

COMMODITIZATION OF THE JU/'HOANSI CULTURE: DESTROYING AUTHENTICITY OR REVITALIZING TRADITION?

*A Study on the Impacts of Cultural Tourism on the Ju/'hoansi San in
the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, Namibia*

Lisette van der Burg
University of Leiden
April 2013



Thesis Advisor: Prof. Gerard A. Persoon

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Cover photo: The image on the left shows three Ju/'hoansi men wearing modern clothes who are busy with gathering food. The image on the right shows the same Ju/'hoansi men, who are now dressed in traditional clothes.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGM	Annual General Meeting
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
GoN	Government of Namibia
JBDF	Ju/wa Bushman Development Foundation
LCFN	Living Culture Foundation Namibia
LIFE	Living in a Finite Environment
NNC	Nyae Nyae Conservancy
NNDFN	Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa
WTO	World Tourism Organisation
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

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NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

The Ju/'hoansi language includes 'click' sounds. In order to pronounce names properly it is necessary to have a basic knowledge of these clicks. There are two basic systems in use of writing clicks. The spelling of names used in this thesis are according to the Khoisan system. This orthography has five basic clicks as can be seen in the figure below. I use this system because it is used in most literature, as well as by the Ju/'hoansi in Nyae Nyae themselves.

	<i>Khoisan system</i>	<i>Bantu system</i>
Bilabial click	⊙	no symbol
Dental click	/	c
Alveolar click	≠	('tc' can be used)
Lateral click	//	x
Palatal click	!	q

Figure 0.1: Clicking sounds in the two most common systems (Barnard 2007: 9)

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1. INTRODUCTION

We arrive at the village in a four-wheel drive, together with two local tour guides. When we get out of the car all the villagers approach us. They wear traditional Ju/'hoansi clothes: the men only have a small piece of animal skin in front of their private parts, the women wear a skirt of animal skin and some of them also have some skin wrapped around their shoulders. Their breasts, however, are clearly visible. From the way they greet us they seem very humble people. The village exists of nine traditional houses made of grass, which stand in a circle. One of the tour guides explains that this is not the village where the people actually live: they have created this village so that we can see how they used to live. When we walk towards the houses we see people sitting around the fire and working on crafts. One man is making an arrow and a tour guide explains how they make it poisonous. He tells us the poison comes from the cocoon of a specific kind of beetle. The poison is lethal, also for humans. After the part in the village we go for a bushwalk. There are fourteen Ju/'hoansi coming with us: four older men and four older women, two boys and two girls of around seventeen years old and two younger children. We have to drive a few hundred meters before we can start hunting and gathering and all the Ju/'hoansi get in the back of the car. When we stop they all get out and immediately start to look for plants. The headman clearly is in charge. Every time someone finds a plant or tree he explains us what it is in a loud voice and with a lot of gestures. It is obvious that he enjoys working with tourists a lot; he is a real actor - even without understanding the language it is possible to derive what he means from his gestures. One of the tour guides translates what he says. The headman tells us about a plant that is used for hunting porcupine, one that helps if you are lost and one that cures headaches. After a while we come across an open area in the bush where we stop. Here some women start digging for water root. When they have found one they clean it and scrape the pulp. The headman takes some of it in his hand and squeezes it into his mouth. He does this with a lot of noises and gestures and he is clearly pleased when we laugh at this. The Ju/'hoansi also hand us a piece of the water root to try. Next they show us how to make fire with two wooden sticks and we all cheer when the fire erupts. After this they set up a trap to show us how to catch small birds like the guineafowl. First they make rope out of a plant and attach the rope to some twigs. One of the men pretends to be a bird that is caught in the trap (see picture 1.1). Some of the women pretend to catch it and turn his neck. Again we enjoy the show.

After this the tour is over and tour guides take us back to the village, where we can buy some of the crafts.



Picture 1.1: Ju/'hoansi man showing tourists how a bird trap works

1.1 | ARGUMENT OUTLINE AND STRUCTURE

People in the West are often fascinated by indigenous peoples. Every year many tourists travel the globe in search of the “primitive” other, in order to experience how these people live. That Western people are so attracted by indigenous cultures is also seen by the popularity of programmes such as *Tribe* and *Groeten uit de Rimboe*, where Western people stay with “primitive savages”. There is something captivating about these people who seem so different from ourselves, and who still seem to be in touch with nature. Although people have been attracted by other cultures for a long time, globalization has made it possible for people to travel all over the world, even to the most remote areas. On the other hand, because of globalization indigenous cultures seem to disappear due to influences from modern, Western civilization. People therefore feel a need to experience “untouched”, “primitive” cultures while they still can.

This study looks at the effects of cultural tourism on the host community. A prevailing assumption is that cultural tourism destroys or changes the cultures and traditions of indigenous groups. It is believed that because the culture becomes a commodity, sold either by tourist operators or by the communities themselves, it is no longer an authentic culture. It is important to remember that culture is not a static concept, but is something which is always changing and adapting due to external influences. It is too easy to only look at cultural tourism from a Western perspective and argue that it will lead to the ruin of indigenous cultures. Changes do not necessarily have to be negative: cultural tourism, when managed properly, might also help to develop the local host communities.

Much research has been done on the impacts of cultural tourism on local communities, but most of them had a one-way perspective and only looked at the impact of tourists on these communities. Academics have often ignored to look at the perceptions of locals on outsiders. In this study I will therefore mainly look at the perspectives and opinions of people from the local community: what do *they* think of tourists coming to see their culture? Moreover, it is important to look at the concept of authenticity. Because culture is always changing it is difficult to say what is authentic and what is not. What are the perspectives of the local communities on the authenticity of their culture? Do they feel their culture is disappearing or are they still interested in their traditional culture? These and other questions will be addressed in this study.

This study is based on an ethnographic case study of the Ju/'hoansi San of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. This is an interesting case because cultural tourism is part of the local Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programme, which tries to protect the environment as well as develop the local community. The Ju/'hoansi San in this conservancy have their own management and can, to a large extent, make their own decisions in the area. This makes it a different case from other cultural tourism cases, because many indigenous groups elsewhere did not decide themselves to participate in cultural tourism but were forced into this by outsiders. This study is based on the following research question and sub questions:

How does the commoditization of the Ju/'hoansi culture through cultural tourism influence the Ju/'hoansi San in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy of Namibia and the authenticity of their culture? And how do the Ju/'hoansi themselves experience cultural tourism and its influences?

- *How is cultural tourism implemented in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy?*
- *What are the effects of cultural tourism on the lives of the Ju/'hoansi San in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy?*
- *What are the perspectives and perceptions of the Ju/'hoansi San on cultural tourism and tourists in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy?*

This research design evokes several important questions; i.e. what does it mean to commoditize a culture? What does the concept of authenticity mean and when can something be called authentic? What exactly is cultural tourism? Other, more practical questions are: who are the Ju/'hoansi San? How do they currently live in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and how did they live in the past? How does CBNRM work in Namibia? These questions will be dealt with in this introductory chapter. It will provide both the practical background as well as the theoretical framework for this thesis.

1.2 | FIELD AND PEOPLE

1.2.1 NAMIBIA AND COMMUNITY-BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT (CBNRM)

Namibia is a relatively new nation in Africa, that only achieved independence from South Africa in March 1990. Namibia is located in the southwest of Africa, bordering with Angola in the north, Botswana on the east, South Africa on the south and Zambia along the north of the Caprivi strip (see figure 1.1). It is an extremely dry country, with an annual rainfall of twenty-five millimetres



Figure 1.1: Namibia (IWGIA 2012: 489)

in the Namib Desert in the west to seven hundred millimetres in the Caprivi northeast of Namibia (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 2). Namibia has an estimated population of 2,1 million, making it a sparsely populated country. Apart from mining, agriculture and fishing Namibia is dependent on tourism as a source of income. It is estimated that around 777,890 tourists visit Namibia annually (NTB 2010), generating about \$398 million annually (UNWTO 2011). They are attracted by its beautiful and contrasting landscapes and spectacular flora and fauna. Namibia's eleven ethnic groups, especially the Himba and the San, also attract tourists who want to experience other (indigenous) cultures. Although the government of Namibia is relatively stable compared to other African countries, poverty is still very much present. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 2005 thirty-five percent of the Namibian population lived under the poverty line of \$1 a day and fifty-six percent lived on \$2 a day. A big inequality can be found between people living in Windhoek and people in rural areas. According to Biesele and Hitchcock the wealthiest five percent of the population is in control of seventy-five percent of the GDP, whereas fifty percent of the population only controls three percent of the GDP (2011: 31). Poverty reduction and human development have been a central part of the national agenda since independence in 1990; however, poverty is still a huge problem in Namibia. Another important issue for the government of Namibia is the preservation of its landscapes and flora and fauna. In the 1980s the numbers of wildlife had decreased dramatically in Namibia because of extreme drought and poaching practices due to commercial demands for ivory and the black rhino horn (Jones 2001: 152). In order to limit the decrease of wildlife populations and to counter rural poverty, CBNRM was introduced in the 1990s by the Namibian government, in

cooperation with organizations such as the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). This programme was copied from the project implemented in Zimbabwe in 1975 which was called Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). CBNRM is based on the idea that nature conservation and rural development *can* and *should* go hand in hand. In order to stimulate sustainable resource use by the local population, communities are involved in the management of the conservancies, and income which is generated by the conservancies flows back to the local communities. CBNRM is supposed to empower the local communities and give them a sense of ownership over wildlife and natural resources. The idea is that when local communities gain benefits from the conservancy they are more likely to use natural resources in a sustainable way (Jones 2001: 166). CBNRM contrasts sharply with former nature conservation policies, which were based on the idea that 'wilderness' and people cannot live together. Wilderness was seen as land which was untouched by humans; however, according to Ghimire and Pimbert this is an urban perception of nature and does not exist in reality: humans have had influence on nature everywhere in the world (1997: 5-6). Until recently it was normal that the local (and often indigenous) population of a national park was to be excluded. They were often removed in very violent ways. The Yellowstone National Park in the United States, established in 1872, is one of the first examples of this. Numerous cases in Africa can also be given where local populations were brutally removed from their habitat. In the 1980s a lot of critique was expressed on conservancy policies and agencies (Hulme & Murphree 2001: 1). According to Ghimire and Pimbert the exclusion of indigenous peoples and peasants can actually lead to a decline of biodiversity:

[b]y excluding local people from protected areas, present mainstream conservation strategies for forests, wetlands, [and other environments] remove the anthropogenic disturbance of ecosystems which may be essential for the generation and conservation of biological diversity' (1997: 13-14).

The Government of Namibia (GoN) started implementing CBNRM in the 1990s, in the form of 'conservancies'. The Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) developed a policy and legal framework around these units by which local communities gain ownership over wildlife. These conservancies are unfenced, open systems, used for wildlife, tourism and mixed farming. People in the communities of these conservancies become members and can choose a representative committee which implements programmes and develops a constitution (Bandyopadhyaya et al 2004: 2). Members benefit by gaining a certain authority and control over wildlife resources, being able to work with tourism agencies and making decisions about revenue sources and uses (Ibid). Studies have shown that although there are many challenges, conservancies have positive effects on the biodiversity of the environment and the development of rural areas in Namibia (see Bandyopadhyaya et al 2004; Jones 2001; Naidoo et al 2011). Over the years wildlife numbers have been increasing again, including the endangered black rhino. Communities themselves earned more than N\$11 million (€1,1 million) from community-based conservation and tourism. In many conservancies tourism lies at the heart of the CBNRM project; it forms a large part of the income for conservancies. Local communities are able to make deals with tourism agencies (Bandyopadhyaya et al 2004: 2). According to Turner (2004) this has to do with the idea that in order to be successful, CBNRM should go through the market. Turner (2004: 16) states this 'capitalist logic makes it possible to assign values to conservation and to assess its costs and benefits'. Tourism, therefore, is seen as one of the most substantial sources of income for local communities in the conservancies.

1.2.2 THE NYAE NYAE CONSERVANCY AND TSUMKWE

The Nyae Nyae Conservancy (NNC) lies in the northeast of Namibia and was the first conservancy on communal land in Namibia. It is part of the Otjozondjupa district, formerly known as “Bushmanland”, and shares borders with Botswana in the east (see figure 1.2). Nyae Nyae is part of the Tsumkwe district, an area of approximately 25,900 square kilometres, which is divided in Tsumkwe East (corresponding with the Nyae Nyae Conservancy) and Tsumkwe West (also known as the N=ǀa Jaqna Conservancy). Around 1600 people live in the NNC, who almost all belong to the Ju//’hoansi San. It is therefore a very homogenous population. In order to live inside the boundaries of the NNC one has to be a member of the conservancy and since in principle only Ju//’hoansi can become members of the NNC they are the only ones who live here. The administrative centre of the area is Tsumkwe. Tsumkwe is not part of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and therefore people from other ethnicities are also allowed to live here. The Ju//’hoansi are not always happy about this, since they feel the ‘blacks’ ‘steal’ their jobs.

In 1992 Living In a Finite Environment (LIFE) was started through an agreement between the GoN and USAID. Initially this project was supposed to work on a national scale, but later it was decided that the programme would have greater impact when it was only implemented in a limited number of areas. Therefore three areas were chosen as target areas for LIFE, under which Tsumkwe District East (Nyae Nyae). The initial aim of the LIFE Project was ‘to provide broad-based capacity-building to a variety of different Namibian NGOs involved with environmental issues’ (Bieseles & Hitchcock 2011: 202). This led to the establishment of the first conservancy on communal land in June 1998. Bieseles and Hitchcock state the NNC has four relatively unique features (Ibid: 206). First of all, almost all of its members are from one ethnic group, the Ju//’hoansi. Second, the community members have been involved in development activities and natural resource management a long time before the establishment of the conservancy. Third of all, the area is attractive to tourists because of its wide variety of wildlife, unusual environment (especially the salt pans) and the people themselves. Lastly there was already an NGO (the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDNFN)) active in the area before LIFE, focussing on the Ju//’hoansi community. Several projects which were undertaken in the conservancy were the training of game guards who monitored the wildlife population and the introduction of wildlife in the area in order to boost the biodiversity and attract more tourists and trophy hunters. In 2001 the NNC already earned N\$341,011 - more than the ten other conservancies established at that time (Bieseles & Hitchcock 2011: 208).

1.2.3 THE JU//’HOANSI SAN: WHO ARE THEY?

The Ju//’hoansi San have been researched by anthropologists for over fifty years (L. Marshall 1960, 1961, 1976; Bieseles 1986; Lee 1986; Gordon and Douglas 2000; Hitchcock 2004; Barnard 2007) and are probably the most studied and best documented indigenous peoples of the world (Bieseles & Hitchcock 2011: 4). The Ju//’hoansi belong to the San (or Bushmen), a collective name for the fourteen Khoesan-speaking groups (see figure 1.3), whose languages are characterised by its clicking sounds (see note on orthography). The Ju//’hoansi are the second biggest San group in Namibia; the largest group is the Hai//om, who live in the north of Namibia. Other San groups in Namibia are for instance the Kwe, !Xun and Naro. Currently around 30,000 to 33,000 San live in Namibia, who make out less than two percent of the national population (see figure 1.4).

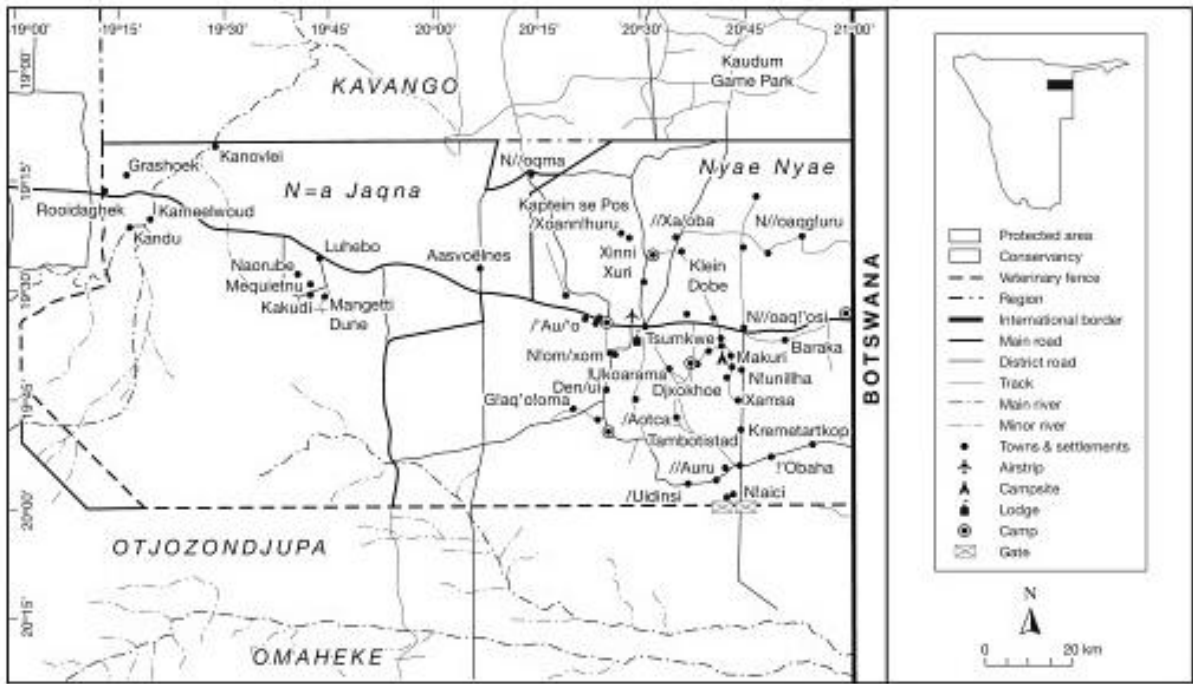


Figure 1.2: The Namibian Tsumkwe District in the Otjozondjupa region (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 41)

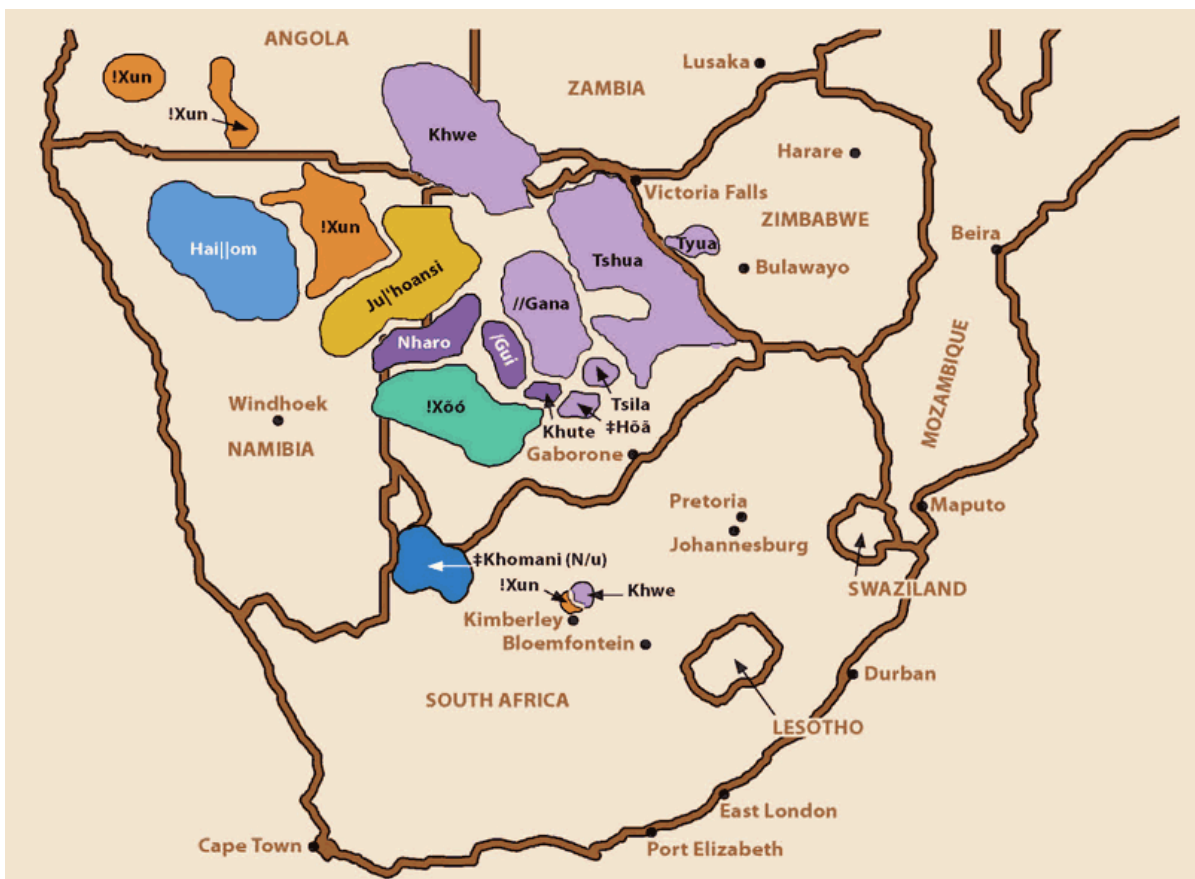


Figure 1.3: Map of the different San groups in southern Africa (WIMSA, 2011)

Country	Population	Size (sq km)	Number of San
Angola	13,068,110	1,246,700	3,500
Botswana	2,029,207	600,370	48,000
Namibia	2,128,471	825,418	34,000
South Africa	49,109,107	1,221,912	7,500
Zambia	12,056,823	752,614	1,300
Zimbabwe	11,651,858	390,580	2,500
Totals	90,043,776	5,037,594	98,800

Figure 1.4: Number of San in southern Africa (*Biesele and Hitchcock 2011: 4*)

SAN/BUSHMEN TERMINOLOGY

It is important to explain something about San terminology. This is a very complex issue as it is not just about words, but especially about what the underlying assumptions of these terms are. It is difficult to decide on the best name because the San are not a homogeneous group, but consist of many different (sub)groups. The most used terms are 'San' and 'Bushmen'. Both terms are problematic because they refer to different self-identifying groups. Although they share 'a distinct and identifiable cultural "deep structure" that most commonly manifests in language, social organisation, economic activity, religion and historical experience', (Suzman 2001a: 4) there are also many differences between the different groups. Moreover, the terms 'San' and 'Bushmen' have both been imposed by non-San.

'Bushmen' comes from the Dutch word '*Bosjesman*', which the Dutch settlers in South Africa used to refer to all the hunter-gatherers of southern Africa - independent on people's ethnic background. In the past anthropologists mostly used this word, but nowadays this term is seen as discriminating because it was used by the colonial powers. It is still a much used term, especially by tourist operators and tourists. Recently most (anthropology) researchers use the term San; however, this term also has negative connotations. San means 'those who gather wild fruit' and was used - especially by the Nama - to discriminate against people who did not possess cattle. Although both terms have negative connotations, 'San' is considered most neutral. According to Suzman (2001a: 4) the San themselves have not yet agreed on which term they consider best. In Nyae Nyae the Ju/'hoansi mostly refer to themselves as 'Ju/'hoansi' or 'San' and only occasionally as 'Bushmen'. Therefore I will use the term 'San' in this study. However, wherever possible I will use the term Ju/'hoansi.

THE SAN IN NAMIBIA

San also is an umbrella term for the different groups in southern Africa who traditionally lived by foraging. The San used to be the sole occupants of much of southern Africa and lived in small groups of five or six families, who depended on hunting and gathering. They developed an extensive knowledge of their local homelands and its natural resources and learned how to exploit these (Suzman 2001b: 5). According to Suzman they also traded with others and sometimes raised livestock; especially the last two thousand years they were dependent on a mixed economy of hunting and gathering, combined with pastoralism (Ibid.). The San had a very egalitarian society and decision making was mostly done by consensus.

Around five hundred years ago Bantu-speaking people started to appear in great numbers in the region that is now Namibia. This, in combination with colonialism, caused the San to lose their lands and fall under the rule of others. Especially in the last hundred years - first under the rule of German colonialists (1894-1915) and later the Union of South Africa (1915-1990) - the San lost most of their ancestral land. The German colonists took the territories of the San and offered these to white farmers. Many San living in these areas became labourers on the white

private farms, or otherwise were forced to relocate to towns or communal lands (Harring 2004: 64-66). Most San were not allowed to participate in the political, economic and social orders established in the areas, causing them to become the underclass of Namibia (Suzman 2001b: 25). In 1915 South-West Africa, as Namibia was called at that time, became a mandate of the Union of South Africa. This caused even bigger problems for the San population: in the 1970s only three percent of the San had *de jure* rights to land in the country (Ibid: 5). In line with the Apartheid system the Union of South Africa relocated different ethnic groups to the same region. Areas such as Ovamboland, Hereroland and Bushmanland were created, where respectively the Ovambo, Herero and San were supposed to relocate. Around independence the San had become a very marginalized group, lacking rights to resources and land, being materially dependent on others, tremendously poor and very disempowered. Unemployment among the San was - and is - not uncommon, causing most of them to live below the poverty line of \$1 per person per day (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 32).

Today the San continue to be a highly marginalized group within Namibia, as well as in the whole of southern Africa. According to Sylvain the San 'are widely recognized as the most impoverished, disempowered, and stigmatized ethnic group in southern Africa' (2002: 1074). Suzman states that the San are economically, socially and politically dependent; they live in extreme poverty and depend 'on welfare programmes, the charity of others, piecemeal work or labour patronage in order to survive' (2001a: 8). The San in Namibia have very limited access to education - nationally they are the least educated group, with a literacy rate of twenty-three percent (Koot, forthcoming). Although the number of San students is increasing, almost none of them graduate from high school. Malnutrition, alcoholism and HIV/AIDS are growing problems for the San. Furthermore, their marginalized position is increased by stereotyping, which is done by Namibians - both black and white. They are often depicted through racial characteristics such as that they are short, have a yellow skin and large buttocks. There are many negative associations people have with the San; they are labelled, mostly by Namibians, as "incapable", "primitive", "childlike", "lazy", "unreliable" and "drunken" (Suzman 2001b: 8). Tourists, on the other hand, mostly see them as "artistic", "clever", "skilled hunters", "powerful healers" and "technically gifted" (Ibid.). According to Hitchcock, Biesele and Babchuk (2009) the San are becoming more outspoken than before and political and economic changes in the last years have made the San less dependent on others. The GoN has implemented the San Development Programme under the Office of the Prime Minister in 2005. Their objective is 'to integrate marginalised communities into the mainstream of our economy and improve their livelihood' (GoN, n.d.). The Government itself states on the website of the San Development Programme:

In a short span of time, the programme has recorded considerable achievements in the provision of land, livestock, education, clean drinking water, livelihood support, conservancies, better housing to bring these communities on par with the "mainstream population" in Namibia (GoN, n.d.).

THE JU/'HOANSI OF NYAE NYAE

According to Suzman the Ju/'hoansi in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy are better off than most other San in Namibia (2001b: 39). One of the greatest advantages they have is the access and control they have retained over their traditional territories during the twentieth century. They have also received a lot of attention from tourists, researchers and NGOs over the last decades. This does not mean it has been, or is, easy for the Ju/'hoansi San in Nyae Nyae. From 1959 to the late 1970s under the rule of South Africa, the South-West African government made several decisions regarding the land zoning and use which had a lot of social and economic impact on

the Ju/'hoansi (Biesele & Hitchcock 2011: 9). An administrative centre, called Tsumkwe, was made in Nyae Nyae, which was meant as a permanent relocation for the Ju/'hoansi in order to incorporate them into "modern life". By offering food and water the South-West African government tried to encourage the Ju/'hoansi to come to Tsumkwe. Life in Tsumkwe was characterized by poverty, social dissatisfaction, ill health and apathy and Tsumkwe became known as "the place of death" because of extreme mortality rates (Ibid.: 10). In the 1980s the South-West African government wanted to establish a game reserve in the Nyae Nyae area. Ju/'hoansi were only allowed to stay in the reserve when they would dress and behave as "traditional" Ju/'hoansi, for the entertainment of tourists. During the 1980s many Ju/'hoansi left Tsumkwe because of its horrid conditions. With the help of anthropologists Ju/'hoansi were provided with tools, livestock and seeds so that they could work as farmers on their traditional lands (Ibid.: 14).

Nowadays the Ju/'hoansi gain benefits from the established conservancy. Income is mainly created by tourism (including trophy hunting). They are also able to sell craftwork to tourists who visit the conservancy. According to Stasja Koot (forthcoming) in the mid-1990s around N\$17,400,- was generated by the conservancy by (photographic) safari operations and around N\$5000,- was generated through game ranching. In 2002 the Nyae Nyae Conservancy already generated N\$956,500,- (€95,000,-), making it one of the most profitable conservancies in Namibia.

THE NYAE NYAE CONSERVANCY AND THE NYAE NYAE DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION OF NAMIBIA (NNDFN)

The NNC is represented by the Rada, a spokesperson of the village; each village has two Rada's who meet at the Annual General Meeting (AGM), where important decisions for the conservancy are made. The NNC is divided in four districts: North, South, West, and Central. Each of these districts have three representatives who together form the board of the NNC, who meet four times a year. The board also chooses the members of the management committee. This committee runs the conservancy on a daily basis and consists of a manager, an administrator and five members. During my stay in the conservancy there was no manager. An employee of the NNDFN told me it is difficult to find a suitable person for this job:

I mean we're ever struggling with the organizational thing because...staff are there and they leave and then you're going start training again and then a new manager and then a new chairperson, so...it's a turnover of staff (Interview 4).

The NNC has several projects that they run in the conservancy, which mainly focus on waterhole protection, village schools and crafts production.

The conservancy is supported by the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN), a small NGO which tries to empower the Ju/'hoansi of Nyae Nyae. The NNDFN was founded in 1991 as the successor of the Ju/wa Bushman Development Foundation (JBDF). The NNDFN operates mainly from Windhoek, where its office is located. They have one employee based in Tsumkwe who cooperates with the management of the NNC. The JBDF and later the NNDFN are closely related to the conservancy as they have worked with the Ju/'hoansi since 1981. Nowadays the NNDFN functions as a councillor to the NNC. Their mission is to '[s]upport and empower the San people in Namibia to improve their quality of life economically and socially including land and human rights and the sustainable use of natural resources' (Kalahari Peoples Network, n.d.). Moreover, their principles 'are to adhere to a facilitative approach, participatory decision making from a grass-roots level and to uphold the principles of skills transfer, transparency, honesty and sustainability' (Ibid.). Although most Ju/'hoansi I spoke to

were happy about the presence of the NNDFN, some did complain about the dominance of the NNDFN. An employee of the management of the NNC told me:

Q: Can you also tell me something that is not so good about the [NNDFN]?

A: Yeah... Sometimes it is not only good. But sometimes it is things which she decides and then ...

Q: What do you mean?

A: She goes to money, she is strong with money not to be wasted¹. Sometimes we say let's pay... pay the workers this amount. Then no... she says no. [...]

Q: Do you feel [the NNDFN] makes the decisions and not [the management]?

A: Yes. That is sometimes not good.

Q: Do you have another example?

A: [...] Like someone's passed away here in Tsumkwe. We have to go and buy a coffin in Omatako or Grootfontein. [The NNDFN] say yes, this money is for the coffin, but we don't have money for transport. Now how are we going to get the coffin from Grootfontein? There [the NNDFN] say it is expensive and who is going to pay the costs for the car. [...] But he is our member, why we cannot help? But she said no (Interview 10).

Another sign of the NNDFN's dominance I observed was the fact that the NNDFN did not want to focus on tourism as a development tool, whereas most Ju/'hoansi I spoke to, as well as some traditional authorities, wanted the conservancy to focus more on tourism. However, in general most Ju/'hoansi who I have spoken to were happy about the NNDFN.

1.3 | THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.3.1 PROVIDING CONTEXT: THEORY ON TOURISM AND CULTURAL TOURISM

While this study focuses mainly on cultural tourism, it is important to place this concept in the framework of tourism in general. Modern tourism is said to have roots in the eighteenth century in Great Britain with the Grand Tour, a traditional trip through Europe which served as an educational '*rite de passage*'. Whereas in the past people hardly ever travelled without a connection to business, from the eighteenth century people started to travel as part of leisure time. Especially with regard to the social legislation at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century in many countries and the improvements in transportation have helped to develop and spread tourism across the world (Butler 2009: 347). Today most people will travel somewhere every year without connections to work. Tourism can be seen as a 'marker of status': people feel they *have* to travel and take holidays (Urry 2002: 5). This also becomes clear when we look at the exploding numbers of travellers over the last sixty years: in 1950 there were only twenty-five million international passengers, whereas in 2011 there were already 980 million international travellers (WTO 2011). In many countries tourism nowadays is firmly established as the number one industry and is a huge job creator (OECD 2009: 19). According to Smith (1989: 1-4) this rise in tourism is caused by the increase of *leisure time* - since World War II work weeks have become shorter and holidays longer - and *discretionary income* - money that is not needed for personal essentials such as housing, food, healthcare, and clothing, but is spent on other things such as holidays and day trips.

It is difficult to give a definition of tourism, because of its complexity and because of different interests concerned with different aspects of tourism (Van Harssel 1994: 3). Still, it is important

¹ In general I did not correct errors respondents made during interviews in my transcriptions. Only when the meaning of a response would be unclear due to these errors I have corrected these.

to try, in order to place cultural tourism in a broader theoretical context. Mathieson and Wall (1982) define tourism by saying it is ‘the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations, and the facilities created to cater to their needs’. Moreover, Leiper (1995, in Burns 1999: 31) states ‘tourism comprises the ideas and opinions people hold which shape their decisions about going on trips, and where to go...and what to do or not to do, about how to relate to other tourists, locals and service personnel. And it is all the behavioural manifestations of those ideas and opinions’. Although it has been criticised because it doesn’t include the response of the industry (see Burns 1999: 31) it is an interesting definition for this study because it focuses on tourist behaviour and their interaction with the (physical) environment.

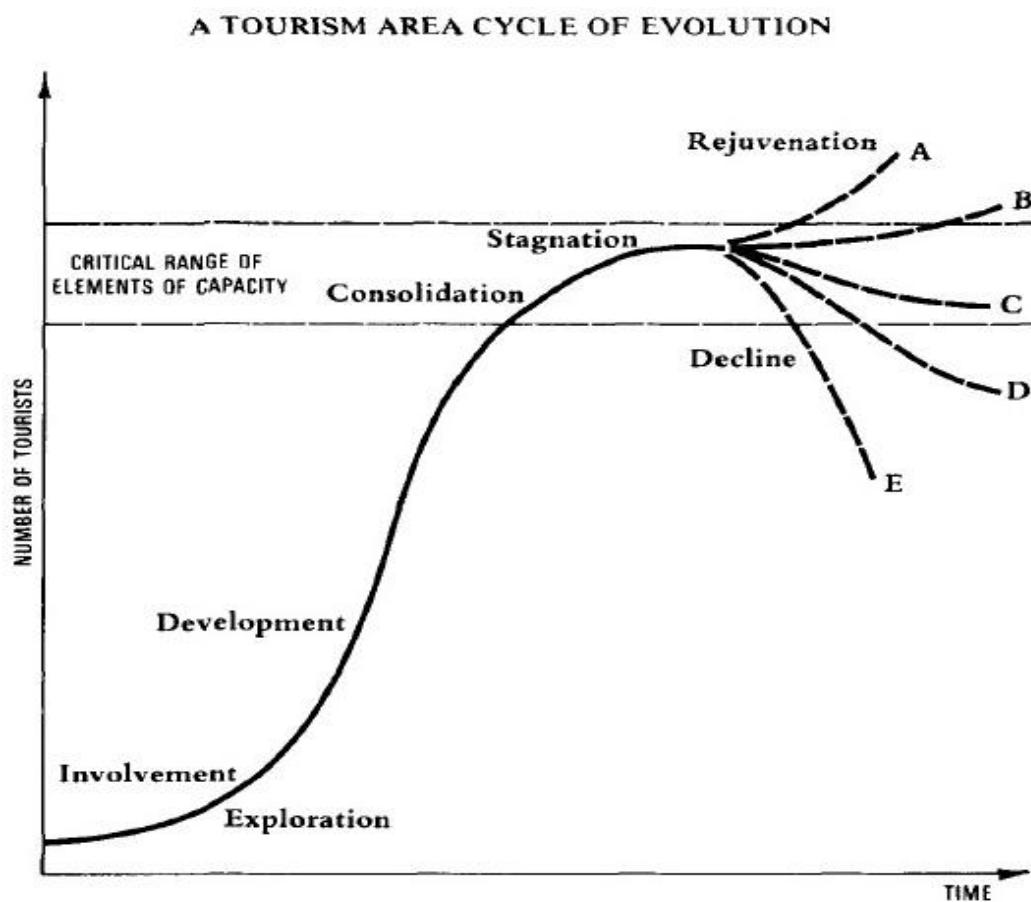


Figure 1.5: Butler’s Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution (source: Butler 1980: 7)

Apart from different definitions, there are also some important concepts for the academic study of tourism. One significant contribution has been made by Butler (1980), who created the Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution (see figure 1.5). According to Butler tourist areas are dynamic and change continually because of

a variety of factors including changes in the preferences and needs of visitors, the gradual deterioration and possible replacement of physical plant and facilities and the change {or even disappearance} of the original natural and cultural attractions which were responsible for the initial popularity of the area (1980: 5).

According to Butlers diagram tourism begins with the exploration stage, in which visitors will come in small numbers to a certain area. There are (almost) no facilities and tourists are restricted by lack of access and knowledge about the place. Once visitors start to appear facilities

are provided by local residents and awareness about the area grows, resulting in an increase of tourists (involvement stage). In the development stage advertisement of the area is high and some locally provided facilities will disappear due to the appearance of larger facilities, provided by external organizations. Once environmental, social and/or physical capacity levels are reached the increasing numbers of visitors will reduce (consolidation stage). In the next stage 'artificial' facilities will have superseded natural and genuine cultural attractions, leading to a stagnation of the number of visitors. Because the attractiveness of the area declines once the area is overused, the actual number of visitors will decrease. Rejuvenation of the tourist area may occur in two ways. Either man-made attractions can be introduced, or previously untapped natural resources may be used to attract visitors. This model has had a great impact on the study of tourism and has been widely used and modified (see Baum 2006; Lagiewski 2006; Agrawal 2006). Although the model cannot make predictions of the future in detail it has proved useful as a tool to give an early warning of decline (Butler 2009: 348). In later work Butler argues that the curve of the Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution should not be seen as a single line, but as 'a series of cycles in different stages of development, some beginning, some at their peak and others in decline (...) [d]ifferent tourism segments and markets will be at different stages at any point in time' (Ibid.).

Another important tourism concept is the idea of the *tourist gaze*, proposed by Urry (2002). According to Urry the tourist gaze is part of the tourist's motivation and results in a need for tourists to gaze upon places, sights and unusual people. Tourists on a holiday look at things, places, peoples, landscapes and performances; they want to experience things which are not part of their usual daily life. However, why and how do people decide to visit certain places? According to Urry this has to do with the distinction tourists make between the ordinary and extraordinary (See also Heitmann 2011: 38). Tourists look for unique objects, such as the Tower of Pisa, the Giant Wall or the Grand Canyon; particular signs they associate with a specific place, such as the typical German beer garden, the typical English village, or the typical Italian trattoria; or they want to see ordinary aspects in an unusual environment, such as everyday routines in a communist country such as China (Urry 2002: 12-13). Urry states there is no such thing as one tourist gaze, but argues these gazes depend on the context in which they are formed: they differ by society, social group and period in history (Urry 2002: 1).

CULTURAL TOURISM, ETHNIC TOURISM OR INDIGENOUS TOURISM?

The nostalgic yearning for our beginnings, for the roots or origins in our modern human existence [is] a potent touristic motivation of moderns, expressed in the quest for the primitive and more extremely, the primitive savage. (Cohen 1996: 228)

As explained above tourism is a very broad term, which generally includes persons who stay outside their normal environment for recreational and leisure reasons. It can include both domestic tourism, where people travel in their own country, and international tourism - people who travel outside their own country. Some important forms of tourism include beach tourism, winter (sports) tourism, sports tourism, wildlife or safari tourism, ecotourism, heritage tourism, cultural tourism and backpacking. Apart from this there are many smaller (sub-) categories of tourism. Often tourists combine different forms of tourism in one vacation. A tourist in Kenya, for instance, might combine beach tourism, wildlife tourism and cultural tourism in one vacation.

This study focuses mainly on cultural tourism; however, this term has many definitions and can lead to much confusion (Cole 2005: 88). Cultural tourism refers not only to the form of

tourism studied in this thesis, but embodies a much broader form of tourism: performing arts, visual arts, cuisines, history, festivals and experiencing nostalgia are all part of cultural tourism. Visiting museums, stately homes and galleries can also be seen as part of cultural tourism. Smith describes cultural tourism as ‘a vestige of a vanishing life-style that lies within human memory “old style” houses, homespun fabrics, horse of ox-drawn carts and plows, and hand rather than machine-made crafts’ (1989: 4-5). Cultural tourism has close relations with ethnic and indigenous tourism and it is necessary to explain why cultural tourism is the most suitable term for this study. Ethnic and indigenous tourism are closely related; according to Smith ethnic tourism

is marketed to the public in terms of the “quaint” customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples. (...) Destination activities that stimulate tourism include visits to native homes and villages, observation of dances and ceremonies, and shopping for primitive wares or curios, some of which may have inconsiderable intrinsic value to the art historian. Frequently these tourist targets are far removed from the “beaten path” and attract only a limited number of visitors motivated by curiosity and elite peer approval. As long as the flow of visitors is sporadic and small, host-quest impact is minimal. (1989: 4)

Tourists who participate in ethnic tourism are interested in cultural practices of these peoples and in ‘native homes and villages, observations of dances and ceremonies and shopping for curios’ (Smith 1989: 4). Indigenous tourism refers to tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved because their culture attracts tourists (Hinch & Butler 1996: 9). Although ethnic and indigenous tourism could be suitable terms for the form of tourism in this study, I will still use the term cultural tourism. According to Jeursen and Tomaselli (2007) the terms can be used interchangeably. They state that Smith’s anthology was compiled when studies on tourism were just beginning, and assign the division between ethnic and cultural tourism as part of the contemporary perspective of that time. According to Jeursen and Tomaselli (2007: 30) ‘Smith’s distinction seems to be based on the notion that while cultural tourism is a re-enactment [...], ethnic tourism is a culturally authentic experience that allows the tourist to see how indigenous people really live, what they eat, what customs they follow’. However, as will become apparent from this thesis it is impossible to create a distinction between tourist activities which are ‘authentic’, thus labelled as *ethnic*, and activities which are created and therefore should be called cultural. Since the labels could be seen as interchangeable, I will use the term *cultural tourism* in this thesis, also because this term is used in most other literature on this form of tourism.

WHAT IS CULTURAL TOURISM?

According to Donlon, Donlon and Agrusa (2010:30) ‘[c]ultural tourism takes place when visitors come into contact with historically unique groups and/or settings, which may be connected, to varying degrees, with the everyday life of a host community’. They differentiate between the ‘host’ population and ‘donor’ population. The host community ‘possesses the material culture and lived experience comprising the ‘pull’ that attracts varied populations’ (Ibid.). The donor population consists of people who come from a different place than the host community. Donlon, Donlon and Agrusa also argue that tourists visit people with different traditions than themselves as well as different from the general traditions of the ‘donor’ population (Ibid.). Cultural tourism is distinguished from culture in a sense, because culture is dynamic and subject to change. On the other hand cultural tourism has a tendency to preserve and conserve elements of culture (Ibid.: 31). Tourists want to see elements of culture which are different and very distant from their own culture. Therefore cultural tourists sometimes do not care whether the activities are

'authentic' or just a representation. This is acknowledged by Lindholm (2007: 43) who states that tourists do not 'care if it's all fake; they expect fakery and appreciate it when it is well done'.

Tourists have already been attracted by the idea of seeing and experiencing other cultures for over four hundred years (Hinch & Butler 1996: 3). Nowadays cultural tourism is one of the most growing markets within global tourism and this growth is likely to grow further (Richards 2003: 1). The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) states that cultural tourism accounts for thirty-seven percent of the global tourism and predicts an annual growth of fifteen percent a year (Ibid.). Culture is seen as an important 'pull factor' on which tourists base their initial decision to travel to a certain country or part of the world (Akama 2002:13). Therefore in most regions cultural attractions are an important factor in the development of tourism. An example of this is the designation of World Heritage Sites which are a magnet for millions of tourists annually. However, tourists are not only attracted by culture in a tangible way; in recent years living culture, as a form of people's identity, has become an increasing form of cultural tourism. Because tourists are interested in visiting other cultures, governments all over the world see more and more potential in cultural tourism to attract tourists and support cultural attractions.

Why is it that people are so attracted to other cultures? According to Hinch and Butler (1996) in the past people were fascinated to learn about other cultures. Today this fascination has shifted towards a mere curiosity, bordering on voyeurism: 'the exposure which many tourists now have to indigenous cultures and peoples is limited to a master/servant relationship, or to fleeting, often staged and inauthentic representations of traditional lifestyles' (Ibid: 3). According to Richards (2001: 6) the combination of nostalgia for the past and a need to reassert local and national identities have a huge effect on cultural tourism. Cultural tourists look for the 'other'; they look for a primitive and exotic community, very much different from their own culture. Because of globalization the whole world is connected, with a result that all corners of the world are influenced by each other. Today it is impossible to find an indigenous community that has not been touched by Western civilization, causing many traditions and cultural practices to disappear. People in the West often feel disorientated by the increasing pace of life and try to find meaning in these 'primitive', indigenous cultures in which they see the origin or roots of their own existence. Modernization together with this quest of finding ones roots has led to the attempt of preserving indigenous cultures. This, in turn, has led to a debate about which cultures should be presented and preserved (Richards 2001: 6).

1.3.2 THE QUESTION OF AUTHENTICITY

Authenticity gathers people together in collectives that are felt to be real, essential, and vital, providing participants with meaning, unity, and a surpassing sense of belonging (Lindholm 2007: 1).

An important concept within the study of cultural tourism is authenticity. Authenticity refers to a product that is seen as genuine; it says something about an object and about how people perceive this object. According to MacCannell modern man is looking for authentic experiences through tourism, because he is on the one hand losing his attachments to things like the neighbourhood, the work place and the family, 'which he once called his own' and on the other hand is becoming interested in the "real life" of others (1999 [orig. 1976]: 91). This causes people to search for authenticity, which they believe they can find in the 'primitive other':

'For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles. In other words, the concern of moderns for "naturalness", their nostalgia and their search for authenticity are not merely

casual and somewhat decadent [...] attachments for the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs. They are also components of the conquering spirit of modernity.' (Ibid: 3).

By visiting indigenous peoples in remote areas and experiencing their "primitive" culture, people go off the beaten track in order to gain (perceived) authentic experiences. Niezen (2003: 2) states that because of globalization cultures and people become uniform, causing people to become a grey uniformity and suppressing the creative cultural energies of groups who are most knowledgeable of nature. It is important not to see authenticity as something fixed, but as a socially *constructed* concept which is open for negotiation and discourse. Lindholm states that authentic persons, collectives and objects are seen as original, pure, and real: 'they are what they purport to be, their roots are known and verified, their essence and appearance are one' (2007: 2). Something is called authentic if people perceive something to be "real". For instance, a Rembrandt painting is considered to be authentic when it is painted by Rembrandt himself and Camembert is authentic if it is from the right region of France, is made in the right way, and looks and tastes as it should (Ibid.). Moreover, it also depends on the process in which a product is created: can all aspects of the process be labelled as authentic? However, it is especially important to look at how something is presented: when airport art is presented as airport art, and perceived as such by its buyers, it is just as authentic as an authentic Rembrandt painting. Hence, something that is very old, or traditional, does not have to be more authentic than something new. Authenticity is a dichotomous construct, as it implies that there are also things that are not authentic, things that are fake (Bendix 1997: 9). Camembert not made in France, a copy of a Rembrandt painting and airport art are all said to be fake. Authenticity is often linked to the pre-modern life: only objects which are created before the influence of Western modernity, especially products which are hand-made, are said to be authentic. Thrilling, for instance, states: 'The machine (...) could make only inauthentic things, dead things' (1972: 127). However, it is important to remember that authenticity is a social construct and thus does not say something about the object, but especially about the way this object is *presented*. For instance a copy of a Rembrandt painting can still be seen as authentic if it is presented as a copy of a Rembrandt painting. When a product is said not to be authentic anymore, it is not so much a product itself which becomes less authentic, but the connotations of authenticity and fakery which are extended (see Cohen 1988: 374-375).

STAGED AUTHENTICITY

As said authenticity is an important concept within the study of tourism. People nowadays are searching for authenticity, in contrast to their modern life. Since "primitive" cultures are disappearing, people visit even more remote places and cultures in order to find authenticity. Tourists travel to a certain (remote) location, where they visit a "primitive" culture, observe how these people live and watch their traditional dances and traditions. However, how much of these tourist activities are really authentic and how much of it is staged?

Staged authenticity is explained by MacCannell (1999). He starts out from Goffman's theory about the front- and backstage. According to Goffman (1959) the front is where hosts and guests meet, and the back is where the hosts retire between performances in order to relax and prepare. In order to sustain a sense of social reality, mystification is necessary in some form. For instance, props and certain activities are kept in the backstage, in order to keep the performance authentic in the front (Ibid.). This can also be seen within the encounter between tourists and local communities in the context of cultural tourism. Local communities in most occasions know tourists come to see their culture, sometimes they are even active stakeholders in this, and therefore there is a difference in the way they act between times when tourists are not there

(backstage) and when tourists are there (front stage). According to MacCannell (1999) tourists are fascinated by the real lives of others, which somehow hold a reality difficult to find in their own experiences. However, since it is unacceptable to gaze into people's lives, local communities will construct their front stages artificially for the tourists. They will create a staged back region, where the tourist will get the feeling they are looking into someone's 'real life'. This manufacturing of tourist spaces is what MacCannell calls 'staged authenticity'. An obvious example of this is when people change into their traditional clothes when tourists visit, which can be seen as mystification. However, for tourists it is not always possible to distinguish between the back and front stage:

Touristic consciousness is motivated by its desire for authentic experience, and the tourist may believe that he is moving in this direction, but often it is very difficult to know for sure if the experience is in fact authentic. It is always possible that what is taken to be entry into a back region is really entry into a front region that has been totally set up in advance for touristic visitation (MacCannell 1999: 101).

Because of this staged authenticity tourists might feel they enter a back stage, whereas in fact they are still observing a 'show'.

Sometimes tour operators or television shows 'sell' a culture as a primitive culture, untouched by civilization, while this is not true, because they think this is what people want to see. A good example of this form of staged back stage can be found in the television programmes such as the Dutch *Groeten uit de Rimboe*, the British *Tribe* and the Belgian *Toast Kannibaal*. In these programmes Western people visit a "primitive" culture. In one of the series of *Groeten uit de Rimboe* a family visits an Ovahimba tribe in Namibia. According to this programme the tribe visited by the Dutch family is "primitive" and "authentic". According to Kraak (2010: 36) the makers of *Groeten uit de Rimboe* try to visualize the cultural differences between the Dutch family and the Ovahimba as extreme as possible. For instance they are not allowed to communicate in English with each other, even though some of the Ovahimba do speak English (Ibid.: 104). The Ovahimba are presented as 'untouched by Western civilization', even though they are familiar with cars, phones, radio's and Coca-Cola (Ibid). Hence, here it is not the host community, but the filmmakers who create this staged authenticity.

It can be questioned whether tourists are looking for a genuine authentic experience or merely an entertaining experience. According to MacCannell (1999) tourists are looking for the 'real lives' of 'primitive populations'. However, they also want to see people in their traditional clothes, experience traditional dances and observe traditional methods of collecting food. Is this still authentic if the people nowadays do not live the way they used to? Is the way they live now not authentic? According to Garland and Gordon cultural tourism is not just about 'the exploitation or appropriation of people as cultural objects', but also about the production of innovative forms of authenticity (1999: 271). In contrast to the views of MacCannell - tourists are motivated by their quest for authenticity - Garland and Gordon propose that the 'bushman meta-tourism offers tourists a sense of authenticity on a higher plane, at the level of their own perceptions' (Ibid.: 281). Moreover, they argue, as long as the quest itself is seen as authentic, the "product" does not have to be (Ibid.). Although tourists might not be looking for a genuine authentic experience, Goldberg (1983: 486) argues that they are also not content with mere entertainment. It can be argued, therefore, that tourists seek a certain level of authenticity. According to Cohen (1988: 376) the search for authenticity varies in intensity and is related to the degree of alienation from modernity: 'Individuals who are less concerned with the authenticity of their touristic experiences, will be prepared to accept as "authentic" a cultural

product or attraction which more concerned tourists, applying stricter criteria, will reject as contrived’.

1.3.3 THE COMMODITIZATION OF CULTURE

Closely related with the concept of authenticity within the tourism context is the idea that local cultures are becoming a “commodity”. It is argued that tourism leads to the commoditization of local cultures because this is economically sold to tourists. According to Greenwood it is part of the capitalist system that anything that can be priced can also be bought and sold (1989: 173). Different schools of thought can be identified within the discussion of the commoditization of cultures. Some scholars argue that the commoditization of a culture leads to the destruction of this culture, because it becomes meaningless to the people who are part of this. In order to explain this process Greenwood (1989) used the example of the *alarde*, a festival in Fuenterrabia, and argued that the festival lost its meaning once it had been opened to tourists like a commodity. He states that in the past the festival, which had a cultural and symbolic meaning to the people of Fuenterrabia, was purely done for the insiders themselves. However, once the festival was marketed like a commodity for tourists, the meaning was lost and the *Alarde* was performed for outsiders. Picard (1990) states that due to the commoditization of the Balinese culture, it is unclear, even for the Balinese themselves, what is the Balinese culture and what is done for tourists. The underlying assumption of this view on the commoditization of cultures, is that people in the host cultures will lose their culture because of tourism influences. Stronza (2001) argues that many scholars are worried that the culture will be lost because the host population adopts new lifestyles, which they have learned from outsiders. Other scholars argue that culture is in fact dynamic and always changing. Cohen (1988), for example, questions the assumption that commoditization destroys the authenticity of a culture and its products. He perceives Greenwood’s assertion that once a cultural object becomes commoditized it loses its original meaning, as an overgeneralization. Cohen provides counterarguments, by stating that the commoditization of culture can also be done because people are proud to show their culture. According to Medina (2003: 353-354) the transaction between tourists and their hosts generate new forms of culture, which can be meaningful as well as authentic.

1.4 | METHODOLOGY

To understand a strange society, the anthropologist has traditionally immersed himself in it, learning, as far as possible, to think, see, feel, and sometimes act as a member of its culture and at the same time as a trained anthropologist from another culture. (Powdermaker 1966, cited in Sluka and Robben 2007: 1).

In this master project I have used qualitative methods, since I wanted to get an in-depth understanding of the situation in the NNC. I have done fieldwork in Namibia for three months, from January 2012 until March 2012. The first two weeks were spent in Windhoek, where I conducted interviews with relevant organizations and people, as well as finding a way into the NNC. The other two-and-a-half months were spent in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy itself. Most of the time I was in Tsumkwe, conducting interviews, making observations and ‘hanging around’. But I also visited several villages inside the conservancy, some just for one day, others for a longer period.

1.4.1 CHOICE OF RESEARCH AREA AND TOPIC

The choice of topic for this research stemmed from an interest in environmental issues, which I got during the pre-master programme of Cultural Anthropology. I got interested in sustainable solutions to both environmental as well as poverty issues. When I started the Master Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology I started reading about CBNRM programmes. This form of sustainable development sounded very promising and I was eager to see such a programme with my own eyes. This research could be done in many different places and countries, but there are several reasons why I chose for Namibia and the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. First of all, I have always had a fascination for sub-Saharan Africa, so I knew I wanted to carry out this research in an African country. Secondly, Namibia has already implemented many CBNRM conservancies since 1993 and therefore has a lot of experience. Third of all, I got in touch with Stasja Koot who had done similar research in Namibia and had some connections for me there. He told me about the Nyae Nyae Conservancy as well as the Bwabwata Conservancy. However, because I did not have a driver's license he recommended me Nyae Nyae, since this area would be better accessible without a car than Bwabwata. Furthermore, because Nyae Nyae was one of the first conservancies in Namibia, it would make a good case study, since the people already had many years of experience with the conservancy.

When looking back at the research proposal I wrote before my departure to Namibia it differs a lot from the end product. I started out this research with the idea of studying the effectiveness of the CBNRM conservancies, with a special focus on empowerment. I knew I had to minimize the focus of my research once I was in the field, since this topic would be too broad to research within three months. After arriving in Tsumkwe I found myself interested in the workings and influences of cultural tourism on the local population and especially how the Ju/'hoansi themselves look at tourists and tourism; therefore I decided to make this the focus of my research. In the end my personal interests as well as practical limitations have steered me in the direction of this research.

SINGLE CASE STUDY

In order to get an in-depth understanding of how cultural tourism influences local communities and how local communities in return influence cultural tourism I chose to use a single case study as my research strategy. Although it could be argued that it would be better to compare multiple case studies in this research the biggest reason why I did not do this was that I was limited by time. Since I only had three months I could either choose to do in-depth research in one conservancy or less in-depth research in two or three conservancies. Therefore I chose to limit my research to the case of the NNC. However, within the NNC I did research in many different places. Most of my time was spent in Tsumkwe, but I also visited villages within the conservancy. These villages all were in some way related to cultural tourism. Three villages form the basis of my research: Nhoma, /Xa//oba and Doupos.

1.4.2 INFLUENCES ON THE RESEARCH

As is characteristic for qualitative, ethnographic research, this study is a representation of my own impressions. It is important therefore to discuss how to manage this subjectivity, as well as reflect on these issues, in such a way that the study can still be seen as scientific. Reflexivity acknowledges that anthropological research will be influenced by researchers' socio-historical relations (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). It rejects the idea that social research can be done without any form of influence by the researcher. By being open about this influence and

explaining what happened during the fieldwork; how it was carried out; the researcher's position in the field; etcetera, we can try to manage subjectivity as best as possible.

A first influence has been the balance between being a researcher and a tourist. Since my research focussed on tourism, I sometimes visited villages together with tourists. In these instances I participated as a tourist, although I always did mention to other tourists that I was a researcher. While they did not mind I was coming along and observing the activities in which they participated, they usually did not want me to do an interview with them. Therefore I had to limit my interviews with tourists to informal conversations. Since the focus of my research mainly is on the perspectives of the Ju/'hoansi themselves this did not create a real problem. Although I did not see myself connected to the tourists who visited Nyae Nyae, most Ju/'hoansi did see me as a tourist. One Ju/'hoansi man explained:

You are a tourist because now, currently you are doing research, but after your research you learn from the Ju/'hoansi how they are living, once you go back... you will still inform your friends about the Ju/'hoansi. And then they will like to come also. Because you are coming from another place to come to see what the Ju/'hoansi are doing, although you are doing your research you are a tourist (Interview 34).

This showed me that the Ju/'hoansi have different perceptions of tourists and who they are from the Westerns perceptions. I will discuss this further in chapter four.

Another, more practical influence on my research was the fact that I did not have a driver's license. Because Nyae Nyae is such a remote place (with the nearest supermarket 300km from Tsumkwe) it was difficult to get around without my own vehicle. If I wanted to go to a village I first had to find someone willing to take me there. Often when I finally got a lift, my interpreter was nowhere to be found. This made things a lot more complicated, since I had to rely on others and could not always make my own schedule. If I did have my own transport during my stay I probably could have made a lot more visits to villages than was possible for me now. Not having my own car also had its advantages. Since I had no transport I walked a lot during my stay in Tsumkwe, allowing me to meet a lot more people than I would have otherwise. Moreover, I often hitchhiked together with local people. I think not having a car made me less distant from the people living in Nyae Nyae than it would otherwise have been.

Another influence was the fact that I was not in Nyae Nyae during the touristic season. Therefore I could not meet as many tourists as I would have wanted. I was allowed to go with tourists on activities through the Tsumkwe Country Lodge several times and during my stay in Nhoma an elderly couple stayed for two nights at the Nhoma Safari Camp. This of course influenced the focus of my research. If I would have had the opportunity of meeting a lot of tourists I probably would have focused more on their perspective as well, whereas now this study mainly looks at the perspectives of the Ju/'hoansi. However, I feel this has been a positive influence because it has forced me to focus on the perceptions of the Ju/'hoansi, which I feel contributes more to the existing literature on cultural tourism.

1.4.3 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation involves immersing yourself in a culture and learning to remove yourself every day from that immersion so you can intellectualize what you've seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly. (Russell Bernard 2006: 344)

Fieldwork is the study of people and of their culture in their natural habitat. Anthropological fieldwork has been characterized by the prolonged residence of the investigator, his participation in and observation of the society, and his attempt to understand the inside view

of the native peoples and to achieve the holistic view of social scientist. (Powdermaker 1969, cited in Robben and Sluka 2007: 7).

At the heart of my research lies participant observation, which can be seen as the foundation of cultural anthropology. Because I spent a longer period with the Ju/'hoansi in Nyae Nyae, people got more comfortable around me, which aided me in collecting data about their lives. I took field notes about what I saw and heard, I spoke with local villagers and made photographs of activities, people and environments. Through participant observation I was able to experience the daily life of the Ju/'hoansi, especially in the villages. A lot of this participant observation consisted of 'hanging around'. Just outside my house in Tsumkwe a small shop with a petrol station was located. The petrol station (two small pumps) is a meeting place for the inhabitants of Tsumkwe; here many people meet, hang around and talk with each other. I spent a lot of time here in order to get people to get used to me, hear the local gossip and make small talk with people (see picture 1.1). I also spent a lot of time at the conservancy office. Outside the building was a small bench, where conservancy members used to gather. Men sat and talked with each other and women were busy working on crafts. Even though they would often speak Ju/'hoansi with each other and I could not understand them, it was useful to hang around here because they started to recognize me.



Picture 1.2: Participant observation: 'Hanging around' in Tsumkwe

Also in the villages I noticed people would open up to me more after I stayed a few days in their village. One useful way of getting people to open up to me was by taking photographs, which I noticed during my stay in Nhoma. Whereas in the beginning I was careful with taking photographs because I did not want to intrude upon the villagers too much, it turned out to be a great way of communicating with them:

When I get out my camera to take a picture of the children playing with the chair everybody gets very excited. They all want to see the picture I made and want me to take a

picture of them as well. While I was a bit cautious with taking photographs in the village, because I thought it might make people feel awkward, the opposite is true. The women came with their babies and wanted me to photograph them. After I had put my camera away the children kept looking at me to see whether I would take a picture again. (...) I also feel more comfortable in the village after this myself, because it is a way of communicating with them. (field notes 07-02-12).



Picture 1.3: Children posing for my camera in Nhoma

The evening after this event all the children gathered around my fire. Because of the photographs they felt more comfortable around me and had overcome their shyness in communicating with me.

1.4.4 INTERVIEWS, INTERVIEWEES AND INTERPRETERS

Apart from the many informal conversations I had, I also conducted interviews. In total I conducted forty-seven interviews, which can be organized in five different categories:²

- *Organizations*
 - o *Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA)*
 - o *NNDFN*
 - o *MET*
- *Ju/'hoansi*
 - o *Tsumkwe*
 - o *Doupos*
 - o *Nhoma*
 - o *//Xa/oba*
- *Management of the NNC*

² For a list of all interviews see Appendix 2.

- *Tsumkwe Country Lodge and Nhoma Safari Camp*
- *Other*

Since I did not speak the Ju/'hoansi language most interviews with Ju/'hoansi were conducted with the aid of an interpreter. I used different persons for this, because I did interviews in different villages and it was not possible to ask my interpreter in Tsumkwe to stay for a longer period with me in the villages. My interpreter in Tsumkwe was Goodman Kgao Ggaesje. First I was assigned another interpreter by the conservancy, but since he was also in the management of the conservancy, and his wife the chairperson of the management, I felt this could make things complicated when I wanted to ask questions about the effectiveness of the management for instance. Later I found out Goodman also had been the chairperson of the management for a few months. However, since he was not connected with the management anymore I felt this was less of a problem. Moreover, at that time my research focus had already shifted from the effectiveness of the CBNRM programme to the influences of tourism on the Ju/'hoansi. I have used three different villages as case studies for this thesis: Doupos, Nhoma and //Xa/oba. Since Goodman was born in Doupos, and it was not too far from Tsumkwe, he also aided me with translating interviews in this village. In Nhoma and //Xa/oba I used other interpreters. In //Xa/oba my interpreter was Komtsa Daqm, one of the sons of the headman. In Nhoma my interpreter was Steve Kunta, who was also a valuable key informant. Steve works at the Tsumkwe Country Lodge, but is born in Nhoma. He invited me to stay with him and his family in Nhoma during his vacation from the lodge. Because I came to Nhoma with Steve, and also stayed in the village itself, I felt the villagers accepted my presence very quickly. I think this would have been more difficult if I would have stayed at the lodge near the village and would have come there on my own.

These interviews form an important part of this study. Because my research has focussed on the perceptions of the Ju/'hoansi themselves, I have included a lot of quotes in order to give the Ju/'hoansi a voice in this study. Of course I was only able to interview a small part of the Ju/'hoansi population of the NNC and I chose most Ju/'hoansi respondents randomly, often guided by my translators. Although I did make sure to include approximately the same amount of male and female, and young and old Ju/'hoansi, the interviewees cannot be seen as a reflection of the Ju/'hoansi population. However, it does provide me with many interesting examples.

None of my respondents has asked me not to use their own name. However, some of them told me certain confidential stories, with which they did not want to be connected. In general I have not used personal names, especially of Ju/'hoansi respondents, because some of the subjects discussed are sensitive and naturally I want to avoid harming my respondents. However, sometimes it is obvious who the person is because of their (professional) function. In these instances I have used personal names, because it would be clear who the person was in any case.

Before I did my first interview in the NNC with the Ju/'hoansi I had to decide whether I had to give some form of compensation to the interviewees. Since the Ju/'hoansi have dealt with anthropologists, researchers and filmmakers for decades they are used to receiving gifts for participating in interviews. I was aware that it could influence their answers and opinions in order to make me satisfied and that it could create jealousy under people who did not have a chance to be interviewed. On the other hand, I did not want to give my respondents the feeling I was exploiting them. In the end I decided to give the Ju/'hoansi who did not have a job some

small, useful gifts, such as soap, sugar and tea. I never gave them money or tobacco in return. I noticed that the few Ju/'hoansi who did have jobs never asked me for anything in return.

1.5 | CONTENTS BY CHAPTER

In this first chapter I have introduced the framework of my research. In chapter two I will discuss the different types of cultural tourism in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. In order to say something about the effects of cultural tourism it is important to have an understanding of how cultural tourism in the area works and who are the different stakeholders. This chapter will provide the empirical basis for the rest of this study. In chapter three I will look at the effects of cultural tourism on the Ju/'hoansi San. I will look at the way cultural tourism has evolved in the NNC over the years, and link this to Butler's Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution. This chapter will also discuss the opportunity that cultural tourism could offer for the development of the Ju/'hoansi. Is cultural tourism able to empower the Ju/'hoansi by making them active stakeholders in the tourism process, or does it have the opposite effect? The fourth chapter will discuss the perspectives and perceptions of the Ju/'hoansi on tourism and tourists. It will give an overview of the opinions of the local communities. It is important to be aware of their ideas, because they are participating in the tourism process. This chapter will also discuss the process in which the Ju/'hoansi are adapting to a modern life. I will end this chapter by looking at the future of cultural tourism in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. In the final chapter I will summarise and conclude my arguments and analysis.

2. CULTURAL TOURISM IN THE NYAE NYAE CONSERVANCY: HOW DOES IT WORK?

During my journey to Tsumkwe I could understand why Nyae Nyae is not one of the most popular destinations in Namibia: it took me two days to arrive in Tsumkwe from Windhoek. First I had to take the minibus from Windhoek to Grootfontein, which was a seven-hour drive. After staying one night in Grootfontein I got a ride from someone working in Tsumkwe. This took us almost four hours, because of the bad condition of the road. In the dry season it is possible to reach Tsumkwe with a two-wheel drive, however, in the rainy season the road becomes very muddy and some parts flood. Driving through Nyae Nyae itself is impossible without a four-wheel drive. The remote location and difficult accessibility do not make it a number-one destination for tourists in Namibia. However, the area receives tourists and the number of visitors is increasing. There are a few environmental attractions, such as the Nyae Nyae salt pans, which usually flood between January and March, attracting a lot of rare birds; the baobab trees, some of which are over a thousand years old; and the Khaudum National Park, which is known for its large concentration of elephants. Another attraction is the experience of wilderness, which offers tourists a sense of remoteness and isolation. However, the biggest attraction for tourists is the Ju/'hoansi San culture, which can be experienced in the area. This chapter will discuss the different aspects of cultural tourism in the NNC. There are different ways a tourist can experience the Ju/'hoansi culture and it is important to look at how these different forms work. I will also talk about the problems with regard to the different aspects of tourism. Lastly, I will look at the relation between tourism and the NNC and NNDFN.

2.1 | DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF TOURISM

In the NNC there are several ways in which a tourist can participate in cultural activities and experience the Ju/'hoansi culture. Ideally the management of the conservancy would like tourists to come to their office. Here tourists can pay the entrance fee of N\$30. They can also provide them with information about the area and the different options of accommodation and cultural activities. The office can also provide tour guides who can accompany the tourists and take them to villages in Nyae Nyae. However, most tourists who come to the NNC will go straight to the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. They often do not know about the conservancy office and have only read about the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. Many tourists who come to Tsumkwe are on their way to Botswana and will stay at the lodge before they cross the border. The lodge offers tourists several ways of experiencing the Ju/'hoansi culture in villages, as well as excursions into the Khaudum National Park. Even though most tourists choose to stay at the Tsumkwe Country

Lodge this is not the only way to experience cultural tourism in the conservancy. The Tsumkwe Country Lodge has contracts with several villages to where they take tourists on excursions. One of them is the Living Hunter's Museum in //Xa/oba. This museum is aided by the Living Culture Foundation Namibia (LCFN). An organization that has put up several cultural villages in Namibia. Tourists can visit this village through the Tsumkwe Country Lodge or on their own. The two other villages that are known for their cultural activities are Doupos and Mountain Pos. These villages have a cultural village apart from their own village, where tourists can experience the Ju/'hoansi culture. These two villages also have a small camp site where tourists can camp. Apart from the Tsumkwe Country Lodge there is also a lodge in Nhoma. This village lies just outside the borders of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, but it is also a place where tourists can come to see how the Ju/'hoansi live.

2.1.1 TSUMWKE COUNTRY LODGE

People from all parts of the world come to Namibia in the hope of rediscovering what has been lost. Today we are surrounded by concrete cities and have forgotten where our true nature is rooted.
(Namibia Country Lodges)

Most tourists who come to the NNC will stay at the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. This lodge was started by Arno and Estelle Oosthuysen in 1994 and was then called the Tsumkwe Lodge. It was a small lodge and there was no electricity or telephone at that time. Tourists were taken by Oosthuysen to Ju/'hoansi villages where they could experience the traditional Ju/'hoansi culture. Most of his employees used to be Ju/'hoansi. He told me that after a while they also built a shop in Tsumkwe for the people, since they asked him for this. In 2007 Oosthuysen sold his lodge to Namibia Country Lodges, because he was afraid of rivalry by this organization, who wanted to put up tented camps in Nyae Nyae. Namibia Country Lodges is a Namibian organization which owns six lodges in Namibia. Their motto is 'we are where you want to be' (Namibia Country Lodges, n.d.). Their brochure states that they 'support conservation and believe in sustainable use of natural resources'. It states that their lodges benefit the local communities directly because they provide employment and training for the local population: '[w]e strive to protect and enhance the environment at all times, leaving a light foot print and ensuring our guests an unforgettable experience' (Namibia Country Lodges, n.d.).

THE CULTURAL EXPERIENCE

The Tsumkwe Country Lodge has five camp spots and twenty-five rooms for rent. Since many tourists who come to Tsumkwe are on their way to Botswana, many of them only stay for one night and do not participate in cultural activities. However, there are also tourists who come specifically to see the Ju/'hoansi culture. It is possible to book cultural activities through the lodge. Tourists have two options; they can either choose a full-day or a half-day Cultural Experience at a Ju/'hoansi village. In principle the activities are the same with these two options, but with a full-day everything is done a bit longer. Tourists will go to a village after breakfast in an open 4x4 wheel vehicle, accompanied by one of the tour guides of the lodge. The village where they go to is chosen by the tour guides and the manager. In general there is a rotating system between the Living Hunter's Museum in //Xa/oba and the villages of Doupos and Mountain Pos. When the tourists arrive the Ju/'hoansi sit in their traditional clothes in the traditional village. They work on their crafts and sit around the fire (see picture 2.1). After some introductions the tourists are taken by the Ju/'hoansi to the bush, where they learn them about the use of the plants and trees for medicine or food. They look for the water root and show the

tourists how they drink this. The tourists can also observe how they make fire and how they set up traps. After exploring the bush the tourists go back to the village together with the Ju/'hoansi where they can experience the traditional healing dances and other traditional dances and games. After these activities tourists have the option of buying some crafts. A full day cultural experience costs N\$1417 per person, with a minimum of two guests and N\$772 if there are four guests or more.



Picture 2.1: Tourists in the traditional village of Doupos

MANAGEMENT CHANGES

Just before my arrival in Tsumkwe, in the beginning of January 2012, a new manager was installed. She already worked in the lodge for a long time and when the former manager was fired she was asked to replace him. She calls herself a 'bush person' and told me she likes it very much in Tsumkwe: 'I enjoy the quietness and the peace and... I'm happy. I don't want to go to town again' (interview 26). One of the main things she likes about the lodge in Tsumkwe is the team of workers she has, who she calls her family:

I think the biggest thing for me at this stage it's, it's ehm,... the nice group of workers I've got. I've got a team that - I will never change that. I will go nowhere because of them. (...) So I think that is the most positive thing. The lodge and all the workers, it's, it's so good team, that we feel like a family. So for me to leave, will feel like I leave my family (Interview 26).

She told me around a few months before our interview she wanted to leave the lodge. When she said this to the workers many of them started crying and said they did not want her to go. At that moment she decided she did not want to leave them; they were the reason she decided to stay. She explained to me she respects all the workers with her whole heart. One of the tour guides I spoke to agreed with this statement. He said she is much better than the previous manager, who was always drinking alcohol and did not want to listen to them. He told me with the current

manager it is different. Another employee also told me the manager is a very good person. He said she is not forcing them:

If you are finished with your job you must come back and she will say thank you. She treats me very good. I am very happy with our boss.

Q: Why is she good?

A: Because I see how she treats me, it is not forcing you. Even if your job takes long and you go back to the lodge (...) she will say thank you, it is good (Interview 29).

Many other employees whom I spoke to also told me the atmosphere is very good at the lodge with the current manager. However, another tour guide told me he does not like to work under the current manager. He had already worked for the lodge before, when Oosthuysen was still the owner. After Namibia Country Lodges took over things changed and he decided to quit. He told me he was a tour guide, but he also had to cut the grass and clean the swimming pool. He did not like this. In 2011 he started to work for the lodge again, because they told him they needed him. He does not want to work there permanently. He told me he liked the previous manager better, because this manager liked him, but the current one does not. According to him the current manager treats one of the other guides as her son. According to the tour guide when he asks her something she is always annoyed and answers 'why are you asking me this?' This does not make him feel good (Field notes 17-01-2012).

Whereas Oosthuysen's employees used to be mainly Ju/'hoansi people, now there are also people from other tribes working at the lodge. As one guide told me one of the first times I paid a visit to the lodge, people who work outside - such as the cleaners and gardeners - are Ju/'hoansi, but the people who work inside are black (Field notes 16-01-2012). He does not think this is a good division. He told me the black workers do not treat them nicely and like to complain about the Ju/'hoansi workers. The manager of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge explained that when there is a vacancy they first consult the Nyae Nyae Conservancy to find out if they know a Ju/'hoansi who is able to do the job. If there is no one suitable for the job they ask someone from outside the conservancy. She told me only the people who work in the bar and reception area are not Ju/'hoansi, because according to her they cannot do these jobs. Currently there are forty-four people employed under the lodge, of which around twenty-five workers are Ju/'hoansi. This includes the people who work at the General Dealer (the shop in Tsumkwe). The manager told me the three guides are all Ju/'hoansi, as well as the two people who work in maintenance. Most of the others work in the garden or as cleaners. She said they are really good people. One of the problems she faces, however, is alcohol abuse. After payday many of the Ju/'hoansi employees do not show up because they spent their money on alcohol. This is something she struggles with.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE TSUMKWE COUNTRY LODGE AND THE NNC

Not everyone in the conservancy is that happy about the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. Many people feel that the lodge earns the big money, whereas the conservancy misses out on income generated by tourism because of the lodge. According to the councillor of Tsumkwe, Kxao Moses #Oma, the lodge basically is a good thing because it accomodates visitors, but it benefits the outsider, instead of the people of Tsumkwe (Interview 35). A member of the management of the conservancy told me they should have an agreement with the Tsumkwe Country Lodge, but that there is no such thing at the moment. There is also the issue with the conservancy fee of N\$30 tourists are supposed to pay at the office when they visit the NNC. Since most tourists do not know about this, but do go to the lodge, there was an agreement that there would be a box at the lodge where tourists could pay the fee. However, no one at the lodge supervised this, so it did not work. This is something they regret at the conservancy. The manager of the Tsumkwe

Country Lodge, is not aware of any problems with the conservancy. She said they help them as far as they can:

I think in Tsumkwe all of us know the one hand helps the other hand. If they need something we help them, if we need something we go to them. I think we've got a good relationship. It was not that good in the previous times, but it is getting better (Interview 26).

According to an employee of the NNDFN the relation between the conservancy and the Tsumkwe Country Lodge is not very positive: 'The conservancy feels like the lodge is sitting there, disrobing them of a certain fee that should be for them' (interview 23). He confirmed that there is no concrete agreement between the lodge and the conservancy, but thinks it is important to work on this. He told me he thinks it is important to develop long-term agreements with the lodge. He does only blame the lodge; he thinks the lodge feels that the conservancy just wants money from them. Now both sides go into the meetings with negative attitudes, which does not lead to good solutions.

2.2.2 NHOMA SAFARI CAMP

The Nhoma Safari Camp is situated close to the village of Nhoma, which actually lies just outside the boundaries of the NNC. There are plans to include the village within the conservancy; the papers for this have been filled out a long time ago and have been sent to the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET), but nothing has happened so far. An employee of NNDFN told me the MET does not really know how to deal with this case. They cannot just change the boundaries of the conservancy, which makes it a difficult issue. According to a man from Nhoma the community first did not want to be part of the conservancy; however, now that they have seen the benefits the conservancy brings, such as the cash benefit at the end of the year, they do want to become part of the conservancy. It would make sense to include Nhoma in the conservancy since the community is entirely made up of Ju/'hoansi. According to the owner of the Nhoma Safari Camp it will not be beneficial to the community to become part of the conservancy, since the conservancy will take the money they make from film productions in the village, which is now a big source of income to the community. According to him they only see the cash benefit the conservancy pays out at the end of the year, but not the negative sides of becoming part of the conservancy. He is not afraid it will change something for his lodge however, because he has been here long before the conservancy existed and he has got contracts the conservancy cannot undo.

The Nhoma Safari Camp is owned by Arno Oosthuysen, who previously owned the lodge in Tsumkwe. In 1999, when he still owned the Tsumkwe Lodge, he was asked by the community of Nhoma whether he could take tourists to their village so that they could get some income. Since Nhoma is quite far from Tsumkwe, about eighty kilometres, Oosthuysen decided to put up a temporary tented camp near the village: the Nhoma Safari Camp. After he sold the lodge in Tsumkwe to Namibia Country Lodges he permanently moved to Nhoma, where a luxurious tented camp is situated now. The lodge is located about five-hundred metres from the village of Nhoma and consists of ten luxurious tents. There is a reception area, which is also the dining area. Apart from the tents, the lodge also has a few camp spots. Currently there are eight Ju/'hoansi permanently employed at the lodge. They work in the kitchen, they clean and they collect firewood. There is also a small shop for the community at the lodge, where a few products such as sugar, maize meal and tea can be bought. Oosthuysen told me the people asked

for the shop, because otherwise they could not do anything with the money they earned from tourism.

Tourists who stay at the Nhoma Safari Camp get a package for two nights, which includes meals, drinks and activities. Tourists do not choose what activities they want to do; it is already included in their stay. Usually the people arrive in the afternoon and are welcomed by Oosthuysen in the reception area. After some introductions and drinks they go to the village with a Ju/'hoansi tour guide where they can watch traditional Ju/'hoansi dances and games. After this they go back to the lodge where they have dinner. In the evening they go back to the village again where they can experience the traditional healing dances. The next morning they go into the bush with a guide and some hunters for a bush walk. The hunters show them all the different plants they use for food and medicine and how to track spoor. They also show the tourists how to make fire, how to drink the water root and how to set up traps. Around noon they go back to the lodge where they have lunch and can relax a bit. In the afternoon they go back to the village where the hunters show the tourists how they make the poisonous arrows. The tourists also have the opportunity to buy crafts from the community.

NHOMA, THE VILLAGE

Steve Kunta, tour guide at the Tsumkwe Country Lodge and one of my key informants, is from Nhoma. He knew I wanted to stay in some villages for my research and when he was on leave he invited me to come with him to his village. Steve now works for the Tsumkwe Country Lodge, but he used to work as a tour guide for Oosthuysen in Nhoma. However, after a quarrel with Oosthuysen, Steve left and went to Tsumkwe. Now he sometimes goes back to Nhoma to visit his family, but when he is there he tries to avoid Oosthuysen. Before we went to Nhoma he told me Oosthuysen would not be there the first few days of my stay, which was good, he said, because he would not like it if I was stay in the village.

When I asked Steve whether Nhoma also had a separate cultural village like the one in Doupos he told me Nhoma is 'real'. He said there is no separate cultural village, because the people still live in their traditional grass houses. He told me in Nhoma it is not a show like in Doupos:

As I always tell you, like those villages here are showing. So some people are not real hunters. They are just showing how they are doing this, getting money from tourists. In Nhoma people are doing real thing. They catching springhare, they catching porcupine, they do everything (Interview 47).

Nhoma is situated on a hill, which provides a nice view over the surrounding area (see picture 2.2). The village is made up of two parts: the main village and the location. All the houses, both in the main part and the location, are made of grass. In the location, where I stayed, there were seven houses. The location and the main part are connected by a small path of about hundred metres. The main part is much bigger than the location. It is a large, cleared, sandy area, surrounded by the bush, with several trees in the middle. Around this area the traditional houses are placed. Unlike in the location these houses do not have fences around them. In the centre there is a cleared area, surrounded by wooden sticks. This is the place where they perform cultural activities for tourists (see picture 2.3). The wooden sticks are used for hanging their crafts. From the main area a path leads to the lodge. When you get to the lodge you arrive at the reception area. It is a building made out of wood and a grass roof. There are no walls, but there are large mosquito nets surrounding the building. Behind the reception are the ten safari tents located.



Picture 2.2: Nhoma: the main village



Picture 2.3: Women in Nhoma performing traditional dances for tourists

It soon became clear to me that tourism played a large role in the village. The women spent a large part of the day making crafts. They sit together and make ostrich eggshell beades, bracelets from coloured beads they receive through the conservancy and other jewellery. Moreover, the days before Oosthuysen and the tourists come, I heard them mention his name many times. Even though I soon noticed that most people are not happy about Oosthuysen, they all cheered when they saw his car approaching the village. One villager told me they are happy about the lodge, because this makes sure tourists come to the village, but they are not happy about Oosthuysen.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND ARNO OOSTHUYSEN

Soon after my arrival I discovered there was a lot of tension between Oosthuysen and the community of Nhoma: it seemed they were both tired with each other. Many villagers I spoke to told me they wanted him to go so that they could take over the lodge themselves. Almost everyone agreed that Oosthuysen does not treat them with respect and that he had too much influence in the village. According to one man from the community, Oosthuysen does not have respect for the Ju/'hoansi:

He is not having a respect. He don't have respect. [...] He is always insulting the people in Nhoma. He don't care about this one is elder and this one is what and this one is what. He insult everyone. [...] Maybe he said 'fuck you, fuck you' or maybe something like that. Yeah... maybe he tells you mothersfucker and those things. It's not good. That one is not good (Interview 21).

Oosthuysen himself also seemed to be tired with the people of Nhoma. In an interview he told me he would sell the lodge tomorrow if he got an offer. When I asked him if he was still happy here he answered:

No, they piss me off. It is not that... It is definitely not a pleasure to work with them. I can think of a lot more work satisfaction than working with them. [...] Nobody needs this kind of nonsense in your life. It is like working with ten-year-old children. That's what it is (Interview 16).

He finds it very difficult to work with the people:

you work with uneducated people who think that everything will fall out of the sky, that never worked before. There is no work ethic. Nothing like that. So you never know if the workers will be there, or if anyone will work at all. It is ridiculous. Actually quite stupid if you work here (Interview 16).

There are also some problems regarding the small shop Oosthuysen has at the lodge for the community. He told me that he is not that happy about the shop:

It's a pain in the ass the shop. That's what it is. It is a waste of time. I have to drive hundred and eighty miles extra, just to get supplies for the shop. Do you think it is a pleasure for me? To waste a whole bloody day to buy their supplies (Interview 16).

When I asked him why he still has the shop, he said because the community needs it. The villagers in their turn were also not happy about the way things are going with the shop. They mainly complained about the opening hours: the shop is only open when Oosthuysen is here and only at one o'clock. When Oosthuysen is not there they do not have any opportunity to buy food. Another example of his influence in the village is that he does not allow the people to have cattle in the village. One of the Ju/'hoansi told me he thinks it is not fair that they cannot have cattle. He thinks it is best to spend your money on cattle, in order to invest for the future. Because of Oosthuysen this is not possible however. Later he also told me he wants to leave the village to

start a new village, where it *is* possible to have cattle. Oosthuysen also forbids the community to drink alcohol in the village. If he catches them drinking he will fine them. Although many people agree alcohol is not good, they do not think it is good that Oosthuysen decides this for them.

A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Another example of Oosthuysen's influence in the village is my personal experience. After a few days Oosthuysen came to the village because tourists would stay at the lodge. Since Steve had told me he would not like it that I was staying in the village I was wondering how he would react when I would show up at the lodge. When I arrived at the lodge the tourists also had just arrived. I introduced myself to Oosthuysen and told him I was doing research on tourism and therefore was staying in the village. To my surprise he did not seem to mind this and he even invited me for dinner that night. He also asked me whether I wanted to go with the tourists on activities. However, after two days Oosthuysen told me that I would have to leave the village within three days. I was surprised by this, since he had been so hospitable the first two days. He told me a film crew from the BBC was coming in a few days and they did not want any outsiders around in the village. I told him that I was very interested in the film crew and asked him if it was not possible for me to stay and observe the process. He told me he had a contract with the village which said he was the only one who could work with the village, which meant he had the right to send me away. I did not see the contract, but when I asked the people in Nhoma about this they told me they did know about this. However they did not know exactly what is in the contract. Many people told me the contract was supposed to be ended by now. They said it was a contract for five years and had expired by now; however, Oosthuysen is still there. Later Steve told me Oosthuysen has extended the contract with ninety years and will stay there until his death. This was a clear example of the influence Oosthuysen had in the village: even though I was invited by someone from the community itself, Arno had the power to send me away.

2.1.3 //XA/OBA: THE LIVING HUNTER'S MUSEUM

//Xa/oba is a Ju/'hoansi village twenty-three kilometres northwards from Tsumkwe. //Xa/oba is home to the Living Hunter's Museum, which was started in the beginning of 2010. The Living Museum is an initiative of the Living Culture Foundation Namibia (LCFN), a 'non-profit, German-Namibian organization which focuses on cultural cooperation in rural areas in Namibia' (Living Culture Foundation Namibia, n.d.). This organization has created several cultural museums in Namibia, where tourists can experience the different cultures of Namibia. According to the information on the website of the LCFN a Living Museum 'is an interesting and authentic way of presenting traditional culture. A Living Museum is a cultural school for tradition and a communal Namibian tourism business at the same time' (Living Culture Foundation Namibia, n.d.). By protecting the traditional cultures of Namibia they try to fight poverty in the country. LCFN currently supports five Living Museums in Namibia and they are developing two more. The first museum that was started is the Living Museum in Grashoek, which is run independently by Ju/'hoansi since 2004. It can be seen as an open-air museum: the Ju/'hoansi focus on showing their original lifestyle. They offer several programmes for tourists including a bushwalk, singing and dancing, and an action day, during which the Ju/'hoansi show all different aspects of their culture. The Grashoek Living Museum runs very well; in high season the village is sometimes visited five times a week (Humphrey & Wassenaar 2009: 21). One of the people

who worked in Grashoek, !Amache, initiated the Living Museum in //Xa/oba. He was supported in this by the LCFN and the museum currently runs since February 2010. One of the main differences between the museum in Grashoek and the one in //Xa/oba is that in the last tourists can also experience hunting. The NNC is the only conservancy in Namibia where indigenous peoples are still allowed to hunt. LCFN has helped the community of //Xa/oba with creating a programme for the Living Hunter's Museum and they have placed an information board in the village for tourists, where they can read about the different activities that can be done and how much they cost.



Picture 2.4: //Xa/oba: The Elephant Song Campsite

//XA/OBA: THE VILLAGE AND THE LIVING HUNTER'S MUSEUM

There are about thirty-five Ju/'hoansi living in //Xa/oba. When I arrived I was immediately warmly welcomed. People wanted to share their tea and drinks with me, something which I had not experienced in Nhoma. I could stay in the main village near the house of one of my informants. Soon after my arrival I was introduced to one of the sons of the chief, who could help me with translating. //Xa/oba has a cultural village apart from the main village. Next to the traditional village the campsite is situated, where tourists can camp (see picture 2.4); there are no facilities. Tourists arrive at the reception area, which is situated at the beginning of the main village. When a group of tourists arrive, one of the two tour guides of the village goes to them and introduces himself to the tourists. The tourists can look at the information board to choose an activity they want to do. After they have chosen what they want to do the actors will get dressed in their traditional clothes. Most tourists who come choose the programme 'action day.' On this day tourists can see all the different aspects of the Ju/'hoansi culture such as a bushwalk, hunting and gathering, tracking spoor, making fire, putting up traps and the traditional dances and games. There are two tour guides in the village, who are both sons of the chief of //Xa/oba. They will translate what the Ju/'hoansi explain the tourists. In //Xa/oba the tour guides

themselves also wear traditional clothes, unlike people from villages such as Doupos and Nhoma, where the tour guides wear modern clothes.

//XA/OBA AND THE TSUMKWE COUNTRY LODGE

The Living Hunter's Museum and the Tsumkwe Country Lodge have an agreement which says that the lodge will take some of their tourists to //Xa/oba. Although the lodge has a rotating system it is not always possible to take tourists to this village in the rainy season, because of the bad condition of the roads. Tourists who come through the lodge are accompanied by a tour guide of the lodge itself and they always do the programme 'action day'. The Ju/'hoansi of //Xa/oba receive N\$1000 for working with tourists for a full day and N\$750 for a half day. Although people are happy that tourists come through the Tsumkwe Country Lodge there are also complaints about the lodge. Many people I have spoken to prefer the lodge to pay them at the village, instead of at the lodge. One villager complains:

Country lodge they used to support us, but... They, they used to come and the money they did not take along. They leave the money at [the Tsumkwe] Country Lodge. They come here, after activities we are struggling to go to the lodge (Interview 41).

This is something that is stated in the contract they have with the Tsumkwe Country Lodge, but the lodge does not live up to this. The contract states that if the tourists are accompanied by a tour guide from the lodge, this tour guide will pay the villagers the money they are supposed to receive for working with tourists. Now this is not happening. Someone from the village has to go to the lodge in Tsumkwe to receive the money there. According to the manager of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge this is a good deal, because they will have to go to Tsumkwe to do shopping anyway. However, most people in //Xa/oba do not agree with this. Although they often get transport from the tour guide back to Tsumkwe, they have to search for transport back to the village themselves, which often costs a lot of money. It often happens that the person who collects the money at the lodge will spend some of the money for himself. Another complaint regarding the lodge is that tourists who come through the lodge sometimes take pictures in the modern village, without paying for it. It is not included in the price for action day. The people feel that the tourists from the lodge should pay for taking pictures in the modern village, just like other tourists.

CONFLICT WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

Just after I arrived, !Amache, the initiator of the museum, told me he was in a conflict with some of the other villagers. He said they accused him of taking money. He also told me one of the villagers threatened him. He did not want to stay in the village when people treated him like this, therefore he told me he would leave the village with his family in a few days. During interviews and talking to people I found out there was a conflict over a certain event with tourists. Some tourists stayed for several days in the village, but !Amache had arrived at //Xa/oba a day after the tourists came. Although he did help for the remaining days the people did not want to pay him any money. After talking to one of the people from LCFN he did receive a small amount, but there was still quarrel over this. During my stay some people from the conservancy came to the village, in order to talk with the community and try to solve the problem. Luckily in the end the problem was solved and !Amache decided to stay in the village with his family.

2.1.4 DOUPOS

Doupos is a small Ju/'hoansi village close to Tsumkwe. It has a separate traditional village where tourists can come to experience the Ju/'hoansi culture. It is the first village that was used for this

purpose by the Tsumkwe Lodge – a relation that already started with Oosthuysen. Apart from Doupos, Mountain Pos is also used as a cultural village by the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. Since I have not visited Mountain Pos I will limit my writing to what I have experienced in Doupos.

Tourists can either come to Doupos through the lodge or go there by themselves. At the Tsumkwe Country Lodge they can book a half day or a full day experience and are accompanied by a guide from the lodge. It is also possible for them to book a guide at the conservancy office in Tsumkwe. During their stay in Doupos tourists can experience the Ju/'hoansi culture by doing a bushwalk with the Ju/'hoansi, during which they will explain the different plants they use; observing how the Ju/'hoansi make fire and how they set up traps; and experiencing the traditional (healing) dances.

In Doupos around twenty-five Ju/'hoansi live. The houses in the actual village are not the traditional ones made of grass; most of them are made of clay and some are even made of bricks (see picture 2.5). Doupos is one of the villages which was aided by the Cattle Fund, set up by John Marshall and Claire Ritchie (Biesele and Hitchcock 2011: 19). The village has a kraal and many villagers still own cattle, which they use for milk and meat. At the moment the distribution of cattle has been restricted by the Conservancy, because the number was too high and they could therefore spread diseases to wildlife in the area; this is something the villagers are dissatisfied with (Koot, forthcoming). Around hundred meters from the actual village the traditional village is situated (see picture 2.6). There are eight traditional houses, made of grass. At the traditional village the campsite is also located, but this is no more than a space under a large tree which is reserved for tourists; there are no facilities. The villagers are divided in two groups who both work with the tourists. In the past they did not have this division, which sometimes led to quarrel over who would go with the tourists. Therefore they decided to make two groups, who could join the tourists in turns. In total they receive N\$1000 for a full-day and \$750 for a half-day for working with the tourists from the lodge. In the past this used to be N\$750 for a full-day and N\$500 for a half-day cultural experience. The money is divided over the Ju/'hoansi who have participated in the activities that day.

PROBLEMS WITH TOURISTS

Most tourists who visit Doupos come through the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. They either choose the half-day or full-day cultural experience. It is also possible as a tourist to come independently to the village. The NNC has provided villages like Doupos with price lists for tourist activities. They can show this to the tourists, in order to prevent disputes with tourists about money. These price lists have been initiated because of several cases where tourists did not want to pay the right amount of money to the communities. There was one incident in Doupos where a couple did a tracking activity with the community, but afterwards did not agree on the price. The administrator of the NNC told me about the confrontation:

They were insulting each other and the guy came here angry. And they said the information from the office was not clear and they don't know their work and those things.

Q: What was the problem?

A: It started like this, it was the price of this tracking (...) The guy was asking about the hours and the people of the village said we don't deal with hours, it is full day or half day. After they went and come back they were asking for eight hundred [Namibian Dollars] and he was not having that eight hundred dollars to pay them. Until they came here. The tourist was very angry. He said he would stop people to come here. The San people are stupid. They don't know how to work with people.



Picture 2.5: Doupos: the modern village



Picture 2.6: Doupos: the traditional village

Q: You were there?

A: Yes I was the one who was having the meeting with him. Trying to solve the problem without the chairperson, he was out for a meeting. It was very difficult for me (Interview 39).

In the end the tourist paid N\$250 and she paid the rest out of the conservancy cash. This way the problem was solved. According to the administrator the problem was not only created by the tourists. She told me it is also the community who makes it difficult by not being clear about the price beforehand. Now that price lists have been created things have improved and not that many incidents have happened where tourists did not want to pay.

2.2 | CULTURAL TOURISM AND THE CONSERVANCY

During my fieldwork in the NNC I heard many Ju/'hoansi complain that the management and the NNDFN do not focus enough on tourism. They told me they think the conservancy should focus more on improving tourism in the conservancy. The councillor told me the NNC should be a tourist destination. He thinks the Tsumkwe Country Lodge takes advantage of the people:

When you look at other conservancies you find that they have lodges. They have joint ventures, other institutions [...]. If you look at how many tourists coming in here, but only with their private tour operators. Only these are benefitting. What I will say is that the community is getting peanuts. Even though they are actually performing for tourists and show their cultures. But they are getting peanuts (Interview 35).

He thinks tourism is a good thing to invest in:

Devils claw is only seasonal and then you leave it to recover for some years. But tourists are coming every year. So I believe there is a potential. I believe there is money there. Even if it is something small (Interview 35).

According to an employee of the NNDFN tourism is not a high priority for them; they haven't focussed on tourism that much (interview 24). Part of this view is influenced by the research paper of Ed Humphrey and Theo Wassenaar. In 2009 they were asked by the NNDFN and WIMSA to conduct a research on the potential of tourism in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and the N#a-Jaqna conservancy. They wanted to know whether there was potential for tourism practices in the conservancies. Humphrey and Wassenaar looked at all the different tourism opportunities in the area and gave them either a low, medium, high or very high priority. They stated that trophy hunting has very high priority since it has a lot of potential and could be stimulated more. Village-based campsites and cultural activities are awarded a high priority, but they recommend to mainly focus on improving the existing campsites. This paper has influenced the opinion of the NNDFN a lot; they do not focus on tourism as a source of income anymore. It can be questioned whether this is a good development. The research conducted by Humphrey and Wassenaar consists mainly of reviewing documents, statistics and tourism operations as well as telephone and face to face interviews with 'people with knowledge of the local area and its potential for tourism and trophy hunting' (Humphrey and Wassenaar 2009: 7). However, only one week of field visit has been conducted. It is clear that the focus of the research is not on the local population, but on the NGOs and businesses in the area. When listening to the local population a different story is told. Although tourism might not be a main revenue for the conservancy itself, it is an important source of income to individual members of the conservancy. For many people it is the only way of earning some money, therefore this should be stimulated more. This issue will be discussed more broadly in chapter three and four.

2.3 | CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided the basis of this study by discussing the different cultural tourism aspects in the NNC. I have looked at two lodges in the area: the Tsumkwe Country Lodge and the Nhoma Safari Camp; as well as three cultural Ju/'hoansi villages: Doupos, Nhoma and the Living Hunter's Museum in //Xa/oba. I have discussed the different activities tourists can do in these villages, such as hunting and gathering, observing how to make fire and experiencing the traditional dances. In general the activities in each village are the same. However, the way they are performed sometimes differs. For example, in Nhoma the women do not wear their traditional clothes when they perform the traditional dances for tourists, whereas in //Xa/oba and Doupos everyone, men, women and children, wears the traditional clothes when tourists come. In //Xa/oba the local tour guide also wears traditional clothes, whereas in Nhoma and Doupos they wear modern clothes. This chapter has also studied the problems with regard to cultural tourism, which mainly include conflicts between the Ju/'hoansi in the villages and the 'outsiders' at both lodges.

3. | THE EFFECTS OF CULTURAL TOURISM ON THE JU/'HOANSI

In the previous chapter I have discussed how cultural tourism works in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. Now it is important to look at the effects of cultural tourism on the lives of the Ju/'hoansi. I will start with explaining how tourism evolved in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and relate this to Butler's Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution, discussed in chapter 1. I will also look at the effects of cultural tourism on the lives of the Ju/'hoansi. Four effects can be observed, which I will discuss in paragraph 3.2 and 3.3. Paragraph 3.2 will look at the direct effects of tourism, which mainly includes the creation of income. Paragraph 3.3 will discuss the indirect effects I have observed. The three main effects are the possibility of the revival of the Ju/'hoansi culture through tourism; the possibility of the empowerment of the local communities who work with tourists; and the creation of a front- and backstage by the Ju/'hoansi. Of course more effects could be observed; however, I see these four as the main influences on the Ju/'hoansi and have focussed on these during my research.

3.1 | THE EVOLVEMENT OF CULTURAL TOURISM IN NYAE NYAE

The introduction of cultural tourism in the NNC has been a slow and gradual process. When the CBNRM programme started in the 1990s tourism was still very small, but in recent years tourist numbers are increasing. The first real tourist operation was started in 1994 by Arno and Estelle Oosthuysen. At that time it was a very small lodge, without electricity and a telephone. When we look at Butler's Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution (see figure 1.5), this period can be seen as a transition from the involvement stage to the development stage. Although the lodge was created by outsiders it was still very small and there were few facilities. The visitor numbers were not yet high and tourists mainly consisted of adventurers and elite: there was no mass tourism yet. Nowadays tourist numbers are rising and the tourism forms in the area are changing. This began with the take-over of the Tsumkwe Lodge by Namibia Country Lodges, which can be seen as part of the development stage, in which larger, local facilities are taken over by external organizations. Moreover, a difference can be observed between the Tsumkwe Country Lodge

and the Nhoma Safari Camp. Oosthuysen explained that he mainly focuses on the foreign (elite) tourists with his lodge in Nhoma; he does not want mass tourists to come to his lodge and does not allow organized tours to come:

It is bus groups mostly going [to Grashoek], staying at Roy's Camp and going there. They are drunk most of the times in any case. [...] We don't even allow them here, we don't take bookings from them (Interview 16).

According to Oosthuysen the tourists who come to Nhoma are there because they are interested in the Ju/'hoansi culture. He states that it is different from tourists who come to Tsumkwe, since they are often on their way to Botswana and only stay for one night at the lodge in order to pass through. In contradiction to the Nhoma Safari Camp, where cultural activities are included, these activities are optional at the Tsumkwe Country Lodge.

At the moment, tourism in the NNC is still in the development stage: tourist numbers still rise and outsiders come in order to provide tourists with facilities and accommodation. At the moment the consolidation stage is still far off, since tourism investments are still made. For example, a new cultural village is currently created, close to Doupos and Mountain Pos. This village is created with funding from the UNDP. During the time I was in Nyae Nyae people from Doupos and Mountain Pos were busy with clearing an area designated for the cultural village. According to people from these villages the cultural village is supposed to be run by the Ju/'hoansi themselves. These forms of initiatives could be beneficial to the development and empowerment of the Ju/'hoansi. If successful, a new stage could be added to Butler's figure: a stage in which local communities gain control over tourism ventures, which helps them to become more developed and empowered. Paragraph 3.3.2 will take a closer look at the relation between tourism and empowerment.

3.2 | DIRECT EFFECTS OF CULTURAL TOURISM ON THE JU/'HOANSI

3.2.1 CULTURAL TOURISM: CREATING SOURCES OF INCOME

One of the direct benefits of tourism in the NNC is income. Earning money has always been difficult in the NNC, especially for Ju/'hoansi. Wage work is only present in Nyae Nyae for a few decennia and during the 1980s most of these posts could be found in the army or in administration. Nowadays there are still few jobs and most of these posts are occupied by non-San. Since most Ju/'hoansi have not finished school and are illiterate it is difficult for them to find work. However, now that hunting and gathering has become very difficult, especially for Ju/'hoansi living in Tsumkwe, it is necessary to buy food in the shop. Ju/'hoansi who do have jobs mostly work for the Nyae Nyae Conservancy or the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. The NNC provides around thirty (part time) jobs and, according to the manager of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge, of the forty-four employees she has, around twenty-five of them are Ju/'hoansi.

In the past, one of the only forms of income was the pension for the elderly. People above sixty receive N\$250 each month, which is essential money for life in the village since a good portion of it is spent on food. However, this money is only for elder people; younger Ju/'hoansi do not receive this. Today the conservancy distributes a yearly cash benefit to its members: a certain amount of money made by the conservancy is split over all its conservancy members and is rewarded at the end of each year. Generally, members receive around N\$300. However, there are many disadvantages to this way of earning money. First of all, a lot of members spent this money on alcohol, instead of food, clothes or tuition fees for their children. A member of the management of the conservancy explained:

Last year every member got four hundred dollars, but all this money just went to drinking. Even most of them have kids, but they will just drink the money. Even if there is hunger, or they don't have clothes. It is not good. I am not happy about it. We were thinking... There is people who are suffering but we cannot help them. There is kids in school but they don't have a uniform. If we could sent away people who could work. Or to sent kids somewhere to school. This money we could use it for the children. But it is used for drinking (Interview 10).

Secondly, some people argue that the money should not be given to the members, but that the conservancy should invest it in cattle, or use it as a fund for talented school children. Since it is only rewarded at the end of the year it is not a continuous form of income for the people.

EARNING MONEY THROUGH CULTURAL TOURISM

According to Wiessner (2004) cash income through tourism only makes up a half percentage of the total income for the Ju/'hoansi in Nyae Nyae. In 2002 only N\$10 000 created by tourism was earned by the Ju/'hoansi in Nyae Nyae (Wiessner 2004: 154). Biesele and Hitchcock (2011: 210) also state that the returns from tourism are relatively low. However, if we look at the income created by the selling of crafts another picture is painted: in 2002 N\$302 000 was created by Ju/'hoansi through the selling of crafts. Although not all these crafts were sold to tourists directly I do see the selling of crafts as part of income by tourism, since it is enabled *because* tourists are interested in the Ju/'hoansi culture and their crafts. The introduction of cultural tourism to the area has created new jobs and a new way of earning money. Because tourists come, the Ju/'hoansi are able to sell crafts, either through the crafts shop in Tsumkwe, or directly to tourists themselves. Moreover, they can participate in cultural activities for tourists in some villages. There are also jobs created by tourism, for instance at the Tsumkwe Country Lodge and the Nhoma Safari Camp.

The Ju/'hoansi are aware that cultural tourism is a source of income to them. It soon became clear to me that most Ju/'hoansi see money as the biggest benefit of cultural tourism. Every time I asked someone what the benefits of tourism are they would explain that tourism is a way of earning money in the conservancy. Most people are aware that tourists bring money to the conservancy and that they can benefit from this by doing activities and selling crafts. An employee of the NNDFN confirmed that most conservancy members benefit from tourism:

Almost every member of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy di... I mean benefits through tourism directly. Directly either through selling crafts here or... Doing some other activities. Hunting with tourists or... Also tourism, filming I can see contributes a bigger amount to the conservancy income. So it is all those activities that generate money. You have a lot of guides in the conservancy that has work. So there is a lot of income that comes in directly to the members through tourism (Interview 23).

Most Ju/'hoansi state that tourism is very important to them because it is a source of income; they see tourism as a way of survival. It is therefore important for them that tourists keep coming to the conservancy, so that they can show them their culture and earn a little bit of money. One woman explained:

You know, you don't have anything and then maybe you are just surviving from the ehm... bush foods, or gathering or... And once [the tourists] are coming also then you get something they can buy. Maybe some bread, or some tea, or sugar. [...] When tourists come, that's why they are receiving something, money. Let's say money. [...] So it is only the way how we are surviving, or receiving money, it's through the tourists (Interview 32).

By earning a little bit of money through tourism, people are able to buy some food or clothes. Although many Ju/'hoansi are still dependent on gathering, tourism has made it possible for them to complement bush foods with food from the shops, such as maize meal and tea. However, tourism does not only benefit them because it brings money; when I asked people whether they also benefitted from tourists apart from the money, they told me the tourists sometimes also give them other things:

No the other part is, it's not only money. Sometimes if [the tourists] are having clothes, or some things you know, this ones or some blankets, if they are having they also give it to the village people. It is not always like money. Sometimes money, sometimes clothes, or either food (Interview 32).

Not only adult Ju/'hoansi are aware of the income benefits by tourists. During an assignment I did with some school children, in which they had to answer some questions regarding tourism, I found out that they are also aware of the benefits of tourism. One girl wrote:

If I used to see tourists in our village I am proud because sometimes they used to come and tell us to sing one song for them about our culture. (...) they give us sweets and money and everything.

Another girl answered:

The tourist are travel around the countries when they come to our house they tell us to play our culture and give us money and people like to play for tourists. (...) the tourists like to give sweet to the children.

These two examples show that children are often aware that the tourists pay them money for doing activities. They do not only mention money, but also sweets. Both girls link these benefits to performing the culture to tourists.

It is often believed that indigenous groups such as the Ju/'hoansi San should not receive money for tourist activities, because they will otherwise spend this on buying alcohol or tobacco. Instead, it is argued, they should be given things like food or clothes. The LCFN states that the Ovahimba are often not paid by tourists: 'under the pretence of not wanting to spoil the culture with money, payment is made in by giving sugar, tobacco, maize meal and other goods to the traditional villages' (Living Culture Foundation Namibia, n.d.). Moreover, they state, this practice is also accepted by many tour operators in Namibia. Although this might be done under the pretence of protecting these indigenous groups, it undermines their position as stakeholders in the tourism process. In the case of the Ju/'hoansi good agreements have been made between the conservancy, villages and the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. The conservancy has created a price list which villagers can show to tourists. In general tourists pay the Ju/'hoansi money for the activities. It can be argued that the Ju/'hoansi should not receive money, but should be paid in food or clothes, since they will otherwise spend it on alcohol. However, I have also observed cases in which the money made by tourism *is* spent on food. For instance, just after I arrived in //Xa/oba one of the villagers returned with many bags of maize meal, tea, sugar and other edible things. This food was distributed amongst the members of the museum and was paid with money they had earned through tourism. In order to create active stakeholders of the Ju/'hoansi it is important to let them make their own decisions.

3.3 | INDIRECT EFFECTS OF CULTURAL TOURISM ON THE JU/'HOANSI

3.3.1 CULTURAL TOURISM: REVIVING THE JU/'HOANSI CULTURE

Since the 1950s the Ju/'hoansi culture has gradually become forgotten, because of the interest in modern life. Ju/'hoansi children used to learn about cultural aspects such as hunting and gathering by coming along with their parents. Therefore, because many children go to school now, there is less time available for them to learn about their culture. Most children are more interested in things like mobile phones and modern clothes and rather have a modern life instead of a traditional life. Although children rather have a modern life this does not mean they are not interested in their own background. On contrary, many adolescents and children I have spoken to certainly were proud of their Ju/'hoansi culture and still wanted to learn about this. Because tourists come to Nyae Nyae for the Ju/'hoansi culture, the culture makes a certain revival. The Ju/'hoansi understand that in order to keep tourists coming they have to know about their culture. For example, because of cultural tourism in many villages people have traditional clothes again.

PRIDE

Wiessner (2004: 154) notes, '[t]he Ju/'hoansi are not willing to be regular players in a service oriented industry'. This is not what I have observed throughout my stay in Nyae Nyae. During interviews and observations I noticed that most Ju/'hoansi are very proud of their culture; they are aware that their culture is different from other cultures and they are proud of their traditions. This sense of pride is increased *because* of tourism. People are aware that tourists come to see their traditional culture and they are very proud of this fact. People enjoy showing their culture to tourists, not only because they receive money by doing this, but also because they want to teach tourists about their culture. One man told me it is important to keep your culture:

I still have got my traditional life. The traditional life is what I've been grown up with. The older people have learned you this and told you never to lose your culture. You must always keep it up (Interview 27).

Later he tells me sometimes tourists do not believe he is a Ju/'hoansi San, because he wears normal clothes and has a job:

Most of them don't believe when I am with them and introduce myself to them and tell them [...] I'm a Ju/'hoansi. They don't believe. [...] because I speak English, wearing normal clothes and look clean.

Q: How does that make you feel?

A: I am unhappy when they say that, because I am proud of my culture and I want to be a Ju/'hoansi (Interview 27).

It is not just the elder Ju/'hoansi who feel this pride; also younger people whom I spoke to told me that they are proud to be a Ju/'hoansi. Although many people, both Ju/'hoansi and non-Ju/'hoansi, have stated that the younger generation is not interested in the traditional culture anymore, this is not what I observed. It is true that young people are often also interested in the modern life, especially the ones who have had education, but that does not mean they have forgotten about their culture. One guy of around twenty years old told me that he often wears traditional clothes when he is back in his village and does not feel ashamed about this:

Q: Do you like wearing the traditional clothes?

A: Yes, I like it... It is my home clothes.

Q: Some people tell me they feel ashamed if they are wearing the clothes?

A: Yes, it can be. Because those grow up in the town, and we grow up in the village.

Q: You don't feel ashamed?

A: No, why should I feel ashamed of my own culture. I cannot. That is my background. [...] I'm proud of my culture (Interview 25).

In an assignment with children from the secondary school in Tsumkwe I asked them whether they like to learn about their own culture. One girl wrote:

Yes I like it, because most things that I do are of my culture and I want to know more about it due to the fact that it help to know most of our values in life as people and to be proud of ourselves.

These examples show that although the culture is changing and people are adapting to a modern life, Ju/'hoansi are still interested in their past and are proud of the fact that tourists come to see the traditional Ju/'hoansi culture.

REVIVAL OF JU/'HOANSI CULTURE

As explained above some scholars argue that cultural tourism leads to a destruction of the authenticity of cultures. Although this can partly be observed in the case of the Ju/'hoansi, I believe on the other hand cultural tourism actually revives the traditional culture. Because tourists come for the traditional Ju/'hoansi culture it ensures that certain parts of the traditional culture are not forgotten by the Ju/'hoansi. Tourism therefore can be seen as an effective method to revive the Ju/'hoansi culture. This is also stated by Biesele and Hitchcock who have observed that 'not only [...] crafts were beneficial as a way of generating income, but also that the production of crafts kept culturally important skills at the forefront, ensuring that knowledge of plants and other resources that are important in craft manufacture would be passed on' (2011: 210). I spoke to Ju/'hoansi who confirm this statement. For instance, Goodman, my interpreter, told me that before independence in 1990 the Ju/'hoansi culture was almost lost. After the war ended tourists started to come to Namibia and were interested in the traditional San culture. They wanted to see how the people used to live and wanted to experience the culture. Because there was this demand for cultural tourism, people started to learn about their culture again. (Field notes 23-03-2012). This is also confirmed by a man from Doupos:

Q: Do you think tourism has changed something?

A: (...) people almost forget [their culture] since quite long time. If the tourists could not be here you don't see today people still remember where they are coming from. Their clothes, their dances even their hunting, everything. Gathering. Once the tourists come they brought this back to the people again. So now people can still remember, hunting, gathering, clothes also. (...) Tourists brought these changes back to the people, to still maintain their culture. So maintain and benefit at same time (Interview 34).

According to this man it is *because* tourists come they remember their culture again. He also states that people teach their children again about their traditional culture:

Like some of us who attend school they never know any of this gathering food you know. I cannot be happen to say I know all of them. No, some I cannot easily identify. (...) the kids can learn, so they know what is the right fruit to be eating and through the gathering. Boys know hunting, which type of animal you shoot and so on. Or when you follow the footprints of the animal. This oldest day, the changes it brought again to the Ju/'hoansi (Interview 34).

This can be linked to Cohen's (1988) statement that commoditization can actually help to preserve the culture, especially when the culture is already in a decline. He argues that it is

because a culture is not flourishing anymore that it is commoditized: 'Under such circumstances, the emergence of a tourist market frequently facilitates the preservation of a cultural tradition which would otherwise perish. It enables its bearers to maintain a meaningful local or ethnic identity which they might otherwise have lost' (Cohen 1988: 382). In contrast to scholars who state that the culture becomes meaningless once it is commoditized, Cohen argues the culture actually becomes meaningful again. This is also acknowledged by Doğan (1989: 223) who argues that:

tourism itself may be a factor in the preservation of the traditional culture rather than in its dissolution. In many instances, traditions, customs, and institutions in the process of vanishing under the impact of industrialization and urbanization have been revived and have gained a new spirit and meaning when they have become touristic attractions themselves.'

According to Doğan tourism therefore is able to revitalize traditional cultures, because when tourists are interested in the traditional aspects of a culture, people will feel the need to preserve these aspects (Ibid.) The Ju/'hoansi are not the only example of a culture that is revived through tourism. Smith (1982), for instance, gives the example of Greenland, which has been discovered as a tourist destination. Since tourists are also interested in the Inuit culture, Smith talks about a 'renewed sense of ethnic identity'. Van den Berghe (1994) argues that tourism causes 'a renaissance of native cultures or the recreation of ethnicity'. Although it can be argued that the Ju/'hoansi are "playing the natives" for tourists, this does not have to be a negative development. According to Stronza (2001: 271) because tourism can act as a mirror and transform the identity of, in this case, the Ju/'hoansi, tourism can have the potential to revive old values. She states that 'tourism (...) can become an empowering vehicle of self-representation, and locals may purposely choose to reinvent themselves through time, modifying how they are seen and perceived by different groups of outsiders'. Marshall and Ritchie (1984: 73) argue that although it might be a sad development that the Ju/'hoansi are no longer hunter and gatherers, it is not possible, nor desirable for the Ju/'hoansi to turn back time.

3.3.2 CULTURAL TOURISM: EMPOWERING THE JU/'HOANSI

An important question is whether cultural tourism is also a useful method of developing and empowering the Ju/'hoansi. Although it is of course better that the Ju/'hoansi are compensated for allowing tourists to come and see their culture, this does not mean that tourism is also actually empowering the Ju/'hoansi. Since the Ju/'hoansi San have been exploited by many outsiders for a long time, it is not unlikely that cultural tourism will just be another way of taking advantage of this marginalized group. If we look at cases of cultural tourism with other indigenous or marginalized cultures it does not always stem hopeful. However, it is important not to push the Ju/'hoansi automatically in the position of passive bystanders within the tourism process. Anthropologists often argue that host-guest interactions are asymmetrical in terms of power and that the guests can decide 'how any given encounter will unfold' (Stronza 2001: 272). Stronza argues that it is often forgotten to look at the possibility that locals can actually be active stakeholders in their encounters with tourism (Ibid.).

In the case of the Ju/'hoansi San two developments can be found. On the one hand there are examples in which it looks like the Ju/'hoansi become active stakeholders in cultural tourism activities; on the other hand I have also seen examples in which it looks like the Ju/'hoansi are just exploited by outsiders. A good example in which the Ju/'hoansi are empowered through tourism is the Living Hunter's Museum in //Xa/oba. In this village the people initiated the

museum themselves, making them active stakeholders in this project. On the other hand, when we look at the Nhoma Safari Camp another picture is painted. Here an outsider is in control over the tourist operation. Although the villagers are participating in cultural activities and some are working for the lodge, they cannot completely be seen as active stakeholders.

THE TSUMKWE COUNTRY LODGE

The Tsumkwe Country Lodge has around forty-four employees, of which twenty-five of them are Ju/'hoansi. Most of these jobs include cleaning, gardening and maintenance. Three of the Ju/'hoansi employees work as tour guides. As I explained above, according to the manager if there is a vacancy she first contacts the conservancy and informs whether they know anyone suitable for the position. If they do not know anyone she looks for someone outside the conservancy. She says it is mostly only people working in the kitchen who are non-Ju/'hoansi because 'they [the Ju/'hoansi] cannot do this' (interview 26). When I ask her why she cannot find Ju/'hoansi for positions in the kitchen she explained:

[Cooking] is difficult to find in their culture. And these people is people working so many years at lodges and hotels and that things and yeah... that is the important side because the customer wants good food (Interview 26).

This shows that the Tsumkwe Country Lodge really is a business: the most important thing is that customers come and that they are happy; developing the local communities is not their main focus. However, the manager does seem concerned for the well-being of the Ju/'hoansi, especially her employees. She said she wants to teach them important things in life:

Yeah, the - the most important thing is that I can learn them, and - and if the person is not ehm... open to learn then I cannot work with him. It's to... like I said, respect your work, respect the people around you, you're working with and the company you're working for... (...) the whole team has to stand together to make this place a success... (Interview 26).

She gave an example of one of her employees who used to drink a lot and often would not show up at work, therefore eventually she fired this employee. However, the next day he came back and wanted her to take him back for the job - he told her he really needed this job. Now he quit drinking and is one of her best employees. She told me he also influences others:

And I see all the others is seeing that. How his work is improving and so on. So I'm a little bit... I want them to learn. What I want them to learn is look after your money, look after your family. And I will not allow there is drinking. That is not my style, that is not why I give you work. We really try to learn them to be responsible. It is difficult because it is a culture where they drink all day long. But there is one or two or three that you struggle with but the rest is really good (Interview 26).

Although this shows she does want to help the local communities, it is questionable whether this actually does empower the Ju/'hoansi. It is interesting to compare this example to the concept of *Baasskap*. Suzman (2000: 57) describes this concept as 'an explicitly paternalistic model of and for farm relations, one which was seen to lend itself particularly well to the 'childlike' Ju/'hoansi'; it can be seen as an ultimate expression of paternalism. Many Afrikaner farmers see the Ju/'hoansi as their children. Sylvain (2001) talks about an Afrikaner farmer who knew all the life history of the Ju/'hoansi on his farm, because they were his childhood playmates. Sylvain writes that the farmer proudly proclaimed: 'These are my Bushmen -I am the Papa!' (2001: 725). According to Sylvain '*baasskap* is ultimately predicated on the assumption of the authority of a male family-head that is supplied by a patriarchal model of family government' (2001: 728). In the case of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge the (female) manager of the lodge can also be seen as

the *baas* and mother ('father') of her 'Bushman children'. During a conversation I had with her she also implied that she sees the Ju/'hoansi as her children who she has to nurture and educate (Field notes 15-03-2012). However, as Sylvain correctly argues, it is not just a top-down issue; the Ju/'hoansi also participate in sustaining this concept. When I asked one of the tour guides whether he liked the new manager better than the previous one he told me:

Yes, it is better than the previous one. (...) But now with the new manager that we have now, she is more better. *She is looking out for us.* (...) We are working like one family. She can even understand when you are having a problem (Interview 27, emphasis added).

This shows that this tour guide agreed with the relation he had with the current manager and he accepted the mother-child role they had. However, I also heard negative sounds about the lodge and the manager. Another tour guide explained that he does not like it that he also has to other jobs like cleaning the swimming pool and cutting the grass. He also does not like the new manager. He said she does not treat him good (Interview 47).

Although the lodge does offer some Ju/'hoansi a job, which could be seen as empowering the people, the power structures contradict this view. Since outsiders form the top of the lodge structures, the Ju/'hoansi are marginalized. Outsiders tell them what they have to do every day; they cannot make decisions themselves regarding tourism. This might be changed if Ju/'hoansi were involved in the management of the lodge.

THE NHOMA SAFARI CAMP AND NHOMA

In Nhoma a similar situation as with the Tsumkwe Country Lodge can be found. Here it is also an outsider who owns the lodge and makes most decisions regarding tourism and tourists. Although it is too easy to state that the villagers of Nhoma do not have anything to say within the process, not much effort is made to increase empowerment amongst the Ju/'hoansi. As explained in the previous chapter, Oosthuysen first owned the lodge in Tsumkwe, but later sold this to Namibia Country Lodges. At that time he had already started the tented camp in Nhoma. He explained that it were the people of Nhoma who came to him to ask him to start a lodge in their village:

They came to us. We don't go to a village to ask if we can work with them, they come to us and then they will ask if we want to come with them. We were not interesting in working here at all. If they didn't ask us we would never have been here (Interview 16).

According to Oosthuysen the people of Nhoma were aware that they could gain income if a lodge would be situated in their village. It can be argued that this makes them active stakeholders, since they asked for the lodge themselves. However, in practice not much is left of this empowerment. The only decisions they can make is with regard to which activities they will do with the tourists. When I asked the villagers whether it is them or Oosthuysen who decides what activities are done with tourists one woman answered:

It is not Arno [Oosthuysen] that decided, because he didn't know anything from the San people. Now Arno knows a little bit of the activities, but the people had to explain them.

Q: Do tourists ask for activities, or does a guide decide?

A: Arno is the one who asks the people what they are going to show. It is the hunter who tells him (Interview 17).

Apart from these two examples I did not observe other instances in which the Ju/'hoansi of Nhoma can be seen as active stakeholders in the tourism process - it is mainly Oosthuysen who decides everything. Oosthuysen also explained that he had to teach the people everything about tourists and how they had to work with them. He showed them how they had to do activities and

what the tourists find interesting. Oosthuysen told me if he had not taught them how to perform the activities they would take the tourists into the bush and walk for hours, as they do themselves when they go into the bush for hunting and gathering (Field notes 9-2-2012).

During my stay in the village I observed a duality with Oosthuysen. On the one hand Oosthuysen explained he was tired with the Ju/'hoansi San and wanted to sell the lodge, but on the other hand I could still distinguish a certain form of paternalism and *baasskap* with him. For example, when I asked him how the money from tourism is divided between the villagers he answered:

That is not my problem. It is their problem. I just [give them] the money for the activity and then they divide it themselves. They are supposed to be adults. It has got nothing to do with me, what they do with it is their problem (Interview 16).

On the other hand he does feel responsible for them. When he told me about a bad experience he had with a film crew he explained:

One of the film crews we refused to work with further, if they did not send the guy away. I just told them, you are not going to work anything, you are just going to sit here. If they don't get rid of the person well... we don't work with you. *It's that easy, that's my job to look after them* (Interview 16, emphasis added).

This shows that Oosthuysen also feels like it is his responsibility to nurture the Ju/'hoansi in Nhoma. All in all the Nhoma Safari Camp does not increase the empowerment of the Ju/'hoansi in Nhoma.

THE LIVING HUNTER'S MUSEUM AND //XA/OBA

A better example of a tourism type which empowers the Ju/'hoansi is the Living Hunter's Museum in //Xa/oba. The people of //Xa/oba wanted to create a source of income for themselves and therefore asked the aid of the LCFN. One of the villagers used to work for the museum in Grashoek and asked people from the LCFN whether it was possible to create a museum in //Xa/oba. The museum has now been running for almost two years and is doing quite well: especially during high season tourists visit the museum almost every week.

Since the people have asked for this museum themselves, they are active stakeholders in the tourism process. Moreover, they make their own decisions regarding tourists and tourism activities. Although the LCFN aids them, they do not make decisions with regard to the museum. For instance, as explained in paragraph 2.1.3, during my stay there was a conflict between !Amace, the founder of the museum, and the family of the headman concerning the money made by the museum. When !Amace called his contact person within the LCFN this person advised !Amace to contact the management of the NNC in order to solve the problem. During my stay some members of the management came to //Xa/oba; they discussed the problem with the villagers and in the end it was solved. This shows that the LCFN sees the Ju/'hoansi as active stakeholders who are capable of making decisions themselves. This can also be seen from the information on their website. Their first principle is 'self development and self responsibility' (Living Culture Foundation, n.d.). They argue that development has to come from *within* the community instead of from outside in order to be successful. Because the villagers are now earning some money they are more capable of sustaining themselves. They can complement the food they get from hunting and gathering by food from the shop. The Ju/'hoansi in //Xa/oba feel responsible for the museum, since they are the active stakeholders in this. This development can make them more empowered.

CREATING ACTIVE STAKEHOLDERS

It would be good if initiatives like the Living Hunter's Museum would be more stimulated. There is a clear difference between tourism types which are created by outsiders and types which are initiated by the Ju/'hoansi themselves. Ju/'hoansi in //Xa/oba feel responsible for the museum and want it to be a success. They can make their own decisions regarding tourism - in contrast with the Ju/'hoansi in Doupos and Nhoma, where outsiders make decisions for them. There is also a difference between tourist operations like the Tsumkwe Country Lodge and Nhoma Safari Camp and organizations such as the LCFN. Whereas the Tsumkwe Country Lodge and the Nhoma Safari Camp are businesses, and their motives are mainly about making money and putting tourists on the first place, the LCFN sees the Ju/'hoansi (and other local communities of Namibia) as a priority. This is not to say that people within the Tsumkwe Country Lodge and Nhoma Safari Camp do not care about the Ju/'hoansi and only exploit them. For instance, the manager of the lodge in Tsumkwe does want the lives of the Ju/'hoansi to improve; however, since this is not her priority she does not focus on this that much. Moreover, as long as the father-child relation between Afrikaners and Ju/'hoansi continues it will be difficult for the Ju/'hoansi to become more empowered as well as become active stakeholders in tourism activities. In order to achieve this it is necessary that new, more equal forms of relations will be established between the Ju/'hoansi and outsiders.

3.3.3 CULTURAL TOURISM: CREATING A FRONT- AND BACKSTAGE

As stated in the introduction of this chapter the number of tourists coming to Nyae Nyae has increased over the years. This rise has consequences for the way tourism is organized in the conservancy. Twenty years ago, when tourist numbers were still low, Oosthuysen used to take tourists to villages himself and at one point he used to go to six different villages. This meant that tourism did not disturb life in the village that much. Nowadays, the Ju/'hoansi come into contact with tourists more often. In high season a village like Doupos is visited at least once a week by tourists. This normally means that for a whole day most villagers have to dress up in their traditional clothes and do activities with the tourists.

Two of the villages which I visited had a cultural village next to their own village. One of the reasons for this is that tourists want to see the traditional houses instead of the houses of clay and stones which can be found in Doupos and //Xa/oba. However, it can also be seen as a front stage created for tourists. In the words of Goffman (1959), the cultural village is the place where the hosts and guests meet (front stage) and the actual village is the place where the hosts can retire between performances in order to relax and prepare (back stage). As tourists in general only visit the cultural village, life in the actual village can continue as normal, since not every villager has to participate in the tourist activities. According to MacCannell (1999: 92) the backstage is also the place where certain "props" are kept. A good example of this is one of the observations I have made when I stayed in the village Doupos. One day tourists came to the traditional village. Since I was already in Doupos I could observe the process of the Ju/'hoansi preparing for the tourists. Early in the afternoon, people started to get dressed in their traditional clothes and moved to the cultural village. However, some of the villagers still wore a t-shirt or had some 'modern' attributes. This can clearly be seen on picture 3.1 where one of the women was drinking from a Coca-Cola bottle. The moment they heard the cars with the tourists approach they hid these props in the traditional houses in the village. Here it was not only the actual village which was the backstage; also in the cultural village, the front stage, a backstage was created.



Picture 3.1: Ju/'hoansi in Doupos with modern attributes, waiting for the tourists

However, another example shows that the Ju/'hoansi do not explicitly hide their backstage. During a bushwalk with tourists in Doupos we could see some Ju/'hoansi children in the near distance running around in their modern clothes. The Ju/'hoansi did not react to this - even though some of the tourists also observed this. This shows that the Ju/'hoansi do not hide their backstage in order to make the tourists believe they still live like they did in the past. They let tourists know they show them their 'front stage', but in general they do not allow tourists in their backstage.

In Nhoma, tourist activities are done in the actual village. There is no separate cultural village, since all houses in this village are traditional houses. This does not mean that there is no separation between a front- and backstage. In the centre of the village an open area is reserved for cultural activities for tourists. When tourists come to the village they are mainly located in this area. Although tourists can observe the village, people and houses, they mainly only have contact with the people who do the cultural activity. Oosthuysen told me they sometimes create a separate village when a reality programme is filmed:

We don't allow them to live in the normal village. What we do is we go to a village and ask for volunteers and then we will take the husband, wife and the small kids. And then we will put up a different village, nobody will notice, do you understand. So the film crews hasn't got a clue it's not a permanent village, so that the people can have their privacy. So we have four or five families living in that village which is not really a village and then you can have control over it. And then the other people who isn't interested in it, it doesn't affect them at all. The children that's got to go to school is going to school. So you've got control over the small children and stuff. That's the only way you can do it (Interview 16).

This is a clear example of a front stage being created in order to keep peace in the village.

3.4 | CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has focussed on the effects of cultural tourism on the Ju/'hoansi. I have observed four direct or indirect effects. A first direct and obvious effect is that tourism creates income for the Ju/'hoansi. It is difficult to get a job in the NNC, especially for the Ju/'hoansi themselves; moreover, because of the influences of the modern life, the introduction of the cash society, and the increasing difficulty of hunting and gathering, money has become important. Therefore tourism is seen as one of the only ways of earning money. One of the more indirect effects of tourism is the possibility of the revival of culture through tourism: because tourists are interested in the traditional culture the Ju/'hoansi remember their culture again. Tourism could possibly also lead to the empowerment of the Ju/'hoansi. A good example of this is the Living Hunter's Museum in //Xa/oba, which was started by the local community with the aid of the LCFN. The museum is run by the villagers themselves, making them active stakeholders. However, most tourism ventures cannot be seen as empowering, since they are run by outsiders. A last indirect effect discussed in this chapter is the creation of a front and back stage. Because villages are visited more often by tourists, a front stage is created, where the Ju/'hoansi perform their culture for tourists.

4. | PERSPECTIVES AND PERCEPTIONS OF JU/'HOANSI ON TOURISTS AND TOURISM

In the previous chapter I have discussed the different effects tourism has on the lives of the Ju/'hoansi. This chapter will look at the perspectives on tourism of the Ju/'hoansi themselves. Some researchers state that tourism has negative effects on the lives of indigenous peoples; however, few of these studies have looked at the attitudes and ideas of the local population towards outsiders and tourists (see Evans-Prichard 1989 and Richards 2002). I argue it is more important to look at the perspectives of the people themselves, since they are the ones who work with tourists and experience the effects tourism has on their lives. What are their experiences with tourists? Are they happy about tourists coming to experience their culture? Is there a difference between the perspectives of the management of the conservancy and the people in the villages themselves? What do the traditional Ju/'hoansi leaders think? Furthermore, it is also important to look at the perceptions Ju/'hoansi have on tourists. Why do Ju/'hoansi think tourists come? What do they think tourists want to see? How do they (re)present themselves within the tourist activities? The end of this chapter will look at the transition of Ju/'hoansi from traditional life towards the modern life. Do they want to adapt to the modern life? Are they still interested in their traditional ways of living? What does this say about the development of tourism?

4.1 | JU/'HOANSI PERSPECTIVES ON TOURISM

4.1.1 TOURISTS: WHO ARE THEY?

Before discussing the opinions of the Ju/'hoansi on tourism it is important to explain what a tourist is according to the Ju/'hoansi. Whereas the Western definition of a tourist mainly focuses on people who are on a holiday, for the Ju/'hoansi almost all visitors are tourists. For instance, filmmakers and researchers are also tourists to the Ju/'hoansi. During most interviews with Ju/'hoansi I would ask them whether they thought I was a tourist or not and they always told me they thought I was a tourist as well:

Q: Can you explain me what a tourist is?

A: It is a foreigner. They are from another country. They visit us. They come to see our life. They speak a different language. Maybe it's the first time to see bushmen. They heard from another people. They read some stories from us and they want to come and see for themselves how we are. (...)

Q: Do you think I'm a tourist also?

A: Yeah, I was thinking you was a tourist also. Because you come to observe, to see, to hear.

Q: Is there a difference between me and the people at the lodge?

A: Yeah.. maybe you don't prefer to stay at the lodge. Maybe you are budget. You stay here.

Q: But I'm the same as the others?

A: Yes (Interview 31).

Although they did know I was doing research, they still regarded me as a tourist. Often when I asked people what they thought of tourists coming to the conservancy, they would not only think of people on holiday, but also people like filmmakers:

Q: Can you tell me what you like about tourists?

A: What I know is that some are good. In Doupos, where I'm staying, we have a place where they are coming, where they are making films. (...) If there is a film the conservancy also gets something. That is a good thing (Interview 10).

4.1.2 PERSPECTIVES OF THE NNC MANAGEMENT

As explained in chapter two of this study, the NNDFN feels tourism is not the best way of improving the livelihood of the Ju/'hoansi in the NNC. Therefore they do not focus that much on developing tourism in the area. This is illustrated by the fact that within the management structure of the NNC no-one focuses on tourism. Although there used to be someone in Tsumkwe responsible for giving trainings and advice on tourism and crafts, she is now based in Windhoek and only visits Tsumkwe a few times a year. The NNDFN has mainly based this idea on the research done by Humphrey and Wassenaar in 2009, who state that tourism development should not have high priority, since it will not be profitable enough for the area. However, this research is done from a more commercial point of view and does not reflect the views of the Ju/'hoansi who I have spoken to. When I discussed this with the Ju/'hoansi in the management of the NNC they told me they thought tourism *is* important for the Ju/'hoansi. They want the management to focus more on tourism, because they believe it *is* profitable. One member of the management told me tourism is important because it makes the lives of the Ju/'hoansi in Nyae Nyae better:

Like, like...you see in most... in most places there is no work. So I see tourists are somehow helping. Do something, give something like food and go buy for them shoes. So this is helping them (Interview 10).

The chairwoman of the conservancy also argued that tourism is important for them:

Q: Are you happy about tourism?

A: She is happy when tourists are coming.

Q: Why?

A: Why they are happy is like, when the tourists come here they would like to see how the Ju/'hoansi have been living in the past (...) they get something from the tourists. They pay them. At least they have something. This is one of the only sources of getting money. So... that is why it is good. (...)

Q: Is it a big income for most people?

A: It is like the most income. Because the government only employs them few. And if the villages could have a campsite, each village, then you would see each village would get more income (Interview 36).

She thinks tourism has changed something for the Ju/'hoansi:

She thinks it is getting better than before. Because at least they are getting something, with that money she can buy clothes and food. Also maintain the kids. The kids can go to school.

Q: Do you think tourism can help develop the people?

A: It could be more, better. They could make some developments. If all the villages are having campsites and doing cultural activities. The more camping sites and activities will invite more tourists. Then they will come more and people can benefit more. Now it is just certain villages. Then other villages can also benefit (Interview 36).

The administrator of the management told me they do not talk that much about tourism in the management meetings. However she felt it is important to talk more about tourism within the conservancy, because now many people do not know what tourism exactly is. She thinks it is important that communities receive training on tourism because now people often do not know how to deal with them (Interview 39).

Some members of the management did tell me about negative experiences with tourists, which mainly included conflicts over money. Tourists sometimes would stay at campsites at villages in the NNC without paying. However, they underline that this is not always the fault of tourists themselves. Tourists are often given unclear instructions regarding the money they have to pay. According to the management there should be clear signs and instructions for tourists. The conservancy has been busy with the distribution of price lists to village, which they can show tourists when they want the Ju/'hoansi to do activities with them. Another problem which is observed by the management is that the lodge now receives most tourists. They feel this is not the way it is supposed to be: it would be better if tourists would come to the conservancy office directly. Although, according to the councillor, the conservancy used to receive some money from the lodge, this has now stopped. The management does not like it that tourists go directly to the lodge, without visiting the conservancy office and paying the entrance fee. They feel the people from the lodge do not assist them with this matter.

In general the Ju/'hoansi in the management of the conservancy are positive about tourism. Although they do observe some flaws that need working on, they are, in contradiction to the NNDFN, of the opinion that tourism is a good way of developing the Ju/'hoansi.

4.1.3 PERSPECTIVES OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS

Chief Bobo and Councillor Kxao Moses #Oma also are of the opinion that tourism is important to the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. According to the councillor the conservancy should definitely focus more on tourism. He told me in the past tourism was a component of the conservancy and there used to be meetings about this in which they would also get advice on how to improve tourism activities. When I told him the NNDFN stated that tourism is not that big in the area he responded:

If you are telling me that the tourism is not really something, then I would say no. I have seen how many tourists are coming in, how many cars. If you wanted to count them you can do that. The peak time you can see many cars. They are driving to the villages - through the conservancy area to those. When I was the manager [of conservancy] we had an agreement with the lodge. Since they are taking tourists through the area we would normally receive something. (...) But now we are saying no we cannot (Interview 35).

Chief Bobo confirmed that tourists mainly come to the lodge. He thinks this is a negative development and wants the tourists to come to the conservancy office directly and work with a tour guide from the lodge who can take them to the villages. This way people in the villages can benefit directly from tourism, instead of only receiving a small amount of money through the lodge. According to chief Bobo at the moment only the lodge benefits from tourism:

What is not good is that the conservancy should benefit from the tourists, they should reach out to the villages. But most times the tourists are just coming through the lodge, they decide which village they go to. That is a problem (Interview 45).

Chief Bobo is of the opinion that at the moment tourism has not changed much for the Ju/'hoansi in the villages, because there are only a few villages which the lodge visits with tourists. The other villages are left out and do not benefit. However, he does think there could be potential for tourism in the area, but the conservancy should create their own lodge in order for tourism to be profitable. The councillor is more positive about tourism and thinks this is important to people in the villages:

For them it is a very important part, because that is the only time they will see immediate cash. And by performing they will see cash. (...) For example people are going to Djokwe, that campsite, they [the tourists] are paying those people. Every week they have money. I checked their books, they are receiving. That is something (Interview 35).

He does with chief Bobo that tourism could have more potential for the Ju/'hoansi if the conservancy would create a tourism accommodation themselves:

I believe there is potential. (...) If the conservancy would build something here to accommodate the tourists coming in you could have made a lot of money. Something like a guesthouse. I wouldn't say a lodge, but something simple. For people to do self catering. You could collect a lot of small coins. (...) However, currently it is developing people who are already rich, not the poor (Interview 35).

The councillor stated that the Ju/'hoansi themselves should become more involved in tourism, for instance by creating a tourism accommodation maintained by the Ju/'hoansi themselves. He thinks the museum at //Xa/oba is a great initiative therefore, since it is created by the Ju/'hoansi themselves. Moreover, he argued that the human capacity of the Ju/'hoansi should be increased. According to the councillor currently tourists take their own tour guides from Windhoek, even though there are many tour guides in the conservancy who are capable of showing the tourists everything. The councillor feels there should be much more marketing on tourism in the area in order to use tourism as a development tool.

Both the Ju/'hoansi in the management of the conservancy and the traditional leaders who I have spoken to agree that tourism should be more developed by the conservancy. However, it seems like the NNDFN has a lot of influence on this matter. Although the Ju/'hoansi in the management do feel it is important to focus on tourism this does not happen. It could be argued that it would be better if the NNDFN would listen to the opinions of the Ju/'hoansi themselves instead of basing their ideas on the research done by Humphrey and Wassenaar.

4.1.4 PERSPECTIVES OF JU/'HOANSI

Almost all Ju/'hoansi who I have spoken to during my stay in the NNC have told me they are very happy about tourists coming to the area. They told me they think tourists are very good people. Even though non-Ju/'hoansi sometimes told me negative stories about tourists who came to Nyae Nyae, most Ju/'hoansi treated tourists like they were 'saints'. Apart from sometimes not

wanting to pay, Ju/'hoansi were always very positive about them. They had different reasons for why they thought tourists were good people, but they almost always included tourists paying them as a reason. One man in Nhoma told me tourism was very good because tourists paid them a lot of money, much more than they would get from someone (an employer) in Tsumkwe:

Their people is very good. Yeah they are very good. Very *interessant* people. (...)

Q: Why? Why are they good?

A: Yeah... Just because of you have to show them maybe for one day then he give you [...] maybe two hundred or one hundred, yeah. You know, actually we work here maybe for whole day maybe is four dollar, or maybe something like that. [...]

Q: Who is that?

A: I mean by the people who stay at bushmenland, you know, at Tsumkwe. Mostly you are watching them there, maybe they are carrying them the firewoods [...] He walk for the day, only five dollar. Here it will be changed. With only one day maybe they [the tourists] give you fifty dollar, yeah... Per day (Interview 21).

Another man explained that sometimes tourists also give extra's, on top of the amount they pay for participating in the cultural activities:

They [tourists] take their own money, like a gift. Maybe two hundred, a gift to the people who were dancing together. Although they are also receiving money from the lodge. So they just give because they liked the activities. Like the last tourists when they come they were giving something. Apart from the money of the lodge. [They] just give something because [they] are happy (Interview 34).

Since tourists directly or indirectly pay the Ju/'hoansi for touristic activities they see the tourists as good people. Tourists would often give the villagers a tip, either in the form of money or in items, such as clothes or food. Therefore, especially in comparison with other employers, mostly blacks or Afrikaners, tourists seem like good people. As the man in the first example explains, working with tourists is more profitable than the jobs they can get in Tsumkwe. However, that they are happy about tourists coming to see their culture does not purely have to do with money. Many Ju/'hoansi see tourists as good people, and feel that they respect them. One man in //Xa/oba told me:

Yes, they always respect the people. Because they don't just say do this, do this. They just sit and wait there (...). If we go to the bush together they follow the people. They ask them what is this? And then we tell them. And also if we dig out the root - potato or water root - we give them a little bit and they taste it and say it is good. I think they respect the people (Interview 41).

Many Ju/'hoansi told me they like it that tourists are always interested in their culture and that they want to learn about this. It is interesting to see that tourists almost always seem to be good people in the eyes of the Ju/'hoansi. Most Ju/'hoansi told me tourists always have respect for them and that they believed that tourists always enjoy the activities. However, I have observed that this is not always the case. Even though the Ju/'hoansi themselves felt like tourists did respect them, this was not always true. During my stay in Nhoma there was a couple staying at the Nhoma Safari Camp who went to see the traditional Ju/'hoansi dances. During the activity I asked the tourists what they thought of it. The woman told me she thought it was horrible and that she felt very awkward looking at the Ju/'hoansi performing their dances for them. She said she wished it was over and that she wanted to see a place where people really lived primitively. She told me this felt fake to her. After thirty minutes the woman went back to the lodge; she did not want to stay any longer (Field notes 9-2-12). A few days later I had an interview with the

Ju/'hoansi tour guide who was with us during this activity and asked him what his opinion was about these tourists:

Yeah, they are good people. What I've seen they are good. (...)

Q: Okay... How could you tell?

A: Yeah I like about them... (...) that people was good persons. (...) They only tell me about they like the San people (...) They are friendly people. (...)

Q: Do you think they liked all the activities we did?

A: (...) They are talking about they liked it. They tell me it is very *interessant*. They tell me everything is fantastic, everything is good.

(...)

Q: So do you remember the first day when we went to the village and then we looked at the dance and then after a time the woman she went back. Do you know why this was?

A: (...)I don't know exactly, the aim of the woman, why the woman go back again. Maybe something was in the car that she was forgetting. Maybe she wants to make sure that things must be good. And then she has to go and leave and check whether, I don't know. Maybe it was her wallet or something, I don't know.

Q: So you don't think she left because she didn't like it?

A: [laughs] No, she liked it very much (Interview 21).

This observation shows that Ju/'hoansi can have a romanticized view of tourists: even though these tourists explicitly showed that they did not like the activity, this was not observed by the people from the village.

People gave me a few examples of tourists who did not treat the Ju/'hoansi good. However, Ju/'hoansi themselves would tell me that it is only a few tourists who are not good, but that the rest of the tourists are very good people. A difference can be made between Western tourists and Afrikaners who visit the Ju/'hoansi. Many Ju/'hoansi who I spoke to have told me that they do not like the Afrikaners who visit. In fact many of the negative stories I heard about tourists were about Afrikaners, which mostly included conflicts about money. One of the tour guides of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge told me that especially tourists from South Africa cause problems:

The South Africans will decide their own price. They say it is too much and will make his own price. That is not good.

Q: Why is that not good?

A: Because you can't decide on someone's own property. He has to decide himself what price he wants as an owner. If you are not the owner you cannot do this.

Q: It happens a lot?

A: Yes it happens sometimes. And also when [they] went to cultural villages without me and [they] did excursions and then they lied to the people and tell them they came through the lodge and they can get the money there. When they came to the lodge they said no, those are the people who went by themselves (Interview 27).

Tourists not wanting to pay the full price for activities and crafts was one of the most-heard complaints people told me about. However, most Ju/'hoansi were still very positive about tourists, even though they sometimes gave me examples of tourists who they thought were not good. Most times people would also explain that it was just one or two instances and that normally tourists were very good people.

4.2 | JU/'HOANSI PERCEPTIONS OF TOURISM

In the previous section I have looked at the opinions of the Ju/'hoansi on tourism. However, it is also important to look at their perceptions on tourism and tourists. I will therefore look at why the Ju/'hoansi think tourists come and what they want to see from them.

4.2.1 TRADITIONAL VS. MODERN

In most conversations I have had with Ju/'hoansi I asked people why they thought tourists visited Nyae Nyae. Most of the Ju/'hoansi whom I spoke told me tourists come because, apart from the environment in Nyae Nyae, they want to see how the Ju/'hoansi live. They are aware that tourists are interested in their culture. In general most Ju/'hoansi who I spoke were aware that tourists were interested in their traditional lifestyle instead of the way they live now. I have often talked with Ju/'hoansi about what they thought tourists wanted to see and asked them whether tourists want to see them in their traditional clothes or whether they also wanted to see them wearing their modern clothes. Most Ju/'hoansi told me tourists are interested in the traditional life and that they want to experience how the Ju/'hoansi used to live:

Most things the tourists, if they come, they want to see these playing things, you know, these cultural things which they are doing. (...) Because you know, people have been living a quite long time, and they still maintain their culture. Their uniforms, (...) tourists like it you know. And also going to hunt. (...) In the village you can also go collecting, gathering food, so tourists like it also. They are also trying to do so. Living close to the nature. That is what people like (Interview 8).

Q: What do you think tourists find more interesting, the traditional or the modern life?

A: Tradition. Traditional things. Because in Tsumkwe there is people driving cars, but there is no tourists coming to see them. Mostly outside Tsumkwe where there is people suffering.

Q: So they are interested in people suffering then?

A: Yes. Because they are the real people. There is no car, nothing. No cell phone. (...) They are suffering because they are still like...Always alive with wild food (Interview 20).

Q: Are tourist also interested in modern Ju/'hoansi?

A: I don't think so. I think there is a... have you been to Doupos?

Q: Yes.

A: Yeah, so there is a cultural village. When tourists come people go there to show people their cultural things. Not in the village itself.

Q: Why not?

In the village itself there are cattle. There are goats, so tourists don't want to see the cattle. They want to see cultural things. Nature itself (Interview 31).

These examples show that Ju/'hoansi are aware that tourists mainly want to see their traditional life, instead of the life they live nowadays. This fits the observations I have made during encounters between tourists and the Ju/'hoansi. For example, as I also explained in chapter three, during my stay in Doupos I was able to observe how the Ju/'hoansi prepared themselves for tourists. While they waited in the traditional village for the tourists they still had some modern clothes on. However, when they heard the tourists coming they put all these things away. This showed me that they knew the tourists did not want to see the modern aspects of their lives. They knew that when the tourists came they had to dress in their traditional clothes and go to the traditional village (Field notes 24-03-2012).

The councillor was also of the opinion that tourists mainly come to see the traditional culture. He stated people are not interested in Ju/'hoansi such as himself:

Q: Do you think people are also interested in the modern Ju/'hoansi?

A: I don't think people [tourists] are interested in someone like me.

Q: Why not?

A: What they want to see is more traditional. I am wearing modern clothes, sleeping in a house, driving a car. They want someone on foot, running, hunting, who can show the tracks of animals.

Q: Do you think it is good tourists are interested in the traditional Ju/'hoansi life?

A: I think it is very good. I feel very proud (...) We were the ones who were very good in tracking. I am very happy (Interview 35).

However, some Ju/'hoansi also have told me that although the main interest of tourists is their traditional life, they sometimes are also interested in the way the Ju/'hoansi live now. They want to see how they are developing. One woman told me:

They will - they will also like to see the modern people because they want to see the changes, how we change, how we drive and how they ehm... the teachers and everything (Interview 17).

During the observations I made of encounters between tourists and the Ju/'hoansi I noticed that although tourists clearly came for the traditional experience, they sometimes also showed interest in the way the Ju/'hoansi live now. During a tourist activity in Nhoma the tourists also asked the tour guide questions about how they live now. They also wanted to see how people currently live. Furthermore, in //Xa/oba it is also possible to see the modern village. Tourists will have to pay an additional N\$50 for a tour through the modern village and according to the villagers there are sometimes tourists who are also interested in this option. In general Ju/'hoansi do not have a problem with it that tourists are mainly interested in their traditional life. For them it is not only a method of earning money, but also a way of remembering their own culture:

Q: Are tourists also interested in the modern life?

A: Some like modern life clothes also, they also take pictures. But if you look at people coming from the lodge, they want to see traditional clothes. (...)

Q: What do you think of that?

A: He thinks it is quite good. It is showing the way of remembering us how we have been living in our culture, so he thinks it is quite good (Interview 34).

4.2.2 'TOURISTS WANT TO SEE OUR TAILS'

Another interesting reason some Ju/'hoansi gave for why tourists come to see them, is that tourists think that Ju/'hoansi have tails. I never heard tourists talking about this, but it was mentioned by many Ju/'hoansi who I spoke to. They think that tourists come to see whether Ju/'hoansi actually have tails:

Tourists come because they don't know how Ju/'hoansi look like. Like the lady was saying are they having tails? (Interview 34).

In the previous people thought San people had tails. It is what they are here for, to see whether it was true. There was one woman who checked us, to see whether we had tails. Later they asked us whether we have tails and I told her, no we are normal people, just like you (Interview 25).

However, people thought it was a good thing tourists come, because then they could see that they do not have tails. Although most people did not seem to be offended by the fact that tourists thought they have tails, it was important for them that tourists saw that they were 'normal people'. One man told me it is good that tourists come, because then they can see that they do not have tails:

Some used to say that Bushmen are like monkeys and baboons - they have tails. They hide themselves in the bushes. Now it is better. They also take some pictures of the bushmen in the museum and they will know that bushman is a person like this (Interview 40).

This is also confirmed by a woman from Nhoma:

The first Afrikaans people who was here was telling another people that the Bushmen people or San people has tail... the tail. So now the other one wants to come and see are they really ehm... person or is it like animal... yeah, or baboon.

Q: *Okay... So are they like that?*

They thought about it...they thought so. The first people come with the cars watching the San people, stay with the people longer and they were looking for the tail, but they didn't see. Then they going to tell others: no, they are just people like us. They are... They don't have tails. So now everyone knows a little bit that San people don't have tails (Interview 17).

4.3 | (RE)PRESENTATION OF SELF

As I explained above, most Ju/'hoansi are very well aware of what it is that tourists want to see; therefore they also have ideas about how to present themselves. First of all, once tourists come, they start to wear their traditional clothes, even though normally they wear modern clothes. According to Stronza (2001) this is because host communities want to satisfy the expectations of tourists: because they are aware that tourists come for their traditional culture, they start to wear their traditional outfits, once tourists start to appear. Another example of this is the observation Gamper (1981) made in southern Austria. Here people wore outfits similar to other places in Europe, however, during the tourist season people started to wear their traditional costumes, because they were aware tourists appreciated this. Originally these costumes were brown, black, and white, but a bright red vest was added because, according to one informant, '[r]ed looks better on kodachrome' (Gamper 1981: 439). The Ju/'hoansi sometimes also make alterations to their culture. This, for instance, can be observed with the cultural clothes. When I showed some Ju/'hoansi a picture of a man from Nhoma (see picture 4.1), they told me this was not the real culture. They explained to me that the coloured beadles sewn to the traditional clothes are not part of the original Ju/'hoansi culture. In the village where the Ju/'hoansi I interviewed were from they still wear traditional clothes decorated with beadles made from the ostrich eggshell. However, it is too easy to assign this transformation as a cultural change for tourists. People told me the reason they use the coloured beadles, is because of the reducing numbers of ostriches in the area. Nowadays it is difficult to obtain ostrich eggs, therefore people make crafts from the coloured beadles. It is interesting that people of villages where they did still use the ostrich eggshell argued that this (the coloured beadles) was not the 'real culture'. These Ju/'hoansi thought it was important to show tourists the real culture. Another example which could indicate that Ju/'hoansi consciously transform their culture in order to fit the images of the tourists, are the healing dances. According to Jeursen and Tomaselli (2007) traditionally the healing dances were for individuals and the community. However, when they perform these dances for tourists 'the shamanistic elements are excluded and the dance no longer functions as an integral part of wider social practices' (Ibid: 30). They state that it therefore could be seen as a purely economic activity, only done for money. However, in Nhoma I have observed that the traditional dances went on for a long time after the tourists had already left (Field notes 10-02-2012). Therefore we should not make too strong statements about the



Picture 4.1: Ju/'hoansi man, wearing traditional clothes decorated with coloured beads, showing tourists how to make an arrow, by using modern tools such as a hammer

motives of the Ju/'hoansi for doing cultural activities. Although it is true that when tourists are around they are mostly doing these activities for tourists, there is more to it than purely economic motives. Often when I asked people whether they were doing cultural activities only for tourists, people explained that they also did it for themselves. One man told me that when they are happy they will start dancing and singing for themselves: 'once they are feeling okay then they starting collecting their friends and then they start to play [the porcupine game]' (Interview 21).

It is also interesting to look at whether there is a difference in the behaviour of the Ju/'hoansi when tourists visit. Because I was also around when there were no tourists I could observe whether people behaved differently when there were tourists around and when there were no tourists. An interesting observation I made regarding this issue was during my stay in the village of Nhoma. On one of the first days I was there I went with some hunters into the bush where we did gathering and where they showed me how to make fire and how to track animals. On this



Picture 4.2: Hunters from Nhoma in their daily clothes, showing me how to make fire



Picture 4.3: Hunters from Nhoma in their traditional clothes, showing tourists how to make fire

bushwalk they wore their modern clothes, which they normally also wore in the village (See picture 4.2). However, a few days later I went with some tourists on a bushwalk with the same hunters, but now the hunters wore their traditional clothes (See picture 4.3). The activities we did were the same as I did before when I was alone with the Ju/'hoansi hunters: they did gathering with the tourists, showed them how they track animals, and taught them how to make fire. However, apparently there was a difference for them between me and the tourists who came through the lodge. Even though they still saw me as a tourist, I was different from the tourists who came through the lodge. This confirmed that these villagers had certain ideas of what tourists wanted to see. During an interview with one of the hunters I asked him why they wore their traditional clothes for tourists and he told me they did not want to see them in their 'old, broken clothes'. He said that because I was also interested in their normal lives, they wore their modern clothes when I came with them: '[We] were doing [our] own thing and you were just coming with [us]' (Interview 18). This fits with the fact that when I went with the hunters the first time, we spent a much longer time, almost six hours, in the bush, whereas with the tourists we stayed for around two-and-a-half hours in the bush. The first time the hunters gathered a lot of bags of mangetti nuts, which they brought back home to their families. They also cut a tree which contained a lot of honey which they collected in the jars they had brought. These examples confirm that the hunters did their normal gathering, even though I was with them. This was different from the bushwalk with the tourists, which they purely did for the tourists; they did not do gathering for themselves.

Many Ju/'hoansi also think about how to behave in front of tourists. They are aware that tourists appreciate certain things. For instance, some Ju/'hoansi told me that tourists found it important that they are happy. They do not want to see angry or unhappy people:

When these guys [tourists] are coming, they come and like to see the people and the traditional clothes. We meet with them in their traditional clothes. (...) Ehm, we all are happy also. Sometimes you find the tourists coming also. *And then you must be happy* (Interview 34, emphasis added).

In //Xa/oba a man told me they always have to smile when they work with tourists:

And we - what we want is everybody must be friendly. They must smile with the tourists. Call them, sit close with them, they have to smile. (...)

Q: Who told you that you should smile?

A: Our manager, because he has experience.

As explained in chapter 2 the manager of the Living Hunters Museum is a Ju/'hoansi man who has worked in the museum of Grashoek. Here he learned a lot from working with tourists and he is also assisted by the LCFN. He is aware that it is important to think about how to work with tourists and what they like and dislike. For instance, people of //Xa/oba also told me the manager instructed them that when tourists arrive at the reception area they should quickly change into their traditional clothes and go to the traditional village, because tourists do not like to wait a long time. Furthermore, they have learned that tourists do not like to see Ju/'hoansi begging. One man told me that in the past, before the Living Hunter's Museum existed, if tourists would come they would go to them with their crafts and beg them to buy something. However, now they are aware that this is something that tourists do not appreciate, so they just hang their crafts and let tourists come to them if they want to buy something.

Although Ju/'hoansi are aware that tourists come for the traditional culture, I noticed that the Ju/'hoansi do not hide the fact that they do not still live the traditional life from tourists. For example, in Doupos the tour guide told the tourists that they were now in the traditional village,

but that they normally live in another village. He also told them they do not still live the way they used to in the past. When I asked one woman whether tourists also were interested in the modern life, she told me:

Some people thought maybe these people are not used of these clothes, of the modern life, houses. Some believe these people you know, are still using this old houses. But ehm, they know... like the others coming, they know they are using these modern houses, like this ones. But they are still using the olden house. So they... the tourists also know they are also part of the modern, modern life (Interview 32).

This example illustrates that Ju/'hoansi are open to tourists about the way they live now. Although it would be possible to convince the tourists that they do really still live the way they used to, they do not do this. Tourists are sometimes disappointed by the fact that the Ju/'hoansi do not live the way they used to; however, Ju/'hoansi are open about the fact that they adapt to a modern life. For example, in Nhoma the tour guide would explain to the tourists that today they make the arrows with a hammer, but that they used stones for this in the past (see picture 4.1). Nowadays the arrows are made of iron wire, but in the past, as the tour guide explained, they used animal bones for this.

These examples of perceptions of the Ju/'hoansi on tourism show that they are aware of tourism structures. They are active stakeholders in the process of showing tourists their culture. They are aware of things tourists like and dislike and try to let the tourists have a good experience, so that they will also tell their friends and family to come visit the Ju/'hoansi.

4.4 | ADAPTING TO MODERN LIFE

Although opinions on whether it is a positive or negative development vary, it is a fact that the Ju/'hoansi are adapting to modern life. They do not live the same way as they used to hundred years ago. According to Lee (1986) the San have experienced rapid social change over the last decades. Since the 1950s numerous developments have been started in the Nyae Nyae area (Jeursen and Tomasseli 2007). First their homelands were reduced from an area of 45,000 square kilometres to 17,750 square kilometres. Later the cash industry and domestic animals were introduced. In the 1970s a church, school and clinic were established (Silberbauer 1981). Especially the introduction to the cash industry and domestic animals has caused the San not to be solely dependent on hunting and gathering anymore. Although these modern influences were introduced in Nyae Nyae are by outsiders, it is important to look at the opinions of the Ju/'hoansi regarding the adaptation to the modern life.

4.4.1 PERSPECTIVES OF JU/'HOANSI

Throughout my stay in the NNC I spoke to many Ju/'hoansi who told me they are happy about modern developments and that they, although they do not want to forget their culture, do want to adapt to a modern life. However, since tourists are mainly interested to see how the Ju/'hoansi used to live in the past, a strange development can be observed: on the one hand most Ju/'hoansi prefer the modern life over the traditional life; however, on the other hand tourism, one of the ways of achieving this modern life, requires them to still remember their traditional culture. It is important not to see this too simplified: people mix their traditional ways of life with the possibilities that modern life hands them. For instance, most Ju/'hoansi, especially those in the villages, combine the traditional food, which they gain by hunting and mostly gathering, with food which they buy in the shops. Because people now sometimes earn a small amount of money, they are able to buy their food at the shop, but because supplies and money

are often limited, they supplement their diet with bush food. However many Ju/'hoansi have told me nowadays it is difficult to hunt, especially during the rainy season. Some of them therefore want to be able to hunt with guns; however, this is not allowed since the area in which they live is a conservancy. It is possible that once people earn more money, they will abandon gathering and hunting. One man told me he prefers to buy his food in the shops:

Collecting food at the field is very difficult. You have to walk until you get the things. Some of the places don't have food. Field foods you have to walk everyday to the field. That is why we are suffering. The shop is better. You can buy a bag of maize meal and then you come back again. That is very better (Interview 21).

Many other Ju/'hoansi have also told me they prefer to buy their food in the shop, if they would have the money, instead of go hunting and gathering. Most people whom I spoke to told me that they would rather live in a house of stone, instead of the traditional Ju/'hoansi houses. When I asked a man in Nhoma in what house he would want to live if he could choose he answered:

I want to choose the one's with the stones. The fire will destroy everything of a grass house (...). One mistake, if I make fire to close to the house and it will be destroyed (Interview 21).

Although there are still many problems regarding San education, the number of Ju/'hoansi children attending school is increasing. Parents who I spoke to acknowledge the importance of education. One man told me: 'At the radio they say education is the key, (...) education is very interesting. It learns you about everything' (Interview 21). Education is seen as the key to modern life.

Ju/'hoansi children who I spoke to also told me they prefer the modern life. One of the girls with who I did an exercise with at their school wrote: 'I dislike the traditional life, because you having many thing to do, cooking, washing or collecting the wood. I like [the modern life] because you will have your own house, your own food, which you can buy with your money'. Later she wrote: 'My dreams is if I can complete my school I will go to university study for a nurse. And have my own house with my children, and buy my own car'. Some children did answer that they preferred the traditional life; however, when I asked them about their dreams for the future, these would include modern aspects of life. For instance, one girl, who said she preferred the traditional life, stated that she would like to have a phone in the future and that she wants to buy a car when she has finished school.

4.4.2 A PARADOX: REACHING MODERN LIFE THROUGH TRADITION

In this thesis I have argued that cultural tourism is important for the Ju/'hoansi in the NNC. Tourism provides them with a way of earning money, as well as allowing them to remember their culture and because tourists come the Ju/'hoansi become able to adapt to a modern life. It is interesting to see that the traditional Ju/'hoansi culture has become a tool to achieve the modern life Here a paradox can be observed: in order to reach modern life the Ju/'hoansi are required to remember their traditional culture. Many Ju/'hoansi are also aware of this. One Ju/'hoansi man for instance told me he would rather have a modern life instead of a traditional life, but explained that the traditional culture is necessary in order to achieve this modern life:

Q: Would you rather have a modern or a traditional life?

A: Modern life. But it just depends if you are working, [then] you can be much happy. The olden days is somehow what we are doing also. We are trying to clean up and in the future there will be a [tourist] camp also. (...) We are still benefitting [from the traditional life]. Everything goes back to the olden life. Because the [traditional] village - it is still where films and photo's are been done (Interview 34).

This example shows that Ju/'hoansi want to adapt to modern life and that they are aware that one of the ways of achieving this is through showing tourists their traditional culture. Although at the moment there are still many Ju/'hoansi who have knowledge about their traditional background, this could decrease in the near future. Although people are aware that it is necessary to remember their culture in order for tourists to come, it can be questioned whether they will still do this in the future.

Some Ju/'hoansi also realise that because they adapt to a modern life, tourist numbers might decrease, since tourists want to see the traditional culture. One man told me that in a few years there might be no Ju/'hoansi left who know how to hunt. He also explained that in Nhoma no one knew how to dance the giraffe dance anymore, since the last person who knew this had passed away. He thinks it might be possible therefore that tourists will not come anymore, when people forget about their culture. However, it is interesting to see some Ju/'hoansi actually see tourism as the saviour of the traditional culture. When I asked Chief Bobo whether he thought the Ju/'hoansi culture would disappear he answered:

It depends on the tourists. If they are coming more that is when there will be more traditional clothes. But if there are less it might happen, because others are adapting to a modern life. Most the young people. It might happen, but it depends on the tourists. If they are coming in large numbers the culture might still be there (Interview 45).

Chief Bobo argues that the more tourists come, the more the traditional culture will be remembered. Whether tourism will revitalize the traditional culture or whether the adaptation to the modern life will decrease tourism numbers also has to do with what tourists want to see. Are they looking for "untouched" traditional culture or are they also interested to see how the Ju/'hoansi used to live in the past? The next session will briefly look at the opinions of the tourists I have met in Nyae Nyae.

4.4.3 PERSPECTIVES OF TOURISTS

Tourists I think they...they want to see the uniqueness of the people. The Ju/'hoansi. They don't want to come and see a modernized Ju/'hoansi. (...) they want to see something different. - Employee of NNDNFN

Although Ju/'hoansi themselves do not see it as a problem that they tell tourists they do not live as they used to anymore, tourists sometimes told me that they are disappointed by the fact that the Ju/'hoansi are not 'real San' anymore. For example, a couple who stayed at the camp site of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge told me they did not want to visit the Ju/'hoansi in Namibia, because they had read that these are not 'really traditional' anymore. Therefore they went to the 'real San' in Botswana, who they thought still lived the traditional life (Field notes 27-1-2012). Other tourists also told me they regretted it that there were no 'real San' in Nyae Nyae. One tourist said:

I have seen like some pictures, you know, the bushmen with the white painting and all of that and I think... Ehm... I was kind of hoping to meet, meet a really untouched village I suppose. Or not really influenced by the West. Yeah, that was really what I was hoping for, or wanting to see when I came here. But it's not really what I've found. It's more of a... ehm... what shall I say... more modernized village I guess.

Q: Was it what you were hoping for? Or also what you were expecting?

A: It was not what I was hoping for and it was also not really what I... Or I didn't know what to expect, but I was hoping to see a much more... or much less commercial people I guess.

Q: What made it commercial for you?

A: Just by looking at the guide and his normal clothes. And he tells me just... yeah, he tells me just to drive up there and I'll meet you in my costume. Just the first impression there I guess was not okay... I'm not seeing how it is, I'm just seeing how it used to be (Interview 37).

For this tourist the experience was not what he was hoping for, since he was looking for an "untouched village". This can be linked to the theory of MacCannell (2001), who states that the motive of people to travel is 'the desire to be where I am not', they have 'a simple desire to experience other peoples' way of life'. He states that 'The act of touristic travel begins with an image, a dream, or a memory in which the tourist places himself or herself at an attraction'. The tourist in the above example had seen pictures of traditional San and wanted to experience this "untouched" culture by himself. However, upon arriving he realised that the experience was created for him, as a tourist, instead of the people themselves (see MacCannell 2001). This is what many tourists experience according to MacCannell: 'Even the most remote attractions, the *unspoiled* highland villages of primitive peoples, accessible only to those who are willing to walk for several days, are entirely organized around their function as an attraction' (Ibid: 383). Although MacCannell's argument makes sense and can be applied to the case of the tourists who come to Nyae Nyae, this idea focuses from a perspective of tourists, instead of the local population.

4.4.4 THE FUTURE OF CULTURAL TOURISM

In paragraph 4.3.1 I discussed the paradox in which the traditional Ju/'hoansi culture becomes a tool in order to achieve modern life. It is possible that cultural tourism will decline *because* the Ju/'hoansi adapt to the modern life. It is very difficult to make predictions about the future of tourism. According to Richards (2007: 329), views on the potential of cultural tourism often contrast: according to some locals authenticity is replaced by imitations; others argue that local communities are still able to create authentic forms of culture. However, it is necessary to briefly discuss the future scenarios for cultural tourism in the NNC.

It could be possible that in the future the Ju/'hoansi will no longer be interested in their own traditional culture, because they are adapting to modern life. This is something that can already be seen with the few Ju/'hoansi in Tsumkwe who have a job. Most Ju/'hoansi with a job who I have spoken to have told me they would not wear their traditional clothes anymore. It is not that they are no longer interested in their culture - indeed, they are still proud of their background - but they do not wish to participate in it anymore. At the moment most Ju/'hoansi still do not have jobs; however, it is possible that once the number of employed Ju/'hoansi will increase, the number of Ju/'hoansi willing to participate in activities for tourists will decrease. It is possible that because Ju/'hoansi are adapting to modern life tourists will no longer be interested to see the Ju/'hoansi. Tourists already sometimes feel they are watching a show instead of an 'authentic' culture and this feeling could increase in the future. At the moment Ju/'hoansi are still aware that their traditional culture attracts tourists and therefore they still remember their traditions. However, some Ju/'hoansi who spoke to have told me that they know it is possible that tourist numbers will decrease in the future, because the children do not learn that much about the traditional culture anymore.

According to Butler (2009: 351) whereas in the past local actors in tourism were positive about tourists coming to their area, it is possible that this will change in the future:

'it is at the community and sometimes regional scale that the costs of tourism are most evident and most commonly borne, and issues of congestion, land and housing costs, labour shortages, immigration of foreign workers, inappropriate behaviour by tourists and

a feeling of general loss of control over “their” communities and lives are becoming significant problems in many places.’

As argued in chapter three of this thesis cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae is still in the development stage. Therefore, according to the Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution (see figure 1.5) prospects of cultural tourism in the NNC should still be positive. Since tourism numbers are not that high the Ju/'hoansi are not tired with tourists at the moment. However, it is difficult to predict how things will develop in the future. For instance, if more commercial lodges will appear and the Ju/'hoansi lose more and more control over tourism it is possible that they will no longer wish to participate. However, if the Ju/'hoansi *will* gain more control, for example through initiatives such as the Living Hunter's Museum in //Xa/oba, the future of cultural tourism could be more positive.

I think cultural tourism in the area will still develop in the coming years. Job perspectives for the Ju/'hoansi are still very low and because the NNC is such a remote place it is unlikely that the number of jobs will significantly increase in the near future. The number of Ju/'hoansi who have finished school is almost negligible and although the number is increasing it will take many years before the educational level of the Ju/'hoansi will increase. Therefore tourism will still be one of the only ways of earning money for the Ju/'hoansi. However, when the number of jobs will increase and more Ju/hoansi will finish school it is likely that they will be less willing to participate in cultural tourism. When less Ju/'hoansi have a significant knowledge of their traditional culture, tourists numbers will probably decrease, since apart from the traditional Ju/'hoansi culture there is not much to attract tourists to Nyae Nyae.

4.5 | CONCLUSION

This chapter has mainly focussed on the opinions and the views of the Ju/'hoansi on tourists and tourism. The chapter has shown that although outsiders might have different opinions, the Ju/'hoansi themselves are very happy about tourists. They see tourism as a great way of earning money, which helps them to adapt to a modern life. On the other hand, some Ju/'hoansi also have told me that tourism helps them to keep their culture alive. Because tourists come they learn about their traditional culture again. Although most Ju/'hoansi do want to adapt to a modern life, they are still interested about their culture and do not want to forget about this. I have argued that this can be seen as a paradox: people need to remember their cultural background in order to be able to adapt to a modern life through tourism. Although it is possible that tourist numbers will decrease since the Ju/'hoansi do not live the same as they did in the past, at the moment it is not possible to state that tourists will not be interested in the Ju/'hoansi culture. For over fifty years now the Ju/'hoansi have not lived like hunter-gatherers anymore; however, tourists are still coming. Although tourism might not be a long-term development, at the moment it is helping the Ju/'hoansi to develop.

5. | CONCLUSIONS

Set in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy in Namibia, this thesis has examined the commoditization of indigenous cultures through cultural tourism. More specifically it has looked at what the influences and effects of cultural tourism are on the host community. The Ju/'hoansi San of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy have provided the empirical ground from where I have studied this theme. Through the case study of the Ju/'hoansi San, with a focus on three different villages (Doupos, Nhoma and //Xa/oba) and two lodges (the Tsumkwe Country Lodge and the Nhoma Safari Camp), I have done ethnographic research on the influences of tourism on the lives of the Ju/'hoansi, with a strong focus on their own perspectives and perceptions. In contrast to many other studies I have not focused at the tourists' point of view, but primarily described the views of the Ju/'hoansi themselves. I have argued that since the Ju/'hoansi work with tourists and are therefore influenced by tourism, their views and perceptions are the most important. Therefore this thesis has been full of examples and quotes of Ju/'hoansi whom I have spoken with, in order to give an impression of their opinions.

At the beginning of this thesis I have discussed the Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution (see figure 1.5), created by Butler (1980). I have argued that tourism in the NNC currently is in the development stage because tourism numbers still increase and external organizations start to appear in the area. I have also discussed the different tourism ventures in the NNC which tourists can choose from. I have explained that most tourists visit villages through the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. Here they can book a full-day or half-day Cultural Experience during which they can experience the Ju/'hoansi culture. The lodge has a relation with three villages in Nyae Nyae: Doupos, Mountain Pos and //Xa/oba. The Ju/'hoansi in these villages wear their traditional clothes when tourists visit and show them how to make fire, how to hunt and gather and how they do their healing dances. The Living Hunter's Museum in //Xa/oba can be seen as a remarkable case, because the museum is managed by the villagers themselves, with the assistance of the non-profit organization the Living Culture Foundation Namibia. In contrast with Doupos and Mountain Pos, where the villagers are more dependent on the Tsumkwe Country Lodge, the people of //Xa/oba can be seen as active stakeholders within the tourism process. Although most Ju/'hoansi in these three villages do feel the lodge brings tourists to them, there are several problems regarding the relationship between the lodge and the Ju/'hoansi in the NNC. The most-heard problem is that the Ju/'hoansi feel they do not benefit

enough from tourists who come through the lodge. There are also problems between the lodge and the management of the conservancy. The management has the feeling that the lodge earns the big money, whereas they themselves miss out on income through tourism because of the lodge.

Another tourism feature which I have researched is the Nhoma Safari Camp, which is quite similar to the Tsumkwe Country Lodge, but focuses at the more wealthy tourists. The accommodation always includes the cultural experience. A difference between the villages visited by the tourists from the Tsumkwe Country Lodge and the village of Nhoma is that Nhoma does not have a separate cultural village. The tourists of the Nhoma Safari Camp visit the actual village of Nhoma. Just like the Tsumkwe Country Lodge, there are also problems between the owner of the Nhoma Safari Camp and the community of Nhoma. Although the Ju/'hoansi in Nhoma also feel they do not receive enough money, most complaints are about the way they are treated by the owner of the lodge.

Several influences of cultural tourism on the Ju/'hoansi can be observed. The most obvious one is that cultural tourism provides the Ju/'hoansi with a valuable source of income. Because the number of jobs is very limited in the conservancy, especially for the Ju/'hoansi, tourism provides one of the only ways of earning (individual) money. This is also experienced by Ju/'hoansi themselves: most of them see income as the biggest benefit of (cultural) tourism. Scholars such as Greenwood (1989) and Picard (1990) argue that commoditization of cultures through tourism leads to the destruction of these cultures because they lose meaning to the people who are part of these cultures. However, I have argued that this is not the case with the Ju/'hoansi culture, because they still practice parts of their culture, such as gathering. I agree with Cohen (1988) who argues that culture is subject to change and therefore states that the assumption that the commoditization of a culture will destroy its authenticity is in itself incorrect. Some scholars, such as Stronza (2001) and Gamper (1981), state that people change certain aspects of their culture for tourists; however, I argue that the Ju/'hoansi are not doing this consciously. Although, for example, in some villages people have sewn coloured beadles on the traditional clothes instead of the original ostrich egg beadles, this has a practical reason: there are not that much ostrich eggs available anymore. Therefore I argue that people do not specifically change parts of their culture for tourists. Instead they try to show the tourists as best as possible how they used to live and when they are unable to do so, they will tell the tourists this is not how they used to do something in the past. Scholars such as Cohen (1988) and Medina (2003) believe that tourism can even lead to the revival of a culture. This is also experienced by the Ju/'hoansi themselves: because tourists are interested in the traditional culture, they remember their traditions. Most Ju/'hoansi explained to me that they are very proud of the fact that tourists come and that they show interest in their culture.

Of course the fact that tourists come for the Ju/'hoansi culture does have an effect on the way people present themselves for tourists. This can be seen by the fact that a back- and front stage are created by the Ju/'hoansi. MacCannell (1999) has described the back stage as a place where tourists are not present and the front stage as the place where tourists visit. This is most apparent with the creation of cultural villages, apart from the village where the Ju/'hoansi actually live, such as in Doupos and //Xa/oba. "Props" such as modern clothes and items are kept in the backstage and in the front stage the traditional culture is performed for tourists. MacCannell (1999) describes this as 'staged authenticity': tourists might feel they enter a back stage, where they can experience "authentic", traditional culture, but in reality the back stage is still kept hidden from the tourists. Although I have observed a separation between the back- and

front stage with the Ju/'hoansi, the back stage is not always hidden from tourists. Tourists can often also visit the modern village if they want to. In general the Ju/'hoansi explain the tourists that they show them how they lived in the past and that they do not live the same way today.

Furthermore I have argued that it is important not to see the Ju/'hoansi as passive bystanders with regard to cultural tourism. Although there is a lot of room for improvement, the Ju/'hoansi can be seen as active stakeholders. This can be seen by the fact that the Ju/'hoansi are aware of tourists' motives for coming to the NNC. They know that tourists want to see their traditional culture and are not interested in the way they live today. They know that when tourists come they have to wear their traditional clothes and show them the aspects of their traditional culture. I argue that initiatives such as the Living Hunter's Museum in //Xa/oba empower the Ju/'hoansi, since they manage this tourism venture themselves. Here the villagers can make decisions with regard to tourism themselves, making them active stakeholders. This initiative stands in contrast with the examples of the Nhoma Safari Camp and the Tsumkwe Country Lodge, where decisions are made by outsiders. Here the concept of *Baasskap* can be observed, which is described by Sylvain (2001) as a form of paternalism, culturally unique to southern Africa, between white Afrikaners and, in this case, the Ju/'hoansi San. The owners of both lodges see it as their task to nurture the Ju/'hoansi, because they feel they cannot do this themselves. This clearly undermines the empowerment of the Ju/'hoansi in the area. It would be good therefore, if more initiatives like the Living Hunter's Museum in //Xa/oba would be stimulated, in order to empower the Ju/'hoansi in the NNC. I have argued that if this would be done successfully a new stage could be added to Butler's Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution, in which the local communities gain control over tourism facilities.

I have also argued that most Ju/'hoansi have a positive view on tourists and tourism. The management of the NNC and the traditional Ju/'hoansi leaders do observe some problems with tourism, which are especially related to the lodge. They feel that the Tsumkwe Country Lodge gains the biggest share from tourism, whereas the conservancy misses out on money from tourists. In general they are still happy about tourism, since they feel it does bring some money to the members of the conservancy. The Ju/'hoansi who work with tourists are also happy about tourists visiting their village. They explained that tourists are very interested in their culture and respect them. I argued that the Ju/'hoansi, in fact, were sometimes even positive about tourists when the tourists themselves did not really respect them. This stands in contrast with the views of the NNDFN and researchers such as Humphrey and Wassenaar (2009) who do not see tourism as a high priority for the development of the Ju/'hoansi. I have argued that the perspectives of the Ju/'hoansi themselves should be taken into consideration more seriously by the NNDFN. Although personal opinions might still differ, I had expected opinions to differentiate more. I especially thought that there would be a difference between the older and younger generations with regard to their interest in their traditions and tourism. However, I have observed that in general both younger and older generations are on the one hand still interested in their traditional culture and on the other hand do want to adapt to a modern life.

At the end of this thesis I have argued that a paradox can be observed because in order to be able to adapt to a modern life it is necessary for the Ju/'hoansi to still remember their traditional culture: tradition has become a tool for reaching the modern life. What does this imply for the future? It will be interesting to examine the implications of this paradox, in which the Ju/'hoansi are required to remember and commoditize their traditional culture in order to reach modern life, more broadly in future research. Most Ju/'hoansi have indicated that they would rather live a modern life, instead of the traditional life. However, in Nyae Nyae one of the only ways to get to

this modern life is through cultural tourism. Therefore it is necessary that they remember their traditional culture, since this is what tourists are interested in. However, what will happen when more and more Ju/'hoansi adapt to a modern life? Will they still be willing to participate in the cultural activities for tourist? Are they still prepared to wear their traditional clothes in front of tourists? And what about the tourists? Are they still willing to come when the Ju/'hoansi adapt to the modern life? It will be interesting to focus on these questions from the point of view of the local communities, as I have done within this research. What are their ideas for the future? Do they think cultural tourism has a future? Are they still willing to practice their traditional culture once they have a job? These are all interesting questions which, I am sure, will have very interesting answers.

In the end I believe it is important to listen to the views of the Ju/'hoansi themselves. Although studies carried out by for instance Humphrey and Wassenaar (2009) might show that tourism is not a long-term method for developing the local Ju/'hoansi, this study has shown that the Ju/'hoansi do feel tourism helps them to move towards a modern life. They feel tourism provides them with income, they are happy about tourists coming and like to show them their culture. As I have argued in this thesis we should regard the Ju/'hoansi as active stakeholders instead of passive bystanders and therefore they deserve it that we listen to their perspectives. In order to stimulate the empowerment of the Ju/'hoansi through tourism, a first step should be to let them make decisions on tourism matters. If more initiatives like the Living Hunter's Museum in //Xa/oba should be created, it is not only possible to develop local communities, but also to empower them through tourism.

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APPENDIX 1: PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON DOING FIELDWORK

For young graduate students preparing for their first field trip, fieldwork represents mystery, opportunity, and excitement. Fieldwork is also a trial through battle in a war for which the novice has little preparation. The student knows that this is a challenge he will have to face, a major rite of passage that will provide him with the opportunity to prove his ability, courage, and temperamental suitability for the profession. He knows that, in doing fieldwork and in working with the ethnographic data he will collect, a number of transformations will occur (...) Success in fieldwork proclaims manhood and generates a major transformation: a student of culture becomes an anthropologist. (Freilich 1970, cited in Sluka and Robben 2007: 1)

In preparation of doing fieldwork I had to follow the course 'Doing Ethnography', in which we learned how to do anthropological research, how to conduct interviews and participant observation and we even learned about the 'culture shock'. Although I have learned a lot on doing fieldwork during this course, as well as other courses throughout the master programme, actually doing fieldwork still was a trial-and-error process for me. The first few weeks I was constantly afraid that I would forget to interview important respondents, that I would ask the wrong kind of questions and that I would miss vital observations. Although I had learned about all these things in theory, actually carrying out the aspects of fieldwork in practice was something else. Gradually, however, I started to feel more confident as I gained a lot of interesting information through interviews, observations and 'hanging around'.

Something I missed during my fieldwork period was contact with other Western people. Because my research area was so remote - with the nearest supermarket three hundred kilometres away - there were almost no other Westerners, apart from the occasional tourist passing through. Although I met many welcoming and generous Namibians during my stay in Nyae Nyae, some of whom became my friends, I missed being able to talk with other outsiders. This also made it difficult to take a step back from my research, since all the people who were there were part of my research area. Although it is of course good to immerse yourself in the research area, it is also good to sometimes take a step back and reflect on the things you have seen. I would also have liked it if I could discuss my research findings with other researchers or students. Sometimes I found myself stuck on a particular topic, or I doubted whether my interview questions were right; at these moments it would be nice to be able to discuss these things with others.

It could be argued therefore that the research areas for master students should be limited, or even that students should go to certain areas as part of a group. However, I am glad that I got to do my research in Nyae Nyae. It might have been easier if my research area would not have been so remote or if there would be other students with whom I could discuss my research findings. However, I feel that I have learned a lot during this period, both as an anthropologist and a person - more than I might have if other students were in the same area. Instead of forming research groups of students who conduct their research in the same area, another option could be to form 'online' research groups, allowing students to share their findings,

obstacles and questions with each other through e-mail or a forum. This way students can still carry out their own research in their area of choice, but they will have a platform where they can get feedback from other students.

Something which I found difficult to accept was that in three months it is impossible to do extensive research. I continually felt that I had to gain more information, do more interviews and participate in more tourist activities. However, once I was back home and started with the process of actually writing this thesis I found out that I had more information, interesting quotes, etcetera than I could use. Of course, in order to immerse oneself completely in the research area it is better to stay there for a longer period. However, I think I did get a lot out of these three months - more than I thought at that time. I found it very interesting to see that it really works to stay in a place for a longer period. I noticed that people started to know me after a few weeks and were more comfortable around me. Although I had learned about this during my studies in Cultural Anthropology, I took pleasure in experiencing this process for myself. I also enjoyed it that I would sometimes get revelations regarding my research. It felt really good to look through my notes and listen to interviews and noticing that the analyses actually made sense.

Although looking backwards I would have done some things very different (such as transcribing much more interviews *during* my fieldwork, instead of afterwards), I am glad things have gone as they have. I feel I have learned a lot during my research and, having passed this rite of passage, believe I will be much more prepared for doing fieldwork again.

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF RESPONDENTS

- 1 Interview Windhoek, Martha Mulokoshi, employee NNDNFN/WWF, 5 January 2012.
- 2 Interview Windhoek, Wendy Viall, employee NNDNFN, 10 January 2012.
- 3 Interview Windhoek, Eva Weitz, employee WIMSA, 11 January 2012.
- 4 Interview Windhoek, Ed Humphrey, 13 January 2012.
- 5 Interview Tsumkwe, middle-aged Ju/'hoansi man, 17 January 2012.
- 6 Interview Tsumkwe, Ju/'hoansi manager of the Living Hunter's Museum, 20 January 2012.
- 7 Interview Tsumkwe, middle-aged Ju/'hoansi man, 23 January 2012.
- 8 Interview Tsumkwe, young Ju/'hoansi woman, 23 January 2012.
- 9 Interview Tsumkwe, employee MET, 24 January 2012.
- 10 Interview Tsumkwe, male Ju/'hoansi staff member of the NNC, 25 January 2012.
- 11 Interview Tsumkwe, middle-aged Ju/'hoansi man, 26 January 2012.
- 12 Interview Tsumkwe, middle-aged Ju/'hoansi woman, 26 January 2012.
- 13 Interview Tsumkwe, middle-aged Ju/'hoansi woman, 1 February 2012.
- 14 Interview Doupos, elder Ju/'hoansi man, 2 February 2012.
- 15 Interview Doupos, young Ju/'hoansi woman, 2 February 2012.
- 16 Interview Nhoma, Arno Oosthuysen, owner Nhoma Safari Lodge, 10 February 2012.
- 17 Interview Nhoma, elder Ju/'hoansi woman, 11 February 2012.
- 18 Interview Nhoma, elder Ju/'hoansi man, 12 February 2012.
- 19 Interview Nhoma, young Ju/'hoansi woman, 12 February 2012.
- 20 Interview Nhoma, middle-aged Ju/'hoansi woman, 12 February 2012.
- 21 Interview Nhoma, middle-aged Ju/'hoansi man, 13 February 2012.
- 22 Interview Nhoma, middle-aged Ju/'hoansi man, 13 February 2012.
- 23 Interview Tsumkwe, Gabriel 'Gabes' Hipandulwa, employee NNDNFN, 16 February 2012.
- 24 Interview Windhoek, Wendy Viall and Lara Diaz, employees NNDNFN, 9 March 2012.
- 25 Interview Tsumkwe, two young Ju/'hoansi man, 14 March 2012.
- 26 Interview Tsumkwe, manager Tsumkwe Country Lodge, 15 March 2012.
- 27 Interview Tsumkwe, Ju/'hoansi tour guide Tsumkwe Country Lodge, 15 March 2012.
- 28 Interview Tsumkwe, young Ju/'hoansi man, 18 March 2012.
- 29 Interview Tsumkwe, Ju/'hoansi tour guide Tsumkwe Country Lodge, 19 March 2012.
- 30 Interview Tsumkwe, employee MET, 20 March 2012.
- 31 Interview Tsumkwe, male Ju/'hoansi staff member of the NNC, 23 March 2012.
- 32 Interview Doupos, elder Ju/'hoansi woman, 23 March 2012.

- 33 Interview Doupos, middle-aged Ju/'hoansi woman, 23 March 2012.
- 34 Interview Doupos, middle-aged Ju/'hoansi man, 23 March 2012.
- 35 Interview Tsumkwe, Councillor Kxao Moses ≠Oma Tsumkwe, 27 March 2012.
- 36 Interview Tsumkwe, female Ju/'hoansi staff member of the NNC, 28 March 2012.
- 37 Interview Tsumkwe, Norwegian tourist, 29 March 2012.
- 38 Interview Tsumwke, female employee crafts shop NNC, 29 March 2012.
- 39 Interview Tsumkwe, administrator of NNC, 29 March 2012.
- 40 Interview //Xa/oba, elder Ju/'hoansi man, 30 March 2012.
- 41 Interview //Xa/oba, young Ju/'hoansi man, 30 March 2012.
- 42 Interview //Xa/oba, middle-aged Ju/'hoansi woman, 31 March 2012.
- 43 Interview //Xa/oba, young Ju/'hoansi woman, 31 March 2012.
- 44 Interview Tsumkwe, employee MET, 2 April 2012.
- 45 Interview Tsumkwe, Chief Bobo, 3 April 2012.
- 46 Interview Tsumkwe, group discussion young Ju/hoansi, 3 April 2012.
- 47 Interview Tsumkwe, Ju/'hoansi tour guide Tsumkwe Country Lodge, 4 April 2012.

Appendix 3: Media and Research Contract



Media and Research Contract of the San of Southern Africa

Between
the San Organisation

Details: **NYAE NYAE CONSERVANCY**
P O BOX 45 GROOTFONTEIN/TSUMKWE
NAMIBIA
TEL: 067-244011

Bank account	NAME OF BANK:	FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF NAMIBIA
	BRANCH AND BRANCH CODE:	WINDHOEK (280172)
	BANK ADDRESS:	P O BOX 285, WINDHOEK, NAMIBIA
	NAME OF BANK ACCOUNT:	NNDFN/NNC TRUST
	TYPE OF BANK ACCOUNT:	1-DAY CALL ACCOUNT
	ACCOUNT AND BRANCH NUMBER:	(280172) 62096061082
	SWIFT CODE:	FIRNNANX

And
The Applicant for media or research with the Nyae Nyae Conservancy

Details _____

THE PARTIES AGREE AND RECORD AS FOLLOWS:

1. THE PROJECT

The Applicant applies to the Nyae Nyae Conservancy for permission to carry out the following media or research project, which may be described more fully on the attached annexure, described briefly as follows:

Project name and details

Approved by the WIMSA Annual General Assembly on 28 November 2001.

The purpose of this contract is to ensure that all San intellectual property (including images, traditional knowledge, music and other heritage components as recorded in any medium) is controlled and protected.

If envisaging a more complex project, the Applicant should hold further discussions with WIMSA.

2. UNDERTAKINGS BY THE APPLICANT

The Applicant undertakes as follows:

- 2.1 That the information provided and recorded herein is correct.
- 2.2 To respect the culture, dignity and wishes of the San throughout the project, and not to publish any facts or portrayals that might be harmful or detrimental to the San.
- 2.3 To provide the San with three copies of the final product or products, free of charge.
- 2.4 Not to utilise any of the materials commercially, or for any purpose not disclosed herein, save with the written permission of the San.

3. UNDERTAKINGS BY THE SAN ORGANISATION

The Nyae Nyae Conservancy undertakes to do the following:

- 3.1 To cooperate with the Applicant in every possible way regarding the successful completion of the project.
- 3.2 To remit to Nyae Nyae Conservancy N\$4,000/day filming in addition to N\$2,000 one off payment for logistical arrangements.

4. OWNERSHIP

Ownership of the material produced during the project, as well as of the final product, shall vest as follows (delete those not applicable):

- a) Jointly with the Applicant and the Nyae Nyae Conservancy
- b) With the Applicant
- c) With the Nyae Nyae Conservancy
- d) Otherwise (as stated): _____

5. PAYMENT

The Contractor shall make payment to the Nyae Nyae Conservancy as follows (fill in and delete as applicable):

- 5.1 To NNDFN in respect of facilitation of the project, the sum of _____
- 5.2 To the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, the sum of _____
- 5.3 Other (specify): _____

All payments to the San are to be paid into the bank account specified by the San above, unless otherwise agreed.

6. GENERAL

Any additions to this contract shall not be valid until duly signed by both parties.

It is agreed that the contract shall only be finally valid and of full legal force when formally approved by the Nyae Nyae Conservancy as the San body authorised to protect the rights of the San peoples in Nyae Nyae.

In the event of a dispute or a breach by either party, the aggrieved party shall provide immediate notice of such breach, and the parties shall attempt to resolve the issue informally. While the rights to resort to litigation remain reserved, the parties commit themselves to utmost good faith in the resolving of any disputes between them by negotiation or mediation.

Signed by the **Applicant** at _____
on this _____ day of _____ 200_____

Witnesses 1 _____
2 _____ Applicant _____

Signed by the **Nyae Nyae Conservancy** at _____
on this _____ day of _____ 200_____

Witnesses 1 _____
2 _____ Nyae Nyae Conservancy _____

Signed and approved by the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) or NNDFN

WIMSA/NNDFN _____ Date _____