

# Treesleeper Camp: Impacts on Community Perception and on Image Creation of Bushmen

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*A Study on Community-Based and Cultural Tourism in Tsintsabis, Namibia*

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## **List of Acronyms**

CBNRM = Community-Based Natural Resource Management

LAC = Legal Assistance Center

MBEC = Ministry of Basic Education and Culture

MET = Ministry of Environment and Tourism

MLR = Ministry of Lands and Resettlement

MLRR = Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation

MRLGHR = Ministry of Regional and Local Government, Housing and Rural Development

NACOBTA = Namibia Community Based Tourism Assistance Trust

NDP = National Development Plan

NDT = Namibian Development Trust

NGO = Non-Governmental Organisation

NP = National Park

NTB = Namibian Tourism Board

NWR = Namibian Wildlife Resorts

PLAN = People's Liberation Army of Namibia (military wing of SWAPO)

RDP = Rally for Democracy and Progress

SADF = South African Defence Force

SWAPO = South West African People's Organisation

UN = United Nations

WIMSA = Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa

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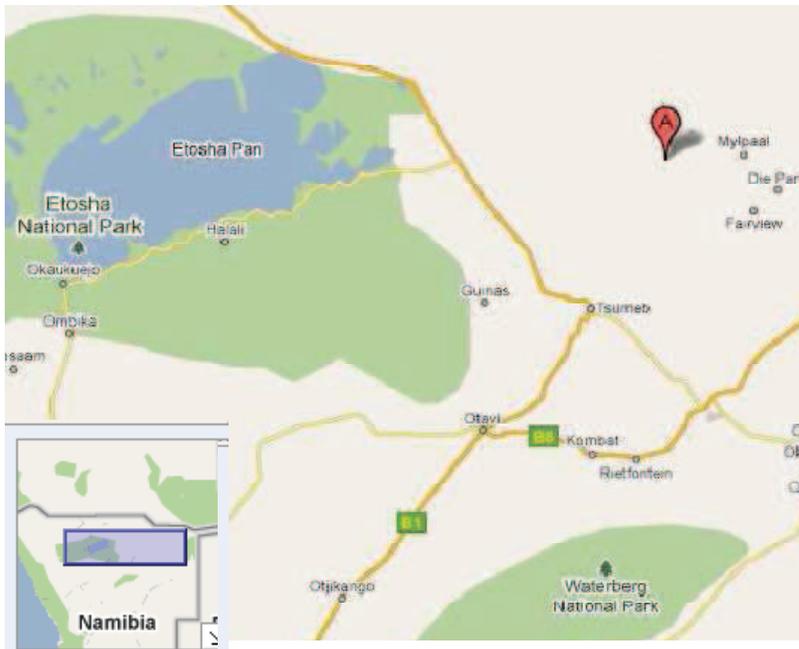
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# 1 Introduction and Conceptual Framework

## 1.1 Introduction

From Windhoek to Tsumeb, I took the tarred main road B1 (Figure 1) and had a comfortable trip through the wide landscape of the country which many tour operators picture as ‘Africa light’ in their travel brochures. Getting to my final destination, the village of Tsintsabis, meant taking a 65km gravel road and driving carefully, due to bad road conditions and road construction works, while checking the tyres in between – in touristic terms already an adventure by itself. Along my way I saw palm trees creating a brief holiday feeling though not fitting within the dust covered surroundings of the road. The whole way was lined by fenced farmland interrupted by farm gates and signs such as ‘La Rochelle’ or ‘Mannheim’, possibly hinting at the home towns of the original farm owners. From time to time I overtook a donkey



**Figure 1: Map of the area of Tsintsabis, Namibia, adapted from Google Maps**

cart or someone riding an old bike, making me aware that most people living in the area did not own a car. With the low frequency of cars passing the road, I imagined that it could take a whole day to get a lift to town for people I saw standing in the shade and pointing to Tsumeb, the direction I came from. After about a 1.5 hours drive the road sign ‘Tsintsabis’ appeared and to me the distance to Tsumeb felt much longer than 65km. I expected a village where people do not often leave the place. Before I entered the village of Tsintsabis (cf. Figure 1, A), I turned right following a sign, and after another

kilometre's drive on a farm path I stopped in front of the entrance of Treesleeper<sup>1</sup> Camp. I walked to what I identified as the bar and restaurant, which was also used as the reception as I found out later (cf. Figure 3 in Ch.1.4.1). Two young women behind the bar introduced themselves as staff members, asked me how my trip had been, offered a welcome-drink and inquired whether I had pre-booked a tent. Before they tried to show me 'my' campsite, I introduced myself as the student from the Netherlands who would stay in Tsintsabis for the oncoming months conducting a research on the tourism project. Discarding their professionalism, the two women frankly remarked, "We expected someone much older as a researcher. You look a bit young. Aren't you afraid to travel so far just by yourself and aren't you afraid to stay away from your family for so long? But maybe we can help you because you don't know our place. Maybe we can become friends then." (fieldnotes 2009-08-12)

While I was first treated as a customer, the tourist who wants to learn about Bushmen<sup>2</sup> culture and gain an impression of the way of life in the village, I then experienced how the two guides behaved when giving up their role as guides. In short, this encounter between staff, the tourism provider, and me, the tourist, represented the meeting point of hosts and guests in the tourist bubble (cf. van Beek 2003) and a bit of something that is usually invisible for tourists, the backstage (cf. MacCannell 1976). And it laid open the two women's perception of me, the researcher who came into their village as an outsider but who they agreed to support as a "maybe" friend.

## 1.2 Argument Outline and Research Problem

The study analyses (re)negotiations of power positions and (re)constructions of images in a changing local setting where local people respond to and influence the social, economic, political and cultural context.

The question of dynamics of change with an emphasis on contributions of local actors is important for Hai//om (and !Kung)<sup>3</sup> Bushmen who, as well as other Bushmen, have long been seen as influenced by others and as being exposed to change. Smith and Brent hold:

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<sup>1</sup>Treesleeper is the literally English translation of Hai//om. The Hai//om Bushmen are the major group of Tsintsabis' population.

<sup>2</sup> I am aware that Bushmen groups do not regard themselves as belonging to one ethnic group but are rather subsumed under one group by outsiders. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 1.3.2.

<sup>3</sup>In Southern Africa there live about 11,000 Hai//om (Barnard 1992:215) and 25,000 !Kung (Barnard 1992:39). Khoisan languages contain four major clicks: 'ǀ', the affricated dental click; 'ǁ', the implosive alveolar click; 'ǃ', the implosive palatal click and 'ǂ', the affricated dental click. Clicks are consonant sounds which are mostly followed by the consonant g, h, kh, n or a vowel such as in Hai//om. The spelling of !Kung is an exception here as used in the English ethnography rather than according to phonological rules. (cf. Barnard 2002; for more details see Barnard 1992; Haacke, Eiseb 2002)

*“Descriptions of indigenous cultures<sup>4</sup>, written in an ethnographic present, select a time frame that is a static interpretation. Such accounts often veil the ongoing process of change inherent in societies, and highlight only changes in material culture due to outside contacts.”* (Smith, Brent 2001:5)

Smith and Brent claim that tourism as an influencing local and global factor offers chances to look at both the changes brought about by ‘outside contacts’ and ‘ongoing processes of change inherent in societies’ because it triggers “sociopolitical-cultural changes (...) and will further magnify [these changes] in the decades ahead” (Smith, Brent 2001:11). In order to elaborate this issue in a local context, the following main research problem and its subquestions will be addressed:

***Which role does the community-based and cultural tourism project Treesleeper play for the people of Tsintsabis and for the image creation of Bushmen, in specific Hai//om and to a minor extent !Kung? Does the project foster old patterns, initiate new changes or act as a magnifier of existent processes of change?***

- *How do local people negotiate their positions within the village and what do they perceive as ‘community’?*
- *How does the tourism project Treesleeper shape the understanding of ‘community’ and the negotiations for power positions among the people of Tsintsabis?*
- *What are dynamics of change in external stakeholders’ (governments’, civil society’s, anthropologists’ and others’) perspectives on (Hai//om and to a minor extent on !Kung) Bushmen and how do Hai//om and !Kung Bushmen of Tsintsabis reconstruct their self-image in the context of marginalisation?*
- *Which role does the community-based and cultural tourism project Treesleeper play for the processes of change in the perception and self-perception of (Hai//om and !Kung) Bushmen?*

This study stands in line with recent foci of Bushmen research and tourism studies. Some newer studies concerned with Bushmen groups regard them as active stakeholders who contribute to image creation and react to images created of them (e.g. Dieckmann 2007; Barnard 1997; Gordon 1992, 1997). For a long time research on Bushmen (e.g. Denbow, Wilmsen 1990; Wilmsen 1989) did not pay attention to their perspectives or perceived them

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<sup>4</sup> Hai//om Bushmen are regarded as indigenous people by some researchers and indigenous movements (cf. Ch. 1.3.2).

as mere victims, whose marginal status was due to historical processes and class formation (cf. Gordon 1992).

Recent studies on tourism have identified the host communities, the tourism providers, as actors in interaction with tourism stakeholders (cf. Stronza 2001; van Beek 2007; Wijngaarden 2008) and stakeholders of international organisations and of political elites (cf. Draper, Spierenburg, Wels 2007). Though there have been many studies on different Bushmen groups, the approach of regarding Bushmen as active stakeholders responding and contributing to processes of change in the tourism context has been missing.

Only during this decade extended fieldwork has been conducted on Hai//om people (cf. Widlok 1999; Koot 2000; Dieckmann 2007). Previous research conducted in Tsintsabis has focused on the cultural and historic background of Hai//om (cf. Koot 1999) and on the development and the social and economic impact of the community-based tourism project Treesleeper (cf. Troost 2007, Bounin 2006). Troost identified that changes brought about by tourism “can affect decision-making processes and community self-esteem (...) [and her] research has been set up in order to examine the impact of community-based tourism on a strongly marginalised community” (Troost 2007:4), but she did not address local people’s agency in negotiating their positions and in constructing images in the local setting and in contact with external stakeholders.

Taking into account some Bushmen representatives’ experiences that “being a Bushman means that one must cope with tourists, (...) minuscule wages, menial jobs, and uncertain access to land and resources” (Hitchcock 1997:120), it stands to reason to look at individuals’ strategies to deal with tourism, i.e. how they contribute and respond to it.

In doing so it would be wrong to take a homogenous village entity, a ‘community’, for granted. Rather it is appropriate to listen to and recognise villagers of Tsintsabis as individual actors who renegotiate their positions depending on resources available for them. As Geertz put it, “[a]nthropology no longer speaks with automatic authority for others defined as unable to speak for themselves” (Geertz 1986:10).

Furthermore it would be insufficient to regard the local context detached from the regional, national and international environment, not only because the study is about the global phenomenon of tourism in local surroundings, but also because there are external stakeholders from different levels influencing people of Tsintsabis. It would also be too short-sighted to take into account only the situation since the setting up of the resettlement area

detached from the past because the actual situation of Hai//om (and !Kung) in Tsintsabis has developed in a process.

I will look at reasons (motivations and constraints of locals) for acting in a certain way, regard processes of negotiation and interaction (which I sometimes was part of) and I will try to explain the results, i.e. local people's responses and contributions to Treesleeper, a community-based and cultural tourism project.

## **1.3 Theoretical Framework**

### **1.3.1 Community**

Before one can locate an individual actor's perspective on community, it is necessary to draw attention to the term community itself. Following Sellers (1975) who characterises a community as caring, Hiskes (1982:54) regards community as a decision chosen by individuals to care for one another. According to Hiskes, community includes three dimensions (Hiskes 1982:54): Firstly, it is the object that is valued as a certain attitude. Secondly, community is the relationship between individuals sharing the same values and caring for each other and thus it is more than society. Thirdly, community is in itself a shared moral value and thus more than a common interest. Hiskes' notion of community resembles what the German sociologist Tönnies (1855-1936) termed *Gemeinschaft* in contrast to *Gesellschaft* (society), the distinctive attribute of the social organisation *Gemeinschaft* being "a relationship based upon reciprocity and a sentiment of unified strength" (Hiskes 1982:26).

Western thinking, which framed the term community, was shaped by enlightenment and industrialisation and is structured around the individual or the small-scale family (for a discussion see: Wilson 2003:21-35). Though authors have recognised that in African societies the focus is not on the individual but on groups of people (cf. Thackway 2003:49-54 on francophone Africa; Venter 2004), the characteristics of these specific groups were neglected in development approaches of governmental stakeholders and civil society. This is confirmed by Richards and Hall who hold that "most models of sustainable development include the community as a cornerstone of the development process (...)" (Richards, Hall 2000:1) though the term community is seldom explicitly defined. Community in African societies was and often still is assumed to be a collective that decides on a consensus basis while kin relations, which usually contain hierarchical structures, are left aside and while it is neglected that competing kin groups can exist within a collective. In the western developmental discourse, what Hiskes, following Tönnies, termed *Gemeinschaft* is apparently transferred to the African

context without considering the local, social, historic, political and economic characteristics and specific actors in African societies. Kariuki holds that the developmental notion of community “was based on the understanding that there exists a discernable community marked by a common concern for (...) [resources] to be shared by all within a particular group [whereas] [q]uestions of power dynamics and vested groups were rarely considered” (Kariuki 2004:15).

Against this argument one could refer to *ubuntu*<sup>5</sup>, which is derived from Zulu and Xhosa and means humanness, collective brotherhood or collective morality (cf. Guildenhuys 2004:107). According to Nicolson (2008:9) *ubuntu* “is concerned with the welfare of everyone in the community”. Similarly Mkhize (2008:39) states that in African ethics community is seen as an “organic relationship between individuals (...) [who] are mutually responsive to one another’s needs”. Thus, people do not pursue their individual interests but strive to serve each other (cf. Wilson 2001:9). However, according to Richard Wilson the term *ubuntu* “is an expression of community, representing a romanticised vision of the ‘rural African community’ based upon reciprocity respect for human dignity, community cohesion and solidarity” (Wilson 2001:9). This means that – though the concept has African roots – the harmonious consensus and the caring for welfare of each member in a community is rather an ideal than reality.

The term community is also used by the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR) which is responsible for the resettlement area of Tsintsabis and runs

*“(...) development projects with the aim of improving the economic and social status of the previously disadvantaged communities. (...) [In] projects, such as, [sic!](...) Tsintsabis (...) disadvantaged communities, such as, [sic!] the San, (...) were provided with housing and land for agricultural activities.” (GRN 2010)*

Can one really assume that there exists one united ‘disadvantaged community of San’? What about differences between the specific groups and within the groups?

For Namibia the notion community cannot be disconnected from its instrumentalisation in apartheid ideology. Thornton and Ramphela (1988) have shown that community was purposefully interfused with racial categories creating ‘racial communities’. This implied a God given distinction instead of acknowledging socially constructed groups and laid the foundations for the justification of unequal rights. After independence the new government took over the slogan ‘One Namibia, one Nation’ from liberation struggle in order

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<sup>5</sup> *Ubuntu* might be explained by the Xhosa proverb ‘umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu’ meaning ‘I am because we are’. (cf. Guildenhuys 2004:107)

to foster the willingness of citizens to imagine themselves as members of a national community, an ‘imagined community’ as Anderson (1991) would call it. However, using the term community for a diversified ethnic group of Bushmen bears the danger to contribute to a language and policy where ethnic differentiation plays a large role, arguably the contrast of creating a ‘nation community’.

Even if the term community is used more restrictively, denoting a Hai//om community, the term can hardly be justified, as Dieckmann has argued, because Hai//om are scattered over a wider area and have seldom had contact with each other (cf. Dieckmann 2007:325). The fact that they do not live in the same location today also has to do with government policies of providing them with resettlement land in different areas. When trying to grasp what makes local actors perceive a group (they are part of) as community, it has to be kept in mind that “a sense of belonging is peculiar to the circumstances of (...) life” (Delanty 2003:187) and that the specific local context is crucial (cf. Long 1992:21-23; Richards, Hall 2002:2). To analyse what makes people perceive a group (they are part of) as community, I argue that it is important to pay attention to the individuals and their behaviour towards each other (see also Hiskes 1982) and that a person can belong to more than one community as well as he/she can have more than one identity. Therefore I will consider which role physical location, ethnicity, kin relations, religion and political affiliation play for people of Tsintsabis.

### **1.3.2 San/Bushmen Terminology**

While it is generally acknowledged that groups of hunters and gatherers were the first to inhabit Southern Africa (e.g. Boonzaaier 1996; Barnard 1992), San/Bushmen terminology has been widely discussed in literature. Both terms, San and Bushmen, are problematic because they refer to different people of cultural and linguistic diversity. According to Barnard and Widlok (1996) there have developed widely varying socio-spatial organisations depending on the specific “environmental, economic, political, and cultural factors” (Barnard, Widlok 1996:106-107). The term Khoisan was introduced by linguists and anthropologists and includes all Khoe<sup>6</sup> and non-Khoe speaking click language groups. However, it is also not suitable as a general term for hunters and gatherers groups because Khoe speakers do not only include diverse hunters-gatherers groups, but also Cape Khoekhoe, Nama, and Damara, groups who are not foragers (Barnard 1992:25). The fact that Hai//om language is very close to Nama and Damara is probably due to Hai//oms’ close contact to these groups.

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<sup>6</sup> ‘Khoe’, a Nama word, means ‘person’ (Barnard 1992:7).

In older anthropological works the first people of Southern Africa are referred to as Bushmen (e.g. Lee 1968; Guenther 1973) while more recent anthropology prefers the term San (e.g. Lee, Hitchcock, Biesele 2002; Widlok 2007) arguing that the term Bushmen was used to discriminate against by the colonial powers (cf. Saugestad 2004:28-29). Originally it was used – independent of someone’s ethnic belonging – to label all people in the Cape Colony who gathered as being poor and stealing cattle, thus it clearly identified people as ‘marginal’. When ethnic classification became more important, the multi-ethnic meaning of Bushmen turned into an ethnic label and was especially used for non-Khoe-speakers like !Kung. But also the term San has a similarly negative connotation because it was used to discriminate against by Nama (cf. Speeter-Blaudszun 2004: 33-34). San means ‘those who gather wild fruit’ and was a disparaging term for all people who did not possess cattle (cf. Tlou, Campbell 1984). Additionally the term San has now turned into a purely scientific word, first used in science by American anthropologists, and it is rarely used in daily life. Anyway, both the terms San and Bushmen have originally been ascribed to people by outsiders. Often these terms were used for the purpose of setting people apart from oneself, i.e. they were used for ‘othering’.

“Othering is the process of casting a group, an individual, or an object into the role of the 'other' and establishing one's own identity through opposition to and, frequently, vilification of this other” (Gabriel 2008:213). This can take place between people who know each other well, e.g. when living in the same physical location, or between people who have never met before, such as colonialists and native people or tourists and their hosts. Othering means that the person or group who is defined as the other is denied all characteristics, which the one who has the power over the discourse ascribes to himself.

For a long time people’s own preference for a name was neglected although – from an anthropological point of view regarding individuals as actors – this is most important. Within Tsintabis people usually refer to themselves as Hai//om resp. !Kung or call themselves Bushmen when talking about differences between themselves and other ethnic groups, e.g. Bantu groups. But depending on the context the term Bushmen is insufficient as well as it is insufficient to talk only about Bantu groups and whites instead of Herero, Owambo, Afrikaaner or German-Namibians or of their subgroups. Accordingly it is necessary to refer e.g. to !Kung<sup>7</sup> or Hai//om<sup>8</sup> or to their subgroups for a more precise distinction.

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<sup>7</sup> Among !Kung there are three subgroups, the Northern !Kung residing in Angola and northern Namibia, the central !Kung, who are more correctly referred to as Ju/hoansi, living in Namibia and Botswana, and the

The fact that the terms Bushmen and San were used for describing attributed members as pristine and/or backward people has been identified by Gordon (1997) for the Denver African Expedition. This image can also be found in many anthropological accounts (e.g. Lee 1979) and in many tourist brochures or on postcards. However, the term San resp. Bushmen is sometimes used by the groups themselves, especially by better educated members, possibly because a common label could give the different groups more power in their struggle for rights and acceptance in Namibian society (cf. Hohmann 2003:3). But as the term Bushmen was more widely spread in Tsintsabis, as well as generally in Namibia (cf. Saugestad 2004:29), than San, I follow the local actors' preference emphasising that I clearly separate myself from the use of the term as a racial category but perceive it as a social construct because merely "[c]hanging the labels [without a further change in perception would] (...) not reduce the racism and invidiousness implicit in the relationship (...)" (Gordon 1992:6).

Apart from the question of a suitable term, it has been a constant debate whether Bushmen should be called indigenous or not. As far as the international community is concerned, their indigenous status is acknowledged, but the Namibian government has not ratified the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention No. 169 and there is no reference to 'indigenous people' in the Namibian constitution (cf. Hitchcock et al. 2009:557) where everyone "of an African bloodline" (Suzman 2001:72) is regarded as native to his country (cf. Harring 2004:64).

The international convention defines indigenous peoples as having been the first to come to an area, being culturally distinct from others, being in an economically, socially or culturally marginal position, having suffered from repression, and having a form of self-identification (cf. Saugestad 2004:34). It states:

*"Article 1.1. This Convention applies to: (a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations; (...) 2. Self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply. (...)*

*Article 2.1. Governments shall have the responsibility for (...) (c) assisting the members of the peoples concerned to eliminate socio-economic gaps that may exist between indigenous and other members of the national community, in a manner compatible with their aspirations and ways of life."* (ILO 1989: No. 169, Art. 1,2)

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‡Au//eisi who are also called Southern !Kung (cf. Barnard 1992:19, 39). In this study I will use the term !Kung, as the name is used in Tsintsabis and in recent studies (e.g. Barnard 1992, Widlok 1999).

<sup>8</sup> There are variants for the written form of the term ,Hai//om', e.g. 'Hei//kum', 'Heigum', 'Hai//omn' (Barnard 1992:215). I have decided to use the version Hai//om which has also been used in recent studies (e.g. Dieckmann 2007, Barnard 2007).

On the one hand the ILO convention suggests that the term indigenous is connected to the groups' cultural, political, social and economic characteristics by which they are distinguished from the other inhabitants of a country. On the other hand the convention assumes that indigenous peoples, such as the Bushmen, often have an economically, socially or culturally marginal status (cf. Hohmann 2003:4; Saugestad 2001:65-66). The Namibian government regards Bushmen as marginalised, which can be a characteristic of indigenous people according to the ILO Convention, but does not recognise them as indigenous people because this status is bound to special rights. It would grant Bushmen e.g. the right of co-determination of all laws that concern them and (monetary) support for their representation (cf. ILO Convention Art.6. 1 a, c).

### **1.3.3 Anthropology of Tourism and Cultural Tourism**

In the semiology of tourism, tourist attractions are seen as signs symbolising a meaning that tourists ascribe to them. MacCannell and Urry argue that this unifies the subject-object relation of tourists and sights (see MacCannell 1976:109-133; Urry 1990:3; Urry 2002:13). Transferring this view to cultural tourism, local cultures are reduced to sights or 'the object of gaze' together with local people who present their culture to tourists. Locals are not regarded as actors but as passive stakeholders and attention is paid to the tourist side where the traveller uses markers (signifiers) to attribute a meaning to sights (the signified) (cf. MacCannell 1976:117-121). This approach stands in contrast to the focus on social and cultural change on the part of the local people (e.g. Smith 1977, 2001; van Beek 2003, 2007), which I will follow in my study. I will regard local people as active stakeholders within the 'tourist bubble' (cf. van Beek 2003, 2007; Jackson 2004 focused on cruises; Judd, Fainstain 1999 focused on tourism in cities), also termed 'environmental bubble' (Crick 1989:327). The tourist bubble is defined as "the whole of the arrangements in which the tourists are encased, allowing them to view the outside whilst being protected from misfortune" (Chabal, Engel, de Haan 2007:6). This bubble is designed by stakeholders of the tourism industry and local actors, the hosts, so that the encounter between tourists and their hosts in the African context, which tourists<sup>9</sup> perceive as foreign, exotic and insecure, does not trigger tourists' fear of the unknown but is attractive for travellers (cf. van Beek 2003: 254). Schouten calls this the "commodification of

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<sup>9</sup> In line with the agency approach, according to which tourists are active stakeholders who attribute meanings to what they encounter, I do not attempt to generalise individual tourists' experiences and create a tourism typology as e.g. Urry (1990) and Smith (1977) but follow Enevoldsen (2003:497) in his critical question: "Do categorical assumptions really explain the tourist?"

escapism” (Schouten 2007:29). My emphasis is on the hosts, who contribute and respond to the arrangements for tourists, their guests, during their local encounter. The string of thoughts, where social and cultural change is in the centre of interest and hosts are viewed as actors, stands in line with the agency approach and the bottom-up approach, including the community-based concept.

If cultural tourism is combined with community-based tourism, this implies that the tourism enterprise is owned and controlled by local people (cf. Rutten 2004:31). Furthermore, it should contribute to their socio-cultural and economic needs and not disrupt their way of life (cf. McIntosh, Ryan 2007). Before delving into cultural tourism, it has to be clarified what is meant by culture. Culture is dynamic and thus includes processes of change at the surface while the deep level of culture remains unchanged (cf. Samovar, Porter, McDaniel 2009:40; Beamer, Varner: 2001). In the dynamic understanding, culture can be defined as “a whole of knowledge (...) [which is] shared within certain groups, despite the content being largely ‘produced’ and modified within a societal framework” (Abbink 1992:101). Culture refers to attitudes, beliefs, behaviours, thoughts and values that people who belong to one cultural group share with each other (cf. Litrell 1997) and it includes products of processes such as artefacts or customs (cf. Richards 2001:7). The notion of culture is a western concept originating from the Latin *cultura* that stems from *colere* and means ‘to cultivate’. The German term *Kultur* (culture) for example is often used in the meaning of *Hochkultur*, referring to what is considered high art by a sophisticated audience such as theatre performances, orchestra concerts or art exhibitions. In contrast to that Germans use the term *Volkskultur* (folklore) for old customs and habits, and for products of folk, something that is not perceived to be of as high a value as *Kultur*. In a western perspective Bushmen cultures are perceived as *Volkskultur* and thus subordinated to European cultures. The western differentiation between cultures also becomes clear by the depiction of artifacts in museums where the products of one’s own high culture are exposed in e.g. fine-arts museums, whereas cultural artifacts of societies that are perceived as less advanced are presented in ethnographic museums (cf. Handler 1986:4).

The subjective classification of culture and cultural products is closely related to the construct of authenticity (cf. Handler 1986). Authenticity refers to a product of culture that is seen as genuine or as a painstaking reproduction. Among academia it was long seen as “a core ingredient (...) [to define an] ideal culture” (Bendix 1997:4) in a western understanding and thus it was interrelated with the disciplinary construction of cultural images which determined

what is genuine and unspoiled and what not. The danger of considering something as authentic is that there has to be something inauthentic as well. This degrades certain parts of culture to an illegitimate or fake status (cf. Bendix 1997:4-9) and allows powerful actors to define what is genuine and pure and therefore needs special attention, preservation and support, and what is not.

If culture and authenticity are constructs of western thinking, cultural tourism also becomes affected because it is constructed around a people's cultural resources that are consumed by tourists (cf. Richards 2001). Cultural tourism is about visiting sights (MacCannell 1976; Urry 1992) and about meeting people of a different culture and getting to know their way of life. This includes their past way of life and their current way of life (Richards 2001). Many tourists "desire to share in the real life of the places visited, or at least to see life as it is really lived" (MacCannell 1976:96), in other words they seek for authenticity, resp. what they think is the real life of their hosts. However, tourists cannot get full access to what is behind the performance, the frontstage, but rather are presented a staged authenticity by their hosts. In a more permeable tourist bubble, such as the bubbles of low and middle-budget tourism, guests can get further behind the scene and thus enter some parts of the backstage (MacCannell 1976).

It should not be forgotten that the hosts also experience the tourists and thus create images of them and their way of life. The encounter is a mutual exchange of hosts and guests, which both groups and the tourism stakeholders contribute to. "The tourists construct the African in terms of their own culture, albeit in terms of contrast; similarly, the local culture constructs the tourist identity into their own image." (van Beek 2003:285)

Ideally the material and immaterial benefits should exceed the costs of a community-based and cultural project and "communities should (...) [know about] the (hidden) costs and potential benefits of [ ]tourism (...). The (financial) benefits as well as the disadvantages for the whole community (...) should be properly understood by everyone" (Rutten 2004:31). As the focus of my research is on the hosts, the impact on them and their contributions to the Treesleeper Project will be in the centre of attention. However, focusing on the mere encounter of local people and tourists (and its backstage) in the way MacCannell (1976) and Urry (1990) do, would be insufficient because this structuralist approach leaves out the historical, social, economic and political context and does not consider patterns of change that influence and are influenced by local people.

### 1.3.4 Agency, Access and Marginalisation

To be able to analyse Hai//om's and !Kung's contributions and reactions to changes, (re)negotiations and (re)constructions, I will use the agency approach as “agency (...) [is] related to (...) outcomes of processes of change that people, groups and societies initiate” (de Bruijn, van Dijk, Gewalt 2007a:15). According to de Bruijn, van Dijk and Gewalt, “[a]gency is part of the production of certain social formations and the dynamics of interaction between people and between societies and their predicaments and the environment (...). It emphasizes the possibilities and opportunities individuals and social groups perceive when faced with the constraints that mark so much of African social life.” (de Bruijn, van Dijk, Gewalt 2007b:1)

The social formations and dynamics of interaction are shaped by actors who use access mechanisms to gain, maintain or control access to power positions and resources. According to Peluso and Ribot, access is “about all possible means by which a person is able to benefit from things” (Peluso, Ribot 2003:156) including materials, people, institutions and symbols (Peluso, Ribot 2003:163). Access is thus “the ability to benefit” (Peluso, Ribot 2003:157).

For this study the identity-based, more precisely the ethnicity- and culture-based access mechanism (Peluso, Ribot 2003:171) plays a role as a means to access economic and monetary resources in a cultural tourism project and to gain tourists' recognition for Bushmen culture. Furthermore this mechanism is important to gain access to funds and recognition in the interaction with international donors, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and government stakeholders (Peluso, Ribot 2003:171). Additionally social relations are important for access. Here kin relations play a vital role for the access to labour opportunities (cf. Peluso, Ribot 2003:167) within the village. Also religious or political affiliation and to some extent the specific locality of people play a role as access mechanisms to resources.<sup>10</sup> The knowledge-based, i.e. formal education-based access mechanism is important for labour opportunities. Negotiations for access take place on the local level as well as in the interaction between local actors and external (institutional) stakeholders (cf. Draper, Spierenburg, Wels 2007). Having gained access to resources, especially jobs, can mean a basis to negotiate for power positions in the village.

Part of the agency approach is the concept of vulnerability, which has been adapted from the disaster and risk management theory and is used in different disciplines including anthropology (e.g. Dieckmann 2007; de Bruijn, van Dijk, Gewalt 2007c). The concept of

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<sup>10</sup> Also other studies have focused on social identities for access to resources and negotiation for power positions. (see for ethnic belonging: Dieckmann 2007; cultural belonging: Widlok 2007; kin relations: Moyo 2007; religious affiliation: van Dijk 2007)

vulnerability refers to the risks and opportunities that are available for an actor. Knowledge, abilities and capacities at actors' disposal determine the level of their vulnerability and the alternatives they can choose from (cf. Essed, Frerks, Schrijvers 2005:2; Long 2001:16; Adger, Kelly 2001:21). As to the agency of vulnerable hosts in the concept of the tourist bubble, this means that in societies with strict hierarchical systems they usually have less alternatives than powerful actors. But in societies with low hierarchical structures, less powerful actors might retain some liberty to choose between what they withhold from the host-guest encounter and what they are willing to add to the bubble, and thus present to the tourists (cf. van Beek 2007).

“Indicators of vulnerability include poverty, marginalisation and [restricted] access to resources.” (Adger, Kelly 2001:22). Hai//om as well as other Bushmen groups have been identified as ‘marginal people’ (cf. Hitchcock, Vinding 2004a; Suzman 2003b). The term marginal people is often associated with minorities, members of discriminated ethnic groups or people living in peripheral areas (e. g. Reinfjord 2009; Freeman, Pankhurst 2003) and refers to groups who are disadvantaged and who are exposed to “conditions [that] put severe limitations on individuals and bring about negative consequences” (Pedersen 2002: 241).

The process of marginalisation of Bushmen people must be understood in the historic context and in terms of lacking political, economic and social positions. Suzman (2004) describes Hai//om as people who have been marginalised since colonialism and holds current political conditions responsible for the ‘predicament of Hai//om’. According to him the lack of access to land (cf. also Haring 2004) and education plays a vital role for them. Dieckmann (2007) similarly regards these factors as responsible for Bushmen’s marginalisation and argues that a categorisation in ethnic groups contributed to marginalisation because it created groups of ‘others’ and because Bushmen were positioned at a low rank in the “ethnic hierarchy according to exploitability” for colonial labour (Dieckmann 2007:98). A marginal status is not defined by the people concerned but by those who have the power to define.

While the marginal status of Bushmen can be seen as a risk people are exposed to and seek to overcome, the marginal image is both a risk and a chance upon which actors can negotiate for access to resources. Especially in the developmental context, the notion ‘marginalised’ makes people suitable for development support and international recognition and can give them access to advocacy. Following the agency approach, I perceive Bushmen as active stakeholders, who use their position to negotiate (see also: Dieckmann 2007:336).

## **1.4 Field and Methods**

### **1.4.1 A Village and its Project. Tsintsabis and Treesleeper Camp: Setting and Structure**

#### **1.4.1.1 Tsintsabis**

The village of Tsintsabis is located in Guinas Constituency, Oshikoto District, about 65km north of Tsumeb, the district capital, and 80km east of Namutoni, the entrance gate to Etosha National Park. North of Tsintsabis there is mainly communal land: the northwest is the area of the former Owamboland and the northeast is part of the Kavango district. (cf. Figure 1 in Ch.<sup>11</sup> 1.1.1)

The south, west and east of the village is dominated by commercial farmland. The farms in the area specialise in cattle breeding, meat production and citrus and vegetable cultivation. Some, however, combine farming and tourism activities or have changed from cattle farms to game and hunting farms.

In the course of time Tsintsabis has completely changed its character from a police station during the South African Apartheid regime to a resettlement area for primarily Hai//om and !Kung Bushmen<sup>12</sup> under the Namibian government (cf. Ch. 4.2.3). After independence the Namibian government pursued a policy of providing land for those ethnic groups who had been banned from their former settlement areas during the South African apartheid regime. Originally the police station had been set up to protect the northern commercial farms. During the liberation struggle between the South African Defence Force (SADF) and the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), who was supported from Ovamboland and Angola, the area of Tsintsabis was used as a military base for SADF soldiers, and Hai//om were working for the SADF.

Since independence the resettlement area has been administered by a representative of the Ministry of Land and Resettlement (MLR). He is primarily responsible for the allocation of plots and the agricultural production in the village.

In Tsintsabis there live about 3000 people on 1862 ha of land, the size of a moderate commercial farm in the area (Koot 2000:28). Tsintsabis can be divided into three parts: the

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<sup>11</sup> In the following the term 'chapter' will be abbreviated with 'Ch.' if a reference is given in brackets.

<sup>12</sup> Around Tsintsabis there are more resettlement areas, the closest being Oerwoud, about 10km to the south of the village. Further to the direction of Tsumeb there is Excelsior and about 35km north of Tsintsabis there is the resettlement area Bravo. Magnetti, another resettlement project, is located about 100km to the east of Tsintsabis.

main village Tsintsabis and /Gomkhaos and !Khosines, two settlements that are situated some kilometres outside the main village<sup>13</sup>.

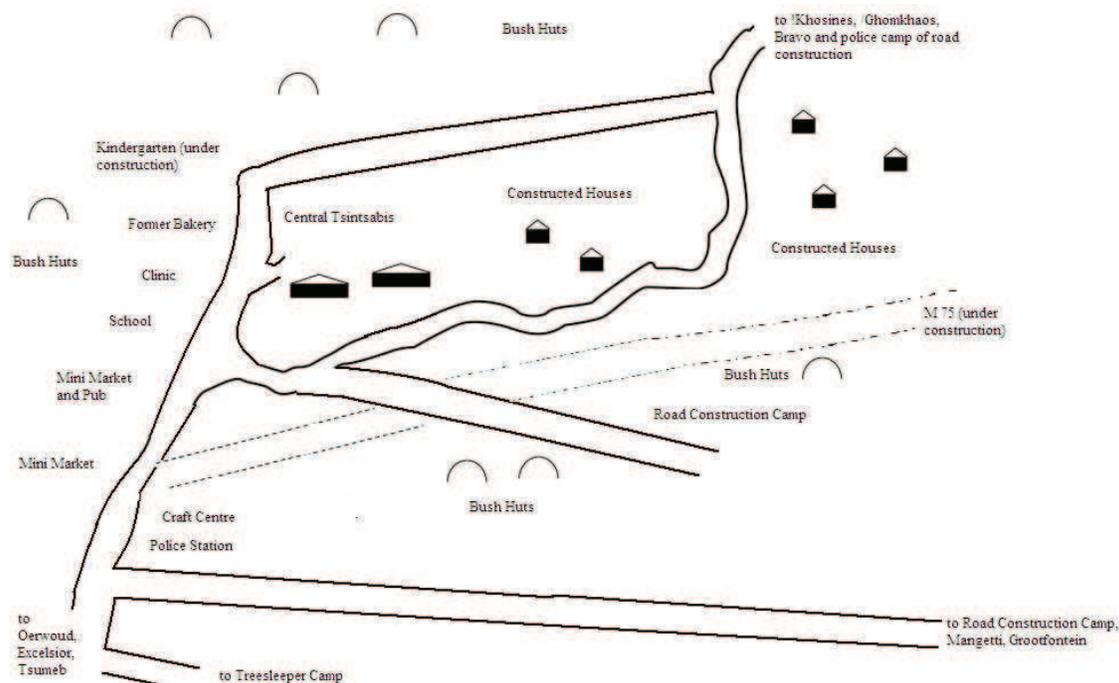


Figure 2: Schematic map of Tsintsabis, adapted from Koot 2000:30

Figure 2 gives an overview of Tsintsabis and shows an area of ca. 10km<sup>2</sup>. At the entrance of Tsintsabis there are two small stores and pubs, called *shebeens* in Namibia, and some administrative buildings, i.e. the police station, the craft centre, the office of the MLR official, the school and the clinic. Close to the clinic there is a large tree where community meetings are held. In what is indicated as ‘central Tsintsabis’ there are churches, houses and some small shops offering a limited range of basic necessities, however there are no shops in /Gomkhaos and !Khosines.

Some families in Tsintsabis live in brick houses that have been constructed by the Namibian government, but most people who settled there after independence live in self-constructed housing made from corrugated iron sheets or built from wood, and a few live in huts made of a mixture of clay and cow dung. The former military barracks and sheds in !Khosines now serve as dwellings for families, and the former military barracks in Tsintsabis have been transformed into the school buildings.

<sup>13</sup> When referring to the separate parts of Tsintsabis, the two latter will be referred to as minor settlement and the main part will be referred to as central or main village.

Despite a limited power supply, nearly all households collect firewood, an activity which can take several hours per day. All over the village there are water pumps, but some only deliver salty water so that especially villagers in the north of the main village have to walk up to ca. 500m to fetch drinkable water. Only in very few houses there is running water. Waste disposal is a problem in the village because there is no communal waste management, which makes rubbish burning necessary. In 2007 there has been set up a cell tower, which has eased communication because the public phone of the village had stopped working some years ago.

Most people in Tsintsabis are unemployed and often only one member of a household, which seldom consists of less than 10 people, earns an income. Some work on surrounding farms, at the road construction and at Treesleeper Camp or have a job outside Tsintsabis, e.g. in factories or on farms. Others try to generate a small income by selling goods, which they have bought cheaply in Tsumeb before, or live on subsistence farming. Pensioners receive 450N\$<sup>14</sup> a month, which often has to be sufficient for the whole household, and from time to time there are government handouts as part of the draught food relief programme<sup>15</sup>.

#### **1.4.1.2 Treesleeper Camp**

Initially the camp was supposed to be called ‘Tsintsabis Camp’ or ‘Hai//om Camp’. The name ‘Tsintsabis Camp’ was not approved of because people felt that it was primarily about Bushmen and their culture. The second proposal did not find consent as it would have been hard for tourists to pronounce and recall the name.

The name Hai//om literally translated means ‘tree sleeper’. As foragers Hai//om used to sleep on trees when they were unable to return to their huts, e.g. during a hunting trip. They used to make a fire underneath the trees to protect themselves from mosquitoes.<sup>16</sup> Guests of the campsite can also become ‘treesleepers’ when they stay at one of the treedecks, platforms supported by high poles.

The idea to engage in the tourism sector had already been discussed in the Development Committee of Tsintsabis since 1993. In his study on the resettlement in Tsintsabis, Koot referred to the potential to attract “‘low and middle budget’ tourists by creating a community-based camp-site that can stimulate the small-scale economy of Tsintsabis” (Koot 2000:62). The idea developed that Hai//om could indirectly benefit from

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<sup>14</sup> 450 N\$ were about 45€ during the research time.

<sup>15</sup> This will be explained in more detail in Ch. 4.3.2

<sup>16</sup> Arguably, a reason for staying overnight in trees could also have been that Hai//om wanted to protect themselves from attacks of predators.

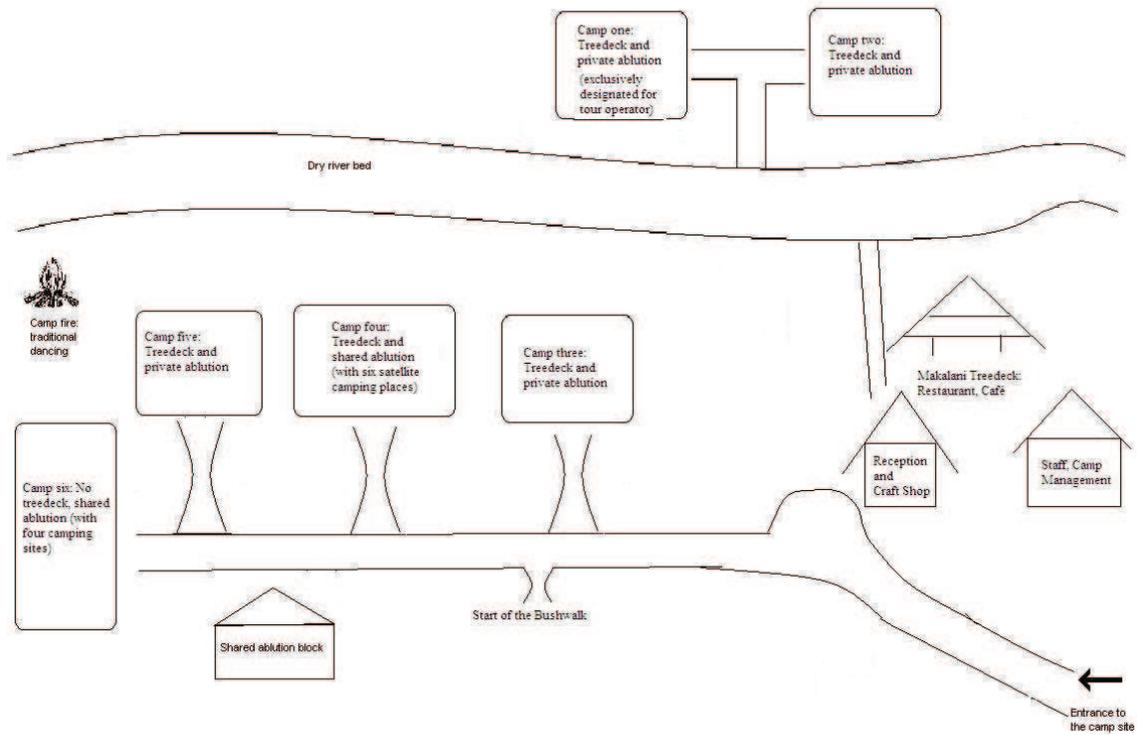
Etosha National Park (NP), which they call their 'ancestral land', by attracting tourists for a stop-over in Tsintsabis after or before they visit Etosha. A motivation for a tourism endeavour was also that Hai//om and !Kung would be active contributors to cultural tourism, whereas previously they had been mere objects of cultural tourism conducted by a local commercial farmer and the Bushmen project of Ombili (cf. Ch. 4.2.2). In order to generate funds and create European donors' attention, the Stichting Duurzaam Toerisme Namibië (Foundation for Sustainable Tourism Namibia, STDN) was founded in the Netherlands in 2002 by Stasja Koot, who also helped to initiate the project.<sup>17</sup> The construction of the campsite began in 2004/2005 after the Tsintsabis Trust, mainly consisting of villagers, had been set up and land had been allocated for the campsite by the MLR<sup>18</sup>. Today Treesleeper offers jobs for eight permanently employed people, i.e. a manager, a co-manager, an accountant, two night guards and three guides. Additionally it offers a small income for performers of the traditional dance, craft producers who sell their handicrafts to Treesleeper and occasionally employed villagers.

The campsite is located about 1.5km from the village and about 1km distant to road M75, which is under construction. The small side road leading to the tourist accommodation turns off before one enters the village. The physical separation is meant to guarantee that neither local people nor tourists feel bothered by each other. When entering the campsite one passes by the craft shop, where products of local craftsmen are sold, before reaching the reception, a building where the a bar and a café are also installed (cf. Figure 3 in Ch. 1.4.1).

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<sup>17</sup> For more information see [treesleeper.org/backgrounds.html](http://treesleeper.org/backgrounds.html) and [goededoel.nl](http://goededoel.nl).

<sup>18</sup> Initially another plot, further away from the village, had been allocated to the project, but the current site was identified as more attractive. After negotiations with the MLR and the person whom the land had been allocated to in the first place, an agreement was reached and the latter was compensated with another patch of land of the same size (10ha) by the MLR representative. (cf. Interview 26)



**Figure 3: Schematic map of Treesleeper Camp, adapted from Troost 2007: 51**

There are three categories of campsites available: The most expensive category has a tredeck and its own sanitary block, i.e. toilet, shower and sink. The second category has a tredeck and shared ablutions and the cheapest category has no tredeck. Each of the campsites is provided with a BBQ, solar lights and a picnic table. The campsites are suitable for different numbers of people. Some can host four people and the bigger ones can host more than 20 people. Usually tourists bring their own camping gear, but equipment can also be rented from Treesleeper. One campsite with temporarily installed tents has been allocated to a tour operator in a five-year-contract.

Treesleeper Camp offers three activities – bushwalk, traditional dance and village walk – tourists can take part in. The minimal number of participants is two persons – for the traditional dance four people – and a group can consist of up to twenty people. A local guide gives explanations and answers questions when leading through the activities. The offers are focused on Bushmen’s former way of life, but explain about the contemporary situation, too (cf. Ch. 5).

### 1.4.2 Research Methodology

The fieldwork, which was conducted as qualitative research and lasted six months, from July 2009 till January 2010, can be split into two parts. The smaller period of time, ca. two months, was invested in literature research and interviews with external stakeholders<sup>19</sup> including tour operators, tourism providers, government officials, NGO representatives and researchers. These interviews were mostly conducted in Windhoek in the beginning of the research period but also later during a trip to the Etosha area and to Botswana. During these journeys, I also participated as a tourist in different cultural tourism activities. Most of my interviewees were open to answer questions, especially NGO representatives and tourism operators. Tourism providers, especially hunting-farm owners, sometimes showed suspicion and the same referred to some government officials.

The greater amount of time, ca. four months, I spent in Tsintsabis, where I focused on participant observation, recording my observations in fieldnotes, and conducted semi-structured formal and informal interviews with local informants and informal interviews with tourists. These interviews form the central information source for the study and are used to analyse the situation in the resettlement area, whereas the remaining data make it possible to embed the local situation in a wider context. Results of literature research are used to provide background information and to underline the findings.

I practised participant observation from the two different perspectives of an observer as participant and of a participant as observer. In tourist activities, I participated as a tourist, usually pointing out my position as a researcher to other tourists. However, I often experienced a struggle between my feelings of belonging to and being different from the ‘normal’ tourists. The trouble of being a tourist and researcher at the same time has also been observed by other researchers. Enevoldson, who gathered his first cultural tourism experiences in South Africa, described his position by acknowledging:

*“Although I differed from many of the tourists (...), there were also ways in which I was connected to these individuals through my relative positioning and activity within tourist environments.”* (Enevoldson 2003:476)

As my focus was on the hosts, their perceptions played an important role for me. They mostly regarded me as a long-term tourist.

As far as my role in the village is concerned, especially in the beginning I mostly took the role of an observer of daily life and special events. Though remaining an outsider, my

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<sup>19</sup> In the following chapter external stakeholders include - above these actors - also tourists.

constant stay in the centre of the village – my place was located between two *shebeens*, shops, that also functioned as pubs and where a lot of social life took place – allowed me to participate in the daily village life becoming part in village talks when fierce accusing rumours about the campsite personnel were articulated and my advice was asked, or when - due to the overuse of alcohol - a physical struggle started between two visitors at my place. The more I became a participant in the village life, the less I took the role of an observer, feeling closer to the people of Tsintsabis and having an easier access to people who I had often encountered and who had partly turned into friends.

It was necessary to conduct informal interviews with tourists because they would not have had the motivation to participate in a long-lasting interview as they were on holiday. Interviews with them and with tour guides of tourist groups took place during activities or encounters at the reception. My attempt to have tourists fill out short structured questionnaires at the Treesleeper reception was not very successful, as most tourists did not feel eager to do so, nor was I able to be constantly at the campsite to administer the questionnaires.

Concerning about 25 interviews of the ca. 40 interviews conducted in the village, my local research assistant translated what the respondents said, so in many cases quotations are not direct. Some names are changed or names are not given at all in the thesis in order to protect the anonymity of informants where necessary or agreed upon. As the focus of the research is on the local people of Tsintsabis, it was important to follow their line of thinking and make them create the agenda instead of following my pre-developed criteria (cf. Suzman 1995:iii). Consequently the questions were adapted to the respective respondent and a question guide was only used as an orientation.

In the initial stage of my stay in the village, when my research assistant helped me to identify potential interview partners, I came to question whether interview partners should receive a compensation in return for their efforts. On the one hand I knew that this could bias research results in so far as informants might answer questions trying to make the interviewer (myself) content. Those answers however might not depict their real opinion. A compensation could also foster jealousy among villagers who did not participate in the interviews. On the other hand some informants would be reluctant to agree to an interview if they were not compensated for their time investment, and they might even feel exploited. Furthermore I was not the first researcher in Tsintsabis and other researchers had reimbursed interviewees for their participation. And with my European origin, people considered me to be well-off not least because I had a car during my stay. I became aware of interviewees' expectations

triggered towards me in the very beginning when my research assistant looked desperate telling me that a member of the Development Committee of the village had asked for something in return immediately after she had brought forward my idea to interview him (fieldnotes 2009-08-24). In the end I decided to compensate all interviewees in the village apart from those who had official positions or were directly related to the Treesleeper Camp, including teachers, the MLR representative, the Traditional Authority, Treesleeper staff and trust members. I made this distinction because these interviewees had a regular income<sup>20</sup> in contrast to most of my other interviewees of Tsintsabis. Additionally I had a friendly relation with most of the staff members and they were invited for lunch or dinner from time to time or got a lift to town. In any case interviewees were never compensated in a monetary form but with a small gift. After the interviews, which mostly took place in the interviewees' compound, I gave them some small necessities they would appreciate as I had found out during the interviews such as washing powder, a candle or a packet of noodles.

My white European origin also meant that it was sometimes hard to access people on questions about the time of apartheid, despite the fact that I was usually referred to as a 'long-term tourist' and people saw differences between tourists and the local whites. Several times people used my connection to the Treesleeper project to ask me about possibilities of benefitting from Treesleeper. However, my association with the project apparently did not make them hold back their criticism on Treesleeper.

## **1.5 Structure of Chapters**

Though Hai//om (and !Kung) Bushmen living in Tsintsabis are in the centre of my research, it is important to include the social, historic and political context. I will analyse what local people perceive as community and scrutinise images of (Hai//om and !Kung) Bushmen created by external stakeholders and by themselves. The structure of my thesis follows the two principles of the community-based Treesleeper project, the object of my research. Its first objective is to make sure that "the members of [the] (...) local community are involved in all the aspects of carrying out the tourist activities" (Treesleeper Camp 2010) and to have the whole community benefit. Treesleeper's second principle is to create awareness for (Hai//om) Bushmen culture and to present a "realistic image of both the traditional and the contemporary way of life of the (Hei//omn) Bushmen" (Treesleeper Camp 2010). Along these two objectives of the project concerned, the four intermediate chapters are divided into two

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<sup>20</sup> The trustees got a small sitting allowance (20N\$, ca. 2 €) for each meeting and were employed in other ways.

units, chapters 2 and 3 focusing on local structures and processes and chapters 4 and 5 focusing on the influence of and the exchange with external stakeholders.

The first unit of chapters deals with the villagers' perceptions of community and the ways in which they are influenced by the presence of the community-based Treesleeper project. Here group formations which influence the relations between villagers and the village structure are in the centre of interest (Ch. 2; 3). In chapters 4 and 5, I will draw attention to the relations between Bushmen, in specific Hai//om and also !Kung, with the respective government in power, commercial farmers, civil society (Ch. 4) and tourists and tourism stakeholders (Ch. 5). These actors' images of Bushmen and Bushmen's self-perception, which correlate with historical events and the process of Bushmen's marginalisation (Ch. 4), will be related to images created by the cultural tourism project Treesleeper and it will be analysed to what extent Treesleeper contributes to a change of images, i.e. to a different perception and self-perception of Bushmen (Ch. 5).

In the final chapter 6, I will first conclude what locals perceive as a community or group they are part of, in contrast to the notion of community in the community-based concept. I will look at the processes of change influenced by the resettlement of Hai//om (and !Kung) at Tsintsabis before turning to Treesleeper's implications on processes of change in local people's perception of community. Additionally I will point out external stakeholders' perception of Bushmen that have developed in the course of time and Treesleeper's principle of cultural awareness creation and its implications on processes of change for tourists' perceptions and self-perceptions of Bushmen. In a second step I will look at community-based and cultural tourism in general and Treesleeper's tourism niche in particular. I will examine the paradox of combining community-based and cultural tourism, two concepts which are derived from western thinking. Additionally I will glance at future perspectives for Bushmen by making use of cultural tourism and their indigenous status.

In the course of the thesis, I have included boxes with excursus to aspects addressed in the text and with information on development projects and tourism projects similar to or different from Treesleeper. This should be understood in the sense stated by Long who notes that comparisons are not useful for generalisations but are a means to contextualise diversity (Long 1992:66).

## **2 The Community of Tsintsabis: Different Communities in One Community**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I will regard the individual and the group level and will focus on interviewees' statements to find out what makes local people feel part of a 'community'. This will be complemented by my first impressions and my closer observations of people's behaviour. In doing so, it is important to look at patterns of in- and exclusion by analysing factors that connect or separate people of Tsintsabis. Therefore fields where people, residing in Tsintsabis, share common interests – or even common values (cf. Hiskes 1982) – will play a part in the analysis as well as elements which might contribute to a disconnection of locals. Within one physical location there can exist different communities or - to use an alternative term – various groups. It will be a continuous theme in my analysis how members of different groups in Tsintsabis use their position to negotiate for power and access to resources. For the breakdown into topics I will take up what people found important. Firstly, I will show which image people connect with the ethnic belonging of others and which effects this image has on people's attitude by comparing new and old inhabitants' perceptions of each other and by looking at different Hai//om and !Kung Bushmen's views on each other. Secondly, I will ask which part family relations play for the cohesion of the villagers and which part political and religious affiliations play for family relations and for the relationship of villagers. Then I will introduce a road project of the government of the Republic of Namibia as influencing the setting of Tsintsabis and the Treesleeper project and analyse local actor's responses to the road with special emphasis on their expectations for the village and for their culture.

### **2.2 An Outsider's First Impression of Community Life**

On one of my first days in Tsintsabis I went on my personal 'village tour'<sup>21</sup> during which the camp manager, my guide, introduced me to important people in the village including the representative of the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR), the headman of Hai//om and !Kung and the personnel of the school, the craft centre and the clinic. I also met the young Hai//om woman, who later became my research assistant and gatekeeper to the local people. During our first encounter she seemed shy and did not want to speak English but preferred to talk to my guide in Hai//om.

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<sup>21</sup> One of the Treesleeper tourist activities is also called 'village tour'.

While continuing our way, I found out that nearly all brick houses, constructed with government funding after independence, have power supply and that it is common to share electricity via a connecting cable with neighbours who do not have direct access. This made me think that people in Tsintsabis are able to share the little they have or that - as a !Kung interviewee put it later -

*“(...) people here stand together, there is no special person. The community is not only in Tsintsabis but also in /Gomkhaos [and !Khosines].”* (Interview 16)<sup>22</sup>

The village tour meant to me as to any attentive tourist- or to me as a more permanent tourist - to get a rough impression of my new surroundings and people. While villagers usually were people of my interest or - as Urry calls it - my object of gaze, that day I seemed to be their object of gaze (cf. Urry 1990). They were looking at me, observing me and for sure also creating images of me. Some villagers passing by stopped and repeated “N/usa, N/usa!” pointing towards me. As I understood, this was my new name and later I found out that it is a non-offending expression, meaning ‘white person’ in Hai//om. Local people also used the term ‘tourist’ when approaching me directly but also when talking in Hai//om. In contrast to the word ‘tourism’, the business, that only staff members of Treesleeper knew, nearly everyone knew the term ‘tourist’ and my research assistant never had to translate or to explain it.

On the way back from my first ‘village tour’, my guide and I met a man, who dug out pickets of a patch of land and threw them aggressively on the ground. The man announced that he would bash the person who had erected the pickets if he saw him again. I found out that the man was enraged as somebody, who had recently moved to Tsintsabis from Owamboland<sup>23</sup>, had erected a fence on the land that the man declared to be his own. According to him he had long ago announced to build a house there, close to his father’s place.<sup>24</sup> This made me think that there were strong family ties because the man insisted to live close to his father’s.

My companion showed sympathy for the man and pointed out cautiously that it was unfair that Hai//om had to struggle to get access to land (fieldnotes, 2009-08-13). Even though

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<sup>22</sup> All interviews with hosts, Treesleeper staff and Tsintsabis trustees were conducted in Tsintsabis.

<sup>23</sup> Owamboland, where the majority of the population consists of Owambo, a Bantu group, is located in the north of Tsintsabis.

<sup>24</sup> Basically everyone can erect a building on resettlement land that the MLR has granted the status of building land and that is not used as grazing area, but permission from the official of the MLR is necessary in Tsintsabis. (Until November 2009 this had been the task of the headman and the MLR representative and since then it is left to the regional counsellor and the MLR representative.)

I was not able to find out whether the man erecting a fence or his opponent was right, the event showed me that there seemed to be a feeling of solidarity between my Hai//om guide and the Hai//om man who have both lived in the village for long.

## 2.3 The Relevance of Ethnicity in Tsintsabis

### 2.3.1 Newcomers and the “First People”

80% of the population of Tsintsabis are Hai//om Bushmen, most of them being of mixed ethnic origin.<sup>25</sup> The second largest group are !Kung, followed by Damara, although the number of !Kung has decreased because some have moved further to the direction of Bravo Resettlement (cf. Figure 2). There are also some Owambo, Herero and Kavango, who have moved to Tsintsabis in recent years, and very few Nama, Tswana and Tjibundu. (cf. Koot 2000)

Nearly all *shebeens*, i.e. local pubs in Southern Africa where groceries are sold in addition to alcoholic and soft drinks, are owned and run by non-Hai//om and non-!Kung. Most shop-owners are of Owambo descent. Some Hai//om demanded that in future the headman should prefer Hai//om who are willing to run a business and should not allow ‘newcomers’ to open a shop. This was in contrast to a shop-owner’s view, who moved to Tsintsabis only two years ago. After his father’s death, the shop-owner took over the store, which is the oldest shop in Tsintsabis and is situated at the very entrance to the village. He feels unaccepted and excluded from social life, not least because he had been asked to leave the place, as he was not a Hai//om and could not consider the resettlement area as his place. He pointed out:

*“In future I do not want to stay here but look for another job somewhere else. I have not been born here and I do not really feel at home here. (...) Newcomers who are of any other tribe than Bushmen do not have any power in this place. They have to listen to the Bushmen. Here in Tsintsabis it often happens that I am insulted. People then say, ‘It’s not your place, it’s ours’ or ‘We are poor and you take all our money.’ They often complain about our prices.<sup>26</sup> But I even have to pay rent here. I think other people do not pay rent here. (...) Sometimes people even threaten me, then they say, ‘We will beat you up if you come to our location.’”* (Interview 24)

The young man was afraid of violence against himself and his shop. For example he remarked that he did not dare to walk outside unaccompanied late at night and that chairs had been knocked over and thrown through his shop window. The interviewee perceived a strong

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<sup>25</sup> For !Kung and Hai//om a person of mixed descent belongs to the ethnic group of the mother.

<sup>26</sup> Shop owners usually buy their goods in the supermarkets of Tsumeb to sell them at a small profit in the village shops.

discrepancy between his life and that of Hai//om and even showed disgust for them when pointing out:

*“Some people don’t care about tomorrow. If they have 500N\$, there will be no money left the next day. Then they tell us, ‘You order us what to do! You determine about our lives!’ They do not open their own shops because they do not know how. Owambo people are different from Damara<sup>27</sup>. Damara like to be entertained. They have a lack of respect for elders, but we Owambos have that. (...) They do not work but get money from the old-aged people. Maybe they even steal it from them. Also people sometimes try to steal in the shop when they drink.” (Interview 24)*

These felt differences and the perceived separation stand in contrast to marriages between people of different ethnic groups, to mixed ethnic origins and to multilingualism in the village. Hai//om and !Kung Bushmen seldom directly expressed the feeling of separation between ethnic groups, but rather stated that they get along well with each other (see Box 2.1). This was different when asked about the use of land and which consequences newcomers could bring about because villagers were conscious of the scarcity of land. Especially Hai//om interviewees expressed their fear to be barred from economic opportunities or even to be evicted from the area. A Hai//om man explained:

*“(...) [T]here are the (...) Ovambo. They should not have a big influence on the community’s decision. (...) the Kavangos work with the Hai//o, but Ovambos are too demanding, they have taken too much space and they do not respect Hai//om.” (Interview 12)*

This statement shows similarities to the opinion of the enraged man I met during my ‘village tour’, who complained about the newcomer, an Owambo, and his fence. The dramatic meaning of this situation was underlined by the man’s intention to fight with the Owambo man and by the fact that a physical fight for land had also taken place a couple of weeks prior to my arrival. Some voices in the village demanded that the resettlement land should be handed over to Hai//om under the condition that other people should be allowed to live there, too. Many felt deprived of their rights because they cannot own the resettlement land but only the buildings on the land (cf. fieldnotes 2009-08-13). Some people’s fearful and aggressive attitude could be a consequence of the situation of Hai//om as the only people in Namibia without land of their own (cf. Dieckmann 2007, Koot 2000). It seems to make them feel unequally positioned towards other ethnic groups who have access to land and can determine freely about it.

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<sup>27</sup> The interviewee partly used the term ‘Damara’ when referring to Damara and Bushmen people.

While in the resettlement area of Tsintsabis Hai//om are the major group, this is different in Okongo, a small town ca. 150km north-west of Tsintsabis (cf. Figure 4, D, in Ch.2.5.1). In this area the major group are Owambo while !Kung, who mostly live here on a resettlement farm, form a minority. The relation between Hai//om and Owambo in Tsintsabis seemed to be different from that between !Kung and Owambo in Okongo. It can only be speculated about the reasons, and I do not intend to make a comparison between the two areas, as my research time in Okongo was limited to a few days only and a first impression can easily differ from perceptions gained during a longer stay like mine in Tsintsabis. A possible reason for the differences in Okongo and Tsintsabis could be that Hai//om see more competition for resettlement land than !Kung<sup>28</sup>, due to their lack of access to territories of their own. However, this seems less probable if opinions of !Kung from other resettlement areas, namely that of Magnetti-Dune and Omatako Valley, ca. 240km southeast of Tsintsabis, are taken into account:

*“Of concern for most of the communities was the question of access and who was going to get what, when and how.? [sic] The community wanted to know whether the project was open to all Namibians or just members of the San Community. They pointed out that if the project was meant to benefit all Namibians [,] then [-] as most often is the case [-] the San communities would be sidelined as they could not compete with the others [,] thus they felt compelled to resist the project as they felt they were not the ultimate beneficiaries.” (MLR 2009:12)*

This suggests a similar fear as people expressed in Tsintsabis, the fear of being dominated by other groups. The different duration of living next to each other could also be the cause of differences in their relation. Owambo and !Kung have lived in Okongo for a long time and !Kung have often worked for Owambo and are able to speak Oshiwambo. By contrast most people moved to Tsintsabis only in the early 1990s, thus the village of Tsintsabis still means a new structure for the inhabitants, who have come from different areas.

### **Box 2.1: Okongo Resettlement**

*Short introduction:*

Okongo is situated ca. 150km north-west of Tsintsabis in the former Owamboland. As far as ethnic representation is concerned, there live dominantly Owambo and some !Kung Bushmen. As well as in Tsintsabis, the MLR is running a Bushmen resettlement programme here that is focused on agricultural and craft production, and resettlement houses have been set up in cooperation between the MLR and the Ministry of Regional & Local Government, Housing & Rural (MRLGHR).

<sup>28</sup> !Kung have their own conservancy in the area of the former Bushmenland around the town of Tsumkwe, ca. 250km south-east of Tsintsabis, close to the border between Namibia and Botswana. Here they can determine about the conservancy land and its use.

*Relation between ethnic groups:*

In contrast to Tsintsabis, the language of communication is not Afrikaans but Oshiwambo. A lot of !Kung inhabitants in Okongo felt that they lived in harmony with Owambo and referred to intermarriages as a proof. They stated, “We are one people in Namibia, we have one government.” (Interview Okongo, 43) or “We do not have any conflict with Owambo, we understand each other.” (Interview Okongo, 42)

In contrast to that the relation was seen a bit different by some Oshiwambo speakers. They were convinced that Bushmen should adapt more quickly to a farming lifestyle and that they were not able to take initiative. An official of the MLR, who is Owambo, mentioned:

*“The San do not want to do their own planting. If the government programme is no longer in place, they will not return to their own plots and do their own farming. They prefer to work for others. If you tell them to do a certain job, then they will do it, but they do not work on their own plot out of their own initiative.”*(Interview, Okongo, 41)

This exemplifies that Bushmen were regarded as dependent on the government and as people who were used to carry out orders. Another indicator of this way of thinking is that people of Oshiwambo origin, who did not directly work together with !Kung, were astonished about their skills in producing handicrafts.

Even though the statements of !Kung Bushmen in Okongo suggested that they did not perceive a big difference between themselves and Owambo, this seemed different from the Owambo population’s point of view. In Tsintsabis interviewees usually first talked about people being connected and having no ethnic differences, which changed when they referred to the land question or to the ability to run a business. Ethnic minorities in Tsintsabis, such as Owambo and Herero people, expressed their opinion about the importance of ethnicity more quickly and more strongly than Hai//om or !Kung Bushmen, but they referred less to land issues and more to character traits that they ascribed to Bushmen groups. The outlined examples show that – depending on the actor – the notion of ethnicity is highly sensitive and used by local people for their purpose, despite the national slogan of ‘One Namibia, One Nation’. The government puts emphasis on the unity of Namibians or - as Anderson (1991) would term - on the “imagined community”, which implies that citizens imagine themselves as members of a nation state. In Namibia Bushmen are not recognised as the only indigenous people of Namibia, but all Namibians are seen as indigenous to their home country, as manifested in the Traditional Authority Act<sup>29</sup> (cf. Daniel 2003:47), whereas Hai//om and !Kung regard themselves as the ‘First People’. The reason for this could be that this status

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<sup>29</sup> Act 17 of 1995 (as amended in 1997) that was replaced by Act 25 of 2000.

gives them recognition on the international level as indigenous people (cf. Ch. 4.2.4) and that they use the 'First People'-identity as legitimisation for their land claims.

### 2.3.2 Hai//om and !Kung People

Even though members of other ethnic groups refer to Hai//om and !Kung people as Bushmen, !Kung and Hai//om perceive some differences between each other. Also anthropologists put emphasis on the differences between Bushmen groups (cf. Ch. 4.2). !Kung have gained a wider recognition than Hai//om in research (e.g. Marshall, E. 1959; Marshall, L. 1976; Lee 1979) whereas Hai//om have only recently been in the focus of attention (e.g. Barnard, Widlok 1996; Dieckmann 2007). This stands in contrast to the situation in Tsintsabis where !Kung are the smaller group and where they see themselves and are perceived by most Hai//om as the less dominant group. Asked about the influence !Kung people have, a young !Kung woman who lives in the main village replied:

*“[T]here are more Hai//om than !Kung (...), they [author’s remark: Hai//om] have more power. !Kung are often left behind. We !Kung have stayed here for long, but we never got proper housing like Hai//om people who have been here equally long. (...) The !Kung people have been left out.”* (Interview 13)

This statement shows that the interviewee and her family felt excluded from benefits in favour of the Hai//om majority. A !Kung man alluded to lacking job opportunities for !Kung in the village:

*“If there [author’s remark: in Tsintsabis] is work, Owambo, Herero and Damara and also Hai//om find jobs, but not !Kung people. We are never employed. We are not part of the people of Tsintsabis.”* (Interview 29)

The interviewee was convinced that his low position in Tsintsabis had to do with his ethnic belonging, and by pointing towards an exclusion from access to work, he alluded to an exclusion from other villagers of Tsintsabis. This was reflected in the view of many Hai//om who perceived !Kung in a negative way. A Hai//om man pointed out:

*“Hai//om and !Kung do not speak the same language and have a different behaviour, that is hard for a community. !Kung people like to stay by themselves. They live in /Gomkhaos and Bravo, they don’t want to live in Tsintsabis. Some of them are against Hai//om. !Kung people are not so clean people, they do not like to wash often. They feel excluded because they feel that they are the minority if compared to the majority of Hai//om people here.”* (Interview 37)

Interestingly some !Kung agreed at least with some of the ascribed character traits, i.e. that they are shy people and that they prefer to stay by themselves. A !Kung man who was wondering why his homestead in /Gomkhaos was no longer visited by tourists pointed out:

*“We do not know why the tourists no longer come.*

*Question<sup>30</sup>: “Did you ask”?*

*Answer: “No”.*

*Q: “Why”?*

*A: “We did not know whom to ask.”*

*Q: “Who told you originally that tourists would come to visit you?”*

*A: “It was those young ladies who are guides [of Treesleeper].”*

*Q: “Why did you not ask them?”*

*A: “I was too shy.” (Interview 21)*

A !Kung woman living at the fringe of Tsintsabis explained:

*“They [author’s remark: rich newcomers] are well fed and they have good houses. We !Kung people will feel ashamed if we compare us to them. We will move to /Gomkhaos.” (Interview 16)*

By comparing herself as a member of !Kung to other people, the interviewee used the ethnic belonging to subordinate herself to others.

Often interviewees intermingled two arguments, one referring to the behaviour and character of Hai//om and !Kung and one relating to the spatial distance of ca 3 to 5km between Tsintsabis and the minor settlements of !Khosines and /Gomkhaos. Most Hai//om live in Tsintsabis, whereas only few !Kung live in the main village because most of them reside in the minor settlements of !Khosines and /Gomkhaos (cf. Koot 2000; Troos 2007).

The !Kung man already quoted above (Interview 29) was convinced that a lot of !Kung families will move when the road works are finished in Tsintsabis.

*“There will be less space and people who have been here for long, especially !Kung of /Gomkhaos, will move. In the beginning we moved to Tsintsabis, then we moved here [author’s remark: to !Khosines]. If more people move here in future, we might also have to move.” (Interview 29)*

He then referred to Treesleeper:

*“Tourists visit families of Tsintsabis with a guide, but I do not know why. They never visit people of !Khosines where we live. They don’t visit us !Kung here.” (Interview 29)*

When I asked the manager of Treesleeper and trustees about the decision to visit families in Tsintsabis but no longer families from /Gomkhaos, they referred to the goal of Treesleeper to spread the benefit. However, the general attitude of people in the main village was that especially families from the minor settlements of !Khosines and especially of /Gomkhaos should benefit because they were the worst-off people in the resettlement area. A Hai//om woman, whose father was !Kung, demanded:

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<sup>30</sup> Hereafter the capital letters “Q” resp. “A” are used for “Question” resp. “Answer” in interviews.

*“People from /Gomkhaos are poor. People from /Gomkhaos are !Kung. They are all poor. They should benefit from Treesleeper. Treesleeper should provide food and clothes for them.”* (Interview 26)

Some interviewees did not correlate their perception of !Kung with the spatial distance between the village and the minor settlements. For example, not all Hai//om are convinced that all !Kung want to move to the minor settlements due to their shy attitude.

I interviewed an elderly Hai//om couple in the minor settlement of /Gomkhaos. In the beginning there were only they, their grandchildren and their oldest son, sitting around my research assistant and me. But in the course of the interview neighbours, a !Kung family, joined the group of listeners while the elderly woman stated:

*“In daily life there is no separation between us and our neighbours [author’s remark: the direct neighbours are a !Kung family]. If there is a job, everyone is allowed to work. We are friend, and as you can see we visit our neighbours and they visit us. [author’s remark: The woman points towards the visitors.] There are only some !Kung people who do not stay together with others. When some Hai//om families moved her, some !Kung moved away.”* (Interview 22)

She continued:

*“Treesleeper is for Hai//om and !Kung, but it does not help people of /Gomkhaos. We are left out. [And] Tsintsabis will become a town, but people of /Gomkhaos will not benefit from that. People of Tsintsabis do not care about us.”* (Interview 22)

This statement suggests that the interviewee, a Hai//om, perceived a much stronger separation between people of Tsintsabis and /Gomkhaos than between the ethnic groups of !Kung and Hai//om. Her solidarity with her !Kung neighbours could be based on a common feeling of exclusion from the main village. Interviewees from the minor settlements often complained that they were not informed about community meetings and events in the main village. For example, they perceived a lack of information if there was a pension payment or a distribution of the food draught relief programme, and they felt discriminated against in access to jobs:

*“People of /Khosines are not part of Tsintsabis community. Tsintsabis people do not help us, they stay for themselves. For example, here are also young people who look for work, but they do not get a job at the road, it is only people from Tsintsabis who get a job.”* (Interview 28)

The ethnic and spatial belongings are used as an identifying factor for different groups, which can offer an alternative to an ‘overall’ village community. Whether this is also the case for family ties will be looked into in the following paragraph.

## 2.4 Family: A Fundamental Entity in Tsintsabis?

### 2.4.1 Family vs. Community: The Role of the Headman

As foragers Bushmen were staying together with their wider family, a group that had enough people to be successful in food gathering and hunting but that was never of a bigger size than the area was able to bear. Food then was usually shared among the family members, but not with outsiders (Barnard, Widlok 1996:97). According to Marshall (1960:338) who conducted fieldwork among !Kung people, a “family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. Its cohesiveness is visible to the eye in the way people sit and move, and is clearly observable when a band disperses temporarily. (...) One can see the family like insoluble lumps always together.” Even though the foraging lifestyle is only practised very rarely, family ties have remained important for survival and are relevant for access to economic resources. I would even argue that family ties are important in many African societies where connections are often closer to family members than to friends and a daily exchange between one’s kin is normal. This is especially valid for rural areas, but even in urban areas, where people are more exposed to social change, family connections are strong (cf. Marris 2005:28; Moeno 2006:261-262). For Tsintsabis this pattern is also valid although the older generation feels that it has changed. They expressed their fear of losing family bounds and criticised that the value of age is not recognised as before. For example, an elderly Hai//om complained:

*“It’s not a good life. I cannot work anymore and everything belongs to the younger people. If there is for example not enough food, then they will first give the food to the kids and not to me. (...) Our children do not tell us anything about what is going on in the village, the younger people do not tell the elders anything. I feel left out by my family.”* (Interview 2)

Still, a lot of people in Tsintsabis emphasise that they belong to the headman’s family. For example, his niece, who stays in a different house, refers to him as the head of her household and stresses that she is of his kin (Koot 2000:49; Interview 26). The headman of !Kung and Hai//om is often called the ‘first man of Tsintsabis’, which demonstrates his prominent position. He has become the Traditional Authority in the village. While many interviewees mentioned that he had been nominated by the government<sup>31</sup>, he himself referred to a community election in 1998, though he was only officially recognised as a Traditional Authority in 2004.

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<sup>31</sup> According to the Traditional Authority Act 17 of 1995 as amended in 1997 and replaced by Act 25 of 2000, the chief is the supreme leader of a traditional community and has decisive power.

Villagers are supposed to approach their chief in cases of dispute or for decision-making on the community level. Apart from that he has to meet regularly with the Development Committee, which consists of 20 to 25 – mostly older – inhabitants and is responsible for infrastructural progress in the resettlement area, and for forwarding people's complaints to the MLR representative. The Committee has been appointed by the government shortly after independence, prior to the headman, and their fields of responsibility partly overlap, resulting in a competitive relationship. This might be due to the fact that the family of the headman and the family of the Development Committee's chairman are two influential and rivaling families (cf. Ch. 3.3.2). The families' competitive relationships have seemingly spread to the tense relationship between the headman and the members of the committee, which becomes obvious by the headman's criticism:

*“The Development Committee is supposed to see which problems people face here, then they are supposed to tell me about it, but they do not. They stay by themselves. Then they complain that I do not do anything and that it is my fault that problems are not solved.”* (Interview 27)

By contrast a Development Committee member, stated:

*“If there is a meeting announced, for example the community people do not have any food, then it is the committee who asks the government to provide food because the headman does not work on that.”* (Interview 28)

Another Development Committee member echoed the view of his colleague and criticised the headman's focus on his family:

*“The headman is often not at home, then we can't reach him. When there was the strike of the road construction workers<sup>32</sup>, the headman did not help at all. But he is also working for the road. He stands in for his family only.”* (Interview 6)

The headman is employed by the road construction company to mediate between the company and local people and to hire local people for the construction work. Villagers became suspicious towards him after most of them had only been considered for low-wage and non-permanent jobs, while members of the headman's family were employed for the better paid and more permanent jobs. According to some illiterate inhabitants, the headman had not considered them for any job, justifying his decision by their alleged pension age (over 65 years) although it was later proved by their ID-card that they were much younger (Interview 22).

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<sup>32</sup> This topic will be looked at in detail in Ch. 2.5.1.

After 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. A young Hai//om questioned the predominance of one family in disfavour of the the other villagers and criticised the double position of the headman directly and frankly:

*“I dislike him [author’s remark: the headman] strongly. With which animal can I compare him? He is like a hyena. He does not leave any meat behind. He is focused on his family only and not on the community side. All his family members and himself work for the road construction. Why does he have to work for the road construction? He is supposed to be in his office, but he does not care about the community. No one likes him here.” (Interview 38)*

In response to that the headman feels misjudged by the people. He is dissatisfied that people often are not aware of his actions for the villlage, that they do not approach him directly with their problems and with issues he is in charge of and rather spread rumours about him. His answer made clear that he is aware of the tensions between him and a lot of villagers, which he contrasted with feelings of happiness about his family:

*“I am happy when I sit with my children in front of my house. [author’s remark: He points towards his younger children and some relatives’ children who play in the yard.] It is good to have some family time. But sometimes I would like to leave the job as a headman. People here only complain, they do not see when I do something good. (...) [P]eople were talking badly about me. They said that I do not help them. But sometimes people do not see that I act, they only complain.” (Interview 27)*

The headman only referred to problems with locals and did not mention any tensions in his own family although his eldest daughter had moved out the previous year after a dispute with her father. His eldest son, who lives in Tsumeb, also got in conflict with the headman<sup>33</sup>. This shows that family ties have begun to become less important even in the headman's family, though he regards his family as a stronghold against the villagers, who as a majority do not accept his preference for his own family. It can only be speculated why the headman is not well recognised. Possibly the headman is not accepted by Hai//om because they perceive him as belonging to !Kung. But this is unlikely, considering that not only Hai//om oppose him but also !Kung, and it would also mean that !Kung had a more dominant role in the village. It is more probable that many people perceive him as part of a government promoted intrusion from outside. This can be exemplified by the fact that the headman is a SWAPO member and that he was not elected according to local interviewees. Finally, an important reason could be that Bushmen groups do not have a strong hierarchical structure and that traditionally a

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<sup>33</sup> This will be lined out in more detail in the following paragraph 2.4.2.

headman did not have a lot of power (cf. Marshall 1960: 352). It is hard for Bushmen people to accept any form of domination by a single leader because decisions were made by mutual consent (Barnard 1992), similarly to decision-making in the Tsintsabis Trust, which will be introduced in chapter 3.2.2.

#### **2.4.2 Political and Religious Affiliation Splitting Families?**

During November 2009 national elections were held in Namibia. The party in power since independence, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), and the newly founded party Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP) ran election campaigns in Tsintsabis. I observed that crowds were following the cars campaigning for SWAPO, and indeed most people in Tsintsabis favour SWAPO, which can be read from the election results<sup>34</sup>. After RDP representatives had distributed T-shirts with the party emblem, people wearing those T-shirts were offended by SWAPO supporters and had to justify why they supported RDP. Still, differences in political affiliation did not mean that it came to violent outbursts during the election in Tsintsabis.

It seems that rather younger people in Tsintsabis felt attracted by RDP whereas older people were rather in line with SWAPO. A young woman reported that her father, a strong SWAPO supporter, was very ashamed when neighbours asked him why she was wearing a shirt of RDP. Favouring different political parties sometimes led to family disputes, for example the headman, an active member of SWAPO, and his eldest son, who was a supporter of RDP and running for regional elections, got into dispute. As a consequence of the different party affiliations, the family members did not communicate anymore, but spread rumours about each other. The son even criticised his father in public after one of his friends had asked the headman for a vacancy at the road and had received a postponing answer. The friend reported:

*“I looked for a job at the road construction, but there is a lot of corruption<sup>35</sup> going on. (...) [The headman] said nicely, nicely: ‘Yes, you will get a position.’ (...) The headman told me that he would take care of this, (...) but nothing happened. (...) I gave up. (...) I do not know what the headman is doing. I do no longer know what to believe. His son told me last weekend that the headman plays games when it comes to the job positions.” (Interview 36)*

Having the same party affiliation still does not mean unity. The camp manager, a member of the SWAPO Youth-League, and the headman got into dispute after the camp manager had

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<sup>34</sup> In the November 2009 election SWAPO gained 76.3% in Guinas Constituency (3825 out of 5012 votes) (ECN 2009).

<sup>35</sup> Here the term corruption refers to the preference of some applicants to the disadvantage of others.

blamed the older SWAPO supporter for not speaking out for local people. The headman belongs to the older authorities, whereas the camp manager has gained an influential position in the village during the last years, due to his job and his responsibilities in his church community, where he leads the choir and sometimes conducts the service. Thus, they could perceive each other as competitors.

There were various different Christian churches in Tsintsabis, ranging from Roman-Catholic over Evangelical-Lutheran to Pentecostal. Most church members regularly attended service and had a sense of belonging to their respective church. This went as far as to describe their own service as better than that of the other denominations. Until mid-2009 the Evangelical-Lutheran Church members had been allowed to hold their service in the Roman-Catholic church<sup>36</sup>, however, they were refused access later.

The numbers of church members ranged from tens to some hundreds with the Pentecostal Church which had the most supporters. While visitors who were interested in the Pentecostal Church were free to attend the service, church members seemed to be strongly connected, to identify with their church and to devote a lot of time to church activities.<sup>37</sup> This might become clearer by an observation I made: When I joined a service at a Pentecostal church in Tsintsabis, I was surprised by the amount of money people donated for the church, especially because the donors did not belong to the well-off people. At the end of the service everyone shook hands with everyone wishing each other a good day (cf. fieldnotes 2009-12-06).

Feasts, for example marriages or baptisms, were first held in the church and later in a private setting, and usually only the church members celebrated together. This created a sense of unity among church members, and it could be speculated that it even led to a separation from others. According to an older Hai//om woman, the Pentecostal Church had gained a very strong influence on its members.

*“The tradition has died out because of the new churches. Not because of the Catholic and Protestant Church but because of these new churches [author’s remark: Pentecostal Churches]. These churches do not allow the practice of culture or tradition. They don’t allow us to celebrate the initiation of a young lady<sup>38</sup>.” (Interview 22)*

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<sup>36</sup> Only the church building of the Pentecostal Church and of the Roman-Catholic Church is completed. A third has been started.

<sup>37</sup> The role of Pentecostal Churches in Namibian rural area is not the main focus here and thus was not regarded any further, but would need further research.

<sup>38</sup> About the initiation of a girl see Ch.5.3.

According to this statement, church affiliation was a new common denominator for many people and the identification with a cultural group had lost relevance. But not all interviewees agreed completely with this view. One of the Treesleeper guides, a member of a Pentecostal Church himself, pointed out:

*“The hunting, the gathering, a nomadic way of life [are important] and also the old believes, (...) the belief in ancestors. Today most people have lost the old believes, for example if they are church members. Others are also Christians, but they have kept some traditional believes like myself.”* (Interview 34)

The same guide often complained in informal talks that he sometimes had to be on duty on Sundays when he was supposed to take part in church service. When he did not appear at work to replace a colleague on a Sunday, another employee picked him up from the steps of the church. For the guide job duties and religious duties were in a trade-off then. His behaviour is/was remarkable in a place with a high rate of unemployment, where work had a priority as a means of survival for most people, and his choice to join the service exemplified the growing importance of church affiliation in Tsintsabis. One wonders whether the importance of a family entity would also be ranked lower on the priority list of the guide than his church belonging. Often however family members belonged to the same church, thus family ties and church affiliation might reinforce each other. Dieckmann (2007:332-333) argues that Hai//om use social and personal networks like political party memberships and church affiliations as a means to overcome poverty and marginalisation.

## **2.5 Impact of the New Road**

### **2.5.1 The Road: a Top-Down Project**

The project to tar the road from Tsumeb (Figure 4, A) to Katwitwi (cf. Figure 4, C), a borderpost between Namibia and Angola in the Kavango District, was initiated by the government as part of the Third National Development Plan (NDP 3). In 2005, the Regional Councillor of Tsumeb Constituency stated that

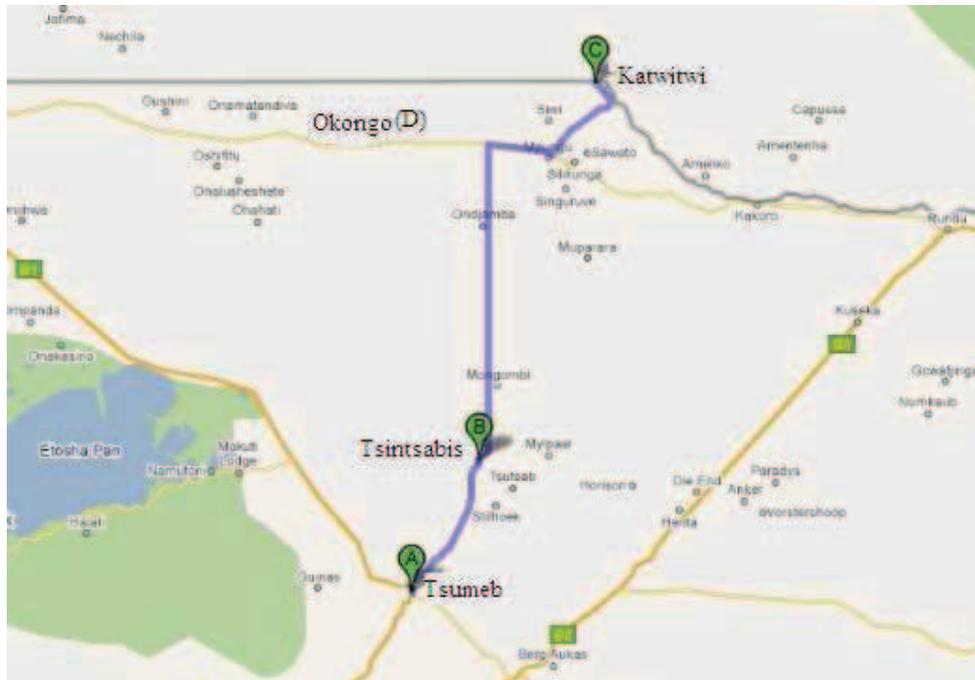
*“the Kavango via the Tsintsabis settlement [link] has been identified as a cost-effective means of goods transportation between Angolan towns and the northern regions considering the short distance which heavy road carriers could capitalize on.”*(Nawatiseb 2005)

This pointed out an increase in interregional trade as the central motive to launch the N\$ 810 Million<sup>39</sup> state-funded endeavour. However there was identified a lack of fund in 2009, so that

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<sup>39</sup> During the research period this was equivalent to ca. 80 Million Euro.

the government asked for international support<sup>40</sup> (UN 2008:82; The Economist 2009). In a tender the government has assigned a joint venture of two companies, the state-owned Roads Contractor Company Ltd. (RCC) and the Consolidated Contractors Company (CCC), a company based in the Middle East, to carry out the road works. According to government plans the project will be finished by 2013 with the road between Tsumeb (Figure 4, A) and Tsintsabis (Figure 4, B) being completed by late 2011. By end of the research period the first 15km had been tarmacked.



**Figure 4: Regional map, scale: 1: 2200000, adapted from Google Maps**

In Tsintsabis there were three road constructors' camps within or close to the village (cf. Figure 2 in Ch.1.4.1.1). One camp, which was situated further to the direction of /Gomkhaos, was the base of the police bomb squad<sup>41</sup>. The second camp was located on the premises of a guest farm ca. 5km east of Tsintsabis and the third camp had been set up within the resettlement area close to the main village. In the second and third camps there were residing about 150-200 employees, mainly from the Middle East and other African countries. Local people had been partly employed to work for the road construction or as cleaning and kitchen personnel and as guards for the work camps. Most of these jobs were on a contract

<sup>40</sup> The project has also been financed by international lenders and donors, e.g. the African Development Fund and the Millennium Challenge Account. (cf. African Development Bank 2009)

<sup>41</sup> Policemen clear the bush from mines left from the liberation struggle and work ahead of roadworks in the north of Tsintsabis.

basis and social tensions rose among villagers because not all applicants were granted a job as outlined above. Indeed 7 out of 15 permanent jobs were occupied by the headman's relatives.

According to the mission statement of CCC the company was committed "to being supportive to local businesses and social activities, friendly to the environment as well as being proactive in the socio-economic environments within which (...) [it] operate[s]" (CCC 2010). These guidelines stood in contrast to what the manager of Treesleeper had experienced:

*"The representatives of the road construction said that they will take their social responsibility, and when I asked them what exactly they plan to do about this issue when bringing in 100 men here, they said that they will come back to me. Even though I asked them again and again, that was their only answer. The road construction companies should have talked about the positive and negative effects of the road."* (Interview 30)

During a road workers' strike I observed that a lot of villagers joined the protestors. The workers' complaints against the road contractor had grown when they had not received their full monthly pay, and they accused their foremen of having attested too few working hours. As a consequence for not having appeared to work on a Namibian national holiday, workers were dismissed where upon many local workers went on strike. They deplored their chief's lack of support, blaming his double position as headman and road work employee. On asking the workers' union for assistance, it became clear that they had been paid less than the official minimum wage, but nevertheless the union explained the strike had been illegal because the workers had not notified the company in advance. This indicates that the employees had not been aware of their rights, making it hard for them to negotiate. Some workers reported that one of the foremen had insulted them by calling them 'Stupid Bushmen!'. The camp manager expressed his anger about a RCC representative who put Bushmen in the corner of stupidity and ignorance:

*"(...) [There is] a problem if [a] (...) person (...) says that Bushmen do not know the western world. For example a guy from the RCC said, 'You Bushmen, you do not know the value of money', when discussing minimum wage with the workers."* (Interview 30)

As response to the company's policies, workers informed a national broadcaster where upon representatives of the company appeared in Tsintsabis promising minimum wage for future work, even though they did not make reference to the insult. Still, the difference between the previous wages and the minimum wage for work already completed was only partly paid. But probably due to the high rate of unemployment in Tsintsabis, people did not dare to complain

publicly about that in fear of losing their jobs, which reflects the employers' powerful position.

### **2.5.2 The New Road: Changes for Tsintsabis and Treesleeper**

The road project could create chances for economic development and might help the inhabitants of Tsintsabis to gain more openness, but it could also create or intensify social tensions between villagers. At least in a physical sense it separates people because the road partly runs through the village. This made it necessary to resettle some families, and as the land is state-owned, there was no private ownership impeding this.<sup>42</sup> It is interesting that the families who had to move did not regard their resettlement negatively. Arguably, the explanation is in a small monetary compensation for the resettled families' former homesteads and an allocation of a new place within the resettlement area. The only concern of villagers about the road running through the village was the fear of more accidents due to speeding. But others tried to calm down the speeding argument, arguing that there would be a safer connection to Tsumeb than via the former gravel road.

Interestingly, the village community's well-being was not in the focus of locals, but rather the individual and family prosperity. People expected to be provided with access to infrastructural services like a fuel station or a supermarket, and had high expectations for better job opportunities. Many were sure to find a job or to open a small business. A middle-aged woman outlined:

*"I want to work for the road construction. I can work there because I speak Afrikaans. Maybe I could cook for the workers or clean the camps. Once the road is finished, I could maybe work in a shop or open my own business and sell cakes. Then we would have a better life."* (Interview 4)

A young woman explained about her ideas:

*"I want to start a business, a B&B and restaurant. Once the road is finished, for me that will mean to have more clients because then there will be more people travelling through Tsintsabis."* (Interview 32)

However, both interviewees did not yet have a plan how to finance the business initiative without monetary means of their own. Later, the young woman approached me to ask for assistance in her funding efforts.

Villagers did not only regard the road in a positive way, but assumed a rise in alcohol consumption because of the expected establishment of more *shebeens*. Many talks were about

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<sup>42</sup> According to Amoo (2001:104), it has so far been avoided to discuss whether inhabitants of any land but private land have the right to determine about the land they live on.

young women who would - attracted by road construction workers or truckers passing by - start to drink alcohol. Closely connected to this concern, many people feared that unwanted pregnancies and prostitution would become a problem:

*“The ladies go more often to the shebeens and there they meet the guys from the road camps. Some workers get a girlfriend there, then the lady falls pregnant and afterwards she will be left behind when the guy returns to his home area. Then she has to take care of the child herself. The man will not support her.”* (Interview, 8)

These temporary relationships were associated with a disruption of family ties:

*“It is (...) important (...) that you would stay together with one man or woman in our tradition. Now it is different, you can have a girlfriend this year and another one next year. People lose their family value easily now.”* (Interview 30)

In this statement the fear of losing family ties was connected to the fear of losing parts of Bushmen culture because previously Bushmen were living in a monogamic relation. Many people were convinced that the rate of ‘the disease’, HIV/Aids<sup>43</sup>, would rise with changing sexual partners.<sup>44</sup> Additionally interviewees were afraid that criminal activities would increase because of newcomers and transit traffic. An older Herero woman was concerned that

*“(...) there will be more criminals because more strangers come here or pass by. People who settle down here might be bad, and police will have problems to control them. And there are people just travelling through, no one knows them, it will be easy for them to steal. I am afraid because my house is close to the road, and sometimes I am alone if my children work and if I don’t have guests. Strangers could break in my house. They could steal my money or attack me. I do not have enough money to buy a proper lock and I cannot protect myself.”* (Interview 18)

While a rise in HIV/Aids and more crimes were associated with transit traffic, inhabitants of Tsintsabis related their fear of competition and their biggest fear, i.e. losing access to land to economically strong outsiders, who were expected to move to Tsintsabis. Thoughts of a growing defensiveness or even aggression on the part of the villagers were expressed by a young Hai//om man:

*“When the new road is here, I will have to become tougher and maybe even a bit more aggressive. It is necessary to create respect and appreciate yourself. I think, I will not*

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<sup>43</sup> Despite GRN awareness campaigns, the topic of HIV/Aids was seldom discussed in Tsintsabis. Some members of the Development Committee were even against a provision of HIV/AIDS drugs in the local clinic, allegedly because of concern of HIV carriers’ possible stigmatisation. Thus, to obtain treatment infected persons have to travel to Tsumeb where antiviral agents are not always available.

<sup>44</sup> The National Society for Human Rights (NSHR) (Nangoloh, Mnakapa 1996:8-9) explained that the high rate of HIV/Aids of Kxoe woman close to Divundu Bridge, where the Trans-Caprivi-Highway was constructed, was due to (changing) sexual relationships with constructions workers.

*be as open as I used to be towards everyone. I also might move somewhere else because of jobs. Then I will only visit Tsintsabis and might also be perceived as a newcomer by some and they will also be suspicious towards me.”* (Interview 38)

A young Hai//om woman expressed her worries that

*“[r]ich people from outside will take over our places. The newcomers will go to the headman and ask for a plot without informing those to whom the plot used to belong. (...) there will be quarrels between the first people, the Hai//o, and the new people, for example Kavango, Herero.”* (Interview 9)

Many local people were afraid to lose what they perceived to be their land. This could contribute to a separation between newcomers and local inhabitants or could unite current inhabitants against outsiders. But it might also split people of Tsintsabis into groups, those showing solidarity with the newcomers and those who do not.

Another Hai//om woman was afraid that ethnic groups – different from those of Bushmen origin – would become very strong in the resettlement area:

*“The first tribe who will come here are Ovambos. They will open shops and push others out. They will demand a place to stay. If anyone tries to say something against that, they will say, ‘One Nation. One Namibia.’ The people of Tsintsabis will not stay together. It will be crowded here.”* (Interview 31)

The interviewee intermingled economic position with ethnic belonging, drawing the conclusion that members of other ethnic groups could take over the resettlement land and dominate Hai//om through economic predominance. As a consequence she expected that villagers would be separated and would not share a sense of village community.

Apart from its influence on Tsintsabis, the new road will surely have some influence on the attractiveness of Treesleeper for tourists. Even though most local interviewees expected the campsite to attract more tourists because of the new road (cf. Ch. 3.3.1), tour operators saw this differently. A Windhoek based tour operator, who conducted safari tours with small groups, explained about his clients:

*“They want to see a ‘natural culture’. They want to see how people live (...) Tourists are disappointed if they only find artificial cultural parts. This is why we withdrew from certain places we had visited earlier on. We want to offer tourists the opportunity to see ‘real’ culture if they go to places that have so far not been visited by many tourists. The best thing is to [use] (...) roads where not all people (...) go.”* (Interview 52)

Some tour operators were convinced that the encounter with many tourists would influence hosts negatively and destroy their culture, and they feared for the tourists’ side that an easily accessible destination would lose its charm for visitors. It can be assumed that an

environmentally oriented campsite that is known for its calm atmosphere like Treesleeper will lose this character in visitors' eyes if there is a thoroughfare.

Due to new patterns in the population and village structure, it might be necessary to change activities offered by Treesleeper in order to keep and develop attractiveness for tourists, the source of economic income for the project. The village tour (cf. Ch. 5.4) might have to be adapted, particularly if there are no longer families living in self-constructed houses made from clay and cow dung. Hence, the tour guides would have to find another way to explain the current way of life and at the same time the foraging lifestyle.<sup>45</sup> The camp management was afraid that local people might move away or find better jobs and might therefore no longer be willing or able to perform. Consequently the traditional dance (cf. Ch. 5.3) would have to be replaced or presented in a very different way. The only activity that might not experience changes is the bushwalk (cf. Ch. 5.2), as it takes place on the premises of Treesleeper and does not involve local people apart from the guide. With the new road, Treesleeper will probably have to find a different way to attract tourists.

Considering only changes in Treesleeper's tourist activities as a consequence of the new road would be too narrow-minded. After the cohesion of people of Tsintsabis has already been regarded with respect to the road, it is important to look at the relevance of culture for Hai//om and !Kung and at possible changes in people's way of life influenced by the road. Some people assumed that cultural activities like traditional healing and dances would no longer be practised, whereas especially interviewees from the minor settlements of /Ghomkaos and !Khoisenes and those living at the fringes of the central village like the families visited by tourists thought that cultural elements would remain and their life(style) would not change. Interviewees often associated with a change in their way of life the prospect of a life with better financial means. In their eyes the focus was on economic but not on cultural aspects.

Today only few men in Tsintsabis hunt because game is scarce in the area of Tsintsabis and hunting is illegal on communal land. Hunting is practised in a hidden way and not many confessed to me that they hunt. While some informants perceived hunting as obsolete, the majority regarded it as an important part of their culture and a Hai//om man even argued against the argument of obsolescence:

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<sup>45</sup>Staff members proposed to set up a cultural village where visitors can get an impression of a foraging way of life.

*“I am fond of hunting because it connects me to the past. The hunter used to know what he was looking for, so it also demonstrated knowledge about the bush. In those times people had no high blood pressure and had generally a better health.”*

*Q: “If you could choose, would you go hunting or buy in a shop?”*

*A: “I would prefer hunting. Now food is no longer natural. Freshly squeezed juice is better than the packaged one and fresh meat is better than canned meat.” (Interview 38)*

Gathering *veldkos* (bushfood) is practised by more women than hunting by men<sup>46</sup>, but this practice also loses relevance due to other available food sources, for example food distribution programmes or supermarkets for people with a monetary income. Even though especially the younger generation seldom gathers *veldkos*, many of the children in school-age, independently whether they attend school or not, and all members of the current and former Treesleeper staff still seem to know about the use of plants. When I conducted an interview with my 21 year old research assistant, some children were collecting small so-called bush-onions while she explained to me the use of the plants. She was astonished about my many questions and perceived me as someone who is ignorant about basic things.

Cultural practices like food gathering will probably become less relevant with the installation of the new road, as the village could turn into an urban settlement and newcomers might influence the living conditions. Even though a complete loss of knowledge about the use of plants is not likely, there might be less people who are knowledgeable about it, if some inhabitants of Tsintsabis move away – interviewees expected especially !Kung to move away (cf. Ch. 2.3.2). Access to more monetary income could also foster the desire for buying instead of gathering *veldkos*.

All in all, the road can have a double effect. It can have an influence on the relevance of cultural elements for Hai//om and !Kung and it can involve changes and challenges for the benefit and for the cohesion of the villagers. Most likely the road will have a bigger influence on the villagers than Treesleeper because it already affects many people during the construction period and will affect them even more in economic, social and cultural respects when it is finished.

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<sup>46</sup> Most women (12 out of 15) I interviewed formally and informally in the minor settlements stated that they gathered *veldkos* as additional food source and to teach their offsprings. In the main village at least the older women I talked to confirmed that they gathered *veldkos*, whereas some of the younger working women mentioned that they participated in gathering occasionally in their free time and liked the fresh food more than the canned food.

## 2.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to look at the villagers' feeling of belonging to a group or groups and to analyse whether one can speak of a 'community' or of 'communities' in Tsintsabis.

The chapter has shown that, though interviewees used the term 'community people', 'community of Tsintsabis' or 'community members' when alluding to the inhabitants of Tsintsabis, they did not think of a strong 'village community' but rather of people living at the same place and separated in different groups. As Tsintsabis did not gradually grow over time but was turned from a military base into a resettlement village for people from different origins, it is not likely that the inhabitants have merged to a strong village entity. I argue that Hiskes' definition of community cannot be related to the resettlement village of Tsintsabis as if the villagers formed a unity valued and supported by all members – an image which is often entailed in developmental community-based concepts. Instead, it is more appropriate to talk about different communities and groups within the physical location of the village.

Only the fear of outsiders seems to create a common basis for 'old' villagers to perceive a kind of 'village community' and becomes especially evident in the land question. This pattern, however, only concerns the inclusion of former villagers and the exclusion of new inhabitants at the first glance, but indeed, it rather illuminates the relevance of images concerning ethnic belongings for people in Tsintsabis, where the 'First People' are Hai//om and !Kung and the 'newcomers' usually belong to other ethnic groups, regardless whether they have spent many years or only a few months in the village. For Bushmen groups it could be a chance to call themselves 'First People' because it underlines their claim for cultural rights and land of their own on a national and international level (for a further discussion see Ch. 6.2). As especially Hai//om have so far not been granted land of their own, it stands to reason that they try to defend their position against newcomers in the resettlement area.

Spatial distance in combination with ethnic belonging is used as a pattern of in- and exclusion in Tsintsabis when relating !Kung to the minor settlements and alluding to them as marginal compared to Hai//om, although compared to the Namibian and Southern African level !Kung form a bigger group than Hai//om. Additionally spatial distance is a sole criterion for in- and exclusion when it is used as a common denominator of !Kung and Hai//om living in the minor settlements.

Furthermore, patterns of in- and exclusion are obvious regarding family ties. Especially individuals with high power positions in the village like the headman seem to care first for

their own family members and to exclude others from access to resources, e.g. job opportunities. This might strengthen the family members' economic status but not necessarily the villagers' respect for the influential individual and could foster an atmosphere where his power position is challenged, especially when considering that Bushmen groups were not hierarchically structured.

Church belongings and political affiliations can generate new groups and new identities. Thus, they do not contribute to a community in the sense of a 'village unity' and they can question family ties. These church belongings and political affiliations are also important with regard to their impact on working attitudes, cultural practices and power positions.

Dieckmann (2007:332-333) argues that Hai//om use social and personal networks as a means to overcome the current position of Bushmen people, thus they can become a source for access to a better economic status and to power positions. Whether the Pentecostal Churches offer a more promising means for people of Tsintsabis than e.g. the Lutheran and Roman Catholic Church can only be speculated on, but the new churches attract more followers and it seems that they have found a way to legitimise their existence.

New social, economic and infrastructural patterns influence what makes people feel part of a social group respectively a community and contribute to a renegotiation of positions (Chekki 2000). The road project in Tsintsabis might result in better job opportunities and might change the income situation. This seems to intensify the focus on the individual well-being or on families' well-being. Additionally, the road could lead to more tensions between newcomers and villagers because of locals' fear to lose access to land and their fear of 'newcomers' related to more crime.

The road could have an influence on Hai//om's and !Kung's cultures and through this could also have an impact on the relevance of ethnic identity. But here it is important that an ethnic identity refers to more than culture. For example, other people's perception of Hai//om and !Kung plays a part as well as the common denominator of Hai//om as a group, who do not have their own land. Besides, it is questionable whether all cultural elements will vanish completely, merely because they are no longer practised in the same way. However, they will probably alter, e.g. due to formal education (cf. Cobern 1998), though the school of Tsintsabis tries to bring closer cultural knowledge to students through a cultural dance group (cf. Ch. 3.5).

Two questions arise from this context when considering Treesleeper's goal of cultural awareness-creation and its character as a community-based project: the questions to what

extent Treesleeper can foster cultural awareness and whether it is able to support all people of Tsintsabis and to create a feeling of common ownership. While the creation of cultural awareness will be looked into later, in Chapter 3 I will regard whether Treesleeper can contribute to a sense of 'community' among all villagers or whether it rather intensifies patterns of in- and exclusion in Tsintsabis.

# 3 The Community-Based Treesleeper Project: Uniting and Separating the Community

## 3.1 Introduction

While people's feeling of belonging to groups has been the focus in chapter 2, it is now important to look at Treesleeper's impact on this sense of togetherness. Whether Treesleeper intensifies a connection between villagers or whether its influence rather contributes to a disconnection will be the focus of this chapter. As a community-based project, the Treesleeper Camp's objective is to provide jobs for local people and to have as many people of Tsintsabis as possible participate in its benefit. It is essential for the project that "the members of [the] (...) local community are involved in all aspects of carrying out the tourist activities so that they can have some income of their own" (Treesleeper Camp 2010). Furthermore the whole village should benefit from the project through funding. These principles could either promote solidarity among local people or else lead to jealousy towards each other if some inhabitants feel left out from this benefit.

"The TT [Tsintsabis Trust] is the owner of Treesleeper Camp". The guideline that "[e]verything related to the project will always be discussed with the TT (as representatives of the community)" (Treesleeper Camp 2010) could be a basis, though no guarantee, for a functioning mediation between the people of Tsintsabis and the Treesleeper Project. It is crucial for the acceptance and the success of the project how the trustees handle this challenge and whether or not the staff of Treesleeper contributes to the solidarity of locals. The view of local people, who are not directly involved in the project, provides indications on Treesleeper's role for the village.

First the focus will be on the internal structure of Treesleeper, i.e. the relations between staff members, between trustees and between staff and Tsintsabis Trust. The level of solidarity will be taken into account as well as negotiations for power positions within and between these groups. When looking at the conditions for employing an applicant, it will become clear that the criterion of ethnic belonging plays a role there (cf. Ch.3.2.3).

Subsequently, villagers' opinion and their involvement in the project will be analysed and established if there is an influence of prominent families on the project. As a test case for the role of family ties in a situation of dispute, I will examine a theft at the campsite triggering off reactions by staff members, trustees and other villagers. This case will further exemplify the legal pluralism in the village and show different conceptions which law should apply. For

relations between the project and the school representatives the view of the head teacher will be presented.

## 3.2 Inside Treesleeper: Staff and Tsintsabis Trust

### 3.2.1 Staff and Management



**Figure 5: Staff members of Treesleeper Camp with a trophy from Tsumeb Trade Fair, photo taken at Treesleeper Camp, 2009-10-29**

Staff members were easily recognisable when working at the campsite as they all wore the same dark green polo-shirts with the white Treesleeper-Logo, emphasising their corporate identity. When I talked about the setting up of Treesleeper, many former and current staff members proudly expressed how they had volunteered in the construction of the campsite, pointing out that they had been part of the project since the very beginning.

Most of them were also convinced that local people identify with Treesleeper and that they are proud of the campsite and a guide hinted at the fact that a number of people, including the headman, “wear Treesleeper shirts in the village” (Interview 31).

Nearly all staff members also shared the view that local people often complain about not being able to benefit from the project because they are not offered a job or because Treesleeper does not support them personally. Treesleeper personnel showed solidarity when defending Treesleeper’s job and funding policy towards other villagers. The employees claimed that many residents of Tsintsabis demanded support but only pretended to be interested in Treesleeper while never visiting the campsite. The manager explained:

*“People might see some 1000 N\$ plus [= ca. 100 €], but do not consider that it also costs money to maintain and invest in the campsite. They do not have the overview. (...) I also fear that people hear too much about donations in conservancies, for example from Tsumkwe<sup>47</sup>. But we are not a conservancy, we do not have our own land*

<sup>47</sup> Tsumkwe is located ca. 300km east of Tsintsabis and is part of the Nyae-Nyae Conservancy where mainly Ju/hoansi Bushmen live. In conservancies local people can determine about the land to a bigger extent. For example they have hunting quota.

*and we cannot donate so much, we have to work for every Namibian Dollar we spend.” (Interview 30)*

A staff member added:

*“[T]here are no meetings with staff and the community for example. Community people also do not come to the campsite to make proposals, they are not interested but demand that the project should do something for them. It is just us, the staff members, who make some proposals. During staff meetings we make suggestions. For example, we have changed the bar structure. (...) I had the idea to integrate a biltong making place. I like that we can bring in our ideas, but the community does not.” (Interview 35)*

A main motivation to work for Treesleeper was the wish to exchange with tourists because this meant “meeting people and different cultures learning from each other” (Interview 34). A guide mentioned that the encounter with guests opens the door to other countries:

*“The best thing about my work is my encounter with tourists. When I was a child, I dreamed of travelling overseas. This has not become true, but then I want to meet people from outside at least.” (Interview 32)*

On one of my last nights in Tsintsabis, I took part in a staff party to which close family members were invited. The meeting was held to express appreciation for the work during the past months and to foster team spirit, as the manager explained. There was a very relaxed atmosphere during the dinner and the following party games. But alongside a quarrel between staff members developed under the influence of alcohol so that in the end one of them was taken back to the village.

Several staff members pointed out that the issue that disturbed them the most or “even makes (...) [them] sick” (Interview 33) were the continuous disputes with other staff members.

A staff member, who had worked at Treesleeper for a long time, remarked:

*“When I started to work for Treesleeper, it was relaxed and cool. But now it is bad and not healthy anymore. If you do not get along with your colleagues, it is hard to work together. I have a bad feeling about work now. There are not only rumours in the village but also at work that create a tense situation.” (Interview 31)*

New staff members felt that they were not accepted by staff members who had been employed earlier on. They complained that they had to do the less qualified jobs while other staff members tried to order them about although they were at the same level in the staff hierarchy.

Not only among villagers but also among staff members distrust and discontent were not expressed directly towards the person concerned, but to a third party, especially in the case of the manager:

*“The manager determines too much about us. Our working hours are usually from 8am to 6pm. But the manager builds up too much pressure as soon as you are only a little bit too late. He does not accept that.”*

*Q: “Did you ever tell him about your concern?”*

*A: “(...) I do not dare to do that.” (Interview 33)*

Indeed there was a great tension between staff and manager. Many staff members perceived the management as authoritarian and felt that the position of the manager was too strong because he was also a trust member (cf. Ch.3.2.3). For his part the manager mentioned that staff members often did not take their duties seriously but left work before their working hours ended or did not appear at all.

All staff members expressed their discontent with their salary. The general feeling was that it was too low and not in balance with the salary of the manager who received twice to three times as much as other staff members<sup>48</sup>. The former assistant manager complained:

*“(...) the salary was a problem. It was too low compared to my work experience and my over-time hours. And I did not agree with the difference between what the co-manager (...) and the manager receive. When I mentioned the problem to (...) [the manager], he said that there was no further money. (...) other staff members were often too shy or afraid to talk openly to the manager.” (Interview 38)*

A staff member remarked:

*“The salaries should be higher. You cannot buy anything with [that] (...) All staff members complain about this. When we talked to the manager about that, he only postponed the topic to an undated time in future and so far he has not come back to it. So we have to wait and see, maybe he will touch the topic again. (...) I am afraid that he [author’s remark: the manager] will not keep his word.” (Interview 33)*

Apart from discontent there was a lot of distrust towards the manager, specifically the suspicion about his involvement in criminal activities. He had even been imputed to have bribed a former staff member for not revealing what this person allegedly knew about the criminal deeds of the manager. Indeed, they had a talk in confidence, but both stated later that it was about job applications. The manager was aware of most of those reproaches and reservations about himself:

*“For me personally it was not good that there were allegations against me that I steal money and that I am corrupt. (...) If staff members resign, they often do not state a strong reason, for example I might have said, ‘Where did the sugar go, did you take it?’ This then becomes a big issue as if I had accused the staff of stealing. On the positive side I see that the work creates experience and it helps to grow. I hope that there will even come better things with Treesleeper. Or should I ever leave one day, I first want to prepare people to take over.” (Interview 30)*

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<sup>48</sup> Apart from tips a Treesleeper guide received 880N\$ (ca. 90 €) per month.

His concern seemed to be whether staff and management relations would improve or whether a change of the management would be beneficial for the campsite.

After volunteers had been helping to set up the project and an accountant had trained staff members in book-keeping for a year, the staff's opinions varied whether specialists from outside were needed any further. One could assume that an external specialist could help the staff to reduce discontent and distrust of each other. But the presence of an outsider could also create a basis for new negative perceptions towards each other. At least one staff member did not express much confidence in the way the project was run now and compared the situation to the time when the foreign accountant was still there and trained her in using the office computer:

*“When [he] (...) was here, he used to call me in the office and show me how to handle the computer. Now I do not get access to the computer anymore. I would like to have another outsider again here. Then the project would be run better than only by ourselves.”* (Interview 33)

But the manager experienced that

*“[p]eople here perceived (...) [the accountant] as boss and they even came to me to ask if he could give them the Treesleeper car. I then explained to them that I was still the manager and that (...) [the accountant] was only there to help us and train us. I felt more like the mediator and no longer like the manager. Sometimes it was hard for him to accept that it was not him making the decisions in the end, we had sometimes long discussions (...).”* (Interview 30)

Another staff member emphasised:

*“(...) I would prefer that in future local people manage themselves and that there is no outsider telling them what to do. It would be helpful if our local people got more training.”* (Interview 32)

Apart from the staff member who had been given personal training in computer skills, all other staff members were against the involvement of an external specialist because they felt that this could create dependency. They also feared that the presence of an outside expert could rather foster conflicts within the staff and between staff and management than calm down quarrels, distrust and discontent. It appeared that there could easily develop a conflict between the manager and the specialist in particular, if the former's position was questioned by staff members. Skill training could impede this dependency on outsiders, but could also motivate staff members to search for a better paid job.

With their distrust and jealousy towards each other, staff members did not contribute to the goal of Treesleeper to create solidarity between the villagers, and instead of being a role model, the relations between staff members rather reflected the villagers' relations (cf. Ch.2).

### **3.2.2 Relation between Trustees**

In 2004 the Tsintsabis Trust was founded with support of the Legal Assistance Center (LAC)<sup>49</sup> for the purpose of having an independent legal body that acts on behalf of the project. The trust consists of ten members<sup>50</sup> with a balanced representation of women and men. Even though a community-based trust was the goal, initially also two foreign volunteers, who helped to build up the campsite, were trustees. Since the construction of the campsite had been completed, the trustee positions of volunteers were transferred to the camp manager and another staff member. Nowadays trustees of the Treesleeper project include a legal advisor of the LAC, a MLR official<sup>51</sup> and eight residents of Tsintsabis, among them a member of the Development Committee and two members of the camp personnel, one of them being the manager.

The initial trustees, who had been elected in a community meeting, and the succeeding trustees, who had been appointed by the board of trust, were all of a different age and had different educational backgrounds (cf. Tsintsabis Trust 2004: Art.5(a)). For the concept of the trust it had been important to have a fair representation of the inhabitants in decision-making processes, so that villagers could identify with decisions and support the project. However, this theoretical ideal seemed to have different consequences. Eva, a trustee with a higher formal education, found it hard and exhausting to discuss matters with the other members of the trust and felt that trust meetings were ineffective:

*“Some trustees do not know about decision-making processes. Some are too old and some did not go to school. There are some trustees, especially those who did not really go to school, who like to argue for a long time and some of them just agree although it is not their opinion. They just say yes.”* (Interview 20)

The main criticism of well-educated trustees was that other trustees were not able to overlook financial issues like the necessities for reinvestments in the campsite and for higher personnel expenses because of an increase in staff members.

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<sup>49</sup> The Namibian organisation LAC is focused on legal advice for minorities and disadvantaged people.

<sup>50</sup> According to the Deed of Trust there shall be not more than ten trustees and not less than five trustees.

<sup>51</sup> The representatives of LAC and MLR do not participate in each trust meeting and decisions are often made in their absence.

Most trustees were proud of having been elected and now bore decision-making power. For example, when I visited the trustee Petrus, he invited me to step into his house – an unusual offer in Tsintsabis – just to show me a poster of Treesleeper that he had neatly pinned to the otherwise bleak wall. He explained that the poster symbolised that he was part of Treesleeper and that he had an important job as a trustee (fieldnotes 2009-11-05). The same trustee later argued that his responsibilities and time investment were insufficiently compensated with the sitting allowance. The question is whether this underlined his feeling that his position as a trustee was not sufficiently recognised or whether he connected responsibility and monetary compensation to argue just for a higher pay.<sup>52</sup>

Other trust members regarded the claim for a higher compensation as inappropriate and demanded that their colleagues should take their responsibilities more seriously, for example by attending each meeting and by making decisions not based on personal interests, but on the benefit of all villagers (cf. Interviews 20; 30). This pointed to a lack of acceptance of each other in the trust and did not contribute to solidarity between the decision makers. But if the trustees did not stand together, it was questionable whether a bond between them and the villagers could be created and whether the people of Tsintsabis would regard Treesleeper as their own project, which they took responsibility for and did not only want to benefit from. Furthermore, the lack of community between trustees reflected the lack of solidarity between villagers, which became evident in their disputes for land and their struggle for jobs (cf. Ch.2).

Villagers had agreed to become trustees partly because they wanted to improve their position among the other locals and partly because they felt responsible for the village and for their culture. The manager stated:

*“I personally like to be involved in decisions and to give my input. (...) I also wanted to do something for community initiatives. I wanted to change something so that people outside of our community would not continue to talk negatively about San. I wanted to do something myself.”* (Interview 30)

But as trust meetings had turned out to be fatiguing, another trustee confessed that she had lost her initial enthusiasm:

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<sup>52</sup> The trust allowance had been increased from 10N\$ to 20 N\$, but the trustee hoped for 50N\$. In comparison, an untrained road worker received ca. 9N\$ an hour, based on the Namibian minimum wage, and could end up with 1500NS per month without extra-hours. This was regarded as a good income among villagers where households of up to 10 people sometimes had to live on 450N\$ of pension payment.

*“I wanted to contribute to the decisions, but in fact it is hard because you have to deal with other people’s problems. I also have problems but in the trust meetings you have to deal with the problems of others. That consumes a lot of energy.” (Interview 31)*

It was a common denominator of trustees that they wanted to make decisions on Treesleeper, but at the same time many were afraid of responsibilities when it came to monetary issues. According to a trust rule there should be a trustee who was not a staff member checking the books of Treesleeper, but indeed everyone, except for the camp manager, refused this responsibility fearing to be held accountable for unsound accounting practice. A former female trustee for example stated that “you are exposed to a high risk as a trustee” (Interview 26). Trustees were especially sensitive to this issue because there had already been rumours and allegations of fraud about staff members and themselves. For example a member of the headman’s family and former trustee expressed a general distrust towards the bookkeeping of Treesleeper, which according to her was her reason for finally leaving the trust:

*“I realised that there was something wrong when two trustees- I do not want to name them -presented me a signature that they said I had signed, but it was a faked signature as well as the signatures of Fransina and Petrus. They used the money for themselves, this is corruption. (...) When I resigned, I did not tell (...) that I had realised that it was not my signature but [I just said] that I had heard [from others] that there was something wrong [with the bookkeeping at Treesleeper’s] and that this was my reason to resign. So far I never told anyone about it and I do not talk about anything related to that.” (Interview 26)*

It can only be speculated whether the former trustee’s experiences and the rumours in the village made her resign, as she argued, or whether family ties with the headman played a role here. The latter was suggested by Treesleeper staff members, but possibly both reasons led to the resignation. As I will outline (cf. Ch.3.3.2), the headman’s family stepped completely back from positions at Treesleeper. After the resignation of this trustee and another female trustee, the Tsintsabis Trust assigned two women as new candidates in order to ensure gender equality, a principle of Tsintsabis Trust and Treesleeper.

I want to emphasise that - despite the camp manager’s and a guide’s double position as trustee and staff member - all trustees denied that any of them, neither the camp manager and the other staff member nor any other trustee, were manipulative or had a higher position than others. The special position of the chairman, who is elected among the trustees, seemed to be irrelevant for decision-making processes. Although Treesleeper pays attention to !Kung’s and Hai//om’s benefit, the chairperson, a teacher of the communal school, was Damara by origin and the trustee from MLR and the lawyer of LAC were not Bushmen either. This pointed to the fact that Treesleeper did not understand itself as being exclusively for Hai//om and !Kung

and was in contrast to the relevance of ethnicity in the village (cf. Ch.2.3). Additionally Treesleeper's funding of common issues like the local kindergarten and the school hostel (cf. Figure 2 in Ch.1.4.1.1) made it clear that the trustees attempted not to make Treesleeper a sole project for !Kung and Hai//om benefits.

Despite some differences and tensions between trustees, they usually tried to make decisions by consensus – as normal for Bushmen groups (cf. Marshall 1960: 351; Barnard 1992:243-244) – even though a majority vote would be sufficient according to the Tsintsabis Trust code of conduct. There was also evidence of solidarity among the trustees in case their decisions were questioned by locals or by staff members (cf. Ch.3.4). Decision-making by consensus could present the trust to the villagers as a committee aiming at unity and partly compensate for other deficiencies.

### **3.2.3 Relation between Staff and Trust**

The relation between trustees and staff members was already complicated because the trust had to make decisions for the personnel, resulting in staff members' dependency on trustees. Even though there were some guidelines for employment and dismissal, especially decisions about dismissal were sensitive issues creating distrust among staff members (cf. Ch.3.4). Two criteria for employment were that applicants should be locals and have Hai//om or !Kung ancestors. Even though these criteria seemed clearly defined, the opinion of trustees differed after a Damara woman had been employed.<sup>53</sup> For example one of the trustees claimed that

*“[i]n case someone of Hai//om or !Kung origin who meets the requirements would now be found [for the position], the Damara lady would have to leave the job immediately.”* (Interview 15)

By contrast, the camp manager, who was satisfied to have overcome a deficiency in staff, was in favour of the new staff member seeing the advantages of a trained employee. The Damara woman herself reported that

*“(...) it was hard to get the job. I did not know why they let me wait that long, but later I found out that it was the headman and one of the trustees who were against me. They did not want me as someone (...) who is not !Kung or Hai//om to work for Treesleeper. But my family has lived here long, so why should I not work there?”* (Interview 32)

The statement raises the question why !Kung and Hai//om were preferred as applicants. That did not mean that staff members could not be of mixed ethnic origin but at least one parent had a Bushmen background. The motivation to employ !Kung and Hai//om could be to

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<sup>53</sup> In contrast to other staff members who were permanently employed the new employee was only employed by a fixed-term contract. (fieldnotes 2010-11-07)

present tourists as much as possible of the 'real' culture of Hai//om and !Kung, an image which staff members should be a part of. Another reason could be that the Bushmen groups in Namibia are generally less well off than members of other ethnic groups (cf. Dieckmann 2007, Suzman 2003b). While the first option brings in the question of the authenticity of the project, which will be examined further in chapter 5, the second reason alludes to the marginal status of Bushmen in Namibian society, which will be looked into in chapter 4. However, regardless which explanation is more relevant, the employment policy of Treesleeper could play a part in the ethnic separation of the villagers. Though Hai//om and !Kung were privileged here, it might become important for the villagers' perception of the project that non-Hai//om and non-!Kung could be employed, too, and that the chairman of the trust was not a Bushman. Additionally, the condition that employees had to be able to speak English emphasised the importance of formal education for Treesleeper and turned away from a mere focus on ethnic origin. And should people of different ethnic origins continue to move to Tsintsabis, this could also mean that Treesleeper might employ more non-Bushmen people.

Though trustees decided about employment at the camp, staff members often perceived them as disinterested, not least because they did not visit the campsite regularly to get their own impression of the situation at the camp. Staff members did not regard it as their responsibility to approach trustees, as it was not directly part of their job duties. They did not even approach them if they had severe problems with other staff members or the manager. Obviously in staff members' point of view there existed a discrepancy between trustees and themselves, which became obvious in the spatial separation between the meeting point of trustees in the village and the campsite outside the village. It could be speculated that spatial distance between people of Tsintsabis - between staff and trust or between people residing in the main village and people living in /Ghomkaos (cf. Ch.2.3.2) - was the basis of their disconnection. But it has to be kept in mind that the spatial separation was no more than an illustration of people's mental disconnection of each other.

One of the guides remarked:

*“Trustees very rarely walk the way from the village to the campsite. I think trustees should visit Treesleeper more often. They should try to find out about our view. But staff members should not be trustees. (...) Staff members who are at the same time trustees have a lot of influence on Treesleeper. That is unfair if compared to the other staff members. Other trustees of course have influence on Treesleeper, too, but they are separated from the staff.”* (Interview 34)

This indicated that the guide perceived too strong a power position of the two staff members who also were trustees. Elizabeth, the guide, who had this double position, obviously knew about the opinion of her colleagues and argued in favour of her double part:

*“The trustees do not know anything about the work at the campsite, but they still want to make the decision. They do not ask about the staff relations, they did not come out to the campsite since last January 2009. The other staff members also want to be trustees and they are jealous about me. [But] I am there to represent staff issues. Some staff members tell about their problems but others do not. They do not trust the trustees. I [also] sometimes feel that the trust just exists, but does not take any action.”* (Interview 31)

The manager pointed out that it was sometimes hard to make the trustees understand the staff’s and the campsite’s needs because they were not involved in the daily business of Treesleeper:

*“Someone who is involved into the organisation the whole day has a better overview here. I usually try to influence subconsciously because there are certain issues that the trustees do not understand out of the fact that they do not deal with certain problems every day.”* (Interview 30)

It became clear that the two rather identified and – at least wished to – sympathise more with their staff colleagues than with the trustees, despite their double responsibility.

The other trustees generally felt misjudged by staff members and pointed out that staff issues were very well represented because of the two staff members who were also trustees. They defended themselves by claiming that they cared about Treesleeper and the employees. Only the chairman of Tsintsabis Trust acknowledged some problems, but demanded optimism and more dedication on both sides:

*“Sometimes I have to confess, there is no time to go there [author’s remark: to the campsite]. But the staff members are our eyes. We have to work together. The staff also does not approach other trustees than those who are staff members themselves. Sometimes the trustees also visit the campsite. We [want to] push people positively. We have a plan to organise meetings between the trust and the staff because they are disconnected sometimes.”* (Interview 19)

However, until the end of my stay in Tsintsabis it was not clear whether a meeting would take place and whether the relationship between staff and trustees could change in favour of a cooperation enabling a better communication between the two parties.

### 3.3 Villagers' Involvement in Treesleeper

#### 3.3.1 Villagers' Perspective on the Project

Local people's projections on Treesleeper were overwhelmingly positive and hence, their expectations towards Treesleeper were high. This might not least be owed to a positive public opinion on chances for tourism in the region, which had become intensified through the road construction. Namibia's President Hifipunye Prohamba was sure that through the improved infrastructure "Tsumeb and surrounding areas could become major tourist destinations" (NBC 2010). Most villagers perceived the new road as contributing to Treesleeper's growth and they expected a rise in visitor numbers because of more traffic and an easier accessibility of Treesleeper. A trustee expressed what many were sure about:

*"The campsite will turn into a lodge, maybe even with a swimming pool. Treesleeper will grow. More tourists will come. Treesleeper also has to donate more money to the community then."* (Interview 15)

Nearly all interviewees hoped for more personal benefit from Treesleeper trickling down to them through direct support or through job creation. For example a young Hai//om woman with a low school education believed that

*"it [author's remark: the camp] will grow and more tourists will come here because the Hai//om culture attracts tourists and because we now have the road. Then the craft production can also grow and our people can earn more income. I can also work there. I do not speak English but I could wash clothes or prepare food."* (Interview 9)

Treesleeper was seen as a project that would solve many problems and it seemed that villagers had even higher expectations towards Treesleeper than in the beginning of the project because of the road construction.

In the first years of the project, a lot of families were eager to be visited by tourists and soon wanted to benefit directly from the encounters. A former guide explained that

*"(...) every family wanted to be visited by tourists. Soon afterwards some families were saying, 'The tourists take pictures of us and make money of that.' They must have heard that from people in Tsumeb [author's remark: the closest town]. The families demanded money for the visits. (...) That was when (...) [we] introduced the idea that visitors should give some presents to families instead of money."* (Interview 36)

Later local people became suspicious about Treesleeper's possible profit compared to their own benefit from Treesleeper. An older Hai//om who stated that he did "not know enough about Treesleeper" nevertheless criticised:

*"[Treesleeper] should build up Hai//om people, but I don't know whether it is really the Hai//om's camp. I do not know if it really belongs to Hai//om people. (...) Only the*

*tourists provide support. Tourists' money goes to Treesleeper but then Treesleeper does not offer enough support to the community. Treesleeper should donate to the whole community, not only to one person.” (Interview 7)*

When locals made informal allegations towards the camp manager to use Treesleeper's goods for his personal advantage, the impression was created that the villagers saw themselves left out from the project, despite its community-based character. The distrust towards the manager became obvious, for example, when he was accused of misusing the Treesleeper car after he had taken his son, who was seriously ill, to hospital. There were also allegations towards the trust, and several trustees defended their finance policy like one of the well-educated trust members:

*“Some [people of Tsintsabis] have internalised that ‘Treesleeper is ours’ and then they think that the money also belongs to them. Then there are a lot of rumours about Treesleeper and money issues in the village. There is no understanding in the community that Treesleeper cannot spend all its money at once. This is why we do not publish the financial data.” (Interview 20)*

But Treesleeper's defensive policy of not publishing the financial data did not calm down villagers' expectations but rather fostered a deep suspicion towards trust and management. Many Hai//om and !Kung who had learned that “Treesleeper belongs to the Hai//om [resp. !Kung] people” (Interview 6) obviously equated ownership with benefitting from the project's profit and with job opportunities and did not see that profit should be reinvested and put in a contingency fund (cf. Treesleeper Camp 2008:2). The feeling of being left out of the project was present especially for !Kung - comparable to their feeling of exclusion from the village of Tsintsabis (cf. Ch.2.3.2). A !Kung man alluded to lacking job opportunities at Treesleeper, thus creating the impression that the project was excluding !Kung:

*“At Treesleeper there are only Damara and Hai//om working but no !Kung. (...) It is good that they [author's remark: members of a !Kung family] dance there, but there should also be !Kung who are permanently employed at the campsite (...).” (Interview 29)*

Apart from jobs and monetary benefits also services were expected by some locals, e.g. when the headman asked for a car ride to an annual meeting with other Bushmen groups. The manager - right or not - felt that he should not refuse these demands directly and tried to find an excuse when facing expectations which – like in the case of the headman - were inappropriate in his eyes. He pointed out that

*“(...) people (...) tend to ask me for favours. I usually try not to say ‘No’ because otherwise gossiping could start in the village, for example when I refused to accompany the headman with [the] Treesleeper car to Outjo [author’s remark: a 300km distant town] where all Hai//om met [annually]. So I did not reject his question but told him, ‘I will see what I can do’, and came back to him some days later by telling him, ‘Headman, look, we have a lot of bookings and I need the car for transport of food.’” (Interview 30)*

Many local people did not associate ownership with bearing responsibilities and taking duties. For example, the locals often asked for jobs and for the funding of individual needs. However, when staff members wanted to borrow tools from a local person, they were required to pay for the lending. Local actors’ attitude of not investing efforts in Treesleeper resembled those people who do not own the land they live on. They will try to benefit for the moment, but do not take a long-term approach (Nkonya 2004:16).

A remarkable low number of inhabitants had visited the campsite or knew about the project and its activities in more detail. When I asked people what they knew about Treesleeper, especially from people with a low or without a formal education<sup>54</sup> I often got answers like:

*“I do not know anything about it.” (Interview 3)*

*“Treesleeper belongs to the Hai//om people. I do not know anything else about it.” (Interview 6)*

*“I never saw it and I also do not know why it was set up.” (Interview 21)*

Without attempting to draw a general conclusion with a sample of only 21 interviews, I want to underline what I establish about a connection between the degree of formal education and knowledge about Treesleeper. The following table gives an overview of my informants’ knowledge about the project by educational level. I distinguish between interviewees who stated that they only knew about the existence of Treesleeper, those who knew a little bit about the campsite and those who demonstrated to have detailed knowledge. To make sure that the data provided are not exposed to bias, I used 21 interviews of informants not directly involved with Treesleeper, i.e. staff members, trustees and families who were visited by Treesleeper are not included.

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<sup>54</sup>In Tsintsabis especially girls often leave school in early years (cf. Interview 25) and nearly all people above 25 years of age do not have any or only a very low formal education because Bushmen usually did not have access to formal education before independence.

Years in school \ Knowledge on Treesleeper	No	≤3	≤6	≤9	>9
Does not know Treesleeper	6	1	-	-	-
Knows little about Treesleeper	6	3	1	-	-
Knows about Treesleeper	-	1	2	1	2

With tourists of Treesleeper many local people only connoted their visit to the village, their big bags and their cameras. Generally they expected trustees or staff members to tell them more about the project instead of actively approaching these insiders themselves. When I interviewed a young Hai//om woman, who felt desperate about job opportunities, I asked:

*Q: “Do you miss information about Treesleeper?”*

*A: “Yes.”*

*Q: “How to get more information?”*

*A: “Someone should tell me about it. The trustees should meet with the committee members, so that they get informed and then we should also get informed.”*

*(Interview 5)*

A family that had been visited by tourists felt a lack of information despite its former contact with visitors:

*Q: “Do you think that you have enough info on Treesleeper?”*

*A: “No, I want to know more.”*

*Q: “What can you do to get more information about Treesleeper?”*

*A: “[The manager] (...) said that once they will make a meeting, we local people will be called in and informed.” (Interview 22)*

Despite their own disinterest my interviewees often had high expectations towards the representatives of the project, whereas trustees argued that the villagers were too passive and they felt misjudged by their criticism:

*“People say that they do not know what the trust is doing, but the trust acts. We do something! We have funded the kindergarten and the hostel. That is for the community. The problem is that people here do not go to the meetings we have announced. It is hard to work together with community people because they do not trust the trustees.” (Interview 15)*

The lack of communication and exchange, or in other words, a passive attitude of villagers not directly involved in Treesleeper, but obviously also of trustees resp. staff members, seemed to be a contributing factor - if not the reason - for the disconnection between the project and local people. This might result in a separation between villagers associated with Treesleeper and other villagers. Locals who are not involved in Treesleeper might find it hard to regard the campsite as something beneficial to themselves and might rather stay away from Treesleeper or even make negative comments on trustees and staff members. According to Kamsma and Bras (2002:172) “[l]ocal tolerance (...) is significantly enhanced if opportunities exist for locals to be involved in tourism (...) through involvement in the ownership and operation of facilities.” It is Treesleeper’s problem that despite its community-based character many locals do not identify with and do not feel integrated with the project.

Trustees obviously were aware of the communication problem and the lack of people’s identification with the project and planned to organise a further community meeting where they wanted to explain their tasks and give local people the opportunity to ask about the project. The chairperson explained:

*“We had planned it already earlier this year, but it did not take place. Now with the upcoming elections we do not have time for it yet (...) We are behind the schedule and so we will integrate Christmas and the meeting. During the meeting then we will explain why we give only gifts to elder people this year, then next year, we maybe give them to school children instead. This meeting will help to connect the trust and the community.”* (Interview 19)

It was probable that this Christmas meeting would attract an audience, not least because the trustees had decided to fund gifts. But it was doubtful if the meeting had a high priority for trustees who had postponed it a couple of times.

Although there were practical reasons for trust and management not to be open about all Treesleeper issues towards the villagers, this was a dangerous policy because it created suspicion in a situation where distrust was already present. Especially the distrust towards the manager showed that a newly gained power position can trigger conflicts because established authorities are questioned and actors who do not hold an influential position might become jealous. The economic poverty in Tsintsabis contributed to people’s high expectations. But as a very small development project, Treesleeper was unable to make all residents of Tsintsabis

benefit directly<sup>55</sup>, and this stood in contrast to people's understanding of a community-based project and rather led to suspicion and distrust.

### **3.3.2 Treesleeper and Influence of Prominent Families**

It is Treesleeper's goal to involve as many people as possible in the project. Still, in 2007 the management of Treesleeper regarded it as "undesirable to work around the [influential] families, because of their important position in the village. In addition they are well educated and have valuable networks." (Troost 2007:70) In the first years of Treesleeper, several members of two rivalling families, the headman's family and the family of the chairperson of the Development Committee, were staff members or trustees. But this pattern changed and since 2009 these families have no longer been involved in Treesleeper and the camp has employed young people from very different families. However, this did not ease the situation with the influential families, especially with the headman's family. Already in 2007 the headman expressed in an interview "that he feels he should be more involved [in the daily affairs of Treesleeper]. The fact that nobody tells him when tourists arrive makes him angry. He thinks that he deserves more respect, since he is the person who gave permission for the camp to be built. He especially wants to share that (...) the camp manager does not respect him enough" (Troost 2007:67). As long as the headman was associated with the campsite, he tried to use his power position to request personal benefits, for example to be provided financially, but this was denied by trustees.

After the headman had voluntarily stepped out of Tsintsabis Trust, allegedly because he perceived his other duties as more important, his daughter became a trust member, but later also resigned. It seems that there had been some tensions between her and other trustees, but she refused to talk about this. Another close relative who had been a trustee, too, also left the trust. According to her it was because of obscure money issues and faked signatures in the accounts of Treesleeper (cf. Ch.3.2.2). It is interesting that family members of the headman had obviously taken up his view and behaviour towards Treesleeper on withdrawing from their tasks. Most of his family members seemed to stick together despite internal conflicts (cf. Ch.2.4.1) and despite new structures in the village such as the road and Treesleeper Camp. It can be assumed that this pattern is not only true for the headman's family but also for other families like the family of a Treesleeper employee who had committed a crime (cf. Ch.3.4).

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<sup>55</sup> Though Treesleeper does not seem to cause material costs for the villagers, there have to be made two exceptions. Firstly, as neither Tsintsabis nor Treesleeper have a waste management system, the waste is buried in a public rubbish hole in the village. Additionally Treesleeper Camp uses the ground water of the resettlement area for free.

Similarly to the chief's family, family members of the head of the Development Committee had been involved in Treesleeper and had stopped their commitment. Previously there had been three Treesleeper guides belonging to this family, but they all stepped out. According to Troost (2007) there had been complaints by the families of the headman and the chairperson of the Development Committee about the respective other family members working for Treesleeper. Even though the families' withdrawal did not solve the competitive relation between the families in the village, Treesleeper was no longer used as a means of their struggle for power positions, but they rather partly turned against Treesleeper and talked in a negative way, e.g. about the manager of the camp, also involving many other villagers. The manager, who felt that his position in the village was especially challenged by the headman's family and his supporters, was confronted with rumours and allegations:

*“In Tsintsabis it is important from which family you are. You have to fight to be accepted. (...) I have always been fighting against being determined by family relations. I think about family relations from a distance.”* (Interview 30)

Some trustees and staff members told me that meanwhile the headman did not assist Treesleeper in any difficult situation:

*“The chief does not listen if you approach him with a problem, I experienced that myself. He will not help you. If there is a problem for him, he will attack you instead. He also does not stand in for Treesleeper. Our old chief who has died some years ago was different. He was nice. He fought for his people. He had the idea of Treesleeper. He also fought for businesses and housing.”* (Interview 35)

The general perception of the headman in the village (cf. Ch.2.4.1) 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.

While no family was overrepresented in the staff structure of Treesleeper, one employee feared that the influence of the manager's family on the trust would be too strong because three family members were trustees. The staff member pointed out:

*“The trust is ruled by one family, they only say that it is the community being represented there. Moses, Petrus and Fransina are related to each other and the chairperson (...) is a member of the same church as Moses.”* (Interview 35)

The guideline that people involved in Treesleeper should not be from the same family was observed for the employees, but did not seem to exist for the trust. However, while the camp manager and one other staff member had been coopted by the trust<sup>56</sup> in order to have two

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<sup>56</sup> They replaced the two Dutch volunteers who had helped to build up Treesleeper.

insiders as trustees, the two trustees related to the manager had been elected in the constituent community meeting, which means that it was not the family's domination of the trust that had made them trustees. Still, it would probably have been beneficial for the acceptance of the manager if his family was less strongly represented in the trust. However, it can probably not always be avoided that someone belongs to the same family or to the same church or party like another person involved in Treesleeper. Reflecting on this I remember that there were three Treesleeper employees who belonged to the Pentecostal Church, and after I had left Tsintsabis, my research assistant, a distant family member of one of them, was employed as as a guide because she had – according to the trustees - the necessary skills including her English language proficiency, communicative skills and a knowledge about culture and history. It seemed that the determining factor to employ someone was his/her skills that qualified him/her for the job.

### **3.4 Different Understandings of Justice**

Family ties in Tsintsabis were not only relevant in the context of taking advantage of Treesleeper, as was illustrated for the prominent families, but also played a part in situations of dispute. When the assistant manager of Treesleeper, John, had committed a petty theft, stealing alcoholic drinks and money from the campsite (fieldnotes 2009-08-29), his relatives supported him and defended him against those trustees who wanted the accused to bear the consequences. Villagers as well as trustees and staff members were holding long discussions about an appropriate punishment. The trust, as the owner of Treesleeper, was the assembly in charge. While some of the trustees favoured the involvement of the police and criminal proceedings, others were convinced that the trustees should deal with the issue by themselves and that John should be expelled from the campsite, thus losing his job. In contrast to these two positions other trustees, partly befriended with the accused, were convinced that the assistant manager had learnt his lesson and should not have to face further consequences. The trustees also discussed fiercely whether the accused should be questioned in person. Some of them argued that he had already confessed unofficially and that the question of guilt was proved, while their opponents claimed that he should receive a chance to explain himself. John's family interfered in the affair and threatened the camp manager who was in favour of a prosecution. It can only be speculated about his reasons, but he probably wanted to show that Treesleeper takes criminal deeds seriously and hoped to protect himself through police interference. This led to a tense situation between relatives of the manager and John's family, especially his elder brothers. The case between the manager, Moses, and the assistant

manager, John, developed into a dispute between the two families. A brother of the accused even announced to assault Moses. The manager explained he would defend himself with legal means if John's family used violence against him and he would fight against slander if they spread rumours about him for abusing his position. This self-protective statement astonished me but made me understand his intense fear of village people turning against him.

The case also led to tensions within the village because it dragged other inhabitants into the dispute when members of the two rivalling families spread their opinions about the respective opponent. Some villagers turned against the person who had committed the deed so that he thought of leaving Tsintsabis until the issue had calmed down. However, most of the villagers seemed to take John's side. This made it difficult for Moses to demand consequences for the accused, not only because he himself and his family members were personally threatened, but also because he could lose his influence in the village so that others could try to gain from this weakened position by talking in favour of the accused person or by spreading rumours about the behaviour of the plaintiff. While this points at possible motives of villagers to turn against the camp manager, this does not yet explain what they understood by a 'criminal deed' and where they positioned John's action. Those people who had taken John's side did not see any guilt in his action or at least regarded the punishment as inappropriate. People's understanding of crime can be traced in other examples. In many interviews I asked about possibilities to hunt and my informants usually responded that there were not many animals left in the resettlement area and that they could no longer practise hunting because hunting was punished by imprisonment. This shows that their reluctance to undertake hunting trips was due to their fear of punishment and not because they regarded it as a crime.

In contrast to John's case, people were against an accused person in other in other cases, e.g. when cattle of a rather poor woman was stolen and slaughtered by her local cattle herder. Villagers' hatred for an accused person became obvious when a young school girl was killed and people even wanted to lynch the murderer (cf. Box 3.2). I conclude that people perceive as a criminal deed an act that harms someone in person and that they will rather take sides with the victim if it is an individual from their group and if this person is not well-off.

In the case of John the trustees agreed in the end by consensus not to bring him to trial but instead to refuse him access to the campsite and give him a written notice. The case illustrated to me that the majority of the trustees and villagers had an opinion of a fair and just punishment different from what the official law suggested. One trustee explained that

*“(...) [we can]not (...) send him to jail (...) and we cannot just hand him over to the police. He is still one of us.” (Interview 20)*

However, John was not completely content with the trust’s treatment of his case and expressed towards me how he felt about the way he had been expelled:

*“They [author’s remark: the trustees] first talked among themselves and they forgave me, I was not expelled immediately. That was noble. But for me personally, I did not like the way how in the end I was informed that I was expelled. I first got a letter of suspension for one month and then, of course, I did not get any salary. I do not understand why no one asked me to come to the trust meeting. In the end I only received a written notice, but was not there for a disciplinary hearing. I did not like this way. They should have told me face-to-face. (...) I also did not receive any payout although I had been working there [author’s remark: at the campsite] for some years. I only got the letter that explained that I was expelled from work. My question is: Aren’t they obliged by law to let me participate in the disciplinary meeting?” (Interview 38)*

I realised that he was looking for support for his position by turning towards me. But even though I could understand that John was not happy about the process and would have preferred favourable rules of an official trial to be applied in his case, he obviously was lucky that the trust had dealt with the issue as he would have been imprisoned if his case had been handled according to Namibian law, which is very strict on theft. However, his statement indicated that the accused tried to use the different kinds of laws, which coexist in the legal pluralism of Namibia, as a means to gain the best possible result by being in favour of customary law as long as it advantaged his position and by referring to national law if this promised to be more beneficial to him.

### **Box 3.2: Legal Pluralism in Tsintsabis**

In Namibia as in many other African countries there exists a legal pluralism, that is according to Woodman (1996:157) „the state of affairs in which a category of social relations is within the fields of operation of two or more bodies of legal norms (...) [and legal pluralism] exist[s] whenever a person is subject to more than one body of law“. Many villagers preferred to solve criminal cases among themselves and without the involvement of the police. This could be in favour and in disfavour of the accused compared to the criminal law of Namibia. However, I do not intend to state that the Namibian legal system is completely ignored in Tsintsabis. For example in cases of land issues it is the MLR representative who is approached and in some other disputes the headman is asked for advice and mediation according to customary and common law, which is accepted by the government as long as it is not in conflict with national law (cf. Constitution of Namibia Article 66,1<sup>57</sup>). But in principle many people try to follow their own sense of justice, which differs from the statutory law. Many believe in a check and control system of the village where people know each other, and most villagers tend to trust

<sup>57</sup> “Both the customary law and the common law of Namibia in force on the date of Independence shall remain valid to the extent to which such customary or common law does not conflict with this Constitution or any other statutory law.“ (Constitution of Namibia Article 66,1)

each other rather than trusting people from outside. An example of the villagers' tendency towards self-justice was the case of a woman who - according to my research assistant - was mentally disturbed and killed a young school girl on her way home. Villagers made the attempt to lynch her and the police was only able to prevent this by locking the woman up in the school. In the end the woman was imprisoned and it seemed this saved her life as some people still were in the mood to harm her.

The interference of police pointed at a possible process of change with increasing importance of national law for the people of Tsintsabis after the coexistence of state law and customary and common law had been dominant in the time prior to independence. This process might even progress with more newcomers.

Although the legal view of many villagers including John's family and some trustees differed from national law, there was a coexistence of different kinds of law in Tsintsabis, which became evident by the fact that some villagers were in favour of national law, like the manager and some other trustees. While they tried to influence the decision in the trust not least to protect Treesleeper against future criminal actions, the accused employee was partly in favour of national law and partly in favour of an internal dealing with his case. The different forms of rules were used as a means to gain access to a better position or, in other words, to increase the actors' agency (cf. Peluso, Ribot 2003).

### **3.5 Dispute between Treesleeper Management and School**

Disputes concerning Treesleeper did not only arise due to matters that affected Treesleeper's internal structure as in the case of the criminal deed, but conflicts also arose from matters between Treesleeper, represented by the manager, and the local school, represented by the headmaster.

Until 2008 school children, organised in a cultural group, danced and sang for tourists during the traditional performance (cf. Ch.5.3). From an outsider's perspective "the dance (...) [was] both fun and educational" (Troost 2007:53-54). In return Treesleeper sponsored the group by funding their cultural activities, for example performances outside of Tsintsabis and the transport to these performances. Since there were no cultural classes held as part of the school curriculum, the main goal of the performances at the campsite was to make the local youth become interested in their culture. This was consistent with one of Treesleeper's main goals, i.e. to create awareness for Hai//om and !Kung culture and to contribute to an attitude of pride in the local culture.

During apartheid only very few Bushmen got a formal education with lessons held in Afrikaans. After independence school education was carried out in English before instruction in the mother tongue up to grade 3 was introduced. According to the Ministry of Basic

Education and Culture “education should promote the language and cultural identity of learners through the use of mother tongue as medium of instruction” (MBEC 2010:4). In Tsintsabis younger pupils were taught in Nama/Damara, which is very similar to Hai//om and higher classes were held in English. Until the end of the research period there was no Hai//om or !Kung teacher at the school making it hard to bring Bushmen culture closer to the pupils. Therefore the cultural group was set up with the help of older Hai//om and !Kung and a Damara teacher, who trained the group in dancing and singing.

When asked why the cultural dance group did no longer perform at the campsite, the principal, who was Owambo by origin and had built up the school from the beginning, explained:

*“The pupils, especially the girls, did no longer want to dance there because they were ashamed. They became a bit older and this is why they were ashamed. Additionally the dance is performed in the evening and some families do not like their children to be out then. We have now opened a new cultural group with younger children. They perform for the school, but not for Treesleeper. (...) I think it is better if the elders do that because it is performed in the evening and then it is dark. It also means some income for the families performing.”(Interview 25)*

When I asked the principal why the children were ashamed of performing at the campsite but not at the school, she pointed out:

*“Bigger children did not want to perform any longer because they were ashamed. (...) There was a second issue related to the cultural performance. The children were paid money. This was supposed to be used for school fees. So we paid the school fees from that, but then there was a lot of money left. We used it for ink. The children also benefit from that because we print out things for them and their education. [The manager](...) however was disappointed because of that. He proposed to use it for food.<sup>58</sup> But I did not see the necessity. I wanted to use the money for the school, but did not like to be told for which exact purpose we should use the money for. So in the end the performance was stopped.”(Interview 25)*

Even though there was evidence that the children had not only been quite motivated to perform in front of tourists, but had also been willing to participate in cultural activities outside Tsintsabis, the principal rather preferred to determine about the use of the fund herself. Instead of admitting that the income had predominantly been meant for cultural activities, she argued that the fund had been used for food and proposed that it was better to use the money for educational materials because “[p]eople (...) [in Tsintsabis] always ask for food and they receive food anyway“ (Interview 25). This reminded me of my first encounter

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<sup>58</sup>Before it had been practice to use the money for cultural activities, for school fees and for food, as several families could not afford to feed their children. (cf. Trosst 2007:53)

with the headmaster during a school workshop on HIV/Aids when she explained to me that the students would show up again for the next session only because they would get food after approaching a boy with the words “Hey, now you won’t miss the next class on HIV/Aids because of the food, right?” Later the camp manager complained that the headmaster created a wrong image of Bushmen because she always emphasised that Bushmen were eating all the time and could not get enough (cf. fieldnotes 2009-08-13).

When talking about the dance performances at the development project Ombili<sup>59</sup>, the principal explained:

*“Ombili is a good project. Sometimes they tell their donors<sup>60</sup> about our school. If anyone complains that children are taken out of class for a dance performance, I cannot understand that because it is somehow also part of their lessons [author’s remark: The interviewee refers to Ombili.]. If we receive visitors, we also allow them to look at our classes. This in return also helps the school and the visitors do not disturb.”* (Interview 25)

The fact that the headmaster argued in favour of performances of Ombili school children in front of a tourist audience, probably because this was useful for donations, underlined that the conflict with the camp manager was the central reason for stopping the cultural dance group’s show at Treesleeper. Remarkably the principal had always been exerting herself raising funds for the school, such as for new class rooms or a new hostel, realising her “vision of setting up a proper school here” (Interview 25). It seemed that she identified strongly with ‘her’ school and regarded it as her achievement and domain. The dispute suggested that the headmaster perceived the camp manager as interfering with her area of authority.

The disagreement on the use of the cultural group’s income began when Treesleeper had insisted on funding further cultural activities in order to strengthen and promote Hai//om culture. The manager accused the headmaster, who herself was convinced that with the new road “[Hai//om and !Kung] children will no longer be interested in their culture anymore” (Interview 25), of acting behind his back and impeding cultural awareness creation for school children. And fostering a community-based approach - another goal of Treesleeper – stood rather in line with a cultural group of school children who received benefits for their dancing than with one or two families generating an income through the performances. Additionally a practical advantage might have been that school children’s performances usually started on time while the performances with the families were often late (cf. Ch.5).

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<sup>59</sup> Ombili which was initiated by German-Namibian farmers is focused on formal and practical education of Bushmen and is located about 30km west of Tsintsabis. (cf. Ch.4.2.2)

<sup>60</sup> Tourists who visited Ombili often became donors of the project.

Among villagers the opinion whether children or adults should dance differed, but nearly all interviewees were convinced that the school group still performed. This was different for staff members who knew about the conflict between Treesleeper and school. Staff members' opinion reflected the argument of the headmaster that children should not perform in the darkness but rather in the afternoon and a Treesleeper employee added that one should not expect children to carry out the dancing like a job but that they should do it rather on a voluntary basis:

*“The cultural group of the school children should dance there again but they should not work there (...) [and they] should be provided with things for free. The kids enjoyed it but they also complained that they were hungry in the evening and that they did not want to dance while it was dark.”* (Interview 39)

The chairman, who incidentally was the teacher who had trained the dancing group, expressed his concern about the outcome:

*“I am disappointed that the school children do not perform anymore. [That was] because of a discussion or dispute with the principal of the school. The dancing helped the kids to keep their culture alive. This was very good. If we do not do anything about it there will be no culture once the elders die. I would hope that we could revive the cultural dancing group, but I doubt that it will become reality.”* (Interview 19)

Another trustee did not agree with the principal about school children being ashamed of the performance though she was rather in favour of the dancing of older people:

*“Elder people are often ashamed to dance whereas the school children are not. However, I rather prefer the elders to dance because in the past it was also the elder people who would perform the dance.”* (Interview 20).

The dispute between the principal and the camp management showed a basic difference in the opinion of what Treesleeper should be about, i.e. about creating cultural awareness or about the school's development. While the use of the funds for cultural activities would advance cultural awareness creation, their use for basic necessities would serve a more practical purpose. A similar comparison can be made for the performances: while pupils' performance could create attention for culture among the younger generation, the performance of families rather fosters their personal income, which is also their main incentive (cf. Ch.5), while the cultural aspect plays rather a minor role for them. Furthermore, the dispute showed a struggle for power positions where the headmaster felt questioned by the camp manager, who had lately gained an influential position.

### 3.6 Conclusion

The ideal concept of the community-based approach, which assumes that all members of a community share a common interest and contribute to a common goal for the overall benefit of people, is not applicable to the Treesleeper project. People of Tsintsabis cannot be seen as a harmonic entity (cf. Hiskes 1982; Richards, Hall 2002) of united villagers, but are different actors whose “share in [a collective cultural] (...) frame only partially overlaps” (Widlok 2007:186). Arguably, a common interest of people in Tsintsabis is to generate an income, but the motivation to reach this goal is in the individual or family well-being. This contributes to power struggles and jealousy in the village. The expectations towards Treesleeper of gaining access to jobs or to individual direct support have become intensified through the new road. People look for the individual benefit, but at the same time they refer to Treesleeper’s goal of supporting the whole village.

With the Treesleeper project offering access to income and power positions, new structures are available to negotiate, and relations in the village change. The manager’s and school headmaster’s dispute exemplified that a new power position challenges an old power position. The dispute made evident that not a new niche was created but that the manager’s reach interferes with the headmaster’s. By contrast the old power structures of headman and the principal did not seem to be in conflict. However, the headman’s position has also changed through the rise of Treesleeper. This became clear by the example of the headman and his family who used to have an influential position in the village (cf. Ch.2.4.1). The headman perceives the manager of the campsite as a rival who questions his authority. But though the headman might have partly lost his influence, family ties have remained important or have become even more important in the village through Treesleeper. The example of the struggle between the manager of the campsite and the family of the staff member accused of stealing has shown that strong family ties can even harm the position of Treesleeper representatives in the village.

While ethnic belonging continues to play a part for villagers (cf. Ch.2.3; 2.5) and while Treesleeper partly fosters this tendency as !Kung and Hai//om are favoured for vacancies at the campsite because of the cultural character of the project, Hai//om and !Kung origin is not an exclusive condition for jobs at Treesleeper as the example of the Damara employee showed. Also the goal to focus on the well-being of all people of Tsintsabis rather than only on Bushmen families’ underlines that Treesleeper is not a pure ethnic-oriented project but a

community-based project<sup>61</sup>. In the long run, especially with more people of different ethnic origin moving to Tsintsabis (cf. Ch.2.5), Treesleeper's approach could contribute to more openness between different ethnic groups, but it could also intensify competition between Bushmen and others for jobs at the campsite.

Though many villagers have not shown an active interest in the project, they expect individual benefits from the campsite, probably because the trust has not been able to communicate the project's limits, i.e. that Treesleeper with its rather small scope can neither provide everyone with jobs nor fund individual needs. While from the community-based approach, a western concept, it is clear that the campsite belongs to everyone and is common property where costs and benefits have to be born jointly, the understanding in the village seemed to be that common ownership results in individual benefit, or even in individual ownership.

Also the fact that many do not have a regular income contributes to people's high expectations as soon as they perceive a chance, and to jealousy if someone benefits more than the other. The lack of information about the project also contributes to suspicion towards the trust, the staff members and especially the manager because his face is strongly associated with Treesleeper. Also among staff members there is a high level of jealousy and distrust towards trustees and the manager of the campsite. The lack of solidarity between staff members, between trustees, between trustees and staff members and between people involved directly in Treesleeper and villagers that are not involved in the project obviously reflects a lack of solidarity between villagers themselves (cf. Ch.2). In contrast to Treesleeper's goal to connect inhabitants of Tsintsabis with each other and make them identify with the project, Treesleeper rather contributes to a lack of connection between villagers and the project and between villagers who are and those who are not involved in the project.

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<sup>61</sup> This might have been a reason why WIMSA which focuses on Bushmen issues rejected to fund Treesleeper Camp and why some disagreements between the organisation and the project developed (cf. Dieckmann 2007:318).

## **4 Perception and Self-perception of Bushmen in the Context of Marginalisation**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The previous chapters (Ch.2; 3) dealt with the villagers' sense of community and the ways it was influenced by the presence of the community-based Treesleeper Project. There the internal village structures and relations between villagers, with a special focus on Hai//om and !Kung Bushmen, were in the centre of interest. In the following chapters (Ch.4; 5) I will draw attention to the relation between Bushmen, in specific Hai//om and also !Kung, with external stakeholders including anthropologists, the respective government in power, commercial farmers, civil society and tourism stakeholders and tourists. These actors' images of Bushmen and Bushmen's self-perception correlate with historical events and stand in the context of their marginalisation. Outsiders' images and Bushmen's self-perception will be related to images created by the cultural tourism project Treesleeper and it will be analysed whether Treesleeper – within its reach – contributes to a change of images, i.e. to a different perception and self-perception of Bushmen.

In this chapter the way in which images contributed to the current perception and status of Bushmen, in particular of Hai//om, will be regarded. Furthermore, dynamics of change over time will be pointed out because “[b]y excluding change through time (...), the different linguistic groupings, cultures, traditions and histories that fall under the racial category ‘Bushman’, are presented as a homogeneous entity hovering outside of historical process“ (van Vuuren 2009:558). Starting with the German colonialism, looking at the apartheid regime and considering the time from independence until now, it will be analysed whether similar or different images were created in situations Bushmen were exposed to.

In today's Namibia, Bushmen have the image of needy and marginalised people. The marginalisation of Bushmen has been widely discussed in literature (e.g. Gordon 1997, 2000; Widlok 1999; Boden 2003; Suzman 2004; Dieckmann 2007) and it is a common opinion that Bushmen participate less in economic and social life than other Namibians. Marginalisation refers to access to land, education and jobs. While these factors are rather obvious, marginal is also about whether someone is excluded from access to power positions or how one's culture is seen in relation to the culture of others. Marginalisation is a process that depends on other people's perception of a certain group and on the group members' self-perception.

Bushmen have often been regarded as inferior to others and have been positioned at the fringes of Namibian society. I will look at Bushmen's living conditions and take into account Hai//om and !Kung interviewees' opinion on the different situations. Eventually I will also ask whether there are interrelations between Bushmen's self-image and other people's perception of Bushmen and in what way these images stand in the context of Bushmen marginalisation.

## **4.2 Perception of Bushmen in the Past and the Present**

### **4.2.1 Anthropologists' Views of Bushmen and Western Media's Contribution to the Image Creation of Bushmen**

The German linguist Wilhelm Bleek, who was the first to investigate the !Xam Bushman language and culture, used his studies "to make the colonial government [of the Cape Colony] aware of the need to preserve Bushman folklore as an important part of the country's heritage and traditions" (Skotnes 2007:189; see also Bleek 1875a,b). In contrast to other scientists he early argued that Bushmen were not at the lowest position of mankind (cf. Dieckmann 2007:42; Gordon 1992: 45-46).

Hans Schinz, who was the first to distinguish between 'Kaokoveld Bushmen' in 'Heikom' (Hai//om) and 'I Kun San' (!Kung) (cf. Schinz 1891), and other scientists and travellers like Ratzel, Fritsch or Galton, the founder of the eugenics movement<sup>62</sup>, had conducted research on Bushmen during colonialism in German South West Africa. They had been looking for physical and behavioural distinctions of Bushmen and regarded Bushmen as the most inferior race in South Africa, unable to develop culture (cf. Dieckmann 2007: 61; Gordon 1992: 43-46).

One of the earliest expeditions and tourist groups to the game reserve of Etosha, the roaming area of Hai//om, was the Denver African Expedition<sup>63</sup> of 1925, consisting foremost of ethnographers. They intended to record cinematographic and photographic material of Bushmen, and according to Robert Gordon (1997) they were the first to create a romanticised picture of Bushmen. The Denver Expedition members depicted Bushmen as pristine and exotic, an image which became part of the western perspective on Bushmen (cf. Figure 6; cf. Gordon 1997:3). The photographic and cinematic accounts and exhibitions did not only affect

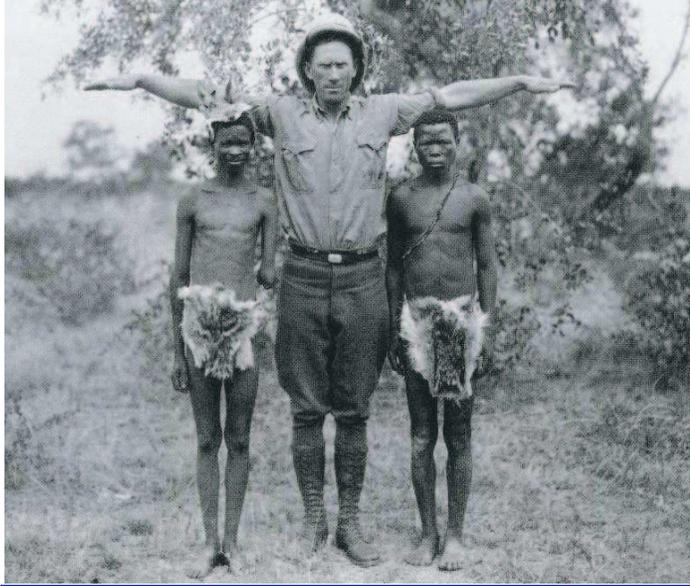
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<sup>62</sup> A member of this movement, the German anthropologist Eugen Fischer, who later became important in the theories of racial hygiene (cf. Gordon 1992:215), conducted a research in German South West Africa in 1908.

<sup>63</sup> Etosha was only one stop during the expedition which had the goal to search for the relation between mankind and animals in the Kalahari.

academics, but were available for European and North American mass consumption. Their influence on a wide audience and the continuance of the romanticised Bushmen image among academia were essential for the fact that these images have survived until today.

Although different from the degrading image often previously attached to Bushmen, the Denver African Expedition's depiction also neglected Bushmen's agency. Bushmen's cultures were perceived as unspoiled and nature-related and thus fundamentally different to one's own elaborated western culture. The members of the expedition, who had a static understanding of culture, attached a pristine image to Bushmen people, and consequently Bushmen were turned into the 'other' and became the 'object of gaze' (cf. Urry 1990). A manifestation of this 'othering' were photos taken during the expedition. For example Cadle, the leader of the expedition, was photographed holding his arms above the heads of two Bushmen who are obviously smaller in size than he (cf. Figure 6). Another picture showing Cadle and Bain, the South African guide of the Denver African Expedition, in a talk with Bushmen chiefs is subtitled with "Civilized and Uncivilized Meet" (cf. Gordon 1997:85). Cadle's publications contain statements on "the Bushman" as being the "first rung of the human ladder" and as having not "added a new thought to his mental store" "over a period of twenty thousand years" (Cadle, *Illiff School of Theology Bulletin* April 1926:22, as cited in Gordon 1997:87). The intended or unintended outcome of the publications was the depiction of differences between the tall and allegedly superior Europeans and the small and allegedly inferior Bushmen. This is supported by Dieckmann (2007:115) who argues that "[t]he photos which included both the expedition members and Hai//om serve to contrast [the body] height" of the Europeans and Bushmen and that "images of 'the other', prehistoric world" were used to depict Bushmen.



**Figure 6: Ernest Cadle, the leader of the Denver African Expedition, and two !Kung Bushmen. Source: Gordon (1997), pictures after p. 176: A 111**

In an information brochure for the Wembley Empire Exhibition the native commissioner Hahn, who had met the Denver African Expedition members, stated that “the wild Bushmen (...) afford an interesting study for those anxious to acquaint themselves with their life” (15/10/1935, Native Affairs Owamboland 33/1, as cited in Gordon 1992:124). On the background of the colonial period the construct of a very different people together with the derogatory construct of their racial inferiority guaranteed that Bushmen were seen as the ‘other’ and that their culture was “open to colonization by the other” (Strahern 1980:181).

South African researchers attributed different areas between Rehoboth, south of Windhoek, and Ondangwa, north of Etosha, to Hai//om Bushmen (Figure 7, cf. Dieckmann 2007:35). The reason for this is unclear. An explanation could be that Hai//om were still roaming the time colonial maps were produced. However, it is surprising that one of the early anthropologists and linguists, Dorothea Bleek<sup>64</sup>, allocated their area from south of the Etosha pan to Rehoboth, ca. 600km south of the region where they predominantly lived. She might have learned this from other Bushmen groups or had not been able to distinguish Hai//om from other groups. The presumed Hai//om distribution of Louis Fourie, a medical officer of the South African administration, similarly declared all of the region between Ondangwa and

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<sup>64</sup> The daughter of the German linguist Wilhelm Bleek conducted research on Bushmen in Sandfontein between Gobabis and the border of Botswana in the 1920s. (cf. Gordon 1992:103-104)



The popular and often criticised (e.g. Jones 2002) South African travel writer Laurens van der Post<sup>66</sup> also contributed to visualising Bushmen as pristine primitives, who live in harmony with nature, detached from the so-called modern world, in the BBC 6-part TV series 'The Lost World of the Kalahari' (1956). The fact that his work apparently fits into other authors' perspective can be exemplified by Alan Gray's positive review of van der Post's book "The Lost World of the Kalahari (1958). Gray stated that "[i]n describing the Bushman he has described everyman in his arcadian nakedness. His book is the poetic answer to the ravage wreaked by history." (Gray 1959:85) According to Wilmsen, van der Post feared "modernity (...) resulting [in] alienation of individuals from society" and claimed that "to overcome this threat, a priori human possibilities had to be reexcavated [and] the primitive in man brought forth again" (Wilmsen 2002:146). While media popularised the images of unspoiled and pristine Bushmen, the depictions were reaffirmed and accredited by anthropological research.

At the latest during the 60s, van der Post's conception of Kalahari Bushmen was taken up by anthropologists, i.e. during the University of Chicago Symposium on "Man the Hunter" (1966), organised by the anthropologists Irven DeVore and Richard Borshay Lee. Lee (1979) and other 'traditionalists' were convinced that Bushmen had lived isolated from the rest of the world until recently, thus being a model of early mankind. He blamed the South African regime for making Bushmen dependent on outside aid by restricting them in their rights and living space and accused the regime of being the main contributor to negative images of Bushmen. As a member of western academia, Lee was in favour of a common Bushmen movement and held that "for the long-term the best thing that could happen to the San of Namibia is a SWAPO victory" (Lee 1986:97) because only then Bushmen would "be able to maintain their cultural identity" (Lee 1986:98).

The 'traditionalists' portrait of Bushmen was criticised by 'revisionists' like Edwin Wilmsen and James Denbow (1986), who believed that Bushmen groups had been in constant exchange with Bantu people. They claimed that Bushmen could not be regarded as detached from their surroundings and that it was the historical process that had led to Bushmen's peripheral status and had made them "increasingly dependent on welfare and tourist handouts" (Wilmsen 1990:140). But 'traditionalists' and 'revisionists' "had two things in

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<sup>66</sup> Recently van der Post has been strongly criticised for exaggerating in his writings and the British journalist and author of his biography, Jones, has accused van der Post of lying when presenting himself as the discoverer of the Bushmen rock paintings in the Tsodilo Hills, Botswana. (cf. Jones 2002)

common: the construction of ‘Bushmen’ as pure victims and the negligence of the views of the people they went out to study” (Dieckmann 2007:14).

The question of Bushmen’s ‘cultural identity’ has long determined anthropology as well as the issue of the classification of Bushmen (cf. Ch.1.3.2). Dealing with these questions, anthropologists were not able to avoid creating images of Bushmen and – intentionally or not - ‘othering’ them. Consequently, though anthropologists did not have an image of marginal Bushmen peoples, they unintentionally contributed to their marginal status.

In recent anthropological work a tendency towards self-criticism can be observed as researchers ask about the image they contribute to (e.g. Gordon 1992, 1997). They are aware that an image of Bushmen is reinvented in a steady discourse. Butler calls its influence “performativity” and defines it “as that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains” (Butler 1993:3). The actors dominating the discourse have the power to determine or the ‘power to produce’ the character of the image. This image is integrated in both, in the perception of Bushmen and in their self-perception. Taking into account the ways Bushmen react to perceptions of themselves (e.g. Gordon 1997, Dieckmann 2007), anthropologists intend to pay attention to their agency rather than to create images of them. Many anthropologists (e.g. Hitchcock, Vinding 2004b; Dieckmann 2007) also follow a pragmatic argumentation in favour of indigenous movements of Bushmen fighting against their - by now - marginal status and the image of marginality that has been ascribed to them by external – national and international – stakeholders.

#### **4.2.2 Commercial Farmers’ Attitude towards Bushmen between Exploitation and Education**

Older Hai//om described the period of farm work during apartheid as a good time, especially when comparing it to their present lives. A Hai//om woman, who was jobless and whose cattle had been stolen by a local herder (cf. Ch.3.4), explained:

*“People in the past had a better life because they had work. They were working for the Boers<sup>67</sup>. The life at the farms was [also] better than the life in the bush. During the time of the Boers livestock was not stolen. That happens a lot today.”* (Interview 6)

Apart from a positive opinion on farmwork, there were also different voices stating that farm owners maltreated their workers if they did not work hard enough or made a mistake in their eyes<sup>68</sup> (cf. Boden 2007:76-78). A former farm worker from Tsintsabis explained:

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<sup>67</sup> A term generally used for white Namibians and South Africans in Tsintsabis.

*„If you were working with them [author’s remark: white bosses] they sometimes did not treat you as a person. Usually they just gave orders. If they were not under stress, they laughed with you. But mostly we were fighting about work. They said, ‘You have to do it exactly as I told you.’ The salary was very low. Until 2000 there were quite a lot of farm owners who used to punish their workers, for example by beating. They were racist; they did not treat you as a person.” (Interview 34)*

Physical punishment was common on farms and many employers regarded Bushmen working for them as drunkards and stock thieves and described them as people wandering aimlessly around from farm to farm (cf. Gordon 1992:137-143; 171). For many farmers they thus demonstrated their ‘innate unreliability’ rather than their discontent with the working conditions.

Farmers were not obliged to provide their workers with housing, which resulted in the situation that some Hai//om worked on farms and stayed in Etosha Game Reserve at night, at least until 1954. Still, a big number of workers stayed on the farmland (cf. Schatz 2009:1), often changing their place of work and residence. According to Barnard and Widlok (cf. 1996:104) this makes it hard to divide categorically between “farm Bushpeople” and “traditional Bushpeople”. The fact that it was impossible to distinguish between the two groups questions the image of being backward and pristine that was attributed to Bushmen. Farm labourers were usually paid in food, tobacco, alcohol or small amounts of money, and Bushmen were a cheap workforce for commercial farmers. As farm workers Bushmen had to apply for a work permit, which for the native administration eased the control of Bushmen and deprived them even more of their freedom. Without land of their own Hai//om Bushmen were forced to offer their workforce to others, making them “dependent on their (...) neighbours. On the white farms, the extent of San dependency meant that farmers could afford to pay them less and treat them worse than other farm labourers” (Suzman 2003b:22). Some Bushmen preferred to work for black farmers. However, “[t]his was not to say that blacks did not exploit Bushmen, but simply that they tempered it with flexibility and less social distance.” (Gordon 1992:121)

Until today there are only very few black commercial farmers in the area of Tsintsabis. Most of the bigger farms are owned by white Namibians as in many other areas of Namibia (cf. Amoo 2001) and Bushmen are often still employed as farm workers. Since independence their legal situation has improved, for example a minimum wage is guaranteed and housing

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<sup>68</sup> According to Dieckmann there is not necessarily an antagonism for Hai//om farm workers between perceiving a farm owner as a good boss and experiencing him as somebody who physically punishes his workers. (cf. Dieckmann 2007:214)

has to be provided. But despite the new laws, Hai//om and !Kung farm workers in Tsintsabis perceived the situation not necessarily as more beneficial, but felt treated as before independence. A young Hai//om pointed out her dissatisfaction with the job situation:

*“After independence people only found jobs if they were educated. Everything that Hai//om could do was to work on a farm and they did not get permanent jobs but maybe had work for three weeks in which they earned 300N\$<sup>69</sup>. That was not enough to support a whole family and the kids. That is why, I tell you, life was tough.”* (Interview 31)

A former farm worker stated about the relation between workers and white farmers:

*“Farmers would never sit together with their workers. I never sat in the house of a white farmer. Some Boers are still saying, ‘I have my own laws on my land.’ Especially in the rural areas apartheid is still dominating.”* (Interview 35)

And a former worker of a hunting farm also felt ignored and socially excluded by his previous boss:

*“[My](...) second job (...) was not (...) nice. I did not get any further training and the money was also low. The Boer did not even greet me when he saw me. He also did not want to talk to me when I asked him things. (...) [H]e did not treat me as a person.”* (Interview 10)

While the young man claimed that the low payment and the farmer’s attitude towards him were the reason to leave the job, the hunting farm owner referred to Bushmen’s closeness to their families (cf. Interview 58). By the argument that Bushmen tend to leave their job because of their families, the farmer alluded to a presumed inherited nature of Bushmen or to their “innate ethnic character” (Sylvain 2006:186).

In the view of some farmers the new legislation has even worsened the economic situation of Bushmen because farmers are no longer able to employ so many farm workers. This could hint at a discrepancy between the objective of the new law, the improvement of the legal status of farm workers, and its possible outcome, a further economic marginalisation and social exclusion of Bushmen.

In the area of Tsintsabis white farmers’ perception of Bushmen was often ambiguous. Some of them tended to have an image of Bushmen as nature-related people and therefore saw them as being better able to manage tourism in Etosha NP than the Namibian Wildlife Resorts (NWR). This could position Bushmen well in the Namibian society, but at the same time white farmers perceived them as people of a low cultural and moral standard.

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<sup>69</sup> 300N\$ are about 30€.

The report of a white farmer's wife on a Hai//om mother who did not feed her baby because of its sickness shows that the countrywoman did not accept this perspective. She commented on the death of the baby: "Das ist mir nur einmal passiert, danach kontrollierte ich sie [author's remark: die Buschleute] besser."<sup>70</sup> (Schatz 2009:36) Here an image of 'othering', of setting Bushmen apart from oneself, is created.

Different interviewees referred to Bushmen as "Leute aus der Steinzeit"<sup>71</sup> (Interview 59) who have lived "until 100 years ago (...) as we have been living 10,000 years ago" (Interview 55). The references to Stone-Age and Bushmen's past way of life show that they were regarded as backward. Apparently the interviewed white farmers – believing that they have achieved their own economic wealth through hard work – judged Bushmen with regard to themselves. They held Bushmen to be people who "need time to adapt" (Interview 59) to the western way of life and pleaded for a higher self-esteem of Bushmen, which could only be acquired through education and efforts of their own (Interview 55).

In 1989 this belief brought a group of white farmers to set up the Ombili Stiftung (Foundation) focusing especially on formal and practical education. According to the foundation this will help Bushmen to become part of the so-called modern society. On the premises of the institution there is a school and people also work in craft production and agriculture. Each worker is paid in kind and in monetary form. As Ombili is located about 30km from Oshivelo, the closest town, the farm also has a small shop where consumer goods including cigarettes are sold, but alcohol is forbidden.

The Ombili management emphasised that Bushmen should become active and work hard, and some white farmers mentioned that Bushmen need to be educated and guided by role models, i.e. by people who combine character traits such as tidiness, readiness for taking responsibility and willingness for making efforts. The perceived difference between white farmers and Bushmen was clearly expressed in the statement of an Ombili representative:

*"Der Buschleute Tun [war] meistens auf den augenblicklichen Erfolg gegründet (...) und eines ihrer Sprichworte sagt: ‚Der Tag kommt, der Tag gibt.‘ (...) [so] ist zu verstehen, dass unsere Arbeit mit den San oft nicht einfach ist. Sie müssen lernen, dass man säen, hegen und pflegen muss, um (...) zu ernten."* (Ombili 2009)<sup>72</sup>

This statement made clear 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, e.g. that

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<sup>70</sup> "That only happened once to me, thereafter I checked them [the Bushmen] better." (translation by author)

<sup>71</sup> "people of Stone-Age" (translation by author)

<sup>72</sup> "Bushmen's activities [were] usually based on instant success and one of their proverbs is: 'The day comes, the day gives.' Thus it becomes understandable that our [Ombili's] working with San is often not easy. They now have to learn that one has to sow, cultivate and care (...) in order to harvest." ( translation by the author)

they are unable to save money for the long term. This was expressed similarly by other commercial farmers and explained by Bushmen's foraging lifestyle. Having in mind that they associated this way of life with backwardness and described their own way of life as something to strive for, it became clear that they positioned Bushmen inferior to themselves.

A more plausible reason why people in Tsintsabis were often lacking money seemed to be the lack of access to paid work and the culture of sharing among their kin. Kinship relations played a big part here if one considers that extended families were dependent on the old age pension or a single breadwinner. As in many other African societies, Hai//om and !Kung, who have an income, are expected to share with family members. Sharing is a means to cope with economic risks, a tool to diminish vulnerability.

The commercial farmers' top-down view on Bushmen, i.e. that they need to develop according to the farmers' objectives, was combined with a protective attitude towards Bushmen. Bushmen were seen as people who were suppressed in the past (cf. Ombili 2009) and who were still treated unequal in Namibian society. For example, a commercial farmer outlined that Bushmen hardly have access to government jobs, such as policemen and positions in the Etosha NP (Interview 55). And according to him the programme focused on marginalised people or the food draught relief programme, which provides poor rural people with food in times of a bad harvest, was only carried out in Tsintsabis because SWAPO was first and foremost interested in ensuring the votes of Bushmen for the elections in November 2009. Some local farmers regarded the Namibian government as careless and irresponsible for not fighting HIV/Aids sufficiently (Interview 59; Interview 57) and for not implementing laws on alcohol consumption (Interview 55). At the same time they blamed Bushmen themselves for drinking too much (Interview 56), an attitude that had been ascribed to Bushmen already before independence by farmers. But this did not exclude their criticism on other ethnic groups, for example on Owambo, who have exploited Bushmen according to many white farmers, or in general on Bantu groups, who – in commercial farmers' opinion – have invaded their territories so that Bushmen were pushed aside. This showed empathy for Bushmen groups on the background that white Namibian farmers perceived themselves as pushed aside by the black majority and in specific by the new black elite.

## 4.2.3 Changes in Governments and Changes in Governments' Perspectives on Bushmen

### 4.2.3.1 The Apartheid Regime's Views and Projects towards Hai//om Bushmen: Eviction from Etosha and Employment in the Bush War

Before colonists appeared, the area of present-day Oshikoto Region and Etosha<sup>73</sup> NP was inhabited by Bantu groups, Herero and Owambo, as well as by Hai//om Bushmen. While the relation between Bushmen and Herero was rather tense, the relation between Owambo and Hai//om was characterised by an exchange of goods and labour and by intermarriages (cf. Dieckmann 2007: 46-50). In the memory of a Hai//om in his sixties, it was a prosperous and peaceful time for Hai//om people being able to live independently:

*“At lake Oshikoto Hai//om were then trading with some Owambos. Oshikoto means in Hai//om round belt because the trees and the shape of the lake itself look round. Our people were trading copper they found close to Tsumeb and they got tobacco and salt from Owambo. Owambo gave them also corn and sometimes Hai//om also gave them meat. It was a good time and Hai//om were still living in Etosha. They survived there through hunting.” (Interview 12)*

During the German occupation of present-day Namibia, Hai//om were still living in the southern part of Etosha. After the park had been established as game reserve in 1907, the German administration accepted Hai//om within the park because they were no longer moving to their former area outside the park, which had been turned into white farmland, and “because they were considered to constitute part and parcel of the Etosha environment” (Suzman 2004: 225). Thus Hai//om were closely associated with nature. The German colonialists' goal was to secure land for German colonists and to gain control of Hai//om and other people living in the area by introducing policies for ‘natives’, the precursor of the apartheid policies (cf. Dieckmann 2007:72-73). Neither the German colonial power nor its successor, the South African apartheid regime, regarded Bushmen as owners of land because they did not have the occupiers' understanding of territories and were not settled, but regarded land as a source for survival and as their roaming area.<sup>74</sup> The colonial administrations

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<sup>73</sup> Etosha derives from Otjiherero ‘Otjitoza’ which means ‘to go to a pan’ but the place has also been named by Hai//om who refer to it as ‘Kubus’, i.e. ‘vast white place’, or as ‘Xoms’, i.e. ‘bruised place’. (cf. Berry 1998:6; Dieckmann 2007:148)

<sup>74</sup> The colonial perception is mirrored in Hans Grimm's novel ‘Volk ohne Raum’ (“People without Space”) (1926), alluding to the colonists' legitimised need for land, and in postcards subtitled ‘Raum ohne Volk’ (“Space without people”), depicting vast landscapes of present Namibia during the German colonialism. (cf. Gordon 1997:2) Grimm's novel describes the necessity for Germans to expand and became a slogan for the Nazis. From

perceived Bushmen as wild people of the past who did not have any possibility to survive. This Darwinist way of thinking meant that Bushmen would either die out, be absorbed by other races or had to be tamed (cf. Gordon 1992:137).

The South African regime, who administered the former South West Africa since 1920, tolerated Hai//om in the game reserve, not least because it allowed easy control over them (Gordon 1992: 123-124) and because Bushmen were a tourist attraction for early visitors. However, due to a growing sense of preservation and conservation on the part of the game reserve's administration and because of the rising importance of Etosha's wildlife as a tourist attraction, Hai//om living within the borders of the game reserve were constrained in their livelihood. They were demanded to move to the administrative centres of Okaukuejo and Namutoni, and their livestock-keeping rights and hunting rights were confined (cf. WIMSA 2004: 27-28; Suzman 2004:225). In 1954 all Hai//om who had remained in the game reserve and did not work for its administration were evicted.<sup>75</sup>

Anton, a former Treesleeper guide, knew about Hai//om's eviction from his grandmother:

*"My grandmother used to tell us stories. She grew up there [in Etosha]. At this time people used to stay there and were dependent on wildlife as people today depend on livestock. The life of Hai//om people in Etosha was dependent on meat. Big animals such as elephants and lions kept their distance from people and people kept their distance from those animals. Hai//om protected themselves not with rifles because they did not have any, but they used plants, sticks to keep the big animals away. Then Etosha became an animal place and the Boers treated people as if they were animals at an auction. The Boers collected workers for their farms. They decided that all people had to get out of the park. At this time my grandfather was somewhere in the bush of Etosha. He later approached a farm [author's remark: where his relatives were staying], but was shot at with a rifle. They used to call Hai//om 'Sondro', which means wild, untamed animal. If people were not shot, they were brought to the police and imprisoned."* (Interview 36)

While homelands had been allocated to other ethnic groups<sup>76</sup>, Hai//om were forced to move to the so-called Owamboland without their livestock or to work as farm labourers (cf. Londgren, WIMSA 2004: 24-27). The Etosha eviction and the following farm work split kin

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1897 until 1911 Hans Grimm, a businessman and journalist, had stayed in South Africa and in South West Africa.

<sup>75</sup> Also in Kenya Maasai were driven out from the Maasai Amboseli Game Reserve, since 1974 Amboseli NP. They were forced to resettle and deprived of grazing rights. (cf. Rutten 2004:8-9)

<sup>76</sup> This policy was used by the apartheid regime to separate ethnic groups and provide them with areas where white farmers did not settle.



*“I used to stay at Etosha when I was still fighting for SADF against SWAPO who operated there. At that time the SADF people were sometimes hunting in Etosha, and we had to track SWAPO fighters. It was sometimes dangerous, but we were careful. I was staying at Namutoni then and sometimes also saw some animals, but that was not important for me, I had to watch out for SWAPO.”* (Interview7)

Many Bushmen joined the military service because they did not have many other economic choices and the military salaries were comparatively high (cf. Battistoni, Taylor 2009:118, 122). It can be assumed that they were not informed about the consequences their employment had for them (cf. Gordon 1992:185f). As trackers they had to find PLAN fighters. This created the latter's feeling of hostility towards Bushmen trackers and some SWAPO supporters transferred the image of traitors to all Bushmen (cf. Battistoni, Taylor 2009:120). On the other hand the SADF perceived Bushmen as enemies if they were not on their side, but neutral. Barnard and Wildlok underline that “Hai//om were told by the South African Defence Force (...) that they should leave those areas [author's remark: areas where Hai//om and Owambo people stayed together] (...) unless they wanted ‘to be shot together with SWAPO’” (Barnard, Wildlok 1996:99).

Kolata (1981) reports that Bushmen were motivated to fight for SADF because they hoped for an equal treatment and prestige, but Bushmen usually were not seen as equal among SADF soldiers due to the omnipresent apartheid thinking. It was part of the constructed hierarchical order that Bushmen were regarded as stone-age people (cf. Battistoni, Taylor 2009: 121) and ascribed ‘natural’ tracking skills, thus alluding to their inherent racial abilities (cf. Gordon 1992:2). A lot of white officers did not want to fight jointly with Bushmen and some even feared that the new soldiers could turn against them (cf. Sniff 2004:67). These made some SADF officials threaten and harass their fellow colleagues, for example by shooting if someone was late (cf. Boden 2007:78). A Treesleeper guide explained about the Bushmen's experience of exclusion and contempt in the army service:

*“Tsintsabis used to be an army base. Back then our people were used by the South Africans. (...) Our forefathers were good in tracking and so they were helpful for the SADF to find SWAPO-fighters. But the SADF soldiers and officers were not friendly to our people. They did not treat them well. Our people were not equal. We were lower than the South Africans. They [author's remark: SADF officials] did not eat together with Bushmen. They also did not talk nice, nice with our people. They gave our people only orders.”* (Interview 31)

SADF soldiers did not only create a divide between themselves and Bushmen fighters, but also between Bushmen and Owambo people who were associated with SWAPO. The SADF

ascribed Bushmen traits of malice and brutality and presented them as distinct from other ethnic groups, thus fostering the apartheid thinking of racial segregation (cf. Gordon 1992:2). The image of savage cruelty was taken up by the liberation fighters, who perceived Bushmen soldiers as traitors fighting on the side of the enemy and transferred this image to all Bushmen (cf. Battistoni, Taylor 2009:120, 126). Bushmen were also ascribed magical power, making people of other ethnic groups even afraid of them (cf. Gordon 1992:124-125). Thus Bushmen were protected from maltreatment by these groups, but it also meant that a further negative image was attached to them and that they were often excluded from contact with others<sup>78</sup>.

Despite the SADF-created image of Bushmen's unbelievable tracking skills and some SWAPO supporters' fear of Bushmen's magical power, Bushmen were generally regarded as people of "innate inferiority to others" (Suzman 2003b:22), justifying all negative judgments on Bushmen and classifying them as bound to their marginal status.

After independence many former SADF soldiers feared reprisals from the former PLAN fighters, who partly played a role in the new government, and even some Bushmen, who had fought for the South African side, left Namibia, a fact that illustrates their relation to the new rulers (cf. Nangoloh, Mnakapa 1996:8).

#### **4.2.3.2 The Namibian Government's Policy and Practice towards "Marginalised People"**

Etosha has remained a NP after independence and has become the most important tourist attraction in Namibia. An older Hai//om woman declared that her people should have been compensated by the South African regime for the loss of Etosha, but it seemed that her criticism also concerned the present government:

*"Etosha used to be for Hai//om. Now it is no longer because white people took it over. Hai//om were not allowed to stay there because they do not have power and they are poor. When the whites came to this area, they simply took Hai//om as their workers. The whites should have built something that creates awareness that Etosha used to be a Hai//om place and they should have given out money to Hai//om in return for taking over Etosha."* (Interview 22)

Today only few Hai//om demand Etosha back, but many want to be granted access or want to benefit from the proceeds of the NP and demand a compensation in form of land, and especially the older generation feels the necessity to create awareness of the fact that Etosha

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<sup>78</sup> Still, contacts and exchange that had already been present before colonialism continued over the liberation struggle. That was in specific the exchange of goods and labour between Bushmen and other ethnic groups, and intermarriages were rather common, for example among Owambo and Hai//om. (cf. Gordon 1992:124-125; Dieckmann 2007:44-47)

used to be part of the Hai//om area. A Treesleeper guide seemed remarkably touched when talking about the loss of Etosha<sup>79</sup>:

*“In the past our ancestors used to hunt and gather and live there. (...) Then there was the 100 year celebration some years ago, but no one from Tsintsabis was invited. They [author’s remark: government officials] did not take us there. (...) Everyone here wanted to go there, but we just saw it on TV. (...) [T]hey spent all money on [other things] (...) but not on transportation for people from Tsintsabis.”* (Interview 38)

But I also met people in the village who did not feel attached to Etosha and who were not very interested in the NP. A young Hai//om woman, who grew up on farms about 200km distant from Etosha, for example stated:

*“No, I don’t think it is unfair if tourists visit Etosha. Tourists leave money there. It’s good for the economy if they pay for their stay at lodges. If there was someone taking me there [author’s remark: to Etosha], I would like to see it, but it is not that important to me.”* (Interview 9)

Currently museums are set up at Etosha rest camps focusing on research and history of the park. At Namutoni there is information provided on the Hai//om way of life in Etosha on a display board as part of the Xoms |Omis Project (Etosha Heritage Project)<sup>80</sup>, which focuses on promoting cultural and environmental heritage. However, critics point out that Hai//om are given minor attention in the museums, that they still do not benefit monetarily from Etosha and that only recently there have been plans to grant concessions for tourism business in the park to some people living adjacent to Etosha, among them Hai//om. (cf. Interview 64)

Interestingly, there are not a lot of Hai//om working in Etosha NP, neither for the NWR nor for the park administration. This could have to do with the rather low educational level of most Hai//om, but also with the Namibian government’s fear of Hai//om’s claiming for a benefit from Etosha NP’s profit. When asking the representatives of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) about reasons for the ministry’s approach towards Hai//om concerning Etosha, answers were refused or remained unclear.

While monetary benefit will continue to be a sensitive topic, it is questionable whether the museums will have an effect on awareness creation among tourists and whether projects such as the Xoms |Omis Project can contribute to this.

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<sup>79</sup> Without tending to generalise, I find it noteworthy that the three male guides of Treesleeper felt attached to Etosha. (cf. Interview 30,31,34)

<sup>80</sup> The project was initiated by Ute Dieckmann, a German anthropologist working for the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) in Namibia, and set up together with Hai//om experts. Apart from the promotion of cultural and environmental heritage it focuses on capacity building programmes for Hai//om. (For further information see: <http://xoms-omis.org> )

After independence the Namibian government started to resettle groups who had been deprived of land during the time of apartheid. Bushmen in general and Hai//om in specific were declared as having been marginalised, i.e. disadvantaged and pushed aside by the South African authorities, indicating that the Namibian government blames the former apartheid regime for the current position of Bushmen. Still, also with the party in power Bushmen seldom have land rights and “[t]hese rights amount to a small proportion of the land that they occupied originally (...) and largely consists of environmentally degraded and very dry desert land” (Harring 2004:65). According to the MLR, “through the resettlement programme, some previously disadvantaged communities, such as the San, the Ex-Plan Combatants and displaced farm workers were provided with housing and land for agricultural activities” (MLR 2010). However, the quality of resettlement land is also generally low and being provided with it means that Hai//om do not own this land, making families in Tsintsabis fear that it could arbitrarily be taken away from them. A young Hai//om explained:

*“If you live on resettlement land, government can simply remove people from their land. If government say they need the land for someone else, they can take it over. Then the previous inhabitants could lose everything. If I plant a garden and government officials then tell me to leave the land, I would lose the garden. It takes a lot of work to make a good garden and I do not have money for that. Government would give us seeds, but I do not want my work to be for nothing. I don’t know if they want to take over this place. But what can I change?”* (Interview 4)

Until today Hai//om are the only ethnic group in Namibia which does not possess land<sup>81</sup> (cf. Dieckmann 2007, Koot 2000), and different Hai//om groups reside disconnected from each other, split in different resettlement areas like in Tsintsabis or close to Outjo. There is no common area for all Hai//om. This is one reason why many, especially the older generation, feel lost. An elderly Hai//om from Tsintsabis remarked:

*“Hai//om nowadays have a hard life. They are spread over towns and different places. The fencing of Etosha contributed to the discipline of local people. It keeps the animals inside, attracts tourists and it keeps our people outside. People should have stayed in one place. But government provided different places.”* (Interview 12)

This stands in line with Suzman, who argues that Hai//om were “forced to settle along roadsides and impromptu squatter settlements [because] the government made no farms available to landless Hai//om (...) and that all the Ministry of Lands Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR)<sup>82</sup> managed was to take over the administration of Tsintsabis, a

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<sup>81</sup> They neither own private land nor communal land nor have a conservancy.

<sup>82</sup> The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) was renamed Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR) in 2005.

cramped resettlement area established under the South African administration” (Suzman 2004:230). Interestingly, Tsintsabis lies at the fringes of former colonial settlement and it is an area with insufficient access to irrigation, thus it can arguably be called ‘marginal’ land.

Resettlement policies might grant people a patch of land, but “the policy of ‘willing buyer, willing seller’<sup>83</sup> has imposed constraints on its [author’s remark: MLR’s] ability to acquire (...) land” (Amoo 2001:96) and even the MLR acknowledged that “prospects of getting land through the resettlement programme [are] very dim” (MLR 2009:7). Additionally, it is criticised that people staying on resettlement land often have neither any knowledge of farming nor the financial means to invest in a farm (cf. Wietersheim 2008:247). This makes dwellers dependent on further assistance and can put them in the passive stand-by position of recipients.

The MLR has the administrative power over resettlement land, thus the local official of the ministry, who lives in Tsintsabis and has been responsible for the resettlement area since 1993, also decides about the land allocated to each applicant (cf. Ch.1.4.1). On resettlement land hunting is banned, making it impossible for Bushmen to hunt legally. Resettlement dwellers are also not allowed to leave land fallow. The MLR’s objectives are

*“[t]o acquire land for resettlement and developmental purposes. (...) To guide the formulation of rural land development plans to ensure optimum beneficial use of scarce and fragile natural resources. (...) To protect the inalienable right of every citizen to have access to land.” (Odentaal 2006:10)*

The MLR obviously perceives farming as the most beneficial use of land. Resettlement land either has to be cultivated or used for grazing purposes and for housing in areas designated for that. This explains how farming has been moved into the centre of people’s livelihood, even though it had not been part of their former foraging way of life. The manager of Treesleeper criticised the lack of adaptiveness of the government programme and alluded to cultural dominance over Bushmen and disrespect for Bushmen culture:

*“The MLR is running an agricultural programme here as everywhere in Namibia. This kind of programme does not work here. The agricultural programme was developed during the Agricultural Conference (...) by SADEC countries. It focuses on national issues of Namibia, not only on Bushmen. (...)The agricultural programme was not adapted according to the needs of different areas. In the past Owambo and Herero, the Bantu tribes, used to be farmers or cattle herders. So this is part of their culture. But our people only worked for others on their farms without understanding the reason. (...) The problem with government is that it only focuses on parts of one*

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<sup>83</sup> Only if a landowner is willing to sell his farm, the Namibian government can buy it usually at market price or a bit below after negotiations. The seller has to offer his farm first to government before he can offer it to other potential buyers.

*certain culture. If aspects of other cultures would be promoted, one could break tribalism.” (Interview 30)*

In accordance with that is Battistoni’s and Taylor’s statement that “San groups appear to have generally occupied a lower status than Bantu” (Battistoni, Taylor 2009:116) in Namibia. Though the MLR official in Tsintsabis has recognised that farming was not part of Bushmen’s foraging way of life, he was convinced that people in Tsintsabis should adapt and that it was not the programmes that should be changed. In his statement he gave away his perception of the divide between “we” (governmental side) and “they” (local Bushmen people):

*“When it is rainy season, they are supposed to plant their plots. That has been a government initiative. We give out seeds for free to them and the ploughing is also organised by us, the tractor and the petrol are paid by government and we get assistance from an agricultural advisor from Tsumeb, he advises on what is best to plant. But some people here do not plant anything because it is not part of their tradition. They say, ‘That is not our tradition’. But they have to learn it. How else can they survive?” (Interview 40)*

It seems that for Hai//om in Tsintsabis farming has become part of their life in so far as many families have a garden or a planting area. However, many complained that their planting was often not successful and were more eager to get access to paid jobs than to continue farming. A number of villagers saw themselves as incapable of farming and many people have chosen neither to plant nor to keep livestock.

Apart from agricultural projects there are housing projects that work similarly and create similar responses of local people. Eighty houses were set up by the MLR shortly after independence, but now only the raw materials are provided and local people have to do the construction work themselves. An older Hai//om held that his government is responsible for providing them with proper housing:

*“The government should help us with our houses. (..) Most of the times they only talk, they do not act. (...) I would like help from government to construct my house. (...) [I do not participate in the housing project because I would] have to pay for the petrol there and later you also have to pay those people who construct the house for you. We don’t have money for that. No one helps us with that.” (Interview 1)*

The MLR representative admitted that there was a lack of housing due to a population increase, but blamed a missing initiative of local people for this fact.

*“It is our aim to provide housing for everyone, but that also depends on the effort of the people themselves. They need to participate in the brick production if they want to benefit from it. Some refuse to cooperate (...) Often they do not understand that they will not get everything for free here.” (Interview 40)*

While local people of Tsintsabis held that they were ignored by the MLR, the MLR representative perceived Hai//om and !Kung villagers as underdeveloped people who were unwilling to work.

In contrast to this view, governmental slogans suggest a perspective where all people are seen as equal. SWAPO, the party in power since independence, has claimed Namibian people's "unity in diversity" (Melber 2003a:326) and sees itself in charge of all Namibians, focusing on the Namibian nation. This is underlined by SWAPO's motto "To die a tribe, to be born a nation" (SWAPO 1981). But critics are convinced that though ethnic groups are not officially emphasised, they play a role in Namibian politics. Daniels states:

*"The [Namibian] Constitution prohibits discrimination on grounds of ethnic or tribal affiliation. Nation building and national reconciliation discourages [sic!] the use of 'ethnic', 'tribal' or traditional identities, but in reality, tribal affiliation plays a very prominent role when it comes to the redistribution of wealth and national resources."* (Daniels 2003:48)

Melber strongly criticises the Namibian political elite and points out that the „Namibian identity is (...) defined by those in power along narrow lines of definition and (self-) understanding“ (Melber 2003a:322) and that SWAPO is mainly supported by the ethnic majority of Owambo people. For Melber the independence of Namibia has resulted in

*"(...) a new ruling political elite, operating from the commanding heights and shaped by and based upon the particular context of the post-apartheid societies (...) and, hence, [upon] the constructed or invented new traditions to establish exclusive postcolonial legitimacy of one particular set of social forces."* (Melber 2003b:10)

Giving Bushmen only temporarily extra rights or support through specially designed programmes, eases the way for a government to assimilate them to a majority even though Bushmen might consider themselves as being different from the majority and the only indigenous people of Namibia. In Namibia indigeneness is not attributed to Bushmen alone, but to all black Namibians.<sup>84</sup>

Interestingly, Bushmen have been considered by different ministries as target groups for particular governmental programmes (cf. Hohmann 2003:5), where Bushmen are classified as 'marginal people' who need special attention. Examples are a programme of the Ministry of Basic Education and Culture (MBEC) and the Special Programme for Marginalised People. According to the MBEC "[t]he educationally marginalised children (...) comprise (...) San children (...)" (MBEC 2010). The ministry grants them school meals and

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<sup>84</sup> Many African states, including Namibia, regard "all Africans as indigenous" (UN 2009b).

takes affirmative actions in cooperation with NGOs. The Special Programme for Marginalised People was carried out by Libertine Amadhila, the Namibian Deputy Prime Minister until early 2010, and focuses on the provision of means for so-called marginal people in order to empower them. The programme is financed by state funding and foreign donors, and an important factor is the cooperation between the Namibian government, NGOs, and community-based organisations. It stands in line with the National Development Plan 3 (NDP3), the Vision 2030 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)<sup>85</sup>. One of the key result areas of the NDP3 is the welfare of Bushmen and Himba, and according to the Vision 2030 it is necessary “to improve the quality of life of the people of Namibia to the level of their counterparts in the developed world” (OPM of Namibia 2010). Though the Special Programme for Marginalised People focuses on Bushmen and Himba, the term ‘indigenous people’ is - in contrast to the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues - strictly avoided in favour of the term ‘marginalised people’, which is also used by the UN, meaning the “most vulnerable and extremely poor people” (cf. UN 2009a:1), who according to government officials did not have equal chances during the colonial occupation. The programme has two advantages for the Namibian government: Firstly, it grants access to funds of international donors, who follow the objective to lift up minorities perceived as marginalised indigenous peoples, and who arguably played a part in the design of the Special Programme for Marginalized People. Secondly, the marginal label disguises the ‘indigenous people status’, which is demanded by advocacy groups for Bushmen and Himba. When Bushmen are ascribed a marginalised image, a temporary social and economic identity of disadvantaged and excluded people is created to push ethnic belonging in the background and to emphasise the country’s unity.

A Herero woman residing in Tsintsabis, who had been employed to carry out the programme by teaching sewing to mainly !Kung Bushmen in Bravo, a resettlement area close to Tsintsabis, felt that it was an admirably caring act of the ministry to launch this programme for needy and uneducated people like Bushmen:

*“The deputy prime minister is a good woman, she helps needy people, for example (...) San. (...) People who can neither speak Afrikaans nor English need to be able to earn money through the work with their hands.” (Interview 18)*

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<sup>85</sup> The Vision 2030 transfers global goals of the MDGs to the national perspectives of Namibia, and the NDP is used as a plan to implement the overall goals.

But also the Herero woman criticised that the project was phased out after a short time whereas a Hai//om critic strongly disagreed with the government programme and the Bushmen image created by government officials:

*“Why was this programme not started directly after independence? Why only now? It is only a political programme. What about the practical implementation? The programme only exists on paper. (...) SWAPO always talks about the unity of people of Namibia and then there is a special programme for San and Himba. (...) They feel guilty. Through the programme they try to find an excuse, but no one expresses it. (...) ‘Marginalised people’ is a mindset only. If you use this term, then you try to keep people there where they are. Why don’t they say straightforward that the programme is for Hai//om, Himba etc.? Why do they use the term ‘marginal’? This is only good to attract donors. Namibians exclude us. If it comes to us, they no longer speak about the same people. The marginal image is a picture of how government wants to see us. Yes, and it is a continuity [of the apartheid politics]. People who do call us ‘marginalised’ do not follow this word, it is a mere slogan for them.” (Interview 30)*

According to Saugestad (2001:76) the Namibian government has recognised the need for special programmes for Bushmen because the present government can blame the apartheid regime for any social differences. The government does not seem to consider its own involvement in creating a weak position of Bushmen in the Namibian society. This observation is backed up by Hitchcock and Vinding (2004:19), who line out that the ruling party often does not recognise Bushmen chiefs who have been elected by their people as traditional authorities. If they have obtained official recognition, traditional leaders only have an advisory role in the National Council of Traditional Leaders (cf. Dieckmann 2007:239). The same pattern can be found on the regional level where Bushmen also do not have a say in decisions, but only an advisory role for Bushmen-related issues. And there is currently only one Bushmen, a !Kung member, who has a seat in parliament, the highest political representation.

#### **4.2.4 Views and Approaches in Development Aid for Bushmen**

Due to its small population, Namibia has long been highly ranked on donors’ lists as it was easy to show results here (Interview 65). In executing their programmes, national and foreign NGOs, which respond to the international developmental discourse and the images of Bushmen created by academia and media, have surely influenced their beneficiaries by their principles and their perceptions. Despite new concepts of empowerment and participation of the local people in decision-making processes, it has often been criticised that development assistance involves a top-down approach by creating dependency of locals on the donors, thus making them passive recipients (e.g. Moyo, Ferguson 2010; Dichter 2003).

NGOs, developmental organisations and advocacy groups of Namibian civil society<sup>86</sup> have heavily promoted community-based tourism, especially in the cultural and nature-related tourism sector. A possible motive could be a – through media and science – revived interest in the preservation of minority cultures, which are different from European and North American countries’ cultures and which are in accordance with their “aesthetic preferences”<sup>87</sup> (Robinson, Smith 2006:6). The Namibian government has supported civil society’s efforts through favourable laws and by the Namibia Community Based Tourism Assistance Trust (NACOBTA), a parastatal agency playing a leading role. NACOBTA focuses on the development of local tourism enterprises and was founded in 1995 as an umbrella organisation by local Namibian communities, who wanted to engage in tourism. The organisation’s goal is to “contribute to poverty reduction, the reduction of the income disparity and overall social stability” (NACOBTA 2010). While critical voices from civil society and the tourism sector declared the work of the organisation as inefficient, the MET sees NACOBTA in a more positive light, although admitting some challenges:

*“NACOBTA is important for community-based projects (...). It helps them to access funds and is a kind of a mediator. NACOBTA also supports marketing of the projects and for example visits trade fairs. (...). A (...) challenge for NACOBTA has been its dependency on NGO and donor aid [and](...) if the request for tourism does not come from local communities (...) this means a huge spending on capacity building of the local people and the projects often do not work on the long term (...).”* (Interview 63)

The statement contains two points, which are general concerns for the development assistance sector and which have to be regarded for Tsintsabis and Treesleeper as venues where development assistance takes place. The first point refers to the target groups’ dependency on donor aid and is closely connected to the question of top-down vs. bottom-up approach in development cooperation. The second concern refers to a lack of initiative on the side of local people and alludes to the concept of empowerment of local communities in the development context.

Community-based tourism has especially been fostered in conservancies where local communities have more rights over the use of land than in communal areas resp. on resettlement land, such as Tsintsabis. Despite this obstacle, Treesleeper Camp was built up

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<sup>86</sup> Though in a strict sense civil society should only include institutions that are separated from state and market, I take into account parastatal organisations, too, as they are important players in Namibian community-based tourism.

<sup>87</sup> The fact that Bushmen cultures are part of these ‘aesthetic preferences’ becomes clear if one considers that Bushmen’s rock paintings and engravings in Twyfelfontein have been declared world heritage by the UNESCO in 2007.

with the help of volunteers and has received monetary and professional support from international and Namibian development organisations. This indicates clearly that Treesleeper was and is dependent on their guidelines and principles. Despite the general concept of bottom-up approach in a community-based organisation, the involvement of external NGOs bears the danger of creating top-down structures if the local population acts according to the organisations' plans and if external views and values determine the projects.

LAC, which provides legal advice to the Treesleeper project and other Bushmen projects, cooperates with the advocacy organisation Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA), which focuses on Bushmen people. WIMSA has promoted community-based organisations, especially in conservancies, and has assisted with community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) projects. Despite acknowledging the existence of different Bushmen groups, the organisation regards them as belonging together, which might be helpful in the struggle for indigenous rights. A WIMSA representative pointed out:

*“I would rather describe WIMSA’s work as integrating communities within the bigger economic network. On the long term it is necessary to integrate San into the economic world.”* (Interview 61)

Apart from a common history of Bushmen as being the ‘First People’ in Southern Africa, WIMSA sees as a common denominator in the marginalisation of Bushmen in terms of their livelihoods - i.e. access to land and jobs -, education opportunities, political representation and discrimination against them (cf. WIMSA 2010a). This is consistent with the views of other actors in civil society and with WIMSA’s conviction that Bushmen have to be empowered. In order to fulfil this, the organisation intends “to assist San in gaining access to financial, human resources”, “to support San communities in becoming self-sustainable” and “to support the San in regaining their identity and pride in their cultures” (WIMSA 2010b). Similarly another Namibian NGO, the Namibian Development Trust (NDT), which also has advised Treesleeper, considers Bushmen to be marginalised people in cultural, social and economic terms and has created the slogan ‘Envisaging self-reliant communities’. For a representative of NDT, Bushmen only have a chance if they are empowered with the help of development organisations. He pointed out:

*“San need to be brought up to the par. They need to be integrated and get the skills in order to be able to compete with others. They will stay marginalised if they are not integrated.”* (Interview 60)

And similarly to commercial farmers and Ombili the interviewee argued that

*“San do not have a future thinking. (...) They have been hunters and gatherers and so they just collected the food they needed.” (Interview 60)*

It is not convincing to explain a lacking future perspective by ethnic belonging or by a former way of life, which still has a cultural meaning, but is no longer a survival strategy. If there is a lack of long-term thinking at all among many Bushmen, this could rather have socio-economic reasons. People living in extreme poverty without having access to regular food sources or other means of survival can hardly plan their next day, let alone develop a long-term perspective. This became clear to me when I asked interviewees about their future hopes and often received no answer about their own lives, but about hope for their offspring's lives. Reflecting on my own future ideas as someone who has grown up with sufficient means and access to tertiary education helped me to realise differences between western views and views of local people.

The manager of Treesleeper saw some NGOs' perspectives on Treesleeper and especially WIMSA's approach critically and argued that they were sceptical about grassroots and that they wanted to follow their own concepts. Additionally, he was sure that WIMSA created an ethnic differentiation of Bushmen:

*“In the beginning they [NGOs] were just waiting what happened. They did not believe that Treesleeper could be successful, for example WIMSA. The problem with WIMSA is that it makes too many promises and that Hai//om often think that they prefer the Julhoansi Bushmen<sup>88</sup>.” (Interview 30)*

Interestingly, WIMSA has never funded Treesleeper with monetary means. A representative of the organisation justified this policy:

*“Treesleeper for example does pretty well with funds. This is why WIMSA has not funded Treesleeper heavily, but just supported the project with training workshops.” (Interview 61)*

In contrast to the interviewee's statement that Treesleeper had not been sponsored due to its financially good situation, the Treesleeper representative pointed to a disagreement with the organisation. While some Bushmen groups such as Hai//om in Outjo stood in line with WIMSA (cf. Dieckmann 2007:311), in Tsintsabis some Hai//om and !Kung felt that they were determined by the NGO's instructions, and at the same time they missed support for their own initiatives. Some people criticised WIMSA to be an exclusive organisation for Bushmen as it had reservations about the participation of non-Bushmen in the Treesleeper project.

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<sup>88</sup> Ju/hoansi Bushmen live mainly in the Nyae-Nyae Conservancy, also known as Tsumkwe East, about 300km east of Tsintsabis.

Interestingly, despite his strong critical attitude, the camp manager was offered a job by WISMA. According to him he weighed up his own future with a better-paid job in the offices of WISMA and the future of the campsite and came to the decision to continue with Treesleeper, but thought of leaving in the near future. Whether his concern for Treesleeper was the crucial factor or whether he rather feared that his acceptance in the village would have been challenged, should he have agreed to the job offer, remained unclear, but the situation showed the manager's scope of negotiation for access to jobs. According to Dieckmann, a Hai//om actor's "primary aim [in his/her work for community development] is not – altruistically - the improvement of the situation as experienced by the group, but (...) his/her personal well-being" (2007:326), and "the motivation to devote oneself to work at the grassroots' level decreases" (2007:327) after an actor has got the chance to participate at a higher stage. This stands in contrast to some NGOs' image of Hai//om who are not able to negotiate themselves and puts emphasis on them as active stakeholders, who use their agency to overcome drawbacks (cf. Peluso, Ribot 2003).

While the manager was careful about the involvement of NGOs, other villagers stated clearly that they were in need of development assistance. A twenty-four year-old woman, who had dropped out of school after grade 2 due to family problems, held that

*"[i]f I had my own job, maybe I could change my life. I could have a better life then. But what can I do? I think there should be more assistance for the community, not only for the school. Donors should come and listen to our problems. We have many here! We suffer! I don't have any job and my family just depends on the pension. There is no money. We need money to buy maize meal, cooking oil, sugar. Now we just depend on the food distribution. I also need money for clothes and when the kids are sick, we have to pay the clinic."* (Interview 8)

The young woman depicted – like many other interviewees – an image of extreme dependency on others. This attitude could have to do with my European origin fostering some people's expectations towards help or with my position as a researcher associated to the Treesleeper project, which many people expected support from. Still, the fact that the young woman had stopped working due to the low payment also pointed to an actor who was able to use her position. Though this might not appear understandable for an outsider as it deprived her of an income, she seemed to follow her own agenda and reasoning. Similar to what WISMA, NDT and LAC regard as essential part of Bushmen marginalisation (see WISMA 2004:63-66), a man working as a tractor driver for the agricultural programme of the MLR in Tsintsabis pointed towards the lack of land ownership and the lack of investment resources as reasons for his inability to alter his situation:

*“If people here owned their own land, then they would perhaps be able to change their situation, but there is [also] no money to start with. Government and organisations should provide materials and money for the beginning. People here should have their own land. How can they change their situation like that? Their gardens are destroyed by cattle and there is not enough water. The water pumps are not enough and the water is sometimes salty. We don’t have money. What can we do without land? (...) I could earn money and have a better life with my own land. I would be able to decide myself what to do with my land.” (Interview 7)*

Many statements of Bushmen suggested that they demanded support from NGOs, hoping that they would be able to build up on that. This stands in line with the concept of empowerment and it seems that Bushmen have incorporated this idea of civil society, not least as a means to have access to support and funding. Hence, they use their marginal status and their vulnerability as a means to negotiate upon. It appears that stakeholders of civil society forget that it is not – or not only – their programmes that are meant to empower people, but that it is already the discussion about marginalised people which offers a platform for local actors to negotiate upon and be active participants.

### **4.3 Hai//om’s and !Kung’s Self-Perception**

It is interesting that local people ascribed to themselves that ethnic identity which suited the situation best. For example, the Hai//om belonging was used if working for the Treesleeper project whereas outside of Tsintsabis many presented themselves as Damara or - if they were of mixed origin – as belonging to other groups like a Treesleeper guide whose father was Herero and whose mother was Hai//om<sup>89</sup>. One could argue that they did not use the term ‘Hai//om’ as this group is rather small. But this would not explain why the terms ‘Bushman’ or ‘San’ were not used either<sup>90</sup>. It rather seems that they did not identify with their Bushmen origin due to a lack of other people’s acceptance. A Hai//om man who went to school in Owamboland explained:

*“If local people [author’s remark: other ethnic groups] do not accept us, this makes us (...) vulnerable to western culture and we take it over. (...) When I went to school, that was in Owamboland, I said in my first year that I am a Damara. (...) Damara have a better status. I introduced myself as a Damara because I wanted to escape the feeling that someone could do harm to me as a Bushman. There were psychological factors pushing on me all the time. (...) [I had to] speak Oshivambo because I was in Owamboland. There was a constant subconscious pressure on me.” (Interview 30)*

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<sup>89</sup> As remarked earlier, in Hai//om culture one’s mother’s ethnic group decides about one’s ethnic belonging.

<sup>90</sup> If people of Tsintsabis had to decide between San and Bushmen, they usually preferred the term Bushmen. (cf. Ch. 1.3.2; see also Dieckmann 2007:301)

Hai//om people often described themselves as poor people and they were also convinced that tourists have this image. When comparing themselves to tourists, I was often told, “they are rich and we are poor” (cf. fieldnotes 2009-08-15), but also in comparison with members of other ethnic groups they declared themselves far less well-off. Historical facts, such as the eviction from Etosha, and other people’s view of them, e.g. the SADF’s or commercial farmers’ perspectives, might have contributed to this feeling. Their current economic and social status in Namibia has contributed to a marginal image of Hai//om among themselves. The same is true for !Kung, which became obvious when an old !Kung stated:

*“I do not see that we will have a good future, we are poor. Others are rich, but not !Kung.”* (Interview 21)

Many Hai//om seemed sure that their people do not have enough patience to develop a business of their own. This is an opinion that I often heard in interviews with government officials and Owambos and also Hai//om themselves stated that their people “who are used to instant food do not have patience to wait until they can harvest “ (Interview 30) because their foraging lifestyle had not taught them farming, but only hunting and gathering. This could either mean that they had adopted other people’s perspective or that they demanded others’ attention to their specific need, feeling that their culture was not respected by outsiders. Hai//om and !Kung also claimed that they were not capable of leadership and that they were not able to compete with others. This explains why many were afraid of newcomers moving to Tsintsabis.<sup>91</sup>

*“Other people say sometimes that we make the Owambo rich because nearly none of the shops is run by (... ) Hai//om, but by Kavango, Owambo and Herero. It is not as if we do not have anything to do. Hai//om want to work for someone else. They are people who do not care about their own life.”* (Interview 34)

An elderly Hai//om also stated that he had appreciated to work for an employer as long as he was able to use his hands and man power:

*“The Boers were very closely connected and lent and borrowed workers. I did not have any bad feeling about this (...). I was young and the work was hard, but I was strong and earned money.”* (Interview 2)

I propose that the self-perception of Bushmen in Tsintsabis was strongly influenced by people who they often encountered. This holds valid especially for the influence of people who positioned themselves as superior to Bushmen, e.g. commercial white farmers. A certain

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<sup>91</sup> For a more detailed outline see Ch. 2.3.1 and 2.5.2.

number of Hai//om and !Kung in Tsintsabis had even incorporated in their self-image the white commercial farmers' view that Bushmen need to develop, and ascribed to whites the ability to solve problems and fulfil local people's needs. Also interviewees' comparisons of Bushmen with members of other ethnic groups pointed to the fact that they had taken over the views of others. A young Hai//om woman, whose husband was from the Kavango area, pointed out:

*“Hai//om and Kavango are different. Kavango can build their house even though they might be poor. They can cut grass and collect the materials to build a house. They can still make money out of nothing, for example they can plant mahangu [author's remark: pearl millet] and then produce tombo. For Hai//om money is important, but they don't work hard and they do not farm. Hai//om are poor.”* (Interview 5)

It was obvious that the interviewee did not have a high appreciation of people of her origin and followed her husband's opinion who expressed similar views in an informal talk. The fact that Bushmen in Tsintsabis often took over others people's views means that they looked at themselves from a third person perspective, thus 'othering' themselves.

As a matter of fact, formal education has not long been introduced in Tsintsabis and only very few Hai//om and !Kung in Tsintsabis have completed school up to grade 12. These individuals with a relatively high level of formal education tended to be critical towards their own people and claimed that they lack an overview of their own issues. They were convinced that only formal education was a way out of Hai//om's and !Kung's negative self-perception and of other people's negative view on them. Here they seemed to follow actors of civil society who believe that education leads to more self-esteem and is a way out of marginalisation.

Interviewees connected the term 'culture' immediately with their customs and former ways of life. While some regarded Bushmen culture as obsolete and belonging to the past, others had learned to see it as a source of knowledge which was still useful. Those regarded culture as a means to generate income, for example by dance performances for tourists (cf. Ch.5.3), and wanted to use access to cultural knowledge to negotiate their position. In the end this might lead to a better self-perception or can at least be a useful tool to overcome social and economic obstacles and disadvantages.

A Hai//om man in his twenties, who had schooled up to grade 10 and had worked in different areas of Namibia, argued that cultural knowledge was still useful but feared that most Hai//om did not share his pride of their culture and did not show self-esteem, not least because other ethnic groups had long downplayed Hai//om. He held:

*“It is good and at the same time bad to be a Hai//om. I know how to survive in the bush, I know which plants I can eat and which not. I can survive in the bush because of my culture. (...) Hai//om do not dare to stand up [against others] or to go even to a corruption court. They might complain, but they will not dare to say it in public. If we had more self-confidence we could make our own medicines and use our healing methods. People here should use their knowledge!” (Interview 36)*

Especially people who had a rather high school education saw a value in Bushmen knowledge and put emphasis on their pride of their culture. The manager pointed out:

*“It was my choice to work for Treesleeper because I like that it is about cultural issues, that is the most important for me. I am proud to be part of the organisation and I am proud of my own culture.” (Interview 30)*

Well educated people also stressed that all people are equal and by this they seemingly wanted to compensate for the rather inferior image that a lot of Hai//om and !Kung people in Tsintsabis had of themselves (cf. Interview 20).

While Hai//om and !Kung are vulnerable because of their marginal status, their status also offers access to resources. This can be a powerful means for Bushmen when they apply for funds and support of civil society. Dieckmann argues that linking marginality to the indigenous label can become an even more powerful tool in accessing funds (cf. Dieckmann 2007:305). In this line Malkki stated:

*“Like ‘the wildlife’, the indigenous are an object of enquiry and imagination not only for the anthropologist but also for the naturalist, the environmentalist, and the tourist.” (Malkki 1992:30)*

According to Dieckmann (2007:305-307; see also Hitchcock, Vinding 2004) the marginal image combined with the indigenous image can offer chances for Hai//om and !Kung so that they could change from “objects of enquiry and imagination“ to active contributors to the indigenous and marginal depiction (cf. Peluso, Ribot 2003) by forming an indigenous movement together with other Bushmen people. Still, using the images as a tool to access funds is not a panacea, as it could also imply power struggles for the lead in a Bushmen movement. And in a setting like Tsintsabis with different ethnic groups it could even contribute to new hostilities.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

The purpose of this chapter was to scrutinise whether the continually created images of (Hai//om and !Kung) Bushmen show similarities and whether there are dynamics of change in the perceptions of Bushmen over a period of time.

In the beginning of the colonial period Bushmen had been perceived as racially inferior. This however changed when anthropologists developed the view of a ‘pristine’ and primitive people living in harmony with nature. Gordon sees a reason for the image change “more [in the] increased alienation/urbanization (...) of the writer than (...) [in] the actual situation” (Gordon 1992:219). However, by romanticising and creating a utopia of Bushmen’s harmonious life, researchers contributed to ‘othering’ them. With the help of the media the pristine Bushmen image was eagerly taken up by a wide western audience. Later, a more self-reflective approach made researchers realise their own involvement in image creation and led to perceiving Bushmen as actors who use their means in a pragmatic way. After anthropologists had changed from a negative to a positive perception of Bushmen as rather passive subjects under research, they now recognise Bushmen as active stakeholders. However, I claim that often Bushmen are still perceived as being ‘the other’ and not as being part of people like ‘us’.

At least until independence “stereotypes [of Bushmen’s backwardness and racial inferiority] held by farmers (...) have not changed that much” as the images of anthropologists (Gordon 1992:219). Bushmen were regarded as remnants of the past though more or less suitable as workforce. Today commercial farmers often still perceive Bushmen as undeveloped and inferior to themselves but at the same time take sides for Bushmen within their fundamental criticism of the present government.

With the change in the political system the government’s attitude towards Bushmen altered from the colonial perception of unequal, racially inferior beings, who would become extinct in the near future, to a proclaimed equalisation of Bushmen and others.

The colonial administration had deprived Hai//om (and other Bushmen) more and more of their rights resulting in Hai//om’s eviction from Etosha and their being forced into farm work. SADF soldiers had perceived Bushmen as inferior, had ascribed to Bushmen traits of brutality and had described them as distinct from other groups. Since independence the Namibian government has run different programmes to foster Bushmen groups, in specific with the objective to have them develop equal to other Namibians, but – in order to avoid the term indigenous – these programmes use the blurred term ‘marginalised people’ for Bushmen, thus again attaching an inferior image to them. By this the Namibian government might intend to guarantee access to funds of international – predominantly western – donors, who follow the marginal and indigenous image of Bushmen, i.e. the perception of pristine and exotic but needy people as testified by (western) academia and popularised through media.

Organisations of Namibian civil society are strongly influenced by western thinking and follow this perception of Bushmen

As a result of the marginal image attached to Bushmen by the different external stakeholders, many Hai//om and !Kung in Tsintsabis have taken up this image in their self-perception and compare the status of others to their own economic and social position, concluding that they are at the margin of society. They 'other' themselves, whereas those with a better formal education are re-active towards the image of marginality, in which they see the reason for Bushmen's inability to overcome their real marginal position. They try to act on others' images that are beneficial to them like that of a valuable Bushmen culture<sup>92</sup>.

It has been shown that marginalisation cannot be understood in a pure economic or ethnic sense, but that it also has to do with image creation. "[I]n terms of education, employment, access to resources, land tenure and political representation, they [author's remark: Hai//om] are today one of the most marginalised communities in southern Africa" (Dieckmann 2009:3). However, despite their marginal status they should not be seen as people who need to be uplifted and guided, but rather as actors who are able to negotiate on their position.

Similar to Lee (1986) and Hitchcock and Vinding (2004), who argue in favour of a united Bushmen movement, Dieckmann holds that a "comprehensive southern African 'San' image [would allow Bushmen] (...) to become part of the global indigenous peoples' movement" (Dieckmann 2007:306) and that the indigenous image could be used by Bushmen as a tool, in other words as an identity-based access mechanism (Peluso, Ribot 2003:171), to overcome the marginal status. Indeed, this tool could be effective to gain donor support, however the idea of a comprehensive approach is also problematic. At least Hai//om and !Kung in Tsintsabis usually do not regard themselves as belonging to a 'Bushmen community', but to their specific group of people, and the fact that so far Hai//om do not rank themselves among a broad and common group of Bushmen is confirmed by Dieckmann (2007:306) also for Hai//om in Outjo.<sup>93</sup>

Furthermore, the indigenous peoples' movement excludes those who are not considered members of the indigenous group, and this principle can easily lead to conflicts

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<sup>92</sup> According to van Vuuren (2009) other groups who are attributed the indigenous image follow a similar discourse. For example Native Americans, who are perceived to handle their environment sustainably, also argue along the line of international donors.

<sup>93</sup> After a common Bushmen group had been created on the basis of anthropologically incorrect research and assumptions, more recent research (cf. Barnard 1992) shows that there are distinctions between Bushmen groups. The !Kung and Hai//om languages for example are very distant from each other, as Hai//om belong to the Khoe speakers and !Kung to the non-Khoe speakers. (cf. Ch. 1.3.2)

between members and non-members. In a setting like Tsintsabis, where many Hai//om and !Kung are of mixed origin, it is hard to draw a line between those who are considered Bushmen and those who are not. It was shown for the Treesleeper project that it does not follow the concept of a common Bushmen identity, and the manager even got into dispute with WIMSA because Treesleeper is a community-based project for Tsintsabis and not solely focused on Bushmen and their concerns.

The two approaches of Treesleeper, the empowerment of ideally all local people and the awareness creation of !Kung and Hai//om culture, can get in a trade-off in Tsintsabis, a village of different people. This will be further discussed in the final conclusion(cf. Ch.6.2).

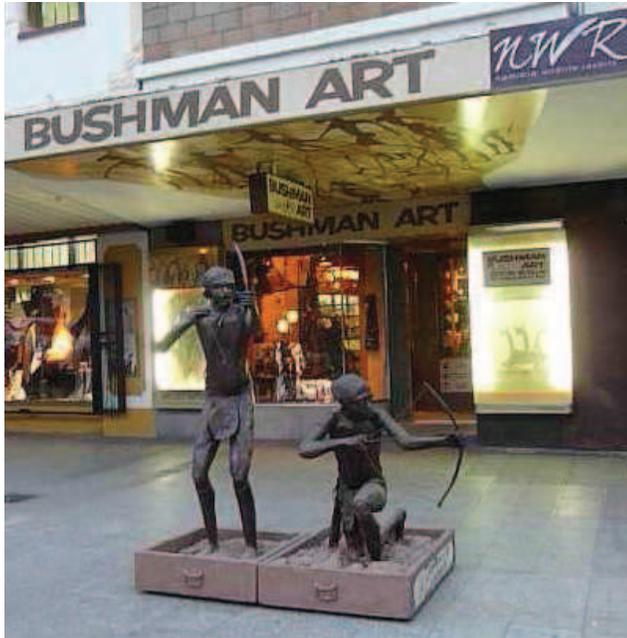
# 5 Treesleeper's Impact on the Perception and Self-perception of Bushmen

## 5.1 Introduction

Bushmen are interesting for cultural tourism, which is not least influenced by external stakeholders' image of them. While the focus in chapter 4 was on the changes in the perception and self-perception of Bushmen, this chapter will focus on the effects of these images on tourists' expectations of Bushmen and on Treesleepers' depiction of Bushmen. I will elaborate on tourists' and locals' contributions to Treesleeper's host-guest-encounter and analyse the influence of the encounter on the perception and self-perception of Bushmen.

Tourists expect Treesleeper's presentations of Bushmen's life and culture to be authentic, i.e. to be in accordance with facts or to be a painstaking imitation of reality. But what they perceive as authentic is their own construct, thus authenticity is rather related to the expectations of an observer making the objectivity of the attributed 'authenticity' questionable. The tourists' label authentic is based on the pre-image of the other with regard to themselves. Many tourists have an image of an "unspoiled, pristine, genuine, untouched and traditional" (Handler 1986:2) Bushmen culture and people. Their "quest for otherness, for the exotic, for the authentic (...) makes indigenous, ethnic, tribal, or traditional peoples attractive to tourists" (Olsen 2008:163).

Within cultural tourism circles it is often discussed to what extent local people have to fulfil the desires and expectations of tourists. The tourism industry predominantly uses popular images to appeal to them, in other words it intends to accommodate its customers. According to many tour operators, tourists wish to get in touch with local people, want to know about Namibian history and cultures, and seek to make experiences that are new to them and at the same time do not frighten them by their strangeness (cf. van Beek 2007). Hence, tourists are usually presented cultural performances, artefacts, settings and events that are adapted to their needs and expectations (cf. Figure 9). All these presentations are parts of tourist bubbles, which can be more permeable if tourists make experiences that allow them to get closer to their hosts, i.e. to get behind the frontstage (cf. MacCannell 1976), and less permeable if the distance between hosts and guests is kept through arrangements for guests.



**Figure 9: Curious shop for Bushmen artefacts in Windhoek; photo taken 2010-05-16**

As a tourism provider the Treesleeper project also presents images of Bushmen. This becomes clear by its slogan “Welcome to Treesleeper Camp! Your cultural experience in the African bush” (Treesleeper Camp 2010). On the one hand Treesleeper is an economic endeavour, developed for tourists and adapted to tourists’ desires, but on the other hand it is a development project intending to present a complex image of Hai//om’s past and contemporary way of life. However, what hosts present to tourists and the way in which tourists react could differ from the intended effects of the project. Thus the local guides of Treesleeper and the local families, who are visited during the village walk or dance during the traditional performance, play an important role in the host-guest-encounter.

For a comprehensive view on the images created through the cultural tourism project Treesleeper, the hosts’ and guests’ motivations for and contributions to their encounter should be considered. I will glance at the different activities as a meeting point of tourists and their hosts and as a realisation of the Treesleeper concept. The three activities are the bushwalk, where only the guide and the participants encounter, the traditional dance, where hosts perform for tourists, and the village walk, where tourists visit local families. These offers are not equally requested by tourists. The majority of Treesleeper’s visitors (ca. 80%) participate

in the bushwalk, ca. 50% take part in the village walk and ca. 40% book the traditional dancing<sup>94</sup>.

## **5.2 Bushwalk at Treesleeper: An Encounter between Bushmen's Pride of their Past and Tourists' Image of Bushmen**

The bushwalk is the activity that tourists book the most, and staff members regard it as the best offer. One of the guides lined out:

*“For the bushwalk I can say that there is no problem with it, the explanations about plants and way of life fit with the former use of plants and way of life. It includes nearly everything [what was] (...) important for Hai//om.”* (Interview 31)

The tourist groups, which consist of up to twenty participants, are taken on a winding path with ca. fifteen informative stops installed on Treesleeper’s premises. Usually the walk takes place in the morning for about two hours, during which the guide explains about fauna and flora and their use for food supply and for medical and hunting purposes.

After some stops where the guide presents plants whose attributes were especially important for Bushmen, he demonstrates how to set up a snare trap for guinea fowls and at the same time gives explanations. Imitating the bird being trapped, while comparing foraging lifestyle with Bushmen’s current lifestyle, the guide is performer and mediator at the same time. With the guide constantly interacting with his audience on a mediating level, the performance does not separate the audience and its guide as the fire-making at the end of the bushwalk does.

Apart from the snare for birds, tourists are also shown traps for bigger animals, such as antelopes, which according to the guide were more common in the Kalahari area, while it was unusual for Hai//om to set up these traps. This might not matter for tourists’ perception of Bushmen authenticity if they do not distinguish between different Bushmen groups. And even though the focus of the project is on Hai//om, the homepage promises a more general image by stating that the participants “will get a deeper understanding of the relationship that the Bushmen people used to have (and still sometimes have) with nature” (Treesleeper 2010b). Thus, Treesleeper’s broad presentation of Hai//om culture can be called authentic, especially as the guide hints at differences between Hai//om and other Bushmen.<sup>95</sup>

Michael, one of the guides, explained the content of the walk:

*“The walk is (...) about the old lifestyle and nearly everything about the traditions is included. It is about hunting, gathering and tracking. I think it is good that we wear*

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<sup>94</sup> The price of the activities is between 120 and 150 NS (ca. 12-15€) p.p. with the traditional dance being the most expensive activity. The minimum number of participants is two for the bushwalk and the village walk and four for the traditional dance.

*traditional outfits at the end as a kind of surprise for tourists. They don't know that before. I introduce this usually with 'At the end you are going to meet my twin brother, Michael II.'*" (Interview 34)

By preparing the participants for a meeting with another person, the guide distances himself from the role he will play at the end of the bushwalk (cf. Figure 10). He wants to draw tourists' attention to the fact that the fire-making will be a pure performance, not exercised in the contemporary life of Bushmen. Thus he intends to avoid an image creation of Bushmen still living a life close to nature. However, the pure demonstration of the fire-making in a "traditional" setting with the guide dressed in loincloth might rather stay in tourists' minds and possibly reinforce some tourists' image of pristine Bushmen.

Interestingly, there were differences in tourists' reactions when they observed the fire-



**Figure 10: Fire-making demonstration at the end of the bushwalk, Treesleeper Campsite, photo taken 2009-08-14**

making. Self-drive travellers usually tried to communicate with the guide, asking him questions about his actions. By attempting to keep the relation on the same level as during the bushwalk when the guide gave explanations, tourists intended to stay connected with the guide as bridging the gap between them and the culture presented to them. Other self-drive tourists became very calm, trying to look

around, as if they did not want to 'gaze' at the performer in his loincloth, and they did not dare to make photos of him

though they had before. Their reaction could have to do with their sought image of a Bushman, an image that the guide had confirmed during the first part of the walk. They apparently expected someone being proud of his foraging culture, but usually living a 'modern' life. This image could have to do with their ideal that someone managed the

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<sup>95</sup> Some local guest farm owners claimed the right to determine what and who is a real respectively not a real Bushman and commented on people of Tsintsabis: "They are no real Bushmen!" (Interview 55). Following the farmers, a mixed ethnic origin makes people unable to keep cultural knowledge because they are exposed to different cultural systems. As a consequence the farmers did not regard the Treesleeper guides as capable of presenting Bushmen culture to tourists. Instead, someone who – in their view – has a deeper knowledge about these topics should engage in cultural tourism of Bushmen, for example local commercial white farmers who grew up with Bushmen. (cf. Interview 57)

balancing act between western ‘modernity’ and his own cultural origin, that is not part of tourists’ everyday life. The guide’s change from a mediator to his “twin brother” (Interview 34) in loincloth seemed to surprise them and to make them look for a new orientation because their image of the guide as a ‘modern’ representative of Bushmen was different from what they experienced during the fire-making demonstration.

In contrast to individual tourists, guided tourist groups rather took pictures and looked at the performer’s efforts in fire-making. While I was waiting for the performance with a group of French tourists, one of them pointed out, “This is why we booked the bushwalk. Our tour guide told us that there will be some traditional fire-making in the end.” (fieldnotes 2009-08-14) And another tour participant started to imitate a dancer of the traditional performance the group had seen the night before, by moving his buttocks and scuffing his feet.<sup>96</sup> The fire-making performance with the guide wearing loincloth seemed to confirm these tourists’ expectations of exoticism and thus confirmed their image of ‘the other’, of someone distant and different from themselves. Obviously the fire-making performance represents a less permeable part of the bushwalk because before the guide rather got in personal contact with the tourists. For instance, one of the guides told tourists about his childhood on a farm close to Etosha and another was open to answer tourists’ questions about his family situation (fieldnotes 2009-11-23 and 2009-12-05).

When I asked about tourists’ impressions directly after the bushwalk, it became clear again that there were differences between groups and self-drivers. The group participants were usually amazed by the fire-making performance and desired more offers of this kind, whereas self-drivers tended to question the sense of such a performance, but felt that the information given during the bushwalk was very interesting (fieldnotes 2009-12-03). I do not attempt to follow a positivistic approach and engage in tourist typologies (cf. Smith 1977; Urry 1990; Cohen, Taylor 1976), which can be predetermining and rigid because they can construct stereotypes of hosts and guests and do not pay attention to the individuals’ reasons to travel. Nonetheless, a statement about self-drivers and guided travel groups should be made. The self-drivers, who were generally well informed visitors and had partly travelled to Namibia before, seemed to be more interested in the background of people and tried to access the backstage of the ‘other’, who they sought to get closer to. In contrast, group travellers, who – according to some tour operators (cf. Interview 49) - often travelled to an African

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<sup>96</sup> For me as someone who stayed in the village and knew the guide, this behaviour created a feeling of embarrassment (cf. fieldnotes 2009-08-14). Being part of a tourist group and having developed a relationship with the local people can create a conflict for the researcher.

country for the first time and were “not prepared well” (Interview 50), seemed to be more interested in what they were presented and in experiencing something unknown (cf. Enevoldsen 2003: 498) than in penetrating the tourist bubble and in finding out about the background of their hosts. This might be due to expectations triggered by the tour guides’ explanations and the tour operators’ brochures.

“In meeting the other [in a tourism setting], one sees oneself either in shared aspects, or in the opposites.” (van Beek 2007:168). Some tourists, who desired information and explanations of the guide, obviously experienced closeness to him. They sought for a person who was proud of his past and able to mediate and to make use of his heritage knowledge. A German self-drive tourist in his sixties commented:

*“I found the bushwalk very well prepared and instructive, holding a lot of background knowledge of the Bushmen traditions. People here can still gain something from their culture.”*(Tourist JJ)

Another German tourist perceived the guide as a good mediator of his culture:

*“I think it is good that tourists first get to know the guide in staff clothes and that the same person changes into a person wearing skin clothes afterwards. This shows that he does not only know about the culture, but that he also identifies with it.”* (Interview 45)

In contrast to that other tourists, for instance the tourist who imitated the traditional dance, seemed to find a confirmation of their pristine Bushmen image, an image of the ‘other’ that is based on differences between oneself and one’s opposite. In the same line I see tourists who were very astonished to learn that Bushmen in Tsintsabis do not hunt regularly anymore, and if so, only small animals (cf. Interview 35).

At several stops during the bushwalk, the tourists were supposed to take over an active part. After the guide demanded tourists to help him identify animal tracks printed in concrete, he pointed out the importance of track reading for survival. Even though the guide carefully explained about the history of Etosha eviction during the bushwalk, the animal tracks were not taken as an opportunity to inform about Hai//om and other Bushmen who had been drawn into the SADF service to track SWAPO fighter (cf. Ch 4.2.3). The reason might be that the Treesleeper guide did not want to create a negative image of Bushmen by connecting them with the apartheid regime, but tended to foster the image of people living in pride of their past or tried to avoid moralising discussions, bearing in mind that tourists were on holiday.

Guides perceived the walk to be more about the foraging lifestyle in the past, but used the activity to connect the foraging practice with the present. A guide commented on hunting:

“Today hunting is no longer possible (...). If hunting was still possible, there would not be so many quarrels between people, they would be distracted by hunting. The only thing that is still possible is to hunt small animals. I sometimes still hunt with wires and make traps for guinea fowls.<sup>97</sup>” (Interview 35)

And the same guide explained about the meaning of the bushwalk:

“It is good that we tell people about our culture and past. That is something visitors do not know. We tell them about how life in the past was like. We talk about hunting animals and gathering plants and tell them how the bush looked like. It is more about the past, but we also tell them about today.” (Interview 35)

The fact that the activity is mainly about past life, but also explains about current habits, can be illustrated by the example of termite collection. During the bushwalk the guide demonstrated how Hai//om used to collect termites, luring them by darkness in absolute silence with a fire lit close to a termite hill. Termites were a protein source for foraging



**Figure 11: Women collect termites at a shebeen, Tsintsabis (photo taken 2009-10-30)**

people, but could only be collected after heavy rain falls for a very short period of time. Today there are some people in Tsintsabis who find termites repulsive, but others still practise termite collecting, and many people eat them if they are available. In the centre of Tsintsabis I once observed women collecting termites that were attracted by the electric lights of one of the *shebeens* (cf. Figure 11). The termite flight was obviously something special for the villagers because a whole crowd of people were looking at the termites and were talking about the event the next days. This showed that

termite collection was a part of villagers’ life and not an obsolete custom preserved for a tourist activity, though the means used for the food gathering had been adapted.

A similar statement can be made about *biltong* (dried meat). According to the guide’s explanation during the bushwalk, meat was dried in trees for several days after a successful

<sup>97</sup> Hunting in the resettlement area and on surrounding private land is forbidden by law.

hunt to prevent predators to access it. Now *biltong* is also sold in supermarkets, but people in Tsintsabis often make their own by drying meat outside. This can be meat that was bought or meat of a(n) (illegally) hunted or slaughtered animal. It becomes clear that some features that are presented as part of the former foraging lifestyle during the bushwalk, the frontstage, are still relevant for villagers' life, the backstage, though in a different form. This allows the guide to fulfil tourists' desire for the 'other', while still being able to explain that Hai//om cultural heritage has relevance for present-day life, thus emphasising the pride of cultural knowledge.

Bushwalks, like that of Treesleeper, are also offered by other cultural tourism projects, which were supported by donors and NGOs, following similar approaches for developing projects<sup>98</sup>. Thus the tourism activities and the image they present do not only depend on hosts and guests, but were also influenced by external stakeholders of civil society, often European based organisations. No surprise that different tourism projects have the goal to create awareness of Bushmen cultures and try to contribute to an image of Bushmen as identifying with their culture and managing to bridge between their current and their foraging life. The similarities in bushwalk activities also depend on the model character of the first projects, e.g. Dqãe Qare Game Farm<sup>99</sup>, which is close to D'kar and Ghanzi, Botswana.

### **Box 5.1: Bushwalk at Dqãe Qare Game Farm during a Stay on 2009-09-16**

*Short introduction:*

The bushwalk of Dqãe Qare Game Farm lasts between 1 and 2 hours, depending on the interest of guests. The activity takes place on the premises of the farm, an area of ca. 50km<sup>2</sup>, and during the walk the guide, a member of Naro Bushmen<sup>100</sup>, explains about fauna and flora including plants used for healing and for poisoning arrows.

*Participant observation during bushwalk:*

In contrast to Treesleeper's activity, the group does not walk along a special path, but across the grassland of the farm. While the guide, dressed in jeans and T-Shirt, starts to explain about general facts, e.g. hunting practice, he suddenly stops without prior notice, points to a long leafed plant and starts to explain about the *sansevieria* (bowstring hemp), which is also shown during the walk at Treesleeper camp. Still, talking about the multiple use of the *sansevieria* for healing purpose and rope production, the guide goes on walking, but interrupts his explanations by pointing to a tree with wild bees and continues with the description of honey collection. Also the next steps depend on the kind of plants and animals discovered at the very moment of the walk.

<sup>98</sup> There are even handbooks on community and cultural tourism projects, e.g. the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) report on projects in Botswana. (cf. Rozemeijer 2001)

<sup>99</sup> The project is of the Kuru-Kuru Development Trust, a Bushmen organisation in Botswana.

<sup>100</sup> Naro are a Bushmen group living in the Ghanzi district of Botswana and in eastern Namibia, speaking a Khoe-language.

Tourists can get the impression that the guide is not prepared for the walk. Indeed, he acknowledges that it is always something else that he shows to tourists:

*A: "Each time I go with the guests to a different place, so there is no prepared path. I also show them different plants. This is similar to how I learned about the plants."*

*Q: "Who did you get your knowledge about the plants from?"*

*A: "When I was staying with my grandmother in D'kar, she took me out in the bush and explained the plants to me. We never knew what we would find." (Interview 54)*

On the one hand the fact that the activity is not planned in detail bears the danger that participants might become disappointed in case the guide does not manage to communicate well the actual natural setting to tourists. But if, on the other hand, the guide is able to mediate, his spontaneity - based on his knowledge about culture and nature - offers the chance that the bushwalk appears authentic to tourists, possibly resembling their image of how Bushmen gathered plants and tracked animals.

At the end of the bushwalk the guide asks the participants to pronounce a click in Naro language, but tourists' attempts are not successful. He then gives each of them small seeds to put into their mouths without swallowing. The guide explains that everyone will be able to pronounce a click if the participants remain calm and believe in their ability. After a few minutes of silence, we hear a sound as if someone is clicking with his tongue and further clicks follow. The seeds have opened in the mouths due to the saliva. The participants react with laughter. (fieldnotes 2009-10-16)

While participants, apart from those moments when they ask questions, are rather passive spectators during the bushwalk, they become active in the very end with the click-production. The uncertainty of what will happen before the seeds burst, might trigger the curiosity of tourists. At the same time the knowledge of the guide as a representative of Naro is demonstrated. This contributes to the image that (Naro) Bushmen "face the challenge of living in today's world without completely losing (...) [their] culture" (Kuru Craft 2010).

In both tourism places the bushwalk depends on the guide's mediation and the interaction between him and the tourists.

While the bushwalk at Dq̄e Qare Game Farm appeared rather unorganised, Treesleeper's walk was more planned. This and the fact that the guide of Treesleeper dressed up at the end of the walk underlined the performance character of the Treesleeper activity. This can be very accessible for tourists because they do not have to imagine different settings, but are provided with presentations. The guide might also find it easier to communicate about the foraging lifestyle if there is illustrative material already installed. However, tourists who seek a new experience might rather look for something unknown and unplanned like the walk at Dq̄e Qare Game Farm. And impressed by the skills of the guide, tourists might gain the impression that many Bushmen still gather plants, though this is only the case for very few people in D'kar (cf. Interview 62). The fact that Treesleeper rather offers a kind of performance could help to explain that most practices were relevant in foragers' life, but are

seldom and/or differently used today, though food gathering and healing still plays a part in Tsintsabis.

### **5.3 Traditional Performance at Treesleeper: Bushmen's Contributions to the Dance and Tourists' Expectations of the Dance**

The traditional dance takes place in the evening for 45 to 90 minutes, depending on the questions asked by the audience, and consists of four to twenty people. Usually the participating tourists meet their guide, who is equipped with a burning torch, at the reception of the campsite and are taken on a five minutes' walk to the setting of the performance. It is the place where the fire-making is demonstrated at the end of the bushwalk (cf. Figure 3 in Ch.1.4.1).

The traditional dancing is the performance where the staged character of the Treesleeper activities can be best explained. Tourists, the audience, sit on tree trunks and are separated from the ca. ten performers through a campfire. Though the traditional dance as well as the other activities are primarily meant to present Hai//om culture (cf. Treesleeper 2010), the performers were of (mixed) !Kung origin during the research period. During the songs the guide, who has the role of a mediator (cf. Smith 2001:199; Cohen 1985), sits at one end of the tourist group and stands up when he gives explanations about the performance. He first explains about three song categories, i.e. songs of happiness, ancestral songs and songs for initiation rites. The first category was usually sung when hunters returned successfully from a hunting trip, while the ancestral songs were used for healing purposes and only sung by the respective medicine man when he wanted to get in contact with his forefathers. The last category was sung when a young man became a traditional healer and when a girl became a woman, i.e. after her first menstruation. Today these songs are seldom sung beyond the performance. During all songs the male performers sing and dance in a circle around the fire, while the majority, women, only sing and clap the rhythm with wooden boards.

During the performance there is a spatial separation between performers and audience, which is only interrupted when an elderly man, who is accepted as traditional healer among villagers, uses his feather to brush over tourists' faces during the healing songs. This is meant to welcome guests and wash away sins. At least physically there arises a closer relation between hosts and guests. Whether this is also the case in the minds of people is quite a different question. A self-drive tourist remarked about the traditional dance:

*“The distance was very big (...) the fire added to the distance. The only break of the distance was when the healer came with his feather brush. (...) I did not want him to*

*get close to me. I wanted to keep the distance. The other guests felt the same: they accepted the touching of their faces with the feather, but with disgust.”* (Interview 45)

While the traditional healer was brushing over the faces, some tourists looked scared as if they did not know what to expect. A Namibian tourist even remarked:

*“I was afraid to be there. I could not believe of how it was done. Usually it was done in secret. Originally you could only hear it. I heard that they were using magic and that some San turned into lions or other wild animals.”* (Interview 44)

The statements portray that the two self-drive travellers felt a distance between themselves and the performers. In contrast to that a French tourist, a group traveller, did not express any sign of fear or disgust, but rather demanded a more vivid performance:

*“I mean I really liked that there were so many people dancing and singing, but they should not only stand still and sing. The women should also dance and move and not only clap hands and they should use more beats!”*(fieldnotes 2009-08-20)

Some tourists, who felt bored by the traditional dance and perhaps even perceived performers as disinterested and listless, remarked that the songs sounded too monotonous and that instruments were missing. Indeed, the songs were sung in a similar rhythm and a similarly high pitch of the voices and the only instruments used were wooden bricks for the women clapping the rhythm and shells around men’s ankles. As tourists could not understand the text of the songs, they focused on the other elements in order to distinguish the songs. Similar to the French tourist, other tourists even demanded drums to be included. It seems that they expected Bushmen dances to be rather lively and performers to interact with the audience. A possible reason could be that they recreated the image of colourful and vivid African cultures as popularised through media and transferred this to Bushmen.

Despite the different perceptions of the dance performance, self-drive tourists and group travellers, both, obviously had a problem making sense of the dance performance, expressed in a feeling of distance on the part of the self-drivers and in disappointment on the part of the group travellers. In other words, the performance did not seem to match their Bushmen images (cf. Enevoldsen 2003:494).

According to Treesleeper’s homepage, the “traditional performance by Bushmen is something magic” (Treesleeper Camp 2010). This indeed might contribute to an image of the (exotic and unknown) ‘other’, the point of sale for tourists who seek to see ‘pristine’ Bushmen, and might create the impression that outsiders cannot fully understand the sense of the dances.

At the same time it is Treesleeper's intention that participants "learn about the ritual dances and ceremonies and its meanings" (Treesleeper Camp 2010). This is in line with Treesleeper's goal to create awareness for Hai//om culture and demands the guide to bring closer the meaning to tourists. The attempt to combine the demands of some tourists, who seek to see 'pristine' Bushmen, and the opposing objective of Treesleeper to bring Hai//om's contemporary culture closer to tourists became clear in the camp manager's statement, who did not want the guides "to create an image as if (...) [Hai//om] were still dressed in traditional outfits, "but justified the use of loincloth during the traditional dance because "there (...) [the performers] show how Hai//om people lived in the past. (...) [I]t is a show about tradition, so some tourists are keen to see people dressed in traditional clothes." (Interview 30)

At least half of the tourists who I encountered during my participations in five traditional dances were surprised when I told them that the performing group consisted of the village tour-families, and nearly all, groups and self-drivers alike, did not recognise the people they had met during the day. The reason could be the night's darkness, when faces are not easily recognisable, or the fact that the two male dancers and some female singers wore skin clothes<sup>101</sup>. Still, four to five of the eight female performers wore their daily outfit consisting of a T-shirt and jeans or a skirt.

Especially individually travelling tourists preferred the performers in their daily dress. Asked about his impressions of the dance, a Dutch tourist in his twenties pointed out:

*"Everything was different from my expectations. Yes, I expected them to dance, but I thought I would get more explanations and I also did not want them to wear these clothes. They have to walk around like foraging people. Ok, it is not like what I heard about this museum<sup>102</sup> where all Bushmen walk around the whole day as if they were living like thousands of years ago and as if nothing had changed. But really it reminded me of that and it makes these performers here so distant. They don't look proud, but poor. They become objects performing for us tourists. That makes me sad. I really don't want to see them like that, I don't want to stare at them. They don't seem to be comfortable with what they are doing." (Interview 48)*

The tourist feared that Bushmen could become attached a marginal image as in his eyes skin clothes did not express the performers' pride of their culture, but were only a means to attract tourists. A British self-driver, who had been travelling various African countries for four months, underlined that tourists wanted to perceive Bushmen as being proud of their culture.

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<sup>101</sup> Skin clothes are made from game skin, which usually comes from Tsumkwe. Male performers wear a loincloth and women a top and a short skirt.

<sup>102</sup> The traveller referred to Grashoek Living Museum between Tsumkwe and Grootfontein, where Bushmen's foraging life is depicted.

Asked whether he would have preferred to see the families dance or rather school children, who used to dance for Treesleeper until 2008<sup>103</sup> (cf. Ch 3.5), he pointed out:

*“Of course, I admit it is good if the families can have an additional income through the performance and probably they also do not have another earning, but it would be nice to see the students perform here. I believe this could really bring them closer to their culture. They would learn about values of their culture and still benefit from it. Maybe I am wrong, but it seemed that the performers are not really proud of their knowledge and culture. It seemed as if they were just dancing because they were forced to. But it is so important that people keep up their cultural heritage and defend it with pride.”* (Interview 47)

Judging by the statements made about the activity, the interviewees asked critically about the connection between performance and reality. They were interested in the living conditions of the performers or thought about the effects of the dance on their and tourists’ perception of culture. Thus, they wanted to get behind the frontstage, the performance, and sought for information about the backstage, the daily life of local people (cf. MacCannell 1976), which tourists hardly access.

In Tsintsabis most of the traditional dance performers agreed to wear skin clothes<sup>104</sup>, whereas according to staff members some were too shy to wear them in front of tourists. However, if villagers wear traditional clothes, this is not necessarily a proof of Bushmen’s negative self-perception as a result of their marginalisation or as an impact of a performative discourse (cf. Butler 1993), where other actors have produced a romantic, but backward Bushmen image and keep this up through constant discourse. On the contrary, it could mean that they are active stakeholders who do not simply fulfil other people’s expectations and demands but have decided to use their cultural status for generating an income and are nevertheless proud of their customs and origin.

Different from the opinion of the British and Dutch self-drive tourists, especially group tourists usually appreciated the skin clothes. These clothes made dances “real” according to a middle-aged woman, who had booked a tour with several stops at cultural villages in Owamboland and also wanted to see Himba people (fieldnotes 2009-08-20). Even though the Treesleeper guide explained that the performers usually wore different clothes and thus tried to underline the show character of the dance, some group travellers were convinced that during dances in the village Bushmen would wear skin clothes.

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<sup>103</sup> A tourist commented in an internet blog in August 2008 about the performance of the local pupils: “We saw a set of dances performed by teenagers who are part of the Traditional Dance group at their school in town – we only wished there had been a CD available of their clapping and singing, because it was some of the best music we’ve heard in Namibia.” (jen\_alan 2008)

<sup>104</sup> The general problem seems to be that it is hard to have sufficient animal skin available for the clothes.

A guide, who accompanied a French tour group during their ten-day trip to cultural and natural touristic sights in northern Namibia, was asked by a group member:

*“Can we see them dance in the village tomorrow? It would be nice to see them dance in their real surroundings.”* (fieldnotes 2009-08-20)

This tourist obviously expected the performers to be very different from himself. His perspective corresponded with the view of some tour operators, for example a German tour operator who is involved in the Grasshoek Living Museum, where Bushmen “present the state of how it was 100 years ago”. He held, “the ‘Bushies’ are masters of the truth and they can survive under primitive conditions” (cf. Interview 51). Brochures for tourist packages often contain depictions emphasising foraging life and creating the image of a pristine culture, thus contributing to the process of ‘othering’. In a description of a guided tour to the “Tribes of Northern Namibia” (SWA Safaris 2010), the stop at Treesleeper’s is presented:

*“After breakfast depart for the “Treesleeper Camp” near Tsintsabis. It is home to Hai//om Bushmen, the former habitants of Etosha and surroundings, and the !Kung Bushmen. Until recently the Bushmen practiced a lifestyle of hunting and gathering. They will show you their traditional way of life in a “historic living village”.* (SWA Safaris 2010)

This image of the authentic Bushmen, which is taken up and re-emphasised by tour operators, corresponds with the 20th century image of ‘pristine’ Bushmen (cf. Suzman 2003b:122; Gordon 1992: 129).

Often groups seemed to be more interested in the meaning and in the foraging lifestyle than in contemporary life. They expected what is described on the homepage of Treesleeper, i.e. to “see traditional singing, dancing, healing and other ceremonies of the Bushmen, performed” (Treesleeper 2009).<sup>105</sup> A Czech tourist, for example, asked why the initiation of a girl was not demonstrated but only sung of (fieldnotes 2009-11-7). From the tourist perspective a visualisation of the custom was missing here. However, the initiation of a girl is now rarely carried out in Tsintsabis though especially female Hai//om informants often referred to it as an important part of their culture. And as it is a very intimate part of culture, Hai//om and other Bushmen are generally against its demonstration in front of tourists. According to them the initiation celebration makes a girl ready to marry. During this time the girl stays in a house for about a week and only her grandmother and mother are allowed to enter the hut, whereas men and children have to keep a distance. A Hai//om woman in her

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<sup>105</sup> The description might create the impression that ceremonies without exception are performed.

twenties, who was one of the few with a good formal education and has experienced life in urban surroundings, pointed out:

*“What is important for my culture? The initiation celebration for women when they turn from a young girl to a woman. We celebrate when they have their first menstruation. That is important for the process of growing up. If the mother and relatives know when the girl has her first menstruation, it is easier to avoid an unexpected pregnancy. However, in current times it is no longer practised. It is lost.”* (Interview 20)

A Hai//om man commented on the meaning of the initiation of a girl:

*“The preparation of a girl to become a woman is important. It is still practised, but less and less. The grandmother introduces the young girl to the whole life of a woman. If you as a man find a girl who has been prepared to become a woman, then you find a girl who is ready to take care and fulfil all her duties.”* (Interview 38)

The fact that the performers do not stage the initiation rites makes it possible to keep them as heritage and not to change them according to tourists’ expectations, though both interviewees emphasised that the initiation is only seldom practised now.

During some performances a female singer breastfed her child and other women smoked while the Treesleeper guide gave explanations. The feeding of the child was accepted and perceived with only little irritation by the audience, but smoking was usually seen as inappropriate not only by tourists and their tour guides, but also by all Treesleeper staff members. Several times the performance could not begin on time and the tourists were asked to wait because singers and dancers were late<sup>106</sup>. If performers were aware of their guests’ reaction, this could show their disinterest about the audience’s opinion, and if not, the delay could exemplify a discrepancy between what the audience perceives as professional and what the performers themselves regard as suitable. This brings out the challenges the guide faces when mediating between tourists and performers.

However, it would be wrong to regard tourists as homogenous groups because not all group travellers will have an image of pristine, traditional Bushman and not all self-drive tourists will have the ideal of a Bushmen who manages the balance between his people’s foraging origin and his present-day life. To broaden the perspective, it might be interesting to look at other tourists and hosts in a different project, the Dq̄e Qare Game Reserve, Botswana.

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<sup>106</sup> Dancers are informed about the performance some days in advance and a guide usually repeats the announcement on the day of the dance. Performers then have to prepare and walk to the venue for about an hour.

### Box 5.2: Traditional Dance at Dq̄e Qare Game Farm during a Stay on 2009-09-15

*Participant observation during the traditional dance* (for an introduction cf. Box 5.1):  
The setting for the traditional dance performance is similar to that of the Treesleeper Camp. The tourists - predominantly middle-aged members of a German tourist group travelling to different cultural sights and NPs of Botswana - sit on tree trunks while about ten performers stand on the other side of a campfire and staff members sit a bit separate on tree trunks next to the tourists. The guide shortly explains that the dances are named after animals, for instance they are called gnu dance or eland dance, and that the two men dance themselves into a trance, so that they can walk through the fire without feeling pain (see also Widlok 2007). Similar to Treesleeper the performing women sing and clap the rhythm, but some of them also participate in the dancing and the tourists are even invited to participate in one of the dances.

Compared to Treesleeper the performance appears more lively and the artists seem more committed, but nevertheless the audience seems confused and not knowing what to expect. This can be exemplified by the fact that they do not join the dancers as proposed by the guide, that they clap unassertive and do not ask questions at the end of the performance, but hurry to their accommodations. One of them comments:

*“I do not know which dance shows which kind of animal. It is all the same.”*  
(fieldnotes 2009-10-15)

This remark shows that the tourist struggles to understand the meaning of the dance performance. When the guide was asked later whether the performers do not fear the commercialisation of their culture and why they show the trance dances, an intimate and religious part of culture, to total strangers, he took up the role of a cultural broker and explained:

*“It is possible to perform it in front of tourists. If we take some money for it, this is a kind of compensation for showing it to visitors.”* (Interview 54)

I learned that the profit generated through the dancing has two purposes and meanings for the Bushmen at Dq̄e Qare Game Reserve: Firstly, to generate an economic income for the performers and secondly, to justify and compensate for the use of an intimate cultural part during a tourist performance. According to the guide of Dq̄e Qare, the survival of the group had always been the most important objective of the ancestors, and tourist performances are regarded as yet another means of survival.

All in all, the traditional dance seems to be an activity that is hard to transmit to tourists, as could be observed for Treesleeper and Dq̄e Qare Game Reserve alike. Reading from tourists' reactions and responses it seems that in the very moment of the encounter some tourists were disappointed because they expected a performance which was - in their eyes - a clear and vivid demonstration of a living culture. Other tourists felt distanced because they did not understand the performance or perceived performers as not identifying with their own culture, an impression that contrasted with their expectations. It appears that some tourists found it harder to cope with the challenge of the encounter than the performers. This might be because

the performers experience the encounter on a daily basis, whereas the audience is exposed to an unknown setting and experiences a performance about an unknown culture.

On the part of the guide the encounter between hosts and guests demands a great ability to provide the audience with explanations and to empathise with tourists and performers. He needs to mediate between both sides as a cultural broker. Guides experience tourists in their daily work and thus know more than other villagers about their customers' expectations, and because of their own cultural background they know about the performers' points of view. The guide could make tourists aware of their hosts' attitude and give explanations, even if tourists do not ask, and at the same time he could help to prepare the performers for the encounter with tourists. Still, the mediation of the guide is no panacea for all encounters. The camp manager explained concerning tourists' complaints of insufficient liveliness during performances:

*“The dancers are !Kung [now]. In !Kung tradition there is no action (...) performed during this process, only singing. However, I do agree that the guides should explain more about the dances and songs. When the Hai//om family was still dancing, there was more performance.”<sup>107</sup> (Interview 30)*

The statement of the camp manager points out Treesleeper's trade-off between tourists' expectations and what the performers are willing to show. Treesleeper has the goal to present a performance that is close to 'real' culture and at the same time tries to satisfy tourists' desires because as a service enterprise it depends on clients. However, tourists who perceive the performance as unsatisfactory can easily feel disappointed and might get a negative impression of the whole project.<sup>108</sup> The Treesleeper manager underlined his statement by asking rhetorically:

*“The 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?” (Interview 30)*

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<sup>107</sup> The Hai//om dancers and singers had been laughed at by their audience during a performance in northern Namibia. If an audience demonstrates contempt for the performance, it is likely that the performers feel intimidated and might even see less value in their culture. In the case of the Hai//om dancers, the economic incentive, i.e. the payment for the performance, could not compensate for the experienced humiliation so that the group preferred to stop dancing in public.

<sup>108</sup> In pure economic terms this would mean that tourists and tour operators could create a negative reputation of the camp with the consequence that less visitors would come to the project so that in the worst case scenario Treesleeper would no longer generate a profit. A negative experience could also result in tourists' perception that performers and staff are unable to run the business, an image that might be transferred to Bushmen in general.

If tourists experience that local guides know about their culture and help tourists to understand the local way of life, tourists might more likely overcome their pre-images of Bushmen and be ready to open up to new insights. However, though there is a possibility that tourists do not understand the traditional dance so that the dancing does not contribute to Treesleeper's goal to create cultural awareness among tourists, the performers themselves might discover a new sense in recalling their rituals and customs, as my interview with a !Kung performer suggested:

*Q: "Do you think the traditional dance helps to represent !Kung's way of life or is something missing?"*

*A: "It helps us to remember our tradition. When we were dancing, we did perform our dance, the dance of !Kung people."*

*Q: "Do you still dance?"*

*A: "Yes."*

*Q: "Is there a difference between how the dance is performed for tourists and how you dance it for yourselves?"*

*A: "For ourselves we dance it near the houses and at night, for tourists we dance it earlier during the day. At our houses we only practice the healing dance and only do it if someone is sick, for tourists it is a performance." (Interview 16)*

In the eyes of the !Kung performer the dancing could make singers and dancers gain more awareness of their culture, though it was primarily a job carried out on a few evenings per month and appreciated because they received money in return. Hence, the performance might be part of a new survival strategy with the means of culture.

Though the traditional dance could make performers identify with their culture and have them benefit through economic means, it is an ambiguous contribution to creating awareness for (Hai//om) Bushmen culture among tourists. It could make some tourists lose the romanticised image of Bushmen, however it does not easily communicate the meaning of rituals and customs to them or contribute to an image of people identifying with their culture.

#### **5.4 Treesleeper's Village Walk: Differences in Hosts' and Guests' Perspectives on the Encounter**

According to Treesleeper's homepage, the village walk allows participants to "get a better understanding of a culture in which traditions have now met the 'modern world'" (Treesleeper 2010). For Treesleeper staff it was important to point out that the activity focuses on the current way of life and does not "exhibit Bushmen people in traditional clothes" (Treesleeper 2010). This hints on the intention to fight the image of pristine and backward Bushmen and to create awareness for patterns of current life, where customs and rites are still known and partly practised. In the centre of the tour are visits to the huts of two homesteads, one of a

!Kung and the other of a Hai//om family<sup>109</sup>, who live close to one of the road construction camps at the fringe of the main village (Figure 2 in Ch.1.4.1).

Before the families were visited by tourists, they had demonstrated their knowledge of history, rites and customs in front of a committee of trustees to make sure that they were able to contribute to the cultural component of the project. As there are eight families willing to receive tourists, the families are exchanged each year in order to fulfil the community-based objective of the project.

According to many interviewees, especially staff members, it is desirable that two of the economically least well-off families are visited. A former guide pointed out:

*“When I was still working for Treesleeper, I often guided tourists to the houses of the families in /Ghomkaos. They are the poorest of all. It was good that they were visited because they (...) need help and they should benefit from Treesleeper. (...) Now a Hai//om and !Kung family, who live close to the main village, are visited. They are also very poor. So it is good that they also get something. They also need help.”* (Interview 39)



**Figure 12: Reception of guest gifts during encounter between tourists and Hai//om family, village walk, Tsintsabis; photo taken 2009-08-20**

The benefit for the families includes the sale of crafts and tourists’ small gifts, for example sugar, tea or noodles bought in a local shop at the suggestion of the guide (cf. Figure 12).

It is interesting that tourists are only shown homesteads of the poorest families if taking into account Treesleeper’s intention to show the “real life situation” (Treesleeper 2010c) of contemporary people in Tsintsabis and considering that the average people are a bit better off, owning some livestock, having a water-

proof roof or having access to jobs because of a better formal education. The arranged visits of families, who are very poor but have kept some customs, could mean that Treesleeper tries

<sup>109</sup> The families are not pure !Kung resp. Hai//om but mixed as most families in Tsintsabis.

to demonstrate that people in Tsintsabis identify with their culture, but severely lack economic resources.

Arriving at the homesteads, especially self-drive and younger tourists were often embarrassed to take photos due to the hosts' poor living conditions and the tourists' wish to respect their privacy. For example, a young British tourist explained that she would feel too bashful and as if treating the family members as objects if she took pictures (cf. fieldnotes 2009-11-25). She did not want the local people to become her "object of gaze", distancing herself from the type of person Urry (1990) describes as tourist, but wanted to interact with the families on the same level, and indeed she opened up when she and her boyfriend started to play soccer with the children of one of the families. However, the guide encouraged the British woman to take photos, pointing out that the families liked to be photographed and to receive an appreciation in return (cf. fieldnotes 2009-11-25). From this point of view the tourists' presents were no means of aid, but a compensation for services, a view that four French middle-aged tourists shared. One of them pointed out in a talk with his fellow traveller:

*"We paid for the walk and we even brought them (...) presents. I think there is no problem if we take pictures."* (fieldnotes 2009-12-03)

Still, it is unclear whether it is an equal exchange or whether the gifts insufficiently compensate for the exposure of the families. The situation would have been described as an inappropriate exhibition, not to say a prostitution of hosts, by anthropologists who set themselves apart from tourists, condemn tourism as unethical and as producing conflicts (e.g. Smith 1977; Smith 1989). But it is not so easy to judge if one takes local people's view as the determinant and not the opinion of anthropologists, including my own opinion. The !Kung family that was visited by tourists stated about their encounter with tourists:

*"Tourists (...) take photos of us. They also take photos of the inside of our houses. That is good because they bring us food and take home the photos, then they send us clothes in return. (...) If tourists visit us, they bring us some food, that helps us and the tourists provide us with a small extra income."<sup>110</sup> We also feel good if the tourists take photos of us, then we know that tourists like us !Kung people."* (Interview 17)

Following this statement and the opinion of other people in the village, it seemed that many people perceived the photographing as appropriate, as long as they were asked for permission in advance and received something in return. Additionally, the statement suggested that the

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<sup>110</sup> The interviewee referred to the sale of handcrafts.

photographing increased the self-esteem of the !Kung family making them feel appreciated by their visitors. Also curiosity seemed to play a role in the locals' attitude towards photos, at least for children who were keen on looking at the screens of the digital cameras. At the same time hosts were interested in tourists' behaviour, which became clear when they described their visitors as childish and curious because they wanted to know about 'small things' such as insects and asked about topics that were seen as self-explanatory, for example the construction of houses. Thus, it was not only the hosts who became the 'object of gaze', but also the tourists. A younger woman of the Hai//om family for example saw tourists' curiosity as an opportunity to earn money and receive food. She held that

*"(...) tourists are curious, that is good because then they give us money<sup>111</sup>. They like to take photos because they like Hai//om people. It is good because then they give us things that they buy for us. Tourists have also said that they would send things to Treesleeper, so that Treesleeper could then distribute them among people (...)." (Interview 13)*

And when asked about her hopes for the future, she added that tourists would turn her family's future to the better because they were people who helped (cf. Interview 13).

Also a former farm worker, who compared white farm owners to tourists, had a positive opinion about tourists:

*"We only knew white people as those who give out orders and who are the boss. Only later we also experienced that white people can also be visitors, who do not give orders. (...) Tourists are friendly and sometimes they give food to poor people. They help our people." (Interview 34)*

White tourists were generally perceived as kind and generous people who positioned themselves on an equal level with their hosts and were able to change villagers' living conditions. The impression of tourists' ability might also have derived from encounters with development workers and volunteers, who were usually regarded as tourists.

Hosts' high expectation towards tourists stands in contrast to Treesleeper's bottom-up approach, which perceives local stakeholders as active. It could even be argued that hosts were passive and only waiting for aid. However this would deny hosts' use of their apparently passive attitude for gaining access to hand-outs. Additionally the perception of their passivity would neglect any initiative, for instance the sale of self-made crafts. Rather the judgement about a passive or an active behaviour depends on the perspective. For example tourists had reported that a young child of one of the families looked very sick and malnourished, and two

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<sup>111</sup> Generally tourists were encouraged by Treesleeper guides to give presents but were asked not to provide monetary means, and locals were told not to ask for money to avoid the development of a begging culture.

Dutch self-drivers offered to take the child to the hospital in Tsumeb and to pay for his treatment. But the mother refused the offer. This was perceived as stubborn and careless by the tourists and the local nurses, who described the mother as disinterested and passive. However, it seemed that the mother's attitude was based on the acceptance of the child's condition and also on her fear that the hospital personnel would not treat her child well. Thus, even though outsiders regarded the mother as inactive, she obviously perceived her decision as caring for her child. (fieldnotes 2009-11-13)

Clearly, many tourists had problems coping with the perceived passivity and the poor living conditions of the families visited. A German tourist pointed out about her embarrassment, after she had participated in the village tour:

*“We were a bit ashamed how poor these people are. We did not like to take so many pictures because the people live in poor conditions compared to us. In the second family I nearly thought that the traditional healer was malnourished. Is that correct?”* (Interview 46)

The mostly European tourists had expected basic living conditions and were not prepared for – or maybe also did not want to be exposed to – poverty. Though they might have sought for new experiences (cf. Urry 1990), most tourists perceived the poverty as shocking because it was not part of their expected image and stood in contrast to their wish of feeling comfortable (van Beek 2007). The fact that they had problems to cope with the obvious poverty in the village – some tourists even called it an ‘exhibition of poverty’ (cf. fieldnotes 2009-11-25) – showed that they experienced something unexpected that was not part of their usual tourist bubble. Indeed, the tourist bubble of the village walk is more permeable than that of the other tourist activities and allows tourists to get an impression of the backstage area (MacCannell 1976), exposing them to some parts of the “real life situation” (Treesleeper 2010c) and to a setting that had not been adjusted to tourists' expectations. Thus, the village tour could be called the activity that has the least show character. Still, the tourist activity remains a performance and thus presents images to tourists. A Treesleeper guide underlined this by pointing out:

*“The village tour is just a show, for example one of the !Kung houses is not exactly built in the style as these people used to build houses, it is a bit Kavango style. They also do not always speak !Kung, but I as a guide just say that they do. The Hai//om family is not pure Hai//om, but they are mixed.”* (Interview 31)

The housing of the two families are self-constructed huts built (mostly) from natural materials, corresponding to the character of former Hai//om and !Kung huts, not least because the families cannot afford a better housing. In the second homestead the !Kung traditional

healer, who also performs during the traditional dance, receives tourists. He usually presents bows and arrows, demonstrates bow-hunting and explains about hunting practices drawing the line to current life by pointing out that hunting is only seldom practised because of the lack of available game and because it can only be practised illegally due to the restrictions of the resettlement land. Still, the !Kung family as well as the Hai//om family occasionally hunt with snare traps and they also gather wild berries and plants (*veldkos*). The encounter with the traditional healer exemplifies Treesleeper's objective to hint at rites and customs during the village tour, obviously meant for tourists interested to know about the foraging lifestyle. The first part of the village walk, the visit to the homesteads, can be called a performance for tourists because most people of Tsintsabis live in housing with corrugated iron sheets or in brick buildings and bow-hunting is no longer practised, and at the same time it is - intentionally or unintentionally - a demonstration of poor living conditions.

The second part of the village walk leads the tourists through the more well-off part of the main village, where they see brick houses, the two local church buildings, the clinic, the craft centre, and the school. For tourist groups sometimes a visit to the school is organised (cf. Ch.3.5) or tourists meet the nurses of the local clinic, but no further private houses are visited. When I asked tourists to recall their impression of the village walk, they usually referred to the homesteads visits, but not to the school, the clinic or other sights they had seen during the second part of the village walk.

To understand the very specific character of Treesleeper's host-guest encounter, it might be helpful to look at a different example of a 'settlement visit'.

### **Box 5.3: Cultural Tourism, Visit to a Himba Settlement**

*Short introduction:*

Apart from visiting Bushmen people, cultural tourists often seek to see Himba people "because tourists perceive them as being the most indigenous and pristine people" (Interview 50). Travellers can meet a Himba group of ca. twenty women and their children on the premises of a guest farm close to Kamanjab, ca. 100km southeast of Etosha NP. According to the homepage of the lodge

*"[f]ive years ago part of a Himba clan settled on the Farm Gelbingen. Although it was a difficult beginning since two worlds clashed with each other, we somehow found a way to live together in complete harmony, the Himbas in their traditional ("stone aged") way, and us in our European manner. They have settled and continue their lives as they know." (Gelbingen Safaris 2010)*

*Participant observation during the village walk:*

During the walk tourists are accompanied by outsiders, i.e. either the farm owner or

volunteers from Europe. The Himba dwellings are situated close to the farm house. As neither the guide speaks *Otjihimba* (the Himba language) nor apparently anyone of the Himba group speaks English, the communication between the Himba and the mostly European tourists and the European guide is hampered.

In contrast to the families visited in Tsintsabis, Himba women and children are dressed in loincloth and women are painted with red ochre. The guide points out that participants are free to take pictures. Those people who want their privacy would stay in their huts. Whereas some tourists are a bit reluctant to take photos, others start to film, pointing out that the Himba women look so proud. One tourist is astonished that none of the women seems to feel ashamed because of their bare bosoms, but another participant explains:

*“It is only our western feeling of shame. The Himba aren’t ashamed. That is how they used to do it for centuries.”*

This is countered by the first tourist, who argues that the group cannot be so close to nature anymore as they use cellphones. He seems to be convinced that the Himba women are performers in a tourist attraction. At the end of the tour some Himba women offer crafts to tourists and the guide encourages tourists to purchase. (fieldnotes 2009-10-06)

After the tour the farm owner explains about the Himba group:

*Since they have been staying here, they earn some money with the sale of crafts. They use their small income to buy what is luxury for them, for example noodles. They buy this usually in a small shop that we run and that is adapted to their needs. (...) [T]hey get money for being visited by tourists and they sell crafts. We also give them meat and milk. The money that we earn with tourism does not cover the costs that we face because of the Himba village. (Interview 49)*

The farm owner obviously presents Himba as people who need her help and regards herself as a person who cares about Himba, protecting them from the outside environment. In her opinion formal education is not desirable for the children of the group because it would deprive them of their way of life (cf. Interview 49). Interestingly there is a blackboard in the middle of the village and children are obviously taught writing Afrikaans by a member of the group. Despite the farm’s remoteness, it remains very questionable whether the Himba group continues to live according to what the farm owner perceives as their way of life, especially as they are not allowed to keep livestock on the cattle farm. Though the Himba women’s activity is apparently not part of the image created by the guest farm owner, their agency becomes clear in the fact that they deliberately settled on the farm premises, in their effort to teach the children and in their ability to generate an income in selling crafts to tourists.

The goals of the village walk at Gelbingen Farm and Treesleeper differ. Apparently, tourists at Gelbingen should gain the impression of Himba people living harmoniously in the same way as in the past, whereas it is Treesleeper’s goal to show contemporary people, who have kept cultural elements, but can no longer live as their forefathers and have learned to cope with new challenges. During the visit to the Himba women, some tourists seemed to be sure to encounter pristine people who kept to their traditional lifestyle, whereas others were convinced that the Himba group knew very well how to benefit from their attractiveness for

tourists. During the village tour of Treesleeper, most tourists obviously gained the impression that the families, though they had kept some customs, were not pristine people. Tourists perceived their hosts as people living in poor conditions, being unable to cope with the challenges they faced.

The camp manager seemed to have realised that the focus on the poorest families could trigger off different reactions of guests than sought for. He pointed out:

*“For example we could visit one of the staff members’ houses, so tourists see what life is like if someone has an income. We want to remove the image or cloud that ‘Bushmen’ are still living in the bush.” (Interview 30)*

Though Treesleeper seems to be successful in fighting the image of pristine Bushmen, tourists’ perception of poor and needy Bushmen gained during the village walk corresponds with the image of backward people who are unable to develop, an image that has been attributed to them especially by the colonial powers (cf. Ch.4.2.3.1). This stands in contrast to Treesleeper’s emphasis that Bushmen’s lifestyle has changed and that they are able to keep their customs and rites under changed living conditions. And though the families visited described themselves as poor and were seen as needy by other villagers, they did not seem to regard their situation as desperate as perceived by some tourists, but rather accepted their situation and tried to use the tourists’ visits for their benefit.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

During the host-guest-encounter tourists’ and hosts’ perceptions either change or are intensified, depending on the frontstage presented to guests and on hosts understanding of tourists’ behaviour.

Though all tourists have an individual experience and cannot be categorically divided into groups, I have identified that tourists who visit Treesleeper tend to have two different images: either they have a romanticised image of Bushmen, who practise their customs and rites and live a life closely connected to nature, or they follow the perception of ‘modern’ Bushmen, who are proud of their origin and can benefit from their cultural knowledge.

The romanticised image of pristine Bushmen, created by anthropologists and popularised by media (cf. Ch 4.2.1), was taken up by the tourism industry to attract customers because in their quest for authenticity cultural tourists want to experience people from a different cultural background. Especially this image seems to involve a trade-off for Treesleeper because the project seeks to satisfy its customers as an economic enterprise, but as a cultural project it also wants to achieve respect for Hai//om culture. The latter objective is

more in line with the image of self-confident Bushmen, who capitalise on their cultural heritage.

The perception of a 'modern' Bushman, who is able to make use of his cultural heritage and knowledge, has been developed among western donor organisations and indigenous movements. It is not surprising that some tourists, especially those interested in community-based tourism, have taken up the institutions' image, an image which is also part of Treesleeper's concept of cultural awareness creation, showing that Treesleeper was influenced by NGOs' perspectives.

Concerning the hosts, they can be divided into three groups – without denying their individual motives to act in a certain way: Firstly, there are the guides, who usually have a better formal education compared to other villagers, have been trained for the tourist encounter and interact with guests on a daily basis. Secondly, there are the two host families, who are often without a formal education and of an economic status below village average and who regularly encounter with tourists. Thirdly, there are the other villagers, who do not have a regular contact with tourists.

The guides showed a good self-esteem, probably not least because they had an income. Their appreciation of their culture could have to do with the fact that they had acquired cultural knowledge during the training and that they experienced positive reactions from tourists, especially during the bushwalk. As the guides were able to exchange with tourists and thus to broaden their horizon, they had a knowledge advantage over other villagers, which could also contribute to their self-esteem.

Concerning the families who participated in the traditional dance and were visited during the village walk, the encounter with tourists seemed to trigger off a mainly positive self-perception. Even though tourists obviously reacted with a lack of understanding towards the traditional dance and thus Treesleeper's goal to make tourists appreciate (Hai//om) Bushmen culture did not succeed, tourists' reactions did not seem to affect hosts, who rather regarded the performance as a source of economic income and to some extent even as a revitalisation of their customs and rites. Probably the regular dancing in front of tourists also contributed to a positive group feeling of the performers.

Interestingly, the village walk was the activity which guests seemed to feel the least comfortable with, resulting in their perception of hosts in desperate living conditions instead of people who managed to bridge the perceived gap between their cultural heritage and current challenges. In contrast to that hosts apparently felt appreciated by friendly tourists,

especially because tourists provided them with gifts, and the families perceived their visitors as interested in their way of life. The host families experienced tourists as caring and were aware of the difference between tourists' and their own economic status. More generally speaking, they identified "the 'ultimate, distant other' in terms of their own main values and their own interests" (van Beek 2003:286). Their perception of helpful tourists made them respond with confident readiness to make use of this source, i.e. of tourists who provided them with support. In other words, they responded to "the subjective presence of the 'most understandable other' " (van Beek 2003:286). Tourists' reactions could have intensified hosts' self-perception of being poor, however, not in the negative sense of feeling left aside by tourists, but rather as being accepted in the need of help. This rather led to the families' feeling of self-esteem than to a feeling of inferiority.

Still, the effect of the encounter with tourists should not be overemphasised because - as a !Kung man put it:

*"When tourists used to visit us, the food was enough to survive the day, but the visits did not change our life."* (Interview 21)

Apart from the widely held opinion that "tourists like Hai//om and !Kung people", the presence of tourists in the village obviously did not have a strong effect on people who were not directly involved in Treesleeper. Rather the internal village relations and power positions were affected by the project itself (cf. Ch.3). Thus Treesleeper's goals to create awareness for culture among its own people might be too ambitious.

The hosts' and guests' encounter at Treesleeper opens up the exchange between people of different localities and backgrounds. Thus it presents a multicultural and multinational encounter in a local context. The exchange of images between the local and the global will play a part in the final chapter by regarding images of Bushmen at the global level and Bushmen's use of these images in the context of indigenous movements.

## 6 Final Conclusion

### 6.1 Analysis of Processes of Change

People's relations with and perceptions of each other are shaped by the social, economic, political and cultural context and exposed to a constant process of negotiation. Tourism, a component of globalisation and cultural change (cf. Smith, Brent 2001), is part of the context in which people of Tsintsabis act and thus offers a possibility to analyse processes local people experience.

It depends on the time frame whether, and if so, which changes are recognised. Looking at the village as if it was an organic entity – or even a 'community' in the sense of *Gemeinschaft* (cf. Hiskes 1982) – since the SADF military base had been turned into a resettlement area for mainly !Kung and Hai//om, would suggest that people of Tsintsabis did not have any history before they moved to the area. Thus one would disregard that their attitudes and perceptions are not only based on actual encounters and interactions, but also on underlying long-formed value systems (cf. Litrell 1997). Locals' perspectives on 'community' are, as I have shown, not only shaped by their common location, as assumed in Treesleeper's community-based concept, but also by the (changing) political, socio-economic and cultural context (cf. Long 1992:21-23) and by a range of factors including ethnic belonging, family relations and political and church affiliations, factors, which can be important in local actors' negotiations for power positions and for access to resources.

Hai//om and !Kung groups did not have a strict hierarchical structure and decisions were met rather jointly than individually. This is different in the village, where the positions of the Traditional Authority and the MLR representative, who both hold decision-making power, were introduced by the Namibian government. But it is even more important that Hai//om's and !Kung's way of life changed from a foraging lifestyle to a settled lifestyle and that they reside in an area with a rather dense population compared to foraging times. Here, they form the majority, but live together with people of very different cultural backgrounds. According to Koot, the "cultural gap" brought about by resettlement seems to be the highest with Bushmen, having been foragers, compared to resettled agriculturists or pastoralists (cf. Koot 2000:59). In a clear contrast to Bushmen, especially Kavango, but also Herero and Owambo are successful in livestock keeping and farming in the resettlement area of Tsintsabis. It is obvious that the resettlement means a turning point for Hai//om's and !Kung's way of life, though, of course, changes in their lifestyle did not occur all of a sudden with the

resettlement. In a steady process their roaming areas had been reduced, concerning Hai//om especially with the successive eviction from Etosha, forcing them to offer their labour for farm work as a means of survival. Over a period of time alternatives, which they could choose from, have been restricted, resulting in their marginal status and making them vulnerable (cf. Adger, Kelly 2001:22; Suzman 2004).

Tendencies of jealousy towards each other and tensions between villagers are evident in the struggle for material resources through job opportunities. Paradoxically, though the community-based and cultural tourism project Treesleeper has the objective to contribute to the common benefit of people of Tsintsabis, local actors' expectations towards Treesleeper show a demand for individual and family benefit and for individuals' access to jobs. Treesleeper, which was set up on the initiative of local people with the help of external donor funding, thus fosters individualism or the caring for one's own family, tendencies that had already been present in Tsintsabis before the setting up of Treesleeper.

Tensions between villagers become obvious in the land question when Hai//om try to make use of the argument that Tsintsabis is 'their' land and not the land of people of another ethnic belonging, who also reside in Tsintsabis. In other words, Hai//om villagers try to make use of the identity-based access mechanism (cf. Peluso, Ribot 2003:171). The tensions might be intensified through the community-based and cultural tourism project's second objective to focus on Hai//om (and !Kung) culture and its awareness creation, making Hai//om and !Kung regard Treesleeper as 'their' project and justifying their individual demands. To a minor extent, the condition that jobs at Treesleeper have to be offered first to Hai//om and !Kung, might also have an impact here.

Using their agency, actors with established power positions in the village either have managed to separate their domains of influence and are able to co-exist, like the headman and the school headmaster, or they challenge each other if they have overlapping domains, like the head of the Development Committee and the headman. The new power position of the camp manager joins in the struggle for influence domains and challenges old power positions. Thus, Treesleeper intensifies the competition between different stakeholders.

All in all, Treesleeper cannot be seen so much as an initiator of new changes in Tsintsabis, but rather as a medium which intensifies competitive processes for access to resources and struggles for power positions that started with the resettlement.

Processes of change do not only refer to the internal village structures, but also occur in locals' and external stakeholders' interactions and the resulting perceptions of each other

because “[t]he global is shaped locally while the local is fashioned globally.” (Inda, Rosaldo 2008: 38). I analysed changing perceptions of Bushmen in relation to their self-perception over a period of time and identified two major strings of images: on the one hand images of backward, racially inferior and marginal or vulnerable people and on the other hand romanticised images of pristine Bushmen who live in harmony with nature and whose culture needs to be preserved. The images became intermingled, for example by the colonial powers, who perceived Bushmen as inferior in race and often also regarded them as wild, untamed and nature-related people. The depictions also became mixed by international donors and indigenous movements, who took up some anthropologists’ perception of nature-related people, being marginalised by western influx. Indeed, these international organisations have only recently emphasised that Bushmen should ideally overcome their marginalisation with the means of their cultural knowledge or, as Peluso and Ribot (2003:171) would term it, by the knowledge-based access mechanism. As far as the image of vulnerability is concerned, the Namibian government follows international donors’ perspective, arguably, not least to secure funds by strictly avoiding the problem of Bushmen indigeneity.

Anthropologists and media contributed to the image creation of pristine Bushmen living in harmony with nature. ‘Traditional cultures’ were and partly “are held in ultimate esteem [by academia and developmentalists and] [c]ommercial reconstructions of ‘tradition’ (...) occur most characteristically in tourism” (MacCannell 1992:294). Tourism stakeholders use the image of the ‘other’ Bushmen to attract their customers. In MacCannell’s words (1976), they create a frontstage for tourists. Tourists visiting Treesleeper Camp initially often had the image of pristine Bushmen or alternatively of Bushmen who have cultural knowledge and are able to cope with current-day challenges, images through which tourists construct their ‘opposite’ with regard to their own culture (cf. van Beek 2003:285). Treesleeper, as part of the tourism industry, wants to serve its clients and their expectations by providing them with a “cultural experience in the African bush” (Treesleeper 2010). This is part of Treesleeper’s tourist bubble, which is meant to ensure that the encounter between tourists and their hosts in the African context does not trigger tourists’ fear of the unknown. To attract tourists the “balance has to be struck between expectation of ‘otherness’ and recognisability, (...) in a way between ‘adventure and comfort’” (van Beek 2003:284). Obviously, it depends on the local hosts whether Treesleeper’s tourists feel comfortable and not frightened.

The encounter between tourists and their mediator, the guide, often roused the image of a ‘modern’ Bushman who has ‘indigenous’ knowledge. This depiction is in line with

Treesleeper's goal of cultural awareness creation and is part of Treesleeper's tourist bubble. Interestingly, the image triggered by the guide did not only say something about a change in some tourists' perceptions of pristine Bushmen, but also revealed the guide's self-perception. Most guides, having been trained as advocates of their culture, put emphasis on their identification with their culture as if compensating for other villagers' self-images. The guides' high self-esteem mirrored tourists' positive feedback, but was primarily due to the fact that they had a job, also because of their over-average formal education.

When tourists interacted with the villagers, i.e. the local families participating in the traditional dance and/or visited by tourists, this exposed tourists to a more permeable part of Treesleeper's tourist bubble, not least because the local families were not trained as tourist mediators. Though some guests found their pristine image confirmed during the traditional dancing, the encounter created other tourists' fear or dislike of getting into close physical contact with someone unknown, while feeling mentally distanced, and during the village walk many tourists felt shocked and gained an impression of extremely poor and marginal people. Obviously, this was in accordance with the families' self-image and the self-perception of many other people in Tsintsabis, who did not have a good formal education. However, though tourists were convinced of the desperate and hopeless situation of villagers, it seemed that villagers felt accepted by tourists in their (self-) ascribed poor position, and the encounter did not make them regard themselves as mere victims or outcasts. They rather saw an opportunity to access economic means by making use of tourists' image and identified "the 'ultimate, distant other' [tourist] in terms of their own main values and their own interests" (van Beek 2003: 286).

Thus, the western concept of cultural awareness creation had a double-effect: on the one hand on outsiders, the tourists, and on the other hand on the guides and other locals. But, whereas tourists' opinions were sometimes altered through their stay at Treesleeper, hosts rather seemed to get their self-perceptions confirmed. This could indicate that the actual encounter influenced the tourists and their pre-images more than the local hosts, especially if tourists did not find themselves in their (expected) cocoon during the activities, or, in other words, if Treesleeper's bubble walls were more permeable than expected. But as tourists usually only once in a life time visit Treesleeper and hosts are in contact with (different) tourists on a very regular basis, the long-term impact is probably stronger on the host community.

It appears that the host-guest-encounter does not change Bushmen's self-perceptions essentially, with the exception that the families visited and the performers of the traditional dance did not seem to feel ignored by tourists as they made the hosts feel accepted. Consequently, it is probable that tourism does not start new processes in Tsintsabis, but rather intensifies processes that are already existent in hosts' identity formation.

Obviously the influence of tourism on self-perceptions of Bushmen affects, if at all, rather people who directly encounter tourists like staff members and the families that are visited and/or performing, whereas the community-based project as a new structure for Tsintsabis clearly influences the internal village life and consequently matters to more actors, though the direct reach of the project is small.

## **6.2 Community-based and Cultural Tourism and its Future Perspectives**

Community-based tourism is usually part of the low and middle-budget tourism segment, providing low cost accommodation for tourists like the Treesleeper Camp. Especially in times of international recession this can be a chance to stay in the tourism market. According to Sarrinen and Niskala, "the role of indigenous cultures will grow significantly as a consequence of premeditated segment diversification among international tourist arrivals in Namibia" (Sarrinen, Niskala 2009:62). Nevertheless, cultural tourism is no panacea for what international donors regard as development because it makes local people become highly dependent on a fragile industry. And while Sarrinen's and Niskala's argument might be true concerning tourists' general interest in indigenous cultures, it is important to pay close attention to the specific tourist bubble of a cultural tourism enterprise because this determines its attractiveness for tourists.

Whereas some cultural tourism providers, often joint ventures of the high-end market, focus on cultural artefacts like Bushmen rock paintings in Twyfelfontein, local people's contributions constitute the tourism niche of many small-scale community-based and cultural tourism enterprises like Treesleeper Camp with its rather permeable tourist bubble (cf. van Beek 2007:152,157). The project is dependent on local people's commitment, and if local stakeholders are no longer keeping up their culture or are no longer interested in cultural tourism, it is likely that the tourism endeavour will lose its attractiveness for customers.

Indeed, the newly constructed road can soon be a challenge for Treesleeper's cultural tourism niche, as villagers might have more alternatives available to choose from, making them less vulnerable (cf. Essed, Frerks, Schrijvers 2005:2). Locals involved in Treesleeper could find a better paid employment or could move away. Admittedly, the tarmacked road

could also mean a chance for Treesleeper as an accommodation for travellers on their way to Angola, especially if the plan to build a lodge on the premises is put into practice, allowing Treesleeper to enter the middle-budget tourism segment. Whether Treesleeper will be able to benefit economically more than before through the new road will depend on its ability to compensate for the very potential loss of its cultural tourism niche. Regardless of this, the dirt road to Tsintsabis used to be a 'tourist adventure' in itself and many tourists appreciated that Treesleeper was off the beaten track.

Leaving Treesleeper's future aside, I want to draw attention to the fact that the combination of community-based tourism and cultural tourism creates an ideological paradox because they focus on contrasting goals. The community-based concept puts emphasis on the agency of local actors deliberately participating in a common project or, in other words, to the "modern citizens-in-the-making" (Robins 2001:833). In contrast, the cultural approach emphasises that the cultural heritage of 'traditional' groups, the "First People" (Robins 2001:835), needs to be preserved. Robins criticises donor organisations for having a "double vision" (Robins 2001:835) by following the two approaches at the same time. Dyll argues in line with Robins that "[t]he contradictions embedded within these discourses on tradition and civic citizenship deter development [and result in] (...) the concentration on cultural tourism as the sole means of development for (...) [a] 'traditional' group" (Dyll 2009:59).

Agreeing with them that the concepts are contradictory, I argue that even if looking at each concept by itself there is room for some criticism, as both concepts are based on western thinking and thus do not take into account the specific African localities and local stakeholders' understanding.

The community-based concept has been an approach of development organisations, since the discourse on the empowerment of local people started, and is perceived as fitting in the African context. However, this is questionable as the example of the people of Tsintsabis has shown. The concept is derived from a western perspective in which European and North American societies are set in contrast to African societies. Thus it is part of 'othering', where those who have the power over the discourse determine about what African societies are like. The 'own' western societies are regarded as oriented towards the individual and the small scale family, whereas the African societies are perceived as oriented towards "unified, 'homogenous', 'traditional' communit[ies]" (MacCannell 1992:296), neglecting that rather kinships and ethnic belongings, as well as power dynamics inherent in local people's negotiations often play a decisive role. Clearly, in Tsintsabis neither the concept of *ubuntu*,

based on the ideal of consensus and the welfare of the individual member in a community, nor the western idea of the inclusive African communities reflects the local reality because people's focus is rather on the individual and family benefit and not on the well-being of a village community.

Similarly to separating African societies from western societies, African cultures are set apart from western cultures. The latter are perceived as “‘High Culture’ with impressive buildings and ruins and well-known historical events, [whereas] Africa is [regarded as] the continent of local communities with authentic cultures” (van Beek 2007:163). In a western perspective one's own cultures are seen as being able to produce high art products, whereas most African cultures, including Bushmen cultures, are perceived as *Volkskultur* ('Low Culture'). Consequently the latter are subordinated to European cultures (cf. Handler 1986:4) in a process of 'othering'. Nevertheless, African cultures are interesting for donors and tourists if they fit in their expectations of authentic *Volkskultur*. Perceived as static cultures by stakeholders who take the power over the discourse of culture, African cultures should not change in order to keep their attractiveness. The “[l]ocal [African] culture (...) is regarded as fragile in the face of development” (Butcher 2003:55) so that “the preservation of existing social and economic patterns becomes something intrinsically desirable” (Butcher 2003:56). Focusing solely on cultural tourism could result in the perception of Bushmen as people who should not change, the opposite of what Treesleeper and other local community-based tourism enterprises want to achieve. For local people themselves the mere concentration on cultural tourism could lead to ethnic centrism creating problems for a multi-ethnic population like that of Tsintsabis.

Related to the emphasis on 'traditional' cultures, and also of a problematic quality, is the focus on the indigeneity, which is promoted by international donor organisations and indigenous movements. 'Indigenous' is a very wide spread umbrella term for very different people including Batak of South-East Asia, Sami of Northern Europe, Aborigines of Australia, Maasai of Eastern Africa and the Bushmen groups of Southern Africa. Concerning its inclusive aspect, the concept of indigeneity homogenises very heterogeneous 'indigenous' peoples in “networks that transcend ethnic and national concerns” (Hodgson 2009:23). But concerning its exclusive aspect, the concept omits non-indigenous people living in the same local context. Additionally, the label 'indigenous' makes a person distinct from others and in so far stands in line with the 'othering' phenomenon. Moreover, according to Suzman “a focus on indigenusness may well reinforce the very structures of discrimination that

disadvantage these peoples in the first place” (Suzman 2003b:399) and thus might contribute to their marginalisation (cf. Reinford 2009; Freeman, Pankhurst 2003 ).

There is no doubt that ‘othering’ involves external stakeholders’ image creation of people, but I want to emphasise people’s agency in making use of this image. Part of the image of being ‘the other’ is that Bushmen were foraging people, whose cultural and environmental knowledge has made them able to survive, a fact which is now important for the construction of their identity. Bushmen have partly become aware that they can benefit from presenting themselves as knowledgeable and proud of their culture because it makes them able to generate an income through cultural tourism and gives them recognition and support in the international sphere. The widespread perception of Bushmen as people who have been and still are marginalised creates the justification for their claim to be lifted up by civil society and the Namibian government.

Being ‘the other’ and using the western concept of a common Bushmen identity might be a means for Bushmen to gain better power positions and access to resources. Possibly Bushmen can capitalise on the image, which has so long depicted them as marginal and distinct from others, and thus overcome the status which is partly a result of this very image. Still, not all Bushmen identify with a common Bushmen group, as the example of Hai//om in Tsintsabis has shown. Furthermore, the use of this image itself is a “paradox[] of political action in a postcolonial world: [a paradox] of (...) Africans defending their rights and resources by relying on colonial stereotypes and international agencies” (Hodgson 2009:3). The stress on ‘being the other’ could also lead to a new separation between Bushmen and ‘others’, as it is closely related to ethnic labelling. And the reference to a Namibian Bushmen ethnicity in the claim for resources could also disguise the reasons behind the generally high socio-economic discrepancies in the Namibian society<sup>112</sup> with its unequal distribution of wealth and opportunities (cf. Dieckmann 2007:344), including unequal access to education, to land and to political representation.

All in all, it appears unlikely that cultural tourism or the indigenous movement can offer a long-term solution for challenges which Bushmen face, but they could be temporary means for gaining access to resources and for overcoming their marginalisation. On the basis of general reforms that should combat socio-economic discrepancies in Namibia, Bushmen people might rather need to make use of their very agency by finding their own ways to negotiate their position.

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<sup>112</sup> Namibia’s Gini-coefficient of 0.743 (cf. UNDP 2009:197) is the highest in the world.

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