects supporting the wider community and, in 2009, the Trust made a donation of N\$ 10,000 from Treesleeper profits to the local community's kindergarten for materials. For these elders, the economy of sharing had changed meaning, in which the formalist idea of the individual maximization of benefits was dominant, and not some other economy (as substantivists would say). Benefits could be jobs, money or requests to me for starting private projects, but always to gain individually. Therefore, 'to share' was not popular amongst them but 'asking for a share' was.

Four young men from the community were arrested by the police in 2009 after stealing from Treesleeper. They had been standing guard with stones ready to throw at the security staff if they were discovered. Some people saw one man and soon all four were caught with the help of the community. //Khumûb went to the police but was then put under pressure by the families and more community members, including trustees, to drop the case and solve it locally without police involvement. However, the camp management took a stand and wanted to show the community members with bad intentions

where the boundaries lay. Many people did not understand the decision of the camp management and //Khumûb was personally threatened and put under pressure by many villagers (cf. Hüncke 2010: 67-70). The camp management is afraid that next time there will be somebody with a gun or that stones will really be thrown, so they considered the situation as life threatening. Apparently some people in Tsintsabis believe that Treesleeper's money is kept at the camp instead of in a bank account and, with the new tar road (as described before in this chapter), people expect more criminality in Tsintsabis. Widlok (2008) already demonstrated the problem of integrating customary law and the newly established liberal law, especially with regard to inheritance and succession (2008) and this case of theft is another example of encapsulation. It shows how the Hai//om struggle to balance 'old' and 'new' laws and how this process can create conflict because they dwell in an environment where both laws are affordances for the people. And they are not always easy to combine. This is something that is quite common all over Africa: Customary law can still play an important role in conflict resolution, development and law enforcement, and can be seen as a prime resource instead of a hindrance. The challenge is to integrate the two (Abbink 2011: 2). To the thieves, Treesleeper is an affordance where it might be easy to steal something, and to some of the elders it is an affordance that can (and in their opinion should) provide them with some money. Many villagers look at Treesleeper as an affordance of jobs, where they or their children might get a job and income, just as the camp management does, and they therefore want to protect the place from criminals. Treesleeper employees expect individual gains from this affordance, such as a higher salary or a lift to Tsumeb (where goods are cheaper) once a month. The community of Tsintsabis is not only a hybrid one today, but it has also grown too large to be based on a different economy of sharing.

Treesleeper, the Trust and //Khumûb challenging long-established powers

Moses //Khumûb clearly has a central position in Treesleeper Camp and in Tsintsabis too. Most people in Tsintsabis appreciate him, especially after the big community meeting in February 2010 when he explained the state of Treesleeper. People realise how hard he works and even when I was living in Tsintsabis, some people asked me if he could become the councillor for Tsintsabis (they explained that they were unhappy with the current one) because they believed //Khumûb would think about the broader community. The staff's views were mixed. On the one hand, they believed Treesleeper would collapse if he left the project, so they appreciated his qualities but, on the other hand, some felt that he could be a bit too strict and rude at times. In addition, there are tensions between staff members and villagers and some talking behind people's backs, including complaints about //Khumûb, who was well aware of this (Hüncke 2010: 51-64). His newly acquired leading position created some conflict, for example between //Khumûb and the non-Bushman principal of the school in Tsintsabis, who in the end stopped a school group from performing at Treesleeper. The group made money from the performances but the principal started to use this money for educational purposes, which disappointed //Khumûb. This was different from how the Trust and the camp management wanted it to be spent (partly on food) and from the original agreement. This way, the young performers had little say in how the income they generated was

spent and in this case //Khumûb stepped into the principle's area of authority (Hüncke 2010: 70-73), which is odd when one realises that //Khumûb used to be one of her best pupils as a young boy. Interestingly, the principal explained that people in Tsintsabis have a tendency to always *ask* for food but this group of young performers *made* the money themselves and were the ones who put in the time, effort and energy. Sometimes the principal can have a paternalising and derogatory attitude towards the Bushmen by talking negatively about them, resembling the area's white farmers' rhetoric (cf. Hüncke 2010: 72).

In addition, when Tsintsabis's Hai//om councillor was appointed as the headman to distribute the jobs of the Road Construction Company (RCC, see earlier in this chapter), opposition arose in Tsintsabis after he chose family members and people from outside the community,²⁷ something he himself strongly opposed in an interview in 1999 (Koot 2000: 65). In addition, there were rumours that he took money from all the staff salaries. //Khumûb explained that he then organised a demonstration while the road workers held a strike so that they could distribute the RCC jobs to more families in the community. As many people are afraid of the councillor, they do not often speak out against him. Apparently, "(a)fter the strike of road workers, a lot of local people blamed the headman for having remained silent and having only shown interest in his family's benefit" (Hüncke 2010: 35). The councillor also asked the Tsintsabis Trust for financial support but this was denied because Treesleeper is there to support and benefit the community, not individuals, and most people in Tsintsabis experience the traditional authorities as powerful individuals who do not do anything for the community. In fact, "(i)t is more probable that many people perceive him (the councillor) as part of a government promoted intrusion from outside" (*Ibid.*). This is similar to my own experiences and stories that many people have told me over the years but most people are afraid to speak out in public against him or Chief //Khamuxab. People are convinced that these traditional authorities use their positions for self-enrichment and for their families. When we set up the Trust, the councillor was in it but after a year or so and while we were still building Treesleeper, he lost interest and did not show up at meetings anymore, often excusing himself and saying that he was too busy. At a meeting with him and the Trust, the decision was taken that he needed to spend time on other things, now that he had become a councillor, although many people believed that the councillor was fed up with the Trust because his family members had not gotten most jobs he had suggested and there was nothing for him to gain. So a seat on the Board of the Tsintsabis Trust is an affordance whereby one can influence decisions about Treesleeper Camp but it is one that is also restricted because decisions need to be taken by the full board of ten people. According to Hüncke (2010: 66), "(t)he general perception of the headman in the village ... had not changed for the better through his involvement in Treesleeper, and in the person of the camp manager there had obviously developed a rival questioning his position". Soon after, the new Chief //Khamuxab came to visit Tsintsabis with a delegation of eight people to introduce himself as the new Hai//om leader. He also showed interest in Treesleeper and wanted to see the project. We walked around the whole campsite together with his delegation and afterwards he asked me and //Khumûb what

²⁷ Seven of the 15 permanent jobs were given to the councillor's relatives (Hüncke 2010: 40).

his share would be as a Hai//om leader. We explained that the Trust was the sole owner of the project and that we were still dependent on donor money. However, we did give him advice on who to turn to if he wanted to ask for funds and assistance for similar projects. As we know he is now involved in creating Little Etosha (see earlier in this chapter). Altogether these cases show how Treesleeper is an affordance for many to gain from individually.

The meaning of the tree

Within the community of Tsintsabis, Treesleeper has various meanings and functions, just as a tree can have different meanings for different animals:

Each creature, through the sheer fact of its presence, confers on the tree – or on some portion of it – a particular quality or ‘functional tone’: shelter and protection for the fox, support for the owl, a thoroughfare for the squirrel, hunting grounds for the ant, egg-laying facilities for the beetle. The same tree, thus, figures quite differently within the respective *Umwelten* of its diverse inhabitants. But for none of them does it exist *as a tree*. (Ingold 2000: 176-177, based on von Uexkull 1957: 76-79)

Treesleeper is like such a tree for the inhabitants of Tsintsabis. As an *affordance* the qualities it entails only gain meaning through agency of the perceiver. The Tsintsabis school’s motto is ‘Backwards Never’ and together with a logo in which a tree represents ‘backwards’ is a symbol of the bush and, as a teacher explained in 1999, the days when the Bushmen were living a primitive lifestyle in the bush. The tree then represented ‘backwardness’ or ‘primitivism’ as something negative, as if now, through western education, they would soon become ‘civilised’.

Bounin and I asked a Dutch friend to develop a logo and website for Treesleeper. We used a tree as a symbol, just as the school does, to refer to the past but related to a different story, namely that of the Hai//om eviction from Etosha. This tree is a tree at the waterhole in Okaukuejo in Southern Etosha, the main tourist hub in the park, and was on a picture I took in 1998. The Treesleeper logo thus symbolises the Hai//om’s historical connections with Etosha.

Photo 6.3 Tree at Okaukuejo, Etosha and the original Treesleeper logo, reproduced with permission



Author’s photo



The tree is central in the current logo that was designed by Treesleeper staff with staff from the Namibian magazine for the homeless, *The Big Issue*. In this, two typical Bushmen hunting ‘puppets’ and the word ‘Bushman’ were added to focus on traditional Bushmen life.

Photo 6.4 The Treesleeper logo today



Source: //Khumûb (2010), reproduced with permission.

This shift is interesting because Treesleeper staff promote the project today using these signs of traditional life. They have chosen to use the Bushmen image to attract tourists, which shows how local Bushmen at Treesleeper are consciously using the Bushman image in tourism. This makes the image an important affordance to use in a business.

Treesleeper has now become part of the tourist bubble, in which tourists can feel safe. Still, the bubble at a community campsite in the bush is more permeable than, for example, at a lodge. When camping, ‘African nature’ gets a lot closer. One morning in the early days of Treesleeper, //Khumûb told me people wanted to leave after sleeping on a treedek for one night even though they were supposed to stay for two. This older couple had heard ‘too many wild animals’ in the night and thought these must have been elephants or lions. In reality there is no dangerous wildlife at Treesleeper Camp (apart from snakes and insects), so when //Khumûb checked the fresh tracks it turned out that some cows and goats had kept these people awake during the night. It was no ‘comfortable adventure’ for these tourists (cf. Van Beek 2007b: 155). The bubble at Treesleeper was also designed in an African way, something Wouter van Beek (2007b: 159) calls ‘bubble authenticity’. The only brick building – but still with a grass roof – is the cultural centre, which was designed by a Dutch architect free of charge. Other buildings, such as the shower blocks and the reception, have walls that are made of reeds from the Omaruru River 350-400 km to the southwest. All the grass for the roofs comes from the Kavango area 200-300 km to the northeast. These materials play an important role in making Treesleeper look ‘African’ and ‘natural’ or ‘eco’ but do not

have a lot to do with the Hai//om area. The ‘African image, which is not particularly similar to the Bushman image (although one could argue that the latter is a part of the first) is today an affordance in tourism. Apart from Treesleeper looking ‘African’, it also looks ‘eco’ with all its natural building materials and a total of seven solar panels to generate power and provide hot water.

Coming back to the tree in the Treesleeper logo, it affords various meanings. It symbolises the historic link with Etosha and also looks authentically African, shows backwardness, represents nature, and connects to the name and therefore to the Hai//om people. This meaning varies depending on the position and meaning given by the agent relating to this tree.

Photo 6.5 ‘African’ and ‘eco’ building styles combined at Treesleeper



Author's photos

Treesleeper and the Bushman myth

For Treesleeper, the mythification of the Bushmen is a commodity that they build on and one that is based on the ‘authentic’ image of Bushmen created over the centuries. Back in 1925, members of the Denver African Expedition, who were looking at Hai//om as the cradle of humankind, photographed the Bushmen as icons. In fact, “(g)enerally,

with one or two exceptions, the Bushmen photographed are anonymous. They are portrayed as iconic symbols rather than individuals” (Gordon 1997: 69). Today, a place at Treesleeper has been built for traditional performances, with traditional !Xun and Hai//om huts and a ‘wall’ of wooden branches around it. It was specifically created to separate the front and back stages and could be compared, for example, with the dancing area of the Ju/'hoansi in Klein Dobe (Nyae Nyae Conservancy), which

sought to claim, if not quite guarantee, for the tourists a pure, sanitised space free from the kinds of Western cultural-technological paraphernalia which could ‘infect’ or compromise the authenticity of the ethnic culture that the tourists had generally travelled so far to see. The reconstructed village accorded well with the stereotype of ‘the Bushmen’ as a people who need nothing, live in harmony with nature and accumulate no material good. (Jeursen & Tomaselli 2002: 44)

The performers used to be a cultural group from Tsintsabis school, which sometimes goes into the country to perform at cultural festivals. When they performed, they did not get paid a salary but Treesleeper agreed with the principal of the school that the income from the performance should go to the school fund to cover their costs when they visited cultural festivals and to buy food for them and their families. In the years after a dispute between the school and Treesleeper, this was stopped altogether (as described earlier in this section). In addition to the children’s group, adults performed too. When the men or women went hunting or gathering or were working on a farm, it was hard to get the group together and they could not always adapt to the demands in the tourism bubble. Both groups dress up in traditional Bushmen clothing with beads, ostrich-egg bracelets, necklaces and so on. Sometimes in Tsintsabis or /Gomkhaos one can hear singing and clapping in the evening and people are dressed up in old rags, sitting around a fire for hours and even well into the night while the women and children clap and sing.

Photo 6.6 Two performances: Left backstage at /Gomkhaos and right frontstage at Treesleeper



Photo: Kirsi Mäki, reproduced with Permission.



Photo: Vesa Nuutinen, reproduced with permission.

Interestingly, some tourists complained that the traditional performance was too monotonous and that there were no instruments, such as drums.²⁸ They had expected Bushmen dances to be lively and to interact with the audience and the performance did not match their image of the Bushmen. When asked if they realised that the performers were the same group of people as the ‘village tour’ families, most were not aware that they had met the same people earlier that day (Hüncke 2010: 120-121). It seems as if for these tourists, Bushmen are also “iconic symbols rather than individuals” (Gordon 1997: 69). //Khumûb explained that “(t)he question is: What do tourists want to see? Do they want to see how Bushmen live? Should we change because of tourists or should tourists accept how we are?” (cited in Hüncke & Koot 2012: 682). Today, the Hai//om’s traditional dances are an affordance and their constitutive parts are ‘cooperative projects’ that “involve ‘play’, ‘entertainment’, ‘healing’, ‘trance’ and increasingly ‘commercial enterprise’” (Widlök 2007: 163).

Another such affordance is the bushwalk. To attract tourists, the Treesleeper website claims that “(i)f you do the bushwalk you will get a deeper understanding of the relationship that the Bushmen people used to have (and still have sometimes) with nature” (Treesleeper 2011a, my text from 2005). Although based on an understanding of a clear culture-nature dichotomy, the way people used to dwell in their environment is shown on the bushwalk and some of the affordances that are shown are still important today. The focus is on hunting and gathering methods and tools, such as tracking, bushfood, a variety of traps, different hunting bows and arrows and digging sticks. Some parts of the walk are interactive. For example, you can guess tracks that are shown on a big cement plate or the guide asks what a long horizontal stick is used for. One day I asked the guides how they wanted to be dressed when doing the bushwalk because a tour operator, South West Africa Safaris (SWA), that visited Treesleeper regularly for the walk had asked if the guides wanted to do the walk wearing traditional clothing. The guides decided that this was fine but after a while one of them stopped dressing traditionally and explained that the people in Tsintsabis had seen him and laughed at him and even children in his own family were calling him names. He did not mind dressing up for tourists but he was ashamed to be seen like this in front of his own people. Later, the same tour guide explained that he felt uncomfortable when there were young women of about his age in the group because he walks around half naked in traditional clothes. SWA Safaris later told //Khumûb that one of their clients was disappointed because he had only seen ‘half a Bushman’, which made him answer that that was ‘a true picture’. The issue of traditional clothes was decided by the performers themselves and a balance was found between market demands (based on tourists’ expectations of authenticity) and the performers’ own emotional boundaries. Later, they decided only to wear it at the end of the bushwalk, which has turned into a joke for the tourists. At the start of the bushwalk a guide explains that they will meet his twin brother later. When the group arrives at the traditional huts, the guide goes into the hut quickly to get some traditional artefacts to show the guests but also changes into traditional clothes, something the

²⁸ For example, the Khwe in Bwabwata, Hiyemacan //Au (see Chapter 4), use drums, as do the Khwe in Botswana (Haug 2007: 76), just as the Ju/’hoansi in /Xai /Xai (Katz *et al.* 1997) and the Ju/’hoansi in Nyae Nyae have too since 1961 (L. Marshall 1999: 80-81).

tourists do not notice because it happens inside. He then comes out calling himself the ‘twin brother’ of the tour guide. In general tourists appreciate this surprise (cf. Hüncke 2010: 112-113). It is an example of a creative response to the authenticity request by people who themselves feel as if they are part of the modern world. At Treesleeper, the Hai//om are caught in a constant balancing act between tradition and modernisation. In this ‘twin brother’ case, the tour guides feel that they explain about the past but do not have to walk around like that all the time, contrary to the South Kalahari Bushmen traditionalists who tend to speak as if they dwell in the past and long for it all the time (see Chapter 5). Their own past then, or at least the expectations of tourists about it, are an indigenous modernity to the Hai//om. When villagers wear traditional clothes, this is not necessarily as a result of marginalisation or of an impact of a performative discourse and therefore a negative self-perception. On the contrary, it could mean that they are active stakeholders who themselves have decided to use their symbolic capital to generate an income and can still be proud of their customs and origins (Hüncke 2010: 122).

Treesleeper: A double nature

Treesleeper is community-based tourism and cultural tourism all in one, which creates an ideological paradox because their goals can be contrasting. While the cultural approach emphasises the cultural heritage of traditional groups, the community-based concept focuses on the agency of local actors who are deliberately participating in a common project. A focus only on cultural tourism can increase the perception that Bushmen as people are in need of ‘preservation’ of a static culture, but Treesleeper, as well as other community-based tourism enterprises are meant to achieve a degree of change. In addition, the concentration on cultural tourism can locally lead to an ethnic focus in the multi-ethnic population of Tsintsabis (Hüncke 2010: 142-143). The latter magnifies the immense changes that Tsintsabis has gone through since independence and the impact of the in-migration on so many people. It shows that displacement can take place on people’s original geographical lands but that it is also a political and psychological process taking place in their dwelt-in environment. When the idea for tourism started in Tsintsabis in 1993, the village was mostly inhabited by Hai//om. Today it is multi-ethnic.

Tourists visiting Treesleeper have two different images. They either have a perception of modern Bushmen who are proud of their origins and can benefit from their cultural knowledge or they have a romanticised image of Bushmen who practise traditional customs and rites and live close to nature (*Ibid.*: 134). The Treesleeper website claims that

(i)f you do our village tour you will get a better understanding of a culture in which traditions have now met the ‘modern world’ ... This tour is about today’s ‘real life situation’ and does not exhibit Bushmen people in traditional clothes. (Treesleeper 2011b, my text from 2005)

When doing a village tour, tourists see how people live and can communicate with the tour guide. The changes in the Hai//om’s environment is the focus instead of the ‘static’ tradition. In addition, the guide tells stories about the war of independence, Bushman having gardens today, migration, disease, resettlement and the Hai//om’s historical connection with Etosha. They are told about life in a rural African village, while

seeing it, being there and meeting the inhabitants. In this way, the village tour is as close to 'real Africa' and its people as you can get as a tourist, it is very close to the 'backstage'. Occasionally tourists cry and some have been tempted to offer 'help' to the villagers during the tour but others have had a great time with the people and the children and enjoyed the general atmosphere of happiness and hospitality. A tourist explained that he felt like a *voyeur* and thus refrained from taking pictures although this was allowed. Bow-and-arrow shooting is also included in the tour today, and clear reference is made to hunting traditions. Of all the Treesleeper activities, the village tour gets closest to showing the real-life situation of Tsintsabis, and it is where the tourist bubble is more permeable. Interestingly, it is also the village tour where tourists feel the least comfortable (Hüncke 2010: 131-135). Still, it seems to be hard for hosts never to trick the guest, as a tour guide explained that

(t)he village tour is just a show ... one of the !Xun houses is not exactly built in the style as these people used to build houses (and) they also do not always speak !Xun, but I as a guide just say that they do. (cited in Hüncke & Koot 2012: 683)

The current tourist identity of Bushmen has a 'double nature', in which they are both the pristine cultural objects as well as modernising producers of tourism (Garland & Gordon 1999: 275), similar to the 'double vision' of NGOs and donors in which the promotion of cultural survival as well as the making of modern citizens are evident (Robins 2001). At Treesleeper, the responses to development initiatives in tourism are of hybrid discrepancy and traditional and modern aspects in the activities show how the local Bushmen partly use indigenous modernities. For example, the traditional performance on the Treesleeper homepage is described as a 'magical' experience for tourists. The setting at night with a blazing fire, a traditional hut and people in loincloths can contribute to this 'magic'. However, the performers are free to wear everyday clothing and have agreed to be trained by Treesleeper in order to earn a small income. Quite a few tourists regard them as neither traditional Bushmen nor as skilful dancers and singers. The village tour is marketed as backstage and 'real life', but described by a tour guide as a show, while the bushwalk, with its strong focus on traditional life, is mostly done in western clothing and gives tourists the opportunity to discuss the tour guide's personal life or learn about the situation of the villagers today. These discrepancies allow tourists to interpret the performances as authentic or their visit as an authentic experience (cf. Garland & Gordon 1999), often depending on the image they have of Bushmen before their visit. At Treesleeper, the 'double vision' also exists and was internalised as 'double nature'. This can be explained by the fact that it was set up as a community-based development project, which would be impossible without the pristine image of Bushmen. As development approaches for indigenous people anticipate that they will use their own cultures as a means to strive for so-called development, the pristine image of Bushmen is catered for. For tourism to be classified as developmental, both the modern and the traditional are essential. However, the necessity of the latter renders the image creation in the tourism sector dependent on the pristine, authentic Bushmen. Therefore, real backstage experiences are unlikely to evolve in Bushmen tourism, although Treesleeper is quite advanced in this respect. The project is characterised by the hosts' efforts to strike a balance between the modern and the traditional

worlds and images while not being stuck halfway between the two. Using indigenous modernities and giving hybrid responses, they manoeuvre between the options at stake.

Discussion

The Hai//om Bushmen were in contact with other people dwelling in their environment for a long time before colonists started to claim parts of their land for farming. Etosha National Park was initially created for economic reasons and it was here that the first Hai//om became acquainted with tourism. However, most of them were evicted from the park in the 1950s and started working on farms, creating landlessness amongst the whole group despite promises of a reserve. They thus gained an image that was very different from that of the 'purer' Bushmen, such as the Ju/'hoansi in Nyae Nyae and they became involved in relations of *baasskap*. Etosha is today a classic example of the old-fashioned fines-and-fences approach in conservation, a policy that the current Namibian government is continuing as they consider the Hai//om still living but not working in the park to be illegal and 'in the way', based on the nature-culture dichotomy and competition for job affordances. The enablements that the MET and MCA offer the Hai//om dwelling in the park on some resettlement farms (Little Etosha) come with constraints, and the government prefers to resettle the Hai//om outside the park, probably with some rights in the park for tourism in an area where there is fierce competition. These tourist activities are again focused on the top end with a private partner in a joint venture but it remains to be seen if another lodge in the area can achieve a good market position and whether Hai//om would be empowered there. The MET and MCA are making a big effort to create an environment to pull Hai//om out of the park, something they call 'voluntary resettlement'. The Hai//om clearly dwell in a political environment in which their agency is limited because, at the level of structure, the government, especially the MET, takes top-down decisions based on rhetoric about community representation through a government-appointed traditional authority. In reality, it was proven very complicated to represent the whole group of Hai//om because they live spread over a wide area and in very different circumstances, and today the traditional authority is not supported by most Hai//om.

Etosha is considered as economic capital because of the large numbers of tourists and this continues the processes of marginalisation for the Hai//om. Etosha's beauty, attractions and economic potential are therefore hardly an enablement for the Hai//om but more of a constraint, and this sidelines them politically because stronger forces from the level of structure have taken control of the park and its surroundings. East of Etosha, earlier attempts and promises by the government have already failed but the creation of Little Etosha is now materialising as a conservancy. Ironically, this more modern conservation approach, the creation of a conservancy just *outside* Etosha, is being used to maintain and even increase the fines-and-fences approach *in* Etosha. So the creation of this conservancy is part of a strategy supporting the idea of back-to-the-barriers, since the Etosha Hai//om who are in the way can now be resettled there, out of the way. In addition, various private operators, especially on the farms, work in tourism in the vicinity of Etosha today and the MET repeatedly warned the Hai//om about working conditions on such farms. These warnings became contradictory when the MET de-

clared many Hai//om in Etosha to be illegal, driving them into the hands of commercial (tourist) farms or resettlement farms, while supporting the idea of joint ventures countrywide. It is likely that Little Etosha will turn into another failed resettlement scheme, of which there are already many, because of the tensions with the traditional authority and the top-down attitude of the government, which clearly has a double agenda and has already reduced the Hai//om's power and agency.

This case study revealed that displacement is not something from colonial days alone but is a continuing, often very subtle process not only in the case of Little Etosha, but also on the resettlement farms such as Tsintsabis. At such farms Bushmen dwell with outsiders in their environment and resettlement includes an important process of identity change and shifting power relations. Tsintsabis, which is today growing into a small rural town, is an example of a failed government resettlement scheme. On this farm, the Treesleeper Camp project is exceptional for two reasons. First, it is community-based tourism but not part of a broader CBNRM programme, resulting in a situation where a nature-first approach is not prevalent, and second, it is situated on a resettlement farm, which means that the MLR is more important for this project than the MET. However, the MET's role in financing a building project cannot be denied. As was seen elsewhere, the project is strongly focused on the Bushman myth but it also attempts to make the backstage more permeable. Outsiders such as myself and various others have shown signs of paternalism. When I lived there, I was an affordance myself because a colleague, Bounin, and I initially controlled the funds and became a route to economic capital. The fact that we were trustees was criticised by WIMSA, an organisation that was in an ambivalent relationship with the inhabitants of Tsintsabis for many years, who were concerned that the CBO behind Treesleeper, the Tsintsabis Trust, should include more (or only) Bushmen.

At Treesleeper and in Tsintsabis we saw that *baasskap* is a wider social phenomenon that not only takes place at the microcosm of a farm or a lodge. *Baasskap* is basically behaviour one carries with one, either as a client or as a patron and it is an important social phenomenon in the Hai//om's environment. While farmers can expand their influence in the wider environment, the paternalism that is part of it can also be found at the level of structure amongst NGOs and their representatives, black farmers and government officials, although it is often a lot more subtle and obscured by development rhetoric. However, institutions and their agendas can differ, for example when NGOs want to make their own role appear bigger. These various outsiders are like affordances themselves to the Bushmen because they hold powers from which the Bushmen are likely to be excluded, politically, economically and even socially, but they tend to speak *for* the Bushmen, often with easily applied stereotypes. Only in legal corporate bodies that are accepted by the wider society do some Bushmen, as representatives of the larger community, have a chance to increase their agency in the political field, but often even these bodies are dependent on outsiders. For example, government officials or NGO employees tend to influence processes. In relation to tourism, NGOs concentrate on development but often lack a business perspective and because they work from powerful positions influencing the decision-making process, this can undermine (the development of) local agency.

Various people in Tsintsabis consider Treesleeper as an affordance to gain benefits from, for example it gives them pride, money, a job, symbolic value in relation to Etosha, a Bushman identity in a hybrid environment, an easy target for theft, transport, and so on. Even long-established local powers in Tsintsabis want to use Treesleeper benefits for their own individual goals, such as educational materials or shares for traditional authorities. Interestingly, they expect these benefits based on their position of power instead of working for them. With the project manager //Kumûb Treesleeper has in some cases positioned itself as a challenge to these powers of the local elite and Treesleeper and the Tsintsabis Trust are themselves a local elite. Their agency has increased since the outsiders left. And although they now have more capabilities to take their own decisions, it can be hard for the local people to choose between traditional and modern. This was shown after a case of theft, when the traditional solution was replaced, under pressure, by the new legal solution. Being the driving force behind Treesleeper, //Khumûb's main motivation is to correct the misconception that Bushmen projects always fail and he has succeeded in acquiring funds from the MET to upgrade Treesleeper. However this relationship with MET has generated more problems than improvements for him and Treesleeper to date as there are signs that the MET is trying to limit Treesleeper's agency again and other agendas may be present too. Based on their own agency today, a balance is continually being sought at Treesleeper between the modern and the traditional, making use of various indigenous modernities. The project is relatively advanced in this respect and shows that the Hai//om themselves are embracing the Bushman myth and tourist expectations in Africa. These are big ideas at the level of superstructure but only when it suits them emotionally and when it helps them to increase their access to indigenous modernities. A possible explanation for this could be that the project involves many western-educated youngsters with a foot in both worlds. Treesleeper is a place where myths can be found in various forms such as bubble authenticity and tourists' authentic experiences (depending on their expectations). However, this means that the staff is continually caught in a balancing act, which can be seen as Treesleeper's double nature, an internalisation of the double vision so frequently found amongst NGOs. At Treesleeper, cultural tourism for Bushmen, however modern, cannot exist without the myth.

Conclusion

Economics and corporatism

In Chapter 1, I posed the following central question:

How do Bushmen who dwell in tourism perceive power relations, myths, representation and agency related to tourist developments in their environment?

We are approaching the end of this thesis so it is time to see where Bushmen who dwell in tourism stand based on the perceptions described in the four case studies. To this end, I will now discuss the dynamics, as stated in Chapter 1.

Approaching an economy as a cultural economy is substantivist in essence, as an economy embedded in the environment, but this contains formalist behaviour as well. While a cultural economic approach focuses on group economics, the formalist approach explains individual economic behaviour and we see the latter coming back everywhere, although in various forms depending on the cultural context. Therefore, substantivist cultural economics on the one hand and formalist economics on the other are complementary for Bushmen dwelling in tourism today. Both help to explain different types of economic behaviour in which 'affluence' is nowadays defined by modern, western standards. The original affluent society, in which there was a tendency to desire little, does not exist anymore because the standards for it have been overtaken by modern ones, which also explains changing behaviour. Individuals *and* groups today tend to aim for the maximisation of benefits. Bushmen have clearly adapted well to a western capitalist mindset, in which money is the main affordance in one's environment. But money (or meat) hand-outs, for example after trophy hunting, generate a waiting attitude and dependency. There is a propensity to share such benefits amongst close family and kin, but today this also happens amongst the wider community through corporate bodies, such as the Kyaramacan Association, the Nyae Nyae Conservancy or the Tsintsabis Trust. So at the level of infrastructure, most Bushmen show formalist behaviour, for example by trying to maximise profits, but they could do this to increase the total *shared* benefits for a bigger group such as a family. This is done rationally but

with limited agency. In the end, they still dwell in a *shared* environment, in which there is often a very simplistic belief that money will solve all problems, an idea that is prevalent amongst local Bushmen, ministries, NGOs and donors. However, money is a clear example of an affordance that is enabling *and* constraining, since money can also become a source of conflict and influences the agendas of the various stakeholders. The focus on money as a synonym for development, as happens with various institutions and Bushmen, is therefore a limited vision. Interestingly, whereas money is often seen as development (for example income generated from trophy hunting), some people believe that Bushmen are *not* in need of money, tourists, NGO workers or private-sector employers, based on the authentic image of a primordial hunter-gatherer *or* on their image of the drunkard who only wastes money. In this way, these myths severely decrease agency because money is an affordance in today's world that *can* increase agency.

Although I used the fruitful concept of dwelling (that was used by Ingold as opposed to building) throughout this thesis in my analyses, Bushmen in conservation and tourism today are sometimes closer to lodging when they are confronted with changes beyond their control in their environment. And they have to find ways to adapt to these changes, for example, using the rules and regulations in Bwabwata and Nyae Nyae in relation to the CBNRM programmes or the creation of Little Etosha for the Hai//om. However, the Treesleeper project is mainly an example of dwelling, since the changes there are, for a large part, not beyond the Bushmen's control but within their grasp (although this was different when I was around). This explains why CBNRM programmes, as they were set up in Nyae Nyae and Bwabwata, focus on groups that are too large to consider them as Bushmen who dwell in their environment as they did when they were living a hunting and gathering lifestyle. In fact, when Bushmen used to live in small bands, a sharing economy based on generalised reciprocity was possible, but today's communities have grown too large for this and the relatively isolated societies of the past do not exist anymore. In the same way the authentic Bushman image is an affordance so that they are *seen as a people*, a corporate body for the marginalised functions as an affordance *to exist (be seen and heard) politically* within the modern context of encapsulating processes. We should be aware that such a body, a CBO or the invented tradition of a traditional authority with councillors is important because it provides access to the level of structure that has become a part of the Bushmen's daily environment. Without such bodies, Bushmen tend to remain powerless but complications surrounding representation are raised with these bodies, such as local elites, government connections and family ties. So corporate bodies increase the agency of the chosen few, but not necessarily of the overall community. Either way, many Bushmen remain with the feeling of being *unrepresented* and *excluded*. The community is often seen as one entity, and therefore usually as one stakeholder, that can be represented (either democratically or not) by a few in a corporate body. 'Community' has become a buzzword for policy makers, tour operators, NGOs and donors. However, in reality, communities are hybrid and for a large part dependent on the agenda of the outsider that works with those people in a community that follow his/her ideas, values and wishes. Especially when one group is represented by a corporate body, the agency of those in and related to this body tends to increase, whereas the rules and regulations from policies at the level of structure in

many cases decreases the agency of individuals or smaller groups within this big community. Corporate bodies representing large groups of people, such as the Nyae Nyae Conservancy or the Kyaramacan Association, can also function as a filter through which economic initiatives from the informal sector may be closed off. Therefore, a formal increase of power for the community does not necessarily result in increased agency for individuals or smaller groups within that community. Small family initiatives or individual entrepreneurship, such as Hiyemacan //Au, Steve Kunta who wanted to start a campsite, or people in Tsintsabis asking me for support for their own projects, fall outside these new formal structures and are therefore not supported by the various institutions because they do not support the overall community. Those Bushmen who want to start such initiatives are then constrained because they dwell within rules and regulations. However, when constrained in this way, most Bushmen today still use the strategy of agreeing to differ.

In relation to this, there is a clear difference between the Khwe of Bwabwata and the Ju/'hoansi of Nyae Nyae on the one hand and the Hai//om in and around Etosha and the South Kalahari Bushmen on the other. The first two, the Khwe and Ju/'hoansi, are treated as one collective group structured in CBNRM, represented by one corporate body (Kyaramacan and Nyae Nyae Conservancy respectively) at the level of structure, supported by one main NGO (IRDNC and the NNDFN respectively) whereas neither the Hai//om nor the South Kalahari Bushmen have such a clear pattern, although there are and were various institutions actively involved. SASI, though heavily involved with the South Kalahari Bushmen for many years, does not have such a leading position as the IRDNC and the NNDFN, and the FSTN in Tsintsabis pulled out completely after a few years. In addition, the Boesmanraad initiative, which is heavily supported by the ASLF, was started for the South Kalahari Bushmen but most of them were not aware of its existence. So all the inhabitants of Nyae Nyae and Bwabwata are supposedly represented in CBNRM programmes but in reality there is a gap between most of the inhabitants and the programme because the programme exists mainly at the level of structure and people feel excluded from it. Interestingly, those Bushmen who *do* access the level of structure (for example if they are board members of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy or the Kyaramacan Association) still feel sidelined and complain about more powerful institutions such as donors, NGOs, ministries or private operators limiting their agency. Those in contact with the actors in the structure tend to dwell in relationships that often become paternalistic, and the ideas of the institutions in the structure dominate policies and decisions, leaving the Bushmen behind feeling that these institutions do good things for them but exclude them at the same time. Such patron-client relationships are an important affordance for both sides. For Bushmen clients, these symbiotic relationships mean protection, hope, some political power via patron institutions and so on, whereas the Bushmen provide benefits for the patron institutions. The idea of the natural ecologists provides these institutions an extra reason to claim a geographical area for nature conservation. In line with this, the conservationists can use this myth because it is a widely accepted additional reason for keeping people with cattle out to 'preserve' their hunting-gathering culture. Culture is seen as static in this reasoning, which fits their nature-first approach. An interesting topic here is the amount of community representa-

tion there is within the NGO. Some NGOs work without local Bushmen in the field (such as NNDFN, FSTN and ASLF), making a clear distinction between NGO activities and the local CBO. However, other NGOs (such as IRDNC) work a lot with local Bushmen as employees, but the leading position in the field is always in the hands of an outsider. The first approach leaves the option open for an NGO to pull out, which is often the ultimate goal (although NNDFN was active for a long time in Nyae Nyae) while the second approach, in which the NGO employs various local people, creates a situation in which it becomes more deeply involved in a symbiotic relationship with the local people, either via a CBO or not. Although employing community members might at first appear more 'community-based', it is in fact the opposite because, from a community-based point of view, an NGO can also function as a ceiling for the growth of a CBO and roles and responsibilities can become blurred between both, while local elites are created in which the NGO usually dominates the CBO. However, when following the first approach, in which a clear dichotomy between outsiders (the NGO) and locals (the CBO) is followed, local elites tend to develop in cooperation with the outsiders but this leaves the option open for negotiating more power and growth for the CBO. In reality, as seen earlier, outsiders have trouble giving up this control. In this regard, SASI is interesting because it employs local people but is not involved in a symbiotic relationship with a CBO but with the community directly, so the local people working for SASI in the field function as development workers and assist the various programmes they support in the community.

Myth and representation

So ideas and myths were important in the various relations that Bushmen engaged in, such as those with pastoralists and white colonists in the past or with NGOs, private operators and governments today. The importance of the Bushman myth of them as natural conservationists or as the people of nature who fit the African landscape should not be underestimated in relation to tourism or conservation. New values and ideas (individualism, the maximisation of benefits, marketing the Bushman myth) often originated in modernity and continue to penetrate the Bushmen's environment, blending in with what is already there. So the myth of the natural conservationist supports the protection of wildlife and this way fits western ideas about African nature and its people. These ideas are embraced and strengthened in tourism and its many advertisements. This is often combined with the mythification of communities as one homogeneous group, as is especially the case for the two bigger CBNRM programmes in Nyae Nyae and Bwabwata and of course for the ≠Khomani. Although the Ju/'hoansi and the Khwe live in various small groups, they are represented as one big community to incorporate them at the level of structure. An important difference between the Ju/'hoansi and the Khwe is the amount of agency they show at the level of structure, which is clearly higher amongst the Ju/'hoansi. This can be explained by the fact that the Ju/'hoansi are the most homogeneous group of the four presented here and feel the strongest as a group compared with the others. This homogeneity was based on their image of the real or pure Bushmen, which led people in more powerful positions throughout history to protect them, whereas the Khwe, although 'protected' once in a while, were not seen as

pure and were unlucky in becoming involved in various conflicts. However, although Bwabwata is a national park, it functions as a conservancy in many ways today, but the specific historical circumstances influenced both places differently. At the time of Namibian independence, the Khwe dwelt in fear, traumatised by suspicions and tensions in their environment, whereas the Ju/'hoansi were relatively prepared for a confrontation with the new Namibia after independence, partly because of their iconic status before independence and the involvement of (mostly western) people supporting them in stepping into modernisation. Due to this support and protection, the Ju/'hoansi were allowed a traditional authority soon after independence, while the Khwe are still struggling to achieve this today amid diverse opinions about who this should be. The Khwe continue to be disempowered because their neighbours have powerful traditional authorities. The group of Khwe is more divided than the Ju/'hoansi who accept and support their current leader, Chief Bobo.

When compared to the two groups of farm Bushmen, the Hai//om and the South Kalahari Bushmen, smaller groups instead of the representation of the overall community are more prominent. The Hai//om have very different livelihoods (on commercial farms, in Etosha, in towns, on resettlement farms) and although the government has appointed a traditional leader for them, most of them feel poorly represented. It is a myth that the Hai//om are politically empowered, and it is doubtful whether this group ever will be because they are living in such different circumstances over a vast geographical area. In addition, Etosha is a park with many potential benefits so they compete with other powerful players, all with their own agendas, such as the private sector, the government and other ethnic groups. Small initiatives, like the Tsintsabis Trust, that represent only a few Hai//om and some others, bring politics back to the level of infrastructure, to their own environment where they possess more agency. The myth of the Hai//om as one group is used in relation to politics about Etosha, but the myth of them as natural conservationists is hardly used at this broader level. (But this symbolic capital can function today as an affordance for those who work in tourism, for example at Treesleeper.) Some initiatives for the South Kalahari Bushmen have attempted but failed to formally represent the overall group (such as the CPA and the Boesmanraad). In fact, the group is represented *informally* by the traditionalists who embrace the myth of the people of nature to the fullest. This was instigated by the land claim based on another myth, that of the ≠Khomani as one group. A combination of these two myths has led to interesting ideas in the market whereby the ≠Khomani are today being 'preserved': They are getting a 'new' identity and need to become a 'brand'. More than any other group in this thesis, the South Kalahari Bushmen are politically constructed and have turned into a product. The representation of the so-called ≠Khomani at the structure level was mostly done by and for the traditionalists, together with the media, scientists, the private sector, consultants and NGOs who all embrace traditionalist behaviour. For the traditionalists, these myths have instigated the idea that they will, at a certain point, return to 'life as it was', which they hope to achieve in Kgalagadi after disappointments with their new farm land, which is the last myth in a long chain.

The meaning of land today

One of the most interesting dynamics for comparison in this thesis is the affordance land. It is often seen as a resource that will change everything for the good once indigenous people have received ‘their’ land back again, based on the genealogical model. In this thesis, all four cases showed different land situations. Although in Nyae Nyae and Bwabwata the Ju/’hoansi and the Khwe respectively have access to resources in CBNRM projects, in neither case do they own the land. They are currently in a position where they are allowed to dwell/lodge *on* the land and because this dwelling is turning into lodging, they are becoming detached from it. Instead of dwelling in their environment, they are today lodging in the global environment. This allowance is provided by more powerful institutions from the structure level, especially the government, but it is strongly influenced by a network with various other stakeholders such as the private sector, NGOs and donors who set the rules and regulations before any dwelling can happen and will turn it into lodging. If Bushmen do not dwell according to these rules (for example by poaching, keeping cattle or gathering bushfood in the wrong place), one has to accept the formal consequences. Interestingly, the MET in Bwabwata and Nyae Nyae functions as the mediator in CBNRM but many Bushmen complain about the MET showing a lack of responsibility (for example by not offering compensation for crop damage caused by wildlife). In Bwabwata and Nyae Nyae, the Bushmen are now a part of the KAZA international environmental network, which they hardly seem to be aware of, but plans are being made to increase conservation and tourist activities in their environment. Here again, we see how an idea, the dream of transfrontier conservation at the elite level, is directly influencing the environment of the Bushmen. So ideas and a dream, elements of the superstructure, of powerful institutions at the level of structure, are directly influencing society at the level of infrastructure. Although Bushmen have been neglected in the process and planning stages of KAZA, a lot of development rhetoric is included in these plans, mostly aimed at economic growth and the often-assumed but barely effective trickle-down effect. This is very unlikely to happen because of the Bushmen’s exclusion from the start and the strong top-down approach as well as competition from other – often politically stronger – ethnic groups. The land situation for the South Kalahari Bushmen and the Hai//om is different. These two groups share a history of farm dwelling. The Hai//om, just as the Khwe, are a hybrid group but have a common identity and history. Ironically, some Hai//om are now being pushed out of Etosha by the government (MET) and the MCA, where they are using the more socially accepted concept of a conservancy to make Etosha a park where a back-to-the-barriers approach dominates. So the displacement of Bushmen, although subtle, is not something that stopped with colonisation. It is still a reality today (see also Annex 8). The South Kalahari Bushmen were even constructed as ≠Khomani behind a land claim for political reasons, although many claimants joined to gain benefits in a formalist way. Interestingly, the South African land claim did not turn out to be a panacea because the South Kalahari Bushmen now dwell without the right capabilities (agency) in this new and modern situation (they never owned land before). A small group, the traditionalists, have embraced their new status as the ‘animals of nature’, as Dawid Kruiper said, and they dwell in modernisation as *new icons* or even as a brand. Interestingly, land did not

turn out to be decisive in any of the four cases because land itself is powerless. Land only gains value if it comes with power and capabilities, i.e. agency. So whether they are landless (Hai//om), have access to resources and are allowed to dwell/lodge on the land (Khwe and Ju/'hoansi) or have received formal ownership of some land (South Kalahari Bushmen) does not seem to make much difference. In addition to the fact that the surface areas of land are very small when compared to the areas they used to dwell in, they continue to dwell in marginalisation, lacking the agency needed to adapt to modernisation. It would seem to be a lot more important to have access to a wider variety of affordances, which include not only natural or other material resources but also the western social and economic phenomena that dominate the environment today. One explanation for why land does not make a big difference is because its return is based on the (western) genealogical model instead of being an engagement with the environment they dwelt in. Land is seen today as a resource to be used and it has become an economic and material affordance, but it will not return the environment that the Bushmen used to dwell in. Land claims are just another aspect of encapsulation and mythification of the indigenous, often resulting in political tensions (Little Etosha, South Kalahari Bushmen). However, we should realise that, from a marginalised position, Bushmen, just like everyone else, need a place to dwell or lodge, and not to have more land taken away from them. Even if land claims might not have proven very efficient, *grabbing land* on which they currently dwell (for example the Hai//om in Mangetti West or pressure for land by pastoralists in Bwabwata and Nyae Nyae) decreases their agency even more and takes away their access to dwelling. Once land is taken, agency evaporates and does not simply return if land is given back because the land itself has changed. It will have become formal land to be owned and lived *on*, in a two-dimensional way, instead of an element in an environment to dwell *in*. Once land is given back, this is only *material* land. The Bushmen's marginalisation and relatively powerless position can be partly explained materially and historically but this thesis has also shown how they dwell in their environment with more affordances than only material ones. In conservation and tourism, they are engaging in an environment full of political powers that change this environment continually, and their agency is often limited to *adapting to* these changes but *not to change itself*. Due to various powers taking possession of land historically, dwelling *in* an environment became a limited option for Bushmen and they lost important access to resources, such as game and bushfood, but also to sites and paths that were meaningful to them.

Tourism: Business, development or both?

Various outsiders are affordances to the Bushmen, whose main capital is symbolic and can be converted into economic capital in tourism. Whether used as a development approach or not, tourism *is* business and as long as Bushmen themselves want to work in tourism, either in a joint venture, for a private operator, in a community-based project or informally, it is vital for them to know some basic rules about hospitality, marketing and bookkeeping. And a healthy business needs to generate income. Although Bushmen wish to convert their symbolic capital into economic capital, they often lack capabilities to do so properly, while outsiders do better because of their clearer understanding of and

connection with the modern environment. Therefore, NGOs and private-sector partners are important affordances. In this, NGOs tend to concentrate on the modern phenomenon of development, whereas the private sector concentrates on the modern phenomenon of business. While this would appear to make sense, it does not. Only if these two phenomena are combined can one create a positive change. But it seems as if the private sector is stuck in business, while NGOs are caught up in development based on idealism. Interestingly, the business approach *and* the development approach are today advocated more than ever by private-sector partners and NGOs *as if* they are strengthening each other. However, this might be true theoretically but practically both approaches are bound to be combined *only at the level of structure*, from which Bushmen are often excluded, and both approaches are still *divided at the level of infrastructure*. It should be realised that the business approach as well as development ideologies are all ideas, so are elements of the superstructure originating from institutions in the structure. Some of the younger Bushmen have now been through western education and are attracted by such ideas and want to build their lives on them. Interestingly, many of the most talented ones, often with some experience in tourism, choose not to work in this sector in the end, not because they are not capable but because power relations demotivate them. The government, NGOs and the private sector all play an important role in this and it seems as if Bushmen who dwell in tourism automatically lodge in development. In this, we saw how a change has taken place from the community-based approach (often under the umbrella of a CBNRM programme) to joint-venture tourism, in which the private sector is becoming more dominant today to increase the level of tourism expertise for the Bushmen. Even community-based tourism projects are based on outsiders' ideas that they should *stay* community-based or 'wild', and these ideas act as constraints for local Bushmen (for example at the community campsites in Nyae Nyae). The idea is that only with the help of outsiders can such projects grow (for example, N//goabaca) and this idea has often been rooted amongst Bushmen. A project such as Treesleeper is relatively independent from NGOs today but the constraints are still there (as in Treesleeper's relations with the MLR, MET, private sector, *baasskap* relations and local elites).

When comparing Treesleeper with other community-based tourism projects, five reasons can be identified as to why there is more agency for the people on this project. First, the outsiders have now left (apart from a few with seats on the Tsintsabis Trust but they do not dwell at Treesleeper on a daily basis), which means local solutions and balances are sought instead of waiting for outsiders' ideas to be implemented in a paternalistic relationship. The best thing that I did for Treesleeper was not to found it but to *leave* once it became successful. Today, formal or informal solutions to problems can be sought if the trust and employees want this but they decide such things amongst themselves, and myths such as the Bushman myth are now being reinvented by them, to be used and changed according to their own wishes. They are also in control of their own marketing and booking system via the website, which are problematic and difficult processes at other community-based campsites where such basic business necessities were kept beyond the reach of the community. Although there is a seat on the Tsintsabis Trust for an NGO such as LAC, this was created to fill a gap in expertise in the trust, in a relationship in which the trustees or employees can ask the LAC for advice when

needed, instead of the NGO making the decisions. Compared to community-based tourist projects within a CBNRM programme such as N//goabaca or the Nyae Nyae campsites, these rely on the involvement of the active local NGOs that tend to come with enabling constraints: Various ideas involving rules and regulations and a dependent attitude. The difference between Treesleeper and the CBNRM community-based tourism projects is one of dwelling and lodging. At Witdraai Boskamp this is not yet clear because the local NGO is active in the area, but it would seem that the project is not fully founded yet. Second, and in line with the previous point, Treesleeper is based on a resettlement farm and is a project whose main priority is to support the community. This can also be said about Witdraai Boskamp, which has a people-first approach too. In the CBNRM programmes in Nyae Nyae and Bwabwata, on the contrary, the nature-first approach dominates and means that NGOs and CBOs can be successful without necessarily having a successful community-based tourist project. Today, priority in these programmes goes to the big money makers, such as trophy hunting or other joint ventures, while at the community level, wildlife-related activities dominate the environment (such as the creation of anti-poaching units or the sustainable harvesting of bush-food). N//goabaca, for example, has a strong and important symbolic value for the Khwe, but after it was acquired and built, it hardly became a self-sufficient business. There was no development of activities and marketing and bookings continued to be done by outsiders. Third, a local leader: //Khumûb was found for the Treesleeper project and has his own opinion about the right balance between the modern, the traditional and hybridity. Today he is continually increasing his own and Treesleeper's agency, which is a difficult process but one being undertaken nonetheless. This also shows the weakness of the project because Treesleeper's growth in agency is for a large part dependent upon one person or a small group of people. Fourth, its location near Etosha has meant a steady flow of tourists, which has been a motivating factor. Other campsites were set up in relatively remote places: The Nyae Nyae Conservancy is quite far off main routes, the community campsites are situated deep inside the Conservancy, and Witdraai Boskamp is in an off-road area without a real market but with serious competition nearby. For any community-based campsite though, it is important that tourists visit regularly because it *is* a business and only with a growth in the number of tourists can income, and thus agency, increase. Fifth, Treesleeper has strong involvement by young and educated people, creating possibilities to balance the modern (business and development) and the traditional (although this has at times resulted in community tensions with elders and other local elites). In this respect, the concept of a Living Museum such as in //Xa/oba is interesting because it shows a relatively high level of agency at the level of infrastructure, while also being dependent upon various stakeholders from the level of structure (e.g. for bringing in tourists, or the idea of a Living Museum to start with). Such museums are strongly based on the Bushman myth and as we see now is that in other places stakeholders from the structure are enthusiastic about this idea and try to implement it as a blueprint in other places, based on the superstructural idea of the Bushmen as people of nature. The question it raises is to what degree such projects will create a status quo and to what degree Bushmen will be limited to become 'fully modern'.

Increasing the contradiction

Today the focus in tourism and development has shifted from the community-based approach to private-sector involvement as the new panacea for development. Interestingly, we see very similar processes in all four cases when Bushmen cooperate with the private sector. While Bushmen are frequently criticised for not yet being ready to manage tourism enterprises themselves, we saw that it is at least equally true that the more powerful private sector is not yet ready to fill a position in which they would have to play a developing role. An automatically assumed trickle-down education effect in relation to tourism is not taking place at the level of infrastructure of such lodges because *baasskap* is a static and hierarchical patron-client relationship that is little focused on change, and therefore not on development. However, in many cases the Bushmen showed to be strongly disempowered themselves and therefore tend to rely on NGOs or private sector partners to make decisions for them and in this way *baasskap* is an important social construction that also provides some solutions where they lack the capacity to solve their own problems. Still, such solutions then automatically imply the dominance of the white decision-makers. In joint ventures, Bushmen are supposed to become empowered but they hold only formal and hardly any emotional ownership over such businesses. In addition, the dynamics of joint-venture initiatives for non-consumptive tourism are not very different when compared to privately owned lodges that cooperate with Bushmen. In this thesis, only one established joint venture (!Xaus Lodge) and two in preparation (tented camps in Nyae Nyae and White Sands in Bwabwata) were seen and all of them were characterised by difficult processes of power at different stages in the process. In addition, we saw various relations between Bushmen and private-sector operators (such as Molopo Lodge, neighbouring farmers, Tsumkwe Country Lodge and Nhoma Camp). In all the established cases we saw how *baasskap* dominated relations at the infrastructure, in which there is the tendency to focus on material benefits alone as *the* standard for success. The relationship is strongly top-down, assuming that ‘they’ have to learn from the operator and there is hardly any attention for what the operator or the manager in the field could learn from and about the Bushmen he works with. However, it is not my intention to suggest that Bushmen are not in need of more expertise concerning tourism as a business because in today’s environment they are. But in the private sector there is a tendency to boast about how well one knows ‘them’, often argued with examples of traditional knowledge of the Bushmen based on the idea of a static culture of nature and the myth of the traditional ecologists, while the increase of their agency is very limited. One of the reasons for this is precisely because there is a strong tendency to consider the Bushman myth as the standard, representing the Bushmen as if that is what they really want. It thus makes sense that Bushmen do not feel any ownership of the joint-venture lodges or the processes surrounding them. In their own perception, Bushmen simply do not own lodges, and practically *baasskap* is in the way, rooted in a history of apartheid and inequality. Apartheid is not in Namibian or South African law today: It is all but gone and the white economic elite (private operators, some donors and NGOs) is bonding in some cases with the black political elite (government departments, NGOs). Still, at the level of infrastructure, there are different perceptions of the various persons who function as a *baas*. While most of them were

seen as too dominant by the Bushmen, exceptions do exist. The relations with bosses such as Oosthuysen (especially in his days at Tsumkwe Lodge, later perceptions turned more hybrid) or the trophy hunting sub-contractor Cramer were a highly appreciated affordance, while various other bosses were only regarded as a nuisance in the Bushmen's environment. What matters most is the *relationship* with the *baas* (see also Annex 11) and because in most of these relationships the Bushmen's agency is severely constrained, the young and educated are turning their backs on tourism projects, although they would love to work with tourists. (The clearest example of this is the takeover of the Tsumkwe Lodge and the subsequent departure of most of the Bushmen staff there.) Private operators do what they are good at: They develop tourism, which is essentially different from assisting Bushmen in a process of development. So now that the increasing involvement of the private sector is a response to disappointing results of community-based tourism and CBNRM programmes, interestingly the focus has changed from community tourism projects to expensive, luxury lodges, where the contradiction with marginalised Bushmen is enormous. It seems as if the middle market was never seriously considered, and the already strong contradictions in tourism only increased deeply rooted ideas about the haves and the have-nots, ideas that are shared at the level of infrastructure as well as the structure. On top of this, the idea that Bushmen are not capable of managing a tourist enterprise by themselves is enforced. To start a process of tourism and development by involving Bushmen in the luxury tourism sector is a strategy that benefits various outsiders, such as private operators and the conservation movement, while Bushmen continue to dwell in the margins. In addition, there is a conflict of interest in joint ventures for a private operator to hand over a lodge because once it is up and running and making profit, it would go against sound business principles to hand it over, not only because they would lose a profit-making enterprise but they would also create their own competition. For a private operator, a static situation, in which *baasskap* dominates and the Bushmen's agency remains limited, suits his interests best.

In joint ventures with trophy hunters, as we saw in Bwabwata and Nyae Nyae, the main goal is to create income for CBNRM activities and to serve as a financial engine for the overall programme. Although this also generates income and meat for the people, direct benefits that are highly appreciated, one should be aware that this does not increase agency. Here we could also see how the relationship with the *baas* is the priority for the Bushmen because this takes place in their environment and the level of agency the *baas* allows matters a great deal. However, institutions at the level of structure tend to influence decisions regarding the choice of *baas*, as we saw in Nyae Nyae as well as in Bwabwata, thereby limiting the agency of stakeholder groups within the community. This makes sense from the point of view of these institutions because they need the money for the CBNRM programme, which is focused on the wider community instead of a smaller group. However, for the smaller group, the *baas* is an affordance, so the relationship they expect to have with him is their top priority.

Dwelling and affordances surpassing the primacy of the infrastructure and indigenous modernities

From a dwelling perspective, Harris's cultural materialistic approach and its three artificial levels of society are surpassed but can still function well to analyse relations and power balances in a society. In the dwelling perspective, the infrastructure becomes the environment, in which elements from the structure and the superstructure are also a part as long as the organism engages in a relation with this particular element in his/her environment. We learned that elements of the structure and the superstructure are essential in this environment, since society is today a lot more than only the infrastructure, and various elements from the structure and superstructure penetrate the infrastructure continually under the influence of globalising and modernising forces. This means that the local perception of the Bushmen cannot be seen any more as a dichotomy in relation to global perceptions. Today they have merged. This contradicts the idea of the primacy of the infrastructure. In fact, we saw how the structure and superstructure often tend to function as one level in tourism. From a marginalised position and based on power relations, Bushmen have to adapt to policies and ideas thought out and implemented from the structure level. Promises for more tourism, for example now that transfrontier conservation is increasing (KAZA for Bwabwata and Nyae Nyae), do not automatically mean that marginalised groups such as the Bushmen will benefit. On the contrary, they have already been excluded from the planning stages. A trickle-down effect, both economically and educationally, is often assumed to happen by ministries, NGOs, donors and consultants, but in reality this has proved hard to achieve. This means that, looking at all the case situations in my work, neither the infrastructure nor the structure (or even the superstructure) is decisive, but in tourism there is ongoing interaction between the three levels that is determining society, but the structure is where power is concentrated, and my findings thus contradict the idea of the primacy of the infrastructure. Relations with institutions are relations with the structure, and ideas from the superstructure continually influence the structure as well as the infrastructure in today's globalising and modernising world of tourism and conservation. The environment today is directly and constantly connected to these other two levels.

The Bushmen themselves have now become a part of the tourist bubble, where they use their agency to create and commodify their image of natural ecologists, thus enabling themselves to benefit from it at times. However, their role in the bubble is constrained by the rules and regulations set by the image that was created historically. It therefore seems as if they are not completely in control of their own part of the bubble: Their part is pervasive. Still, some consider their image to be an affordance that makes them be seen as a people, especially the South Kalahari traditionalists, who are a unique group in relation to this myth. They tend to have *become* their product, the ≠Khomani brand, and they are the only group in these four cases that still longs for the past and have set it as their goal. However they are ready to give it up immediately by using various indigenous modernities. They are the group that has really used their image and brand to become 'more like themselves' as Sahlins said (although this *idea* is true, in reality 'themselves' is an historically unclear concept in this case), whereas the South Kalahari westerners, the Khwe, the Hai//om and the Ju/'hoansi, do not wish to become

more like 'themselves' but 'more like us' with a focus on modernisation. So between and within all four groups, we can see various levels of the double vision of NGOs that was internalised as a double nature amongst them where the traditional as well as the modern are embraced. Seen from the dwelling perspective, affordances are seen as what they afford the agent, and these are often hybrid. The concept of indigenous modernities is a strong analytical tool, but it is surpassed by the concept of affordances, which suits today's modernising world a lot better because it does not build on a strict boundary between the modern and the indigenous or traditional. A modernity is an affordance in modernisation in every way, and is used to strengthen or weaken certain behaviour, depending on the perception of the person. Whereas indigenous modernities originally concerned modern material items that were chosen by indigenous people to strengthen their culture, from the dwelling perspective these are nothing but other affordances in an agent's environment. Earlier cultures were seen as being relatively isolated: It was clear what came from the outside world and what was indigenous. Today however, many indigenous modernities are themselves hybrid, consisting of elements from the modern *and* the indigenous alike. The clearest example of this is the affordance of the Bushman myth, which is a modern idea originating in the indigenous group, and currently being taken back by the modern indigenous and being used as an affordance. As an argument, one could say that a cell phone is clearly a modern item, so when used by a Bushman it is an indigenous modernity. However, this does not make sense because the modern is still modern, while the indigenous is not indigenous anymore. This means that the Bushman is dwelling in a modernising environment today, with many affordances. In addition, the distinction between becoming 'more like us' as opposed to becoming 'more like themselves' closes off the possibility of what modernity, in this case the cell phone, *affords*, as if a cell phone is necessarily related to *either* the tradition *or* the modern. It is neither because it is an affordance, for a Bushman also, to make phone calls. It is as a practical tool in his environment as it is for me. So both ideas, that they either become 'more like themselves' or 'more like us', are invalid for the Bushmen in modernisation. In tourism today they are neither but are simply 'becoming' in the world we all dwell in. Therefore in tourism, big issues such as paternalism, the nature-first approach, development, commodification and so on are just important patterns and processes in their environment, often containing affordances, for good or ill. It is useless to judge these concepts because they just *are*; they *are* the world, the environment for Bushmen, so they use their agency to adapt to these forces. Bushmen are embracing modernisation and the affordances that come with it. Even ideas such as returning to the old days are an example of such a hybrid modernity, based on western Romantic ideals of African nature and the people dwelling in it, now that the South African traditionalists embrace this idea. It is just another myth from the superstructure.

Epilogue: Burying the baas in me

One Sunday morning towards the end of 2006, an old man and woman knocked on my door. They stood there, dressed in their best clothes, with their heads bowed. They were carrying a small coffin, clearly a child's coffin. I immediately thought this had to be their grandchild because many children live with their grandparents due to the HIV/-

AIDS pandemic. They asked me, very politely and even submissively, if I could help by driving them to the cemetery just outside Tsintsabis because the government car that was supposed to do this had not arrived. I had just woken up and still had to grasp the situation but I agreed, quickly got dressed and opened the door of my Hyundai. They got into the back and balanced the coffin on their knees.

I got in myself and started the car. I drove very slowly, out of respect for the dead, along the sandy path, sometimes watching this surrealistic scene in my rear-view mirror. “Why,” I wondered, “was Moses (//Khumûb) not with them, to explain and help organise the situation?” Obviously, Moses was involved in many things in Tsintsabis, and a great help to me as a westerner when it came to understanding ‘both sides’. But then I remembered that we had had some tensions in the days before, something that was not very common for us because we normally worked together very well. At least partly, I was having trouble with the idea that I was about to leave ‘my’ project, Treesleeper. I was afraid it would fall apart after I left, and I *cared* so much for it. In addition, it showed that I – and with me the Treesleeper project – had become reliant upon Moses, which was a good sign at this stage of the project. He was one of the few who actually challenged and confronted me, which was very different from using ‘the ability to agree to differ’ and I, as a westerner, respected him all the more for this. In the West, we tend to respect those who have the courage to stand up and speak out. At work, and outside work too, he often asked me very subtle critical questions about why I wanted to do some things in the way I was planning to do them. But now he was not there with these people. When we arrived at the cemetery I realised why: Moses was the priest at this funeral and was waiting for us with his Bible in his hands.

The ceremony and Moses’s words were all in Hai//om, so I stood there in the sand listening but not understanding, my head bowed, looking at the empty grave while the sun rose higher and got stronger. Some of the people became very emotional. Me too, but I tried not to show it and just kept my head bowed. I was in the middle of the emotional process of leaving Treesleeper, a decision I had made long before. The community, and especially Moses, were ready to take it over and this had been discussed in the previous months. I would leave the project in 2007. Thinking things over at the graveside, I felt it slipping out of my hands. ‘My child’ had grown up, it was almost ready to become self-sufficient. I remember feeling hungry and wanting to return home for breakfast. I felt guilty: “How can I think of food and eating now, wanting to go home, while these people are saying goodbye to a grandchild forever? Is my food that important?” I realised the contradiction between me and the local people was still there, even after a few years of dwelling together. All the time from driving to the cemetery to leaving the funeral, I hardly spoke to the people around me, *I just dwelt there with them*, helping out, *sharing* what I had to offer. I never felt so strongly connected to the people around me as I did then because I felt honoured that I had been asked to help them, and I could share what I could *afford*. I felt useful. Often, when I dwelt in Tsintsabis, I had to reject requests for help, and it felt so good now to share what I had to offer.

This occasion was symbolic for various reasons. All the years I had lived in Tsintsabis, I had a certain degree of detachment from the people (I am excluding here my time as an MA student in 1999 though when I was a lot more ‘connected’), which I had

created myself. My goal when I moved into the village had been to start the Treesleeper project and this focus was there all the time. People often came to ask me for certain favours and in some cases I helped and shared, but mostly I did not. Of course, I was an affordance myself but my priority was to build Treesleeper Camp and, with that, my priority was also *me* instead of *us*. My rationale became that I needed to stay healthy, fit and happy so that I could do what was best for the community, which was to help build up this project. In some ways, this created a detachment similar to that of the ‘objective’ researcher. I did not work in a shared environment but in my own, detached, scientific way, based on rational principles. However looking back, I am not sure if I could have done this differently. In the description of the funeral above, I felt a strong empathy with the people around me but this changed to a focus back on my own well-being, a focus on food, and I, and with me Treesleeper, became more important again. I can compare this detached attitude that I often had with certain elements of *baasskap*. In many ways, I was a *baas*, taking decisions, being a fatherly person who cared for ‘his’ people, and many local people indeed behaved humbly towards me over the years. I also bowed my head at the funeral, as a mark of respect for the dead and their families, but also to turn inside and dwell in the experience very consciously. This made me feel very ‘together’. As ‘some kind of a *baas*’, just as happens when Bushmen cooperate with private-sector partners, I also had trouble giving away responsibility, being afraid that things would fail or at least not be done my way. The tensions I had sometimes felt with some employees in the last few months were about finding a new balance: I was going to leave and everybody knew that, but I still wanted things to be done my way, even after I had left. This, of course, was my ego, I wanted the project to be a success *most of all for myself*. With however much empathy I worked for Treesleeper and the people of Tsintsabis, my main drive, I admit now, was that I wanted to be successful in what I did, according to the dominant standards in my environment. My individual benefits mattered to me, such as status, pride, joy and so on. So in a rational manner, I realised I had to let go and leave the responsibilities for ‘my Treesleeper child’ to others. However, letting go of something you love and care for emotionally can turn out to be complicated because the reason why it is difficult is exactly *because you care*. So although initially thinking that I experienced the burial of the child as a symbolic experience akin to ‘burying Treesleeper’, I later realised this was not at all the case. In the end, Treesleeper would go on, it would be alive and kicking, and most of my energy was put into handing things over. More and more tourists were coming to visit the project. How could I say Treesleeper was dead? The contradicting thoughts and emotions I felt at the funeral were not about Treesleeper but about the symbolic burying of an important part of myself and my identity in Tsintsabis. The part of myself that I then buried was ‘*baas Stasja*’.

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Annex 1: Methodology

Research approach

Ethnography and participant observation are important methods of qualitative research, with an emphasis on understanding the world from the perspective of the participants and viewing social life as the result of interaction and interpretations. In tourism studies, there is a potential for qualitative approaches to understanding the human dimensions of society, the social and cultural implications of tourism (Phillimore & Goodson 2004: 4). Today there is a need for more qualitative observations of changes in the relationship between local communities, culture and tourism (Richards 2007a: 338). Such data created by ethnography are what Clifford Geertz calls a 'thick description' because an ethnographer is faced with "a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render" (Geertz 1973: 10). I am not searching for the truth or reality but I get to know ideas, thoughts and feelings that are true or not, it does not matter. What matters is what such ideas *do* and bring about in the larger social setting (Ferguson 1990: xv). Therefore my data must be seen as my constructions of other people's constructions of what they are doing. Inevitably it is therefore my interpretation. My job is to clarify what goes on to reduce the puzzlement and to write it down. I have observed, recorded and analysed (cf. Geertz 1973: 16-20). As a result of this, many anthropological scholars today reject the scientific notion of objectivity because research always entails a relationship between the interpreting researcher and the subjects (Mboti 2012: 96-97). This postmodern approach does not consider external reality as an objective given or truth but as a being situated in a context that is interpreted by persons located in particular subject positions and in a given historical time, which all bears on the production of scientific research. Recent ethnographers have celebrated this instead of ignoring the personal from the scientific (Bruner 1995: 224; 2005: 257). To me, the postmodernists make a good and valuable point, namely the impossibility of being objective. But this point does not necessarily exclude science, we just need to position it differently and be aware of this throughout our research. Therefore, I do not want to go as far as saying that this research is about *me* (as some postmodern researchers do), it is really about the people I have studied, observed and interviewed.

From controlled comparison to multi-site ethnography

After the 1950s, a paradigmatic shift took place in comparative studies in anthropology, and instead of one type of positivist comparative method, various styles of comparison evolved (Holy 1987: 1-2). With the arrival of interpretative anthropology, comparative methods logically shifted from comparing 'objective facts in an outside reality' to the problems of description and data gathering. In fact, a change took place from questions of how to handle the data after they were collected to questions about how they were gathered in the first place. These epistemological problems replaced the methodological problems of comparison to such a degree that comparison disappeared almost entirely

from participant observation (*Ibid.*: 5-7). There are similarities and differences in any comparison, although relations of these do not exist in empirical phenomena as such, but in the meanings and interpretations of the researcher who uses his/her own criteria, thereby excluding others. Choosing these criteria is a starting point that creates relations of similarity and difference. Any comparison is then focused on the discovery of cultural logic “that underlies, articulates or generates the observable diversity of cultural forms and patterns” (*Ibid.*: 16). I looked into differences and similarities alike.

I compared four case studies using multi-site ethnography as a main strategy, with participant observation and unstructured or semi-structured in-depth interviews at various levels and in different places. Multi-site ethnography implied a move from conventional single-site ethnography to multiple sites that cross-cut dichotomies such as the ‘global’ and the ‘local’. Since the 1980s multi-site ethnography has been increasingly practised and acknowledged since the field of study responds to an increasingly global, mobile and transnational world (Hannerz 2003; Marcus 1995; Scarangella 2007: 1). Multi-site ethnography is not merely a different kind of controlled comparison, although it represents a revival of comparative studies in anthropology. While conventionally controlled comparison operates on a linear spatial plane for homogeneously conceived conceptual units and they are developed from separate objects of fieldwork or distinctly bounded periods, multi-site ethnography by contrast is translocal. The fields are not some mere collection of local units but are connected with each other in such ways that the relationships between them are as important as the relationship within them (Hannerz 2003: 206-208; Marcus 1995: 102). At first, it seems as if this is research of the classic controlled comparison, since I investigated four separate geographical areas with four almost separate groups of people, looking into the same subjects at the level of infrastructure. However, I did not use a positivist approach but an interpretational one. And today the Bushmen are more connected than ever before through global phenomena such as tourism, representation, myth, power relations, conservation and civil society. What happens in one case has consequences in other cases, which indeed makes them translocal. For example, the land claim of the South Kalahari Bushmen in South Africa has led to an increase of hope – often instigated by cooperating NGOs – in other areas such as among the Hai//om. The global attention for the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (see Annex 8) has, according to some respondents, already changed things in the mindset of the government of Botswana for other places, and the creation of an own conservancy such as Nyae Nyae has definitely instigated similar ideas in other Bushmen communities. The transfrontier conservation movement started off with Kgalagadi and today Nyae Nyae and Bwabwata are also being pulled into such a programme (KAZA) with almost the same players. Wildebeest Kuil in South Africa has a strong connection with Bwabwata, and so on. In addition, there is sometimes direct interaction between the various locations. For example, Rudolf Namiseb, a Hai//om, used to live in Tsumkwe with the Ju/’hoansi for many years but today is back in Tsintsabis, and at places such as !Kwa ttu (see Annex 9) the various people also meet and interact. Here “Moses of Treesleeper and David (Singhoni, from Mutc’iku, Bwabwata) were members of the previous trainee group and learnt a lot from each other’s experiences” (Magdalena Brörmann-Thoma, email, 25 June 2012). Although I do not state that my research does

not entail a controlled comparison, it clearly does, it is not only the level of infrastructure that I compared, it is precisely the globalising forces and relations that take place in the structure but also in the superstructure that connect the case studies in an ideological and analytical way. Therefore, the research is closer to multi-site ethnography but it entails many elements of the classic controlled comparison as well. Multi-site ethnography does not necessarily exclude controlled comparison as if both are opposites: They have evolved together and show a lot of overlap.

Spending as much time on three cases, where in traditional ethnography the same amount of time would have been spent on one, inevitably raises questions of depth and breadth. Without doubt, the time factor influences the evolution of relationships in the field (Hannerz 2003: 208-209; Scarangella 2007: 2-3). I learned that talking about my involvement with Bushmen since 1999, more specifically with the Hai//om of Tsin-tsabis and Treesleeper, created a feeling of trust. Less time probably makes multi-site studies more dependent on interviews compared to single-site studies and language skills play an important part. Participant observation might also have a more limited part in multi-site ethnography compared to the traditional model, which may have to do with the fact that it tends to involve settings of modernity (Hannerz 2003: 211; Marcus 1995: 101). I usually stayed at campsites, a tourism setting (modernity). And however remote they were, I did not stay amongst the villagers during my fieldwork but close by. Scarangella (2005: 19; 2007: 3-7) concluded that fieldwork is not dependent on the time-depth alone but also on the conceptual side of multi-site fieldwork, in which you follow the phenomenon, producing just as lucid a picture of that phenomenon as a longer visit would. In this, knowledge of the culture, the context and the history is at least as important as time. An ethical and logistical challenge of multi-site ethnography is the coordination of permission, something that has also troubled me at times when doing research in three countries.

The fieldwork

Staying at tourism enterprises, mostly campsites (community-based or as part of a lodge), gave me easy access to the actors in tourism. These places were also part of my research, which is different compared to more traditional ethnography and participant observation, where anthropologists live in the community. I did not do this on purpose because my focus was on tourism and by staying at these campsites my observations were close to my research topic. With these campsites as a base, I visited people on a daily basis who were living both nearby and in faraway villages. In Bwabwata and Nyae Nyae in particular and to a lesser degree south of Kgalagadi,¹ people live in remote corners and I needed to use a small 4 X 4 Suzuki Escudo. In between the fieldwork periods I attended three workshops. Two of these were organised by NACSO and the WWF and were the first two in a series of three workshops on joint ventures. The first, which was mainly attended by private-sector representatives, was held in Windhoek, Namibia in March 2010 and the second one was held in Otjiwarongo, Namibia in April 2010 with

¹ Even though I visited Tsin-tsabis and Treesleeper a few times in 2010, the focus of my fieldwork was mainly Nyae Nyae, Bwabwata and Kgalagadi.

representatives of the Namibian conservancies.² I also participated in an introductory workshop at Wildebeest Kuil, Platfontein, South Africa in June 2010 led by Prof. Keyan Tomaselli of the CCMS on tourism, Bushmen, representation and other related subjects. In addition to the workshop I joined the CCMS for the first week amongst the South Kalahari Bushmen.

WWF Namibia was one of the sponsors of my fieldwork, as were some other donors from the Netherlands. During preparation, they suggested adding Nyae Nyae to the research because they had been involved in Nyae Nyae for many years, just as they were in Bwabwata. The WWF gave me details of contact persons at NGOs working in the areas (NNDNFN and IRDNC respectively). The WWF, a big stakeholder for Bwabwata and Nyae Nyae, influenced the research. This cooperation could potentially have led to a conflict of interest but in reality I do not believe that this was the case. In no way did I experience pressure from them to write or not write about certain items. In fact, they simply let me do my own research but they did invite me to the two workshops on joint ventures. However, there were consequences as a result of adding Nyae Nyae, the only conservancy in the study. It provided interesting comparative material but because I changed from two to three case studies for six months, I had less time at each place. Sometimes people thought I was a tourist at first, even if I had been staying in the area for a few weeks. I also noticed how they sometimes call white people tourists, regardless of whether they are in fact a tourist or not according to the western idea of what a tourist should be:

The Ju/'hoansi, !Xoo and ≠Khomani appear to make little distinction between anthropologists and linguists, zoologists and entomologists, tourists and friends, filmmakers and photographers, donors and development workers. All these social practices are reduced into the text of the Western Same, the people who have power and money, and whose largesse has made them dependent upon such tourists in terms of cash exchange, development projects and inter-village transport. (Tomaselli 2005: 118)

Indeed “the Ju/'hoansi make little distinction between tourists and researchers” (Jeursen & Tomaselli 2002: 45) and when I asked Goodman Kgao Cgaesje, one of my translators in Nyae Nyae, if he had worked with tourists before he said that he had and gave the example of helping a French woman, whom he then described as a ‘professor’ and a ‘doctor’ who wanted to find out more about traditional Ju/'hoan music. I asked more and clearly this woman was what we would call a researcher in the West, probably an ethno-musicologist. In some ways, anthropologists and tourists can be seen as distant relatives. For some anthropologists there seems to be a desire to avoid dwelling on this comparison but most of us go to places where tourists go as well. It is therefore not unlikely that anthropologists are sometimes classified as such (Crick 1989: 311; 1995: 205-207). Jeursen & Tomaselli (2002: 31) embrace the combination of being an academic while also resembling a tourist, so that their writing “is a version of travel writing that is intended to carry within it an experimental analysis of tourism as both personal and social practice. I am at once academic and tourist; I learned as I travelled”. Indeed,

² I did not attend the third NACSO/WWF workshop, which was held in Windhoek in October 2010, as I had already returned to the Netherlands by then. At the first two workshops I mainly observed a lot and spoke to various people informally.

it could be that ‘we’ are not as categorised in the eyes of the Bushmen as ‘we’ think we are.

When I started an interview I often explained that I had lived and worked with Hai//om people for a few years. I saw that this created trust on the one hand, and expectations on the other, and was careful to temper such expectations. For example, a woman in Bwabwata, Rosa, wondered at the end of the interview why so many people from the outside come and go, never to be seen again, and she asked me to stay and help. In fact, some NGO workers explained to me the need to clearly communicate the value of my research to the local people because researchers often leave and never communicate their results to them. In many cases, local people hoped to get something back for an interview and I gave food or soap to local respondents at the end of every interview to show my appreciation for their time and willingness to talk. (I did not do this with NGO workers, lodge owners, tour operators etc.) Explaining my background at Treesleeper might have increased expectations and given me more of an image of a development worker instead of a researcher. This also demonstrates how there is some element of an ethnographer-activist in my identity and I sometimes needed to renegotiate my identity at different sites (Marcus 1995: 113).³ I believe it is helpful for ethnographers to do something for their respondents because one needs to build up a reciprocal relationship and trust.

Data collection

One of my main activities was to hold in-depth interviews, sometimes with a group of people (see Annex 2). In-depth interviews create an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meanings they attach to these experiences (Jordan & Gibson 2004: 221). I used a voice recorder and where necessary I took notes. I used the recorder to record observations and summarise informal talks soon after a conversation had taken place so in that way it served as a diary. Although I do not speak the languages of the Khwe (Khwedam), Hai//om (of which I have some basic knowledge) or Ju/'hoansi, I do speak Afrikaans, which was an advantage because many Bushmen speak it either as a first, second or third language. Interviews were mostly held in English or Afrikaans, and I used a translator only occasionally (see Annex 2). For me, Afrikaans helped pave the way in relationships, making up for limited time. However, using Afrikaans can link a white man with the white inhabitants of Southern Africa, with whom Bushmen have a long-standing and often complex history. I did sometimes work with translators, or maybe ‘mediators’ would be a better word. There are advantages and disadvantages to using translators, especially regarding ‘trust’ and ‘truth’ (cf. Jobbins 2004). In Bwabwata, I worked with Joel Mbambo, and in Nyae Nyae with Goodman Kgao Cgaesje and Steve Kunta. In Kgalagadi I did not have a translator (Afrikaans is the first language there) but from time to time various people assisted me (especially with finding places and people). These mediators automatically became assistants and

³ For example, after my visits to Hiyemacan //Au in May 2010 (see Chapter 4) I called Werner Pfeifer of the LCFN, who I got to know in an earlier interview in Windhoek, to mention the Hiyemacan //Au initiative to him. I gave Pfeifer's telephone number and that of NACOBTA to Anton Dakomba, using contacts that I thought could help this group.

people I got better acquainted with, so we also shared ideas informally. This helped me to put certain things that people said in perspective. In some cases when working with a translator, language can allow villagers a measure of control over events (Jeursen & Tomaselli 2002: 47). They can influence the research, since they function as translators and a guide through the geographical area but, more than that, they are familiar with the environment and they helped me to dwell there in the right places and with the right people, and often provided useful background information. On the long car drives with them, we talked about these environments and what was happening there. I shared my reflections with them a lot. And I also reflected a lot with Lisa (my girlfriend) who joined me for the last four months of my fieldwork. No respondents demanded complete privacy regarding their opinions. However, sensitive issues were discussed sometimes and, when I thought appropriate, I have avoided using people's real names. Still, I am aware that in most cases this is irrelevant as people will be recognisable. For example, if local Bushmen complain about a *baas* (boss) at a lodge, a hunter or a traditional leader, everybody in the area will know exactly who is meant. And many stories are about people in powerful positions, people who are very well-known in the area. It becomes impossible to achieve privacy in these cases.

Applied anthropology and longitudinal 'ethnography' in Tsintsabis

I have been in contact with the Hai//om and Etosha since 1999, first as an MA student doing fieldwork in Tsintsabis (Koot 2000) and later because of my role in Treesleeper Camp from 2002 until 2007. In the Etosha case study, the focus is at a more micro level, with a central role for the Treesleeper Camp project in Tsintsabis. I lived in Tsintsabis with the community for a few years and became more deeply involved in their social life, politics, arguments and celebrations. This, of course, had methodological consequences. In 1999 many people told me they wanted to work with tourism because a lot of tourists were passing through Tsintsabis on their way to and from Etosha. Starting community tourism in Tsintsabis was my own recommendation for the MLRR and some NGOs (see Annex 7). I went back to Namibia for six months in 2002/2003 to visit the community several times to discuss the idea again and meet NGOs, potential donors and the MLRR. Ferry Bounin and I then started the FSTN, a small Dutch legal body for fundraising. From January 2004 until June 2007 I was again in Tsintsabis (and also in Windhoek for the first few months), this time as the project manager of Treesleeper, which we were in the process of setting up. In short, my job was to support Treesleeper physically and institutionally and to provide training, funding and capacity building for local employees and the trustees of the Tsintsabis Trust. At that time I did not do any research as such, and I was – and still am – a lot more closely attached to this project than an average researcher would be. In a way, one could argue, I was even more objective because I missed the awareness of doing research (simply because I was not doing research), while at the same time I experienced the people, the culture, the environment and the daily life of the people as it was. I just dwelt in the environment of Tsintsabis and Treesleeper for a few years. Working in the community means you have an important social position and by not having a specific research focus, your experiences and approaches are more open to the real situation of the community, which makes my find-

ings very ‘open’ to life as I experienced it then. I consider the case study of Treesleeper as longitudinal research, which “is the long-term study of a community, region, society, culture, or other unit, usually based on repeated visits” (Kottak 1994: 27). My visits to Tsintsabis took place in 1999 (5 months), 2002/2003 (various field trips), 2004-2007 (living there for about 3.5 years) and in 2010 I visited Tsintsabis three times to do a few extra interviews.

Social scientists, and anthropologists in particular, have been criticised for not returning anything to the people they study and make a career out of (Tomaselli 1996: 118-119). However when I started this PhD research, I was in the fortunate position of having already ‘done something’ for the Bushmen at Treesleeper Camp, which benefits a small group of Tsintsabis inhabitants. When research, or anthropology, becomes applied, there are of course numerous levels of ‘applied-ness’. In the end, the job of a scientist is to do research, which is what we are trained for, and by providing good insight and understanding about the societies we study, policy makers, development workers and the communities themselves can apply these insights. In this way, social scientists do a lot of useful work but “(e)xpectations of what academics (as opposed to NGO-officials) are able to deliver have thus perhaps become necessarily unrealistic” (Tomaselli 2005: 95). However, there are numerous examples where anthropologists and their studies have had substantial impact on Bushmen and their development process. For example,

(s)ome of the successes can be attributed to the role that anthropologists have played in the research and development work in Nyae Nyae. However, it should be stressed that some of the problems that have occurred are also due to decisions made by anthropologists. (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 28)

Only recently have applied anthropologists turned their attention to tourism (E. Chambers 1997: 8; Hitchcock *et al.* 2006: 10) and my years in Tsintsabis, especially when working on Treesleeper, had an impact on this community. Such a long stay can be compared to how Rousset (2003: 18) explains her stay in West Caprivi for the years that gave her “the opportunity to familiarise myself with conservation and development issues from a practical, on-the-ground perspective ... (which) allowed for a more in-depth understanding of attitudes and local politics than would have been possible had I only spent six weeks there”. Similarly, Hohmann (2003b: 209) stayed in Tsumkwe West for sixteen months, which

gave me the privilege to engage in participatory observation and to follow the discussion about CBNRM in the field from different angles. Through this, I was able to take the different perspectives offered by local stakeholders, development agencies and government institutions into account.

My years in Tsintsabis gave me similar advantages and in my fieldwork I experienced practical advantages, not in the least of ‘having a feel for the people’ (and the broader environment I dwelt in with them) I visited. I do not want to generalise about all Bushmen but I cannot deny having experienced and understood things better and more quickly as a result of the earlier years I spent in Tsintsabis.

There is also a flip side to this when we, researchers working with marginalised groups, say so easily that we do ‘applied anthropology’. Such research in many cases highlights problems and therefore sometimes adds to the creation of a negative image of the Bushmen and their projects. In this regard, it is interesting that Hüncke’s thesis

(2010), which she had also sent to Tsintsabis, was received with caution by //Khumûb, the project manager at Treesleeper. He sent her a letter in response in May 2011 explaining that certain things she said in the thesis could be demoralizing for the staff, the Tsintsabis Trust and the community, again bringing negative attention to the Bushmen people (//Khumûb, letter to Hüncke, 25 May 2011). In her response, Hüncke explained more about her position as a researcher and that she was trying to create a picture of local dynamics in Tsintsabis related to Treesleeper, without judging these things (Hüncke, letter to //Khumûb, 5 June 2011 and Hüncke, letter to the Tsintsabis Trust, 5 June 2011). This shows a grey area of responsibility on the part of the researcher. By writing down dynamics – which include a lot of ideas, gossip, untruths and made-up stories – we, researchers, influence reality. We should be aware of such ethics, but it is something that is hard to handle I have to admit. Scheper-Hughes (1995: 416) wondered “what of the people whose suffering and fearful accommodations to it are transformed into a public spectacle? What is our obligation to them?”. Such dynamics of research are sometimes self-fulfilling prophecies. By writing about community dynamics, we mention community problems and when working in marginalised groups we often write about problems. In the case of the Bushmen, this has clearly added to a ‘problem image’, often with a focus on failed projects. The point is that writing about community dynamics creates more community dynamics, while at the same time we need to be open to our informants and not keep our knowledge in an academic ivory tower. This said, I realise that this is a contradiction not easily solved.

Annex 2: List of respondents

#	Date	Name (male/female)	Place	Language (translated from, by)	Description
<i>Hai//om and Etosha</i>					
1	15-03-2010	Simon Saroseb (M)	Treesleeper Camp, Tsintsabis	Afrikaans	Hai//om Treesleeper Camp night guard and handyman
2	03-04-2010	Moses Khumûb (M)	Treesleeper Camp, Tsintsabis	English	Hai//om Treesleeper Camp project manager and WIM-SA San Council board member
3	13-04-2010	Ute Dieckmann (F)	LAC, Windhoek	English	Programme coordinator, Xoms /omis project at LAC
<i>Khwe and Bwabwata</i>					
4	18-03-2010	Friedrich Alpers (M)	N//goabaca community campsite	English	IRDNC field officer West Caprivi
5	18-03-2010	Varum /Uma (M)	N//goabaca	English	Khwe N//goabaca community campsite attendant
6	19-03-2010	Friedrich Alpers (M)	N//goabaca and White Sands	English	IRDNC field officer West Caprivi
7	20-03-2010	Divaki (M)	N//goabaca	Afrikaans	Khwe senior community game guard from Mutc'iku
8	20-03-2010	Mayenga (F)	N//goabaca	Afrikaans	Khwe N//goabaca community campsite attendant and treasurer
9	20-03-2010	Maureen (F)	N//goabaca	English	Khwe N//goabaca community campsite attendant
10	21-03-2010	Joel Mbambo (M)	N//goabaca	English	Khwe man from Mutc'iku
11	22-03-2010	Joel Boyongo (M)	Mutc'iku	English	Khwe former camp manager of N//goabaca
12	23-03-2010	Daniel Kambati (M)	N//goabaca	English	Khwe, camp manager of N//goabaca
13	23-03-2010	Joel Mbambo (M)	N//goabaca	English	Khwe man from Mutc'iku
14	24-03-2010	Friedrich Alpers (M)	Buffalo Core Area	English	IRDNC field officer West Caprivi
15	24-03-2010	Jack Govagwe (M)	N//goabaca	English	Khwe IRDNC facilitator for N//goabaca
16	24-03-2010	Johannes Ndumba (M)	N//goabaca	Afrikaans	Vasekele !Xun N//goabaca community campsite attendant
17	25-03-2010	Karine Nuulimba (F)	N//goabaca	English	IRDNC strategic manager for Caprivi and former programme director at the Letloa Trust, Botswana
18	25-03-2010	Rosa (F)	N//goabaca	English (Khwedam, Joel Mbambo)	Khwe community resource monitor from Mutc'iku
19	25-03-2010	Windes Kalema (M)	N//goabaca	English	Khwe man from Chetto
20	28-03-2010	Jörg Seufert (M)	N//goabaca	English	German freelance tour guide from Windhoek
21	29-03-2010	Joseph Kapinga (M)	Mushanshani	English (Khwedam, Joel Mbambo)	Khwe headman of Mushanshani
22	29-03-2010	Joel Mbambo (M)	Sand road between Mutc'iku and N//goabaca	English	Khwe man from Mutc'iku

23	30-03-2010	Joel Mbambo (M)	B8 highway between Mutc'iku and Omega	English	Khwe man from Mutc'iku
24	30-03-2010	Johanna Musavanga (F)	Omega	English	Khwe community resource monitor and basket maker from Omega
25	30-03-2010	Lieb Kamba (M)	Omega	English	Khwe IRDNC facilitator and former camp manager of N//goabaca from Omega
26	30-03-2010	Disho 'Master' Ngobara (M)	Mutc'iku	English	Khwe man from Mutc'iku who followed the tracking course
27	31-03-2010	Trevor Foster (M)	Nunda Lodge	English	Owner of Nunda Lodge
28	01-04-2010	Joel Mbambo (M)	N//goabaca	English	Khwe man from Mutc'iku
29	01-04-2010	Tadeus Chedau (M)	Mutc'iku	English	Khwe former acting chief from Mutc'iku
30	15-04-2010	Garth Owen-Smith (M)	Otjiwarongo	English	IRDNC founder and co-director
31	25-04-2010	Bothas Marinda (M)	Windhoek	English	Khwe man (student) from Windhoek
32	26-04-2010	Richard Diggle (M)	WWF, Windhoek	English	WWF Caprivi coordinator from Windhoek, previous Caprivi coordinator for IRDNC
33	10-05-2010	Geria Matinglias (M)	B8 highway between Mutc'iku and Chetto	English	Khwe man from Chetto
34	10-05-2010	Joel Mbambo (M)	B8 highway between Chetto and Omega	English	Khwe man from Mutc'iku
35	10-05-2010	Tienie Mushavanga (M)	Omega	English	Khwe KA secretary from Omega
36	10-05-2010	Vasco Dinyando (M)	Omega	English	Khwe man from Omega
37	11-05-2010	Simon (M)	Nagaapie	English (Mbukushu, Joel Mbambo)	Young man from Nagaapie
38	11-05-2010	Joel Mbambo (M)	Nagaapie	English	Khwe man from Mutc'iku
39	12-05-2010	Hiyemacan //Au group (M+F)	Chetto	English (Khwedam, Anton Dakomba/Joel Mbambo)	Khwe group discussion Hiyemacan //Au in Chetto
40	13-05-2010	David Singhoni (M)	Mutc'iku	English	Khwe man from Mutc'iku, future manager of the Living Museum
41	16-05-2010	Kenneth Maplanga (M)	Nambwa community campsite	English	Nambwa community campsite manager from Choi
42	16-05-2010	Lucas Nyango (M)	Nambwa community campsite	English	Nambwa community campsite attendant from Choi
43	17-05-2010	Three young men from Omega III (M)	B8 highway between Kongola and Omega III	English	Khwe group discussion, three men from Omega III
44	17-05-2010	Anna Kativa (F)	B8 highway between Kongola and Omega III	English (Khwedam, Kwasa Delta)	Khwe Basket maker from Omega III
45	17-05-2010	Joyce Sitapata (F)	Mashi Craft, Kongola	English	IRDNC facilitator for Mashi Craft, Kongola
46	18-05-2010	Friedrich Alpers (M)	Kongola	English	IRDNC field officer West Caprivi

47	19-05-2010	Fidel Makwanga (M)	Bum Hill community campsite	English	Bum Hill community campsite attendant from Singalamwe
48	19-05-2010	Joseph Mahingi (M)	Omega III	English	Khwe chairman of the KA from Omega III
49	19-05-2010	Swabi Alex Kamiyo (M)	Omega	English	Khwe WIMSA employee from Omega
<i>Ju/'hoansi and Nyae Nyae</i>					
50	13-04-2010	Patricia Skyer (F)	WWF, Windhoek	English	WWF technical advisor on CBNRM for six countries from Windhoek
51	17-04-2010	Martha Mulokoshi (F)	Tsumkwe Craft Centre	English	CESP (CBNRM Enterprise Support Project)/NNDNFN employee, tourism coordinator in Tsumkwe
52	18-04-2010	Gabriel Hipandulwa (M)	Tsumkwe Country Lodge	English	NNDNFN programme officer
53	18-04-2010	Masweta Chokwe (F)	Tsumkwe	English	Ju/'hoansi Nyae Nyae Conservancy office administrator
54	19-04-2010	Naisa Cgaesje (F)	NNC, Tsumkwe	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi NNDNFN employee, cleaner of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy office, Tsumkwe
55	20-04-2010	Manager (M)	Tsumkwe Country Lodge	Afrikaans	Tsumkwe Country Lodge, manager
56	20-04-2010	T/wa (F)	NNC, Tsumkwe	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi G!hunku craft shop coordinator
57	20-04-2010	Steve Kunta (M)	Tsumkwe	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi former employee at Tsumkwe Lodge and Tsumkwe Country Lodge and freelance tour guide from Tsumkwe
58	21-04-2010	Djokwe group (M+F)	Djokwe	English (Ju/'hoansi, Kgao 'Goodman' Cgaesje)	Ju/'hoansi group discussion in Djokwe
59	22-04-2010	Jakob 'Jakes' Kolbooi (M)	NNC, Tsumkwe	English	MET employee on CBNRM in Tsumkwe
60	22-04-2010	≠Khao Simkhao (M)	NNC office, Tsumkwe	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi representative from ≠Otaqkcai
61	22-04-2010	Sao (M)	NNC, Tsumkwe	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi community ranger and tour guide at Kremetartkop community campsite
62	23-04-2010	Makuri group (M+F)	Makuri	English (Ju/'hoansi, Kgao 'Goodman' Cgaesje)	Ju/'hoansi group discussion Makuri
63	23-04-2010	Xamsa group (M+F)	Xamsa	English (Ju/'hoansi, Kgao 'Goodman' Cgaesje)	Ju/'hoansi group discussion Xamsa
64	23-04-2010	Kgao 'Goodman' Cgaesje (M)	Tsumkwe	English	Ju/'hoansi man from Tsumkwe
65	26-04-2010	Wendy Viall (F)	NNDNFN, Windhoek	English	NNDNFN employee from Windhoek
66	24-05-2010	//Xa/oba group (M+F)	//Xa/oba	English (Ju/'hoansi, Ricardo)	Ju/'hoansi group discussion at //Xa/oba

67	25-05-2010	Doupos group (M+F)	Doupos	Afrikaans (Ju/'hoansi, translator from Doupos)	Ju/'hoansi group discussion at Doupos
68	26-05-2010	Baraka group (M+F)	Baraka	Afrikaans (Ju/'hoansi, Steve Kunta)	Ju/'hoansi group discussion at Baraka
69	26-05-2010	Baraka Hunting Camp group (M+F)	Baraka Hunting Camp	Afrikaans (Ju/'hoansi, Steve Kunta)	Ju/'hoansi group of hunters (sub-contractor) employees, Baraka Hunting Camp
70	26-05-2010	Steve Kunta (M)	C44 road between Tsumkwe and Baraka	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi former employee at Tsumkwe Lodge and Tsumkwe Country Lodge and freelance tour guide from Tsumkwe
71	27-05-2010	Tsamkxao 'Chief Bobo' ≠Oma (M)	Tsumkwe	Afrikaans (Ju/'hoansi, chief's own assistant)	Ju/'hoansi traditional authority
72	27-05-2010	Kgao Visser (M)	Tsumkwe	English	Ju/'hoansi man from Tsumkwe, previous manager of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy
73	27-05-2010	Tsamkxao 'Leon' ≠Oma (M)	Tsumkwe	English	Ju/'hoansi former worker of Tsumkwe Lodge and freelance tour guide from Tsumkwe
74	28-05-2010	G/aguru group (M+F)	G/aguru	Afrikaans (Ju/'hoansi, Steve Kunta)	Ju/'hoansi group of hunters (main contractor) employees at G/aguru
75	29-05-2010	≠N!umdi group (M+F)	≠N!umdi (Kremetartkop/Aha Hills)	Afrikaans (Ju/'hoansi, translator from ≠N!umdi)	Ju/'hoansi group discussion at ≠N!umdi
76	01-06-2010	Mountain Pos group (M+F)	Mountain Pos	English (Ju/'hoansi, translator from Mountain Pos)	Ju/'hoansi group discussion at Mountain Pos
77	01-06-2010	Gerrie /Ai'ae /Ui (M)	NG Kerk, Tsumkwe	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi man from Tsumkwe, NederGemeente Kerk (church) employee
78	01-06-2010	Masheshe (M)	Ministry of Local Government and Housing, Tsumkwe	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi man from Tsumkwe, employee of the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing
79	02-06-2010	Kaptein se Pos group (M+F)	Kaptein se Pos	Afrikaans (Ju/'hoansi, Steve Kunta)	Ju/'hoansi group discussion at Kaptein se Pos
80	02-06-2010	Nhoma Group (M)	Nhoma	Afrikaans (Ju/'hoansi, Steve Kunta)	Ju/'hoansi group discussion at Nhoma
81	02-06-2010	Arno Oosthuysen (M)	Nhoma Safari Camp	Afrikaans	Nhoma Safari Camp owner and former owner of Tsumkwe Lodge
82	03-06-2010	Simon Kazibe (M)	Tsumkwe Country Lodge	Afrikaans	Khwe tour guide at Tsumkwe Country Lodge
83	03-06-2010	Smallboy Tsamkgao (M)	Tsumkwe Country Lodge	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi tour guide at Tsumkwe Country Lodge
84	07-08-2010	//Xa/oba group (M+F)	//Xa/oba	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi group discussion at //Xa/oba
85	09-08-2010	N!aici Kashe + Steve Kunta (M+M)	Klein Dobe	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi tour guide and camp manager from Makuri + Ju/'hoansi former employee at Tsumkwe Lodge and freelance tour guide from Tsumkwe

86	09-08-2010	Kxao Moses (M)	Tsumkwe	English	Ju/'hoansi former manager of Nyae Nyae Conservancy and Member of Parliament from Tsumkwe
87	09-08-2010	Steve Kunta (M)	Road between Tsumkwe and Klein Dobe	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi former employee at Tsumkwe Lodge and Tsumkwe Country Lodge and freelance tour guide from Tsumkwe
88	10-08-2010	Stacey Alberts (F)	Tsumkwe	English	Activity manager of Namibia Country Lodges in Tsumkwe
89	10-08-2010	Tsamkxao Terry N#amce (M)	Tsumkwe	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi man from Nhoma
90	11-08-2010	/Kaece #Oma (M)	Tsumkwe Country Lodge	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi employee from Tsumkwe Country Lodge
91	11-08-2010	Hacky Kgami Gcao (M)	Ministry of Home Affairs, Tsumkwe	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi employee from the Ministry of Home Affairs in Tsumkwe and ex-manager of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy
92	12-08-2010	Ephraim Romanus (M)	Tsumkwe Country Lodge	Afrikaans	Hai//om employee from Tsumkwe Country Lodge
93	12-08-2010	G#kao Jabulani Bruce Kxao (M)	Tsumkwe Country Lodge	English	Ju/'hoansi freelance tour guide from Tsumkwe
94	13-08-2010	Martha Mulokoshi (F)	NNC, Tsumkwe	English	CESP (CBNRM Enterprise Support Project)/NNDFN employee, tourism coordinator in Tsumkwe
<i>South Kalahari Bushmen and Kgalagadi</i>					
95	26-06-2010	Nhamo Mhiripiri (M)	Molopo Lodge	English	Post-doc at the University of KwaZulu Natal
96	27-06-2010	Keyan Tomaselli (M)	Witdraai Boskamp	English	Professor at the University of KwaZulu Natal
97	28-06-2010	Tom Hart (M)	Witdraai Boskamp	English	MA student at the University of KwaZulu Natal
98	29-06-2010	Martha 'Vinkie' van der Westhuyzen (F)	Andriesvale	English	#Khomani woman, SASI employee, from Andriesvale, interviewed by Maliswa Magongo and Wandile Sibisi of CCMS (I did not attend)
99	29-06-2010	Shanade Barnabas (F)	Witdraai Boskamp	English	PhD student from the University of KwaZulu Natal
100	30-06-2010	Owner of Molopo Lodge (M)	Molopo Lodge	English	Owner of Molopo Lodge and former soldier in the SADF in West Caprivi, interviewed by Prof. Tomaselli of CCMS (Shanade Barnabas and I attended)
101	30-06-2010	Julie Grant (F)	Witdraai Boskamp	English	PhD student at the University of Edinburgh
102	02-07-2010	Adam Bok (M)	SASI information centre, Witdraai	Afrikaans	#Khomani man from Andriesvale, //Uruke tracker
103	02-07-2010	Antonia Eiman (F)	Sisen, Molopo Lodge	Afrikaans	#Khomani woman, shop assistant at Sisen Craft

104	02-07-2010	Koos Titus (M)	Sisen, Molopo Lodge	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man from Ashkam, working at Sisen Craft
105	03-07-2010	Blade Witbooi (M)	SASI information centre, Witdraai	Afrikaans	≠Khomani artist (clay) from Witdraai
106	04-07-2010	Collin Coetzee (M)	SASI information centre, Witdraai	English	≠Khomani man, driver and maintenance attendant at Witdraai Boskamp
107	04-07-2010	Gert Swartz (M)	SASI information centre, Witdraai	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man from Witdraai, craftseller
108	04-07-2010	Hendrik 'Krom' Januarie en Anna Januarie (M+F)	Molopo Lodge	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man, night guard at Molopo Lodge and his wife
109	05-07-2010	Dion 'Kummsa' Noubitsen (M)	Andriesvale	English	≠Khomani man from Andriesvale
110	05-07-2010	Martha 'Vinkie' van der Westhuyzen (F)	Molopo Lodge	Afrikaans	≠Khomani woman, SASI employee, from Andriesvale
111	06-07-2010	Hendrik 'Buksie' Kruiper (M)	SASI information centre, Witdraai	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man from Welkom, craft seller
112	06-07-2010	Isak Gooi (M)	Road between Andriesvale and Welkom	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man from Witdraai, craft seller and tracker
113	06-07-2010	Elsie Bok & Schalk Bok (F+M)	T-junction, road stalls in Andriesvale	Afrikaans	≠Khomani couple with a road stall
114	06-07-2010	Elia Festus & Dos Francina Festus (M+F)	T-junction, road stalls in Andriesvale	Afrikaans	≠Khomani couple with a road stall
115	07-07-2010	Dion 'Kummsa' Noubitsen (M)	Andriesvale	English	≠Khomani man from Andriesvale
116	07-07-2010	Tokar 'Toppies' Kruiper (M)	SASI information centre, Witdraai	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man from Witdraai, craft seller and tracker
117	08-07-2010	Annetta Bok (F)	Witdraai Boskamp	Afrikaans	≠Khomani woman, SASI employee on language, education, culture and health, from Upington
118	08-07-2010	Hendrik Jakobs (M)	Witdraai Boskamp	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man, SASI employee cleaner and handyman, from Andriesvale
119	08-07-2010	Luce Steenkamp (F)	Boesmanraad office, nearby Witdraai/Andriesvale	Afrikaans	≠Khomani woman, Boesmanraad administrative employee, from Erin
120	09-07-2010	Dawid Kruiper (M)	Witdraai	Afrikaans	≠Khomani traditional authority from Witdraai
121	12-07-2010	Isak Kruiper & Lydia 'Lys' Kruiper (M+F)	Witdraai	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man and woman from Witdraai
122	12-07-2010	Oulet Kruiper (F)	Witdraai	Afrikaans	≠Khomani woman from Witdraai
123	13-07-2010	Annetjie van der Westhuyzen (F)	Andriesvale	Afrikaans	≠Khomani woman from Andriesvale, former shop attendant at Sisen

124	13-07-2010	'Oom' Jan 'Jantjie Ku' van der Westhuyzen (M)	Uitkoms	Afrikaans	≠Khomani Boesmanraad committee member, traditional healer and JMB ≠Khomani representative, from Uitkoms
125	14-07-2010	Petrus Vaalbooi (M)	Scotties Fort	Afrikaans	≠Khomani leader and former CPA chairman from Scotty's Fort
126	15-07-2010	'Oupa' Jan Pieterse (M)	Boesmanraad office, nearby Witdraai/Andriesvale	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man, Boesmanraad employee, from Witdraai
127	19-07-2010	Andries Steenkamp (M)	Erin	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man, Sanraad employee, from Erin
128	20-07-2010	Anne Rasa (F)	Kalahari Trails	English	Owner of Kalahari Trails, former researcher (Professor in zoology) in Kgalagadi
129	21-07-2010	Andrew Kruiper (M)	Welkom	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man, tracker and gatekeeper at Imbewu entrance from Welkom
130	22-07-2010	Abraham de Klerk (M)	Ashkam	Afrikaans	Husband from the new management couple at !Xaus Lodge
131	23-07-2010	'Klein' Dawid Kariseb (M)	Welkom	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man from Welkom
132	24-07-2010	Jan 'Basie Bacon' Titus, Andries Tys, Klaas Kruiper, Tokar 'Toppies' Kruiper (M+M+M+M)	SASI information centre, Witdraai	Afrikaans	≠Khomani men group discussion
133	24-07-2010	Dion 'Kummsa' Noubitsen & Piet van der Westhuyzen (M+M)	Andriesvale	English	≠Khomani men from Andriesvale (Dion) and Botswana (Piet)
134	24-07-2010	Jan 'Basie Bacon' Titus (M)	Miershooppa	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man from Miershooppa
135	26-07-2010	Ruben Festus (M)	Upington	Afrikaans	≠Khomani man from Upington
136	26-07-2010	Elisabeth 'Sussie' Aries (F)	Upington	Afrikaans	≠Khomani woman, SASI employee from Upington
<i>General</i>					
137	21-06-2010	Petrus Wilson (M)	Wildebeest Kuil	Afrikaans + English	Tour guide Wildebeest Kuil
138	21-06-2010	David Morris (M)	Wildebeest Kuil	English	Explanatory talk to the CCMS group, representative of the McGregor Museum
139	23-06-2010	David Morris (M)	Driekops Eiland	English	Explanatory talk to the CCMS group, representative of the McGregor Museum
140	06-04-2010	Omandumba group (M+F)	Omandumba cultural village	English (!Xun, translator from Omandumba)	!Xun group discussion at Omandumba
141	09-04-2010	Mathambo Ngakaeaja (M)	WIMSA, Windhoek	English	WIMSA deputy coordinator
142	12-04-2010	Maxi Louis (F)	NACSO, Windhoek	English	NACSO secretariat coordinator
143	16-04-2010	Stef van Beek (M)	Tsumkwe Country Lodge	Dutch	Tourist/traveller and authenticity coach

144	24-04-2010	Rudolf Namiseb (M)	Tsumeb	Afrikaans	Hai//om from Tsintsabis and Tsumkwe, craft trader
145	26-04-2010	Werner Pfeifer (M)	Namibia Craft Centre, Windhoek	English	Founder of the LCFN
146	27-04-2010	Gocha Dawe (M)	N/a'an Ku Sê	Afrikaans	Ju/'hoansi man, employee at N/a'an Ku Sê
147	27-04-2010	Marlice van Vuuren (F)	N/a'an Ku Sê	Afrikaans	Owner of N/a'an Ku Sê
148	01-05-2010	Three women from Dq̄e Qare (F)	Dq̄e Qare guest farm, Botswana	English	Nharo group discussion with three women on Dq̄e Qare guest farm
149	01-05-2010	Komtsha (M)	Dq̄e Qare guest farm, Botswana	English	Nharo tour guide at Dq̄e Qare guest farm
150	04-05-2010	Joseph Mbaiwa (M)	Harry Oppenheimer Research Institute, Maun, Botswana	English	Professor at the Harry Oppenheimer Research Institute in Maun, Botswana
151	18-05-2010	Willemien le Roux (F)	Kongola	English	Representative of the KFO from Shakawe, Botswana
152	04-06-2010	Lisa Gootjes (F)	C44 road between Tsumkwe and Grootfontein	Dutch	Semi-tourist
153	03/04-07-2010	Lisa Gootjes (F)	Molopo Lodge	Dutch	Semi-tourist
154	28-07-2010	Lisa Gootjes (F)	C12 road between Grünau and Fish River Canyon	Dutch	Semi-tourist
155	05-09-2010	Lisa Gootjes (F)	Rotterdam, the Netherlands	Dutch	Semi-tourist
156	16-09-2010	Margriet Otto and Cees Otto (F+M)	Doorn, the Netherlands	Dutch	Group discussion with two representatives of the Kalahari Support Group, the Netherlands
157	20-09-2010	Anke Kooke (F)	Castricum, the Netherlands	Dutch	Representative of the Kalahari Support Group, the Netherlands

Annex 3: WIMSA media and research contract⁴



WIMSA
Media and Research Contract
(general purpose)
of the San of Southern Africa

WIMSA

Working Group Of Indigenous Minorities In Southern Africa

Media Policy

WIMSA, as the organization representing the interests of all San in Southern Africa, has noted that:

- The Media, driven by the interests of the public, have in the past and will continue to play a large role for the San.
- The Media have, through film, television, newspaper and other forms, contributed to the erosion and loss of intellectual property belonging collectively to the San.
- The lack of practical and effective control of the media has caused numerous problems for the San, including the perpetuation of negative myths, misinformation, exploitation of cultural music and performance, the loss of privacy and the loss of dignity.
- Despite the problems attendant on uncontrolled media interest, including increased tourism with attendant social disruption, the San can and do benefit from appropriate and responsible media coverage.
- Only the San, acting together in accordance with the agreed policies, are able to prevent the further erosion of their intellectual property and dignity.

Therefore WIMSA binds itself and its member organizations to the following policy:

1. The San people alone should determine what information should be conveyed to the media, and under what conditions.
2. Only recognized San leaders, duly trained and authorized, are entitled to provide permission to individuals or organizations from any branch of the media, to publish information on the San.
3. Any individual or organization wishing to engage in any form of media transmission, whether of film, video, radio, newspaper, magazines, photographs or the popular press, which transmission involves the San peoples, must apply for permission from a designated leader. The application should contain the details requested for in the information sheet (*annexure to the media contract*) on the basis of which permission may be granted.
4. If permission to publish is granted, it shall be provided on the WIMSA **media contract** form, which sets out the rights and obligations of the media.
5. Failure by the media person or organization to comply with the terms of the contract will lead to cancellation of the contract, and to appropriate punitive action.

⁴ The layout was adapted slightly but the text is the same.



Media and Research Contract
(general purpose)
of the San of Southern Africa

Between

the San Organisation

Details _____

Bank account _____

And

the Applicant for media or research with the San Organisation

Details _____

THE PARTIES AGREE AND RECORD AS FOLLOWS:

1. The project

The Applicant applies to the San for permission to carry out the following media or research project, which may be described more fully on the attached annexure, described briefly as follows:

Project name and details _____

2. Undertakings by the applicant

The Applicant undertakes as follows:

- 2.1 That the information provided and recorded herein is correct.
- 2.2 To respect the culture, dignity and wishes of the San throughout the project, and not to publish any facts or portrayals that might be harmful or detrimental to the San.
- 2.3 To provide the San with three copies of the final product or products, free of charge.
- 2.4 Not to utilise any of the materials commercially, or for any purpose not disclosed herein, save with the written permission of the San.

3. Undertakings by the SAN organisations

The San Organisation undertakes to do the following:

- 3.1 To cooperate with the Applicant in every possible way regarding the successful completion of the project.
- 3.2 To remit to WIMSA five percent (5%) of all and any income received in respect of the project.

4. Ownership

Ownership of the material produced during the project, as well as of the final product, shall vest as follows (delete those not applicable):

- a) Jointly with the Applicant and the San
- b) With the Applicant
- c) With the San Organisation
- d) Otherwise (as stated): _____

5. Payment

The contractor shall make payment to the San as follows (fill in and delete as applicable):

5.1 To WIMSA in respect of facilitation of the project, the sum of

5.2 To the San Organisation, the sum of

5.3 Other (specify):

All payments to the San are to be paid into the bank account specified by the San above, unless otherwise agreed.

6. General

Any additions to this contract shall not be valid until duly signed by both parties.

It is agreed that the contract shall only be finally valid and of full legal force when formally approved by WIMSA as the San body authorised to protect the rights of the San peoples.

In the event of a dispute or a breach by either party, the aggrieved party shall provide immediate notice of such breach, and the parties shall attempt to resolve the issue informally. While the rights to resort to litigation remain reserved, the parties commit themselves to utmost good faith in the resolving of any disputes between them by negotiation or mediation.

Signed by the **Applicant** at _____
on this _____ day of _____ 200_____

Witnesses 1 _____
2 _____ Applicant _____

Signed by the **San Organisation** at _____
on this _____ day of _____ 200_____

Witnesses 1 _____
2 _____ San Organisation _____

Signed and approved by the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA)

WIMSA _____ Date _____

Approved by the WIMSA Annual General Assembly on 28 November 2001.

The purpose of this contract is to ensure that all San intellectual property (including images, traditional knowledge, music and other heritage components as recorded in any medium) is controlled and protected.

If envisaging a more complex project, the Applicant should hold further discussions with WIMSA.

Note: This form records the subject matter to be addressed by a company or individual wishing to engage in a media or research project with or involving the San. If the parties feel that the matter does not warrant the degree of detail specified here, they may agree to provide no more than the bare essentials.

1. APPLICANT / CONTRACTOR DETAILS

Organisation _____
 Contact person _____
 Full physical address _____
 Postal address _____
 Telephone # (add code) _____ Fax # _____
 Email address _____

2. The project

Project name or title _____
 Project description _____
 Project details _____

3. Sensitivity

Does the media subject matter or research involve any intellectual property of a form that requires special protection (e.g. rituals, myths, performances, traditional plant or medical knowledge or secrets)?

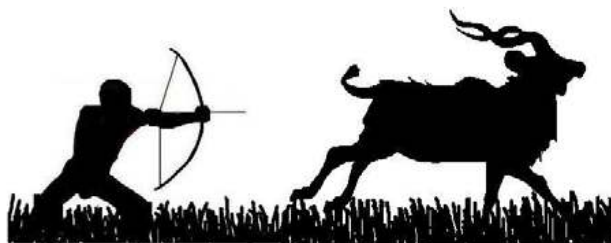
Details _____

WIMSA ACCOUNT DETAILS

Name of account	WIMSA Media Account
Bank	Commercial Bank of Namibia Windhoek South Branch Bismarck Street PO Box 1, Windhoek, Republic of Namibia
Type of account	Investment Account
Account Number	No. 9998 Swift CBON NA NX

Annex 4: Tender for White Sands, Bwabwata

KYARAMACAN ASSOCIATION



Assisted by the Ministry of Environment & Tourism

Tender for
Tourism Lodge Concession – White Sands
on the Kavango River inside Bwabwata National Park

Notice to tenderers

The Bwabwata National Park is situated in north-eastern Namibia, and consists of all the land between the Kavango and Kwando Rivers in Namibia, plus the area known as Mahango. The Park is very significant for the conservation of biodiversity in Namibia as it protects some of the last remaining riparian forests along the Kavango River, and also provides formal conservation status over a large portion of the Kwando River. The White Sands area is situated within the multiple-use zone of the Park, directly opposite and downstream from Popa Falls on the Kavango River.

The Kyaramacan Association has been awarded a 20-year head concession contract for the White Sands – N//goabaca Tourism Lodge Concession by the Ministry of Environment & Tourism (MET). The Kyaramacan Association, assisted by MET, now seeks proposals from private parties to help develop and implement the concession. Interested parties are required to pre-qualify for the tender process by submitting expressions of interest in the required format. Only pre-qualified parties will be invited to submit full proposals.

Tender number:	TL01-2010
Concession title:	White Sands – N//goabaca Tourism Lodge Concession
Description of concession:	The concession consists of the right to develop up to 20 guest rooms and 10 camping sites, as well as the necessary support infrastructure within a concession area of approximately 19ha.
Pre-qualification documents are available from:	As from 8 th October 2010 at: MET Concession Unit 3 Ruhr Street Northern Industrial Area Windhoek, Namibia
Expressions of interests close:	17h00 on Friday 29th October 2010
Enquiries:	Fabiola Katamila Mobile: +264 81 289 7978 Telephone: +264 61 284 2577 Email: fkatamila@gmail.com

Annex 5: Tender for trophy hunting concession, Bwabwata

KYARAMACAN ASSOCIATION



Assisted by the Ministry of Environment & Tourism

Tender for
Trophy Hunting Concession
Bwabwata National Park

Notice to tenderers

The Bwabwata National Park is situated in north-eastern Namibia, and consists of all the land between the Kavango and Kwando Rivers in Namibia, plus the area known as Mahango. As well as being an important conservation area, the Park is also considered by the trophy hunting fraternity to be one of the best hunting areas in Southern Africa, largely because of the exceptional big game, as well as the relatively pristine and remote hunting environment. Wildlife on offer include: elephant, buffalo, reedbuck, kudu, roan, sable, hippopotamus, crocodile, leopard, eland, spotted hyena, steenbok and duiker.

The Kyaramacan Association has been awarded a 5-year head concession contract for the Bwabwata Trophy Hunting Concession by the Ministry of Environment & Tourism (MET). The Kyaramacan Association, assisted by the MET, now seeks proposals from reputable, registered trophy hunting operators to help implement the concession. Interested operators are required to register for the tender procedure, and will thereafter receive the tender document.

Tender number:	TH01-2010
Concession title:	Bwabwata Trophy Hunting Concession
Description of concession:	The concession consists of two lots, with each lot defined geographically (i.e. Bwabwata West & Bwabwata East), and in terms of its concession rights and available trophy hunting quota. Bidders may submit a proposal for either or both lots; however no single Bidder shall be awarded both lots. Separate concession operator contracts shall be awarded to the successful bidder for each lot.
Bidder registration forms available from:	As from 8 th November 2010 at: MET Concession Unit 3 Ruhr Street Northern Industrial Area Windhoek, Namibia
Bidder registration close:	09h45, 26 th November 2010
Compulsory bidder's meeting:	10h00, 26 th November 2010 at: NamPower Convention Centre Corner Goethe & Uhland Street Windhoek
Tender close:	12h00, 14 th January 2011
Enquiries:	Fabiola Katamila Mobile: +264 81 289 7978 Telephone: +264 61 284 2577 Email: fkatamila@gmail.com

Annex 6: Press release for the signing of the KAZA TFCA Treaty



Kavango Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area

Secretariat: P.O. Box 1171, Gaborone, Botswana
Tel/Fax: +267 397 1857
E-mail: rc@kazatfca.org.bw or pm@kazatfca.org.bw
www.kavanzambezi.org

18th August 2011

PRESS RELEASE

FIVE PRESIDENTS SIGN A TREATY TO ESTABLISH THE KAVANGO ZAMBEZI TRANSFRONTIER CONSERVATION AREA (KAZA TFCA)

On 18th August 2011 at the SADC Summit in Luanda, Angola, the Presidents of the Republics of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe signed a Treaty which formally and legally establishes the **Kavango Zambezi Trans-frontier Conservation Area (KAZA TFCA)**. The surface area of the KAZA TFCA is over 444,000km² (almost the size of Sweden) making it the world's largest conservation area comprising multiple resource use areas including National Parks, Game Reserves, Forest Reserves, Conservancies, Game/Wildlife Management Areas and Communal lands. By signing this Treaty, the five partner states aim to ensure that the natural resources they share across their international boundaries along the Kavango and Zambezi River Basins are conserved and managed prudently for present and future generations within the context of sustainable development. Tourism development in the TFCA will be one vehicle for socio-economic growth in the region, aimed at improving the livelihoods of the primary beneficiaries of this TFCA - the people that live within and around the TFCA who bear the opportunity costs for the biodiversity conservation.

The signing of this Treaty marks a historic and significant milestone in the development of the TFCA, and it affirms the commitment of these five southern African states made in December 2006 when they signed a Memorandum of Understanding to facilitate the negotiations to establish this TFCA. With the signing of the KAZA Treaty, the KAZA TFCA shall become an international organisation with a legal persona, capable of entering into contracts, and acquiring and disposing of property. Institutions established through the Treaty to govern the TFCA, particularly its Secretariat, will be empowered to ensure that the objectives of the Treaty are realized and corresponding strategic plans and protocols implemented.

The KAZA concept was agreed by the five partner states in July 2003 in Katima Mulilo, Namibia, and from that time, the five partner states have led its process of establishment with visionary leadership and sense of partnership. The KAZA vision has received tremendous support from international development partners in particular, the German Government through KfW, Peace Parks Foundation, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Swiss Agency of Development and Cooperation and the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) who have all been instrumental in getting the TFCA to where it is today.

Country Contacts

Angola

Ministry of Hotels & Tourism
Largo 4 de Fevereiro,
Palacio de Vidro 6 Andar
Luanda
Tel/fax: +244 222 310 899

Botswana

Ministry of Environment,
Wildlife & Tourism
Government Enclave
P/Bag 80199
Gaborone
Tel: +267 364 7902
Fax: +267 391 4955

Namibia

Ministry of Environment
& Tourism
FGI Building
Post Street Mall
P/Bag 13346
Windhoek
Tel: +264 61 284 2335
Fax: +264 61 229 936

Zambia

Ministry of Tourism, Environment
and Natural Resources
Electra House, Cairo Road
P.O. Box 30575
Lusaka
Tel: +260 211 223 930
Fax: +260 211 223 930

Zimbabwe

Ministry of Environment and
Natural Resources Management
11th Floor Kaguvi Building
Corner Fourth Street &
Central Avenue
P/Bag 7753
Causeway
Harare
Tel: +263 4 701681/2/3
Fax: +263 4 252673



Kavango Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area

Secretariat: P. O. Box 1171, Gaborone, Botswana
Tel/Fax: +267 397 1857
E-mail: rc@kazatfca.org.bw or pm@kazatfca.org.bw
www.kavangozambezi.org

The signing of the Treaty during the closing ceremony of the SADC Summit in Luanda is a fitting gesture and not without basis as the KAZA TFCA is founded on the SADC ideals articulated in the Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement of 1999, which commits SADC Member States to “*promote the conservation of shared wildlife resources through the establishment of trans-frontier conservation areas.*”

The KAZA TFCA is characterised by a mosaic of land uses; diversity of cultures, peoples and languages; differing national capacities, priorities and natural resource management practices; biodiversity of global significance; vast geographical extent; immense and in many places untapped tourism potential; and a growing human population with corresponding development needs. These features offer both opportunities and challenges for realizing the KAZA vision. The KAZA Treaty signifies an enabling instrument through which these challenges can be addressed and these potential opportunities maximised.

The KAZA partner states would like to extend their gratitude and appreciation to the local, regional and international stakeholders in their unwavering support of this ambitious and noble conservation and development partnership.

Country Contacts

Angola
Ministry of Hotels & Tourism
Largo 4 de Fevereiro,
Palacio de Vidro 6 Andar
Luanda
Tel/fax: +244 222 310 899

Botswana
Ministry of Environment,
Wildlife & Tourism
Government Enclave
P/Bag B0199
Gaborone
Tel: +267 364 7902
Fax: +267 391 4955

Namibia
Ministry of Environment
& Tourism
FGI Building
Post Street Mall
P/Bag 13346
Windhoek
Tel: +264 61 284 2335
Fax: +264 61 229 936

Zambia
Ministry of Tourism, Environment
and Natural Resources
Electra House, Cairo Road
P. O. Box 30575
Lusaka
Tel: +260 211 223 930
Fax: +260 211 223 930

Zimbabwe
Ministry of Environment and
Natural Resources Management
11th Floor Kaguvu Building
Corner Fourth Street &
Central Avenue
P/Bag 7753
Causeway
Harare
Tel: +263 4 701681/2/3
Fax: +263 4 252673

A unique conservation, tourism and sustainable development partnership.

(Source: MET 2011)

Annex 7: My motivation behind Treesleeper Camp in 2000

The underneath is a direct copy of Section 7.2 (Sustainable Development and Tourism) from my MA thesis (Koot 2000: 87-89).⁵

The reason why sustainable development and tourism are discussed together here is because tourism might possibly prove to be a serious option for the improvement of sustainable development in Tsintsabis. It is too broad a discussion here to provide a definition for 'sustainable development', since this has proven to be a complex concept. Nonetheless, when discussing sustainable rural development, Chambers concludes with five lessons that are of major importance and that are given here since they have to be kept in mind for the future development of Tsintsabis (R. Chambers 1988: 8-13). The first one is the 'learning-process approach', which is preferable compared to the blueprint approach.⁶ It includes the ability to recognise error and failure and thereby even to change objectives if necessary. Second there must be attention for 'people's priorities first'. Already mentioned, but undoubtedly one of the most important items to make Tsintsabis more sustainable. Linked with the first lesson Chambers states that '(a)ll too often, the learning process is a process of learning for outsiders in which they only gradually come to understand what people's priorities are (1988: 9).' The third lesson is to 'secure rights and gains'. The use of sustainable resources requires a long-term view from the users. Quite often the myth has been that the poor are somehow incapable of taking a long-term view. Without secure rights to resources, it does not make any sense for them to do so. The fourth item is 'sustainability through self-help'. There is a strong link between sustainability and self-help. In fact, '(s)ubsidies (...) often diminish the relevance or sustainability of a programme; relevance is less because people who are being paid in food or cash are prepared to undertake work in which they have neither interest nor faith, and because of the expectation of further support for further work (R. Chambers 1988: 11-12).' In Tsintsabis the food provision of the first five years can be considered a subsidy and therefore it might have slowed down the introduction of agriculture. The fifth lesson is 'staff calibre, commitment and continuity'. In reality this is something very hard to judge. This last lesson is very obvious and reinforces the ability to implement the other four lessons.

One of the mentioned 'solutions' by the people was the implementation of tourism in Tsintsabis. The committee has plans for this already since 1993. Here the traditional Bushmen culture would in fact be 'used' for development. It is questionable whether this is desirable. Thoma of WIMSA in fact mentioned that 'if there was a possibility for San to escape tourism we would definitely support the idea but (since) there is no escape, we must do something to avoid further exploitation (South African San Institute 1998 cited in Gordon & Douglas 2000: 247).' But then again, making money out of

⁵ I have adapted the references to the same system as this thesis.

⁶ A blueprint approach refers to the implementation of a policy whatsoever, so that even if things go wrong the current implementation is followed 'because it is in the policy'. Within contemporary development thinking this is nowadays quite often considered an old-fashioned view.

their culture can – morally speaking – best be done by themselves. At the moment there is ‘Bushman-tourism’ in the area of Tsintsabis already. There is no reason why they would not handle the tourism based on their own culture themselves. Presently this is done by *boers* in the neighbourhood of Tsintsabis; at Ombili and on one of the commercial farms close to Tsintsabis. This does not mean that there are no possibilities for Tsintsabis, since the mentioned tourism aims for the richer class of tourists. It is not reasonable to aim for the ‘same type of tourist’ in Tsintsabis. Concerning the present situation it seems better to aim for the ‘low and middle budget’ tourists by creating a community-based camp-site that can stimulate the small-scale economy of Tsintsabis. While there are some moral disadvantages about ‘dancing for tourists’ it is a possibility to help the people develop themselves while at the same time ‘preserving their culture’. For example ‘Ju’hoansi tracking skills, which were dying out, are gaining new value for tourist-guiding in former Bushmanland (Ashley 1998: 311).’ The mentioned preservation of a culture is not necessarily a bad thing, if it helps the development of the people along with them keeping their dignity.

Tsintsabis would be an excellent place for a community-based campsite. It is not far from the main tourist route Windhoek – Victoria Falls, which would make it a good overnight stay for the people travelling that route. It is also close to the Etosha National Park so that people who would like to go there can stay in Tsintsabis for a night before entering the park in Namutoni the next morning. Especially during peak season an extra camp site in the neighbourhood of the park makes sense. It would also mean that the Hei//omn get something back from ‘their’ Etosha, this being indirect but nonetheless morally desirable. If there is no possibility anymore to give back their ancestral lands, it does not harm if they could at least profit a little bit from it. In Tsintsabis ‘cultural things’ could be offered, like ceremonies, tracking skills and arts or crafts for sale. Even hunting with bow and arrow could be part of the package, if a good place can be found in the area where it is possible to walk Bushman trails and inform the tourists about traditional Bushman hunting. This way people from the other resettlement areas could be involved as well, since the people of Oerwoud already make crafts for sale and then they can sell it in Tsintsabis. Tourism would mean employment, excitement for the (young) people and more variety in the ways of income (which is an extra back-up when there is another drought). To start with it is necessary to provide the basic necessities for the tourists. A camp-site does not necessarily need to be build *in* Tsintsabis, but can also be situated somewhere in the neighbourhood. In Namibia it is a booming business: in 1990 there were approximately 100,000 tourists visiting the country while in 1997 there have been over 500,000 visitors (excluding Namibians) (UNDP 1998: 70). Etosha National Park is one of the main attractions in the country, which offers serious opportunities for Tsintsabis, while it also fits with the country’s policy:

‘Tourism can also generate social benefits and enhance capacity necessary for local management of resources, such as management skills, institutional strength, capacity to interact with the private sector and collective decision-making on land use. (...) Namibia cannot compete internationally on wildlife alone. Diversifying and developing the country’s own product means emphasising desert, wilderness, and cultural assets, and appealing more to the “eco-tourist” who wants environmentally and socially responsible tourism. Therefore the tourism development strategy emphasises local benefits from tourism and a number of private operators are seeking links with local residents.’ (*Ibid.*: 72).

It must be realised though, that, again, the local priorities have to be seriously taken into account:

‘The Namibian experience shows that community tourism can evolve rapidly, and can generate a range of financial, social and livelihood benefits for communities, as well as problems. The impacts vary according to the type of enterprise development, the local context, and the opportunities for local residents to shape tourism to their needs and priorities. Promoting community participation in, and benefit from, tourism is therefore quite different from blanket promotion of tourism in rural areas. Within the constraints of maintaining financial viability, an adaptive approach that builds on local priorities is needed.’ (Ashley 1998: 349).

The young people of Tsintsabis often speak good enough English to work with tourists and for them it seems to be an escape from boredom. According to the UNDP ‘(t)ourism also has the potential to be more sustainable than many other grand development schemes. Therefore, development NGOs and institutions are increasingly promoting local tourism enterprises (1998: 72).’

Annex 8: Dwelling with Survival and Wilderness in the Central Kalahari, Botswana

While the Botswana government is denying Bushmen access to water, Wilderness Safaris has opened a tourist lodge on their land, complete with bar and swimming pool ... In late 2010 Survival (International) launched an international boycott of Botswana tourism 'until the government ends a brutal campaign of persecution against Kalahari Bushmen.' (SI 2011)

The above quote from Survival International's website shows part of the controversy of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana where the removal of /Gui and //Gana Bushmen from the reserve is receiving worldwide attention because of the involvement of the UK-based NGO Survival International. The argument between Survival International and Wilderness Safaris became more intense while I was doing my fieldwork in 2010, when Wilderness Safaris built the Kalahari Plains Camp in the Central Kalahari.

The /Gui and //Gana are also called the Central Kalahari Bushmen and they were always among the most isolated groups of Khoisan people (Barnard 1992: 98). The Central Kalahari Game Reserve was created in 1961 to protect habitats *and* the people dwelling there (Maruyama 2003: 226). The presence of Bushmen was first seen as a way of attracting tourists but in the 1980s ecologists and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks recommended relocating the people living there because they were no longer living their traditional lifestyle and were having a negative impact on wildlife, which was then seen as the main and sole attraction for tourists. The idea was that the reserve would have greater value as a tourist destination and would lose its integrity if people were allowed to live there. In 1986 a commission without representatives from the local community recommended that the people move out of the Central Kalahari. The residents, assisted by support groups, tried to make the government change its decision but to no avail. After the relocation of the people from !Xade to New !Xade in 1997, it was estimated that there were between 420 and 450 people living in the Central Kalahari in 1999. After a second set of removals only 17 people were left and by 2002 nearly all of the residents, who had numbered well over a thousand in the 1980s, had been relocated to three new settlements on the edge of the reserve: New !Xade, Kaudwane and Xeri. In the biggest one, New !Xade, in addition to a school, a clinic, a cemetery, plots and cattle *kraals*, there was also a camping area designated for tourists. In general, the situation in these new resettlement camps has far from improved the lives of the people. The Botswana government's official reason for this resettlement was that people would benefit from development opportunities and government services a lot more easily and cheaply. The exploitation of minerals, especially diamonds, in the area is another reason given by some organisations. Other groups thought it was more complex and included the 'civilising attitude' of the government because the traditional lifestyle of the Bushmen is considered 'backward' (although the idea that they did not live traditionally anymore was a main reason for removing them). A division has appeared in the communities between people supporting the movement to regain land rights, live and utilise the natural resources of the reserve and those without any interest in the land-right issue but who were concerned about obtaining the economic benefits of

being integrated into Botswana society (Hitchcock 1997: 111; Hitchcock & Brandenburgh 1990; Hitchcock *et al.* 2004: 171-178; Hitchcock & Vinding 2003; Ikeya 2001: 190). According to Erni (1997: 10-11), the argument for resettlement used by the government for the conservation of wildlife contradicts the government's own policy because it emphasised the participation of local communities, as was happening then in other parts of the country with community ecotourism projects, and for which private operators were ready to cooperate with Central Kalahari residents. So a clear shift took place in the 1980s in the government's approach to the people of the Central Kalahari, in which the Bushmen were first seen as an attraction for tourists, and later as a threat to conservation and tourism (Mbaiwa *et al.* 2008: 158). Interestingly, these Bushmen were again dwelling in a changing environment where they had to find ways to adapt to these changes because they were barely in control of their environment.

Various respondents explained how there was a team of NGOs to negotiate with the government of Botswana to allow the people to have rights to go back into the park after the government had forcefully moved them out on trucks. Then Survival International convinced the NGO the First People of the Kalahari to bring a court case against the government, and other NGOs decided to withdraw because they did not want to be a part of the proceedings. They did not believe that a battle with the government was the solution. In the years to come, Survival International's campaign became anti-government, with the result that the government became more antagonistic towards the Central Kalahari residents and support organisations than ever before. Some respondents said that, in order to gain funds, Survival forgot to give the correct information or to put it in the right context. Most NGOs felt that they could have achieved greater rights for the people if the negotiating team had continued, although negotiations did not always progress easily. Apparently this did not happen due to Survival's interference and when the court case was won in 2006 only the 'real applicants', which is a small group of people, can go back to the park. This does not include their children, so families have had to split up if they want to use this newly acquired right (cf. Mbaiwa *et al.* 2008: 169). In addition, the government is not providing services, especially water, in the Central Kalahari for the Bushmen who have returned to the park, which led to another court case. In 2011, the Bushmen did however win the right of access to water (SI 2011). Although diamonds are important for Botswana's economy, this does not mean that people need to be resettled outside the Central Kalahari. Diamonds have only been found in one place, but Survival was already talking about 'blood diamonds'. However, as diamonds are very important to everyone in Botswana and to the national economy, Survival fell out of favour with many people in Botswana (Saugestad 2006: 173-176). It is doubtful whether Survival's vocal style of advocacy truly represents the voice of the //Gana and the /Gui in the Central Kalahari. 'Speaking for' these Bushmen from a relatively powerful position can intentionally and unintentionally mute the voices of the people Survival is speaking on behalf of, which bears the danger of further disempowerment of the local people (Tshepho 2002).

In the early 2000s Stephen Corry, Survival's director, became engaged in a debate with some anthropologists (see Corry 2003; Suzman 2003b; J. Taylor 2007a), and primarily James Suzman, who felt that Survival's actions did not create a platform for

negotiation between the government and the discontented Bushmen. Instead it was “typically melodramatic, ran roughshod over dissenting opinions and displayed Survival’s naïveté about the main constraints involved” (Suzman 2003a: 5). In addition, Suzman mentioned that the Bushmen communities were divided on the issue so that it was hard to speak for all of them. When Survival started to campaign against Wilderness on their website in 2010 for building the Kalahari Plains Camp, Wilderness used Suzman’s article on their website in its defence, together with a written statement of its own (Suzman 2003a; WS 2011a, 2011b). According to one of my respondents, Wilderness was pushing for the lodge in the Central Kalahari because big companies have the power to do so and some politicians are apparently Wilderness shareholders. Indeed, in their own statement on their website, Wilderness explains that they operate within Botswana law and that they have provided training and jobs for eleven Bushmen. They have taken a stand against the international boycott of tourism in Botswana as proposed by Survival (WS 2011a, 2011b). This standpoint shows the value in today’s world of corporate bodies and a legal framework, although it can easily exclude the marginalised. In its response, Survival calls Wilderness a “(self-declared) ‘ethical’ tourist company” (SI 2013) and wonders why Wilderness has shown Suzman’s article (2003a) on their website but not the response by Corry (2003). In the end, the lodge was built and is still operational today, while the Central Kalahari has been developed as an international tourist destination (Mbaiwa 2012: 129).

The case of the Central Kalahari is the most controversial resettlement involving Bushmen in Southern Africa. Tourism and conservation were always essential in its reasoning but only recently there have been arguments about a specific tourist plan, namely the Kalahari Plains Camp by Wilderness. Without Survival’s attention, it would not have had as much attention as it is now getting. In fact, a lot of the attention today is going to the Central Kalahari while in the areas near it and across Botswana and Southern Africa, many more Bushmen have been relocated but have received little attention. This global attention could have positive consequences as well. Some believe that the government of Botswana has become more careful in comparable cases. For example, in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park in Ngwatle (on the Botswana side), they have now built a borehole and a school, something that would probably not have happened without all the attention that there has been on the Central Kalahari. Indeed, the government gazetted Khwai at the Moremi Game Reserve in 2005 as a permanent settlement after decades of resistance by local Khwe Bushmen. This might also have been because of the court case over the Central Kalahari in 2002 (Mbaiwa *et al.* 2008: 169, see also Chapter 4).

Annex 9: No research at !Khwa ttu, South Africa

The !Khwa ttu San Culture and Education Centre is in an 850 ha nature reserve in South Africa's Western Cape Province, about 70 km north of Cape Town. It was built with the help of WIMSA and opened in 2006. Its unlikely location can be explained by the occupancy of the area by the now-extinct /Xam Bushmen, its proximity to Cape Town which ensures a steady stream of visitors, a meeting of individuals who all deeply care for the Bushmen and the sale of the beautiful farmstead (Staehelin 2006: 163; WIMSA 2007). !Khwa ttu is aimed at Bushmen heritage and culture, educating the public and providing training for Bushmen. When the site was purchased at the request of WIMSA and SASI, the initial idea was to help the Bushmen cope with the increasing numbers of tourists in their areas, after Bushmen leaders from South Africa and Namibia had concluded in 1998 that tourism resulted in mixed blessings for their communities. Since 2006 !Khwa ttu has attracted a considerable number of visitors (Staehelin 2006: 164; WIMSA 2007: 13). Youngsters from nearby communities receive training in tourism at !Khwa ttu, but it is hard for them to apply this new knowledge when they return to their communities where there is a lot of community pressure on them for their newly acquired skills and what these can afford. There have been discussions about opening a craft outlet in the Cape Town area for Bushman products since 1988 because of the increase in tourism (Staehelin 2002).

What is striking about !Khwa ttu is that Staehelin (2006: 166-167), Cherrington (2006) and Barbara Festus (2003: 1-3) have stated that the place ought to remain a 'research-free zone' where the Bushmen themselves research their own past. They could then come to terms with all that has been said and written about them, as a way of trying to address the San cultural trauma, which has led to suppressed grief, rage and shame (Staehelin 2006: 164). This anti-research attitude is particularly interesting when one notes that WIMSA, the 50% owner of !Khwa ttu, was involved in various research projects, films and other media events over the years (see Annex 3). An anonymous respondent from Botswana explained that !Khwa ttu is mainly the dream of a Swiss woman, Irene Staehelin, who is the biggest donor and the other 50% owner. She (the respondent) explained how, because a lot is about traditions at !Khwa ttu, the focus is mainly on the wishes of westerners. Indeed, when I received the !Khwa ttu newsletter in 2012, young Bushmen who were about to take part in the San Community-Based Tourism Training Programme were being portrayed as the 'people of nature' since "(o)ur new intake will be 13 young San men and women from South-Africa, Namibia and Botswana, all with the same thing in mind, to show their love for Nature" (!Khwattu, 2012). The image of Bushmen as natural conservationists is also to be found at !Khwa ttu. According to the same respondent, it is partly because of the geographical distance to the Bushmen communities that the centre and the people working there do not have any understanding of the political turmoil and exploitation of the Bushmen in the rest of Southern Africa. She explained how many people at !Khwa ttu are actually coloureds who play the role of Bushmen but it is considered politically incorrect to mention this.

Annex 10: Dwelling at the Dq̃e Qare Game Reserve, Botswana

The Dq̃e Qare Game Reserve is a community-based tourist project of the Nharo Bushmen of D'Kar village in Ghanzi District, Botswana. Dq̃e Qare is about 7500 ha with 2000 people dwelling there. The farm or game reserve is aimed at creating employment, preserving Nharo indigenous knowledge and generating income. The D'Kar community and the Dq̃e Qare Game Reserve are governed by the D'Kar Trust, which falls under the umbrella of the Kuru Family of Organisations (formerly the Kuru Development Trust) (DQGR 2011c; KFO 2009: 25; 2010: 29). The D'Kar Trust also decides who can work at Dq̃e Qare.

White farmers from South Africa settled and set up cattle farms in this area in the past and some have started their own private projects. For tourists, it is hard to see the difference between community and private enterprises, such as Ghanzi Trailblazers or Grassland Safaris. Mathambo Ngakaeaja from WIMSA explained that the Bushmen working at these private enterprises have to act in a traditional manner but that there is hardly any empowerment. He believes that the private enterprises tend to be better run because the lodge owners understand both worlds. The farm that is now the Dq̃e Qare Game Reserve started as a Kuru Development Trust project as part of a CBNRM programme (DQGR 2011b; Van den Berg 2001: 35-36). Since the 1980s many people have moved into D'Kar, especially Tswana and Herero with cattle. It was partly for this reason that it was decided to turn Dq̃e Qare into a game reserve so that the land would not be overgrazed and the Bushmen could generate income through tourist activities. In the early days, the road between Ghanzi and Maun, which is the gateway to the Okavango Delta, was not tarred so there were not many tourists but those who passed through often stopped. The employees' business sense was limited then and the Dutch couple Otto was called in by the Kuru Development Trust for a few years to improve the business capacity of the workers at Dq̃e Qare. They worked on marketing and a craft shop in D'Kar and Margriet Otto explained how the shop was not attractive to tourists so she started teaching the Bushmen about basic business principles. She stated how important it was to cooperate with the people, and also how business principles have two sides. On the one hand, it has increased their sense of running a business so that people have work and generate income, which is a necessity in tourism. On the other hand, the cash economy has created a sense of individuality. For example, when they built the shop, Otto asked two young men to help her carry two planks, a very small job, for which they then asked for money.

Dq̃e Qare is unusual in Botswana since it is the only freehold land that is owned by a Bushman community and when other groups of Bushmen discussed the same idea of accessing freehold land, the process turned out to be too difficult or costly (Hitchcock 2006: 242). According to Willemien le Roux of the KFO, Dq̃e Qare was not profitable for a long time but this has changed (cf. KFO 2009: 25; cf. KFO 2010: 28). However, staff told me that no profit was made in 2009. Today Dq̃e Qare consists of a guest-house, a campsite, traditional Bushmen huts for accommodation and another campsite far away on the farm. In addition, there is a restaurant (which was not operating when I

was there) and a swimming pool and they offer activities such as bushwalks, traditional dancing and storytelling, game drives, crafts for sale and trophy hunting.⁷ A big dance festival is held every year with Bushmen groups from all over Southern Africa (DQGR 2011a) and there is plenty of game and ostriches, warthogs and kudu close to the accommodation. So far there has been one half-Bushman manager and all the other managers have been expats. According to Van den Berg (2001: 36-40), the original idea was to have expat managers in the initial stages when there was discussion of starting a joint-venture agreement with a private safari company, but no companies showed serious interest so it was then decided to work with a manager who became more of a facilitator for the farm management. Indeed, when I visited the farm in 2003 there was a Scottish manager (assisted by WIMSA and VSO) and when I visited again in 2010 an English manager had left just the day before. Employees told me that the next manager would be an expat too because people from the D'Kar community were not yet ready for the job. Interestingly, this also shows how this group of Bushmen believes in the involvement of outsiders as a necessity for them to continue their tourist activities.

⁷ According to their website (DQGR 2011c). However, a tour guide at Dqãe Qare, Komtsha, told me that traditional hunting and trophy hunting were not offered anymore.

Annex 11: Movie Stars, Bushmen and *baasskap* at N/a'an Ku Sê, Namibia

The N/a'an Ku Sê Lodge and Wildlife Sanctuary is only a few km from Windhoek International Airport. It is a farm that is privately owned by Afrikaners Marlice and Rudi van Vuuren, although N/a'an Ku Sê is mostly run by Marlice. It supports wildlife in a variety of ways and focuses on conservation. In addition, they have set up projects for the 14 Ju/'hoansi Bushmen working there and for their community in Epukiro, where they built a clinic with the profits from N/a'an Ku Sê. Marlice explained that all of their income goes to charity and is spent on the clinic, medicines and so on (of course, other sources of income such as donors make that possible). N/a'an Ku Sê has strong ties with a big Dutch donor and also with the movie stars Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie. In December 2010 they entered into a partnership with the Shiloh Jolie-Pitt Foundation, which is named after the couple's Namibian-born child (NKS, 2011). In this new partnership, Jolie and Pitt have promised to give US\$ 2 million to N/a'an Ku Sê (TNN 2011b: 5).

Unlike most commercial lodges, Van Vuuren does not force the Ju/'hoansi to work in traditional clothes because it would feel like exploitation. They can choose how they dress. Nevertheless some of the men want to be photographed or filmed in traditional clothing because they are proud of their culture and can earn extra money this way. The Ju/'hoansi Gochas, who comes from Tsumkwe, was taken for photo shoots around the world with his family. He explained that he is happy at N/a'an Ku Sê, where he does tracking and gets a good salary of N\$ 3000 a month (which is a lot more than many others I met). He likes wearing traditional clothes for photo sessions because he is proud of his tradition. In addition, on one occasion after a photo shoot he was paid N\$ 16,000, with which he could buy a car. He was asked to work at N/a'an Ku Sê by Van Vuuren because he is a good tracker but he does not work with tourists. Van Vuuren has three basic rules for staff at the lodge: No drinking on the farm; all children must go to school; and there must be no hitting of women. If they do not follow these rules, they have to leave. The fact that she has been befriended by some of the Ju/'hoansi while she is also their boss sometimes makes things difficult, but they now know the boundaries when they are working and when they are relaxing because they have learned to talk about problems.

Van Vuuren has a strong Afrikaner identity and is proud of this. She explained how she had an argument with the famous French actress Juliette Binoche about the Afrikaners' role in apartheid, in which Van Vuuren told Binoche that "(a)t least I am still here, I try to solve what we have done wrong" (Interview 147). One of Van Vuuren's main motivations is to give something back to the Bushmen because many of her friends (and even her nanny) are Bushmen. Van Vuuren herself was in an advertisement for Volkswagen and many people in Namibia know her partly because of this. An NGO worker explained to me that he visited N/a'an Ku Sê but that it looked artificial to him and not like 'development'. Clearly, it is a different concept from what is mostly used by NGOs, especially when it comes to ownership because various principles of *baas-*

skap still apply. However, although the place is a bit glamorous in some ways, it also shows that *baasskap*, even though it is static, leaves some space for variation. Here the *baas* is a woman and a woman who is in various ways dwelling in the global environment, not in the sense of nature as it is described in Chapter 2 but more in global relations. Interestingly, she allows and supports Bushmen to connect to this type of global environment, which can have an increasing effect on the Bushmen's agency since their capabilities are enhanced. It can be seen as a fresh initiative, one that is innovative in a conservative environment. The place shows that what matters most are not the formal contract or the institutional set-up (for example joint ventures or community trusts) but the social and working relations and behaviour on the ground, in the environment.

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