

# Treesleeper Eco-camp

Changing dynamics and institutions in a community-based tourism project in Namibia



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*Front cover photos: tree deck camp 5 (28-Mar-2016); tree house camp 2 (25-Mar-2016); unfinished family house (07-May-2016). Photos by the author.*

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## Abstract

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Namibia has become a popular tourist destination over the years. The Namibian government is an proponent of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and Community-Based Tourism (CBT), as these programmes aim to link conservation with development. In 2004 the community-based camp-site Treesleeper started in Tsintsabis, aiming to show the rich culture of the Hai//om and !Xun San, while creating camp possibilities for tourists, and providing an income for the Tsintsabis San community. Over the years visitor numbers increased to up to 966 in 2009, and Treesleeper became an example of a successful CBT-project. Community members fulfilled the employment-roles within Treesleeper, and an income was generated for craft sellers and traditional singers and dancers. Trainings were provided by Treesleeper, and profits were given back to the community in the form of donations. In 2009 Treesleeper received a grant from the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET), to upgrade the camp-site to a lodge. Despite the good intentions and high expectations of this grant, the construction which started in 2011 was stopped in 2013, while none of the buildings were finished. The financial situation of Treesleeper worsened since 2013, as tourists stayed away, and not enough income was generated to support employees, nor the community of Tsintsabis.

A case-study approach was used to examine what happened at Treesleeper, thereby aiming at understanding how economic, social and political aspects shaped the institutional processes in and around Treesleeper. By drawing on institutions, I explored how design principles, as created by Ostrom (1990), and later adapted by Agrawal and Chhatre (2006) and Cox et al. (2010), were reflected in Treesleeper and whether they were helpful in explaining the current situation of Treesleeper. These ten design principles are seen as prerequisites for stable and robust institutions, which are needed to have a successful and enduring CBT-project. Data for this qualitative study was gathered in the form of interviews ( $n=45$ ), participant observations and documents.

By explaining how the situation at Treesleeper worsened, this study showed some important insights in what is necessary for successful CBT-projects. Treesleeper, a community-owned project, showed to be successful as visitor numbers went up, more employees were hired, and benefits flowed back into the community. The involvement of MET regarding the upgrade changed the dynamics of Treesleeper, as MET led the decision-making process about the upgrade, and Treesleeper lost part of its control over the project. The unfinished structures are government property, and Treesleeper is not allowed to influence matters concerning this upgrade. Instead, they have to await an assessment which is performed by the Ministry of Works and Transport (MWT). Visitor numbers tumbled downwards, to about 150 in 2015. As Treesleeper was no longer able to bring benefits back into the community, Treesleeper stopped with having community meetings, which created an information gap among the community members. Old community disputes intensified, as more suspicion was fostered among some community members, thereby spreading allegations about the management of Treesleeper.

When these findings are examined in the light of the design principles, it is evident that the institutional performance of Treesleeper decreased from a robust to a fragile state. The principle 'recognition of rights to operate' is heavily challenged by MET, while having ownership and control is one of the main characteristics of a successful CBT-project. The principles 'congruence with local conditions and appropriation and provision' and 'collective choice arrangements' became weaker, as the majority of the community is no longer informed, nor involved. The results of this case study contribute to our understanding of what is necessary for a successful CBT-project, by showing that local control and ownership, as well as community involvement are important key factors in community-tourism projects.

*Key words: community tourism, institutions, design principles, Tsintsabis, Namibia*

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## List of acronyms

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CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CPRs	Common-Pool Resources
IPACC	Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Committee
LAC	Legal Assistance Centre
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MLR	Ministry of Lands and Resettlement
MLRR	Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (now known as MLR)
MWT	Ministry of Works and Transport
NACOBTA	Namibian Community Based Tourism Association
NCDO	Nederlandse Commissie voor Duurzame Ontwikkeling
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NNF	Namibia Nature Foundation
NTB	Namibia Tourism Board
NWR	Namibian Wildlife Resorts
OPO	Owambo Peoples Organisation
PPP	Public Private Partnerships
RCC	Roads Contractor Company
SADF	South African Defence Force
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
TT	Tsintsabis Trust
TAA	Traditional Authorities Act
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa

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## 1. Introduction

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Namibia, famous for its wildlife, pristine nature and diverse cultures, has become a popular tourist destination. Since the independence of Namibia in 1990, tourism has become a priority sector of the government, and Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and Community Based Tourism (CBT) programmes were launched. These programmes aim to link conservation and rural development by granting the local communities the rights over wildlife and tourism (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007). The Namibian government sees tourism as a way to improve income equity and poverty alleviation, and has set national objectives to promote CBT. These objectives are: (1) Benefits to communities: in communal areas, where most poor people live, tourism has the potential to increase local incomes, jobs, to develop skills and institutions, and bring empowerment to local people; (2) Benefits to conservation: tourism may act as a tool to build local support for conservation and sustainable natural resource use; (3) Benefits to Namibian tourism: the development of tourism in communal areas will strengthen the Namibian tourism product (Ashley & Garland, 1994).

CBT-projects are thought to have several advantages for the community; revenues stay within the local economy, money supports local people and the local economy, and it promotes empowerment and a sense of ownership. The Namibian government is an advocate of tourism and community participation in such projects (Lapeyre, 2010). Although CBT-projects are promoted all around the world, it is questioned whether these projects indeed help the community, as it intends to do. Mitchell & Muckosy (2008) claimed that many CBT projects have failed, due to a lack of financial viability, which is in turn caused by poor market access and poor governance. They concluded that the most likely outcome for a CBT-project is collapse after funding dries up. These claims are backed up by various studies. For example, a survey among 200 CBT-projects in Latin America, performed by the Rainforest Alliance and Conservation International, showed that CBT-projects had an occupancy of only 5%, and only 40% of these projects involved communities in the decision-making process (Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008). Another problem which is often encountered in such community-projects is that benefits flow back to some influential people, and not to the entire community. Also, when projects become bigger, they become entangled in bureaucracies, and policies and practices no longer represent local realities (Blaikie, 2006; Dressler et al., 2010).

Furthermore, critiques on CBT-literature and models also have been expressed. Sammy (2008) for instance claims that CBT-models favour the Western view too much, and do not understand and appreciate the communities' perspective. Another critique is that CBT focuses more on economic profitability, and not on local empowerment. Thereby the community is seen as a whole, while most communities are heterogeneous. Also local control does not automatically lead to the intended community participation (Blackstock, 2005). Successes of CBT-projects have hardly been monitored, and very few studies looked at the actual contribution of these projects to the community (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009).

It is clear that CBT is dynamic and complex, it involves many different actors, and requires a high degree of cooperation (Lohmann & Dregde, 2012). In this report I would like to introduce Treesleeper Eco-camp (hereafter referred as Treesleeper), a CBT-project that started in 2004 in Tsintsabis, Namibia. This project has had its ups and downs, as will be shown in the next paragraph.

## 1.1 Problem description

The village of Tsintsabis was established in 1991 as a resettlement farm for the Hai//om<sup>1</sup> San, who once lived as hunter/gatherers in what is now called the Etosha area (Hitchcock, 2015). Several names are used to refer to the former hunter/gatherer groups of southern Africa, such as ‘San’, ‘Bushmen’, ‘Basarwa’ and ‘Khwe’. All terms are complex and have their own difficulties, as these terms refer to different cultures and languages (Dieckmann, Thiem, Dirx, & Hays, 2014; Hitchcock, Kazunoba, Biesele, & Lee, 2006). The name ‘Bushmen’ was an European concept, which was used for all the different ethnic groups. These different ethnic groups did not perceive themselves as one united group, as they lived in different areas, and spoke different languages (Dieckmann, 2001). In 1996 representatives of several San groups from southern Africa met in Namibia, and agreed upon using the general term ‘San’. However, most San identify themselves according to their ethnic group (Table 1), and prefer to be called in that way. Numbers vary considerably, as different San communities belong to different language clusters (Dieckmann et al., 2014). Throughout this report I will use the name of the specific ethnic group as much as possible to avoid confusion. I will use the term ‘San’ as an overarching term, to refer to the different groups all together.

Table 1 San groups in Namibia (Dieckmann et al., 2014)

Group	Region	Numbers
!Xoon and ‘N oha	Omaheke, Hardap	550
Naro	Omaheke	1,000 – 2,000
Khwe	Caprivi, Kavango	4,000 – 5,000
!Kung or !Xun	Kavango, Otjozondjupa, Ohangwena, Oshikoto	6,000 – 7,500
Ju ’hoansi	Otjozondjupa, Omaheke	6,000 – 7,000
Hai//om and ‡Akhoe	Kunene, Ohangwena, Oshikoto, Oshana	7,000 – 18,000
<b>Total</b>		<b>24,550 – 40,050</b>

Life in Tsintsabis is hard, as there is not much economic activity in the village. Local people noticed that tourists and overland tour operators were driving past the village on or from their way to Etosha. In 1993 the development committee of Tsintsabis, consisting of village elders, had ideas to start a tourism project in Tsintsabis to increase employment and income (Koot, 2012). The Dutch anthropologist Stasja Koot, who was doing research for his study in the area, became involved. Based on suggestions of community members, he recommended to create a community-based camp-site (Troost, 2007; Koot, 2013).

When Koot finished his studies, he consulted donors and the people of Tsintsabis about the idea of creating this CBT-project. The philosophy behind this CBT-project was to show the culture of the Hai//om, while at the same time creating camp possibilities for tourists, and an income for the community members of Tsintsabis (//Khumûb, 2015). Koot and his Dutch colleague Bounin initiated the Foundation for Sustainable Tourism in Namibia (FSTN), in order to generate funds to realise the project. The camp-site was named Treesleeper camp. The word ‘Treesleeper’ is a translation of the word ‘Hai//om’, as the Hai//om used to sleep up in the trees to be safe from lions, and to avoid mosquitos (Treesleeper Camp, n.d.-a; Field notes 11-May-2016). In 2004 the Tsintsabis Trust (TT) was founded by Koot and Bounin, with the help of the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) and the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR). A ‘Deed of Trust’ was set up, in order to legalise the TT. Creating the TT and the Deed of Trust were important steps, as the TT now became the legal owner of Treesleeper, was able to open up a bank account, and was allowed to allocate land to build on (Koot, 2013).

<sup>1</sup> Within the Hai//om language four clicks are used, which are denoted as ‘//’, ‘/’, ‘!’ and ‘‡’.

The basics of Treesleeper were built nearby Tsintsabis between 2004 and 2007. The camp-site consisted of five sites (some with tree decks), ablution blocks, a bar/reception, a kitchen and an office. These structures were funded by several donors and NGOs (Treesleeper Camp, n.d.-a). In August 2005, the first tourists arrived and community members fulfilled the employment roles in Treesleeper Camp. The FSTN provided training regarding e.g. tour guiding, hospitality, marketing and computer courses (Koot, 2012). Three activities were offered for tourists: a bushwalk, a village tour and a traditional performance (traditional ceremonies such as singing, dancing and healing) (Treesleeper Camp, n.d.-a) and tourists were able to buy crafts which were made by local villagers (Koot, 2013).

It was the intention of this CBT-project that it would be run by the community of Tsintsabis, and in 2007 the role of Koot came to end, as he was leaving Namibia. The FSTN withdrew from the Treesleeper project, and the local camp manager, Moses //Khumûb, became the project manager. Treesleeper was assisted by the Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) for another two years before the TT decided they would no longer require assistance of NGO workers (Hüncke & Koot, 2012; Koot, 2013). //Khumûb felt that supporting NGOs should not be involved in Treesleeper too long, as this encouraged dependency (Koot, 2013). Treesleeper achieved self-sustainability, as all costs were covered by the income Treesleeper generated. Visitors numbers and the profits of Treesleeper increased over the years, from 390 visitors in 2006 up to 966 in 2009. Treesleeper provided jobs up to nine employees, and an income for craft sellers and local dancers and singers who did traditional performances (Hüncke & Koot, 2012). The TT used some of the profits that were generated by Treesleeper to benefit the community, for example by giving donations to the kindergarten. Troost (2007) found that Treesleeper had led to economic (growing economic activity), social (support of the community), psychological (confidence in the project and pride) and political (some influence in decision-making process) empowerment in the community. Treesleeper was even used as an example by the Namibian Community Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA) and the MLR, to show other communities how a tourism project could be run (Koot, 2012).

Despite some of the benefits Treesleeper created, it did face several problems as most CBT-projects do. Treesleeper had few working positions available, which created envy by some locals, who wanted their family members to get a job. Also, Treesleeper was sometimes seen as a means by individuals to gain financially, while the TT clearly states that profits made by Treesleeper should support the wide community (Koot, 2013). Also a theft case in 2009 led to conflicts, as //Khumûb decided to go to the police, to set an example that criminality was not tolerated. This contrasted with the communities' view, who wanted to solve the issue without police involvement. This theft case is an example of the difficulties in finding a middle ground between the local 'ways of doing', and modern, Western laws. The Hai//om face a 'double nature', as they want to retain their identity, and show their San culture to tourists, but at the same time want to develop, and have difficulties walking around in traditional clothing (as what is expected by tourists) in their own village (Hüncke, 2010; Koot, 2012, 2013). These contradictory agendas shape the 'cultural survival' of the San, by either the promotion of principles and practises of the (Western) civil society and by retaining their own cultural politics, identity and traditions (Robins, 2001). Furthermore Treesleeper faced some problems with employees concerning alcohol abuse and issues such as absenteeism or staff that did not show respect to the rules (Document 1;2).

Overall, Treesleeper was a quite successful CBT-project with increasing visitor numbers and profits, and proud community members. However, problems seem to prevail nowadays more than the benefits it once brought.

The project turned into a different direction from 2008 onwards, as Treesleeper wanted to fulfil their long-term goal of being a lodge. In November 2009 Treesleeper was awarded with a grant of N\$1,2 million<sup>2</sup> by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) to realize this upgrade. The construction of ten houses, and several other buildings like a boma started in March 2011. The first deadline was supposed to be March 2012, but this was not reached. The tourists that visited Treesleeper started to complain that the camp looked like a building site, as none of the buildings were finished. Also, tour operators, which were an important source of income, started cancelling their tours to Treesleeper (//Khumûb, 2015). Visitor numbers dropped to around 150 in 2015 (Figure 1). In 2013 the financial situation worsened, as not enough income was generated. Of the nine employees, only two were left at the start of 2016. As money became scarce, Treesleeper was not able to provide the community with any benefits, and the remaining employees hardly got paid.

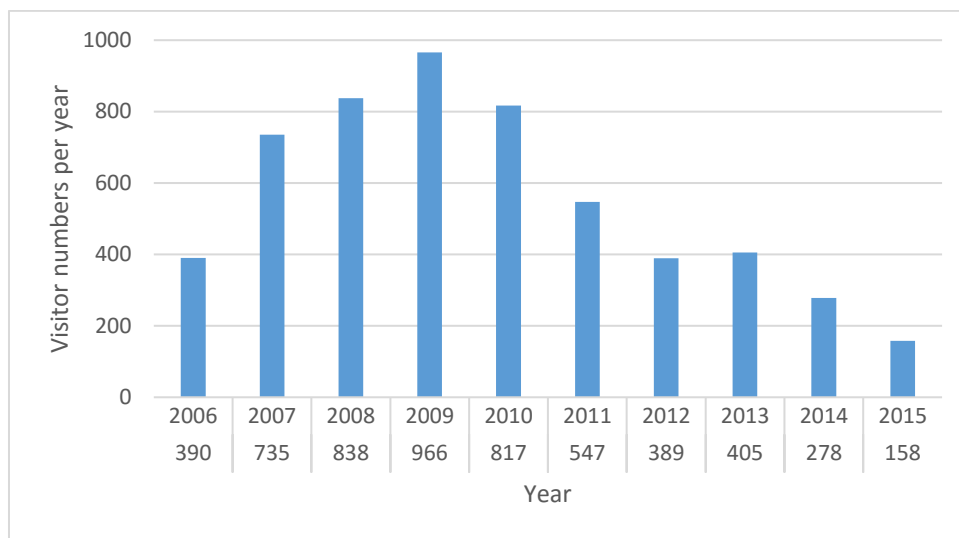


Figure 1 Number of visitors at Treesleeper between 2006 and 2015

## 1.2 Research aim and questions

As the previous section has made clear, CBT can have many advantages for a community, but it can also create problems. Looking at the visitor numbers, Treesleeper was quite successful in its initial years, but contradictory to the expectations about the MET grant, things changed in a rather negative way. For the Hai//om in Tsintsabis Treesleeper is very important. The Hai//om were, like many other San populations discriminated against, and evicted from their original lands, but unlike other San groups, the Hai//om never got recognition, or part of their land back (Hitchcock, 2015). Running a CBT-project like Treesleeper is one way in which they get recognition, and a way of showing the world that they are capable of running a project of their own, as well as producing more financial benefits for the community (Koot, 2013).

It is important to identify and understand the impacts that Treesleeper has undergone, in order to move forward again. Some research on Treesleeper has been done, by i.e. Troost, 2007; Hüncke, 2010; Koot, 2012; Koot, 2013, but none has looked at the impacts on the project after the proposed upgrade since 2010. In this study I will use a case-study approach to examine and understand what happened at Treesleeper over the years, and the influence this CBT-project had on the community, and *vice versa*. I am especially interested in what happened at Treesleeper after the MET-grant.

<sup>2</sup> Exchange rate March 2010: €1.00 = N\$ 9.81 (ABN AMRO, 2010)

By drawing on the institutions in and around Treesleeper, I will explore how the design principals, as created by Ostrom (1990), are reflected at Treesleeper. These design principals can be seen as prerequisites for stable and robust institutions. The aim of this study is to create insight in the institutional processes in and around Treesleeper and its community. By explaining how the situation at Treesleeper worsened, this study contributes to our understanding of what is necessary for a successful CBT-project and it adds more insight and knowledge on CBT-projects.

The main question is: *‘How did economic, social and political aspects shape the institutional processes in and around Treesleeper?’*

The main question can be divided into the following sub-questions:

1. *Who are the stakeholders in Treesleeper and what are their roles and views on this CBT-project?*
2. *How is the community represented in Treesleeper and how do they participate in this CBT-project?*
3. *What institutional arrangements are in place at Treesleeper regarding the decision-making process and power?*
4. *What influence did the MET-grant have on Treesleeper?*
5. *In what way did the (perceived) monetary and non-monetary benefits and costs of Treesleeper change over time?*
6. *How could Treesleeper proceed in the future according to the stakeholders?*

### 1.3 Thesis structure

In this thesis I will first describe the theoretical framework behind institutions, then I will focus on the design principles, which are prerequisites for stable and robust institutions (chapter 2). Then I will describe the methodology which I used throughout this study (chapter 3). In the next chapters I will describe my results. To get a broader understanding of the Tsintsabis community, I will provide a concise history of the Hai//om and their resettlement process into Tsintsabis (chapter 4). The institutional arrangements of Treesleeper are discussed in the next chapter, in which I describe the stakeholders, the arrangement of the decision-making process and power-relations, and the involvement of the community (chapter 5). Then I will provide information about the proposed upgrade of Treesleeper to a lodge (chapter 6). Afterwards I explain how Treesleeper and the community in Tsintsabis were affected by this upgrade (chapter 7), and what the respondents think about how Treesleeper should proceed in the future (chapter 8). Finally, I will critically discuss my findings and connect them to the theory (chapter 9) and I end this thesis report with a concise conclusion (chapter 10).

## 2. Theoretical Framework

---

This thesis builds around institutions. In this chapter I will firstly describe the term institutions and the institutional theory in which the analysis of these institutions are embedded (§2.1). To make the research more concrete, I will specifically look at design principles (§2.2). The last paragraph contains the conceptual framework which I used during this study (§2.3).

### 2.1 Institutions

Many studies have been performed regarding to CBT, and theories and concepts which are used are quite diverse. Most of them hinge on (community) participation, others used e.g. power redistribution, collaboration theory, social capital, collective action and governance to study CBT-projects (Okazaki, 2008). In this study I will examine the institutions in and around Treesleeper, which was also used by Haller et al. (2008). They examined who the beneficiaries were from CBT-projects. Treesleeper Camp offers an interesting case study to examine CBT, as it shows both the advantages (in the earlier years), and disadvantages (in recent years) of such tourism projects.

Institutions are quite hard to grasp and analyse for several reasons. The term 'institutions' is used in several ways. In this study institutions are seen as rules of the game, which are based on informal and formal norms, which allow us to predict actions of actors (Ostrom, 2005). Institutions can be formal and informal. Formal institutions may include rules and laws which are enforced by third parties. Informal institutions may include socially shared rules, which are created and enforced between the involved actors. Both types of institutions guide interactions, allocate roles and influence rights and access to resources. The way institutions are designed impacts management and governance (Ingram, 2014). Institutions are different in every situation, they cannot be seen as a blueprint. What might work in one situation, might not work in another situation (Polski & Ostrom, 1999). A focus on institutions leads for a better understanding of local-level processes, and its outcomes (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999).

Someone who is inherent linked to institutions and its analysis is Elinor Ostrom, a political scientist. She is renowned for her research on common-pool resources (CPRs). CPRs are natural and human-constructed resources systems in which (i) it is difficult and costly to exclude others, and (ii) exploitation by one of the users reduces the availability of the resource for others (Ostrom, Burger, Field, Norgaard, & Policansky, 1999). In her studies she investigated how communities co-operated to share resources. By doing so she answers the 'Tragedy of the Commons' theory, which argues that when people share a common resource, people act independently and rational according to their self-interest, instead of looking at the best interest of the whole group. Ostrom showed around the world that communities are capable of devising ways to govern these commons, to ensure sustainability (Walljasper, 2011). Well-known CPRs are for example community-forests and fisheries, but CBT-projects can also be considered as CPRs, as communities aim to promote their economic well-being, aim to preserve natural and socio-cultural capital, equity in costs-benefit distribution, securing self-sufficiency and satisfaction of the tourist' needs. Tourism resources can also be overused by certain people, and others can be excluded, to a certain cost (Briassoulis, 2002).

When we look at community conservation, we see that the communities who are successful have developed several institutional rules like Ostrom predicted. When communities are exposed to the outside world or face new challenges, these institutional rules, values and beliefs are challenged (Tang & Tang, 2010). As we have seen in the introduction, this has happened to the community of Tsintsabis. Firstly the plans to start CBT in Tsintsabis was a new area of exploration for the Hai//om. Then the project flourished, but at a certain time the situation at Treesleeper worsened. The community had, and still has to deal with changes, either social, economic and culturally. New institutions alter the local dynamics and daily practises (de Koning, 2014).

## 2.2 Design principles

Ostrom designed eight principles which are prerequisites for stable and robust institutions. These principles were set up initially to study CPRs and related institutions that have been used in organizations. When most of these principles are met, an institution is considered to be robust, and sustainable, meaning able to survive for a long period of time (Becker & Ostrom, 1995). This is also the idea behind CBT-projects, they should be sustainable and capable of surviving without extra funding. Over time, these principles have been redesigned by several authors. For this study I use the adapted design principles as mentioned by Cox et al. (2010) and Ingram (2014) (Table 2).

Table 2 Ten institutional design principles, adapted from Ostrom (1990); Agrawal & Chhatre (2006); Cox et al. (2010); Ingram (2014); Scott (2014)

PRINCIPLE	DESCRIPTION
1	<p><i>Clearly defined boundaries</i></p> <p>A: User boundaries Clear boundaries between legitimate users and nonusers must be clearly defined.</p> <p>B: Resource boundaries Clear boundaries are present that define a resource system and separate it from the larger biophysical environment.</p>
2	<p><i>Congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions</i></p> <p>A: Congruence with local conditions Appropriation and provision rules are congruent with local social and environmental conditions.</p> <p>B: Appropriation and provision The benefits obtained by users from a common-pool resource (CPR), as determined by appropriation rules, are proportional to the amount of inputs required in the form of labour, material, or money, as determined by provision rules.</p>
3	<p><i>Collective-choice arrangements</i></p> <p>Most individuals affected by the operational rules can participate in modifying the operational rules.</p>
4	<p><i>Monitoring</i></p> <p>A: Monitoring users Monitors who are accountable to the users monitor the appropriation and provision levels of the users.</p> <p>B: Monitoring the resource Monitors who are accountable to the users monitor the condition of the resource.</p>
5	<p><i>Graduated sanctions</i></p> <p>Appropriators who violate operational rules are likely to be assessed graduated sanctions (depending on the seriousness and the context of the offense) by other appropriators, by officials accountable to the appropriators, or by both.</p>
6	<p><i>Conflict-resolution mechanisms</i></p> <p>Appropriators and their officials have rapid access to low-cost local arenas to resolve conflicts among appropriators or between appropriators and officials.</p>
7	<p><i>Minimal recognition of rights to organize</i></p> <p>The rights of appropriators to devise their own institutions are not challenged by external governmental authorities, and users have long-term tenure rights to the resource.</p>
8	<p><i>Nested enterprises</i></p> <p>Appropriation, provision, monitoring, enforcement, conflict resolution, and governance activities are organized in multiple layers of nested enterprises.</p>
9	<p><i>Strength and resilience of institutional enforcement</i></p>
10	<p><i>Durability and longevity of the institution</i></p>

## 2.3 Conceptual framework

Although often used specifically for CPRs, some studies examined in what way these design principles are implemented in tourism projects. Cronk & Steadman (1994) showed that many of the design principles were not part of an agreement between dive shops in Honduras, and they used these principles to form an approach to examine the failure of this agreement. In a case study about tourism in Antarctica, the design principles were used to evaluate the robustness of the present institutions (Haase, Lamers, & Amelung, 2009). The design principles are general enough to justify the application of them in a CBT-study like this thesis. Users within these projects may devise specific ways to meet the principles (Becker & Ostrom, 1995). Below I will give a short explanation of each principle. The first three principles support ways to solve problems, while four to six help to enforce these first set of principles. Principle seven recognizes the formal rights of users, while principle eight sets local institutions into a broader network of medium- to larger scale institutions (Becker & Ostrom, 1995). Principles nine and ten were added by Agrawal & Chhatre (2006), who found that strength and resilience of institutional enforcement and the durability of institutions were significant for explaining successful institutions when commons are governed.

### *Principle 1. Clearly defined boundaries*

A first step in organizing collective action is defining boundaries; specifying who is authorized to use the resource. If this is not in place, it is not clear who is managing, and what. Another important reason to define borders, is that the resource is excluded from outside or inappropriate users, this way benefits will not leak outside the community (Ostrom, 1990). This principle was divided in two conditions by Cox et al (2010); clear user boundaries and resource boundaries.

### *Principle 2. Congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions*

The second principle is about whether the rules match the local needs and conditions, in terms of costs and benefits. This principle is divided in two conditions; rules should conform to local conditions, and congruence between rules is needed. The first condition reflects the need of institutional congruence and the resource condition. Culture and customs play an important role, and externally imposed rules should match the local customs. I will mainly focus on principle 2B. This principle is often described as the congruence between costs experienced by the users, and the benefits they receive from participating in a project (Cox et al., 2010).

### *Principle 3. Collective-choice arrangements*

The third principle makes sure that the people who are affected by the rules, have a say in these rules, and in modifying these rules. Local knowledge is important, as local people have first-hand information about their situation, and have therefore an advantage in designing new rules and strategies, especially when situations change (Berkes, 2004).

### *Principle 4: Monitoring*

Within this principle, two conditions are mentioned: the first condition is that monitors should be present, whereas the second condition states that these monitors should be members of the community, or have to be accountable to the community (Cox et al., 2010).

### *Principle 5: Graduated sanctions*

According to this principle, users who violate rules, should receive graduated sanctions, which depend on the situation and seriousness of the violation (Ostrom, 1990). Graduated sanctions support to maintain community cohesion, while severe violations are punished accordingly (Cox et al., 2010).



**Principle 6. Conflict-resolution mechanisms**

Principle six is about how conflicts are resolved. When conflict resolution mechanism are not easily accessible, nor in place, successful management is more challenging (Cox et al., 2010). Mechanisms for discussing and resolving issues are necessary to get long-lasting institutions (Ostrom, 1999).

**Principle 7. Minimal recognition of rights to organize**

Principle seven relates to the right of local users to create their own institutions, without external, or government agencies challenging these. External recognition can translate also in financial, technical, and organizational support (Barnes & van Laerhoven, 2014).

**8. Nested enterprises**

The eight principle relates to larger systems. Nesting can have linkages between users and governmental jurisdictions, which are called horizontal linkages. This means that regimes, policies and/or programs are well coordinated. Vertical linkages exist between user groups, and are also called intercommunity connections (Cox et al., 2010; Villamayor-Tomas, Avagyan, Firlus, Helbing, & Kabakova, 2016). Nested linkages are weak when for example a governmental policy has little effect on lower levels, and *vice versa* (Payne, 2000).

**Principle 9. Strength and resilience of institutional enforcement**

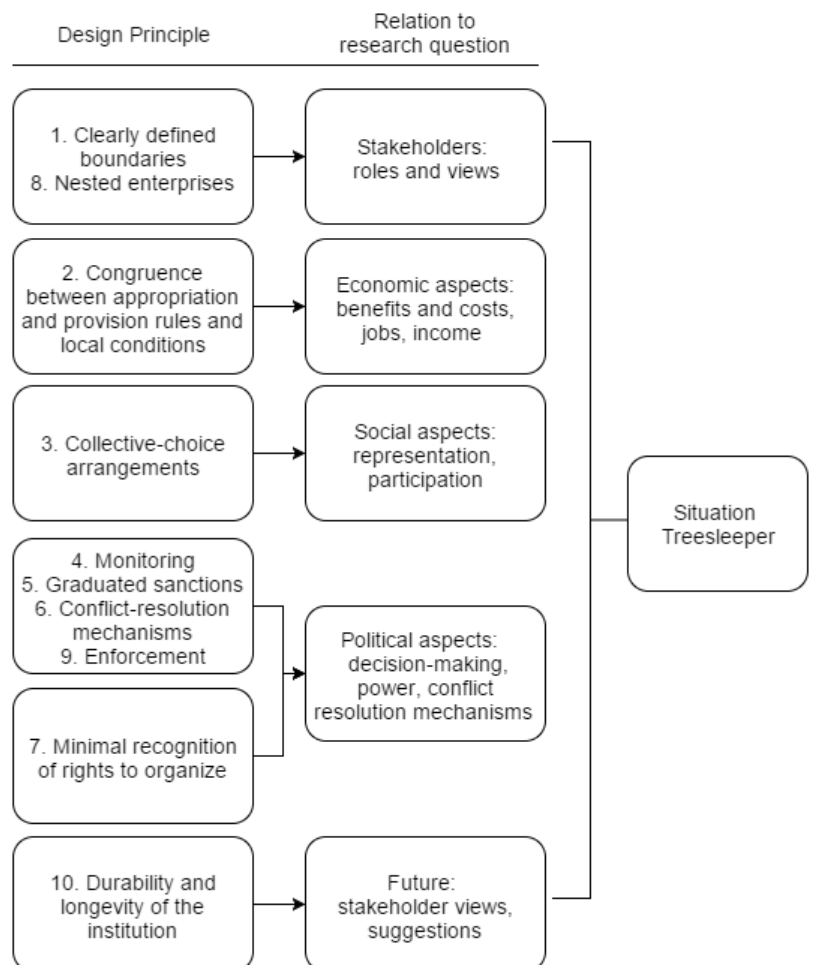
This principle was added by Agrawal & Chhatre (2006), who found that the strictness of enforcement is related to the condition of CPRs. In their study they showed that when institutional enforcement is present in a community, the CPR (forest) was in a good condition.

**Principle 10. Durability and longevity of the institution**

This principle was also added by Agrawal & Chhatre (2006). In order for a CBT-project to survive, it must be durable and able to survive for longer periods of time. In their study they found that the duration of a community-level institution was positively related to the CPR (forest) condition.

The conceptual framework shown in Figure 2 serves as an anchor for this thesis, and schematically reflects how the design principles guide my research questions, and structure my thesis. Some principles relate to each other, or to a certain question. Principles 1 and 8 relate to each other, as institutional nesting may be important to set clear boundaries. I also combined principles 4, 5, 6 and 9, as these all have to do with enforcing the first three principles. These and principle 7 relate to political aspects.

Figure 2 Conceptual diagram which includes the different design principles (Ostrom, 1990; Agrawal & Chhatre, 2006; Cox et al., 2010; Ingram, 2014; Scott, 2014) in relation to my research questions.



## 3. Methodology

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This chapter describes the methodology I used to collect data for my research. I first describe the research design (§3.1), which is followed by a detailed description of the methods I used to collect my data (§3.2). In the next paragraph I show how I analysed my data (§3.3). I conclude this chapter by discussing the limitations that I encountered during my research (§3.4).

### 3.1 Research design

During my research I used an explanatory case study design. Case studies are often used in social sciences, and allow for an investigation to understand complex social phenomena. It is meant to retain the comprehensive and meaningful characteristics of real-life events (Yin, 2003; Baxter & Jack, 2008). For this study an explanatory case study design was most effective, as it focuses on explaining certain practices. It was about answering a 'how' question; how did Treesleeper change? Additionally, it was also about understanding the perceptions of the people that are involved in Treesleeper, and the Tsintsabis community. I used qualitative methods to answer my research questions. Qualitative research helped me to understand the 'real world' setting of the research population and provided me with in-depth information (Turner, 2010).

I took an ethnographic approach during this study and by doing so, I participated for 2.5 months in the daily lives of people by listening, watching, asking and collecting information. My research was overt, meaning that I introduced myself as a student who was doing a study about Treesleeper. By being overt, I avoided ethical problems as the people were aware of my role. A downside might be that people altered their behaviour, once they knew me as a researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Only in a few interviews I had the feeling that my presence created awareness in what people were saying. I tried to solve this by moving away from a topic and by asking more general questions, then to come back to the 'sensitive' issue later. I tried to make clear that the opinions of the people were valuable, and that I wanted to learn from them. I also made it clear that this study did not directly contribute to an improvement of the situation of Treesleeper, but that it was more a process which provided insight in what happened.

Before I came to Namibia I identified certain groups of people I expected to be important. During my fieldwork, I used the snowballing technique to further identify important persons that I needed to interview. Snowballing is used as an informal method to reach a target population, and is well suited in qualitative, explorative studies. Snowballing could create a selection bias, or miss isolated people (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). As I interviewed respondents from diverse backgrounds, I limited this selection bias. To overcome ambiguous and biased views, I used multiple data sources for triangulation, such as literature, documents, interviews and observations. With triangulation I checked interpretations from one set of data, by another, which improved reliability and validity (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Triangulation of data sources, data types or different researchers is often used in case study research projects, to examine phenomena from different perspectives (Baxter & Jack, 2008). As this is a case study with qualitative methods, it was not a goal of me to make any generalizations. This study was about creating insight in processes that led Treesleeper to its current state.

### 3.2 Data collection

The first two sections explain where and from who the data was collected. The final three sections will explain the different methods (interviews, participant observations and documents) I used in my research.

#### 3.2.1 Study area

For this study I stayed for 2.5 months in Namibia, and I spend most of my time in the village of Tsintsabis (18° 46' 0" South, 17° 58' 0" East). Tsintsabis is a resettlement farm of 3,000 ha, and situated in the north-eastern part of Namibia, in the Guinas Constituency, Oshikoto District (Figure 3). 65km south of Tsintsabis lies Tsumeb, the capital city of the Oshikoto region. About 111 km to the west, the Von Lindequist gate is situated, which gives access to Etosha NP. In the south, west and east, Tsintsabis is bordered by commercial cattle- and agricultural farms. To the north- and northeast Tsintsabis is bordered by semi-commercial land, owned by mainly Owambo and Kavango farmers. Treesleeper is located about 1 km outside Tsintsabis.

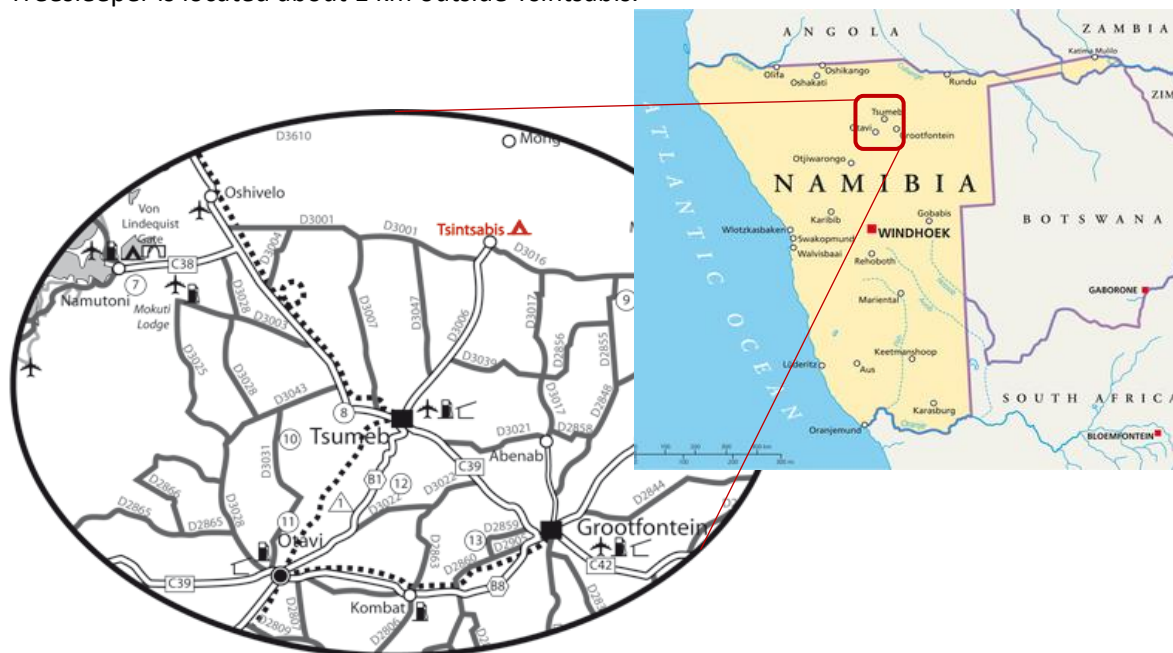


Figure 3 Location of Treesleeper (shown in red). Treesleeper is 1.3 km from Tsintsabis, 65 km from Tsumeb and 111 km from the Von Lindequist Gate of Etosha NP. Map sources: eLearning Africa (2012); Treesleeper (n.d.)

Tsintsabis consist of three settlements; the village itself, and two sub settlements /Gomkhaos and !Khosines. Figure 4 shows a detailed map of Tsintsabis, and the location of Treesleeper relative to Tsintsabis. In the village itself are some shops, over 19 shebeens (pubs), a school (and accompanying hostel) with over 800 students (grade 1 – 10), a clinic, a police station, a government building and nine churches, of which two are made of brick. In general there are three housing types; brick buildings, corrugated iron houses, and traditional houses made with sticks, grasses and clay. The centre of Tsintsabis mainly consists of brick houses, and in their surroundings the corrugated iron houses are found. At the edges of Tsintsabis and the sub settlements most houses also consist of corrugated iron houses, but some people also still live in traditional houses.

The airstrip which is seen in Figure 4 is no longer operational. Also the Roads Contractor Company (RCC) base is no longer there, as the B15 road was finished in 2013. In the craft centre some shops and governmental offices of the Ministry of Gender Equality & Welfare are located. The kindergarten used to be here as well, but moved in recent years. The Owambo river has not flown since several years now, and is used as a shortcut to get to Treesleeper by foot.



Figure 4 Maps with aerial photos of Tsintsabis. The photo on the right shows the location of Treesleeper relative to the village of Tsintsabis. The detailed photo above gives an overview of the centre of Tsintsabis. /Gomkhaos is located 2 km North of Tsintsabis, and !Khosines 4 km North of Tsintsabis. Maps created by the author, using ArcMap 10.2.2.

### 3.2.2 Research population

This study focused on the people who are or were involved in some way in Treesleeper. The largest part of the research population consisted of villagers of Tsintsabis, as most interviews were conducted there (28). The rest was performed in Windhoek (4), Tsumeb (3), /Gomkhaos (3) and Wageningen (1). Two interviews were conducted via Skype, and one by phone.

The majority of the respondents were of Hai//om ethnicity, as shown in Table 3. People who were from European descent were of Dutch (3), German (1) and French (1) nationality. The relation of the respondents to Treesleeper is shown in Table 4. Former employees included the current employees (2), former employees (9) and former builders/sub-contractors (4). The group of others consisted of the initiator of Treesleeper, the NGO Connected to Namibia, the principal of the school, the former headmen of Tsintsabis and a San expert and his wife. The trustees are members of the TT. I interviewed four current members, and one former trustee. The manager of Treesleeper is also a trustee, but in this case was classified as an employee. The group who formerly was involved in activities consisted of the head of one of the performance families, a former traditional dancer and a person who's house was visited during the village tour. The government officials were from MET, and consisted of the deputy director of tourism development, the senior tourism officer and the chief tourism officer of CBT-projects. A list of respondents can be found in Appendix I List of respondents.

Table 3 Ethnicity of respondents

Ethnicity	Respondents
<i>Hai//om</i>	21
<i>European</i>	5
<i>!Xun</i>	4
<i>Unknown</i>	4
<i>Hai//om - !Xun</i>	2
<i>Coloured</i>	2
<i>German Namibian</i>	3
<i>Hai//om - Damara</i>	1
<i>Hai//om - Owambo</i>	1
<i>!Xun - Kavango</i>	1
<i>South African</i>	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>

Table 4 Relation of respondents to Treesleeper

Relation to Treesleeper	Respondents
<i>(Former) employees</i>	15
<i>Others</i>	9
<i>(Former) trustees</i>	5
<i>Villagers</i>	5
<i>Formerly involved in activities</i>	3
<i>Government</i>	3
<i>Former researchers</i>	2
<i>Contractor</i>	2
<i>Tour operators</i>	2
<i>Quantity Surveyor</i>	1
<i>Architect</i>	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>

The percentages of gender and age classes of the respondents are shown in respectively Figure 5 and Figure 6.

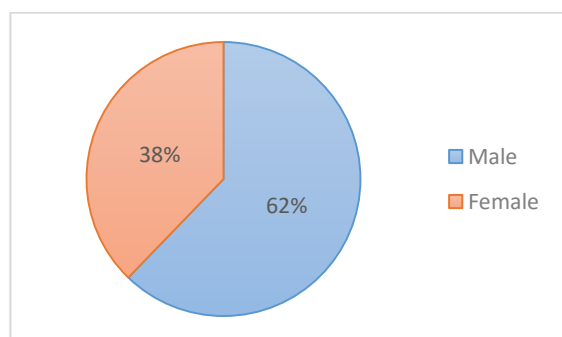


Figure 5 Percentages of gender of the respondents (n=45).

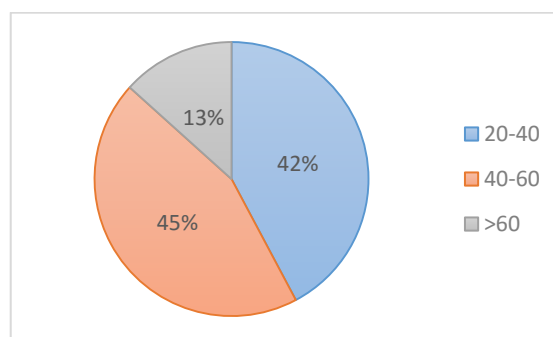


Figure 6 Percentages of age classes of the respondents (n=45)

### 3.2.3 Semi-structured interviews

For this study I conducted 42 interviews, with in total 45 people. Most interviews were one-to-one, two interviews were with either two or three people. The average duration was 42.7 minutes. Interview data was used to acquire more in-depth information. I used a general interview guide approach, also called semi-structured interviewing. This approach is more structured than an informal conversational approach, but also offers flexibility (Patton, 2002; Turner, 2010). This means that I was able to ask follow-up questions, change questions based on the respondents' answers, and at the same time I ensured that the interview covered all topics. During the interviews I used an interview guide, a concept can be found in [Appendix II Interview guide](#). Besides the semi-structured interviews, I used informal conversational interviews, or unstructured interviews during my chats with villagers. This type of interviewing offered me maximum flexibility, and occurred during a natural interaction while doing participant observation (Patton, 2002; Turner, 2010).

My first set of interviews were held in the Netherlands, each interview with a specific interview guide based on the role of the respondent. In Namibia I used a general interview guide, and depending on the respondent, I added, changed, or left questions out. Over time some of the questions changed, or questions or topics were added. This was based on given information in previous interviews. All respondents were briefed about my aim of the study and my background. Before each interview I asked permission to record the interview, and asked whether the respondent wanted to remain anonymous. All respondents gave permission to record, and none wanted to be anonymous. An interview overview with details such as: name, date, time, total interview time, interview language, translator (Y/N), setting, place, gender, age class, ethnicity, time in Tsintsabis, time at Treesleeper and relation to Treesleeper, were kept in a Microsoft Excel 2013 file. A summary of the respondents information can be found in [Appendix I List of respondents](#). After the interview I gave the people in Tsintsabis and /Gomkhaos some food, like a small pack of noodles or pasta as a token of gratitude.

Interviews were held in English as much as possible. Interviews with community-members who preferred to speak Afrikaans or their native language were conducted with the help of my translator Elvis //Gamaneb. Interviews with community members in Tsintsabis were conducted mostly at their own house. This allowed the respondent to talk in a familiar setting, and provided me with more insight into his or her life (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

### 3.2.4 Participant observations

Apart from the interviews, I used participant observation to supplement or confirm my data. By doing so, I acted as outsider who participated in some aspects of people's lives (Russell, 2006). By participating in the life of the villagers, I gained more insight into the culture and daily lives of people. I observed for example during my walks in the village, chats with villagers, meetings with the TT and visits of church services. My observations were noted in field notes on a daily basis, in which I noted all the things I did that day; to whom I spoke, and what I heard or encountered.

### 3.2.5 Documents

Most documents I acquired in the Treesleeper office, where minutes, letters, emails and some reports were stored. A list of documents which I used can be found in [Appendix III List of used documents](#)(listed in order of appearance). These were however not very recent, most documents were from before 2013. For other documents I had to rely on the manager of Treesleeper. I took photos of the printed documents and transformed them into PDF's. Regarding to literature I mostly used peer-reviewed literature and books, which I found through the online WUR-library, and Google Scholar. I entered all documents and literature in the program Mendeley Desktop (version 1.16.1), in which I also I summarized these documents. I was not able to acquire all of the documents I was interested in, as I will explain later.

### 3.3 Data analysis

The starting aim of analysing qualitative data was to find concepts that helped me to make sense of what is going on at Treesleeper, this was to make my data understandable and provided a certain perspective (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The interviews were recorded by my smartphone, and the recordings were transferred to my laptop as soon as possible. Transcribing of these interviews mostly happened within 48 hours, and this allowed me to modify questions in future interviews. For the transcribing of the recordings I used the program Express Scribe (version 5.55). During the transcribing I noted important matters down in a separate Word document, which gave me a summary for most interviews. After I finished transcribing I exported the transcription file to a Word document, where I could correct spelling mistakes.

When all data was transcribed, I exported the corrected Word documents and field notes into ATLAS.ti (version 7.5.7). In this program I coded the data. Codes are consistent phrases, expressions and/or ideas that were commonly given by respondents (Turner, 2010). Creating codes allowed me to more easily and effectively retrieve results, and they played a role in the process of discovery (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). I used open coding, as this allowed me to formulate ideas and themes to answer my research questions. After all interviews and field notes were coded, I grouped these codes into themes according to my research questions, to get a better overview and to identify patterns. I also grouped the respondents into groups, according to Table 4, so see whether their opinions would overlap or differ.

### 3.4 Limitations of the study

During my research there was sometimes a language barrier, as not all respondents spoke English. I did most of my interviews in English, but some people spoke only in their native language (Hai//om or !Xun), or preferred Afrikaans. Those people were therefore interviewed with the help of a translator, Elvis //Gamanseb. A consequence of having translated interviews, is that I was not able to use direct quotes, and I was dependent on the quality of the translations from Elvis. Translating the San languages is very difficult, as Reinhard Friederich, a San-expert who speaks the Hai//om language fluently, explained to me:

*“ (...) They [San] did not have a name for themselves, they called themselves '!Aba kwe<sup>3</sup>. !Aba, if you translate that directly, has the meaning of the colour red. But actually it is the brown shoe, like the normal brown, they call it red. We say brown, but he called that shoe a red shoe. Dark brown is brown with them. And how will you translate? You don't even know. (...) From the first researches with the Bushmen, I think 99%, and maybe even more, are made by interpreters, or a foreign language. And it can never be the truth.” (Interview 42)*

The reason why I chose Elvis is that he was born and raised in Tsintsabis, and he spoke !Xun, Hai//om, Afrikaans and English. He also had experience in translating in previous research done by Charlie Goodwin on Farm Six, not far from Tsintsabis. By choosing him, I hoped to reduce the problems of translation as much as possible.

Some people I worked with, or were involved with my research, were involved in Treesleeper as well. Although I encountered it not in such way, a possible pitfall of having Elvis as a translator could be that he was involved in Treesleeper, as he worked at Treesleeper between 2004 and 2015. I saw this however more as a benefit, as he knew many people, and as such he was a gatekeeper for me. During the interviews I did not had the impression that his former role at Treesleeper somehow influenced the respondents. Another person who was involved in both my research and Treesleeper,

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<sup>3</sup> To denote the several click forms that the San use is sometimes difficult as it is unclear which spelling is correct. I am uncertain of the exact spelling of !Aba kwe, if it is not correct in somebodies opinion, I do apologise and would like to hear the correct spelling.

is Dr Stasja Koot, as he was one of the initiators of Treesleeper, and my thesis supervisor. Because he was involved in Treesleeper until 2007, he was able to give me some valuable information about the starting period of Treesleeper. This might have influenced my view at the start of my thesis, as the project seemed very successful and positive to me. However, during the writing of my thesis proposal, I read the theses of Dorenda Troost and Anna Hüncke, who both did their studies at Treesleeper, and were more critical about the project. I also interviewed them, and their theses and responses were very valuable to me, as this gave me the opportunity to learn how they viewed the project as an outsider and this gave me a more nuanced view on the project, before heading to Namibia. I interviewed Dr Koot before I left to Namibia, and he gave me feedback on my proposal and thesis report. Yet, my first supervisor is Dr Ingram, and with her I mostly discussed my thesis. During my fieldwork I did not mention that Dr Koot was involved in the research as my supervisor, unless people asked. When I did mention his name, most were very positive about him, and his former role at Treesleeper. In the end, I do not think the role of Dr Koot as both my thesis supervisor and one of the initiators of Treesleeper played a major role in the formulation of this thesis. Reading about Treesleeper, and interviewing many other people, who had different roles in and around Treesleeper, I maintained an independent view throughout this thesis.

Some limitations occurred while I was in Namibia, as I wanted to obtain several documents, such as minutes, reports, letters etc. I hoped to retrieve them early during my fieldwork, as I could have asked more directed questions during the interviews. However, many documents were missing, or incomplete. It took a long time before I had access to some documents, as for some I was dependent on the manager of Treesleeper. He was a busy man, and had difficulties retrieving the right documents. On the other hand, it might have served as a benefit, as I was not prejudged by information during the interviews. I was not able to retrieve some documents that I would have liked to look into. For example, I wanted to include visitor reactions of Treesleeper in my research. By doing so, I hoped to get a chronological timeline of reactions, and possibly changing perceptions of the visitors about Treesleeper. According to the manager of Treesleeper there are files with visitor reactions, but I was unable to acquire it during my stay as we could not find these files. Although available and promised, I was not able to obtain the financial documents of Treesleeper, stating the income and expenditures over the years. Lastly, I was not able to speak to as many tourists as I wanted. I planned to make an overview of what the people thought of Treesleeper at their first sight and their thoughts when they were leaving. However, I only met two tourist groups during my stay.

Remembering when something happened, proved to be difficult for several respondents. As my translator often mentioned when I asked about times and dates, most people in Tsintsabis don't have agenda's, and do not know when something happened. This made it sometimes a bit difficult to see the overall time frame, and sometimes caused confusion to me. However, it is an issue all researchers deal with. San can use different affordances in communication, and they sometimes communicate by their environment, like the sand, air, wind and so forth (Dyll, 2007). To illustrate this, when Koot asked when something happened to a San person during his research, he got an answer like 'the day the wind blew so hard' (Koot, 2013). During my study this problem was solved in several cases by the documents I obtained, but for some facts it remained unclear when something happened. However, as we talk about a period of 2004-2016 that Treesleeper is operational, I don't think it was in most cases necessary to have exact dates.



## 4. Resettlement to Tsintsabis

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This thesis seeks to understand what has happened to Treesleeper over the years. But in order to understand the nature of the people living in Tsintsabis, I first shortly describe the journey of the Hai//om from their ancestral lands to eventually the resettlement farm of Tsintsabis in this chapter. By giving an introductory chapter in the history of the Hai//om of Namibia (§4.1) and the resettlement procedure (§4.2) I aim to show the struggle that is going on in Tsintsabis, and therefore the importance of a CBT-project like Treesleeper in this village. I end this chapter with a small conclusion (§4.3).

### 4.1 From Etosha...

Over 80% of the San have been evicted from their ancestral lands, which led them to be one of the most marginalised and poorest people of Namibia (Dieckmann, Odendaal, Tarr, & Schreij, 2013). With a rough estimation between 7,000 – 18,000 people, the Hai//om (also written as Hai||om, Hei//kum, Heigum and Hai//omn) are the largest San population in Namibia. The Etosha area is their ancestral land, although some claim their range stretched to Ovamboland, Grootfontein, Tsumeb, Otavi, Outjo and Otjiwarongo as well (Dieckmann et al., 2013; Dieckmann, 2001). The Hai//om were semi-nomadic, and mainly depended on natural resources. By hunting game and gathering vegetables they provided in their livelihoods. The Hai//om shared their lands and resources with other ethnic groups peacefully (Koot, 2013).

During the colonial time of Germany, which lasted from 1884 to 1915, Etosha became a National Park in 1907. The Hai//om were allowed to stay in the park, probably because it was too difficult to control this. Hunting with guns became prohibited, but hunting with arrows and bows was still allowed. In 1915 South-African troops invaded the area and took over. They introduced i.a. hunting licenses, and created borders which could not be crossed without permits. At that time the Hai//om still lived around the waterholes in the Etosha area. A rough estimation is that 1,500 Hai//om lived in Etosha around 1920 (Dieckmann, 2001). Hunting by the Hai//om was not seen as a problem by the South-Africans, although some species were not allowed to be hunted. Besides the hunting and gathering, many families had livestock. Depending on the season and amount of food they could find, the Hai//om also started to work in- or outside Etosha, for example in the mines, in road construction and in police stations and/or rest camps. Hai//om were also used by authorities of Etosha to entertain tourists. During the colonial times of both Germany and South-Africa, the Hai//om were seen as objects, which had to serve the colonial powers. They saw the Hai//om as the 'lowest rung of human evolution' (Dieckmann, 2001, 2007).

The new settlers around Etosha claimed large areas of land. As the Hai//om lived in good farming areas, they lost resources much faster than other ethnic groups (Koot, 2013). During the 1940s, further restrictions on the Hai//om were placed. Hunting practices and the amount of livestock which could be held were restricted. These new rules were because of the increasing interest in tourism and nature conservation, but also for controlling of the Foot and Mouth Disease. The Hai//om were classified in three groups; 'wild', for those staying at the waterholes, 'semi-wild', for those who temporarily worked on farms, and 'tame', for those who worked permanently on settler farms (Dieckmann, 2001). Also, discussions about where the Hai//om should live, e.g. in a special reserve, or outside Etosha, started to become more prominent. The creation of a special reserve for the Hai//om never materialized, as the Hai//om were seen as a threat to the game, and they were not seen as 'pure San'. Also the white farmers played a role, as they needed workers for on their farm, and therefore recommended against a reserve (Dieckmann, 2001; Hitchcock, 2015). In 1954 the Hai//om were told that they had to leave Etosha, otherwise they would be considered trespassers (Koot, 2013). Most Hai//om started to move to rest camps, where they formed a labour pool for farmers. Hai//om workers were treated poorly on the farms. They were disorganised as a group, uneducated and depended on the (white) farmers (Suzman, 2001). Some went to Owamboland,

while some stayed in Etosha. The ones that stayed in Etosha had better lives, and were used in the tourist industry, as e.g. cleaners, mechanics, and tourist attractions. During the liberation struggle in the 1970s and 1980s, Hai//om men were used as trackers for the South-West African Territory Forces (Dieckmann, 2001; Koot, 2013).

In 1990 Namibia became independent, and promises were made by the government for a more equitable future. The Hai//om expected better labour conditions, more access to lands, more prosperity and a possible return to their ancestral lands (Suzman, 2004). Although several efforts were made to claim back some of the lands of Etosha, this never fully succeeded (Hitchcock, 2015). Many Hai//om farmworkers were discharged after independence, and moved to towns or newly established resettlement farms. The National Assembly created the Agricultural Land Reform Act, which has set out the process of purchase of land for land reform processes by the State (Harring & Odendaal, 2002).

## 4.2 ... to Tsintsabis

After the independence several Hai//om were resettled in Tsintsabis. At that time the government formed a policy to provide lands to those who had been banned from their living areas. The Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR), nowadays called Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR), aimed to alleviate poverty, and to provide access to resources, including capital, skills and land. The policy also had to settle the imbalance in land ownership, as 48% of the Namibian land was owned by less than 1% of the people (MLR, 2010). The MLR was directly involved in the purchase and allocation of land for resettlement purposes. The main target groups were people without land, livestock or income. Five categories were given priority: the San, ex-soldiers, displaced and landless people, disabled people and displaced agricultural workers (Harring & Odendaal, 2002; Gargallo, 2010). Two types of resettlement processes exist today; individual and group resettlements. In individual resettlements a farm is divided among several people, and each receives a plot. In group resettlements a farm is given to a group of people, who must exploit it communally (Gargallo, 2010).

The settlement of Tsintsabis started already during the colonial times, when Germany formed a police station there. This was to control the region, as farmers began to settle in the area. When South Africa took over, more policemen settled in. Houses were built, and Hai//om that were already living in this area, started to work as translators, cooks, cleaners and camel herders. During the Namibian war of independence the police station was transformed into an army base for the South African Defence Force (SADF), and several Hai//om became trackers for this army (Koot, 2013).

Tsintsabis became a resettlement farm in 1991, when the MLR allocated 1852ha of land, to be occupied as a group resettlement farm (Koot, 2013). Around 80 brick houses were built by the MLR, and 80 plots of each 10 ha were allocated. Most of the Hai//om were former farmworkers before they settled in Tsintsabis (Dieckmann et al., 2014). In the first years after independence a development committee was set up with the help of the MLR and the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA). Over the years Tsintsabis was supported by several donors in several ways, for example with livestock, farming implements, water infrastructure, houses, trainings etc. (MLR, 2010).

### 4.2.1 Tsintsabis in recent years

Very few people are employed in Tsintsabis. According to Dieckmann et al. (2013), only 22 in +/- 2,000 Hai//om people in Tsintsabis are employed. Some of the most important livelihood strategies of the people in Tsintsabis are the sharing of food, pensions and food aid. In 2009 the Roads Contractor Company (RCC) moved into Tsintsabis, to build a tarred road from Tsumeb to the Katwitwi border post at the Namibian-Angolan border. This road was completed in 2013, and was

expected to boost the trade between Namibia and Angola (New Era, 2013). Also it has shortened the travel time between Tsumeb and Tsintsabis with about an hour. During the research of Anna Hüncke in 2010, a student from the University of Leiden, the people of Tsintsabis were looking forward to the road, and they were expecting all sorts of benefits, like job opportunities, more traffic and more people coming. Until now this did not really happen. Most of the shops present in Tsintsabis are small shops with some dry foods, which are more expensive than in Tsumeb. The San living in Tsintsabis cannot perform their old lifestyles anymore, as hunting is not allowed, and the collection of bushfood is restricted, as there is not much left. In total 19 shebeens are present. Alcohol abuse is a big problem, and causes violence, rapes and fights (Field notes 05 April). Furthermore many girls drop out of school, often because of (unwanted) pregnancies (Field notes 06 May). Between 2006 and 2009 just one or two children passed grade 10 each year, and between 2010 and 2013 not one Hai//om child passed grade 10 (Dieckmann et al., 2013).

The resettlement process is heavily critiqued by many, for i.a. being too expensive and too slow (Harring & Odendaal, 2002). Due to ineffective planning, people were resettled in areas where there were not enough resources to support them, of which Tsintsabis is one example. During the preparation of resettlement procedures there was often a lack of consultation and research. The government has a top-down approach, which implies that major decisions are taken in Windhoek, and participation of the resettled people in the decision-making process is difficult. This has led to several problems, such as increased dependency, mistrust of government officials, lack of participation by the resettled people and alienation (Suzman, 2001). The LAC (2006) claims that: *“Tsintsabis represents a failed model of rural settlement that is all too common in Namibia”* (p. 18). They support this claim by saying that there is a lack in skills and support for the people in Tsintsabis to earn a living, and that the location is too far from any economic activity.

#### 4.2.2 The community of Tsintsabis

The population of Tsintsabis grew rapidly over the years. Tsintsabis now occupies an area of 3,000 ha (Dieckmann et al., 2014). In 1991, 464 people lived in Tsintsabis, and this number grew to 1050 in 1998. (Koot, 2013). According to the government approximately 1,500 people lived in Tsintsabis in 2010 (MLR, 2010), but the people in Tsintsabis itself claimed that there were around 3,000 people (Dieckmann et al., 2014). In 2014 a rough estimate of 4,000 inhabitants was made by Dieckman *et al.* (2014), and this concurs with the view of the headmen of Tsintsabis, Mr. Geigowab. One of the villagers told me:

*“ (...) the population is growing bigger. Firstly when we started, when we were here after independence, mostly Hai//om people were living here. But today you see a lot of other tribes, Damara, Owambo. The population is growing and growing. (...) The place is small, it becomes crowded.”* (Interview 6)

In studies about community-based tourism projects, the concept of community obviously has a prominent role. This concept is however also contested, because what is exactly a community? The concrete definition of a community is vague, but a common understanding is that a community is based around a common ground; derived from either a place, shared identity or common interests (Kenny, 2016). Agrawal & Gibson (1999) argue that the concept community does not attend the differences within a community, and it ignores the interests and processes within a community. It is questionable whether you can call the population in Tsintsabis one community. Anderson (2006) described the presence of imagined communities, where members of a community do not personally know each other, but still feel connected, and consider themselves part of a community. Most people in Tsintsabis are of Hai//om origin. Other ethnic groups in Tsintsabis are Damara, !Xun, Owambo, Herero, and in small numbers Nama, Kavango, Tswana and Himba people. Although

contested, I will use the term community in this report to indicate the people of Tsintsabis, but thereby acknowledging that people living in Tsintsabis are a varied group of people. There is some tension between the ethnic tribes, as other tribes moved into the community. Often it is thought that Owambo people are taking over, as they mostly own the shops and shebeens in Tsintsabis. The Owambo people constitute the largest population group of Namibia, and are the dominant ethnic group in Namibian politics (Ubink, 2011). The governing party South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) evolved out of the Owambo Peoples Organisation (OPO), and most cabinet post are occupied by Owambo people. Some minority groups in Namibia perceive SWAPO as an Owambo party, and feel that the representatives of this party only act in the interest of their own ethnic group (Suzman, 2002). A villager of /Gomkhaos said:

*“Here there is apartheid, the government can send things, but the Owambo people, they are mostly the ones that get the things. But the !Xun people are always on the backside.”* (Interview 39)

Although both San people, there are some struggles also between the Hai//om and !Xun people. !Xun feel left out, as Hai//om are more in numbers, and have more power in Tsintsabis (Hüncke, 2010). Another issue is the language. The Hai//om language is close to the Nama/Damara language, which is spoken throughout Namibia (Haacke, 2006). Most !Xun are able to speak Hai//om, but most Hai//om are not able to speak !Xun and therefore the !Xun language is slowly getting lost. Some tension between Hai//om and !Xun is also present when it comes to Treesleeper, which I will describe more in detail in 7.4.2 !Xun vs. Hai//om.

### 4.3 Conclusion

The Hai//om San were once forced to move out of their ancestral lands, and some were resettled in Tsintsabis. This village begun small, with houses for 80 households, but has grown considerably, to about 4,000 inhabitants nowadays. Life is not easy in Tsintsabis, which is located in one of the poorest regions in Namibia. Besides some small shops and shebeens, there is not much economic activity. As mentioned in the introduction, Treesleeper brought hundreds of tourists to Tsintsabis, and provided several jobs, thereby highlighting the importance of a CBT-project such as Treesleeper, in the community of Tsintsabis.

## 5. Involvement in Treesleeper; who, how and what?

In this chapter I will go more into detail about the institutional arrangements of Treesleeper, thereby focussing on my first three sub-questions: 1. *Who are the stakeholders in Treesleeper and what are their roles and views on this CBT-project?* 2. *How is the community represented in Treesleeper and how do they participate in this CBT-project?* 3. *What institutional arrangements are in place at Treesleeper regarding the decision-making process and power?* I will first describe who the most important stakeholders are at this moment and what their roles are regarding to Treesleeper (§5.1), and explain how the community is involved (§5.2). In the next paragraph I will clarify how the decision-making process and power are regulated in the village and Treesleeper (§5.3). I end this chapter with a conclusion (§5.4).

### 5.1 Stakeholders and their role in Treesleeper

Over the years Treesleeper has seen many stakeholders coming and going, all with their own interest and level of power. Figure 7 shows an overview of the current stakeholders involved in Treesleeper. In the next paragraphs I will shortly explain the positions of the current stakeholders regarding to Treesleeper. I will explain what their roles are in the project, and what they generally think of the Treesleeper project. The role of the community will be described in the next paragraph, following my research questions.

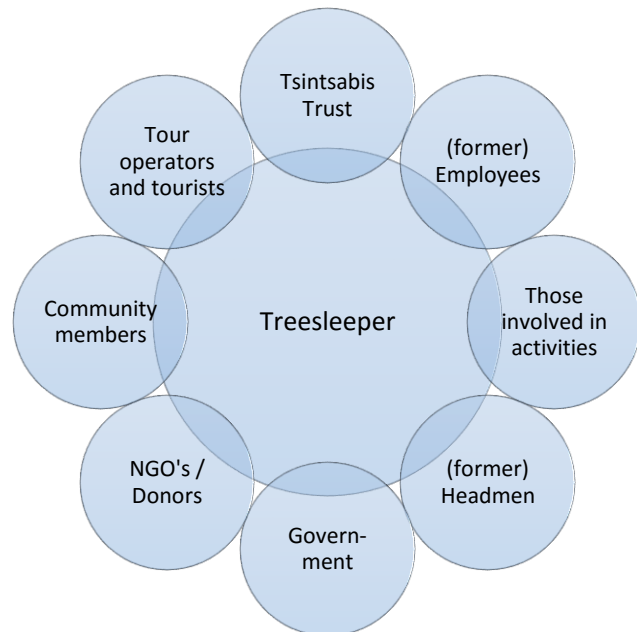


Figure 7 Stakeholders Treesleeper

#### 5.1.1 Directly involved in Treesleeper

The persons who are involved directly in Treesleeper are the trustees, the employees and people who were involved in the activities.

The TT, as being the owner of Treesleeper, plays an important role throughout the years that Treesleeper exists. The aim of the TT is to:

*'Uplift the living standards of the community of Tsintsabis through community-based tourism activities by providing funding to the Treesleeper Project in Tsintsabis'* (Tsintsabis Trust, 2004).

The TT was founded in 2004 by Koot and Bounin, with assistance of the LAC and the MLR in 2004. Over time, the TT changed in its formation, as the LAC, MLR, Bounin and Koot, the former headmen and several community members stepped out. The Deed of Trust requires that the board of trustees should not be less than five, and not more than ten. It was difficult to get enough interest of the trustees, as already at the start not all trustees showed up during meetings (Document 3). The members of the TT work voluntarily, although they do get an allowance when being present at a meeting. At the moment the TT consists of five members; the chairman P. Uwu-Khaeb, M. //Khumûb, M.K. Geiseb, A. Aukhumes and L. Soroses. The role of the TT is to oversee, monitor and evaluate the activities of Treesleeper (//Khumûb, 2008). They are responsible for employment, payments, making decisions, solving problems and keeping in contact with the government. Internal conflicts are solved by the trustees.

When I asked the trustees about what they thought of the Treesleeper project, they were without exception positive about the Treesleeper project. They mentioned that Treesleeper is a community-project, meant to uplift the Hai//om. It also supports the community in the form of several benefits, which will be described in 7.2 Less money, less benefits. However, they also indicate that Treesleeper is not doing well at the moment.

Koot planned to leave in 2007, and //Khumûb, trainee manager at that time, was to become project manager. The community had mixed feelings about the departure of Koot. The employees were confident in the future and in //Khumûb capabilities, although there were also some worries about donations, as Koot raised many funds for Treesleeper. The community itself was divided, as some were confident in the future, while some did not believe in //Khumûb, as they regarded him not serious and too young (Troost, 2007). Koot was confident that Treesleeper would do good:

*“I thought it was capable of surviving for the very simple reason that there was a good manager, which is Moses [//Khumûb], and he was taking care of the project, that is one thing. The other thing is that the tourists were coming in, the project was finalized, some last things were not, but the building I was not concerned about that too much, people were in place, some tour guides had been trained. Things like that. The basics were all there, it was running.”* (Interview 3)

As the manager, //Khumûb is also an employee, and has to follow the decisions of the TT. However, the manager is also a member of the TT. The manager is responsible for the overall management of Treesleeper, and for the daily activities. Over time Treesleeper has employed several people from Tsintsabis, as e.g. guide, handyman, security guard, cleaner, administration officer, cook etc. Treesleeper was able to accommodate nine permanent staff, and had several development programs in place in the form of trainings. Also the employees unanimous say that Treesleeper is a good project, although some issues were revealed during the interviews. There were sometimes conflicts such as theft, alcohol abuse or not showing up for work. Several employees mentioned that there were sometimes problems with payments, as they did not get paid on time, or less money was paid. When conflicts like this occurred, it was the job of the TT to create solutions. Usually a meeting was called, and in here the conflict was solved. Not everybody was happy with how the TT solved conflicts, as in some instances nothing was done to solve it.

Some villagers were involved in the activities that Treesleeper offered, such as the village tour and traditional performances. Until 2008 school children danced and sang during the traditional performance, but due to a dispute with the former school principle, this was stopped (Hüncke, 2010). Now one family was doing the traditional performances, but in general they were less positive about Treesleeper, and much had to do with the payments. Some claim they liked to dance, but never got paid. A critique of one of the tour operators was that during the village tour not enough families are visited, and therefore benefits were not distributed enough throughout the community. The people in /Gomkaos were visited in earlier years during the village tours, but in recent years not anymore, and they feel left out because of this.

### 5.1.2 Indirectly involved in Treesleeper

The present headmen, who was a former employee and interim manager of Treesleeper between 2008 and 2011, is indirectly involved in Treesleeper. He is very positive about the project, and spoke about the several benefits Treesleeper brought to the community, and how they try to preserve their traditional knowledge. The headmen has not much to do with the operational side of Treesleeper, but he does get informed by the trustees on what is going on at Treesleeper. This is contrary to the position of the previous headmen, who felt he was not involved enough in Treesleeper. Although the former headmen does not have a say in Treesleeper, he is a stakeholder, as he is able to influence community-members when he expresses his opinion. Several community members still follow him.

More about this leadership issue is mentioned in 5.3.1 Leadership in Tsintsabis. In the starting days of the TT, the MLR was involved in Treesleeper. They allocated land for Treesleeper to build on (//Khumûb, 2008). A MLR representative had a seat in the TT, and a big influence in the meetings. Most San are very humble towards government officials, and tended to agree with him. In 2007 the MLR pulled out (Document 4), and governmental influence regarding to Treesleeper’s operations came to a minimum. When Treesleeper proposed for the upgrade in 2008, MET became involved in the Treesleeper project. MET is not involved in the daily operations of Treesleeper, only in the proposed buildings for the upgrade. The role of MET is described more into detail in chapter 6. From Treesleeper Camp to Treesleeper Lodge. MET thinks highly of Treesleeper, as it attracts tourists to the area, and it benefits the community.

Treesleeper was in its beginning years financially dependent on donations of organisations and NGO’s and by the mentorship of VSO. When Koot left, //Khumûb believed that he was not ready to take the project over completely, and Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) was consulted about the possibility of getting a volunteer who could help out. Alum Thomas of VSO worked for two years as a voluntarily enterprise adviser. Although it was valuable for Treesleeper to have assistance of VSO, //Khumûb faced also difficulties, as the volunteer was a white male, and older than //Khumûb. This almost automatically makes him an authority, as San often automatically listen to white people (Koot, 2015). From 2008 to 2010 Treesleeper became financially independent, the camp site was doing well and the help of VSO was no longer required (Document 5). A summary overview of supporting institutions is shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Supporting institutions

Organisation	How they supported Treesleeper
FSTN	Helped with fund raising until 2007
LAC	Helped in setting up the TT, and assist Treesleeper when legal assistance is needed
MET	Provided the grant for the upgrade, acted as mediator between construction team and Treesleeper
MLR	Allocated land and had a member in the TT until 2007
NACOBTA	Treesleeper is a member of NACOBTA
NTB	Treesleeper is a member of the Namibia Tourism Board (NTB), and has to meet their requirements. NTB helps Treesleeper with publicity and promotion
Raleigh International	Provided volunteers to help build the camp in its beginning years
VSO	Provided a voluntary enterprise advisor between 2007 and 2009

Other supporting institutions who helped with donations were i.a. Wilde Ganzen-ICCO, Nederlandse Commissie voor Duurzame Ontwikkeling (NCDO), E3vS, Cordaid, Kune Zuva, Connected to Namibia, Raleigh International, US and Dutch Embassies, Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF), LAC and Emmaus Haarzuilens (Koot, 2013; //Khumûb, 2015). At the moment none (except MET) of the supporting organisations/institutions are actively involved in Treesleeper. Also hardly any donations are granted to Treesleeper since the upgrade.

### 5.1.3 Tour operators and tourists

Several tour operators visited Treesleeper, and their tourists either spend the night at Treesleeper, or only came for the activities. South West Africa Safaris, Wild Dog and Crazy Kudu, Kiboko Adventures, Wonderzones, Elena Travel, Kuvona, Kuoni and African Eagles are some of the tour operators who regularly booked at Treesleeper. At the moment only Kuvona still books activities at Treesleeper. The owner of Kuvona explained why he started coming to Treesleeper:

*“Where we find out that there are small community-projects or something, we try to see how we can support, and both enrich our guests experience, but also it must be community-beneficial. (...) I think TS was the first community-San contact visit, where there was not a black man, or a white man who was getting any profit. And that is what impressed me.” (Interview 11)*

The quote above shows that one of the advantages that Treesleeper has over other tourism projects, is the fact that it is fully community-owned. Critiques of many CBT-projects is that the community is not involved in the decision-making process and that benefits only reach influential people (Blaikie, 2006; Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008). I was not able to acquire visitor reactions of previous years. At Zoover two reviews were placed in 2010 and 2014, both grading Treesleeper with an 8 out of 10 (Leontina, 2010; Schruijer, 2014). Another review was placed on Google in 2015, which was less positive: *“Nothing from their web page are true, it is a total misrepresentation!”* (Geldenhuis, 2015).

## 5.2 Community involvement

When Treesleeper was build up, the community became enthusiastic, and were thinking very positively about Treesleeper. Expectations regarding to Treesleeper were high (Hüncke, 2010). Nearly all community members and villagers I spoke with were positive about Treesleeper, and they mentioned opportunities such as jobs and donations from Treesleeper. They also mentioned the change in Treesleeper, and that they don't see the benefits anymore.

However, community involvement, which is an important characteristic of CBT-projects is an issue. The community is represented in Treesleeper via the TT, but it does not seem that the community knows this. This mostly has to do with a lack of information. Not all community members know what Treesleeper exactly is, and what it does at the moment. An important matter is that the community does not choose the trustees, a new trustee is chosen by the existing members. This greatly limits the involvement of the community. Especially since the upgrade the villagers do not know what is going on at Treesleeper. Also not everybody knows who the trustees are, and what the TT does. To the question who owned Treesleeper, several respondents said that they either don't know it, or that the manager is the owner. According to one of the villagers:

*“The community should be much more involved into the activities they do now. They should ask the people more, and even explain what their aim is. Some people just know that Treesleeper is Treesleeper camp site. They don't know why Treesleeper is there, what are the benefits?”* (Interview 7)

The trustees do not concur with this view, and say that the community is involved, as they can take part in (part-time) jobs and in activities. The trustees and the manager claim that they are in itself community members, and thus the community is represented via them.

For a community member to become an employee, one must be of Hai//om or !Xun descent, and for most positions mastery of the English language is required. This means that most of the elders, who are often not educated, nor speak English cannot apply for a job at Treesleeper. They can become involved via the village walk, the traditional performance or via selling crafts. Although other tribes in Tsintsabis are present, only Hai//om and !Xun people are allowed to work at Treesleeper. All the present persons directly involved in Treesleeper are Hai//om, which makes the Hai//om strongly over-represented. As Treesleeper has come to a standstill, community involvement came to a minimum, as only the trustees and two employers are directly involved in Treesleeper.

One of the trustees acknowledges that more can be done to involve the community, and that more community meetings should be held. One of the recommendations of Anna Hüncke in 2010, was to involve the community more. Based on that, two year-end meetings were held in 2011 and 2012 where the community was informed about Treesleeper, and was able to ask questions. However, as



the situation of Treesleeper worsened, and several community disputes became more intense, no more community meetings are held. According to one of the trustees:

*“The goods are not coming to Treesleeper, what kind of the good can you bring in the meetings and the community?”* (Interview 26)

When Treesleeper will receive good news on how to proceed, than the trustees will announce a community meeting. Most community members would like to be more involved in Treesleeper, either through jobs or information meetings. They would like to receive more information, and they would like to know what is going on at Treesleeper.

### 5.3 Decision-making process and power

In this paragraph I describe how the power relations, within Tsintsabis and Treesleeper are established, and who is responsible for making decisions.

#### 5.3.1 Leadership in Tsintsabis

Over time leadership systems changed for the San. In pre-colonial times the San carried out consensus politics, to ensure distribution of foods, and the maintaining of social relationships. There was however some space for loose institutional leadership, which was mainly based on age and capabilities. In the last 200 years political dynamics encouraged the development of political organisation of the San. Especially since independence several San community leaders stood up, but without finances and external support they faced difficulties in representing their communities. In 1995 the Traditional Authorities Act (TAA) came into force. This meant that Traditional Authorities became an accepted cultural institution, and every community was entitled to establish a Traditional Authority in the form of a chief, headmen or a councillor. However, they had to be recognized by the government before they were seen as a legal body. The main functions of these Traditional Authorities are to co-operate and assist the government, and to give support, advice and information to their communities. The Traditional Authorities became subordinate to the central government, and were limited to an advisory role (Suzman, 2001; Dieckmann, 2007).

In 2004 David //Khamuxab, with help of the government, became the Hai//om chief (Koot, 2013). Geelbooi Thaneb was the headmen of Tsintsabis at that time. Thaneb refers himself to be the headmen since 1994, although he was only officially recognized by the chief and government since 2004. He was not chosen by the community, but became headmen according to his heritage. Thaneb was a member of the TT until 2005, when he stepped out as he was too busy (Document 3). Thaneb criticised Treesleeper for not involving him enough when decisions were being made. As a result of that, he was not able to inform the community about Treesleeper. Thaneb's role as headmen came to an end in 2013 and Paul Geigowab became the new headmen of Tsintsabis. Out of a group of seven men, he gained most of the votes. To support him in his work he has ten advisory councillors, who are elder people of Tsintsabis. Geigowab, who acted as interim manager of Treesleeper in 2010/2011, is not directly involved in Treesleeper, but he is informed about important matters, which is sufficient involvement for him.

#### 5.3.2 Power and decision-making in Treesleeper

As was made clear in the previous paragraphs, the TT holds the power over Treesleeper. In the starting days, Koot and Bounin had a seat in the TT, mainly to have some control over the funds the TT received. Koot acknowledges that by being in the TT, it was a sign of distrust (as many projects in Namibia were financially mismanaged), and that their presence in the TT decreased the level of community ownership. Community ownership is one of the key aspects of a successful CBT-project (Armstrong, 2012). Tsintsabis already had its own development committee, but Koot and Bounin

decided to set up the TT as an own institution, rather than joining them, as the development committee mainly consisted of elders, who were unable to write or read, and did not achieved much in what they aimed for. Troost (2007) found that although most people were enthusiastic about Treesleeper, several community members felt that Treesleeper was not integrated enough into the community, and referred to the project as *'Stasja's project'*. Also meetings were difficult in the beginning, as Troost explained:

*"The [Tsintsabis] Trust did not really knew that decisions were made at that moment, because they did not really understand how these meetings worked. (...) To a large extent I think the meetings were too Western."* (Interview 1)

Koot realizes that his role in Treesleeper was significant, but as the project was still in its starting phase, practical reasons took precedence. At the time he did not always realize his position of power:

*"Without always realising my own position of power, I tended to take or at least influence many decisions, sometimes showing an unawareness of cultural sensitivities and, by doing so, demonstrating clear signs of paternalism"* (Koot, 2013, p. 235).

When Koot left in 2007, //Khumûb took over his role as project manager. Daily decisions regarding to Treesleeper are made by the manager. When bigger decisions have to be taken, a meeting with the trustees is called. The powers of the TT are explained in the Deed of Trust. The trustees have the control over the TT assets, bank accounts and property and are able to employ or dismiss employees. When a trustee dies or resigns, the remaining trustees are entitled to appoint a replacement (Tsintsabis Trust, 2004). To the question why trustees joined the TT, many said they were asked by either the manager or other trustees. Decisions are taken during meetings, where by it is tried to get consensus. The community is not consulted during these meetings. The manager comments:

*"It looks as if the Tsintsabis Trust itself is a dictator. The rights of getting another trustee, is engraved in the Tsintsabis Trust, not in the public. Not to say, we have a meeting, who do you want. (...) Treesleeper was formed as the latest project after all the communities already enjoyed campsites and lodges like that, but those, honestly today, none exist. They have died, so we might criticize the point of the Tsintsabis Trust, that is very authoritarian, or either it is dictating, but it might be for the survival of Treesleeper"* (Interview 18).

All employees I spoke with said that they were involved in the decision-making process to a certain extent. Sometimes there were meetings with employees, where they could express their opinions. The manager would pass it on to the TT, as they make the final decision. Some community members claim that the manager has the power over the trustees:

*"Tsintsabis Trust has given him the job, why must he [//Khumûb] be in the TT? This is what we said, 'you cannot be in the Tsintsabis Trust, the Tsintsabis Trust gave you a job, if you work badly, the Tsintsabis Trust will fire you. How can you be in the Tsintsabis Trust?' And he must write, and when he is done writing, he has to read it for the Tsintsabis Trust. And when he already fired someone, he will say it for the Tsintsabis Trust, and they will say jajaja."* (Interview 22).

The trustees do not agree with this view, and claim they have the power over Treesleeper and its manager. It cannot be denied however that the manager, who is also a trustee, has a certain power over the other trustees, as he is well-educated and has seen much of the world during his travels. Also he spends a lot of his time at the camp-site, unlike the trustees. Not all of the trustees are able to write or read well. The manager's role in the community itself has grown bigger over the years. As being involved in Treesleeper, but also in other institutions in Tsintsabis, such as the political party SWAPO and the church, he gained an influential position in Tsintsabis. The manager is aware that

some accuse him of having too much power, and he acknowledges it might be true, as he pushed some decisions through (Field notes 13-May-2016). The trustees did sometimes have problems with the manager, as some of his decisions, like the hiring of somebody for a part-time job, or paying an employee, were taken without consulting the TT.

Besides the trustees, the community members are not truly involved in the decision-making process, nor have the power to influence Treesleeper. In the beginning meetings were open, and everybody was able to join (Troost, 2007). In recent years hardly any community meetings were held. The trustees explained this is due to the situation of Treesleeper is in. In 2013, when the financial situation became worse, the situation in Tsintsabis regarding Treesleeper was very tensed, and many accusations were made that Treesleeper mismanaged the grant. The TT decided that they will have community meetings again when they know what the next step will be regarding to the upgrade. I will explain more about these accusations in 7.4 Intensification of community disputes.

## 5.4 Conclusion

Within Treesleeper several stakeholders can be identified, from people closely involved, such as the trustees, employees and those involved in activities, to the indirectly involved, which comprises of the headmen, government and several donors and NGO's. Many of the indirect stakeholders are not (actively) involved anymore, such as several NGOs. Tour operators and tourists, which are important stakeholders as they provide the income, visited Treesleeper less and less over the years, and their perceptions of the camp became more negative. Community involvement is according to most of the villagers not enough, while the involvement of the community is one of the key elements of CBT, and an indicator of its success. Community members are represented by the TT, but most community members don't see this. As the community of Tsintsabis is highly diversified, in terms of for example ethnic groups, ages and educational level, it is difficult to incorporate all of the communities' wishes. Overall, the community misses information about the TT, who owns Treesleeper and what is going on with Treesleeper at the moment. Power-relations shifted in the community, as the manager of Treesleeper became more influential in the community. A new headmen was elected in 2013, and contrary to the previous headmen, he is positive about Treesleeper and his involvement. The TT makes important decisions regarding to Treesleeper, the employees are to a certain extent involved. The manager, both employee and trustee, is compared to the trustees well educated, and has a certain amount of power over the trustees.

## 6. From Treesleeper Camp to Treesleeper Lodge

The ideas of upgrading Treesleeper from a camp to a lodge was a long-term goal of the Tsintsabis Trust. From the introduction it has made clear that this upgrade had a major effect on Treesleeper. This chapter serves to acquire an understanding of this upgrade process, which has come to a standstill since 2013. By looking deeper into the process that started with this grant, and how this evolved, I answer the 4<sup>th</sup> sub-question: 4. *What influence did the MET-grant have on Treesleeper?* I will firstly explain how Treesleeper acquired the funds for the upgrade (§6.1). Then I will describe some of the problems that were present during the construction phase (§6.2), as well as money issues that were going on (§6.3). Hereafter I will denote what the current position of Treesleeper is (§6.4). This chapter is finalised by some concluding remarks (§6.5).

### 6.1 The upgrade

By running the camp-site successfully now for a while, the TT felt they had acquired enough experience in tourism to start becoming a lodge. It was believed that the upgrade to a lodge would attract more visitors, and thus increase profits. In 2008 //Khumûb heard of European money that was going to be spend on CBNRM-projects in Namibia. To acquire some of these funds, the TT proposed their ideas, which consisted of the building of treehouses, to the government. These ideas were rejected, as the treehouses would be too expensive and have too many maintenance costs according to the funders. As Treesleeper was the only project in the area, the government looked for other options, and they told Treesleeper to be patient. By the end of 2009, Treesleeper was awarded with a grant of N\$1.2 million, from the Special Tourism Projects Fund from MET (Document 6).

The idea of Treesleeper was that electricians, brick layers, plumbers etc. from Tsintsabis itself would be employed during the construction, as this upgrade was also to uplift the community and stimulate development within the village. The TT was also under the impression that the money would be paid into the account of the TT. This was however not the case, as MET controlled the process, and finances. The government has several policies which aim to support Small and Medium Enterprises (SME's) (Shifidi, 2010). Although MET appointed the grant, the mandate for the construction lies within the Ministry of Works and Transport (MWT). They appointed and selected the technical expertise and SME's that were necessary, so that MET could utilize these experts in this project. It was the intention that MWT was going to be involved in the entire process to support MET, but this never happened. The contractor that was going to work at Treesleeper was chosen during the annual tender of MWT. This means that everybody, from the big contractors to the small ones, are given an equal chance to work on a big project, to get experience and to uplift themselves.

During the upgrade of Treesleeper, the client was MET, and the user client Treesleeper. This meant that the team of experts dealt with MET directly. The architect had meetings with MET about the scope of work, and MET communicated this with Treesleeper. The architect drew up the plans and consulted MET in how they wanted it:

*"I think in general, in other lodges we have also seen it, the user client was not really involved, in what they actually wanted. The Ministry wanted this and that, but I don't know on what basis the user client was consulted, if there was a lack in the communication. (...) So we hardly actually worked with the user client. All our instructions came from the client."* (Interview 30)

The quantity surveyor is the one who estimated the costs and makes payment certificates. When the contractor needs to get paid, the quantity surveyor gives a payment certificate to MET, and they will pay the contractor directly. The way that MET stays in control of the money, and experts are appointed by MWT, is the usual way of handling such projects. A former TT member, who is now working for the Ministry of Gender Equality & Welfare, has seen the same procedure when the craft centre of Tsintsabis, where she has her office, was renovated:

*“ (...) you know, when it comes to government, the government is the one controlling their own things. The government does not give something and then you do it yourself. They are the ones looking for the contractors. They are the ones doing the payments by themselves. You are just the beneficiary. So you don't know what they are doing. You don't have any say.” (Interview 8)*

The reasons why projects are handled in such a way according to MET is to ensure good quality in a project, and to make the process transparent. MET acted as a mediator, and as such they ensured the relationship between the team of experts and Treesleeper. It took quite some time before the overall budget was finalized. What exactly the budget was for this project is unclear. At first instance Treesleeper was awarded N\$1.2 million, later this was raised to N\$3.2 million (Document 7), and eventually the total budget was between N\$6 to N\$8 million. The project was budgeted for a monthly visit, whereby an official of MET, the architect, the quantity surveyor, the contractor, Treesleeper and other experts met at Treesleeper, to oversee the progress that was made.

The site plan of Treesleeper is shown in Figure 8, this is how Treesleeper is supposed to look after the upgrade is finalized. Before the upgrade Treesleeper consisted of six camp sites; camp 1 has an own ablution block, camp 2 consists of a treehouse, camp 3 has a tree deck with own ablution block, camp 4 and 5 have a tree deck with shared ablution, and camp 6 is an empty area. All camp sites have a place to sit, a braai area and a water tap. There is also a bar/reception area and a brick office with kitchen. In the new plans ten brick buildings were supposed to be build; two elderly houses, two family houses, and six standard bungalows. In a boma visitors would be able to relax and have their dinner. The bar/reception area was to be extended, and in the new craft centre/reception people could check in and buy gifts. A swimming pool would be build, together with two toilet buildings. As Treesleeper was transformed from a camp-site to a lodge, Treesleeper changed its name into 'Treesleeper Lodge'.

## 6.2 Construction

Construction started in February 2011. By that time //Khumûb was in South-Africa for his studies, and Paul Geigowab, now the headmen of Tsintsabis, was the interim acting manager of Treesleeper. When //Khumûb came back in May 2011, people were already clearing the area and //Khumûb was not happy with what he saw:

*“When I arrived, first thing I wrote a letter to the architect, to say the clearance of Treesleeper, the areas were not correct. Simply because it is a 10 ha piece of land, and my vision for Treesleeper, which is still there, is to give it that natural look, with trees not being spoiled. Try to put in our ideas within nature, not to tell nature to be our way. But when you were entering Treesleeper, in all that area there were big trees, they were totally cut out.” (Interview 18)*

This caused a first delay in the building process, as the clearing stopped, and plans had to be revised. Some other structures, like the bar, were placed in a way which did not satisfy Treesleeper. When this was sorted, things started to move quickly. The brick laying went fast, and although progress was made, it was not an ideal situation to receive visitors. Building started all over the place, holes were dug everywhere, bricks were laying around, and the camp-site looked like a construction site. According to some of the former employees, tourists were afraid of all those holes, and one of the tourists who visited Treesleeper with tour operator African Eagles, fell in one of the holes. Furthermore, the place was very noisy and as there were many workers, tourists did not feel safe.

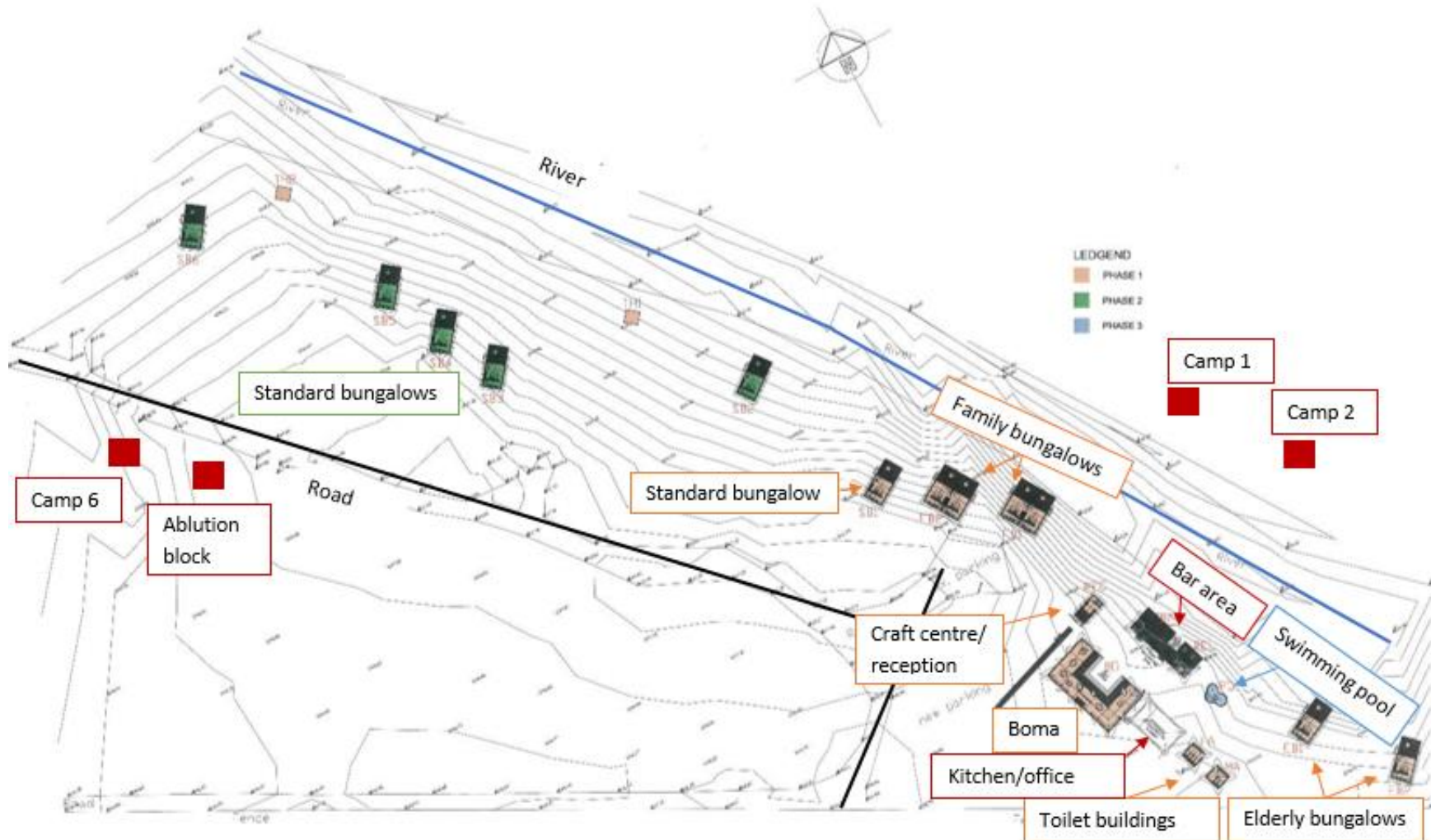


Figure 8 Side plan Treesleeper. Site plan created by Axel Dainat Architects, adjusted by author. Red indicates present buildings. Orange indicates phase 1 buildings, meaning they have to be completed first. Green indicates phase 2 buildings, while blue indicates phase 3 (only swimming pool). Locations of new buildings on this plan deviate slightly from their actual location. Campsites 3 – 5 are between the standard bungalows (phase 2). The existing bar area will be extended with a new deck (scale 1:500).

Although it was the wish of Treesleeper that local villagers would be involved in the construction, by the appointment of the contractor it was up to him to use either his own people, or locals. Several locals were employed by the contractor. However, according to the manager of Treesleeper employees under the contractor were underpaid, and when they demanded that the salaries had to come up, the contractor laid down all Tsintsabis workers. According to the contractor the Tsintsabis workers were laid off as the general work was done, and now the more specialized jobs begun. Once this was sorted out, the work continued fast. The first due date was set at February 2012 (Document 8), and the manager of Treesleeper believed the project would finish on time:

*“I think from the 2011 work it went smoothly, especially at the end of 2011. That made me believe that the campsite and the lodge would be done by 2012, as it was said”* (Interview 18).

However, in the beginning of 2012 the due date was pushed forward to October 2012, and eventually to August 2013 (Document 9/10). According to the contractor plans kept changing, as he said *“Every time there was a different proposal, and that costed delays”*. The contractor was confident that the project would have finished on time, when everybody would have adhered to the plans. A problem was also miscommunication, as different people said different things, and the contractor did not receive feedback from the other experts: *“They kept saying we will look into that”*. Others have a different view, as they claim the contractor was *“incompetent”* and *“he lost track of what was happening, he did not know what he was doing”*. The idea of involving contractors like the Ministry of Works did, had its disadvantages, as one of the MET officials explained:

*“Giving other people a chance, that is the environment in which we operate. So that is how we used the previously disadvantaged contractors. People that are starting, you know, getting into the system. Often, such a person is not well-established as a former advantaged contractor. So as a result, there are certain things that you risk, that you run into with a contractor that has not such an experienced background. So, there were obviously challenges with the contractor, and primarily, probably challenges with the team of experts that were there. Because if the team of experts would have been hands-on to the contractor, he would have been guided step-by-step, and would have avoided probably making some of the errors.”* (Interview 28)

Several things, like the floors of the buildings, had to be redone. The general believe is that the contractor was not experienced enough in such big construction projects. Nonetheless, as MET says, and the architect also acknowledges, the supervision lacked, as the budget allowed for just monthly visits. Normally a project is visited *“almost every second day on site to check everything is okay”* (Interview 30). The contractor also concluded that more could have been done from his side to supervise his workers: *“I was not always on Treesleeper, I did not supervise enough, from my side”* (Interview 38). Back and forward claims were made that there was not enough interest in Treesleeper of both the side of the experts, and the contractor.

### 6.3 Money issues

A big issue during and after the construction phase was money. Several claims were being made which relate back to the money. The contractor strongly believes that *“the project was underestimated”* and *“they did not keep track with inflation”* (Interview 19). It was believed that the estimations for the construction were made in 2009, but were not corrected to 2011, when they start building. Normally, to correct for inflation, 10% has to be added on top of the price yearly. The quantity surveyor agrees to a certain point that the budget was underestimated in the beginning, as it did not include all the costs yet. That was added later: *“the minute the electrical and civil works were added, it was a 100% again. So there were no missing costs or whatever”* (Interview 29).

Before the construction phase started, the contractor was advanced N\$1 million according to the architect and quantity surveyor. According to the architect, *“this is very dangerous”* and *“money*

*should be paid when something is done''* (Interview 30). The rest of the payments went according to plan, although there were issues with specifications of the payments. The contractor wanted to acquire detailed payments, which stated what the money was given for. This did not happen. As the construction took more and more time, money started to run out. Although experts were advising MET to stop the construction, this was not the case:

*''The government was very lenient, they were putting money back into the project as to help them [contractor]. But that did not help them to end. Because they wanted it to be finished. Then we said 'it is your decision if you want him to stay on site, but we propose that he would leave the site a long time ago'.*'' (Interview 30)

Even the contractor himself said at one point *''If you were thinking as a contractor, you are supposed to stop it, then you bring on a new contractor on board, with a better track record. But they did not do it, it just continued.*'' (Interview 19). Reasons why MET carried on is that they wanted to uplift the contractor, and to give him another chance and they wanted to project to finish. If there are underlying reasons, such as corruption or family ties is unknown to my knowledge. There were also no documents in place, such as performance and bank guarantees and penalties. This meant that there was no control over the contractor, in case things went wrong. As money started to run out, MET decided to stop the construction in 2013.

#### 6.4 Current situation

The construction phase of Treesleeper has come to a standstill since 2013. None of the new buildings are finished yet, but some are nearly finished. The walls of the bungalows are standing, but only some have a roof on top. The boma still needs a lot of work, as only the foundation and part of the walls are standing. Just one wall of the extended bar area was build, and no arrangements have been made yet for the swimming pool. The new toilet buildings are nearly finished, they have to be equipped, and one of them still need a roof. The new craft centre/reception is nearly finished, and only needs to be equipped. Some of the buildings are shown in Figure 9 and Figure 10. All the experts are taken off the job, and MET handed the project over to MWT:

*''So at some point, when we saw that things are not going as we would have liked it to go, that is when we reached out to the Ministry of Works, to say 'can you please come and pay attention to this thing'. So them coming and paying attention to this thing means, they need to look at what has gone wrong, where has it gone wrong, and why has it gone wrong. So that we look at how to rectify what has gone wrong, and learn from the mistakes that may have been made, and make a success out of this thing.*'' (Interview 28)



Figure 9 Family bungalow (in front) and standard bungalow (photo by the author, 07-May-2016)



Figure 10 Unfinished boma (photo by the author, 07-May-2016)



It is unclear in what stage this assessment is. A preliminary finding report was presented to the involved people of MET, but the assessment procedure is still going on. The trustees are not informed, and do not know what is going on. It is estimated by the different experts that between N\$1 to N\$2 million is needed to finish the buildings at Treesleeper, which will take three to six months to finish everything.

The experts thought some money for the project remained in the coffers of MET, as the building stopped before the entire budget was used: *“I think, from what I am remembering it is still in the coffers, because we stopped it, so whatever money was to be paid out was kept.”* (Interview 29). However, if this money is not used in a certain period of time, then it will go back into the central coffer of the government, and then this will be uncertain if and when this money is available to Treesleeper. This is also what MET said in a meeting in 2015 to //Khumûb, that no money is left to finish the construction (Field notes 03-May-2016). MET mentioned the possibility of involving a Public Private Partnership (PPP), who can invest in the Treesleeper project.

The assessment will dictate what will happen next. In terms of ownership, the buildings are government property until they hand it over to Treesleeper. For Treesleeper this means they can bring in private investors, but *“they will just have to follow our channels, we [government] will have to guide the process”* (Interview 28). The government stays in control as they want to bring it to a good ending:

*“So it is no secret I must say, that there were errors, and it is unfortunate, but we are committed, it is our business to make it work, if we like it or not.”* (Interview 28).

## 6.5 Conclusion

Before construction started, MET took control over the upgrade project, while a successful CBT-project drives on community ownership and control. MWT appointed the contractor and experts, and MET kept control over the finances, and building plans. This meant that Treesleeper did not receive money into their account, and were not able to appoint locals for construction, as was the idea. Miscommunication, unclear plans and changing of building plans caused delays. It is unclear whether the project was underestimated in terms of budget. Also it is unclear if yearly increments took place. From all sides supervision lacked, as the experts were budgeted for a monthly visit only. The contractor appeared not experienced enough for the job. Despite mistakes, he was given many chances to do better by MET, in spite of the advice of the experts. It has been an ambiguous process, as MET was willing to pay several millions to a disadvantaged contractor, but not to the TT, who had proven over the years to manage its finances in a good manner. In the end, money ran out, and MET stopped the construction in 2013, despite the fact that none of the buildings are finished. An assessment by MWT will dictate what happens in the future, this assessment is still going on. Until then the buildings are government property, and Treesleeper is not able to finish themselves.

## 7. How the upgrade affected Treesleeper

In this chapter I will describe in what ways Treesleeper changed due to the upgrade process. In this chapter I focus on my fifth sub-question: *In what ways did the (perceived) monetary and non-monetary benefits and costs of Treesleeper change over time?* I start this chapter with the influences, or effects which the upgrade had on Treesleeper itself (§7.1), and show how the benefits that Treesleeper once brought, changed (§7.2). I also discuss some of the costs Treesleeper caused to the community, as an information gap in the community (§7.3) was created, which intensified community disputes (§7.4). In the end I conclude this chapter (§7.5).

### 7.1 Less visitors

The most obvious change which had an huge impact on Treesleeper, is the drop in visitor numbers. Before the construction started in 2011, visitor numbers already dropped slightly, as was shown in Figure 1. It is likely that the drop in visitor numbers in 2011 was caused by the global economic and financial crises, as this led to a decline of arrivals from overseas tourists in Namibia (MET, 2011). In 2012 and 2013 the total number of overseas tourist in Namibia increased again (Directorate of Tourism and Gaming, 2014). It was expected by Treesleeper that visitor numbers would come up again, but this was not the case. Despite the construction between 2011 and 2013 tourists could still camp. However, many tourists were not happy when they saw the state of Treesleeper. One of the employees explained:

*“(...) from that time that we wanted to start as a lodge, there was also a lot of contractor workers, and a lot of trucks coming, making noise, and there was more than 15 workers working the whole day. It was difficult for the guests, because some of the guests wanted their own time to start up, that is why they liked the place, which was quiet. But now it was not like that.”* (Interview 9)

Although Treesleeper has a policy that 100% has to be paid for last-minute cancelations, many tourists cancelled on the spot. Tourists claimed that they were not able to sleep at Treesleeper as it was not safe, and that Treesleeper was supposed to inform them about the construction prior to their arrival. Another huge effect on visitor numbers is that several tour operators pulled out, as they also viewed the place as unsafe and unsuitable due to the construction.

During my fieldwork tourists were scarce. It happened two times that I heard a car coming in, and when I went to have a look, they were almost driving away (Field notes 3/5-May-2016). As there were hardly employees present during my stay, tourists often went again and looked for another place to stay overnight. The tourists that I spoke to all thought that Treesleeper was not operational yet and still building. When tourists come in, they first see the view of Figure 11; a welcome sign with the unfinished boma in the background. When they move on, they come to the parking place and see an unfinished family bungalow (front cover photo). It is well-known that negative experiences get more attention than positive ones (Ahluwalia, Burnkrant, & Unnava, 2000), especially in the tourist branches, where mouth-to-mouth publicity is important.



Figure 11 Entrance of Treesleeper (photo by the author, 07-May-2016)

## 7.2 Less money, less benefits

Several community members told me that life was hard in Tsintsabis. The Oshikoto region, in which Tsintsabis is situated, is the third poorest region of Namibia (Dieckmann et al., 2013). Most people I spoke to were unemployed, and told me it is very difficult to get a job. When Treesleeper began, expectations were high and people hoped that Treesleeper was going to bring many benefits, like jobs to them (Hüncke, 2010). Unlike many other CBT-projects, Treesleeper was able to bring in several benefits to the community before the upgrade.

Although most people did not benefit from Treesleeper, the overall feeling was positive. Treesleeper consists of six camp sites, of which some have tree decks where people can place their tents on to give them a feeling of sleeping in the trees. Treesleeper revolves around the San-culture. Besides spending the night, tourists can book several activities; in the 'Bushwalk' (Figure 12) tourists go into the veld with a guide, who explains how plants were used, how they hunted etc. In the 'Village tour' (Figure 13) a guide takes tourists into the village, and tells them how life has changed in Tsintsabis. Families in the village are visited, and tourists give them small necessities, such as washing power, tea or sugar. The tourists can interact with these families and ask them questions, to find out how these people live their lives nowadays. Often these families also make crafts, which the tourist can buy. In the 'Traditional performance' (Figure 14) some community members dance and sing for the tourists. These activities brought increased awareness of the San culture back into the village. As tourists walked in the village, the villagers were able to meet foreigners, and as such get a better understanding of the outside world (//Khumûb, 2008).



Figure 12 Bushwalk. M. Ivanga showing how tracks are used during the hunt (photo by the author, 07-May-2016)



Figure 13 Village tour. Visiting the family of the traditional healer, D. Awaseb (photo by the author, 07-May-2016)



Figure 14 Traditional performance (photo by D. Troost, 2007)

From 2008 to 2009 visitor numbers went up, and profits increased. Treesleeper was able to hire more employees, and the number of permanent employees went up from five to nine. Also their salaries increased over the years, of which the lowest salary was N\$1,000 – N\$1,200 per month. When part-time jobs were available, people from the village were taken for the job. Yearly an Elders Day was funded by Treesleeper, whereby elders could have a free meal at Treesleeper. Materials, worth of N\$10,000, were donated to the community kindergarten in 2010. Families who were unable to pay for the funeral of family members, could get a contribution of Treesleeper (//Khumûb, 2015). The people who did the traditional performances, the families who were visited during the village tour, and the craft sellers also benefitted from the tourists coming to Treesleeper. Troost (2007) saw several signs of empowerment in the community due to Treesleeper. There was a growing economic activity, which gave villagers a chance to get an income, as employee, or for example as craft seller. There was confidence in the future, and increasing pride in culture, as Treesleeper tried to explain the San-culture to tourists, by the activities.

Another benefit Treesleeper has brought was the provision of training. The trustees visited other communities to learn from them how to involve the community. Also they got an allowance for attending the meetings, from N\$20 in 2004, to N\$100 since 2009. Other training courses were provided to the employees, such as guiding and hospitality training. When the construction began at Treesleeper, 20 people got a two-week hospitality training in Windhoek, and of this group, nine were selected and sent to Ais-Ais, to get a three-month in-service training by the Namibian Wildlife Resorts (NWR). Besides the existing employees, these newly trained persons also started working for Treesleeper, in the hope that the building would finish soon, and the tourists start to come in.

As less and less visitors came to Treesleeper, this meant naturally also less income. To cut on some of the costs, nine employees were reduced to four, and salaries were reduced. Many times the salaries were not paid on time, which had large consequences for some of the employees:

*“Because in the location [Tsintsabis], they [villagers] are having some credits, they are taking food on credit. And they say we will pay on the 20th, and if the 20th pass, the first month pass, the second month pass, then the owner of the shop will also be angry with you. And the other one on the other hand, is working but he don’t get income. That is the process at the camp site, that was the problem.”* (Interview 35)

As income did not improve, the number of employees was eventually reduced to two in 2015; the handyman and the manager. Despite these budget costs, Treesleeper struggles to pay salaries, as one of the employees said: *“I work here without money, and with hunger. And how do people work when they are hungry?”* (Interview 5). To the question how his situation was earlier, he replied: *“Yes, last year, and in the old days everything was fine. When the people came and build, that time brought some problems, here the buildings that are not finished. That brought problems. From then we did not get any tourists anymore.”* (Interview 5).

Also the traditional dancers were not invited anymore to dance, and tourists hardly come for the village tours. It was no longer possible for Treesleeper to pay for renovations. For example, the solar panels are broken, but as there is no money to repair them Treesleeper is currently without electricity.

### 7.3 Information gap

The involvement of the community has always been a difficult issue, as not everybody is able to work, or benefit from Treesleeper. There were community meetings, as described before, but since 2013 no community meetings were held anymore. As explained in the previous paragraphs, this had a lot to do with tensions going on in the village. Most villagers don’t know what is going on at Treesleeper at the moment. One of the villagers explained:

*“(…) but the beginning what I see, I saw the guests coming in. They came and visit, there were many times that I saw the guests came and visit. But I don’t know, after them what has become of it. Many don’t come. Is there something wrong, or what is there? I don’t know.”* (Interview 32)

It is also not clear to everybody how the upgrade was implemented. One of the former subcontractors thinks:

*“Here are many people that can build and do everything, but they will look at the big companies that can come first. What are those big companies? We are also here, in this small place. We know how to build, and we can read the building plans. That was the problem of Moses, he choose the ‘bastards’<sup>4</sup> [contractors] that he brought in.”* (Interview 37)

<sup>4</sup> The word ‘baster’ is sometimes used in Namibia to refer to coloured people, who are from mixed descent.

The defensive position of the TT fostered more suspicion in the community, and has led to several allegations, as will be shown in the next paragraph.

## 7.4 Intensification of community disputes

As in every community, village or organisation, also in Tsintsabis and Treesleeper several disputes are present. Some of these disputes were intensified due to the upgrade. These intensification of disputes were the only costs caused by Treesleeper which some people mentioned.

### 7.4.1 Former headmen and Treesleeper

Already before the upgrade was proposed, the manager of Treesleeper and the former headmen of Tsintsabis were not on good terms. In the first years of Treesleeper the former headmen and his family were involved in Treesleeper, by either being a trustee or employee. Since 2009 himself nor family members are involved anymore in Treesleeper (Hüncke, 2010). In 2007 the former headmen felt not involved enough in Treesleeper, and felt that the manager did not respect him enough (Troost, 2007).

In 2013, the role of the former headmen Geelbooi Thaneb came to an end. The former headmen claims that he was removed by the youth (which includes the manager of Treesleeper). One day when he came back from Windhoek, a meeting was held with several youth members and chief //Khamuxab, and they told him he had to step down. Others have a different story, as they claim that the former headmen himself announced in three public meetings that he wanted to step down due to his health issues. The former headmen was criticised, as some villagers accused him of only having an interest in giving benefits to his family members, and not in the community (Hüncke, 2010). Also accusations were made, by among others, the manager of Treesleeper. According to them the former headmen would have distributed pieces of land to certain people, thereby advantaging people who had strong ties with him or his family, or to those who were able to pay more for a plot. When I asked why Thaneb felt he was removed, told me that he did not understand the reason:

*“When I came there, they said ‘You have to step down’. ‘You cannot be chief anymore, we choose to remove you’. Now, I did not know what went on, there was no talking, I had to know something. Then I could have said ‘no, please...’ They just said, ‘you have to step down’.” (Interview 22)*

Later in the interview he replied that he asked too many questions about Treesleeper’s financial status and management, and that that was the reason why they removed him. After his removal positions in the village changed, as the former headmen became less influential, but at the same time the manager of Treesleeper became more influential, due to his position in Treesleeper, but also in various positions he had in the community, such as the SWAPO party and the church. The situation in Tsintsabis became more tensed: *“If you were here during that time, you could feel that people will kill each other right now.”* (Interview 18) More and more allegations were spread, and the former headmen and his group turned more against Treesleeper. Several allegations were made and spread into the village about Treesleeper and the TT. Many of these allegations revolve around money issues, and some people think the money was taken:

*“If there was money, than those things [buildings] would be finished, but it was eaten. I know about that. Nobody will tell me there was no this and this. There was money, there was money, with that money the building started, but the money is gone now. This is the problem.” (Interview 37)*

Not all procedures were clear to everybody, and some community members thought that Treesleeper was given the money for the upgrade. Most community members don’t know what happened to the money. The (former) employees and trustees are aware that Treesleeper was not in charge of the money, and that the money was not taken by individuals of Treesleeper.

A meeting with the TT, the manager and the former headmen was proposed by the TT in the summer of 2013 to straighten out the fight. However, on the day of the meeting two of the trustees, including the manager, were not in Tsintsabis and a meeting never happened. To counter some of the allegations, the manager was removed from the TT account (Document 11). Other measures were not undertaken by Treesleeper. At this time the allegations are not very strong, as Treesleeper is not much 'in the picture' anymore. However, the allegations did divide the community in Tsintsabis, into a group who is on the hand of the former headmen, and the youth, which includes the manager of Treesleeper and the new headmen. As for successful CBT-projects, a cohesive community is important, as well as transparent (financial) management (Armstrong, 2012). One villager, who sides with the former headmen, concluded:

*"Because the thing is, currently we are in two groups now, one is the newly, so-called elected headmen, and the other group is chief Geelbooi. So, it is two donkeys pulling in different directions."* (Interview 24)

#### 7.4.2 !Xun vs. Hai//om

As mentioned in 4.2.2 The community of Tsintsabis, some !Xun people feel they have a lower position than the Hai//om, and the same thing goes for Treesleeper. The TT consists of only Hai//om people, and most of the staff were also Hai//om. One of the villagers, who wanted to sell his crafts at Treesleeper was turned down as there was no money. He thought that this was because he was a mix of !Xun-Hai//om. Despite some feelings it was not so much of an issue until the end of 2013.

The former headmen, a mixed !Xun-Hai//om, wanted more involvement of !Xun in Treesleeper. He proposed to MET that !Xun should be included in the TT, and that the composition should consist out of seven !Xun, and seven Hai//om. MET agreed that the TT had to change, but when Thaneb proposed seven !Xun names, the manager of Treesleeper remarked that not all seven members were full !Xun. Also the TT did not liked the idea of having 14 members, as it would be too many people, and it would become very difficult to make decisions. The TT stopped the process with a letter in where they explained this issue to MET (Document 12). Since the letter in 2014 this process has come to a standstill, and the TT has not changed in formation.

#### 7.4.3 IPACC report

In 2013 a report created by the Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Committee (IPACC) was published. This report was not very positive about Treesleeper, and its manager. Claims which were made is that people, especially elders, are excluded from the decision-making process. It also reports that the manager is disrespectful when asked about financial statements. The report further claims that Thaneb is still headmen, and that the manager of Treesleeper is dividing the community by questioning the position of Thaneb. It further expresses discontent of people about the progress of Treesleeper, inequitable benefit sharing and lack of transparency. The report states that some community members argue that the manager is the one who gave tenders to various firms, and paid himself to build the camp site. The last point which is made, is that the community of Tsintsabis wants a democratically elected TT, in order to have full control (Marsh, 2013).

Some claims made by the paper are untrue, as Thaneb is no longer the headmen, and the manager was not able to give tenders out. The manager of Treesleeper replied in a letter to the report, claiming that only a select group of people was interviewed for this report (Document 13). One of the employees who was interviewed for this report, remarked:

*"I was also the one that he [IPACC-member] was interviewing, but I did not say a lot of things. There are also some things that hurt me a bit... (...) But after he went back, and the papers came, all of the things that the people were saying was written on my paper. (...) I was feeling pity, the time Mr. Moses [//Khumûb] showed me the paper."* (Interview 35)

It is possible that this report has negative effects for Treesleeper, as distrust is raised about the manager and the existing TT. The report was circulated into networks that are concerned about indigenous people. Another issue is the involvement of a former Tsintsabis community member, Joram /Useb, during the making of this report, who is not on good terms with the manager of Treesleeper. In the starting days of Treesleeper /Useb, a member of WIMSA, wanted to participate in Treesleeper, but this never materialized. From my position I am not able to say if, and what role this has played in the writing of the report, and the formation of a more negative tone about Treesleeper.

## 7.5 Changing views

The general thinking of the respondents to the question of how Treesleeper changed, is that the upgrade did Treesleeper not do any good. People involved in the village tour and in the traditional performances don't see tourist groups anymore. Community members see less tourists coming into Treesleeper and the village, and also no jobs are available anymore:

*"In the beginning, it was good, when it was a camp-site. The tourists were visiting and visiting. And Treesleeper was coming up and coming up. They were also visiting, and look how Tsintsabis was, because it was a community place. (...) But now, today when it became the lodge, everything changed, and it is difficult and difficult, no good changes, nothing happens."* (Interview 17)

The benefits that Treesleeper once brought, are not there anymore, as one of the trustees explained:

*"When they started with Treesleeper camp-site, it was good. That time they were helping all people, cook for them, and helping the learners from the kindergarten, and giving some jobs to the community, but from this part of the lodge, that is the level on which Treesleeper cannot do anything. When it was Treesleeper camp-site tourist came, nothing now. That is why Treesleeper cannot help with the jobs for the community, and the kids from the kindergarten."* (Interview 23)

It is clear that Treesleeper is not able to give out any benefits at the moment, albeit in the form of employment or donations. The TT feels guilty about this, and knows that the community expects to get benefits from Treesleeper:

*"This day I was getting sweets from my friend, and two months are gone, why does she not help me? That is now the thinking that the community has."* (Interview 16)

## 7.6 Conclusion

The MET-grant and the proposed upgrade had a major effect on Treesleeper, and it was not the intended positive effect. In recent years Treesleeper received less and less visitors, mainly due to the fact that the construction is not finished. This has led to severe financial problems. The several benefits that Treesleeper brought, such as jobs, trainings, an yearly Elders Day and donations to the kindergarten or to funerals became almost zero. Even the remaining two employees often do not get paid, as no money is available. Most people did not truly experience that Treesleeper brought any costs, but some claim the downfall of Treesleeper led to intensification of community disputes which were already present before the upgrade. Personal problems between the manager and the former headmen led to several allegations back and forth. Also tribal issues were brought up, and the fact that !Xun were not present in the TT, was used in an attempt to change the TT. This led to a division in the village, as groups were siding with the former headmen, and groups with the new headmen and manager of Treesleeper. This division does not help in getting a coherent community which benefits CBT-projects. How Treesleeper is viewed by community members has changed, from a place where they saw tourists and were able to get some benefits, to a project which does not bring any benefits in anymore.

## 8. Future of Treesleeper

In this chapter a short overview is given of what the people think of the future of Treesleeper, and what suggestions they have for Treesleeper. Hereby I provide an answer to the last sub-question: 6. *How could Treesleeper proceed in the future according to the stakeholders?*

### 8.1 Views of the respondents

The upgrade did not had the intended effect, which is a contrasting outcome:

*“Its own success has now been killing the project. That is the ironic thing. Success did not work out the way it was planned, and it became a negative thing, instead of a positive thing.”* (Interview 3)

Despite the negatives that the upgrade brought into Treesleeper, and into the community, people still think the upgrade was a good and necessary idea:

*“Yes, because the camp-site was not enough, because some tourists when they come, they need to sleep in the houses, not in the tent. So it was good, there is a camp-site and there should be a lodge. For those ones who want to be in the lodge houses, it was good. And then even money wise, first it was just camp-site, now, if you build these houses, then you will also earn from this time. You see, it was good, it was good.”* (Interview 24)

Some question whether the upgrade was a good idea, and whether any preliminarily research was done to see if it was viable. One of the tour operators is not sure if tourists would be interested in yet another lodge, as there are so many in Namibia already. Although it did not work out as planned, most people are positive that the buildings will finish. Expectations are quite high, and many think that when Treesleeper is finished, tourists will come in, and Treesleeper will be able to provide jobs and benefits: *“When the place is finished, the tourists will come, and we will earn money”* (Interview 5), *“When you come again, you shall see, there will be many people with a job.”* (Interview 23). Not everybody shares this view, some think Treesleeper will never do better, unless the TT and management are changed. To the question what is needed for Treesleeper to reform and improve again several answers were given, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6 Suggestions for the future of Treesleeper by the respondents

Suggestions	# of people	Suggestions	# of people
Get money, ask for funds/ donations	11	Add educational centre (museum or school)	2
Finish the buildings	6	Focus on the camp site, renovate it	1
Get a foreign person in/ ask Koot to come back	6	Involve community more, more meetings	1
Marketing / advertising	4	Get a private person in (PPP)	1
Add wildlife	3	Sell more crafts at Treesleeper	1
Change TT, change management	3	Get an independent auditor	1
Brake down some of the buildings / make project smaller	2	Employees must come back	1

Most respondents suggested that funds need to be acquired. The TT asked for a loan of N\$200,000 from chief //Khamuxab, and they are awaiting his answer. However, this money cannot be used for the new buildings, as these buildings are not handed over by the government. Some suggested that a person from Europe had to manage Treesleeper, for a few months or even years. Some even stated



that Koot needed to come back, as he started this project. It seemed that these people did not have much faith in themselves or other community members, as they thought Treesleeper is not able to survive without the help of an outsider. This can be related back to their history and culture, as they are seen as people who are unable to manage projects. San people in Africa have been framed for a long time in a particular way. A romanticized, popular image is that of the 'Bushman myth', in which we see the San as icons of nature, as pristine hunter-gatherers who live like our ancestors did (Gordon & Sholto-Douglas, 2000). San are often labelled in a negative way, as being unreliable, incapable and primitive (Suzman, 2001). One of the respondents claimed that Treesleeper will be a failure, if a person of Tsintsabis continues to manage it. Not everybody agrees: *"Basically, the fact that a local person can receive a grant, and can organise to receive a grant like that for an upgrade, is the prove of its success."* (Interview 3)

Due to the upgrade, MET became involved in the project, but there is not much hope in the government that they will help the project:

*"I think our government will not help anymore. I think they will help, but it will take long. I know the government process, I know it will take long. Government will help, but it will take 20 years, but by that time, it will become damaged and become bad and bad."* (Interview 25)

The experts suggest that whatever contractor will finish, he must have all documents in place, such as performance guarantees and penalties. Also on site-supervision will be needed. According to the MET officials, it is uncertain how the near future will look like for Treesleeper. An option is to look for interested parties to join the Treesleeper project, but the assessment needs to be finalized, before decisions can be made:

*"We might say, we do A, B, C, but that A, B, C, will never be there. So the way forward is just to look at the assessment report, give it to our high level, the Minister, the secretaries, and they will decide on the way forward."* (Interview 28)

Some community members want Treesleeper to add wildlife, as they think it will attract tourists, but it will be also good for the community, as they can learn more about their wildlife. Others would like to create an educational centre at Treesleeper, where the community, tourists and school children can learn about the San culture, or receive hospitality trainings. Regarding to marketing, some are concerned that tourists and Namibians don't know Treesleeper, and therefore will not come, also Treesleeper will need to get tour operators back, in order to receive more visitors. In whatever ways Treesleeper will proceed into the future, hope remains that it will finish one day:

*"It will be okay, this is just these days that we struggle. If we get past this struggle, then we shall grow, you will see, it will go."* (Interview 5)

## 8.2 Conclusion

Treesleeper faces difficult times, as it is more or less divided in a camp-site, owned by the community, and a lodge part, owned by the government. Unlike many CBT-projects, Treesleeper proved to be viable and financial independent before the upgrade. However since the interference of MET its future is uncertain. For the finalization of the upgrade Treesleeper is dependent of MET and MWT, and has no control in this. Several suggestions were made by the respondents about how Treesleeper should proceed, but until the finalization of the assessment of MWT no plans can be made to improve the situation of Treesleeper.

## 9. Discussion

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In this thesis I used a case study approach to examine and understand how the institutional processes in and around Treesleeper changed, thereby focusing on economic, social and political aspects. As the previous chapters made clear, the upgrade of Treesleeper did not have the intended positive effect, and this CBT-project has almost come to a standstill. I start this chapter with a discussion of my findings, thereby relating back to my research questions (9.1). Then I will relate my results and research questions to the design principles, and show how these principles can explain the situation at Treesleeper (§9.2).

### 9.1 Discussion of the findings

In this paragraph I will discuss the answers to my sub-questions, which were stated in 1.2 Research aim and questions. I will discuss the role of the stakeholders and their role in the decision-making process as well as their power relations (question 1 and 3). Consequently I argue that the idea of community participation as a form of CBT is not truly present at Treesleeper (question 4). Hereafter I discuss what influence the grant had on Treesleeper, and how (perceived) benefits and costs have changed over time (question 5). I finalise this paragraph with discussing the suggestions about the future of Treesleeper, which were given by the respondents (question 6).

#### 9.1.1 Stakeholders and their power positions

Over time Treesleeper saw several stakeholders coming and going. In this section I discuss my results of the first (*who are the stakeholders in Treesleeper and what are their roles and views on this CBT-project?*) and third (*what institutional arrangements are in place at Treesleeper regarding the decision-making process and power?*) research question. A visual overview of how the power and interest of current stakeholders changed before and after the upgrade, is shown in Figure 15.

One of the most important stakeholders is the TT, as they own Treesleeper, and by being the main decision-makers they have the most power over Treesleeper. Also the manager, who is also a member of the TT, holds a certain amount of power, as he is a convincing spokesman and better educated than the remaining trustees. The employees of Treesleeper do not hold much power, but are able to have a say in the running of Treesleeper. Despite some conflicts, the employees were in general quite positive about Treesleeper, even after the upgrade. The people involved in activities do not hold much power, and some were discontent about Treesleeper, especially regarding the payments. The former headmen of Tsintsabis, together with some of his followers, opposed more and more against Treesleeper over the years, because he feels left out, does not agree in how Treesleeper is run, and is suspicious about where the profits of Treesleeper went. These issues were never solved. Figure 15 shows that his interest in Treesleeper became higher after the upgrade, as the worsening situation of Treesleeper acted as an exit road to intensify allegations towards Treesleeper, its management and the TT. The present headmen is content with Treesleeper, and is not much involved in the project. The community members who do not work for Treesleeper, or are in the TT, do not have much power in the decision-making process, as they are no longer able to have a say in community meetings. Although the community members would like to know, many are not aware about the situation at Treesleeper. The role of tourists, tour operators and NGOs/donors changed over time, as they became less interested, and more negative. Tour operators dropped out, and less and less tourists visited Treesleeper after the upgrade plans. NGOs and donors stopped funding Treesleeper because Treesleeper became self-sufficient over the years.

MET is also an important stakeholder, as they heavily influenced Treesleeper since the upgrade. MET acted as a mediator between the team of experts for the construction phase, and Treesleeper. Before the upgrade MET was not much involved in Treesleeper, and did not have much power over the project. From the start of the upgrade, MET took control, as they decided on the construction

and kept full control over the funds. This is striking, as successful CBT-projects revolve around community ownership and control (Armstrong, 2012), like the situation was at Treesleeper before the upgrade. MWT appointed the contractor, according to the national policy to uplift SME's. Despite the opportunities of this type of policy, SME's also face many challenges due to this policy, and consequently the project they working on. Capital constraints, lack of equipment, inexperience and unqualified personnel are some of the challenges SME's have to deal with. The Namibian government is also criticized by the SME's; as payments sometimes take too long, and that the process of tenders causes time delays, whereby price quotations given earlier, don't hold anymore (Shifidi, 2010). According to the contractor this was also the case at Treesleeper, as quotations of 2008 were used, while construction only started in 2011. On the other hand, many believed that the contractor was not capable enough to construct the buildings at Treesleeper, and supervision lacked from both sides. Although the government acquired a high power position in Treesleeper, as the buildings are government owned, the government shows little interest in Treesleeper (Figure 15). Construction stopped in 2013, but to this day no plans are made on how to continue with Treesleeper. The TT is kept in the dark, as attempts to speak to the government officials failed.

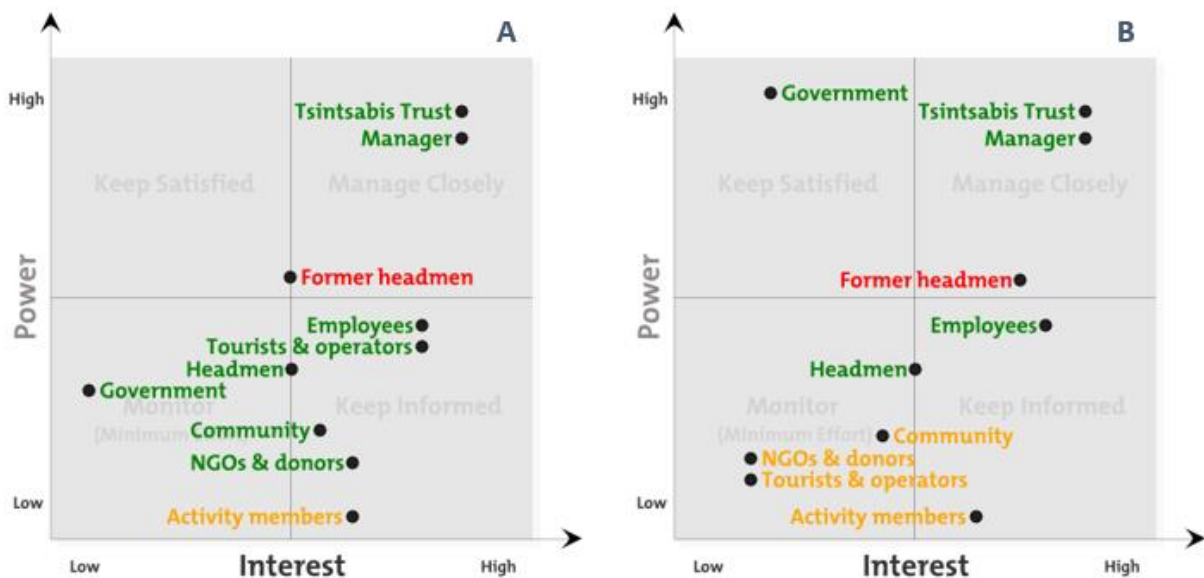


Figure 15 Stakeholder power / interest matrix. (A) depicts the situation before the proposed upgrade, (B) depicts the situation at the moment. Colours indicate: green - supportive; orange - neutral; red - resistant

### 9.1.2 Community representation and participation

For my second research question I examined how the community was represented and how they participated in Treesleeper. Within community-based tourism, one of the key elements is the participation level of the community. Participation is believed to lead to more efficient and equitable distribution of resources, benefits and costs, and together with self-development of people, and the sharing of knowledge participation has important benefits (Arnstein, 1969; Connell, 1997). The community owns Treesleeper via the TT, and is as such represented within Treesleeper. Tsintsabis is a highly diversified community, even when you break it down to only the San, such as the Hai//om and !Xun community. It must be considered that a community is not a homogenous block, and many inequalities and competing interests exist (Kenny, 2016). This does not make it easy to involve each and every one. In the starting days of Treesleeper the decision was made that the CBT-project was meant for the Hai//om and !Xun only, meaning that not everybody is able to work for Treesleeper, it depends on their descent. For most jobs knowledge of the English language is required, hereby excluding especially elders. At the moment the Hai//om are over-represented in Treesleeper. All people who are working, or have worked in or for Treesleeper, were community members. Only in its

starting years foreigners were deeply involved in Treesleeper, such as Koot, Bounin and VSO. Although many community members would like to know about Treesleeper, the interest in the project became less since the upgrade, as Treesleeper was not able to bring benefits back into the community (Figure 15). Table 7 shows different typologies of participation which are used in development projects, such as CBT-projects. In the starting days of Treesleeper, Troost (2007) concluded that the participation level of the community was passive participation. When Treesleeper started to get going, the participation typology could be defined as ‘participation by consultation’, as community meetings were held, were explanations were given about certain decisions, and people were able to ask questions and give suggestions. ‘Participation for material incentives’ is also applicable, as community members directly and indirectly worked for Treesleeper. At the moment community meetings are no longer held, lowering the overall participation level. Some still work for Treesleeper, or have a seat in the TT, meaning that the fourth typology (Table 7) is still visible, but overall it seems that the participation level is back to passive participation, as most community members are no longer involved, nor informed about Treesleeper on a regular basis.

Table 7 Typology of participation (reproduced from Bass et al. (1995))

Typology	Characteristics of each type
1. Manipulative participation	Participation is simply a pretence, with ‘people’s’ representatives on official boards but who are unelected and have no power.
2. Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without any listening to people’s responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
3. Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes, and so control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people’s views
4. Participation for material incentives	People participate by contributing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Farmers may provide the fields and labour, but are involved in neither experimentation nor the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
5. Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents. At worst, local people may still only be co-opted to serve external goals.
6. Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7. Self-mobilization	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.

Hüncke (2010) found that lower educated people in Tsintsabis knew less about Treesleeper. This is also one of the critiques about the participatory approach, as some authors claim that this approach is not realistic and time-consuming, and that many barriers exists, such as a lack of education, or

insufficient financial assistance which makes such an approach ineffective (Getz & Jamal, 1994; Taylor, 1995). Although especially people directly involved in Treesleeper stressed that Treesleeper is a community-project, in practice not many community members know this. No community meetings are held at the moment, while this is an essential step towards community participation (Okazaki, 2008). Despite the fact that community involvement has been an issue since the beginning of Treesleeper, the low community involvement in Treesleeper at the moment highly relates to the current state of Treesleeper.

### 9.1.3 Influence of the grant and changing benefits and costs

For my fourth and fifth research question (*what influence did the MET-grant have on Treesleeper? & in what way did the (perceived) monetary and non-monetary benefits and costs of Treesleeper change over time?*) I showed that the grant and the proposed upgrade had a major influence on Treesleeper. Tourists and tour operators stopped coming due to the unfinished buildings. As Treesleeper does not receive many guests anymore, it does not receive enough income to pay the remaining staffs, let alone hiring other community members. Only few activities are booked, meaning a decrease in involvement of those formerly involved in activities. All respondents were very clear, Treesleeper changed, as it does not bring benefits anymore in the form of employment or donations. Because Treesleeper is not able to bring benefits into the community, it stopped with community meetings. This led to more suspicion, and old community disputes intensified.

The involvement of MET regarding to the upgrade changed the dynamics of Treesleeper. It is clear that Treesleeper lost control over its own project. One of the proposed benefits of CBT-projects is that the community is in charge; a bottom-up approach. Concerning the upgrade, the project became a top-down, tightly controlled intervention of MET. This is not in line with the ideas of Namibia's policy to expand community involvement in tourism projects (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007). Zapata et al. (2011) examined CBT development models, and found several differences in top-down and bottom-up approaches. A top-down approach is often externally induced and funded, leading to lower economic benefits and employment and logically lower local ownership. They also found that top-down CBT-projects were less likely to survive. This is in contrast with a bottom-up approach, which is focussed on the local market and local entrepreneurship, leading to more employment, benefits and stronger ownership. Although Treesleeper is still community-owned concerning the camp-site, the intervention of MET in the upgrade led to a more top-down approach, which in turn led to lower benefits as the upgrade was never finalized.

The government of Namibia is a proponent of community-involvement in tourism projects, and development objectives of the Namibian tourism policy include economic growth, employment creation, poverty reduction, black economic empowerment, environmental and ecological sustainability and the reduction of regional development inequities (Jänis, 2009). There are however also Namibian governmental policies that hinder community involvement in tourism projects. First of all CBT is often ignored in these policies. Marketing-wise, more attention is given to projects which include the 'big five' and to big operators. The tourism standards are quite high, and it requires access to Windhoek, language skills and money to implement the minimum standards (Ashley, 1998). Before the upgrade this was not an issue for Treesleeper, as the government was limited involved. During and after the upgrade Treesleeper became dependent on several of these government policies, of which the biggest hindrance is the rather slow approach to finalize the upgrade.

### 9.1.4 The future

To my last research question, *'how could Treesleeper proceed in the future according to the stakeholders?'* many respondents answered that money should be brought in. This is an option for Treesleeper, however, the government remains to keep control. This means that donations for the upgrade would go to the government, and from there it is planned on how to use the money.

Thereby, involvement of NGOs, and funding of external donors do pose a risk for community-projects. A project can become dependent on financial support, when it cannot achieve self-sustainability (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007). Several respondents also said that a foreign person should manage Treesleeper. San come from a humble and egalitarian background, which often puts them in a subordinate position, thereby often accepting leadership and dominance by others (Koot, 2013). MET seems to steer Treesleeper towards a PPP, or joint venture. Joint ventures between communities and private investors are an emerging trend throughout southern Africa (Ashley & Jones, 2001) and heavily promoted by governments, NGOs, donors and consultants (Koot, 2016). It is however doubtful whether it will complement a community-based tourism project. The intended educational effect of an outsider in a community does not always take place, as in several cultures, as well as the San-culture, white people are still seen as superior, so either people are afraid, or do not want to work with such a person. Also the economic effects are doubtful, as within joint ventures the people who need to profit, often do not profit. The benefits simply do not reach them, as the focus is mostly on economic growth (Koot, 2016). This thesis showed that other aspects play an important role as well, such as power relations and local dynamics.

Mitchell & Muckosy (2008) argued that financial viability is one of the main causes for the failure of CBT-projects. Treesleeper showed before the upgrade that it was viable, but now that the tourists stay away we see that Treesleeper faces difficult times, and it is not able to pay its remaining staff on a regular basis. Figure 16 shows a CBT life cycle model, based on three stages: exploration, involvement and development. We can place Treesleeper in two positions in this model, where Treesleeper was sustainable and experienced rapid growth until 2009 (green dot). After 2009 visitor numbers dropped, possibly due to the worldwide financial crises which also affected the Namibian tourism industry. We can only speculate how Treesleeper would have recovered when the upgrade would not had taken place. After the proposed upgrade the number of tourists dropped, leading to low growth (orange dot) of the Treesleeper project.

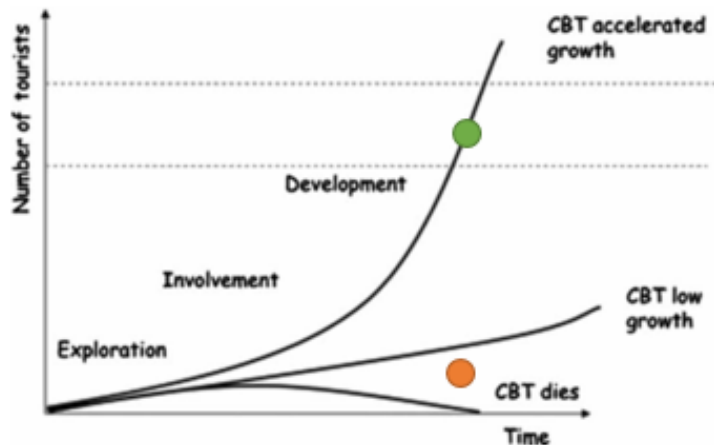


Figure 16 CBT life cycle, showing three outcomes concerning the number of tourists over time in three stages: exploration, involvement and development. Reproduced from Zapata et al. (2011)

As Treesleeper was doing relatively well before the intervention of MET, it seems that a plausible solution would be to hand the buildings over to Treesleeper. Treesleeper showed being capable of acquiring donations and grants in the past, so if they succeed to acquire some more, Treesleeper might be able to finish at least the unfinished structures with the help of local community members. This might lead to increased visitor numbers, as their biggest complaint is the fact that Treesleeper looks like it is not operational. As long as the assessment by MWT is not finalized it is unsure how Treesleeper should proceed, and there are no certainties whether Treesleeper is able to recover in the next few years.

## 9.2 Design principles

In this paragraph I will discuss how the design principles help in explaining the current situation of Treesleeper.

### **Design principle 1: Clearly defined boundaries and 8: Nested enterprises**

The boundaries within Treesleeper are quite clear, which is important to prevent free-riding (Ostrom, 1999). The Deed of Trust state several of these user boundaries, such as the fact that this is an San project, which is meant for the Hai//om and !Xun of Tsintsabis. Most respondents know this, however, some steps could be made concerning to convey these boundaries to the !Xun and /Gomkhaos community. The boundaries are well-understood by the trustees and employees. Principle 8 states that governance activities need to be organized in multiple layers of nested enterprises (Ostrom, 1990). For Treesleeper, being a small-scale CBT-project, nesting is less of an issue as it is more important for large scale and complex systems to be organized in multiple layers of organisations (Ostrom, 1993). Treesleeper was nested within several NGOs, such as the FSTN (in which Koot was involved), LAC and VSO. As Treesleeper became more successful over the years, these NGOs dropped out. Nesting can also be upwards, towards government levels. In the starting years Treesleeper was nested within the MLR, but when they pulled out of the TT, they were no longer directly involved. Since the upgrade MET came in, and this involvement has implications, as Treesleeper had well-established institutions. Nesting a set of local, established institutions (Treesleeper) into a broader network of institutions (MET) takes time. This nesting never succeeded, since after a few years MET basically pulled out, and left MWT with an assessment. Thereby it is questionable whether you can call this nesting, as it seem that the relationship between Treesleeper and MET is skewed, and there are no mechanisms for cross-scale cooperation (Cox et al., 2010).

### **Design principle 2: Congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions**

This principle is divided into two conditions. The first condition states that rules should conform to local conditions (congruence with local conditions). Most rules are written down in the Deed of Trust, which was established by Koot and Bounin, in conjunction with some community members and LAC. Community members had difficulties with these rules and the Deed of Trust in general, as it was difficult to understand for the trustees (Troost, 2007). It could be argued whether there was congruence between the rules of the Deed of Trust and the local conditions. To conquer this, the Deed of Trust was explained several times, and some amendments/revisions took place after Koot left (Document 1, 14, 15). The TT is in charge of enforcing these rules on a broader level, the manager of Treesleeper decides on a daily basis. People directly involved in Treesleeper comply with the rules, other community members do not have much to do with these rules. Not everybody in the community would agree that the rules are fair, as for example the people in /Gomkhaos (although being part of Tsintsabis) feel left out in receiving benefits. This project is meant for both the !Xun and Hai//om people of Tsintsabis, however the !Xun are underrepresented in both the TT and in employment. The second condition, whether the benefits exceed the costs of investments (appropriation and provision), was visible. In the early years of Treesleeper the benefits that Treesleeper brought were much clearer than the costs it brought. Most community members did not experience any costs by Treesleeper. At the moment Treesleeper is not able to bring much benefits into the community, as not many tourists visit Treesleeper and Tsintsabis. A perceived cost is that the worsening situation of Treesleeper led to a greater division within the community, which had mainly to do with personal issues between the manager of Treesleeper and the former headmen. The upgrade, and the contemporaneous worsening situation of Treesleeper intensified this division, as allegations were spread all over the village. Expectations regarding to the benefits that Treesleeper should bring are high. Most community members do not understand why Treesleeper is unable to bring benefits, in the form of jobs or donations.

### **Design principle 3: Collective choice arrangements**

According to this principle, individuals who are affected by Treesleeper, should have the possibility of modifying rules and participation in the organisation. This principle is based on the fact that local users have first-hand knowledge about their situation, which allows them to create more effective rules and decisions (Cox et al., 2010). Within Treesleeper the structure of decision-making is clear; daily decisions are made by the manager, bigger decisions are made by the TT. Employees have a say in decisions via meetings. Before the upgrade community members also had a say via community-meetings. Although community participation is a key element of CBT, the tourism industry in general often resists such community-participation in the decision-making process, as it is perceived to be more costly (Blackstock, 2005). Treesleeper did not organise many community-meetings since the upgrade, which undermines the possibility of these community members to have a say in Treesleeper. It also limits the information flow to the community. Most people do not know what is going on at Treesleeper and this resulted in rumours being spread and created suspicion about Treesleeper's organisational structure. It is questionable how representative the TT is for the community, as the trustees are not chosen by the community, but via the other trustees. From a traditional point of view man had the authority over woman in the San culture. Over the years this shifted and man and woman became more equal (Ubink, 2011). In the TT two woman are present, of which one has the important task of being the treasurer. Most trustees are above 40 years of age, and currently no persons under 30 are involved, so allowing youth into the TT would make the TT more representative. On the other hand, local traditions should be taken into account as well, as within the San culture the elders are the main decision-makers (Ubink, 2011). Some elders have problems with the manager of Treesleeper, as he is too young and inexperienced in their eyes. A proposition was made by some community members to enlarge the TT, by having seven !Xun and seven Hai//om members. This would enhance the participatory decision-making process, as more community members become involved, as well as making it more representative. On the other hand, by having 14 people in the TT, it requires more logistics and firm agreements concerning meetings. Over the years it has proven to be difficult to gather all trustees for meetings, even with incentives as a sitting allowance.

### **Design principle 4: Monitoring, 5: Graduated sanctions, 6: Conflict-resolution mechanisms and 9: Institutional enforcement**

These enforcing principles are not well visible at Treesleeper, but this has to do with the nature of the resource. Tourism is an activity, based on several types of resources. In Treesleeper the resources can be seen as cultural and natural resources, and these are not so well-defined as for example a community forest. The TT has the main role in monitoring Treesleeper, giving out sanctions, solving conflicts, and enforcing rules. The TT does not have an overarching body who oversees the decisions made by the TT. One of the conditions of monitoring is that the monitors should be accountable (Ostrom, 1990). As the trustees are members of the community, this condition is met. By meetings, and by being informed by the manager, the trustees monitor Treesleeper. The most important principle here are conflict-resolution mechanisms. Tourism projects within a community can stimulate conflicts (Ashley, 1998), and to overcome these conflicts, low-cost mechanisms for discussing and resolving conflicts should be present (Cox et al., 2010). This principle is present within Treesleeper itself. Internal conflicts are solved by the TT. To resolve conflicts a conversation is sufficient most of the times, but sometimes more severe measures were taken, such as suspension, withholding of salary, or resignation of that person. There is no sanctioning or enforcement system in place, however it is questionable whether this is necessary, as it does not often happen, and it involves very specific cases, which needs to be assessed in its own specific way. Solving external problems and conflicts are more problematic. Several disputes in the community relate to the manager of Treesleeper and the TT, such as allegations about where the profits of Treesleeper went to. These could be seen as personal problems, but they do have an impact on Treesleeper as well and it is important to take them into account. Meetings were proposed, but it seems that the disputes between Treesleeper and part of community are too severe to be solved. At the moment it is not



tried to solve these disputes, it is rather tried to avoid each other. Another problem which is not solved yet are the conflicts concerning the upgrade. The TT is not capable of solving this problem. In the beginning several meetings were held, but when MET stopped the construction, it became difficult for the TT to speak to MET or one of the experts. MET insists that the assessment of MWT should finish first, before the problems regarding the upgrade can be solved.

#### **Design principle 7: Minimal recognition of rights to organize**

One of the main aims in CBT-projects is that members of local communities have ownership, or at least have a high degree of control over the tourism project (Saarinen, 2010). This is something which has changed in Treesleeper due to the upgrade. Although the project is still owned by the TT, the new buildings are government property. Treesleeper had the right to organize the grant for the upgrade, but once this grant was given, Treesleeper did not have the right to operate. Already in the first phase this external control by MET was clearly visible, as Treesleeper was hardly involved in the planning and drawing of the new buildings. MET itself became the client of the project, Treesleeper was the user client. Another strong indication is that the money was not given to Treesleeper, but it was controlled by MET. MWT appointed a team of experts and a contractor, hereby not involving Treesleeper. By all these steps Treesleeper got less and less control over the upgrade. To this point Treesleeper is not allowed to finish the buildings themselves. Because of the buildings standing only half-finished, tourists and tour operators complained and stopped coming. This meant less income, which resulted in no more benefits to the community, and a reputation loss for Treesleeper. The little income that does come in from the camp-site and/or activities, is still handled by the TT. Although the government sees Treesleeper as a community-based project, owned by the TT, the rights of Treesleeper to device their own institutions regarding to the upgrade are challenged by the government. Treesleeper has the authority to make independent decisions, but for the upgrade part, this autonomy does not exist, and Treesleeper is highly dependent on the government. External recognition can also relate back to financial, technical and organisational support (Barnes & van Laerhoven, 2014). In the starting days Treesleeper was highly dependent on donors and NGO's. Such external support can be risky, as it can undermine the capabilities of organisations to sustain itself (Ostrom, 1999). This was however recognized by Treesleeper, and in the following years after Koot left, Treesleeper aimed towards financial independency with the help of VSO. After VSO left, they continued to become fully self-sufficient. By the application for the grant for the upgrade however, without knowing on forehand, MET had several conditions for the upgrade, such as control over the upgrade-finances and appointing their own experts. Reciting, the rights to organize, especially for the upgrade part, is infringed by MET.

#### **Design principle 10: Durability and longevity of the institution**

Agrawal (2001) derived 35 important conditions for long lasting community-institutions, such as group and resource size, social capital, government recognition etc. To assess whether Treesleeper is durable at the moment is outside the scope of this thesis, however, it is evident that Treesleeper is not in a good state anymore. In its starting years Treesleeper was dependent on donations, and the help of NGOs like LAC and VSO. Between 2009 and 2012/3 Treesleeper became completely self-sufficient, it received enough visitors to make a profit and thus it did not require donations or help of other NGOs anymore. However, since the upgrade it is questionable whether Treesleeper is able to survive for longer periods of time on their own. There is not enough money to support the remaining staff members, let alone bring any other benefits such as trainings or donations into the community. Needed renovations, such as the fixing of the solar panels to acquire electricity are postponed, as there are no funds available. Most community members have hope that Treesleeper will recover, but the future does not lie in their hands, but in the outcome of the assessment.

In Table 8 I indicated which of the design principles clearly apply, which apply in a weak form, and which do not apply for both before, and after the upgrade plans. Design principles which are present in Treesleeper are clear boundaries, as well as the enforcing set of principles (3, 4, 5, 9). Weaknesses

are shown by particular principle 7. Since the upgrade Treesleeper lost part of its right to organise and operate to the government. Due to this the benefits started to dry up, and the congruence between costs and benefits is no longer existing, as hardly any benefits flow back into the community. The majority of the community is not involved, nor informed anymore by Treesleeper. Because of this it is questionable whether Treesleeper is still durable and is able to survive. As Table 8 shows, three principles are not met, and another three are weakly present, meaning that the institutional performance of Treesleeper is fragile. It is difficult to predict if Treesleeper is institutional-wise enduring enough to survive longer periods of time, unless they are able to develop to meet at least most of the design principles. Of these principles, I argue that the minimal recognition of rights to organize is a key principle in the Treesleeper case.

Table 8 Design principles in Treesleeper

Design Principle	Before upgrade	After upgrade
1. Clearly defined boundaries	Yes	Yes
2. Congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
3. Collective choice arrangements	<u>Weak</u>	<u>No</u>
4. Monitoring	Yes	Yes
5. Graduated sanctions	Yes	Yes
6. Conflict resolution mechanisms	Yes	Weak
7. Minimal recognition of rights to organize	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
8. Nested enterprises	Yes	Weak
9. Institutional enforcement	Yes	Yes
10. Durability and longevity	Yes	Weak

Design principles have not been used extensively in literature to examine institutions in and around CBT-projects. The products and experiences of tourism have the same characteristics of CPRs, such as problems with overuse, non-excludability and rivalry (Briassoulis, 2002). Some of these design principles relate to characteristics of successful CBT, such as community participation (principle 3), ownership and control (principle 7) and effective monitoring and evaluation (principle 4) (Armstrong, 2012). Although some design principles are less visible or clear, I showed that the design principles can explain the situation of Treesleeper to a certain extent, in particular by design principle 7: Minimal recognition of rights to organize. Nonetheless, CBT-projects are complex CPRs, as they are subject to multiple users and uses, but the CBT-commons are also composed of tangible and intangible elements, which can make it difficult to analyse whether a design principle is met or not. Ostrom, who created the design principles in the first place, argues that no matter how well designed an organisation is, it is always vulnerable to internal and external threats. However, when an organisation is robust, and meets the design principles, it is capable of surviving multiple threats over long periods of time (Ostrom, 2005). Although the design principles are empirically well-supported in literature (Cox et al., 2010), there are critiques as well. Some argue that the design principles are incomplete, and only partly explain the success of an institution (Cox et al., 2010). Some social mechanics, such as trust, legitimacy and transparency are examples that can keep an institution alive over time (Harkes, 2006). Not all members of the community have trust in the management and the TT, but also transparency lacks in recent years, as no community meetings are held, thereby weakening the third design principle. These factors are important in order to create a strong management structure that can deal with disruptions (Harkes, 2006). Others claim that achieving good governance is difficult, and therefore complying with all design principles to achieve robust institutions is virtually impossible (Grindle, 2004). It is important not to stare blindly at the design principles and whether they are implemented or not, as they are handles which allow for analysis. More specific research should be done in order to conclude whether design principles can explain the success and failures of CBT-projects.

## 10. Conclusion

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This study gave a better insight in what happened to Treesleeper over the years, and as such it showed some important lessons on how to manage CBT-projects. My main question was: *'How did economic, social and political aspects shape the institutional processes in and around Treesleeper?'* In this thesis I have shown that Treesleeper changed radically after the proposed upgrade, which is quite paradoxical. This upgrade was supposed to uplift Treesleeper and the community of Tsintsabis, but instead it created several problems, and until today Treesleeper has not been able to recover from it.

Regarding to the economic aspects, over the years Treesleeper became an example of a CBT-project that worked. After the completion of the camp-site in 2007, Treesleeper was able to hire five permanent employees, and a year later nine full-time staff members were employed. Also visitor numbers grew, from 390 in 2006, to 966 in 2009. Treesleeper was able to provide full-time and part-time jobs to community members, as well as trainings. Also craft sellers, dancers and singers were able to generate an income from the tourists who visited Treesleeper. Profits were brought back into the community, in the form of a yearly Elders day, where the elderly of Tsintsabis were provided with a dinner, a donation of materials worth of N\$10,000 to the kindergarten of Tsintsabis, and contributions to funerals were made to those who were unable to afford the costs for their deceased relatives. In 2009 Treesleeper was awarded N\$1,2 million by MET to upgrade Treesleeper to a lodge. Although visitors numbers dropped slightly in 2010, a possible result of the world-wide crises which affected the Namibian tourism market, it was expected that visitor numbers would rise again, especially after the completion of the lodge. Construction started in 2011, but as of today none of the buildings are finished. Financial struggles became more apparent in 2013. In anticipation of the lodge hospitality trainings were provided to 20 people, of which Treesleeper covered the costs. Tourists started to complain, tour operators dropped out, as the Treesleeper looked like a construction site which was unsafe and noisy. Visitor numbers dropped consecutively each year, to about 150 in 2015. Staff numbers and salaries were reduced. Of the nine employees, only two remained since 2015, and Treesleeper struggles to pay their salaries, as not enough income is acquired. As not many tourists come, less activities are booked, which means less income for the people involved in the village tours, and in the traditional performances.

Due to the worsening situation of Treesleeper over the years, social aspects changed in the village. The community is represented in Treesleeper via the TT, but this is not clear to the community itself. New trustees are chosen by the remaining trustees, but the community is not consulted, nor informed anymore as no community meetings take place anymore. As no community meetings are held anymore, more suspicion towards Treesleeper and the TT is fostered. Community disputes, which were already present before the upgrade, intensified due to the upgrade. Several allegations were spread in the village concerning the income of Treesleeper and possible mismanagement, and this led to a division in the community, of a small group which is against the current TT and management of Treesleeper, and the rest of the community. As Treesleeper was not able to bring benefits into the community anymore, views towards Treesleeper started to change in the community. While Treesleeper was first seen as a good project, which provided benefits, most people did not see how Treesleeper benefitted the community at the moment and did not understand what the situation was at Treesleeper.

Political aspects within Treesleeper also changed over the years. The TT, who owns Treesleeper, are the main decision-makers, and as such hold most of the power. The manager of Treesleeper is part of the TT, and by being better educated than the remaining trustees, he holds quite an amount of power in how Treesleeper is run. His position in the community became more influential over time, which created more hostility of the former headmen, who started to oppose more against Treesleeper as he lost his influence. An important political aspect which shaped institutions in

Treesleeper is the intervention of MET, who provided the grant to upgrade Treesleeper. MET controlled this upgrade process tightly, by choosing the team of experts for the construction and controlling the finances. Several problems such as money issues, miscommunication and incapability's of some of the construction experts lead to a delay in construction, which eventually led to the decision by MET to stop the building process. Until this day none of the buildings are finished, and after an assessment, done by MWT, it will be decided which steps should be taken regarding to the future of Treesleeper.

In this study I used the design principles of Ostrom (1990), Agrawal & Chhatre (2006), Cox et al., (2014), Ingram (2014) and Scott (2014) to examine whether they can explain the current situation of Treesleeper. The institutional performance of Treesleeper was robust in the beginning, as most design principles were in place (some to a certain degree), but after the upgrade some principles were challenged, and a fragile institutional performance remained. The recognition of rights to operate is one of the most important principles for this CBT-project, and this principle is heavily challenged by MET. The buildings are government-owned, and as such Treesleeper has no right to finish the construction. Because of the upgrade and the intervention of MET, Treesleeper lost part of its control over the project. CBT-projects are usually characterized by a bottom-up approach, but the upgrade became a tightly controlled intervention by MET. Collective choice arrangements and congruence with local conditions and appropriation and provision also play an important role, and are not truly present at Treesleeper. As the community is not truly involved nor informed anymore, and as Treesleeper is unable to bring benefits, it creates a lack of information and support for the project. The idea behind CBT became lost in Treesleeper, in where community control and participation are of importance. Although the future is uncertain at the moment, hope remains within the community that Treesleeper will recover someday, and that Treesleeper is able to show the world that CBT-projects can work, as it has done before the government tightened its control over it so severely.

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## Appendix I List of respondents

#	Name	Date	Interview language	Place	Gender	Ethnicity	Relation to Treesleeper
1	Dorenda Troost	21-02-2016	Dutch	Zeist	F	Dutch	BA Thesis, 2007
2	Anna Hüncke	22-02-2016	English	Zeist	F	German	MA thesis, 2010
3	Stasja Koot	25-02-2016	English	Wageningen	M	Dutch	Initiator Treesleeper
4	Toos Verbruggen	09-03-2016	Dutch	Zeist	F	Dutch	Connected to Namibia
5	Simon Saroseb	29-03-2016	Afrikaans	Treesleeper	M	Hai//om	Employee - handyman (2000-present)
6	Michael Ivanga	29-03-2016	English	Treesleeper	M	Hai//om	Former employee - tour guide (2009-2012), volunteer since February 2016
7	Linus Useb	29-03-2016	English	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om	Villager
8	Bertha Tsam	29-03-2016	English	Tsintsabis	F	Hai//om	Former trustee (2000-2015)
9	Elvis //Gamanseb	30-03-2016	English	Tsintsabis	M	!Xun	Former employee - tour guide (2004-2015)
10	Daniel Awaseb	31-03-2016	!Xun	Tsintsabis	M	!Xun	Head of performance family
11	Paul Girardin	31-03-2016	English	Treesleeper	M	South African	Tour operator - director Kuvona
12	Elfrieda Naoxas	02-04-2016	English	Tsintsabis	F	Hai//om	Former employee - tour guide (2004-2005)
13	Simon Kariseb	04-04-2016	Hai//om	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om	Former builder (1 month)
14	Lucia Soroses	04-04-2016	Hai//om	Tsintsabis	F	Hai//om	Trustee (2009-present)
15	Bettie Kaus-oâs	04-04-2016	English	Tsintsabis	F	Hai//om	Former employee - administration (2009)

#	Name	Date	Interview language	Place	Gender	Ethnicity	Relation to Treesleeper
16	Marthin Kandal Geiseb	05-04-2016	Hai//om	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om	Trustee (2015-present), member of traditional authority
17	Dorka Gaeses	05-05-2016	Hai//om	Tsintsabis	F	Hai//om	Former employee, chef in 2012 (3 months)
18	Moses //Khumûb	06-04-2016	English	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om	Manager of Treesleeper (2005-present) Trustee since 2006
19	Johannes Oktober	12-04-2016	English	Tsumeb	M	Coloured	Contractor - Ghoena Renovations
20	Alex Geigowab	14-04-2016	Hai//om	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om	Former employee - handyman, night guard (2008-2015)
21	Erick Keimseb	14-04-2016	English	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om	School principal (2015-present)
22	Geelbooi Thaneb	15-04-2016	Afrikaans	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om - !Xun	Former headmen (1994-2013)
23	Petrus Uwu-Khaeb	16-04-2016	Hai//om	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om	Chairman TT (2004-present, chairman since 2013)
24	Alfons Aseb	17-04-2016	English	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om - Damara	Former subcontractor (2012 - 2014)
25	Paul Geigowab	18-04-2016	English	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om	Headmen (2013 – present). Former employee and manager Treesleeper (2008-2011)
26	Alba Aukhumes	19-04-2016	Hai//om	Tsintsabis	F	Hai//om	Trustee (2009-present)
27	Absalom Kampala	19-04-2016	Hai//om	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om - Ovambo	Former builder (4 months)
28	Elise Hashikutuva	21-04-2016	English	Windhoek	F	Unkown	MET - Deputy Director of Tourism Development
28	Fillion !Gaalgasaeb	21-04-2016	English	Windhoek	M	Unkown	MET - Senior Tourism Officer
28	Renolda Jossob	21-04-2016	English	Windhoek	F	Unkown	MET - Chief Tourism Officer of CBT
29	Eli Moses	25-04-2016	English	Windhoek	M	Unkown	Quantity surveyor, Jordaan and Associates
30	Otto Gunnar	26-04-2016	English	Windhoek	M	German Namibian	Architect and project manager, Axel Dainat Architects

#	Name	Date	Interview language	Place	Gender	Ethnicity	Relation to Treesleeper
31	Nicholas Honore	26-04-2016	English	Windhoek	M	French	Tour operator - managing director African Eagles
32	Willem Kabiseb	06-05-2016	Afrikaans	Tsintsabis	M	!Xun	Villager, involved in setting op TS
33	Erica Soroses	06-05-2016	Hai//om	Tsintsabis	F	Hai//om	Villager
34	Francina Gausen	06-05-2016	Hai//om	Tsintsabis	F	Hai//om	Villager
35	Hilde Aukhumes	07-05-2016	English	Tsumeb	F	Hai//om	Former employee - guide, supervisor (2009-2015)
36	Frieda Kaus-oâs	10-05-2016	Hai//om	Tsintsabis	F	Hai//om	Former employee - cleaner
37	Andries Kariseb	10-05-2016	Afrikaans	Tsintsabis	M	Hai//om	Former builder (2011-2013 for 2 months)
38	Junior Oktober	14-05-2016	English	Tsumeb	M	Coloured	Contractor - Ghoena Renovations
39	Sondag Johannes	18-05-2016	!Xun	/Gomkhaos	M	!Xun - Kavango	Villager
40	Maria /Enibes	18-05-2016	!Xun	/Gomkhaos	F	!Xun	Former traditional dancer
41	Deator Gabiseb	18-05-2016	Hai//om	/Gomkhaos	M	Hai//om - !Xun	Former visited house of village tour in /Gomkhaos
42	Reinhard Friederich	23-05-2016	English	Tsintsabis	M	German Namibian	San-expert, owner Muramba Bushman Trails
42	Monika Friederich	23-05-2016	English	Tsintsabis	F	German Namibian	Wife Reinhard Friederich, owner Muramba Bushman Trails

## Appendix II Interview guide

My name is Mariska Bijsterbosch, I study Forest and Nature Conservation at the Wageningen University in the Netherlands. I am here to study some of the economic, social and political aspects that are important at a tourism project, like Treesleeper. I am especially interested in what happened at Treesleeper after the grant in 2010. I would like to know you what you thought of Treesleeper before this grant, and how you see Treesleeper at the moment. The information you will provide me with will help me to better understand what is necessary for having a successful and sustainable community-based tourism project.

The interview will take between 30 minutes to an hour, depending on the information you give me. The information you give me will only be used in a thesis report, which will not be published. With your permission, I will use a voice recorder on my phone to record the interview. This way I can transcribe the interviews at a later time. If you want to remain anonymous I will not mention your name in the report. If you have any questions, remarks or recommendations during the interview, please feel free to ask. Do you have any questions before we start?

Interview number			
Date			
Starting time			
Interview time (total)			
Interview language			
Translator			
Name			
Place			
Setting			
Gender	Male		Female
Age class	<20	20 – 40	40 – 60 >60
Ethnicity			
Relation to Treesleeper			
Time in Tsintsabis / Treesleeper			

### Stakeholder - General

- What do you think of Treesleeper?
- What is the effect of Treesleeper on your life?
- What is the effect of Treesleeper on the community?
- If you compare Treesleeper with its early years and now, what has changed?
- Have there been major changes in the village over the years? If so, what?
- What is the aim of Treesleeper?
- What role does the Tsintsabis Trust have?

### Stakeholders (principle 7: right to create own institutions, without external or government agencies challenge these. Principle 8: relates to larger systems)

- When Stasja Koot left in 2007, was Treesleeper able to survive on its own?
- In what way is Treesleeper supported by the government? How does the government influences Treesleeper?
- Which NGOs are involved in Treesleeper? In what way do NGOs influence Treesleeper?
- Are there other parties involved in Treesleeper? If yes, who?

Economic aspects (principle 2: rules match local needs and conditions in terms of benefits and costs.

Agreement between experienced costs and received benefits)

- What benefits does Treesleeper bring?  
(*monetary (jobs, sales) – non-monetary (intellectual benefits, pride)*)
- What benefits do/did you expected to get from Treesleeper?
- Are benefits evenly distributed around the community?
- Did the benefits of Treesleeper changed over time?
  
- Does Treesleeper bring any costs to the village or community?  
(*criminality, disruptions of daily lives, conflicts, distrust*)
- Did the costs changed over time?

Social aspects – Roles, representation, participation (principle 3: people who are affected by rules, have a say and ability to modify these rules)

- What is/was your role in Treesleeper?
  
- In what way do you participate in Treesleeper?
- How does the community participates in Treesleeper?
- Did this change over time?
  
- How is the community represented in Treesleeper?
- How are the people within Treesleeper chosen?
  
- In what way does Treesleeper involve you and the community? Is it enough?
- Did this change over time?

Political aspects - decision-making process, power, conflicts (principle 6: how conflicts are resolved)

- Are you in some way involved by making decisions regarding to Treesleeper?
- How are decisions regarding to Treesleeper made? Who is involved? Should more people have been involved? Should the decision-making process be differently organized?  
(*open meetings, lack of experience in meetings, lack of education*)
- Did the decision-making process change over time?
  
- How is the power within Treesleeper organized? Who has power?
- Are there external powers who influence Treesleeper? How? (*relates to principle 7/8*)
- How did the power relations change over time?
  
- Did you ever encountered conflicts regarding to Treesleeper?  
(*theft, distrust, envy/rivalry between families, disputes mngt-employees, mngt-school*)
- How were these conflicts solved?

Grant

- In 2009 Treesleeper received a grant of N\$1.2 million to upgrade the camp site as a lodge. Can you explain why this grant was given? Why Treesleeper? Why such an amount?
- What do you think of this grant? Was it a good idea? Was Treesleeper able to handle it?
- In what way did the grant changed Treesleeper?

Future (principle 10: Durable and able to survive without extra funding)

- How do you think Treesleeper should proceed in the future? What is necessary for Treesleeper to survive?
- What do you hope for the future regarding to Treesleeper?

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*This was the interview, thank you very much. Any other information? Any questions?*

## Appendix III List of used documents

#	Author	Title	Date	Type
1	Tsintsabis Trust	Tsintsabis Trust meeting #31. Minutes, dated 29-May-2008	2008	Minute
2	Tsintsabis Trust	Tsintsabis Trust meeting #32. Minutes, dated 28-Aug-2009	2009	Minute
3	Tsintsabis Trust	Tsintsabis Trust meeting #16. Minutes, dated 11-Aug-2005	2005	Minute
4	Tsintsabis Trust	Tsintsabis Trust meeting #27. Minutes, dated 24-May-2007	2007	Minute
5	M. Khumûb	Treesleeper Camp Management Presentation	n.d.	Presentation text
6	Dr. Kalumbi Shangula (MET)	Application for the development of a tourism enterprise	2009	Letter
7	Tsintsabis Trust	Tsintsabis Trust meeting. Minutes, dated 19-Apr-2010	2010	Minute
8	Axel Deinat Architects	Treesleeper Lodge Tsintsabis. Minutes meeting no. 6, dated 28-Jul-2011	2011	Minute
9	Axel Deinat Architects	Treesleeper Lodge Tsintsabis. Minutes meeting no. 7, dated 28-Jun-2012	2012	Minute
10	Axel Deinat Architects	Treesleeper Lodge Tsintsabis. Minutes meeting no. 14, dated 31-May-2013	2013	Minute
11	Tsintsabis Trust	The Resolution. Letter, dated 21-Oct-2013	2013	Letter
12	Uwu-Khaeb	!Khung San and Tsintsabis Trust.	2014	Letter
13	M. Khumûb	Reaction to IPACC report	n.d.	Letter
14	Tsintsabis Trust	Tsintsabis Trust meeting #34. Minutes, dated 29-May-2008	2009	Minute
15	Tsintsabis Trust	Tsintsabis Trust meeting. Minutes, dated 24-Jun-2013	2013	Minute