Maps and memory, rights and relationships: articulations of global modernity and local dwelling in delineating land for a communal-area conservancy in north-west Namibia

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Abstract: Mapping new administrative domains for integrating conservation and development, and defining rights in terms of both new policy and the citizenry governed thereby, are central to current neoliberal environment and development programmes known as Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM). Examples now abound of the ambiguous and frequently contested outcomes of such initiatives and processes. In this paper I draw on historical and ethnographic material for north-west Namibia, and particularly in relation to Damara/≠Nū Khoen, to explore two issues. First, I highlight an historical context of multiple displacements and mapped reorganisations of landscapes and human populations, and an associated politicising of alternative memories of land access and use. Second, I consider a nexus of constitutive and affective relationships *with* landscape that tend to be displaced by the economistic 'culture complex' of neoliberalism. Acknowledging epistemological and ontological disjunctions in conceptions and experiences of people-land relationships might go some way towards generating nuanced understanding regarding why conflict emerges in these contexts; as well as constituting a frame for thinking through who and what wins or loses given contemporary globalising trajectories.

Keywords: maps; memory; identity; rights; community-based natural resource management (CBNRM); neoliberalism; neoliberal conservation; phenomenology; cultural landscapes; Namibia

This paper is dedicated to memories of Nathan ≠Ûina Taurob, Philippine |Hairo ||Nowaxas, Andreas !Kharuxab, Blythe Loutit and Mike Hearn, with whom I shared, and from whom I learn.

> The struggle of [wo]man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting.
>
> (Kundera 1996 (1978): pt. 1, ch.2)

> The land,
> like the sun,
> like the air we breathe,
> belongs to everyone –
> and to no one.
>
> (*What Zapata Said*, Abbey 1994: 67)

> We lived where we wanted; the land was open like our heart (*≠gao*).
>
> (Andreas !Kharuxab, interview 1999).

Introducing contexts

Rural environment and development initiatives worldwide increasingly have focused on conferring or strengthening the land and resource tenure rights of 'communities' of people. In southern Africa this manifests in part as a range of national programmes for Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM). These initiatives embody a belief and discourse that includes the following tenets: that security of tenure is a prerequisite for empowerment; that 'community' is an appropriate and feasible level of aggregation for governance and decision-making; and that when local people become, variously, owners and managers of, and earners from, 'natural resources', they are more likely to act in ways compatible with biodiversity conservation, while at the same time benefiting in economic development terms. The models generally are moulded on ideas of 'common property' or 'customary tenure' arrangements. This is either through strengthening existing or 'traditional' property arrangements, or through attempting to create new 'common property' tenure arrangements where it is considered that these have broken down[1]. Perhaps unsurprisingly, an array of recent case studies suggest that the emergent social, democratic and environmental outcomes rarely are unambiguous, with dispute, conflict and protest sometimes arising in relation to these contexts (Alexander and McGregor 2000; Chatty and Colchester 2002; Anderson and Berglund 2003; Igoe 2007).

Given a globalising dominance of the formal legislative systems associated with the modern state and of 'State Science' (Deleuze and Guattari 1988 (1980)), a corollary of strengthening the formal tenure rights of 'communities' has been an increasing codification (and commodification) of these rights. Peluso (1995: 400, 402) has suggested that this registration process engenders a '… "freezing" [of] the dynamic social processes associated with "customary law"', in part by emphasising the demarcation of 'exact boundary lines' of territories. Abramson (2000: 14) notes further that '… where the law recognises and underwrites "traditional" tenure, the law codifies "tradition" as a system of customary property rights *rather than as an affective relation of belonging*' (emphasis added). Somewhat ironically perhaps, a revisionist 'countermapping' in attempts to restructure claims to territory appeals for legitimacy through employing the specialist technologies of a globalising modernity – surveys, maps and, today, GIS and other digital techniques – that previously acted to dispossess people of territory, or at least to control and often constrain access to significant places and resources (Peluso 1995; Poole 1995; Jacobs 1996; Hodgson and Schroeder 2002)[2].

Three broad structural outcomes of these processes might be identified. First, a focus on fixing land area boundaries can obscure local access, use and management issues regarding economically and symbolically important *centres* of land areas, including key resources and culturally-significant places. Concomitant with this might be the emergence of conflict and dispute over such key places, as well as over defining boundaries that, under broadly customary arrangements, might more appropriately be treated as fuzzy, permeable and continually negotiated. Second, and related to the establishment of administrative boundaries, is a focus on registering the membership or citizenship – and therefore the rights and responsibilities – of people in relation to these bounded territories. In keeping with an emphasis on descent in formal determinations of indigeneity (cf. ILO 1989, Art. 1.b), membership registration tends to privilege genealogical measures of descent and relatedness, overlooking engagements with landscapes that are relational, generative and contingent (Ingold 2000: 133). Third, and in keeping with the neoliberal framework informing the distribution of donor-funding and assistance to environment and development initiatives worldwide, is an emphasis on the commodification of landscapes and 'natural resources' with reference to values structured by global markets (Escobar 1996; Sullivan 2002, 2006)[3]. In combination, these tendencies become part and parcel of modernity's epistemic 'order of things'. Arguably they err towards the categorical fixing and representation of 'a nonverbal world of *process* ... in words [and images] that indicate a *static* quality' (Condon 1975: 15). And in doing so they discard semantic and sensual webs of improvised meaning to reduce and render life naked of what thereby become othered significances (Foucault 1970 (1966): 129-133)[4].

A qualitatively different conceptual *stalking* of phenomena – of that which is perceived – is implied in, and required by, affirmations of ideational and experiential dimensions of people-environment relations. Distinctions between individual and context or place become broken down, as in Heidegger's (1962) framing of human subjects as *Dasein* or 'Beings-in-the-world' (perhaps better framed as 'Becomings-in-the-world). 'The environment and its resources' cease to be something 'out there' with which people are limited to (non)-relationships of separateness: relationships that privilege practices of measurement, commodification, exploitation and management (cf. Ingold 2000; Jensen 2000). Subjectivities become conceived as agential and constitutive of dwelled-in spaces, rather than limited ontologically to being utilisers, consumers, custodians and managers of resources and landscapes: people become actors *with* rather than *on* 'the environment'. And the generative and felt experiences that thereby arise become understood as phenomenologically embodied – affirming 'embodiment as an existential condition in which the body is the subjective source or intersubjective ground of experience' (Csordas 1999: 143, after Merleau-Ponty 1962). These are seeds of a phenomenology of *becoming* (cf. Deleuze and Guattari 1988 (1980): 239) after Nietzsche; Ingold 2000): a philosophical genre that permits phenomena of the (bio)subjectively perceived world to be *generated* (rather than simply received) in the present, both through the psychosomatic grounds and constraints of experience, and in relation to the structuring influences – the *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) and history – of cultural memory, experience and consciousness.

It seems rare for such approaches and considerations to intrude into the texts, discussions, analyses and practices that construct what Hannerz (2007) refers to as the globalising 'culture complex' of neoliberalism. In the worlds of biodiversity conservation and international development, entwined since the early 1980s in the doctrine of 'sustainable development', the neoliberalisation of nature has been infused with a consistent discursive exclusion of culturally-mediated affective, subjective, psychological, generative and embodied experiences

of landscapes[5]. This vesting of governmentality in particular discourses of 'environment and development', and in the programmes and initiatives that thereby arise, can be interpreted further as biopower: as relations of authority and power that produce an emergent influence and control over the bodies, minds and (bio)subjectivities of all those constructed as recipients/participants/citizens of such programmes and initiatives (Foucault 1998 (1976); Hardt and Negri 2000). Of course, 'recipients' also assert agency in relation to the uptake of externally-led policies and initiatives. Nevertheless, discursive relations of power are embedded within these initiatives such that there is pattern both to those who become 'winners' and 'losers', and in the terms of reference - the types of costs and benefits - that these labels might describe. Accompanying this globalising flow of changes are myriad subtle displacements that shape, constrain and determine embodied cultural and subjective experience in relation to land and 'natural resources'.

Against this contextual and conceptual background, I explore in this paper some socio-cultural and political implications of landscape delineation in support of new 'natural resource' management policy in Namibia, southern Africa. Since 1996, this policy framework has allowed Namibian citizens in communally-managed areas to register new natural resource management institutions called conservancies. A communal-area conservancy enables Namibians inhabiting communal land to receive benefits from, and make some management decisions over, the natural resources within the territory assigned to a conservancy. A prevailing and pragmatic focus is on the spectacular and rare large mammals (e.g. elephant and rhino), as well as other 'game' animals, that constitute an internationally-valued animal wildlife from which money can be made via tourism and trophy-hunting (Jones 1999a-d, 2001; Long 2004). Legally, a number of requirements have to be satisfied in order for a communal-area conservancy to be registered, namely: its territorial boundaries have to be agreed; its membership has to be decided and registered; and a constitution and management plan have to be drawn up, focusing particularly on the management and distribution of conservancy incomes. Hunting for home consumption remains illegal, although legally provision for this form of 'game' use can be made through inclusion in the Game Use Plan by which conservancies apply to the Ministry of Environment and Tourism for permission/approval in utilising animal wildlife. Communal-area conservancies, together with a strong emphasis on establishing community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs) and joint ventures between local communities and external business partners, comprise the major building blocks of the country's national programme of CBNRM. This has received core-funding from a number of international donors, primarily the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and now the World Bank's Global Environment Facility (GEF). The resulting nexus of implementation and facilitation activities on the part of donors and NGOs, and the accompanying national legislative changes, has many parallels with other major USAID-funded CBNRM programmes in southern Africa, e.g. CAMPFIRE (the Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources) in Zimbabwe. By January 2006 there were 44 registered Namibian communal area conservancies (MET 2006), concentrated in the wildlife-rich communal lands of the north-west and north-east of the country[6].

In this paper, I attempt to draw out some features of the process of delineating conservancy boundaries, commenting on possible implications for the construction both of claims to community/conservancy membership, and of the ways in which relationships with 'the environment' are conceived and represented in national and international policy and project terms. Geographically, I draw on case-material from north-west Namibia and specifically from the recently registered Sesfontein and Anabeb conservancies in southern Kunene

Region, which have been a focus of dispute regarding their establishment (Sullivan 2003). Within the national programme as a whole, the north-west of the country is considered to provide ideal conditions for establishment of conservancies by virtue of its low human population density, its expanding populations of a spectacular animal wildlife, and its dramatic mountainous landscapes, contributing to an intense concentration of activity regarding the establishment of communal area conservancies in this part of the country.

Using oral testimony material from Damara/Khoekhoegowab-speaking people in north-west Namibia[7], and drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted between 1992 and 2000, as well as on secondary sources, I problematize two interrelated issues in relation to the establishment of conservancies as new wildlife management and income-generating institutions. First, my discussion turns to the significance of national and local historical contexts regarding land distribution and the locating of boundaries. As Alexander and McGregor (2000) have traced for the emergence of protest and dispute against the Zimbabwe CAMPFIRE programme in an area of Matabeleland North, historical structuring of access to landscapes and wildlife are critical in shaping the ways that contemporary 'community-based' conservation initiatives unfold in practice. At the same time, it often is these factors that tend to be masked in southern Africa through the labelling of CBNRM 'recipients' as 'communal area dwellers' who somehow are outside history and ethnicity. The material opened up here thus provides some illustration of the complex ways that axes of difference can relate to the distribution of winners and losers of historical circumstances and thereby contribute to contemporary discourses of dispute.

Second, I attempt to weave into my narrative some considerations of memory, embodied experience and ideational conceptions of landscape on the part of Damara/≠Nū Khoen people living there. My aim is to engage with some alternative framings of landscape that seem to be consistently occluded - clouded-over and thereby silenced - in the drawing up of administrative boundaries, a process for which the delineation of the territory of conservancies is a recent expression. While it might be that these framings are missed because they are relatively unimportant, my sense is that this exclusion also is built into the structuring of the discourses that inform and dominate CBNRM, as well as the 'environment and development' arenas more generally. By this, I affirm that modern discourses regarding environment and development are constructed by virtue of being unable to articulate with conceptions of landscape 'organisation' that are radically 'other' (and thereby othered) (also cf. Sullivan 2005a and b, 2006). Overall, my intention is to bring some ethnographic 'thickness' (cf. Geertz 1973) into debates regarding conservancy establishment, while acknowledging that, as with other narratives regarding the north-west Namibian landscape, such material can only ever tell a partial story, one which others indeed may dispute.

History: maps and rights

> He explained to them that history was like an old house at night. With all the lamps lit. And ancestors whispering inside.… 'To understand history,' Chacko said, 'we have to go inside and listen to what they're saying. And look at the books and the pictures on the wall. And smell the smells. …'
>
> (Roy 1997: 52-53)

For the southern and central parts of Namibia, a key outcome of history for today's land use and planning initiatives is a situation of extreme inequality in the distribution of rights to land.

The contemporary location of Namibia's communal areas is a legacy of the establishment of 'Native Reserves' and 'homelands' during Namibia's colonial and apartheid past, which in turn were pockets of land that were left for indigenous inhabitants as more productive land became subject to a creeping, and frequently violent appropriation, as settler farmland. Large areas also were proclaimed as conservation and mining areas, both with extremely restricted access. This pattern of land distribution has remained roughly the same since new regional boundaries combining communal and freehold land were drawn up in the 1990s after independence. Mapped documentation of these shifts in land tenure and territorial boundaries can be viewed and downloaded from the Atlas of Namibia and ACACIA project websites[8]. Table 1 provides a summary of this historical trajectory of shifting land distribution and administrative boundaries, as it played out for the former 'Damaraland' area of north-west Namibia.

Table 1

As hinted at by Arundhati Roy in the quote above, however, history is not only about the facts and figures that describe events and contribute to a legal architecture for governing land and lives. In these contexts, the exigencies of history also shape changes in ways in which relationships with landscapes are both conceptualised and experienced, at the same time as memories of past relationships flow into current events and discourses. As elsewhere, the imposition of colonial rule and the later South African administration, and the accompanying 'settler imperative' which drove large-scale land appropriation under private tenure and capitalist production ideals, engendered a massive and rapidly instituted conceptual shift *vis à vis* land. It is tempting, if perhaps too much of a simplification, to write that the form this took was of a transposing of 'premodern' ideational landscapes of experiences and key places into a modern, abstract and rationalised national space for which management and ownership decisions could be made from far-away administrative centres. Of course, new inhabitants and desires became similarly experienced and embodied both in people and places, the ideal of perfect rationalisation and abstraction being never attainable in lived worlds and improvised livelihoods. Nevertheless, something of a national restructuring in relationships and conceptions of the landscape arguably did occur with the intrusion of capitalist settler economies. The differential local experiences of the various impacts of this shift, have produced a complex array of 'winners' and 'losers' whose historically-located quarrels regarding land-rights have fed recent dispute over conservancy boundary location. These two layers – national structuring and local engagements with this – are explored further below.

National context

As elsewhere (e.g. see Weitzer 1990), the colonial imperative as it played out for Namibia's landscape was one of surveying and registering the territory's natural riches and of appropriating these through European settlement and industry (accompanied by coercion, violence and a genocidal war) (Bley 1996; Gordon 2000). In southern and central Namibia, the country's more productive land was surveyed, fenced and settled by livestock ranchers – resulting in a mapped landscape of static boundaries (see Figure 1). The process was inextricably bound with the 'overcoding' manifested by the cadastral land-planning mindset of modernity that was initiated and embodied by the British Enclosure Acts of the 18th and 19th centuries, and extended worldwide as an integral part of western Europe's project of colonialism and empire-building (Deleuze and Guattari 1988(1980): 208-213; Scoones 1996; Hughes 1999; Smith 2001).

Figure 1

Significantly, this historical process – of fixing territorial boundaries and locating land ownership in the power of a distantly signed title deed – belies the necessities involved with accessing the productive potential of the land. In drylands, where the most consistent and resilient returns tend to be provided from diverse sources including livestock, hunting and gathering, small-scale horticulture, and various specialisms such as healing and, in the past, metal-working, the characteristically and unpredictably variable rainfall requires mobility and flexibility in order to take advantage of productivity that is spatially and temporally dispersed. That this is an enduring feature of land-use in dryland Namibia is iterated by the historical and continuing high frequency of herd mobility across landscapes even where land had been surveyed and enclosed through fencing. This has been the case, for example, in the southern parts of the former Damaraland 'homeland' which, in the 1970s creation of Namibia's 'homelands', saw the transferring of previously freehold farmland settled by Europeans to Namibian farmers for use as communal land. Here, herd mobility across farm boundaries (normally physically demarcated with fences) has been orchestrated both in contemporary and historical circumstances. In the former, Damara/≠Nū Khoen frequently moved with livestock herds across farm boundaries even where such movement required disobedience with regard to the administrative constraints on movement imposed by the regional authorities of the South African apartheid administration (Sullivan 1996, see Figure 2). In terms of the latter, archival sources indicate that European settler farmers also moved across farm boundaries in order to access grazing. This occurred even though these farmers had the privilege of access to huge and sparsely populated ranches under freehold, i.e. inalienable, tenure (Kambatuku 1996; Sullivan 1996). The greatest management input tends to be required for negotiating contingent conflicts that arise over competing access to key resources, such as water-points and forage areas that are more consistently productive (Woodhouse *et al*. 2000). In other words, although '[p]rivate property implies a space that has been overcoded and gridded by surveying' (Deleuze and Guattari 1988 (1980): 212), an enduring and nomadic *micropolitics* of the *use* of this space endures in this landscape, regardless of tenurial and macropolitical regimes.

Figure 2

Current registration of conservancies in Namibia's wildlife-rich communal lands occurs in this context, adding a new dynamic of mapping and area delineation to facilitate '… land acquisition for conservation in the non-formal sense' (Jones 1999b: 47). This becomes an additional layer of centrally-facilitated codification and objectification of people-landscape inter-relationships. As such, and fuelled by a national situation of inequity and insecurity in access to land, local negotiation regarding conservancy establishment has focused on access to land areas, even though legally a conservancy is limited to conferring certain rights over animal wildlife, and, with the approval of the Community Forest Act in 2001, to forest resources. New motivations transforming a major part of this area into a 'People's Park' linking the inland Etosha National Park with the Skeleton Coast Park will compound these processes in as yet unforeseen ways (e.g. The Nature Conservancy 2007). I turn now to the ways in which differing historical and cultural experiences can influence claims to land and affect the outcomes of CBNRM initiatives by outlining some local dynamics arising in the disputed registration of two specific conservancies.

Local context

Clearly, where diverse groups of people are involved in negotiation over the establishment of rights to land and resources, an important issue is likely to become that of *whose* perspectives and claims are represented in these negotiations. This is what seems to have occurred recently at Sesfontein, north-west Namibia (Figure 3). Here, donors and the state, with the assistance of NGOs, had been encouraging and assisting the registration of a conservancy since 1994. With the area's population of rare desert-dwelling elephant and rhino, its location as the 'gateway' to 'the last wilderness' (Hall-Martin *et al.* 1988) and exoticised Himba pastoralists (Jacobsohn 1990) of Kaokoland in the far north-west of the country, as well as widespread concerns over the detrimental environmental impacts of local land uses, it has been a prime site for conservation-oriented work. In February 2000, however, longstanding accusations that the major facilitating NGO worked disproportionately with Herero people over Damara/≠Nū Khoen, erupted in protest (Sullivan 2003). Among other things, this involved: the enacting of a symbolic burial for the primary facilitating NGO marked by a grave-site; the stationing of an armed guard to protect the settlement's donor-funded conservancy office from the unsupportive faction in Sesfontein; the threatening of legal action for defamation against the three individuals, including Sesfontein's headman, considered by the NGO to have incited protests against their activities; and a televised debate between the headman and one of the NGO Directors.

Figure 3

The specific (and contested) details of this dispute are not important here. Indeed, the cracks represented by these events have since been smoothed over and working relationships between local inhabitants and facilitators restored (Corbett, pers. comm.). My emphasis instead is on the ways that historical and recent establishing of state administrative boundaries articulated with people's socio-cultural relationships with 'the landscape', contributing to emergent dispute through multiple and multi-layered processes of displacement. Thus, in recent decades the shifting of administrative boundaries set in motion a dynamic which impinged particularly on Damara/≠Nū Khoen settlement and land use. In the 1970s, with the re-drawing of administrative boundaries and the creation of 'homelands' that occurred following the recommendations of the Odendaal Report (1964), Warmquelle/|Aexa|aus (Figure 3) became part of Opuwo District to the north and thereby was re-created as part of a Herero/Himba constituency, i.e. as located in the Kaokoland ovaHimba 'homeland'. Historically Warmquelle/|Aexa|aus had been known, inhabited and utilised by Damara people from at least the time of German colonial rule in 1884, and under German rule Damara were brought and coerced into labouring for the newly established German outpost and farm at the growing settlement. Andreas !Kharuxab, headman of Kowareb, and his peer and friend, Salmon Ganamub, describe this process in a recorded interview in May 1999:

> First, Damara people were staying at |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle. Damara were there. …At that time Gabriel, who is now dead, was the headman [at |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle]; it was he who passed the leadership on to me. You're asking how long had the Damara people been there? Those people were born there, they grew up and worked there. Look at that man [points to Salmon, who is very old]. It was a German place then. … Damara people were already there, then the Germans came and they gathered other people who were in the veld [*!garob*, see below] and they gave them work [for food]. They rounded them up with horses and some people came of their own accord.

> First before we came to Kowareb we stayed for years and years at |Aexa| aus/Warmquelle and we worked the gardens there. Here (i.e. Kowareb) was the farm-post of Nama people. !Nani|aus/Sesfontein and |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle were big villages and the Nama people of !Nani|aus/Sesfontein and the Damara people of |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle used to keep livestock here at Kowareb.
>
> But there are reasons why we came here and made this garden. Political things[9] came in which were not here before in our lives. Political things were introduced which made |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle part of Opuwo district. That commissioner of Opuwo made |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle part of Opuwo district and he gave it to Herero people. We sat then on the plains and then we came here (to Kowareb) and talked with the government and they built us this garden; they built the dam and they pushed the water here (for irrigation). Then we found this garden here.[10]

The narrative conveyed here describes the 1970s displacement of Damara people inhabiting Warmqelle/|Aexa|aus south to Kowareb in what was designated as 'Damaraland' – the 'homeland' of 'the Damara'. It is apparently only since this time that Herero families who are now so important in the local politics of the area settled permanently in Warmquelle. This history, and accompanying anxieties that such processes of settlement and land loss will be repeated, underscored opposition expressed by some Damara to conservancy establishment throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s (Sullivan 2003). Such fears are compounded by a situation where, as noted elsewhere in the country (Botelle and Rohde 1995), Herero pastoralists with relatively large cattle herds are moving into the area, generating feelings of resentment and displacement (also see transcribed testimonies in Sullivan 2000, 2002, 2003). In combination with conflict occurring between key Herero families regarding leadership and land rights in and around Warmquelle, this ongoing argument regarding the delineation of long stretches of the proposed conservancy boundaries necessitated the designation of large zones of the conservancy as 'dispute areas', which now are designated as a separate conservancy called Anabeb (Long 2004: 18).

Figure 4 reproduces one of the working maps used in late 1999 and 2000 in meetings held to agree the boundaries of this emerging conservancy, involving facilitating NGOs, representatives of the MET, conservancy and other local committee members, and local inhabitants. This depicts clearly the locations of conservancy dispute areas, and illustrates their relationship with the material presented above. But what is even more striking about the map is the visual dominance of the marked *boundaries* of the proposed conservancy, which in this reproduction accurately reflects the size of these boundaries as demarcated on the original working map. It is suggested here that this conveys a sense of the focus on determining conservancy boundaries as a prerequisite for administrative and managerial control. While the stated intention is for such control to devolve to local people and meet local aspirations, the tools used and the 2-dimensional depictions that result seem to reflect and construct an emphasis on particular relations of objectification and experiential distance *vis à vis* land (and the 'resources' located therein). As noted in the introduction, this process, as well as the assumptions it reflects regarding what is important about people-landscape relations, in itself acts discursively to devalue other experiences and constructions of landscapes that are less easily reduced, flattened and manipulated. This and other such acts of mapping thus become both representations and manifestations of attempts to manipulate both the landscape and peoples' relationships with 'it'. Combined with both a conservation priority of protecting large mammals and 'last wildernesses' (for Kunene see The Nature Conservancy (2007) and Round River Conservation Studies (2007)), and a strongly economistic development frame

that is oriented towards external tourism markets and consumption practices, this at least shapes, if not displaces, the denseness of local memories and knowledges of landscape. It is to these phenomenological experiences and memories of landscape that I turn now, again drawing on material from encounters with Damara inhabitants of the area.

Figure 4

Landscape: memory and relationship

Damara, or ≠Nū Khoen, as well as those speaking Khoekhoegowab more generally (cf. Widlok 1999 and Dieckman 2007 for Hai||om), frame, conceptualise and experience landscapes in terms that tend not to be represented by the mapping practices considered above, or by the plethora of managerial and economistic discourses that permeate CBNRM. As theorised in the anthropology of landscapes more generally (e.g. Bender 1993; Tilley 1994; Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Ingold 2000; Bender and Winer 2001), these 'other', and othered, frames emerge for onlookers only when culture and landscape are perceived as mutually constitutive domains, produced by the felt sense and habitus of lived and remembered practices and experiences. It seems that these are broadly similar across the differing contexts of shamanically-organised 'indigenous peoples' globally, with particularities and specificities arising for local contexts and groupings (cf. Eliade 1964; Brody 2000; Ingold 2000; Harvey 2003; Lewis-Williams and Pearce 2004). Here I consider four layers of spatial organisation of Damara (cultural) landscapes:

1. *!garob*

!Garob is the broader landscape where people go to collect veldfoods (*!garob ≠ûn*), where people hunt (*!aub*, from *!au* meaning hunting, used synonymously with *!garob*), and where livestock go to graze when they are not kraaled near to homesteads. A small garden (*!hanab*) can be part of, or in, the *!garob*, but land ceases to be *!garob* -the field - in places of permanent dwelling (||*an*-||*huib*). *!Garob* thus is a space of *movement*; of moving through in the process of procuring livelihood, and of being in whilst betwixt and between places of more permanent dwelling. It nevertheless is known and remembered, peppered with specific places charged with history and stories, and celebrated as sources for appreciated foods and water. As such it does not map on to the idealised 'smooth space' of Deleuze and Guattari's (1988 (1980)) 'nomad science', although of course such 'empty areas' were constructed as the available *terra nullius* of the imperial imagination and its required settler frontier.

2. *!hūs*

A *!hūs* is a named area of the *!garob*. As Andreas !Kharuxab describes:

> From the !Uniab River to this side it's called Aogubus. And the Hoanib River is the reason why this area is called Hoanib. And from the !Uniab to the other side (south) is called Hurubes. That is Hurubes. From the !Uniab to that big mountain (Grootberg?) is called Hurubes. If you come to the ||Huab River – from the ||Huab to the other side (south) is called ||Oba (now Morewag Farm). Khorixas area is called |Huib. And from there if you pass through and come to the !U≠gab River we refer to that area as |Awan !Huba, i.e. 'Red Ground'. *Every area has got its names.*[11]

A *!hūs* also is known in association with the lineage-based exogamous group of people or *! haos* who lived there. I say *lived* because the exigencies of a colonial and apartheid history mean that few such *!haoti* retain unbroken relations of habitation to such areas.

Nevertheless, most Damara/≠Nū Khoen who I encountered whilst working in Namibia (between 1992 and 2000), continued to identify themselves with reference to the *!hūs* that they or their ancestors hail from. So, for example:

> … the people get their names according to where they were living. … My mother's parents were both Damara and my father's parents were both Damara. I am a Damara child; I am part of the Damara 'nation' (*!hao*). I am a Damara (*Damara ta ge*). We are Damara but we are also Dâure Dama. We are part of the Dâure Dama 'nation' (*!hao*). We are Dâure Dama. (*Dâure Dama da ge*).[12]

> My father was really from this place [Sesfontein/!Nani|aus], and my mother was from Hurubes. Really she's from Hurubes. She's ||Khao-a Damara.[13]

Relationships to these land areas are further reflected in such things as the location and orientation of families in larger settlements, and the directions in which people travel when venturing into the *!garob* to gather foods and other items (see below). While Sesfontein, for example, is one of the longest established of the colonial administrative settlements in Kunene with a relatively large and permanent population of Damara people, most Damara 'households' tend to be physically located within the settlement in places that reflect their affinity towards the direction of the *!hūs* that their *!haoti* is identified with. Thus *Purros Dama* are located towards Purros to the north-west of Sesfontein, ||*Ubun Dama* to the south-west, reflecting their arrival in Sesfontein from the extreme west of the Namib, *!Naren Dama* to the west of the settlement reflecting their earlier living in the western catchment of the Hoanib River, and ||*Khao-a Dama* to the south of Sesfontein, reflecting their prior habitation of the area now *de facto* off-limits as concessionary areas for commercial tourism ventures[14]. These different groupings fall under the broader linguistic, lineage, and land-based grouping of *Namidaman*. Damara/Figure 5 provides a loose mapping of these as well as the broader linguistic, lineage- and land-based groupings that comprise ⌈ Nū Khoen presence in Namibia.

Figure 5

As outlined above, African/indigenous Namibians experienced the loss of large areas of land inhabited during and prior to European contact. For some, this involved the removal of legal access to *all* the land to which they traced their ancestry and in which they located their embodied memory. As I've noted elsewhere (Sullivan 2001), some Damara *!haoti* were uprooted completely from the *!hūs* that was the fabric of their homes and lives. So, for example, |Khomani Damara of the valleys and mountains of the |Khomas Hochland to the west and south of Windhoek, ≠Aodaman of Outjo/Kamanjab/Etosha area, |Gaiodaman of Otijawarongo and environs, !Oe≠gan of Usakos/Omaruru/Erongo Mountains area, and | Gowanin of Hoachanas/west Gobabis area lost all legal and autonomous access to their land. Since much of this land was delineated and settled as commercial farms by Europeans, many Damara found their way back to areas they or their families/ancestors had known as theirs as domestic servants and farm labourers for those with legal title to land under the German and South African administrations (also see Suzman 1995 for the unfolding of this process for land-dispossessed Hai||om and Sān). Others left the areas to be absorbed by the labour system that serviced urban areas and industry. The establishment of the Damaraland 'homeland', located in today's southern Kunene and northern Erongo Regions, completely bypassed these and other Damara territories. While viewing the expanded 'homeland' of the 1970s as an

opportunity to become established as relatively independent farmers, Damara *!haoti* from elsewhere who settled in 'Damaraland' identify themselves as displaced from their ancestral lands which they remember and know as their home, and to which they have a sense of belonging and constitutive identification (Sullivan 1996). Damara also have been dispossessed of land in the 'national interest' of wildlife conservation, and have engaged in protest and other efforts to reclaim access to land in conservation areas, suffering government refusal to consider the possibility of constructing frameworks that might facilitate the restitution and reconstruction of such relationships. For example, in the 1950s Damara were evicted from what became Daan Viljoen Game Reserve (known as !Ao-||aexas to its former dwellers), established for the recreational benefit of Windhoek's white, urban inhabitants. These |Khomanin were relocated several hundred kilometres away to the farm Sores-Sores on the Ugab (!U≠gab) River, a less productive, ecologically and biogeographically different and remote area, where many of the promises for assistance by the then South African government remained unmet.

Such displacements are present as an underlying tenor to contemporary disaffection. But of further significance for the broader process of facilitating the registering of conservancies as both units of community and territory, are the different ways in which land as a *!hūs* is conceptualised and generated. A *!hūs* implies and enables geographical orientation *and* denotes constitutive relationships of belonging (as in the identification of *!haos* with *!hūs*), without requiring a fixed or static external boundary or a defined relationship of ownership that is sanctioned by distant authority. This 'fuzziness' and improvised flexibility in people-landscape relationships, together with a strongly affective orientation towards the broad vistas of 'home', has been noted globally for peoples dwelling beyond the expansionary reach of settled agriculture (see, for example, Bell 1993 (1983); Brody 2001; Ingold 2000). It has important implications for the dynamics of development and conservation in an era of globalising neoliberal donor intervention. In short, whilst affirming the necessity for grassroots participation in setting agendas and design, these do so by utilising tools and within a discursive frame that tend to alienate particular desires and relationships. The logical outcome is a fetishising of boundaries (cf. Figure 4) and membership registration for administrative and governance purposes, in a manner that is consistent with the discursive 'project' of modernity more generally, but that bears little resemblance to ongoing relational and remembered experiences and conceptualisations of landscapes.

3. ||*an*-||*huib*

A ||*an*-||*huib* is a place of permanent, or potentially permanent, dwelling. A place within a *!hūs* where people are living; and a place that lives – that holds its particular character – in part because people live there. ||*An*-||*huib* translates literally to 'living place'. In the semi-arid landscapes of central and north-west Namibia, a critical determinant for ||*an*-||*huib* is the presence of water. Thus:

> !Khoroxa-ams is up there. Behind that big blue mountain. The ground of Aogubus [see above] has lime in it. I could say it is a 'kalkran' [i.e. a limestone place]. It has lime. You know the '*!khoron*'? That means lime. It means the place of lime. It was the place where the people lived.
> … There are many places whose names I haven't said yet. There is |Nowarab, ! Hubub, !Gauta, ≠Gâob, ≠Gabaga and !Garoab. And there are more places where people lived in that area. !Hagos, Pos and Kaias were the places where people were living.[15]

Or, as Phillippine |Hairo ||Nowaxas described when talking me through the different places she knows, '... this is Sixori, this is Tsaugu Kam, this is Oronguari, this is the home of *xoms* (termites), here is the field'[16].

Since these ||*an*-||*huib* now frequently occur in areas legally removed from Damara habitation and access it is difficult for people to retain links to these places. They live on, however, in memory and in the subjective 'structures of feeling' (Williams 1993 (1983)) that this remembering affirms. Sometimes they are visited in disobedience of new rules of access and boundaries, whether mapped or physical. And peoples' removal from the places they remember and with which they identify, colours attitudes of scepticism towards current land and resource management initiatives. That place names are potent and contested is indicated by an act of 'culture-jamming' shown in Figure 6. Here the orthographic symbol for the dental click that should appear before the name of Uis has been chalked in, such that it is spelt correctly as |Uis.

Figure 6

4. ||*gâumais*

||*Gâumais* are 'posts' or 'satellites' of more permanent settlements and are located in the broader landscape or *!garob*. Here, some members of a family will herd livestock and collect *!garob ≠ûn*, normally with frequent movement between the ||*gâumais* and the ||*an*-||*huib* with which it is linked. Young children and children on school holidays often stay at a ||*gâumais* where they can benefit from easy access to milk and to 'field foods'. These are places of space and freedom to roam and explore the wider environs, learning its geography, diversity and ecology. In recent times, the locating of boreholes in the landscape around Sesfontein has increased the possibilities for livestock herding in these locations, although frequently these were already known for other reasons. Tsaurob, for example, is a ||*gâumais* to the east of Sesfontein where a borehole was established in the late 1970s. Prior to this the place was known as the location of a honey hive from which honey - *danib* - was collected.

***

In an attempt at allowing these different spaces and places to come alive from the text, I conclude this part of my narrative with a recounting of experiences and memories that were shared with me by a Damara man, Nathan ≠Ûina Taurob. Nathan/ ≠Ûina has since passed on. When I knew him he was a materially impoverished man in his 70s: often sprightly and always dignified. He identified himself as Purros Dama; his *!hūs*, his home area, was land located in the direction of Purros settlement to the north-west of Sesfontein, today the location of a primarily ovaHimba run conservancy. I had spent time with him on a number of trips into the *!garob* in which he and other members of his family showed me where and how he collected particular foods, as well as taking me to places he remembered from his childhood and early life. I have my own strong memories of a day spent collecting honey from a hive near a place he called *To-to* to the north-west of Sesfontein. Another day, after harvesting grass seeds from harvester ants nests in the |Giribes plains, he astonished me by unerringly walking several kilometres straight to a now disused honey hive in a lone *Sterculia africana* (*khoe hanu*) tree (see Sullivan 1999). The tree was located in small valley in distant schist hills, seemingly indistinguishable from all the other valleys leading into the hills that surround the plains. He had not been there for at least twenty years. For him, this feat of orientation was a normal part of being in the landscape.

The places located approximately (with the help of a GPS) on Figure 7, and named and described in Table 2, provide some indication of the density of knowledge and of memory in relation to landscape for one person from Sesfontein.[17] In the detailed descriptive names, this material speaks of acute observation of the biophysical characteristics of the landscape (cf. Basso 1984). In the identification of people and events with particular places, it tells of the association of history with features in the landscape, and of the remembering of defining moments in local history. In speaking of places that have been home, there is the sadness of having been displaced by incoming forces driven by external and relatively empowered dynamics. I have a particular photograph of Nathan/ ≠Ûina sitting at ≠Nū !arus in the exact place where he once had had a hut. He and his family had lived there 'for a long time', cultivating gardens of maize and tobacco using water channelled from the spring north of the settlement. It is still possible to see in the land the rough outlines of the irrigation channels, but nothing marks the site of Nathan's hut. Nathan's family moved from here to Sesfontein due, he said, to pressure from southward moving ovaHimba with large herds of goats and some cattle. In 1999 it remained inhabited by ovaHimba. To my knowledge, Nathan and his family's history of association with this place - together with their experiences and knowledges of the landscape - did not and does not feature in contemporary land and wildlife governance practices and institutions. As suggested by the examples of disappropriation and eviction related above, this is true for many Damara. To all intents and purposes, theirs and their ancestors' successful human histories of living lightly on the land for generations have been all but erased by the various incarnations of a globalising modernity; just as the landscape now reveals no obvious *material* manifestation of their years of embodied dwelling that took place there.

Figure 7
Table 2

Conclusion

> [T]he rhetoric of power all too easily produces an illusion of benevolence when deployed in an imperial setting.
>
> (Said 1994: xix)

I do not intend with this analysis to suggest that these are the only terms of engagement via which Damara people articulate with and experience the establishment of conservancies as an expression of the institution of CBNRM in Namibia. For example, conservancies also have become a forum for the playing out of power struggles between politicians and an urbane middle-class with interests in rural conservancies, such that Damara interests in some cases revolve around power struggles related to the patriarchal structures of national and regional party politics and the formally recognised Traditional Authorities (cf. Schiffer 2003: 39; Sullivan 2003: 76). Nevertheless, I do think that the ethnographic material offered above goes some way towards indicating why some people and interests seem to be consistently *invisible* in both implementation and analysis of CBNRM initiatives in this context.

On the one hand, it might be celebrated that such initiatives are pragmatically attempting to foster means by which local people and contexts can enter into inevitable globalising political and economic dynamics in ways that ameliorate the worst exploitations of these processes. But, on the other, it might be argued that this participation itself may demoralise and disempower, through increasing a sense of what Bauman (1998: 2-3) refers to as '[t]he

discomforts of localized existence', whereby 'localities are losing their meaning-generating and meaning-negotiating capacity and are increasingly dependent on sense-giving and interpreting actions which they do not control'. Here, policy frames and options are introduced by NGOs and external experts; donors influence with their distant requirements for good investment and returns; landscapes and wildlife are accessed by increasing numbers of tourists, researchers and experts – 'the world of the globally mobile' (Bauman 1998: 88); local hunting remains criminalised as poaching; and the rules and regulations pertaining to new legal institutions lack the subtlety to embrace multiple conceptions and practices *vis á vis* landscapes and species of lived cultural value. Recent articulations of southern African CBNRM as a 'social movement' (cf. Fabricius et al. 2004) – assuming a definition of this term as an association of people for radical and progressive socio-political change that is conceptualised and emerges from the grass-roots (Fowkerar 1995) - thus seem disingenuous. CBNRM, whilst participated in and shaped *in situ*, emerged as a pragmatic management response to the conservation and rural poverty issues characterising the early 1990s; of structural adjustment programmes and a corresponding decline in the funding and other powers of the state, and of the particular opportunities offered by the economistic and globalising framework of neoliberalism.

In particular, aspects of dwelling in, and belonging with, a landscape underlie local dispute and/or disaffection in encounters with modernity - and its current incarnation as the culture complex of neoliberalism. Thus, while problem areas might be framed in terms of mapped access rights, the distribution of measurable benefits (meat, money, employment, etc.), and the allocation of decision-making power (e.g. as reported in Schiffer 2003; Long 2004), the underlying dynamic might be conceptualised more sensitively as a foundational inability of modern institutions and policy instruments to accommodate and celebrate unmeasurable and intangible relational priorities between peoples and landscapes. Indeed, it might be argued that neoliberalism's managerial, economistic and legalistic frameworks exist paradigmatically by demoting, excluding and *purifying* the possibility of such relationships, suggesting that it is doubtful that the modern arenas of environment and development, of which CBNRM in southern Africa is part, can explicitly accommodate and nurture these interests (unless repackaged for external consumption). Perhaps the hybridity that ensues is enriching and empowering. Perhaps not. As Hannerz (2007) has argued, an engaged and 'urgent anthropology' has much to offer by way of documenting and critiquing this seemingly inexorable 'neoliberalisation' of the entwined and mutually constitutive domains of culture and nature.

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Captions

Figure 1. Namibia's mapped landscape of boundaries: surveyed and fenced farms in Khorixas District, southern Kunene Region (formerly 'Damaraland'). (The 'AS' to the left of the image is the last two letters of 'Khorixas'). The Brandberg Mountain to the south-west of the map is known as Dâures by Damara/≠Nū Khoen. Source: Surveyor-General, Windhoek, 1994.

Figure 2. Mobility by a single Damara/≠Nū Khoen 'household' herd from the early 1970s to 1996 in Khorixas District.

Figure 3. North-west Namibia showing the location of settlements mentioned in the text in relation to both the former 'homeland' of Damaraland and to post-independence regional boundaries.

Figure 4. Slighted edited working map of the proposed boundaries for the emerging Sesfontein Conservancy, 2000.

Figure 5. The rough locations of Damara/≠Nū Khoen *!haoti*, as known historically. The dashed line indicates the boundary of the 'homeland' of Damaraland, established in the 1970s. Source: Haacke and Boois (1991: 51), supplemented with information in ||Garoëb (1991) and from personal oral history fieldwork in north-west Namibia.

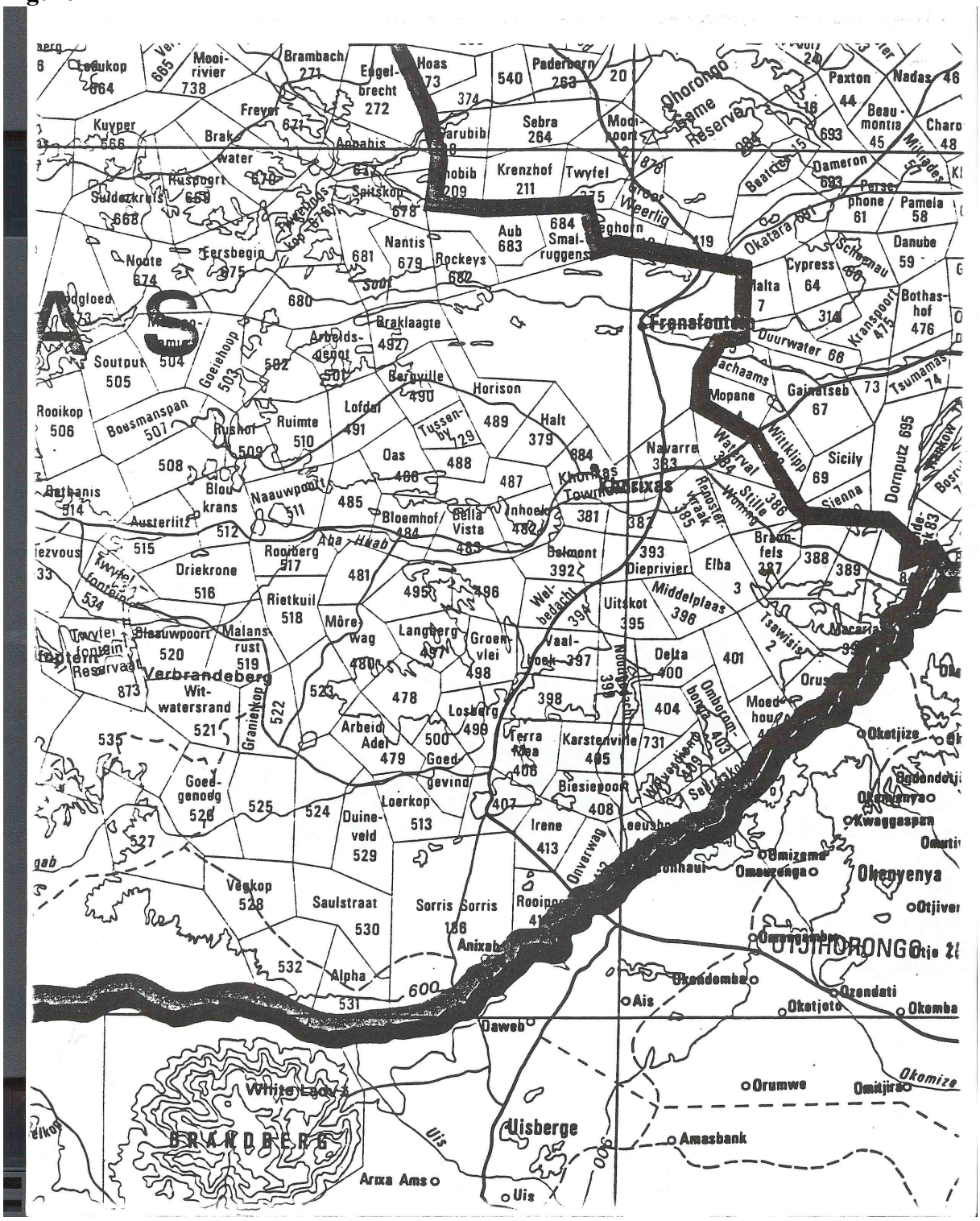
Figure 6. An act of 'culture-jamming' transforms Uis to |Uis. Photo: Sian Sullivan 1999.

Figure 7. Remembered place names and locations encountered and recorded during one day's excursion beyond Sesfontein with Nathan ≠Ûina Taurob, 1996.

Table 1. Historical events affecting land distribution in and around the former 'Damaraland homeland' of north-west Namibia, prior to Namibian independence in 1990. Source: Sullivan (1998, Box 1.2), and references therein.

Table 2. Place names, meanings and contexts, recorded during a day's excursion with Nathan ≠Ûina Taurob in 1996. For mapped locations, see Figure 7.

Figure 1



Brambach
Hoas
Paderborn
Paxton
Nadas
Kuyper
Freyer
Sebra
Krenzhof
Twyfel
Dameron
Pamela
Danube
Cypress
Bothashof
Nantis
Rockeys
Aub
Smalruggens
Fransfontein
Braklaagte
Soutput
Goejehoop
Bergville
Horison
Halt
Mopane
Gainatseb
Tsumamas
Rooikop
Boesmanspan
Ruimte
Lofdal
Tussenby
Oas
Navarre
Waterval
Wittklipp
Sicily
Dornputz
Bethanis
Blou krans
Naauwpoort
Bloemhof
Bella Vista
Inhoek
Khorixas
Austerlitz
Rooiberg
Aba Huab
Belmont
Dieprivier
Elba
Braunfels
Driekrone
Rietkuil
Uitskot
Middelplaas
Blaauwpoort
Malansrust
Môrewag
Langberg
Groenvlei
Vaalhoek
Delta
Verbrandeberg
Witwatersrand
Granietkop
Losberg
Arbeid Adel
Terra Mea
Karstenville
Goedgevind
Biesiepoort
Goedgenoeg
Loerkop
Duineveld
Irene
Onverwag
Vegkop
Saulstraat
Sorris Sorris
Anixab
Alpha
Okonjima
Okenyenya
Otjiverin
Okondomba
Ais
Ozondati
Okotjoto
Okomba
Daweb
Orumwe
Omitjira
Okomize
White Lady
BRANDBERG
Uisberge
Amasbank
Arixa Ams
Uis
600

Figure 2

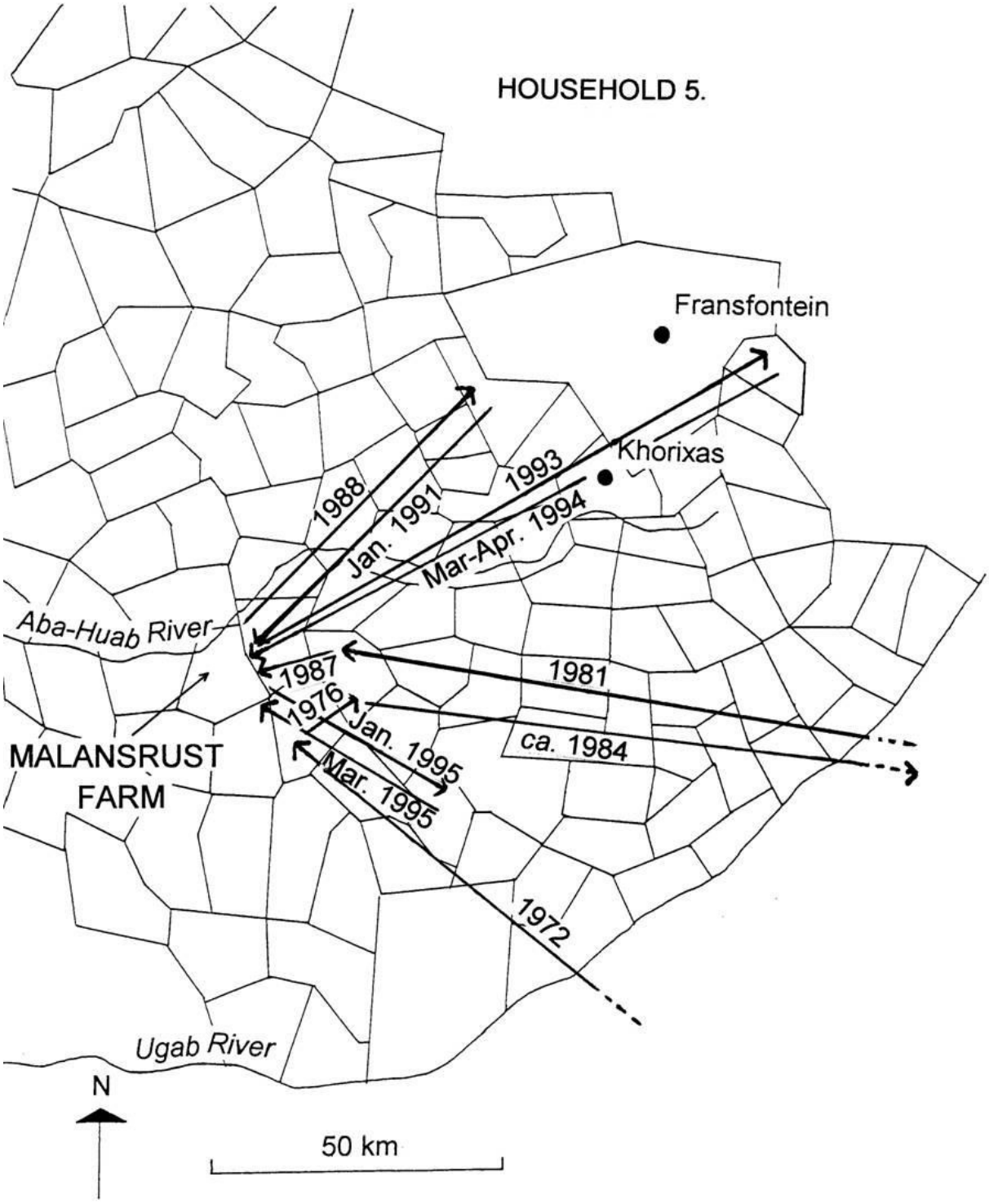

HOUSEHOLD 5.
Fransfontein
Khorixas
1988
Jan. 1991
1993
Mar-Apr. 1994
Aba-Huab River
1987
1981
1976
Jan. 1995
ca. 1984
MALANSRUST
FARM
Mar. 1995
1972
Ugab River
N
50 km

Figure 3

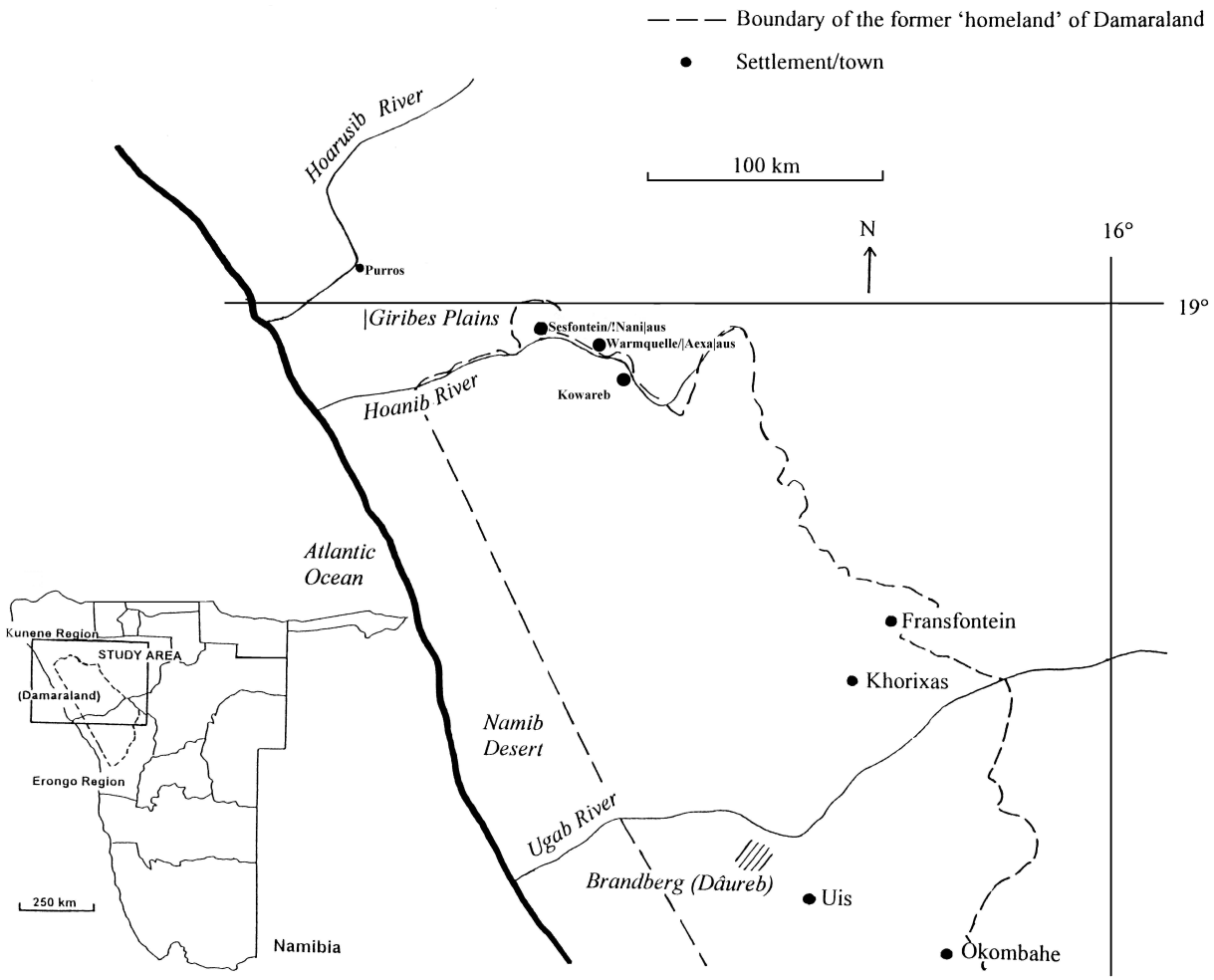

— — — Boundary of the former 'homeland' of Damaraland
Settlement/town
100 km
N
16°
19°
Hoarusib River
Purros
|Giribes Plains
Sesfontein/!Nani|aus
Warmquelle/|Aexa|aus
Kowareb
Hoanib River
Atlantic Ocean
Kunene Region
STUDY AREA
(Damaraland)
Erongo Region
250 km
Namibia
Namib Desert
Ugab River
Brandberg (Dâureb)
Fransfontein
Khorixas
Uis
Okombahe

Figure 4

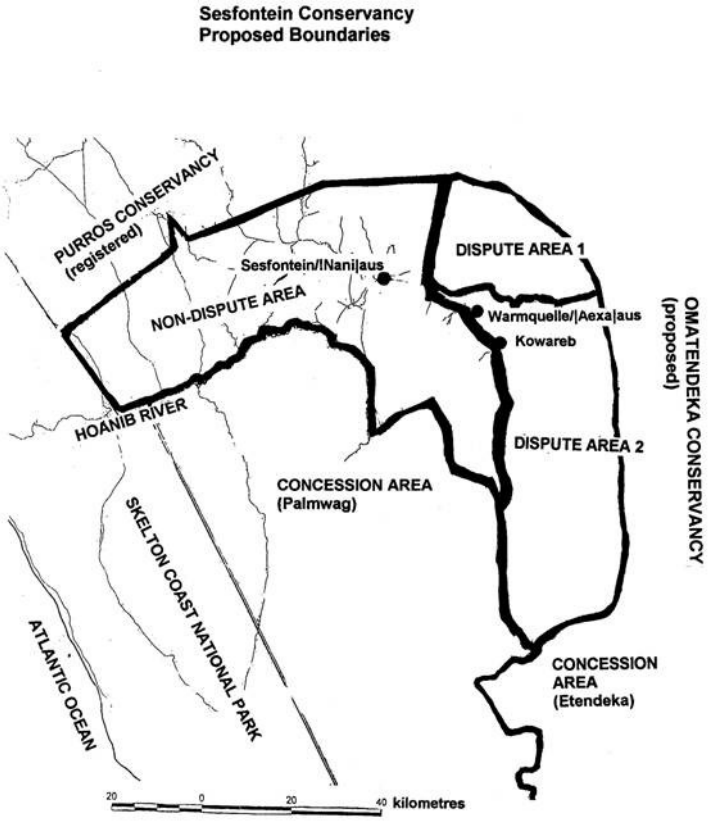

Sesfontein Conservancy
Proposed Boundaries
PURROS CONSERVANCY
(registered)
Sesfontein/!Nani|aus
NON-DISPUTE AREA
DISPUTE AREA 1
Warmquelle/|Aexa|aus
Kowareb
OMATENDEKA CONSERVANCY
(proposed)
HOANIB RIVER
DISPUTE AREA 2
CONCESSION AREA
(Palmwag)
SKELTON COAST NATIONAL PARK
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CONCESSION
AREA
(Etendeka)
20 0 20 40 kilometres

Figure 5

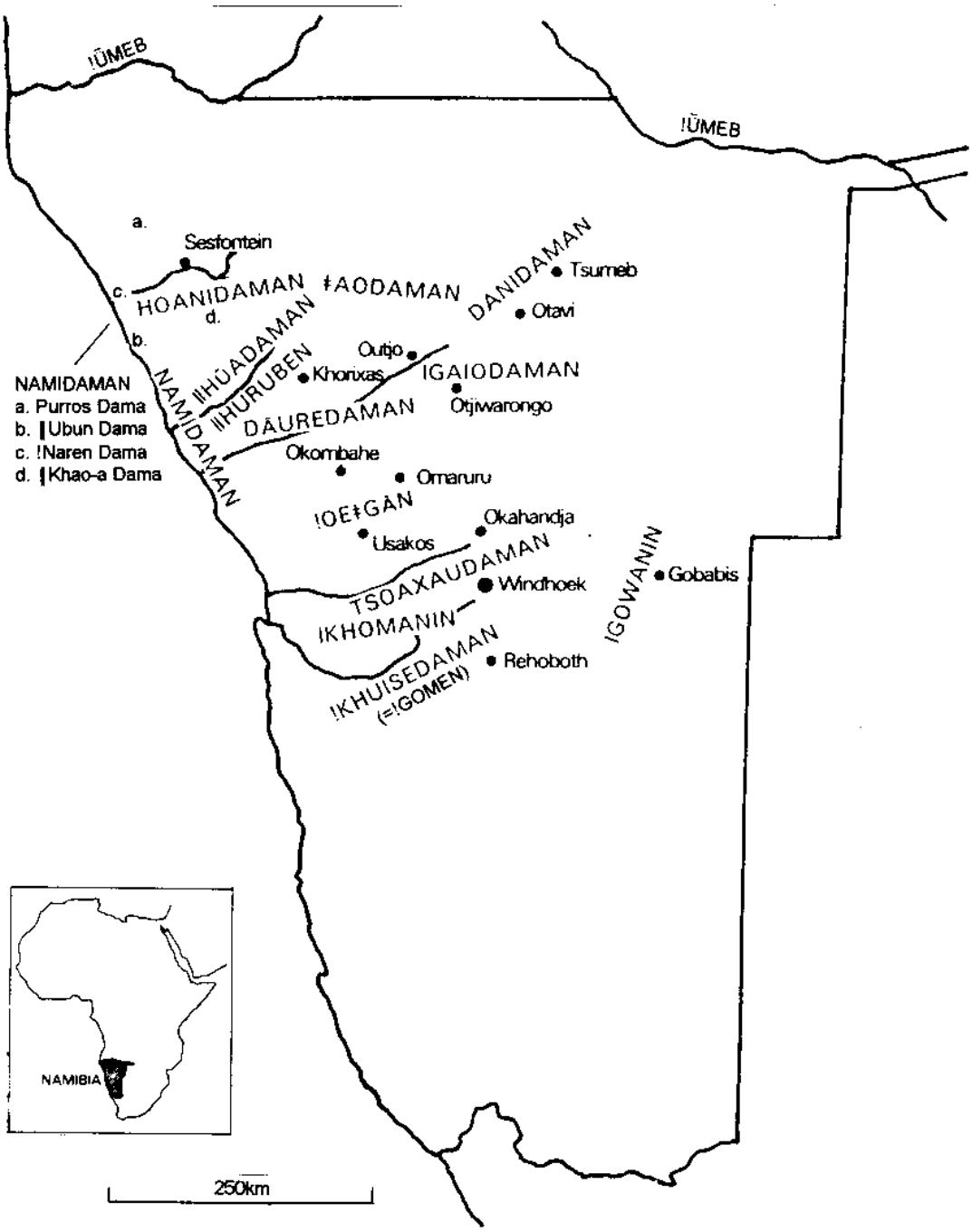
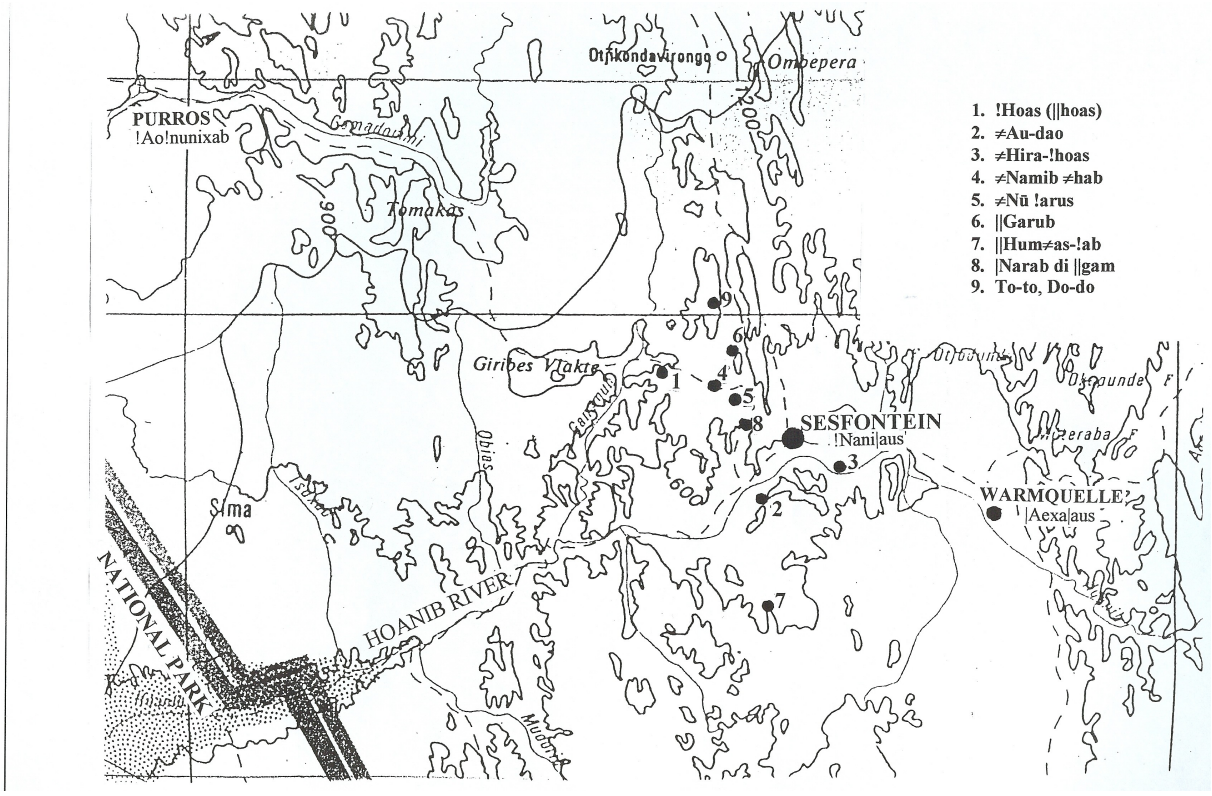

!ŨMEB
!ŨMEB
a.
Sesfontein
c.
HOANIDAMAN
d.
ǂAODAMAN
DANIDAMAN
Tsumeb
Otavi
b.
NAMIDAMAN
a. Purros Dama
b. ǁUbun Dama
c. !Naren Dama
d. ǁKhao-a Dama
NAMIDAMAN
ǁHÚADAMAN
ǁHURUBEN
Outjo
Khorixas
IGAIODAMAN
Otjiwarongo
DAUREDAMAN
Okombahe
Omaruru
!OEǂGAN
Okahandja
Usakos
TSOAXAUDAMAN
Windhoek
Gobabis
IGOWANIN
IKHOMANIN
Rehoboth
!KHUISEDAMAN
(=!GOMEN)
NAMIBIA
250km

Figure 6



Otjikondavirongo
Ombepera
PURROS
!Ao!nunixab
Tomakas
Giribes Vlakte
SESFONTEIN
!Nani|aus
WARMQUELLE
|Aexa|aus
Sima
HOANIB RIVER
NATIONAL PARK
1. !Hoas (||hoas)
2. ≠Au-dao
3. ≠Hira-!hoas
4. ≠Namib ≠hab
5. ≠Nū !arus
6. ||Garub
7. ||Hum≠as-!ab
8. |Narab di ||gam
9. To-to, Do-do

Table 1

Date	Historical event		
end of 19th century	Rhenish Mission stations established at Okombahe, Omaruru and Otjimbingwe		
1884	imposition of German colonial rule		
1904-07	so-called 'German-Herero' war		
1905, 1907	ordinances passed permitting 'confiscation of property of the insurgent groups', contributing to impoverishment of indigenous Namibians		
	Okombahe Reserve allocated to Damara		
	'Police Zone' established in southern and central Namibia, effecting substantial control of movement and settlement of Namibians		
	veterinary cordon fence or 'Red Line' built, contributing to geographical reality of the controlled 'Police Zone' *versus* the northern territories		
1918	institution of South African Administration under a League of Nations Mandate		
1923	'First Schedule' Reserves established including:		
	Reserve	**Linguistic/cultural 'groups'**	**hectares**
	Okombahe	Damara	36,188
	Fransfontein	Damara (Nama, Herero)	172,780
	Sesfontein	Topnaar and Swaartbooi Nama, Damara, Herero (Himba, Tjimba))	31,416
1925-1951	'Second Schedule' Reserves established including:		
	Reserve	**Linguistic/cultural 'groups'**	**hectares**
1925	Otjohorongo	Herero	330,000
	Otjimbingwe	Damara (Herero)	83,053

	Aukeigas	Damara	10,862

1954	use of newly surveyed farms in west Outjo District by commercial European settler farmers as additional monthly grazing
1956	Okombahe Reserve enlarged through the purchase of the farm Sorris-Sorris in order to accommodate Damara farmers forcibly moved from the Aukeigas Reserve near Windhoek, following its deproclamation in order to create the Daan Viljoen Game Park
1958	probationary leases for surveyed farms in west Outjo District made available to settler farmers
1964	Odendaal 'Commission of Enquiry into South West African Affairs' to establish recommendations for land redistribution
mid-1960s	vacation of white settler farms in west Outjo District and their purchase by the Evaluation Committee of the South African administration. Lease of farms as 'emergency grazing' to European farmers from other regions
early 1970s	223 previously white-owned farms in west Outjo District made available to the Bantu Commission for incorporation in the Damara 'homeland' as delineated by the Odendaal Commission
	movement to the 'homeland' by qualifying communal farmers
1978	first (largely boycotted) election of the legislative council responsible for administration of the 'homeland'
1981	election of the Damara Council led by Justus ǁGaroëb, heralding the emergence of a strong 'Damara' power within the region
1990	Independence; new administrative regions delineated and land reform process initiated

Table 2

Name	English translation of name	Events and experiences associated with place
1. !Hoas (‖hoas)	'cave'	Described and known as the location where a Nama man, on a raiding expedition for livestock of ovaHimba (i.e. *ca*. 1800s), beat a Damara man for refusing to go ahead and fetch water for them from Nū !arus (below).
2. ≠Au-dao	'≠au' is a type of plant from which soap can be made and 'dao' is a pass or 'way' between two mountains	This is the place where Husa, the Nama King of Sesfontein, was killed by a lion in *ca.* 1930.
3. ≠Hira-! hoas	'hyena-cave'	A farm-post (‖*gâumais*), named after a cave in the nearby schist kopje where a hyena had its young.
4. ≠Namib ≠hab	'≠namib' is the name of the men from this area; '≠hab' means 'ravine'	Honey used to be harvested from this ravine and a 'ladder' remains here to enable harvesters to reach the hives which were in holes in the rock.
5. ≠Nū ! arus	'≠nū = 'black' and (!arus = 'trunk' (also !gaos))	Damara people of the Tauros family used to live at this place. It is now inhabited by ovaHimba. When Damara lived here they cultivated gardens using water channelled from the spring north of the settlement. They grew maize, tobacco and wheat etc. The Damara inhabitants moved to Sesfontein because of pressure from ovaHimba moving south. Nathan ǀUina Taurob lived here from his mid-thirties for 'a long time'.
6. ‖Garub	refers to the movement of water between the rocks in this watercourse	Nathan Taurob and family used to spend the rainy season here, when Nathan was approx. 20 years old.
7. ‖Hum	'‖hum' is the name of the watercourse, '≠as' =	

≠as-!ab	grassy plains, and '!ab' = river	
8. |Narab di ||gam	'|narab' is the name of the thorn tree *Acacia tortilis*, 'di' = a link or joining word, and '||gam' = water or spring	This is a temporary spring. The Damara (≠Nū Khoen) name was given to this place by '!Nauriseb people' who were the first ≠Nū Khoen people in the Sesfontein area. |Uxami dom !Nauriseb was the name of the first ≠Nū Khoen to 'get' the fountain at Sesfontein. After conflict with ovaHimba people of the Harunga family from Kaokoveld (prior to Nama movement into this area), they moved to ≠Hira-!hoas (i.e. Hoanipos) area in Hurubes !hus, which the !Nauriseb family knew and hailed. |Uxami dom !Nauriseb died behind a big mountain in Hurubes, a mountain which is known as |Uxami domi.
9. To-to, **Do-do**	echoes the sound of water falling on the rocks at this place in the rain season	Nathan's son Naftali was born here. When Nathan and his family were staying in this area they would live at ||Garub and come to Do-do from there.

[1] These arguments are summarised in numerous volumes and articles. Examples include Ostrom (1990), Wells and Brandon (1992), Hulme and Murphree (2001) and Fabricius *et al*. (2004). For an overview of resource tenure and management arrangements in the southern and East African contexts, see Sullivan and Homewood (2004).
[2] For 'community-mapping' processes in Namibia see Murphy and Slater-Jones (2005).
[3] The latest layer in this 'neoliberalisation' of nature is the rise of 'Payments for Ecosystem Services'. These fabricate market mechanisms via which the 'services' provided by conserved environments, particularly in 'the global south', can somehow be paid for while at the same time contributing to economic development in these contexts (Simpson 2004; Grieg-Gan et al. 2005; Wunder 2006).
[4] Also see Deleuze and Guattari 1988 (1980), especially chapter 12, and discussion in Sullivan and Homewood (2004).
[5] Although in global policy arenas some shifts are notable, as with the establishment of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature's Task Force on the Cultural and Spiritual Values of Protected Areas (IUCN 2007).
[6] A recent map of these communal area conservancies can be viewed and downloaded at http://www.met.gov.na/maps/conservancies_2006.pdf and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Conserv_map.jpg.
[7] Ancestors of the Namibian peoples known today as Damara/≠Nū Khoen appear to have had a long history of association with the territory now known as Namibia (e.g. Lau 1987). Damara, like Nama and Hai||om, speak Khoekhoegowab (Haacke *et al*. 1997). This is a 'click' language-cluster associated with the Sān ('Bushmen') languages under the broader linguistic grouping of Khoesān. As noted for other 'indigenous peoples', Damara distinguish themselves from other Khoe-speakers by the term ≠Nū Khoen, literally translated as 'black people' and affirming, lexically, their identity as 'true people' (cf. Brody 2001: 106).
[8] ACACIA Project E1 2007. Digital atlas of Namibia, available on-line: http://www.uni-koeln.de/sfb389/e/e1/download/atlas_namibia/e1_download_land_history_e.htm#land_allocation. Based on data from the Atlas of Namibia Project, 2002, online: http://209.88.21.36/Atlas/Atlas_web.htm.
[9] This is a literal translation of 'politiek xun'. Andreas is referring to the 1970s enacting of the recommendations of the Odendaal Report which amounted to the establishment of 'homelands' and the redrawing of administrative boundaries in the name of *apartheid* or 'separate development'.
[10] '≠Guro, ge |Aexa|aus ai hâ in ge Damara khoena. Damara ge ge hâ i ||nan ge ||îna. … ||Na ||aeb ai ge ≠gae≠guisa ge u hâ ib ge Ou Gabrieli, ||o ge ba; tita ge ≠gae≠guis ||îb disa a maba. O ≠nū khoena matigo ||aeba i ge hâ ti du gera mîo? ||Na khoegu ge ||na !as ai !nae, kai tsî gere sîsen. O netse ||na khoeba gere. !Ade nesisa Duitsein di huga ge i. … Duitser gu ge ≠Nū khoen hâ hîa ge ha tsî noun hîa ge !auga hâ !na ge |hao |hao tsî ge nesisa ha sîsenba ge ma he. Haan |kha ge gere |khemihe tsî | nîn ge aitsama gere ha.
'Kowareb ai ≠guro Kowareb ai ta nî |kis ai !â ta ge kurin kurina |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle !na ge hâ ge i tsî ta ge ||na !hanaba gere !hana di ge i. Neba i ge Naman di ||gâumâi da ge hâ ge i. Ota ge !Nani| ausa kai !ase u hâ |Aexa|ausa kai !ase uhâ tsâ ge !Nani|aus di Naman tsî ≠Nū Khoen |Aexa|aus di khoen. Tsîn di ûitsaba xun ≠garib ge neba Kowareb ai gere hâ ge i.
'Xawe ge ha !aromas ai da ge sida neba ge ha tsî ||na !hanaba ha ge ≠gae ≠uiba he. Politiek xun ge ≠gâxa |hai ge i sida di ûib !na. Politiek xun ge ≠gâxa oi ge |Aexa|aus Opuwos !na ge ||ha kai he. ||Na Opuwos di ge i kommasari xa tsî Opuwos !na ge ||ha kai he tsî Hererona ge ma he ota ge sida ≠gab ai da ge ≠nûo. Neba ge ha tsî ≠hanubi |kha ge !hoa tsî ne tûiba ge kuruba he; ||haeba omba he, tsî || game ge ≠gae ≠uiba he. Ota ge ho tûib ge neba.' (recorded interview with Andreas !Kharuxab, Kowareb, 13/05/99).
[11] '!Uniab xu nexa |khab ai ge Aogubu to ra mihe. Tsî Hoanibi !aromats ga ||goâxa neba of oi ge Hoanib tira mihe. Tsî i ge !Uiaba xu nau |khab ai Hurubes tira mihe. ||Nab ge a Hurube. !Uniaba xu ||na ≠noa kai |ui di ge Hurubes ti ra mi he. Ots go ||Hûab !na a da ma – tsî ||Hûaba xu nau |khab ai || na ||Oba ha te ra ma !adi. Khorixas hâ te ra ma !adi ||nab ge |Huiba. Tsî ||naba xu tso !kharu ots go

!U≠gab ai a si ob ge ||Naba |Awan !Huba tira mi he ||nati i ge. Ma !khai hoa e ||î di |ende u hâ' (recorded interview with Andreas !Kharuxab, Kowareb, 13/05/99).

[12] '[K]hoen ge huga hân gere ge i !huga !oagu |guin ge khoena |en te gere ho ge i. … Ti Mas di îra ge Damara ra hoara hîa tsî ti Dab di îra ge Damara ra hoara hîa. Damara |gôa ta ge; Damara !hao da xu ge |ki. Damara ta ge. ≠Nu Khoeda a ota ge sida a Dâure Dama. Dâure Dama ti ra mihe !hao ta ge. Dâure Dama da ge' (recorded interview with Andreas !Kharuxab, Kowareb, 13/05/99). (Nb. 'Dâures' is the Damara name for the Brandberg massif).

[13] '[T]i dadab ge a ne !adi ama tsî. Aide a Hurube di ama a Hurube di; ||Khao-a Damas ge' (recorded interview with Philippine |Hairo ||Nowaxas, Sesfontein, 15/04/99).

[14] Such orientations towards the land of one's identity have been observed for similar situations elsewhere (e.g. Bell 1993 (1983)).

[15] '!Horoxa-ams ge neba ≠ora ≠nôa. Nesi ≠nôa kai |ui di ti !gâb ai. Aogubus kalk e u hâ !huba. Kalkren tits ge a mi ||kha kalk e u hâ. !Horona du gom sa to a ≠ano? O ||na i ge a kalk. Kalkxa-ai tira ≠âibasen. Khoen di ge i ||an !hub ge neba. …

'Ai ≠gui !adi gom. Nâ o |Nowarb hâ, !Hububa hâ, !Gauta hâ, ≠Gâoba hâ, ≠Gabaga ta hâ, and !Garoab hâ ti i gom hâ hâo. Tsî i gom nog !nasa !ade hâo ||na !hub !na gere hâ ge i khoen gomo. ! Hagos, Pos, Kaias ||nan gom khoen gere mî ge i !huna o' (recorded interview with Andreas ! Kharuxab, Kowareb, 13/05/99).

[16] 'Sixori te neda, Tsaugu Kam te neda, Oronguari te neda, Xom di ||gâu, !garo≠ab ge neba' (recorded interview with Philippine |Hairo ||Nowaxas, Sesfontein, 15/04/99).

[17] I am aware that in reproducing a mapped version of these places and place names I am doing the very thing that I am questioning in this paper. I include this here to illustrate the denseness of known, used and remembered places in this small part of the broader landscape, and to highlight these over an emphasis on boundaries in many mapped representations, and as illustrated in Figure 4.