



**African Hosts & their Guests**  
**CULTURAL DYNAMICS OF TOURISM**

EDITED BY

WALTER VAN BEEK & ANNETTE SCHMIDT



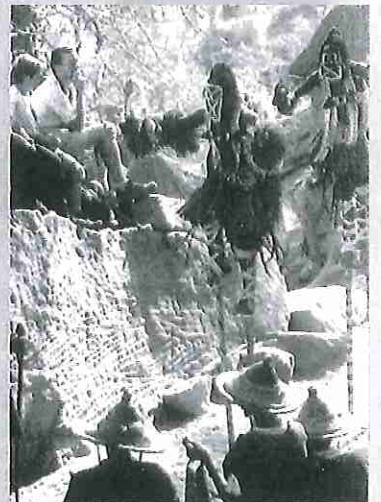
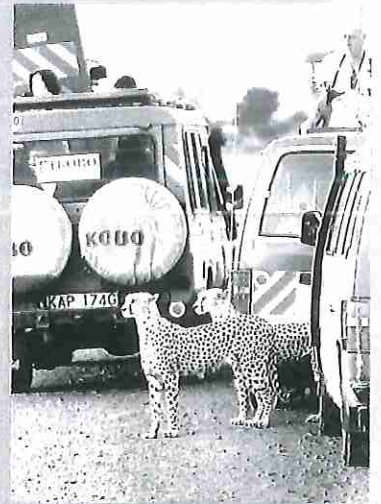
Tourism is important for Africa: international tourist arrivals to Africa continue to grow, income from tourism is crucial to national economies, and tourism investments are considered among the most profitable. This edited volume deals with the interaction of local communities with tourists coming into their areas and villages. Based upon a common theoretical approach, fourteen cases of African tourism are discussed which involve direct contact between 'hosts' and 'guests'. The viewpoint throughout is from the side of the locals, establishing how the processes of interaction shape each small-scale destination. Crucial in Africa is the fact that the large majority of tourism is game oriented and the interaction between locals and visitors is very much 'tainted' by this fact. Central is the notion of the tourist bubble – the infrastructure that is generated locally (and internationally) for hosting tourists, as it is this institutional interface that tends to impact on the local society and culture, not the tourists themselves directly.

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**Cover photographs**

**Front:** Dutch backpackers among the Himba in Namibia, 2002  
(© Walter van Beek)

**Back:** (top) Cheetahs in eco-tourism paradise? Masai Mara National Reserve, 2007 (© Vanessa Wijngaarden); (bottom) Mask performance for tourists, Tireli, Mali, 2005 (© Walter van Beek)



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## 8 • Treesleeper camp: A case study of a community tourism project in Tsintsabis, Namibia

Stasja Koot

'Generally, with one or two exceptions, the bushmen photographed are anonymous. They are portrayed as iconic symbols rather than individuals.'<sup>1</sup>

'Modern day Bushmen will greet you from their homes, inquisitive of intruders in their quiet lives.'<sup>2</sup>

### Introduction

Tourism in Namibia has a strong focus on nature. 'Cultural tourism' or 'ethnic tourism' is there, but on the margins of nature-based tourism. Wildlife parks and beautiful landscapes are the main attractions here. The Fish River Canyon, the Namib Naukluft Desert and of course Etosha National Park are amongst the highlights of Namibia. It is a country with good infrastructure and there are plenty of high quality guest farms, hunting farms and lodges where tourists can have an 'African experience'. Wildlife is numerous, also outside the parks and in conservation areas. In a comfortable setting, tourists can go trophy hunting or for game drives in the parks, conservation areas and on farms. In a cheaper setting, camping tourism has evolved.

Community Based Tourism (CBT) and Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) started to evolve already before 1990 and since 1994 it has been possible for many Namibian communities to acquire limited property rights to use and manage wildlife resources. The most important natural resources in these CBNRM projects are wildlife viewing and trophy hunting. In a large country as Namibia (830.000 km<sup>2</sup>) the population of 1.7 million is mostly rural.<sup>3</sup> Today these local communities sometimes work together with partners from the private sector in so-called joint ventures, such as the Damaraland Camp in the Torra Conservancy.<sup>4</sup> From a cultural tourism point of view, the two most interesting tribes

1 R. J. Gordon, *Picturing Bushmen: The Denver African Expedition of 1925* (Claremont, South Africa: David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd., 1997), 69.

2 !Uris Safari Lodge. <http://www.urissafarilodge.com>

3 J. I. Barnes, 'Community-based Tourism and Natural Resource Management in Namibia: Local and National Economic Impacts', in A. Spenceley, ed., *Responsible Tourism: Critical Issues for Conservation and Development*, (London: Earthscan, 2008), 343-44.

4 M. Salole, 'Merging Two Disparate Worlds in Rural Namibia: Joint Venture Tourism in Torra Conservancy', in R. Butler and T. Hinch, eds., *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2007).

in Namibia are the Himba and the Bushmen, as being 'exotic' people.<sup>5</sup>

Bushmen (or San), specifically the Hai//om of Etosha, are the focus of this chapter. It looks into the case of Treesleeper Camp, in which a changing culture and community is connected to tourism. Amongst other examples, the Bushmen's traditional and current connection with wildlife is compared to the tourists' connection with wildlife. The Hai//om Bushmen used to hunt and roam in and around the Etosha National Park, the main attraction where tourists go to watch game. Early in the twentieth century the promotion of tourism in Hai//om habitat was already established and the tribe was used to attract tourists. It was hoped that tourism would lead to settlers. Big-game hunting was also part of the attraction.<sup>6</sup> The Hai//om are an example of a culture which has trouble connecting to its own traditions, while at the same time having trouble connecting to modernisation. On the one hand, the tourist's romanticised picture before he goes to Africa has a big influence on the daily life of these marginalised people: indeed, the existence of national parks is partly the cause of marginalisation for Bushmen all over Southern Africa. On the other hand, that same romanticised picture of Africa brings opportunities for (sustainable) tourism development. Bushmen, as part of the tourist's view of Africa, are subject to two contradictory images, and neither of them captures today's reality. Sometimes they represent the image of real, 'pristine' foraging people, leading an 'authentic' life as humanity's ancestors. In other cases, they are seen as marginalised victims because of the apartheid regime and world-wide capitalism.<sup>7</sup>

### *Methodological note*

For methodological clarity I will explain my own position in the Treesleeper project. My connection with Tsintsabis, where Treesleeper Camp is based, started in 1999 when I visited the place for the first time and stayed for half a year to do fieldwork for my MA thesis about the resettlement process in Tsintsabis.<sup>8</sup> In those days many people told me they wanted to work with tourism, since many tourists were passing through on the way to Etosha. Therefore, starting community tourism in Tsintsabis had been my own recommendation to the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR)

5 R.K. Hitchcock, 'Cultural, Economic, and Environmental Impacts of Tourism Among Kalahari Bushmen', in E. Chambers, ed., *Tourism and Culture: An Applied Perspective* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 97.

6 R. J. Gordon, *Picturing Bushmen: The Denver African Expedition of 1925* (Claremont, South Africa: David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd., 1997), 102-3.

7 R. Hitchcock et. al., 'Introduction: Updating the San, Image and Reality of an African People in the Twenty First Century', *Senri Ethnological Studies* 70 (2006): 1.

8 S. Koot, 'Resettlement in Tsintsabis: Namibian Bushmen in a Changing World', MA thesis, University of Utrecht, 2000.



and some NGOs. In 2002/3 I returned to Namibia for six months, visiting the community several times and discussing the idea again (also with NGOs, potential donors, and the MLRR). I also started the Foundation for Sustainable Tourism in Namibia (FSTN), a small Dutch initiative mainly used for fundraising for the project. From January 2004 until June 2007 I lived in Namibia once more, based in Tsintsabis to help the community with founding and building up Treesleeper Camp and to provide trainings to local employees. In that period I did not do any research, and I was probably – and in some ways still am – more closely attached to this project than the average researcher. The methodological consequences of this are that I know the project very well, in detail, but I am probably less objective than an outside observer.

### *Historical background*

For a long time now scientists have agreed that hunting and gathering Bushmen are the aboriginal inhabitants of Southern Africa<sup>9</sup> and the Hai//om are the largest ‘subgroup’ of Bushmen in Namibia.<sup>10</sup> Hai//om means ‘tree-sleeper’ and a big part of Etosha belongs to their original habitat. Before the arrival of the Europeans in northern Namibia, the Hai//om lived semi-nomadic in good conditions for foraging, but over more than a century of colonial rule ‘the whole pattern of land possession, use and access, was radically reshaped from pre-colonial patterns to a system which was geared to the benefit of white people.’<sup>11</sup> The Hai//om lost their resources much quicker than any other group because they lived in the best farming area of Namibia. The new European farmers brought in a lot of livestock, hunted game and fenced their land. Many Hai//om started living and working on the new settler farms.

Robert J. Gordon analyses how a group of American scientists in 1925 went looking for ‘The Most Primitive Race on Earth: The Heikum Bushmen of the Kalahari.’<sup>12</sup> The aim of the expedition was to put these people on photo and film, so that ‘the Bushmen were portrayed as the quintessential primeval people “uncontaminated” by “contact”.’<sup>13</sup> Already then these images had a strong impact on Bushmen. It sometimes resulted in them having to leave Etosha because they refused to live according to European notions of

9 I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1930), 26; A. Barnard, *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa: A Comparative Ethnography of the Khoisan Peoples* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), 28.

10 R.J. Gordon and S. S. Douglas, *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass* (San Francisco: Westview Press, Inc., 2nd edn, 2000), 7.

11 D. Pankhurst, *A Resolvable Conflict? The Politics of Land in Namibia* (Trowbridge, Wiltshire: Redwood Books, 1996), 15.

12 Hulse cited in R. J. Gordon, *Picturing Bushmen: The Denver African Expedition of 1925* (Claremont, South Africa: David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd., 1997), 1.

13 *Ibid.*, 61.

'traditional Bushman custom.' Officials of Etosha would not allow them to own livestock, keep dogs in the 'wrong' way or beg from tourists.<sup>14</sup> Today, the 'pure' Hai//om or Bushmen that the members of the *'Denver African Expedition of 1925'* were searching for cannot be found anymore. By looking for the 'mystified, pure' Bushmen, 'we' have destroyed the purity that we were seeking. The Bushman as so often portrayed in Western culture is a myth, while in reality Bushmen are victimised people. They are looked down on and at the same time they are strongly romanticised as a 'true nature tribe.' This combination can be harmful. For example, Botelle and Rohde found in Eastern Otjozondjupa (the former 'Bushmanland'), that

there are two views underlying future development of the region: one typified by the colonial attitude of 'preserving the Bushmen'; and the other, opposing image, being based on the premise that 'Bushmen' are poor, underdeveloped and in need of guidance from 'more advanced' outsiders. [...] Both of these views are unjustified: it should not be outsiders determining the direction of developments but rather local residents themselves, in consultation with outsiders [...]<sup>15</sup>

### *Hai//om and Etosha*

Bushmen have mostly been portrayed as hunters. Within their traditional diet, meat approximately accounted for 25 to 35 per cent, while bushfood made up the other 65 to 75 per cent. They used to catch a lot of meat with a variety of traps, such as small antelopes, springhare, guinea fowl, and so on. Big game, such as giraffe, kudu and eland, was hunted with bow and (poisonous) arrow. In case of the Hai//om, Etosha National Park and surroundings have always been an important part of their habitat. Etosha is nowadays the biggest tourist attraction in Namibia, while the surroundings are cultivated farmland, camp sites, guest farms and luxurious lodges.

Etosha gained official status in 1907. It has expanded or diminished in size over the past, due to migration routes of certain species, conservation and a 'necessity' for more farmland.<sup>16</sup> When tourists visit the park, either on an organised tour or on a self-drive holiday, most of them drive through the park from the middle southern part in a east-northeastern direction, or vice versa. The main road lies just south of the enormous Etosha Pan, a dry salt pan in the middle of the park. This all used to be part of Hai//om habitat. In 1928 Bushmen

14 Ibid., 119-20.

15 A. Botelle and R. Rohde. *Those who Live on the Land: A Socio-economic Baseline Survey for Land Use Planning in the Communal Areas of Eastern Otjozondjupa* (Windhoek: Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, 1995), 175-6.

16 C. Longden, *Undiscovered or Overlooked? The Hai//om of Namibia and their Identity: One of a Series of Books from the WIMSA Regional Oral Testimony Collection Project* (Windhoek: Capital Press, 2004) and A. Schoeman, 'Etosha – after 75 years, a plucked fowl', in A. Schoeman, ed., *Notes on Nature (2002)* (Windhoek: Gamsberg MacMillan Publishers (Pty) Ltd, 1982), 91-3.



were forbidden to possess bows and arrows – their most important weapon for survival – while if other blacks, or settlers, were found with ‘Bushmen bows,’ these bows were considered ‘curios.’<sup>17</sup> Dieckmann noticed how the officers of Etosha in 1942 classified and counted the Hai//om as ‘Heikum-wild’ (staying at waterholes) and ‘Heikum-tame’ (regularly working at the stations), a practice followed up in subsequent years. Between a few hundred and a few thousand Hai//om then lived in the park, mainly south of the Etosha Pan.<sup>18</sup> Apparently in 1962 between 150 and 200 Hai//om still lived in the park at Namutoni and Okaukuejo; according to a South African official,

earlier the area which is now the Etosha Game Park was the homeland and hunting grounds of the Heikoms. Since the proclamation of a game park the Bushmen have been gradually ‘squeezed out’ and about ten years ago the few who were still found at waterholes in the park were rounded up and relocated at Okaukuejo [sic] and Namutoni. Occasionally there is still infiltration of the game park by Bushmen, but such trespassers are quickly tracked down and removed.<sup>19</sup>

A respondent from Tsintsabis who was born in Namutoni, Etosha, told me in 1999 how ‘in 1944 we were happy, because we were living on our own. But then we were chased away from Namutoni [...] because the South African government they wanted to make it a game park. But Etosha belonged to the Hai//om. We were living there.’

In the early 1990s, the Hai//om claimed the Etosha Game Park as ancestral land.<sup>20</sup> Former Hai//om leader Willem /Aib said that ‘there are about 10.000 Hei//om in Namibia. Without a place to call their home and some form of socio-cultural structure, our people fear they might lose their cultural identity.’<sup>21</sup> In 1997 there was a demonstration at the gates of Okaukuejo and Namutoni. The idea was to inform tourists, in a peaceful way, that they were entering ancestral Hai//om land by handing over a leaflet. However, the protest went wrong when people made roadblocks, the police arrived and used teargas and rubber bullets to disperse the crowd. 73 people were arrested in the end.<sup>22</sup> However, to this day there are still Hai//om living in the park. In 2000 there were still 339 Hai//om at the ‘locations’ of the restcamps Okaukuejo, Halali and Namutoni or at the two entrance gates in place at the time.<sup>23</sup>

17 R. J. Gordon, *Picturing Bushmen*, 61.

18 U. Dieckmann, *Hai//om in the Etosha Region* (Windhoek: John Meinert Printing (PTY) Ltd., 2007), 146 and 162.

19 South Africa 1962, 3 cited in R. J. Gordon, *Picturing Bushmen*, 140.

20 B. Karuuombe, ‘Land Reform in Namibia’, *Land Update* 59 (1997): 7.

21 New Era 1993, 2 cited in J.S. Malan, *Peoples of Namibia* (Pretoria: Rhino Publishers, 1995), 105.

22 C. Maletsky, ‘Hai//om Eye Lists Farms’, *The Namibian*, June 16, 1997.

23 U. Dieckmann, *Hai//om in the Etosha Region* (Windhoek: John Meinert Printing (PTY) Ltd., 2007), 278.

### *Tsintsabis resettlement farm*

Tsintsabis is a resettlement farm situated 119 kilometres east of Etosha. 'Resettlement' implies that people have been forcibly moved to a different place, but in Tsintsabis this is not the case. Here the Hai//om have to find a new way of living in an area that traditionally 'belonged' to them but of which they have been dispossessed. Bushmen communities have become victims of land reform, especially in Namibia and Botswana. Bushmen groups know the system called *n!ore*, which entails the sharing of natural resources amongst members of a larger Bushmen community in a certain area. This concept is essentially different from that of the right of ownership of the land. Pastoralists and cattle owners have intruded into the *n!ore* of the Bushmen, so that nowadays they have a system of sharing poverty.<sup>24</sup>

The 'village' of Tsintsabis was created when the Germans made a police station to control the area when farmers settled this far out, shortly after 1915. Camels were used for transport and there was plenty of wildlife. In the following years, supervision by the South African police became stronger. From approximately 1982 until 1990 the Namibian war for independence from South Africa was strongly felt in Tsintsabis. Its police station became an army base for the South African Defence Force (SADF). Many Hai//om became trackers (based on their expertise because of their hunting tradition) for the SADE, looking for South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) soldiers.

Tsintsabis has been a resettlement farm since 1993. The owner of the land is the Namibian government. The people used to get food and supplies then from the MLRR, who gave the people seeds for growing crops and divided small plots of land for the families on which they could become self-sufficient small-scale farmers. Due to a variety of reasons, this only works on and off and many people are still dependent on food aid. However, agriculture is the core business in Tsintsabis for most people, since it is the core business of the government's resettlement scheme. Most people have hardly any other choice: the Hai//om are originally foragers and thus have no tradition of cultivation. There are two small communities of Bushmen living in the nearby 'sub-settlements' of /Gomkhaos (mainly !Xun Bushmen) and !Khosines, a few kilometres away from the centre of Tsintsabis but officially part of it. Other tribes moved into Tsintsabis after independence. Particularly where jobs are concerned, Bushmen are victims of discrimination. A development committee has been set up with the help of the MLRR, but it lacks the skills, expertise and means available to set up development projects and therefore has turned out to be more of an informal 'problem solving' institution

24 A. Thoma, 'The Communal Land and Resource Management System of the San', in J. Malan and M.O. Hinz, eds., *Communal Land Administration: 26-28 September 1996*, Windhoek (Tsumeb: Nation Press, 1997), 61.



than a strong legal body with the necessary qualities to work on the broad concept of 'development'. Its social role is important however, since it consists mainly of elders from the village. They hardly speak English (but Hai//om and Afrikaans), which is the official language in Namibia since 1993, and illiteracy is prevalent in the committee.

Development projects, including national parks, can cause resettlement. The resettlement process itself in many cases accounts for the creation of a very new 'community', in which people show a wide range of social responses, develop new relationships and learn new skills.<sup>25</sup> In many cases the resettled population goes through an important phase of identity change and this is clearly the case in Tsintsabis. For the Hai//om their environment is the same as they have always lived in, only they are directed to other sources of income, such as agriculture, labouring or tourism activities, on much less land than before. Today their traditional lifestyle of hunting and gathering is practised on a very limited scale and many other influences have affected their lives. They are 'villagised' because 'development' was introduced in the form of schools, clinics, police stations and so on. Rural resettlement schemes sometimes include planned villagisation. Authorities claim that this makes the scattered rural population easier to reach to distribute central provisions. However, in many cases there have been accusations that the government tries to tighten their grip on the people.<sup>26</sup>

### *Tourism in Tsintsabis*

Since 1993 the development committee has planned to start tourism to increase employment and income in Tsintsabis. They have asked the government and parties within civil society to support them. Commercial 'Bushmen-tourism' already existed in the area of Tsintsabis, set up by a commercial farmer, who is also the tour guide, explaining Bushmen culture to visitors.

In 1999 the community of Tsintsabis, while still keen to develop tourism, wanted to create a community-based campsite to stimulate the small-scale economy and skills development for the young people of the village.<sup>27</sup> Examples of the positive effects of Bushmen tourism already existed by this time. According to Ashley, 'Ju'hoansi tracking skills, which were dying out, are gaining new value for tourist-guiding in former Bushmanland.'<sup>28</sup> Tsintsabis has a reasonably good location

25 A. Pankhurst, *Resettlement and Famine in Ethiopia: The Villagers' Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 10-13.

26 NAR. *Migratie en Bilaterale Ontwikkelingssamenwerking* (The Hague: Distributiecentrum DOP, 1991), 21.

27 S. Koot, 'Resettlement in Tsintsabis: Namibian Bushmen in a Changing World', MA thesis, University of Utrecht, 2000, 87-89.

28 C. Ashley, 'Tourism, Communities and National Policy: Namibia's Experience', *Development Policy Review* 16 (1998): 331.



for tourism, due to the proximity of Etosha, which makes it easy for tourists to combine Tsintsabis with a visit to the park. It was thought that tourism would create some employment, motivation for the (young) people and more variety in ways of earning a living. At the time, there were further reasons, on a national level, to think about tourism as an income-generating and educational enterprise for development. Tourism as sustainable development fitted the country's policy as long as local priorities were taken seriously. Besides, Namibian tourism was booming. In 1990 there were approximately 100,000 tourists visiting the country while in 1997 the figure rose to over 500,000 visitors.<sup>29</sup> In the years to follow it would stabilise and for 2006 the number reached a little over 800,000.<sup>30</sup> According to Ashley

[t]he Namibian experience shows that community tourism can evolve rapidly, and can generate a range of financial, social and livelihood benefits for communities, as well as problems. The impacts vary according to the type of enterprise development, the local context, and the opportunities for local residents to shape tourism to their needs and priorities.<sup>31</sup>

### *Treesleeper camp*

The basics of Treesleeper Camp were built between 2004 and 2007 with assistance from mostly Dutch donors, often via the Foundation for Sustainable Tourism in Namibia (FSTN). Local community involvement became formal when the Tsintsabis Trust was created in 2004 with the help of the NGO the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC). The Tsintsabis Trust is the legal owner of Treesleeper Camp. This has been important for a variety of reasons: first, Tsintsabis needed to have a *formal* community representation and owner for the project. The TT is an official legal body, registered at the Master of the High Court in Windhoek. Second, a bank account could be opened, which is a necessity for a fundraising project aiming to become a business. Third, a piece of land was needed for Treesleeper Camp. Since the resettlement farm of Tsintsabis is owned by the MLRR, they needed to allocate 10 hectares of land for the project to be a legal body. The Deed of Trust of the Tsintsabis Trust states that the objectives are 'to uplift the living standard of the community of Tsintsabis through the community tourism activities by providing funding to the Treesleeper Project in Tsintsabis.'<sup>32</sup>

A borehole was drilled and a solar pump installed in December 2004. This created a lot of optimism in the village and increased

29 UNDP, *Namibia: Human Development Report 1998* (Windhoek: UNDP, 1998), 70.

30 NTB, 'Summary analysis 2006'; [http://www.namibiatourism.com.na/trade\\_docs/summary\\_analysis\\_2006.pdf](http://www.namibiatourism.com.na/trade_docs/summary_analysis_2006.pdf)

31 C. Ashley, 'Tourism, Communities and National Policy', 349.

32 Tsintsabis Trust, 'Deed of Trust'. Master of the High Court, Windhoek. (Windhoek: LAC, 2004) and U. Dieckmann, *Hai//om in the Etosha Region* Windhoek: John Meinert Printing (PTY) Ltd., 2007), 318.



belief in the project. A popular saying in Tsintsabis is 'Water is Life.' In fact, Treesleeper is situated at a typically Namibian dry riverbed from the //Ghasa River.<sup>33</sup> Tree decks were built; platforms on poles next to big trees where tourists can camp up high between them. The whole camp site has solar-powered hot water. In August 2005 the first group of tourists arrived while building continued. Labour was mostly supplied by community members, with the help of a variety of volunteers. For the younger generation of Tsintsabis, training courses have been organised by the FSTN for tour guiding, hospitality, acquiring a driver's license, a souvenir workshop, a bicycle repair course, marketing and computer courses. Treesleeper Camp was complemented with a cultural centre and a big 'relaxing' tree deck at the riverbed (called the 'Makalani deck') in 2006. In 2007 a new office was built in the village.<sup>34</sup>

Tourists visiting Treesleeper are offered three activities. First, a bushwalk, during which they find out about traditional Bushmen hunting and gathering, second, a village tour showing contemporary life in Tsintsabis, the history of the Etosha people, and the changes the Hai//om are going through and third, a traditional performance in which traditional singing and dancing ceremonies are included.<sup>35</sup>

Occasionally, community problems required solution – most of them based on envy, a lack of knowledge about the project and high expectations. Two of the most influential families of Tsintsabis often blamed each other for taking all the jobs. A cleaning woman at Treesleeper, belonging to one of these families, had been eavesdropping in the evening from her room, while the other family was talking in the evening at the camp fire:

They were talking that they will take the camp, and that they will take the jobs for their brothers and sisters. And then we can lose our jobs. But me, I know it is only the trust [Tsintsabis Trust] who can decide, they cannot just take the jobs. They are only jealous, but I don't want them to take the jobs, we want the jobs...

As Foster describes, 'where people have so little, and where life is so uncertain, the good fortune of fellow villagers seems bound to arouse envy.'<sup>36</sup>

The FSTN guided this process of building up the camp and fundraising until June 2007, when I left Tsintsabis. Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) Namibia assisted the project for another two years. Since then, the project has been managed entirely by community members.

33 That is the Hai//om name of the river, which runs all the way to Etosha. It means 'The Thirsty One', since it is normally a dry riverbed. The official name is the 'Owambo River'. In early 2006 the rains were so heavy that the river waters came in for the first time in 15 years. In 2008 it flowed again.

34 Later the office was moved to the Cultural Centre.

35 Treesleeper Camp. 'Activities', <http://www.treesleeper.org/activities.html>

36 G.M. Foster, *Tzintzuntzan: Mexican Peasants in a Changing World* (Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 1988), 153.





8.1 A tree deck at  
Treesleeper Camp,  
2006

(© Stasja Koot)

### *Treesleeper from 2007 to 2011*

When I returned to Treesleeper in March and April 2010 there had been a variety of changes. Some staff had left and been replaced by others. The Namibian Community Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA) and the MLRR have used Treesleeper to show other communities or employees how a tourism project should be run and what can be done at a resettlement farm. Moses //Khumûb, the project manager since June 2007, has finished his studies in tourism development and a Namibian tour operator, African Eagle, is now renting one camp site with eleven tents all year round. A representative from African Eagle that I spoke to stated that they worked with three communities, of which Treesleeper was the only reliable one. Furthermore, Treesleeper had been granted funding of approximately N\$ 3 million by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) for a big upgrade of the project, with a guest house or lodge and some more improvements at the current camp. The profit from Treesleeper has been growing every year and several initiatives in Tsintsabis have been supported by the Tsintsabis Trust from the profit of Treesleeper. //Khumûb has been involved with Treesleeper since 2004 and is nowadays the driving force behind the project. He has been asked by the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) to study in Germany for a few years but he has not taken the offer because, as he explained, he is against the so-called 'brain drain'. When I asked him about his personal motivation to commit to the project so strongly he explained how he wanted to prove to those people who do not believe in community projects (especially when the communities consist of Bushmen) how wrong they are. He wants



to show that Bushmen can achieve things by themselves.

Theft has been a problem with young men from the community, which had led to some arrests. A member of staff was accused of theft, and has later been fired. There have also been a few problems with alcohol abuse. The community of Tsintsabis supports the project, apart from a few individuals, particularly those elder people in relatively important positions who want to gain financially from the project. They turn against the project because they do not get anything out of it on an individual basis. Sometimes the communication between the Tsintsabis Trust and the community has not been good enough and therefore the plan is now to have regular village meetings, about three every year. Clear communication to the overall community can prevent a lot of problems and is one of the most important lessons learnt at Treesleeper.

### *Positioning Treesleeper within tourism*

International tourism has positive and negative impacts on the host countries and populations in economic, socio-cultural and environmental ways. Early studies on tourism were economic in nature and focused on working out monetary flows and benefits from the tourism activities.<sup>37</sup> Boorstin has argued that tourism was an example of a 'pseudo-event', in which Americans cannot experience 'reality'. Pseudo-events are inauthentic and isolated from the local people and the host environment.<sup>38</sup> MacCannell has suggested that tourists are interested in their hosts if their hosts' life differs strongly from their own.<sup>39</sup> The hosts' life takes place in 'back regions', while tourists get to see a 'staged authenticity' ('front regions'), constructed by the hosts. Urry rejects the idea of the search for authenticity as the key motivating factor for tourists. For him, it is the difference between one's normal place of residence/work and the tourism experience, which is a key feature for the organisation of tourism.<sup>40</sup> Tourists move in an 'environmental bubble' which protects them from many features of the host community.<sup>41</sup> Their basic motivation is to experience those things 'in reality' which they have already experienced in their imagination. Tourism therefore involves daydreaming and the anticipation of new or different experiences. Advertising and other messages from the media clearly relate to these expectations.<sup>42</sup>

37 I. Sindiga, *Tourism and African Development: Change and Challenge of Tourism in Kenya* (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1999), 8-14.

38 D. J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America. 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition* (1992) (New York: Vintage Books, 1961) and J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2nd edn, 2002), 7.

39 D. MacCannell, *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1976).

40 J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 85.

41 Ibid., 52.

42 Ibid., 13-14.



The image of the Bushman is at least partly created within this 'environmental bubble' of tourism. Sehume mentions in this respect an example of a tourist (calling himself a 'voyager') who appeared not to be satisfied with the way the Bushmen and their lives were presented at Kagga Kamma (a 'cultural theme park' about Bushmen in South Africa). After moving on into the Kalahari to see the 'real' Bushmen he had sent photographs back to the research team. Ironically, one of the photographs appeared to be of an inhabitant of Kagga Kamma.<sup>43</sup>

It is not easy to position Treesleeper Camp as a certain 'type' of tourism. The project overlaps many definitions and ideas. Ethnic tourism is 'marketed to the public in terms of the "quaint" customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples, [...]. Destination activities include visits to native homes and villages, observation of dances and ceremonies, and shopping for primitive wares or curios, [...].'<sup>44</sup> Ethnic tourism strongly overlaps with 'cultural tourism': 'In most instances, the term *ethnic tourism* has been used to refer to activities that engage tourists in the experience of cultural events and situations that are distinct from their own.'<sup>45</sup> Cultural tourism focuses on the vanishing life-styles of peasant culture<sup>46</sup> and the problem with defining this term nowadays is that it has expanded, and so have the meanings attached to it.<sup>47</sup> Smith defines 'environmental tourism' as 'often ancillary to ethnic tourism. [...] Because environmental tourism is primarily geographic, many education-oriented travellers enjoy driving through mountains and countryside to observe man-land relationships.'<sup>48</sup> In 'nature tourism' the presence of humans weakens the concept of nature as magical and renewing, but there is a way to get closer to nature for those who assume 'nature' a bit boring since there is no dialogue. The people of nature, once labelled Peasants or Primitives and considered creatures of instinct, exemplify all that is good in nature herself. Again, the magic is spoiled by the presence of too many other tourists. This approach to nature is, again, ethnic tourism: therefore the latter is a combination of culture and nature tourism.<sup>49</sup>

Nature and host populations are without doubt intertwined and Treesleeper is a clear example of this. In some cases, the host population even *is* nature. According to Chambers, '[t]ravel brochures advertising tours of such places as the Amazon, Southern African game reserves, or the Himalayas regularly juxtapose photographs and descriptions of local flora and fauna with depictions of indigenous

43 J. Sehume, 'Staging Authenticity via Cultural Tourism', [http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=428&Itemid=100](http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=428&Itemid=100)

44 V. Smith, 'Introduction', in V. Smith ed., *Hosts and Guests. The Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2nd edn, 1989), 4.

45 E. Chambers, *Native Tours*, 100.

46 V.L. Smith, 'Introduction', in *Hosts and Guests*, 4-5.

47 G. Richards, 'Introduction: Global Trends in Cultural Tourism', in G. Richards, ed., *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 2.

48 V. Smith, 'Introduction', 5.

49 N.H.H. Graburn, 'Tourism: The Sacred Journey', in *Hosts and Guests*, 31-2.



people in traditional dress, in effect, naturalizing these subjects for tourist consumption.<sup>50</sup>

These kinds of tourism activities are sometimes referred to as 'indigenous tourism', which is based on the relation of people to their natural habitats, their heritage, history and handicrafts.<sup>51</sup> Treesleeper covers a lot of these definitions, but to define it as one specific type of tourism would not do justice to reality.

In a wider Southern African context, Hitchcock has identified several problems and lessons, with regard to Bushmen and tourism:<sup>52</sup>

- Social exclusion and/or discrimination within communities and trusts;
- Often certain members of a community feel excluded because their social and economic benefits are less than others, which has led to local conflicts;
- The important goal of poverty alleviation is often not achieved;
- Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programs often have not resolved the significant conflicts between conservation and development;
- Different expectations from Northern people and Southern people;
- The majority of benefits from tourism go to safari operators and companies;
- Community-based integrated conservation and development programs are difficult to implement. Often the institutional capacity of community-based organisations is insufficient;
- CBNRM programs should be monitored in a simple way;
- Implementing the time-consuming and labour-intensive CBNRM activities should be done at the rhythm of the communities, who should be allowed to make their own choices;
- The degree to which communities have control over their own land is limited.

### *The 'Bushman Myth' at Treesleeper Camp*

In Tsintsabis, most people live in small brick houses with a tin roof, in an often changing family setting. Sometimes a tin roof is used as the only shelter and people often do not care about building the walls: they use old plastic and grass and wrap it around the supporting iron poles. Apart from this, 'grass/cotton/plastic' traditional huts can be seen, especially in /Gomkhaos. The people in Tsintsabis do not have toilets or showers and even though there is water in

50 E. Chambers, *Native Tours.*, 80.

51 Ibid., 80-1.

52 R. K. Hitchcock, 'Natural Resource Management among Kalahari San: Conflict and Co-operation', in R.K. Hitchcock and D. Vinding, eds., *Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Southern Africa*, (Copenhagen: IWGIA Document No. 110, 2004), 221-6.



the village, provision is very unreliable. Installation of electricity supply started in 1999 in Tsintsabis but its use is limited because of power cuts and a lack of money for the bills. When on a village tour, the tourists go to /Gomkhaos from where they walk back to Treesleeper. Here they see how people live, can communicate a bit with translation from the tour guide, and hear stories about the war for independence, Bushman culture changing into agriculture, migrations, diseases, resettlement, and so on. In short, they are being told about life in a small rural African village, while seeing it and being there. Therefore it can be argued that the village tour is the most interesting activity offered at Treesleeper, because it is as close to 'real Africa' and its people as you can get as a tourist. Occasionally tourists have started to cry, and some have been tempted to offer 'help' to the villagers, during the tour. On other days tourists have a great time with the people and the children and enjoy the general happiness and hospitality.

Tourist accommodation in Africa often looks 'authentically African', with stone of earthen colours, lots of wood and thatched grass roofs. Treesleeper Camp is no exception in this 'architectural staged African authenticity'. The only brick building is the cultural centre, but it has a grass roof, just as all the other buildings (washrooms, reception, the Makalani deck). The walls are made of reed and this 'local building style' does not have a lot to do with traditional Hai//om habitat: The grass and reeds were both brought from a few hundred kilometres away and these materials simply play an important role in making Treesleeper look 'African' and therefore prove attractive for tourists. When doing a bushwalk or watching a traditional performance, a tourist will see the different huts in which the Hai//om and the !Xun were really living and these are very different compared to accommodation at Treesleeper. Apart from Treesleeper looking 'African', it also looks 'eco' with lots of natural building materials and a total number of seven solar panels for power and hot water.

A traditional performance is normally arranged in the evening because of the setting and the atmosphere. A camp fire creates the light and is the centre of the performance. A specific place has been built for it, with traditional !Xun and Hai//om huts and a 'fence' of wooden branches around it. A sandy spot has been cleared and levelled where the dancers perform. The camp managers explain the ceremony in brief and confirm that film and photo cameras may be used. The performers are sometimes a cultural group from the Tsintsabis school, made up of youngsters who are interested in their own traditions. One teacher who is also a trustee at the Tsintsabis Trust, is fond of the traditions and is helping to organise this feature. Sometimes the group goes into the country to perform at cultural festivals. They do not get paid a salary, but Treesleeper pays part of the income from the performance to the school fund so they can cover



costs (travelling/accommodation/food) when they go to visit cultural festivals. Often some food is bought for the young performers. In 2006, on such a trip to the north of the country, a 16 year old girl (then the leader of the children's group) was stabbed with a knife and raped. In June 2007 she was still not sure whether she wanted to perform ever again.

Apart from the children's group there are adults who perform and who get paid. When the men are hunting or working on a farm it can be hard to get the group together in time. Both groups dress up in traditional clothing with beads, ostrich egg bracelets, necklaces and so on. A traditional healing is part of the performance. The women clap and sing and a few men, healers, can reach a trance and heal a patient. At other times in Tsintsabis, you can hear this same singing and clapping in the middle of the night. If you go and see such a healing in Tsintsabis you will see two or three healers, dressed up in old T-shirts and worn trousers, walking around a fire while the women and some children are clapping and singing intensely. Some children are sleeping, the women are dressed up in modern dresses. It goes on for hours deep into the night. It is a very different happening from the staged version at Treesleeper.

Dressing up in traditional clothing for tourists is often controversial. I remember how one day I had a talk with the bushwalk guides, asking how they wanted to be dressed during the walk. In these days, we had just bought nice collared shirts for the staff of Treesleeper with the logo and 'Staff' nicely printed on the front. However, a tour operator that visited Treesleeper regularly to do the bushwalk had asked if the guides could do the bushwalk in traditional clothes. The guides decided for themselves that this was fine. After a while one of them stopped dressing up. On his next tour again he ignored the traditional clothing, later explaining:

I cannot wear these clothes, the people in the village have seen me. They laugh at me when they see me walk around like that. They are now calling me names, they say I am stupid, also the children of my family. It is fine for tourists, I don't care, they can see me like this, they like it and they can make the pictures. They do not laugh at me. But I cannot wear this when my own people see me.

The same tour operator later again explained to //Khumûb that a German tourist had complained that he wanted to see the Bushmen but did not see them at Treesleeper. The staff at Treesleeper discussed the matter again and decided not to do the bushwalk anymore in full traditional clothes. However, at the end of the walk, where the traditional huts are seen, the staff change into these clothes to display them for the tourists. In 2010 only the traditional dancing was performed in 'authentic' dress.





8.2 *Traditional performance at Treesleeper  
Camp, 2007*  
(© Vesa Nuutinen)



8.3 *Traditional healing in Tsintsabis, 2004*  
(© Stasja Koot)



Bushmen as well as tourists are connected with wildlife, both in their own way. Wildlife parks and hunting show very different relationships between Bushmen and wildlife on the one hand and tourists and wildlife on the other. Around Tsintsabis there are some hunting farms and lodges (such as La Rochelle on the road to Tsumeb), as in the whole of Namibia. Tourists who visit the area do not only come to watch the animals (as in Etosha National Park); some have come to kill them. Since the 1970s the lucrative market for international recreational trophy hunting on private land has been developed to a very serious level in Namibia. Formerly, where hunting and guest farms had suitable tourist attractions and if they were big enough, they would be developed into 'pure' game farms. In these cases, land was used mainly for tourism (middle and up-market lodges), livestock production ceased and safari hunting has turned out to be highly profitable.<sup>53</sup> In contrast to this often luxurious style of hunting, when Bushmen killed an animal it was eaten and the remains used for a variety of purposes, such as the skins for clothing or blankets. Hunting by Bushmen was a method of survival. Still today many Hai//om and !Xun in and around Tsintsabis want to hunt. Some of the older men go hunting in the communal area north of Tsintsabis and on the nearby resettlement farm Oerwoud. As a respondent explained there is sometimes a conflict with the farmers; '[t]hey do not like each other, the young boys from the Bushmen and the farmers because of the hunting. They kill the farmers' cows and then the whites and the Hereros blame the Bushmen.'

The bushwalk offered at Treesleeper consists for a large part of explanations about traditional Bushmen hunting methods. Tour guides show the tourists tracking, a variety of traps, the different hunting bows and arrows, digging sticks and so on. Here it is possible to get to know the traditional relationship of human beings with the animals (in fact, with the environment) a bit better. Ironically, the marginalised Bushmen who need wildlife for survival purposes, are limited nowadays in hunting. The relationship between tourists and wildlife is one in which the tourist is in control; it takes place within the environmental bubble. For a tourist, it is merely part of the romanticised, 'adventurous' picture of 'real' Africa. In other places in Namibia, such as Bwabwata National Park (the former West Caprivi Game Reserve) and the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, Bushmen communities *do* benefit financially from trophy hunting. The Hai//om do not profit at all from any such hunting in their traditional habitat and are in that way disadvantaged. The Namibian policy on conservancies, where a community has rights to resources on

53 J. Barnes and B. Jones, 'Game Ranching in Namibia', in H. Suich, B. Child and A. Spenceley, eds., *Evolution & Innovation in Wildlife Conservation: Parks and Game Ranches to Transfrontier Conservation Areas* (London: Earthscan, 2009).



the land, therefore does not benefit the Hai//om. The creation of a conservancy for the Hai//om at the southeastern side of Etosha is unlikely to materialise in the near future, due to a variety of reasons. It looks as if the Hai//om will again be left out of benefiting from American funds from the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) currently aimed at conservancies.

In March 2011 two farms were acquired by the Namibian government and have been handed over to the Hai//om traditional authority with the idea that they would start benefitting from tourism, including hunting safaris and lodges, in addition to other commercial activities such as cultivation and the production of charcoal. Consequently, a total of seven farms has been handed over to the Hai//om chief in the last few years.<sup>54</sup> According to some respondents the government wants to give the people some land so that they will have done their duty to the Hai//om, who will in turn have no more grounds to ask for parts of Etosha to be returned to them. Deputy Prime Minister Hausiku suggested that more adjacent farms should be added to ensure a vast area for all the envisaged projects so that a 'Little Etosha' for the Hai//om would be created.<sup>55</sup>

### *Bushmen and wildlife parks*

Treesleeper, Hai//om and Etosha can be seen in a wider Southern African context. Wildlife parks are the main reason why tourists come to Africa. In Namibia, Botswana and South Africa quite a few of these parks have a story of 'resettled' or 'relocated' Bushmen groups. According to Hitchcock, a serious problem faced by many indigenous peoples in Southern Africa when claiming their resource rights and land is the controversy between nation-states establishing national parks, game reserves, sanctuaries and monuments on the one hand and indigenous peoples' rights to ancestral homelands on the other. This often creates conflicts. People at grassroots level favour a Community Based Conservation (CBC) approach, while policy makers often favour strict preservation of wildlife, habitats and other natural resources.<sup>56</sup>

Recently, Bushmen have benefited from Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) projects in South Africa, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Namibia. These projects have tourism as an important component. In some cases in South Africa, CBNRM projects are located in the buffer zones around national parks and game reserves, for example around the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (the former Kalahari-Gemsbok Park). In Namibia in particular, the

54 'Govt hand farms to San', *The Namibian*, 16 March 2011 and 'San get 'Little Etosha', *Namibian Sun*, 28 March 2011.

55 'San get "Little Etosha"', *Namibian Sun*, 28 March 2011

56 R. K. Hitchcock, 'Natural Resource Management among Kalahari San' 204.



Caprivi Strip and the Nyae Nyae region contain reserves and national parks where CBNRM projects have taken place. In Botswana some of the CBNRM related tourism projects can be found around the Okavango Delta. CBNRM is not always associated with protected areas, (such as in the Tsodilo Hills or at /Xai /Xai in Botswana); when related to tourism it often takes place in areas that are ecologically or culturally significant.<sup>57</sup> The main cases of Bushmen resettlement and the creation of national parks can be seen in Table 8.1.

*Table 8.1 National parks, game reserves and conservation areas in Southern Africa that resulted in the involuntary resettlement of local Bushmen populations.<sup>58</sup>*

<i>Park or Reserve Area, Establishment Date, Size</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Central Kalahari Game Reserve (1961), 52.730 sq km	Botswana	Over 1.100 G//ui, G//ana were resettled outside the reserve in 1997 and 2002
Chobe National Park (1961), 9.980 sq km	Botswana	A few Bushmen were resettled in the Chobe Enclave, where 5 villages are in 3.060 sq km
Moremi Game Reserve (1964), 3.880 sq km	Botswana	Khwe were relocated out of Moremi, one of the first tribal game reserves in the 1960s
Tsodilo Hills (1992, declared a World Heritage Site in 2001), 225 sq km	Botswana	Ju/'hoansi were resettled away from the hills in 1995 but continue to use resources there
Kalahari Gemsbok Park/Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (1931), 37.991 sq km	South Africa, Botswana	≠Khomani were resettled out of the park in the 1930s, some of whom remained on the peripheries
Etosha National Park (1907), 22.175 sq km	Namibia	Hai//om were resettled outside of the park and sent to freehold farms in 1954
West Caprivi Game Park/Bwabwata National Park (1963), 5.715 sq km	Namibia	Khwe were resettled in the early 1960s and some more in the 1980s
Hwange National Park (1927, 1950), 14.620 sq km	Zimbabwe	Tyua were rounded up and resettled south of Hwange Game Reserve in the late 1920s

57 Ibid., 208-14.

58 R. K. Hitchcock, 'Natural Resource Management among Kalahari San', 207.



Obviously, the Hai//om are not the only Bushmen tribe who have lost their land due to the creation of a national park, but so far they hardly got anything back (e.g., land or natural resources) as have the ≠Khomani in Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park or the Khwe in Bwabwata. It is a bigger Southern African phenomenon, which can partly be explained by historical reasons and the Bushmen's lack of political power. Treesleeper Camp is not part of a broader CBNRM project, but must be positioned as a singular tourism project. The focus on Hai//om culture at Treesleeper Camp means that there is, however, an equal focus on wildlife since it has always played an important role in Bushmen culture. A visit to Treesleeper can make tourists see things very differently when they get to Etosha.

The Schoeman Commission, which was established in 1952, looked at the possibilities of creating a reserve for the Hai//om, adjoining Etosha National Park, where they would have hunting rights. However, this idea was dropped in 1953 for political reasons, while the !Xun Bushmen eventually got the Nyae Nyae Reserve.<sup>59</sup> Since then, the Hai//om have always been a tribe without land of their own. This is the root cause of many of their problems. It is doubtful if the current farms that are bought by the government to create a 'Little Etosha' will seriously change that situation.

### *Conclusion*

Tourism does play a role in the life of Bushmen. Their traditional culture is part of the tourist's picture of Africa, mostly created in the environmental bubble. Treesleeper Camp is an example where the dynamics between Bushmen, wildlife (parks) and tourism are made clear. Both the tourist and the Bushman have a strong relationship with wildlife, but with a very different level of access to it. Tourists have the means to see or even hunt the wildlife, while Bushmen are restricted in hunting, their own tradition. They are allowed to explain and talk about hunting traditions to tourists, but can be put in jail when hunting in the wrong place. So the Bushman's hunting tradition now serves the tourist, when tourists come to gaze at the traditional Bushman's way of life. Obviously, this is a way to generate income for the Bushmen and in that way tourism gives another meaning to the Bushman's traditions. The character of the village tour at Treesleeper is very different, for tourists learn about 'real life' in the village of Tsintsabis. In this tour the *changing of* traditions is the focus, instead of the tradition itself.

The tourists visiting Treesleeper Camp come to see 'Bushmen', according to their expectations of what 'a Bushman' is. They often have a picture of Africa and Bushmen *before* travelling to Africa,

59 C. Longden, *Undiscovered or Overlooked?*, 25.



through access to the internet, travel guides, postcards, the Discovery Channel, *National Geographic*, fellow tourists, and everything else in the tourist's environmental bubble. They come to Africa to fill in the expectation they have of Africa. Only in this bubble does the 'real' Bushman still live. You can meet Bushmen when you go to a place like Treesleeper but you have to pay and they have to dress up so that the tourist can capture the 'reality' of this 'primitive tribe' on camera. It has nothing to do with the daily life of the Bushman in Tsintsabis, but is part of the picture on the tourist's mind when he comes to Africa. The 'Bushman Myth' lives on in tourism and is part of the tourists' broader 'African Myth'.

Treesleeper, as a relatively successful community development project, is one part of this African Myth. Ideologically it fits well with ideas within civil society, such as a community approach, community ownership and (environmental) sustainability. However, Treesleeper is not situated in a conservation area. The Hai//om in Namibia are the only tribe without land of their own, contrary to promises which have been made in the past by colonial powers. A conservation area for Hai//om people (as possessed by many other tribes in Namibia) so that they can reconnect with their natural resources and wildlife, would be a logical and ethical step forward for this shattered and marginalised community. It would make the area more interesting for the development of tourism, conservation and CBNRM activities. So far Hai//om people have been left out of most of these programmes, and while the first steps to create a conservancy for them have been taken, serious doubts exist if this 'Little Etosha' will become a place of development or a rural slum like most of the resettlement farms in villages such as Tsintsabis.

*Before* Treesleeper was built tourists never came over to Tsintsabis or /Gomkhaos. It was just a dusty little village on the way to Etosha where they would sometimes stop for a drink. Apart from that, there was 'nothing interesting'. Ironically, the tourists stopping for a drink then were indeed in the middle of 'real Africa' and just moved on. Gordon and Sholto Douglas' Bushman Myth was focused on 'primitiveness' – what the members of the Denver African Expedition were looking for (1992).<sup>60</sup> The comparison with tourism is evident. Tourists look at Bushmen in the same way that they look at wildlife: they are also a part of their 'Africa'. In many ways, tourists look at Bushmen in the same way as the members of the Denver African Expedition in 1925. In 2011, 86 years after the expedition, the Bushman Myth is alive as never before within tourism and is part of a broader African Myth. At Treesleeper Camp both have come together.

60 R.J. Gordon and S. S. Douglas, *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass* (San Francisco: Westview Press, Inc., 2nd edn, 1992).



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