



EXPLORING META-TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT

RETHINKING AUTHENTICITY IN CULTURAL
TOURISM: A CASE STUDY IN NYAE NYAE
CONSERVANCY, NAMIBIA

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Evangelia Katsimpri, 15 November 2020

“THE TWO IMPORTANT THINGS THAT I DID LEARN WERE THAT YOU
ARE AS POWERFUL AND STRONG AS YOU ALLOW YOURSELF TO BE,
AND THAT THE MOST DIFFICULT PART OF ANY ENDEAVOUR IS TAKING
THE FIRST STEP, MAKING THE FIRST DECISION.”

ROBYN DAVIDSON IN TRACKS (1980)

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ABSTRACT

Cultural tourism is defined as the form of tourism, which provides new knowledge, experiences and encounters. An ethnic group, that is extensively involved in cultural tourism are the Ju/'hoansi of Nyae Nyae. Due to their geographical isolation and tradition lifestyle, they are considered as the original hunter-gatherers. However, as the Ju/'hoansi engage more and more into tourism development projects, tour operators are not able to conceal the impact of tourism on the local culture. A new narrative is generated which is defined as meta-tourism. The Ju/'hoansi thus are not portrayed merely as the primitive 'Others', but also as modernising subjects. Tourism development is regarded as a positive force in the local community that paradoxically provides income generation that enables the Ju/'hoansi to become members of the modern society and at the same time, contributes to their cultural preservation. As a result, tourists centre their attention to the benevolent character of their visit and their contribution to the potential inclusion of the Ju/'hoansi in the global socioeconomic system. This creates authenticity in an existential level as the tourists perceive themselves as the authentic one the 'Other' wants to imitate. Meta-tourism thus, could be used as a way to increase a donor-driven development culture or/and as an empowerment device for the local Ju/'hoan community.

Keywords: meta-tourism, cultural tourism, Ju/'hoansi, existential authenticity, tourism development, Nyae Nyae Conservancy

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CBNRM</i>	Community Based Natural Resource Management program
<i>LCFN</i>	Living Culture Foundation Namibia
<i>MET</i>	Ministry of Environment and Tourism (Namibia)
<i>NACSO</i>	Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisations
<i>NGO</i>	Non-governmental organisation
<i>NNC</i>	Nyae Nyae Conservancy
<i>NNDFN</i>	Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia
<i>TUCSIN</i>	University Centre for Studies of Namibia
<i>UNWTO</i>	United Nations World Tourism Organisation

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND

Based on the definition by the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), “tourism involves activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside of their usual environment.” (UNWTO, 2001). More specifically, tourism results from the binary division of the ordinary and the extraordinary (Urry & Larsen, 2011). On their quest to get out of their routine, to find the extraordinary, travellers seek experiences off the beaten track.

The African continent offers a wide range of such extraordinary activities for the adventurous traveller. Africa, for many, is considered a dangerous place, a ‘wilderness’ with wild animals and strange people (van Beek & Schmidt, 2012). The curiosity for these *strange people* is leading tourists to travel from faraway places to meet these untouched by western civilisation cultures before they are gone (Salazar, 2004). The tourism that involves such interactions with hosts and guests has various definitions in the tourism literature. One of them is cultural tourism; the UNWTO (2016) defines cultural tourism as “the form of tourism, which provides new knowledge, experiences and encounters”.

Cultural tourism can be utilised to grow understanding for a culture and as a positive force for local communities (Craik, 2000). However, the reality is far more complicated than that; when hosts are behaving in a way to cater to the guests’ needs, cultural tourism development can lead to a different outcome with several implications. Smith (1989) describes that the repetitiveness of the interaction leads the hosts to look at the tourists as dehumanised objects, as stereotyped national character images that are tolerated for the financial benefit. On the other hand, the tourists look at their hosts with curiosity and as objects as well.

It is essential to understand that tourists are not blank slates, but rather they experience places based on predetermined images and narratives. They reproduce and reinforce the dominant images and narratives of an ideological system when ‘consuming’ a place (Dunn, 2004). In other words, the way tourists ‘gaze’ on a place is socially constructed and dependent on social discourses and practices. Urry and Larsen (2011) defined this concept as the ‘tourist gaze’. In response to the tourists’ expectations that are often stereotypical, the locals reflect back the gaze and behave accordingly to benefit financially (Urry, 1996). Thus, it can be drawn from the above that the gaze is mutual; guests objectify their hosts but, hosts also exercise power upon their guests through the ‘local gaze’ and objectify them as well.

A critical component of tourism and particularly cultural tourism is the authenticity of the experience. When engaging in cultural tourism, guests evaluate authenticity based on how close their experience is to their predetermined images and narratives. However, cultures, the focus of cultural tourism, are not static, they are always in process (Bruner, 1994), and this creates implications on how authenticity is determined and how cultural tourism is reformed; especially when cultural elements and traditions change meanings because of this form of tourism.

1.2 RESEARCH TOPIC AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

Tourism is the fastest growing industry in Namibia, with an increasing rate of 8.5% per year (Zeppel, 2006). In 2017 1.6 million people visited Namibia (MET, 2017), which is mostly known for its diverse landscape and rich wildlife. Namibia, however, offers more than that; some of the most iconic ethnic groups can be found here. An ethnic group such as this, that is also extensively involved in cultural tourism are the so-called *Bushmen*.

The term Bushmen or San has been used as an umbrella term to describe a group of people with similar characteristics that used to be characterised by a hunting-gathering lifestyle with different language groups and living in more than one country (Koot, 2013). The settlement of Bantu-people in the 16th century and the colonialism of the 19th century, led to the San's marginalisation and loss of their ancestral land (Harring, 2004). By the 1990s, the majority of San lacked fundamental civil rights, rendering them dependent on others, and with no possibilities of empowerment (Bieseke & Hitchcock, 2011). Since then, the livelihood of the San has improved, but they remain among the most marginalised groups in Namibia. They are recognised as the most impoverished, disempowered, and stigmatised ethnic group in southern Africa (Sylvain, 2002). Despite their brutal history and marginalisation, the Bushmen are considered as icons of nature and promoted as such in tourism (Koot, 2017).

In particular, the Ju/'hoansi, who are part of the broader !Xun ethnolinguistic group, due to their geographical isolation and tradition lifestyle they are considered as the typical Bushmen (Gordon, 1992). They have been perceived as the icons, the original hunter-gatherers; in fact, they have been the subject of numerous anthropological studies, documentaries, novels, even movies (Garland, 1999). They are relatively homogenous and occupy the Nyae Nyae Conservancy in Namibia and the Dobe region in Botswana (Gordon, 1992). In Nyae Nyae, they are also active stakeholders in the form of a Community Based Natural Resource Management program (CBNRM) (Ibid.).

Since the Ju/'hoansi have been seen as the typical hunter-gatherers untouched by the outside world, tourists have certain expectations when meeting them, based on the concept of the tourist gaze. Especially the western tourist gaze attaches Africans in a specific landscape such as a village and a specific state, traditional (Dunn, 2004). In the case of the Ju/'hoansi, the reproduced images and narratives describe them as the fascinating Bushmen, the pure and typical hunter-gatherers (Koot, 2013). The visitors can experience this lifestyle through the main activities offered by the Ju/'hoansi, such as visits to traditional villages, participation in hunting walks, and observation of traditional dances. In this way, tourists can experience the 'Bushman Myth', as Gordon and Douglas (2000) have characterised this phenomenon.

However, these *primitive*, *authentic* and *untouched* others are part of a changing environment whose culture has not remained untouched by western civilisation. Traditional activities such as hunting, gathering, and crafting have changed meaning (Koot, 2013); especially when the Ju/'hoansi are active stakeholders of the cultural tourism projects. Consequently, the Ju/'hoansi are expected to act in a way that meets the predetermined expectations of the tourists, while at the same time, they are the tourism producers.

One representative example of this phenomenon is the *Little Hunter's Museum*. Tourists can participate in traditional hunting guided by traditionally clothed Ju/'hoansi who independently manage the museum (LCFN, 2018). This case shows how the Ju/'hoansi use their culture as a tourism commodity; they project their authentic, traditional lifestyle while being part of the tourism industry as suppliers. The *Nhoma Safari Camp* also organises such activities related to the Ju/'hoan culture. The camp lies outside of the conservancy borders but as mentioned by their website "A visit to Nhoma Safari Camp will destroy the stereotype image people have of Bushmen and replace it with a more realistic view as well as amazement for the skills and knowledge lost by modern man." (NhomaSafariCamp, 2018). These and many more tourism activities involve the Ju/'hoansi in different ways of participation. Despite some differences between the tourism ventures in Nyae Nyae, there is one common factor; the Ju/'hoansi are one of the main attractions, and their culture is a unique selling point.

As the Ju/'hoansi engage more and more into tourism development projects, tour operators are not able to conceal the impact of tourism on the local culture. A new narrative is generated in which the Ju/'hoansi are not merely primitive 'Others' anymore but also modernising subjects. As a result, the authenticity of the experience, does not lie on the primitivity of the Bushmen, but on the experience itself, where the tourists can witness the contemporary state of an indigenous culture and contribute to their development. This meta-narrative has been defined as *meta-tourism* (Garland & Gordon, 1999). By witnessing the inauthentic other and by contributing to their development, tourists assert themselves as the authentic ones the Other wants to look alike; they experience existential authenticity. According to Salazar (2004), tourists do not seek meaningful interactions with local people but rather opportunities to boost their self-esteem; confronting with 'otherness' reassures them that their lives are not so bad after all. Kapoor (2020) notes that participation in the development of the *Other* is less about the empowerment of the Other and more about the donor's image of a caring benevolent and generous patron. Baptista (2017) presents a less cynical view that by engaging with communities, tourists practice meaningful self-cultivation, they pursue moral self-enrichment in a way that they also benefit the others. Either way, meta-tourism facilitates the tourists' quest to authenticity by fulfilling their ambitions to see a changing but as yet unchanged, 'primitive' (Salazar, 2004).

Besides the work of Garland and Gordon in *The Authentic (In)Authentic: Bushman Anthro-Tourism* (1999), the concept of meta-tourism has not been further researched. For this reason, this research aims to explore this phenomenon by analysing a specific case study, the geographical region of Nyae Nyae Conservancy and the tourism ventures that involve the Ju/'hoansi. In more detail, the purpose of this research is to gain a better understanding of how meta tourism takes shapes in the conservancy and critically analyse its implications. The stakeholder groups this research focuses on are the tourists, the local Ju/'hoansi who are involved in tourism, and other tourism providers such as tour operators, tourism managers and NGOs who promote tourism and support the Ju/'hoansi. Furthermore, this research can contribute to the growing body of literature on development and tourism and especially to the discussion on 'benevolent trends' in tourism which have become popular the last three decades (Baptista, 2017). Meta-tourism can be utilised as a lens to understand various forms of 'doing good' tourism such as volunteer-tourism, development tourism and travel philanthropy by focusing on the existential authenticity one experiences. Focusing on existential authenticity rather than assessing the authenticity of the tour objects can provide insight on the ideologies

the tourism sector is dominated by and unveil the complex power relations of the stakeholders involved.

Moreover, this research focuses highly on the tourists who engage in cultural tourism activities that involve the Ju/'hoansi while most of the existing literature focuses on the perspective of the tourism providers, the San. For this reason, it can provide further insight into the cultural tourism sector that involves such ethnic groups. Finally, the analysis of the implications of meta-tourism could be utilised by the NGOs and organisations involved in the tourism sector of Nyae Nyae to critically reflect on their role in this new narrative whose are partly creators and rethink their 'benevolent' character.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the above problem statement, the following central research question and sub-questions have been formulated:

Central research question:

How does meta-tourism manifest in cultural tourism activities in Nyae Nyae Conservancy?

Research sub-questions:

- *Which cultural tourism activities can be identified in Nyae Nyae Conservancy?*
- *Which meta-tourism narratives are used in cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae?*
- *How do tourists perceive cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae?*
- *How do tourism producers and suppliers perceive cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae?*

1.4 THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis report is divided into six main chapters. Chapter 1 gives a brief introduction to cultural tourism in general and shortly introduces the case study. Furthermore, it sets the research objectives and research questions. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework in which the argument of the research is based. This chapter includes a detailed description of the notion of cultural tourism, and the different epistemological approaches to authenticity. Finally, the chapter concludes with the concept of meta-tourism, the core concept of this research. In Chapter 3, the case study is explained further, and the methodology which was followed is presented. The chapter concludes with the data analysis methods and a critical reflection on the process of data collection and analysis and the limitations of the researcher. Chapter 4 presents the main findings of the research and is divided into four main sub-chapters. The chapter begins with a general description of the cultural activities that take place in Nyae Nyae. Following that, the chapter presents the narratives used in tourism which are linked to meta-tourism. The third and final section presents the perceptions of the cultural tourists and the tourism producers and suppliers about cultural tourism accordingly. In chapter 5, the main findings are discussed, and based on that discussion and the theoretical framework, the main research question is answered. The chapter concludes with practical suggestions regarding the tourism sector in Nyae Nyae and recommendation for future research. The final chapter summarises the main conclusion of this research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter includes all the theories and concepts that are essential to the argument of this research and is divided into four main sections. I begin with defining what cultural tourism is and reflecting upon choosing this definition for the research. Following that, I introduce the concept of authenticity and analyse the three main epistemological approaches to it. In the final section, I elaborate on the concept of meta-tourism, which had been briefly introduced in Chapter 1.2.

2.1 CULTURAL TOURISM

At this point, it is essential to revisit the definition of cultural tourism in more detail and explain the reason for choosing this term. Firstly, a broad definition from the UNWTO defines cultural tourism as “the form of tourism which provides new knowledge, experiences and encounters; tourism which meets the people’s need for diversity and aims at raising the cultural level of the individual”. Cultural exchange is a vital aspect of this kind of tourism, as the tourists experience the past but also the contemporary everyday life and society of the other (UNWTO, 2016). Smith (1989) focuses on the aspect of the past when describing cultural tourism by stating that “it includes a hint of a vanishing lifestyle that lies within human memory, usually surrounded by a picturesque setting.” In addition, cultural tourism potentially involves contact with historically unique groups and settings (Donlon, Donlon, & Agrusa, 2010). For Stebbins (1996), cultural tourism focuses on the lifestyles, values, beliefs and customs of people.

Other terms, such as ethnic or indigenous tourism, could also describe the form of tourism this research focuses on. In the book, *Hosts and Guests*, Smith (1989) associates ethnic tourism with quaint customs of indigenous and often *exotic* people. It targets places *off the beaten track* and includes visits to native homes and villages, observations of dances and ceremonies, and shopping of primitive wares of curious, some of which may have considerable intrinsic value to the art historian (Ibid.). Even though the definition of ethnic tourism describes more specifically the form of tourism this research is about, this term will not be favoured. The reason why I chose to use cultural instead of ethnic tourism is because the term *ethnic* is problematic. ‘Ethnic’ implies a process of ‘othering’ in the sense that it frames societies with specific characteristics (Cole, 2006). The ‘other’ belongs to a premodern, pre-commodified, imagined world (Selwyn, 1996). Moreover, according to Cole (1997), there is, in fact, a continuum relationship between cultural and ethnic tourism, so they should not be differentiated.

Indigenous tourism is also referred to as cultural or ethnic tourism (Zeppel, 2006). Hinch & Butler (1996) define indigenous tourism as “the form of tourism in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control or by having their culture serve as the essence of their attraction”. However, the term indigenous tourism will not be preferred in this research either. The term indigenous is problematic, especially in Namibia. The Namibian Constitution does not have a specific recognition of indigenous rights neither indigenous minorities; in fact, Namibians ascribe indigeneity to everyone that has an African *bloodline* (Daniels, 2004). Based on all the above, the most suitable term to describe the tourism this research focuses, is cultural tourism. The term is broad enough to describe the form of tourism this study researches and neutral enough to avoid ideological connotations.

2.2 AUTHENTICITY

Authenticity has been regarded as an essential element of cultural tourism, especially when tourists travel to faraway places to find unique destinations and life-changing experiences. The exact definition of authenticity is debatable among tourism scholars because of different theoretical paradigms. In this thesis, I focus on the concept of existential authenticity, but it is essential to define the other two approaches as only then we can understand how the definition has evolved.

2.2.1 OBJECTIVE AUTHENTICITY

This approach is based on the assumption that an authentic touristic experience exists, but it is less easy to find in the contemporary society (Macleod, 2006). According to Theobald (1998), authenticity means *genuine, unadulterated, or the real thing*. Consequently, in order for something to be regarded as authentic, it has to be compared with something universally recognised as original. In addition, even if tourists perceive an object or experience as authentic, this does not make it automatically authentic; only an independent ‘judge’ or ‘expert’ can verify the authentic (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

Moreover, as the objectively authentic exists, so does the inauthentic. The modern way of life has created a distance from the authentic, which, according to MacCannell (1976), is a characteristic of premodern societies. Individuals pursue the authentic in more primitive or alternative lifestyles (Littrell, Anderson, & Brown, 1993) and cultural tourism can facilitate this contact. As Lindholm (2008) states, tourists travel to primeval worlds, where the noise of modern life is absent. However, representations of cultures are not always produced in a close image of the original culture, and the experience becomes “staged.” The hosts create a frontstage to meet the needs of the guests for the authentic experience while at the same time, they protect their privacy. The everyday life of the hosts continues on the backstage in which the tourists do not have access (MacCannell, 1976). Consequently, even if the tourists perceive their experience as authentic, according to the objectivist approach, it can be inauthentic. According to the constructivism paradigm, this last notion has rendered objective authenticity as a simplistic approach suitable for museum usage and admittedly inadequate to explain tourism experiences (Wang, 1999).

2.2.2 CONSTRUCTIVE AUTHENTICITY

In response, constructivists argue that there is no objective authenticity, as reality itself is socially constructed (Macleod, 2006). Something that is perceived as authentic by one might be inauthentic for another. So even if from the viewpoint of an expert, the tourism product or experience is inauthentic, the tourists in their own right perceive it as authentic (Cohen, 1988). Thus, authenticity, like reality, is constructed by a person’s beliefs, expectations, preferences, stereotyped images, and consciousness onto toured objects or people (Bruner, 1991). From this definition, it is apparent that the shaping of the concept of authenticity is not upon the individual, but it is created and shared within communities (Macleod, 2006). Especially western societies have constructed powerful stereotypical images that we, as tourists, look for, and in response, the hosts behave accordingly to meet our expectations (Urry, 1996). Furthermore, Cohen (2004) introduces the element of the fluidity; objects and experiences can become gradually authentic or inauthentic. Invented traditions are such an example, as touristic

experiences that were perceived as ‘staged’ in the past can become, under conditions, an authentic manifestation of local culture (ibid.). As a result, the tourism product is perceived as authentic not because it is the ‘real thing,’ the original, but because it is perceived as the symbol of authenticity (Culler, 1981).

2.2.3 EXISTENTIAL AUTHENTICITY

Both approaches to authenticity, objective, and constructive create limitations to the explanatory power authenticity has on tourist experiences (Wang, 1999). As Cohen (1995) argues, the post-modern tourist is aware of the impact of tourism on the host communities and thus is not concerned about the ‘staged authenticity’. Instead, authenticity is experienced on an existential level. Existential authenticity lies in the quest for authenticity in oneself rather than concentrating on the authenticity of the *toured objects* (ibid.). As individuals feel alienated from themselves, they turn to tourism in an attempt to facilitate this re-joining. Different approaches attribute alienation to different factors. Some scholars argue that alienation is a consequence of capitalism (Foster, 2000), some say modernity (MacCannell, 1976), while others characterise alienation as a natural process the individuals experience when becoming social subjects (Vidon, 2017).

In any case, alienation from the true self initiates a journey for existential authenticity, and for many, tourism is a medium for this quest. As Neumann (1992) explains, “travel often provides situations and contexts where people confront alternative possibilities for belonging to the world and others that differ from everyday life”. Indeed, part of the promise of travel is to live and know the self in other ways. Contrary to the object-centred approaches to authenticity, existential authenticity is not assessed by whether the tour objects are authentic (Wang, 1999). The authenticity of the actual touristic activity is not relevant as long as it is enjoyable (Cohen, 1995).

Furthermore, existential authenticity is divided into two dimensions; an intra-personal and an inter-personal authenticity and both can be achieved by different forms of tourism (Wang, 1999). Intra-personal authenticity is linked with to the bodily feelings such as relaxation, rehabilitation, refreshment, sensation-seeking sensual pleasures and excitement that can be experienced via tourism (Cohen, 1979; Lett, 1983; Mergen, 1986 in Wang, 1999). Intra-personal authenticity is also linked to self-identity. The routine of everyday life poses constraints to the self-realisation and elements such as risk, daring and uncertainty do not have a place in the contemporary way of life (Wang, 1999) (Lasch, 1979). For this reason, individuals turn to tourism to seek the adventure that they are lacking. According to Vester (1987), adventure plays a significant part in providing opportunity to compensate for the boredom, and lack of authenticity felt in everyday life. Finally, inter-personal authenticity is experienced by the feeling of togetherness. Tourism does not only bring pleasure from seeing the toured objects but also from sharing and communicating the pleasure with the other participants (Wang, 1999).

2.3 META-TOURISM

In this section, meta-tourism, the core concept of the research, will be analysed. The discourse on cultural tourism has shifted. As indigenous communities engage more and more in tourism development, even gaining control over the development of cultural tourism, it is hard to be portrayed as the pristine Others. In the Namibian reality, the double identity of the Bushmen becomes apparent, as the primitive Others, the product, and at the same time as the modernising producers. Consequently, tour operators do not attempt to hide the influence of tourism development anymore, but they promote the paradoxical situation the Bushmen are currently at (Garland & Gordon, 1999).

Since we have discarded the objectivist and constructivist approach, authenticity neither has a definite context nor depends on the perceived authenticity of the tourist attraction. So, in the case of the Bushmen, tourists do not assess the authenticity based on their 'primitivity' anymore. Many tourism ventures promote the involvement of the indigenous people in the development of tourism and proclaim that when tourists engage in their activities, they contribute to the development of the Bushmen. "Visitors to TUCSIN Tsumkwe Lodge will not only be able to experience the ancient and unique culture of the Ju/'hoansi but will also be contributing to the improved livelihoods of the local San community. 100% of profits generated by the TUCSIN Tsumkwe Lodge fund local projects in education, income generation, training, cultural preservation, and more." (TUCSIN, 2018).

Articulations such as the above describe the concept of meta-tourism by Garland and Gordon (1999). Meta-tourism is a form of cultural tourism that thematises its own effects on the lives of those being visited. In other words, it is a form of tourism in which the attraction is tourism itself and its consequences on the local cultures. This new form of tourism emphasises not only the cultural differences between hosts and guests but also the similarities between the hosts and other marginalised groups in the process of incorporation into the global system (Garland & Gordon, 1999). While having expectations to meet the last primitive cultures, tourists witness modernising subjects who engage actively in the production and marketing of the tourism experience, which is focused on their culture and 'primitivity.' This double role creates an authenticity on a higher plane. The tourists stop concentrating on the authenticity of the Bushmen; instead, they value the authenticity of the 'quest' (ibid). The modern ideology that influences their way of thinking creates the justification for the inauthenticity of the product (Žižek, 1994) and the justification of the quest itself. Tourists motivated at first to meet the authentic others, see that the Others are not *as authentic* as they thought, so they engage in a quest for an ideology that asserts themselves are the authentic ones (Garland & Gordon, 1999). The image of the Bushmen caters to the tourists' ambition to see a changing but as yet unchanged 'primitive' (Salazar, 2004). As Wilson (2014) argues, the enjoyment of the Western consumer culture is dependent upon its imagined distance from the poverty and suffering of Africa. While tourists may perceive that they want to participate in the development of the underprivileged, and from exploitative consumers to become patrons, what they unconsciously fantasise, and desire is to experience enjoyment by asserting themselves as the authentic, the object of desire that the *Other* wants to look alike (Garland & Gordon, 1999).

In this chapter, I elaborate on the methodological design that was employed to answer the central question of the research, namely: *How does meta-tourism manifest in cultural tourism activities in Nyae Nyae Conservancy?*

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activities, and make decisions about revenue sources and uses (Bandyopadhyaya et al., 2004). However, the proclaimed community involvement has been contested, as programmes and policies are influenced by the interests of outsiders such as conservationists, tourist and hunting operators, even tourists themselves (Koot & Van Beek, 2017). Finally, even the economic sustainability has been criticised as, in many cases, the revenues from wildlife and tourism are not sufficient for all members of the community at household and individual level (Hackel, 1999).

Nyae Nyae, it is the second-largest conservancy and the first in Namibia, in 1998. It is located on the Otjozondjupa region, on the north-east of the country, bordering Botswana. It is 8,992 km² and its population is around 3,156 Ju/'hoansi (NACSO, 2019). Nyae Nyae is, also, the first conservancy on communal land with recognition of Traditional authority (Bieseles & Hitchcock, 2011). Furthermore, Tsumkwe operates as the administrative centre of the conservancy, even though it lies outside of the Conservancy's borders. Within the Conservancy, there are about 36 villages and settlements which only the Ju/'hoansi are allowed to occupy. Moreover, there are different zones within the conservancy, such as wildlife, wildlife hunting, wildlife viewing, and agriculture zones (Koot, 2013). The CBNRM programme in Nyae Nyae is greatly influenced by the government, especially the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET), NGOs as well as donors and consultants (Koot & Van Beek, 2017). Nevertheless, the decision-making lies on the conservancy board.

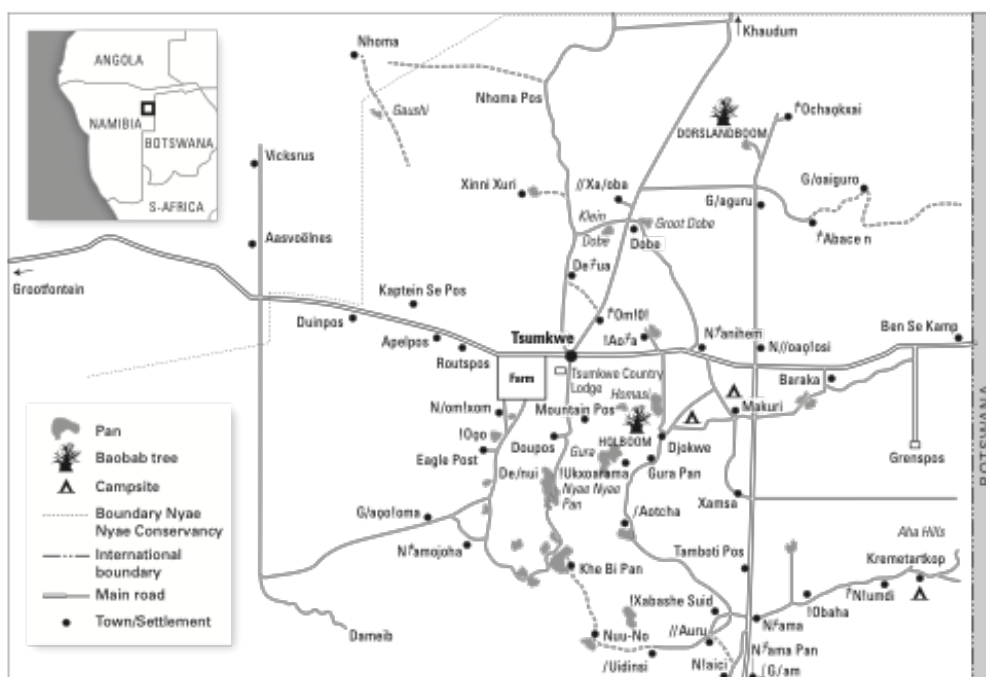


Figure 2: Map of Nyae Nyae Conservancy

Retrieved from (Koot 2013:70)

While the CBNRM programmes bring development in Nyae Nyae, they also create large bureaucratic and hierarchical structures that most marginalised Ju/'hoansi tend to ignore because they do not feel they have the agency to handle them (Koot & Van Beek, 2017). Regarding tourist activities, most of them are situated close to the paved roads due to accessibility issues. More specifically, there are two main locations where tourists can arrange tourist activities; *TUCSIN Tsumkwe Lodge* which lies 2km from Tsumkwe and is the only

tourist accommodation in the area and //Xa/oba village where the *Little Hunter's Museum* is located. Furthermore, several villages such as Makuri, Djokhoe, Doupos, Mountain Pos and /Ari-G//aqa provide campsites and cultural activities. All the locations mentioned above will be further analysed in chapter 4.1.

3.1.2 KEY RESPONDENTS

THE JU/'HOANSI

The term San has been used to describe a number of indigenous groups of hunter-gatherers in southern Africa that share a common 'deep structure' which manifests in a common language, social organisation, religion, and historical experience (Barnard, 1992). This term, however, is ambiguous and has been ascribed to them by non-San. Groups within the San prefer to define themselves by their individual group label or language (Suzman, 2001a). Suzman (2001b) claims that the Ju/'hoansi of Nyae Nyae are in a better position than any other San in Southern Africa. Due to their geographical isolation and traditional lifestyle, they have been regarded as the 'authentic Bushmen' (Gordon, 1992). Until the 1920s, they exercised a hunting-gathering lifestyle, and until 1959 they enjoyed a high level of political autonomy (Marshall & Ritchie, 1984). That is until their relocation in the administrative centre of Tsumkwe, where they were encouraged to abandon their traditional lifestyle and instead adopt a sedentary lifestyle, raising livestock and cultivating crops (Sylvain, 2002). This transition, however, had a severe impact on the Ju/'hoansi's livelihood. The unbearable situation in Tsumkwe led many to return to their *n/oresi* (traditional territories). With the creation of the Ju/wa Farmers Union, they were able to establish a suitable social infrastructure for development which also served as a vehicle for articulating Ju/'hoan needs and concerns (Suzman, 2001b). In 1998, the Nyae Nyae Conservancy was established, and their communal area was recognised.

Today, the Ju/'hoansi, as many other San groups, are ascribed with two contradictory images. On the one hand, especially in tourism, they are portrayed as the pristine hunter-gatherers and on the other hand they are regarded as marginalised victims of modern-day capitalism and past regimes (Hitchcock, Ikeya, Bieseke, & Lee, 2006). In Nyae Nyae, they are active stakeholders in the form of CBNRM and have the sole right to occupy the area. Hunting and gathering is not their primary source of food anymore. Hunting is exercised mostly by a few older adult men, whereas young males are not learning hunting, tracking and other bush skills as they did in the past (Bieseke & Hitchcock, 2011). According to NACSO (2012), "while the Ju/'hoansi are legendary for their culture, and their balanced existence with their natural environment, nowadays, most of them have abandoned the hunter-gatherer lifestyle and experience a state of cultural transition and change". Their primary source of income comes from the Nyae Nyae Conservancy's annual benefit, which is generated mostly by trophy hunting (NNDFN, 2017). Finally, the Ju/'hoansi are the main cultural attraction in the area. Thus, many choose to participate in cultural tourism activities; in cultural village tours, bushwalks, and craft selling.

NGOS AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS

There are various NGOs and organisations present in Nyae Nyae. This research focuses on cultural tourism, so only the ones with related activity will be considered. Firstly, a stakeholder that has a considerable amount of influence in the conservancy is the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN) whose mission is to "support and empower the Bushmen community, improve their livelihoods by asserting their lands rights and promote sustainable

use of natural resources.” (Cole, 2018). Concerning tourism, NNDFN has initiated a craft project that supports mainly local female artisans who create traditional jewellery made from ostrich shells (NNDFN, 2018). Furthermore, NNDFN along with the Living Culture Foundation of Namibia (LCFN) supported the development of a cultural living museum called the *Little Hunter’s Museum* of Ju/’hoansi north of Tsumkwe. LCFN is a non-profit, German-Namibian organisation, which focuses on cultural development in rural areas in Namibia. The organisation supports communities all over Namibia in protecting their traditional culture or regaining parts of their cultural identity and at the same time, fighting poverty (LCFN, 2018). Finally, the University Centre for Studies in Namibia (TUCSIN) is the latest addition in the organisations supporting the Ju/’hoansi of Nyae Nyae. The NGO took over the main tourist lodge in 2014, and since then it provides accommodation and tourism activities to visitors. As the official website of the lodge states, “visitors do not only experience the unique culture of the Bushmen, but also contribute to the improvement of the livelihood of the local communities.” (TUCSIN, 2018). The contribution of all the organisations mentioned above in cultural tourism will be further analysed in Chapter 4 as they are part of the research findings.

THE TOURISTS

This research focuses also on tourists. Even though Nyae Nyae is not the most popular tourist destination in Namibia, tourism is a powerful force in the local society and economy. Nyae Nyae is mostly known for the Ju/’hoansi; wildlife is also present but less popular than in other places. Tourists prefer to visit more accessible places, like Etosha National Park, to observe wildlife (Koot, 2013). When visiting Nyae Nyae, tourists can experience the ‘Bushman Myth’ (Gordon & Douglas, 2000). Through activities like visits to traditional villages, participation in hunting walks, and observation of traditional dances, visitors can experience the Ju/’hoansi lifestyle.

In this research, as tourists are considered all visitors who participated in cultural activities in Nyae Nyae that involve the Ju/’hoansi. This includes the typical leisure tourists, volunteer-tourists, representatives of NGOs and other developmental workers who did not hold a permanent position in the area but came to visit. I chose not to make a distinction as the duration of stay was usually the same for most visitors (around two days), and there was no distinction between the activities that were offered, so the touristic experience was identical. Furthermore, as this research focuses on the participation in the development of Ju/’hoansi through tourism and the effect this has on the authenticity of the experience, the insight of all visitors is valuable.

3.2 METHODOLOGY

This research can be characterized as ethnographic as it aligns with the definition of ethnography by Bryman (2012). According to that, ethnography entails the immersion of the researcher in a social setting for an extended period of time while making regular observations of the behaviour of the participants and listening and engaging in conversations. The researcher also conducts interviews with the participants, collects documents about the group and develops an understanding of the culture and behaviours within the context of that culture. Finally, the researcher produces a detailed account of that setting.

This research aims to understand how individuals experience a specific phenomenon, meta-tourism, and how this phenomenon influences the relations between them. The intention of the research is not to find an objective truth but rather to understand the way the participants experience their social reality. Therefore, the research design that aligns with the ontological and epistemological stance of this research is a qualitative research design. According to the social constructivist paradigm, reality is socially constructed, and so is the sociological understanding of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The sociologist is aware that individuals take for granted different realities between societies and that they attach meanings to their social reality, so human action should be considered meaningful (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) (Boeije, 2010). Reality can thus be studied by interpreting the thoughts, experiences and actions of others and the world around them or even by the way they use language and communicative processes (Boeije, 2010).

Furthermore, the research design is influenced by the grounded theory approach. According to this approach, the data are fundamental in reaching a theoretical description of a phenomenon and its explanations. So, the researcher moves back and forth among the data collection and the analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Even though the theoretical framework and the research questions were set in the preparation phase, during the data collection, the design was flexible enough to allow changes and adjustments. The data collection and data analysis were not two separate phases, but rather two interchanging stages of one ongoing process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). During the data collection phase, I was also working on the data analysis to increase my understanding on the subject and to identify emerging patterns that could further direct the research.

During the preparation phase, an extensive literature review was carried out to increase my understanding on the case study, to comprehend the theoretical concepts that could explain the current phenomena and to formulate the research questions. Moreover, a research proposal was composed that demonstrated what the research entailed. The data collection was materialised in the form of two-months fieldwork (from November 2018 until January 2019) in Nyae Nyae Conservancy and Windhoek. The qualitative research tools that were employed were interviews and participant observations. Both tools can produce highly descriptive data that need to be interpreted through identification and coding of patterns and lead to findings that can contribute to theory and practice use (Boeije, 2010).

3.2.1 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS AND GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The interview has been characterised as probably the most common research method in qualitative research. Qualitative interviews are flexible, and emphasis is given to how the respondent understands and frames their reality (Bryman, 2012). The data collected from the interviews were used to answer all sub-questions. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured way; rather than asking a set of questions, I used a topic list, which was flexible enough to allow room for new themes that emerged during the interviews. The interview guide was also adapted to fit the needs of each interview.

Moreover, the questions asked were mostly open-ended to gather descriptive, explanatory data and probing questions were used to motivate the interviewees to elaborate on their answers. The interviews were recorded with a voice recorder. The anonymity of the respondent was guaranteed unless they stated otherwise. The interviews were conducted in English, and I

collaborated with a translator whenever necessary, that is when interviewing the local Ju/'hoansi. In total, three different translators assisted me; my primary translator was an experienced tour guide, but due to scheduling and accessibility issues, two other translators assisted the facilitation of the interviews as well.

Overall, I conducted 43 interviews: three group interviews and eleven one-to-one interviews with local Ju/'hoansi, nine interviews with representatives from related organisations and twenty interviews with tourists. Regarding the interviews with the local Ju/'hoansi, I first visited the villages as part of the tourist group but informed all the participants I was a researcher. I then re-visited the villages for group discussions and lastly, conducted individual interviews. The interviews with the organisations were conducted where the organisations were based; that is in Tsumkwe, Grootfontein and Windhoek. The interviews with the tourists were conducted in the TUCSIN Tsumkwe Lodge, where the tourists and I were staying. I was granted permission by the lodge management to conduct interviews on their premises. I was having informal conversations with the tourists before the cultural activities to introduce myself, gather background information and establish a relationship with them. The interviews were then conducted with our return to the lodge.

3.2.2 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation consists of engaging in regular and prolonged interaction with the people the researcher seeks to study for the researchers to immerse themselves into the local environment and learn about the aspects of local lives and cultures that are either obvious or not so evident (Ribeiro & Foemmel, 2012). Via participant observation, the researcher is able to describe what happens, who is involved, how certain incidents occur and why they happen as they do from the perspective of the participant (Jorgensen, 1989). In other words, participant observation gives the insider's perspective to the researcher. The data collected from participant observation answered primarily question one regarding the cultural tourism activities in Nyae Nyae. Nevertheless, participant observation was also vital in understanding the relationships between the tourism actors and the way tourists experience the activities.

I conducted participant observation in two ways. Firstly, I was participating as an observer in the cultural tourism activities. I was asking permission from the tour operator, the tour guide, and the tourists to join them on the village tours. By joining various tourists in the activities, I was able to get an inside view of how the activities were structured and to detect similarities and differences between locations and participants. Furthermore, I observed the tourists' behaviours and reactions during the activities.

Secondly, I used participant observation to establish and maintain a relationship with the participants of the research. During the fieldwork, I was based in TUCSIN Tsumkwe Lodge. I chose this location as it is the only tourism lodge in the area, so most tourists choose to stay there. Building a meaningful relationship with the tourists was not possible during this fieldwork as most tourists spent between one to two days in Nyae Nyae. So, our interactions were limited to that timeframe. Nevertheless, I was also able to build a relationship with the staff of the lodge, which gave me useful insights regarding the tourism sector and the local community of Nyae Nyae. Furthermore, I spent time in places where locals were located such as the Nyae Nyae Conservancy office in Tsumkwe, the communal library and the villages. The

data were collected in the form of memos. I used field notes to record the observations I made in the field. I also kept methodological notes to reflect on my position as a researcher and the issues regarding the research methods.

3.2.3 DATA ANALYSIS

CODING

The analysis stage consists of segmenting the data and then reassembling them to transform them into findings (Boeije, 2010). During the fieldwork, the interviews were transcribed and together with the memos, they were structured based on open codes. According to Boeije (2010) open coding encourages a thematic approach since it forces the analyst to break up the text into pieces, to compare them and to assign them to groups that address the same theme. The open codes were both deductive that were derived from the theoretical framework and inductive codes that emerged from the data. In the next phase, the axial-coding, the codes previously identified were evaluated based on their relevance and importance to the research and then arranged into categories. Influenced by the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), the data collection and data analysis in this research were two ongoing processes, so the categories of codes were flexible to allow rearrangements based on the emerging data. Finally, during the selective coding, the categories were connected to each other to create a conceptual model and answer the research questions.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Language has a heterogeneous, multifunctional and dynamic character with a central role in the social construction of reality. Discourse analysis is used to discover the social meanings inhering in language forms and their relationships to social formations, identity, relations of power, beliefs and ideologies (Farnell & Graham, 2015). Discourse is involved in dominance in two dimensions; through the enactment of dominance in texts and talk in specific context and more indirectly through the influence of discourse on the minds of others (Van Dijk, 1993). Discourse analysis is critical to this research as the narratives used in tourism contribute to the production of social reality. According to Van Dijk (1993) critical discourse analysis can make a significant contribution to social analysis if it can provide an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance and inequality.

For this reason, in addition to coding interviews and observations, I conducted critical discourse analysis to answer sub-question two regarding the narratives used in cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae. I applied the principles of discourse analysis to critically look at the language and pictures used to promote cultural tourism in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. This included marketing material like brochures, booklets, signs and websites as well as the language used in the interviews and tours.

3.2.4 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Reliability refers to the consistency of the measures used in social research. Boeije (2010) argues that when a phenomenon is repeatedly measured using the same instruments, it should lead to the same outcomes, assuming that the phenomenon itself has not changed. However, as LeCompte and Goetz (1982) point out, reliability is a difficult criterion to meet in qualitative research as is impossible to 'freeze' a social setting and the circumstances of the initial study

to make it replicable. The strategy to ensure the reliability of this research included the preparation of a research proposal and the construction of an interview guide with topic lists. Furthermore, all the interviews were recorded and together with the observations transcribed. I was also transparent with the respondents and provided them with the choice to proofread my interview transcriptions.

Validity refers to the compatibility of the researcher's observations and theoretical ideas they develop (internal validity) and to the generalisation of findings across social settings (external validity) (Bryman, 2012). To ensure the internal validity of the research, during the preparation phase, an extensive literature review was conducted to become familiar with the theoretical framework. Then during the fieldwork, I was triangulating my findings with the existing literature and other available resources and informants. External validity was an issue for this research, and many other qualitative researches, as it was employed in a case study with a small sample and generalisation was not a set objective. Qualitative findings tend to be oriented to the contextual uniqueness and significance of the aspect of the social world being studied (ibid.). For this reason, the criterion of transferability, as proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) was chosen. Transferability refers to the production of thick descriptions which provide others with a database for making judgements about the possible transferability of findings to other milieux (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). During the fieldwork phase, I was keeping thorough fieldnotes, and during the writing phase, I was as descriptive as possible about the findings.

3.2.5 LIMITATIONS AND REFLEXIVITY

To ensure the quality of the research, it is, also important to reflect on its limitations and the positionality of the researcher. To begin with, my position as a female researcher from a southern European country with a privileged upbringing influences the way the participants interacted with me. The local Ju/'hoansi are familiar with researchers as they have been studied extensively and I was fully transparent with my purpose of visit. My appearance and nationality could have played a role in the way people approached me. Being a young south-European woman, I did not fit exactly the image of the typical Caucasian visitor, so many locals approached me with curiosity and asked questions which gave me the chance to talk to them. Regarding the tourists, my identity as a young female student who stayed in the same place as they did, enabled me to approach them relatively easy. Nevertheless, the same attributes led some participants to act in a paternalistic manner, especially the ones in higher positions such as organisation officials and tour guides.

My identity influence not only the way the participants interacted with me but also the way I understand social reality. This extends to my position as a researcher and the way I conducted the research and interpreted my observations. Data depends on the researcher's ability to reflectively distinguish aspects of their own thoughts, ideas, observations and experiences and to effectively communicate what they perceive through language (Polkinghorne, 2005). During the fieldwork, I kept notes that critically reflected on my experience as a visitor and a researcher. I would like to note here that it was the first time to visit Namibia and the African continent in general and consciously avoided commercial material that portrays tourism in Namibia. Nevertheless, this does not eliminate the stereotypical images of Africa stored in my memories through the years, but I reflected on those as critically as possible.

Finally, I would like to address two practical limitations in my research. Firstly, the language barrier was evident when interviewing the majority of the locals. Three different translators

assisted me. One of them was also an experienced tour guide who had worked with researchers before and for this reason, directed the questions in a way he thought it would benefit my research. Finally, the time frame for my research was two months which is small if one wants to immerse oneself in the local culture.

4. FINDINGS

This chapter presents the main findings of the research, based on the interviews, informal conversations, fieldwork observations and analysis of textual material related to various organisations involved in cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae.

4.1 CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND META TOURISM

In this chapter, I will provide a thorough description of the cultural activities that involve the Ju/'hoansi in Nyae Nyae. This description aims to answer the first sub-question; *Which cultural activities can be identified in Nyae Nyae Conservancy?* The findings are based on my observations during the cultural activities, interviews with related stakeholders and data from several websites.

4.1.1 TUCSIN TSUMKWE LODGE

Tsumkwe lodge has changed ownership through the years. Since 2014 the University Centre for Studies in Namibia (TUCSIN) has taken over the operations intending to close it down and create a vocational training centre instead. As it is the only organised tourist accommodation in the area though, they decided to keep it running and involve the local community by creating a management board.

The lodge is situated 2km outside the settlement of Tsumkwe and offers several activities to tourists, like visiting the Khaudum Park with a local guide for game viewing, touring around the baobab trees and finally, visiting the Nyae Nyae Pan. The most popular activities, however, are the cultural village tours. Tourists can book a tour at the front desk, and they can choose either the half-day or full-day village tour. On the tours, they are accompanied by a local guide who also acts as a translator. During the time of the fieldwork, the lodge had a shortage of tour guides, and for this reason, they were cooperating with three experienced freelancers. The lodge has an agreement with three villages to send visitors on their traditional settlements interchangeably; these are Mountain Pos, Doupos and lately, /Ari-G//aqna. The Ju/'hoansi that participate in the activities receive 40 to 50% of the total revenue from the bookings.

The tourists are taken to a 'traditional village' by a 4x4 vehicle. These settlements are comprised of four to five grass huts that were constructed for representation purposes. When the Ju/'hoansi are informed about the booking, they prepare the settlement, remove branches and litter and bring some bush food closer to the location of the activities (female Ju/'hoansi, Doupos, November 28, 2018). Once the tourists arrive at the traditional village, they are greeted by a local Ju/'hoan, usually an older man, who welcomes them to the village. They are given some time to roam around the settlement and take photos while the guide gives them some general information about the San culture and traditional lifestyle. Afterwards, the tourists, together with a small group of Ju/'hoansi, mostly women, dressed in traditional leatherwear, start the *bushwalk*. In the bushwalk, the visitors have the opportunity to learn about endemic trees, plants and how the San have been using them as food and medicine for centuries. They can also witness the Ju/'hoansi gathering different roots and berries. The water-root or bi! Bulb, a unique resource of hydration in the bush, is a highlight of the bushwalk. A Ju/'hoan demonstrates how to squeeze the root and then drinks the juice with enjoyment. Then, another group of Ju/'hoansi shows how to set a trap for guineafowl and make fire from wooden sticks.

The walk takes about two hours, and after that the visitors are taken back to the village where they can purchase handmade crafts from ostrich eggshell or beads, bows and arrows and other woodworks. At that point, the tour ends for the half-day visitors; on the full-day tour, the visitors have the opportunity to watch and take part in traditional dancing and singing. Other activities are included too, such as traditional games, crafting ropes and jewellery, tracking and shooting with a handmade bow and arrow.



Photo 1: Tourists Visiting Ju/'hoansi In Mountain Pos

TUCSIN's community outreach coordinator, one of the key informants in this research, is responsible for the cooperation between TUCSIN and the traditional authority and conservancy, to bring them all together to define the needs of the community, propose solutions and implement projects that will uplift the Ju/'hoansi of Nyae Nyae. According to him, until now the lodge offers activities, not different from activities you can find anywhere in Namibia and in fact, Ju/'hoansi from Nyae Nyae 'are exported' to lodges across the country to perform. For this reason, TUCSIN was, at the moment this research took place, designing new activities with a different approach to cultural tourism that will also include more villages such as Makuri and Djowke, "We want to flip the whole model on its head." (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018).

Therefore, TUCSIN, together with the community board, is working to change the way culture tourism is offered to the visitors. "We don't want to fall into the pitfalls of cultural tourism. As long as culture is practised only for tourists, and there are many elements which are practised only for tourists, then it's unhealthy. We want to create a healthy tourism industry here in Nyae Nyae." (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018). He continues by pointing out that there is an opportunity to differentiate from the other lodges. In contrary to the lodges around Namibia where the San are employed by an individual to deliver a cultural

product, in Nyae Nyae they have ownership over the land, and they can choose how they want to lead their lives.

“Here (in Nyae Nyae Conservancy) they have hunting rights, healthy land that can provide to their needs. What you will see is not staged, the knowledge is still practised, hunters still hunt, women still gather bush foods, they still use the environment to treat their basic problems.” (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018).

TUCSIN is allegedly adopting a new more sustainable approach to their activity. They aim to put the preservation of the *San culture* at its core, and cultural tourism as a by-product. In more detail, the plan entails that the lodge will organise cultural events in which the guests are the local Ju/'hoansi and especially the children. The tourists can participate as mere observers in the background,

“We will start a storytelling project. The purpose is not like other lodges where tourists can pay, and someone will come and tell them a San story in English or Ju/'hoansi with a translator. We will have a project with elders that come, and we will pay them a small income to tell stories to children around a fire, if tourists want to join them, they may, but it will not be translated. We hope to have the stories nicely printed in English and give it to them and say this is the story the elder is telling tonight, you may sit and listen, and we have done many trials, it's beautiful. So, we want to bring children to the lodge every day to hear the stories.” (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018).

However, an important and contradicting element to the above statement that the lodge representative did not bring up is that tourists can hire a Ju/'hoansi storyteller for their own event (TUCSIN, 2018). Moreover, the lodge offers traditional dance performances. There, students from TUCSIN *Cultural Class Project* perform a range of traditional dances and games. According to the website again, the earnings of these performances are directly used for school supplies, uniforms and toiletries. The lodge marketing manager also mentions “we have some guests that they want an activity at the lodge, like they want to see some of the children dancing, singing, doing a little bit of a choir. We can arrange that on request.” (TUCSIN marketing manager, January 21, 2019).

Lastly, the lodge offers now the “Ju/'hoan Village Immersion Tour” in /Ari-G//aqla village. This package tour gives the opportunity to visitors to be accommodated in a traditional grass hut with a host family. During their stay, the tourists can taste traditional food, participate in a storytelling night and learn traditional skills such as tracking, trapping and woodcarving. Finally, visits that last longer than one night involve the collection of materials and construction of a grass hut, a traditional hunt expedition with a bow and arrow that is constructed by the tourists themselves and even volunteering in the village school to deliver a lesson.

According to a representative from NNDFN, these new activities will not serve the purpose of cultural preservation, but rather satisfy tourists' expectations. “People can earn some money, keeps them positively occupied but it is not actually furthering the San culture. What is going to go on there is going to be a canned version, not the true ethnic San version of it.” (NNDFN representative January 23, 2019). The activities and their critique from other stakeholders will be further analysed in the next chapters.

4.1.2 LITTLE HUNTER'S MUSEUM

The Living Culture Foundation Namibia (LCFN) is a German-Namibian non-profit organization that supports six living museums around Namibia to showcase and preserve



Photo 2: Traditional Bow and Arrow

//Xa/oba village in Nyae Nyae. As a representative of LCFN states, the museum is run and managed independently by the Ju/'hoansi. The organization supports the museum with trainings, marketing campaigns and material such as brochures and signboards.

indigenous cultures. These living museums are based on the model of stone-age living museums in Germany where one of the founders of LCFN, Werner Pfeifer, had been working on. A living museum is a settlement of a specific language group constructed in such a way to represent a traditional settlement before the European colonial influence. The actors wear traditional clothing and offer cultural activities to their guests *as authentically as possible* (LCFN, 2018). The first living museum, the 'Ju/'hoansi Living Museum' was initiated in the small village Grashoek in Nǀa Jaqna Conservancy, 600km from Windhoek in 2004. In 2010, a local Ju/'hoan approached the LCFN, and with their assistance, the Little Hunter's Museum was created in

The Little Hunter's Museum provides a somewhat different cultural product to the tourists than TUCSIN Tsumkwe lodge. To begin with, the organisation has set several rules for the participation in the museum activities. "One of the rules, for example, it is that you are not allowed to work on the next day if you had alcohol the day before or if you smell like alcohol. We give a list of hospitality rules, what to do and what not to do when tourists come." (LCFN representative, January 24, 2019). Furthermore, LCFN has given detailed directions on the materials the hosts should use:

"We brief them, train them a bit, and then you have a very specific dress code. Because we really say it is important to have the aspects of the old historical times. I know many villages where there is radio playing, and they do everything with plastic. We say, please don't use any material that is from the modern times, any additional sound or whatever. So, it is really back to the old times. I don't know any traditional village except our living museums that are handled this way. So, these are some of the differences." (LCFN representative, January 24, 2019).

Regarding the tourists, they have to drive themselves to the location where the museum is located. At the entrance a local Ju/'hoan in casual clothing greets and lead the guests to a wooden kiosk where they can find information about the organisation, the living museums and the Ju/'hoan culture. Moreover, the tour guide presents a program catalogue with a price list from which the tourists can choose among a range of activities. The duration of the activities varies from 1,5 hour to a 3 days excursion. The prices vary accordingly, from 160-650 Namibian dollars per person. The tour guide then explains to the tourists what each option includes and suggests that the 'action day' is the most popular program and includes a bushwalk, crafting and dancing. Once the tourists choose the desired program and pay the fee, the tour guide escorts them to the



Photo 3: Traditional Craft Kit

traditional settlement which is similar to the ones in the other villages. There, a group of traditionally dressed Ju/'hoansi, mostly women and older men are waiting under the shade of a tree. Another noticeable difference is that the Ju/'hoansi's clothes are embroidered with ostrich eggshells in contrary to those in other villages which are mostly decorated with colourful beads.

Depending on the program, the tourists have chosen, the activities start. There is no significant difference between the bush walk and the other activities from the ones the other villages provide. However, the dynamics are different between the tour guides, the hosts and the guests. The tour guide acts merely as a translator than a tour guide, possibly because he lacks the experience other guides have. Thus, the hosts interact more with the tourists, and the elder men take the lead of the activities. Finally, the program catalogue gives more freedom to the tourists to choose from a wide range of activities, and there is more information available via the posters at the reception kiosk. The catalogue makes the procedure more standardized as both the Ju/'hoansi and the tourists know in advance which activities will take place.

4.1.3 VILLAGES

Except for the villages that have been already mentioned, there are some other villages in the conservancy that provide campsites for tourists, such as Djowke and Makuri. These villages do not have any agreement with an organisation or the lodge regarding cultural activities. Nevertheless, if tourists visit a village such as these and request a cultural activity, the local Ju/'hoansi will most likely provide a bushwalk, dancing and singing. Ju/'hoansi from Makuri village, informed me that they did not possess any traditional clothing, so they welcome the tourists in their everyday wear, but ideally they would like to have some (Group discussion, Makuri, November 12, 2018).

During my fieldwork, TUCSIN was carrying out constructions to upgrade the existing campsites and add an observation tower in Makuri. At the observation tower, the lodge will host cultural activities, such as stargazing and storytelling. Their primary donor equipped them

with laser pointers, tablets and other equipment that will be used during the stargazing activities (TUCSIN marketing manager, January 21, 2019) and a sundowner bar will be operating there (Lodge manager, January 18, 2019).

Many villages would like to have a cultural village, and according to the conservancy manager, once in a while a sign that promotes a cultural village pops up. This, however, is not allowed since the set-up of a cultural village should be first approved by the conservancy and the traditional authority. In fact, during the fieldwork, there was tension between the conservancy and a conservancy member who was also a former lodge tour guide. This tour guide had set up his own cultural village without authorisation from the conservancy nor the traditional authority. He also has an agreement with TUCSIN, so tourists visit his village through the lodge and that creates a bigger conflict with the other villages as well. This particular issue is further analysed in chapter 4.4.2.

4.2 TOURISM NARRATIVES

This chapter answers the second sub-question, namely, *which meta-tourism narratives are used in cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae?* There are three main groups involved in cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae; the Ju/'hoansi, the tourists and the various organisations and enterprises that act as a mediator between the first two. Each of these groups has a different function in the tourism sector, but they all produce or reproduce certain themes which play an important role in the way cultural tourism is shaped.

Even if meta-tourism is not explicitly present in the cultural activities as described in the previous chapter, it is essential to define the reoccurring themes/narratives as they are dominate the tourism sector of Nyae Nyae. Furthermore, narratives are vehicles to uncover hidden information; in fact, the growing significance of narrative analysis in tourism has been linked with the increased interest of academics and professionals to uncover implicit and contextual information that can make reality more visible in everyday life (Mainil & Platenkamp, 2010). Therefore, in this chapter, I discuss these tourism meta-narratives. The data of this chapter derives from the interviews I conducted with local Ju/'hoansi, tourists and other stakeholders, and discourse analysis of several marketing material such as websites, brochures and signs.

4.2.1 SUPPORT THE SAN

One of the most dominant cultural tourism narratives in Nyae Nyae is that tourists support the San when engaging in cultural activities in the area. This narrative is related to the added value of the tourism experience in which tourists are able to visit the Ju/'hoansi and at the same time contribute to the improvement of their livelihood. Organisations such as TUCSIN and LCFN market their projects as an opportunity for visitors to combine leisure with philanthropy.

To begin with, the TUCSIN lodge website includes a specific section with the headline 'Your stay supports the San'. There, potential visitors can find information about the development project the organisation is undertaking and how their visit supports such programs. Moreover, on the homepage of the lodge, the following statement can be found, "Visitors to TUCSIN Tsumkwe Lodge will not only be able to experience the ancient and unique culture of the Ju/'hoansi but will also be contributing to the improved livelihoods of the local San

community”. And it continues by stating “100% of profits generated by the TUCSIN Tsumkwe Lodge fund local projects in education, income generation, training, cultural preservation and more.” (TUCSIN, 2018). The same narrative can also be detected in the lodge brochure, which informs the tourists about the added value of choosing the lodge and its activities.

“TUCSIN Tsumkwe Lodge is an opportunity for involving the marginalized San community who live in the area. A hands-on approach to work should lead to training, education and eventually employment in order to support them to develop an income for themselves and their families. Tourism is a big opportunity [...] Accommodation complemented by personal hosting and cultural excursions to Ju/’hoansi villages form part of the day-to-day functions of this Hospitality and Training facility.” (TUCSIN Tsumkwe Lodge Brochure, 2018).

Finally, the lodge urges visitors to support the organization by donations and even volunteer in projects to share their knowledge and skills. “We depend on donors for our projects. We still need your support. We would be happy to present you an outline with a budget. If interested, you can join the work for a while to transfer your know-how.” (TUCSIN, 2018).

The Living Culture Foundation promotes the same narrative. According to their website, their work has a threefold aim; to fight against poverty, preserve the local culture and create cultural and intercultural exchange. In their own words, “every visit to a Living Museum actively contributes to the preservation of traditional culture and the creation of a source of income in rural areas.” (LCFN, 2018). From the above it becomes apparent that organisations, such as LCFN, suggest that tourism provides more than financial support to the local community; through their activity, they preserve the culture and cultivate a sense of pride and independence to the Ju/’hoansi. As an LCFN representative argues:

“The living museums are projects that let the culture remain; it is like a cultural institution. Our vision is that we want to create these living museums where the cultural identity can survive even if it is just in a small group of people. So, we support the San by helping them to preserve their culture. The living museums are a place where the cultural knowledge can be circulated because they speak about it.” (LCFN representative, January 24, 2019).

The same narrative about cultural preservation through tourism support some Ju/’hoansi in //Xa/oba as well “When the visitors come to see and understand our culture, the guests but also our children learn about the old traditions, which is very important for our community.” (Ju/’hoan tour guide, //Xa/oba, January 5, 2019) and “We want to have the living museum, so we have a joint venture with the tourist companies. Because we want to keep the culture and the tradition.” (male Ju/’hoan, January 5, 2019).

TUCSIN Tsumkwe Lodge also promoted the narrative that through their activities, they support cultural preservation and cultivate a sense of pride to Ju/’hoansi. For instance, the Culture Class Project is marketed both as an uplifting programme for young Ju/’hoansi and at the same time a tourism activity for guests. The program aims to develop a sense of pride to Ju/’hoansi about their culture by bringing together elders and children. In this culture class youngsters learn skills such as hunting, tracking and gathering, play traditional games, dance and learn to read and write in their mother-tongue. (TUCSIN, 2018). At the same time, these students are participating in the Cultural Dance Performance in which “they are always proud to

demonstrate their skills for appreciative visitors.” (ibid.). The aim of this program is to transfer the knowledge of the elders and cultivate a sense of pride to young Ju/’hoansi of their cultural identity and thus to have a better chance to participate in a healthy tourism industry (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018).

The narrative about the need to support the local community especially by western parties is also dominant among the tourists. A German tourist explains that since it is *us* who have the knowledge and the resources, we have the *duty* to share these with those in need. “We can’t leave them like this exactly because it is our fault, we have to help them to improve their livelihood by using technology.” (male German tourist, November 26, 2018). Another visitor expresses his disbelief on the local and national initiatives in Africa and has confidence on the efficiency and effectiveness of development projects from European organisations, “Personally, I really want to contribute to that because the governments all over Africa they do not do it. If we do not support them from outside, it is not happening as fast.” (male German tourist, November 25, 2018). A Hungarian tourist believed that it is beneficial for the Ju/’hoansi to demonstrate their culture. From the money they earn, they can go to school, educate themselves and have more information about health and a healthy diet. She also expresses that she felt she was ‘doing something good’ by visiting the village (female Hungarian tourist, December 12, 2018). A visitor in the Little Hunter’s museum mentions “I have seen the poverty here so I like that I can help them even a little bit. We in Europe have so much; it’s the least we can do to help them.” (male German tourist, December 11, 2018) and another “I liked it that the money goes straight to the people and not through a tour operator or a lodge. I want to help them as much as I can. I am already a volunteer in another region of Namibia, so I want to help the local communities.” (male German tourist, December 11, 2018). Finally, a Korean visitor expresses the following:

“I want to help them. But giving them money doesn’t seem the best help. But who am I to judge? They are grown-ups [...] It is ultimately up to them what they would like to have. I think that I would like to help them in health and education. I want to find ways where local people can have a healthy life and have good education not just by having a foreign NGO coming to their places but finding ways where they can help themselves, so they do not depend on outsiders.” (male Korean tourist, December 2, 2018).

4.2.2 CONNECT WITH YOUR ROOTS

Authenticity is the selling points of several organisations involved in cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae. It has been portrayed for decades now as a wilderness paradise and the Ju/’hoansi as the natural ecologists who live close to nature and that tourists should visit them before their authentic culture becomes extinct. The marketing manager of TUCSIN states that their marketing strategy so far had been centred around the theme of ‘wilderness paradise’. However, recently they are adopting a new marketing strategy which is oriented towards the perspective of the tourists and the effect the encounter will have on them. The prominent slogan of the new brochure by TUCSIN lodge is ‘Connect with your roots’. The TUCSIN community outreach coordinator explains the following:

“These people can teach the world so much about true wealth which comes from the environment. For people to come and see poverty, for me it is that those people (meaning the tourists) are lost. If you come here and see challenges, wealth and happiness and joy, then you see reality, and then you can learn about your own life. I

think what people define as prosperity and wealth is so misguided, there a lot to be learned from Nyae Nyae. And that is what we want to market.” (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018).

On the same topic, the marketing manager adds:

“Because even for me like a white Namibian, their lifestyle is different. People come here with this idea that they are coming back to their roots. And people here live like this. They don’t have worries, money. I think that is a perspective people want to experience. Even if it is modern, it is still different. We need to market those things to the operators in Europe.” (TUCSIN marketing manager, January 21, 2019).

A German couple express the following, when asked about why they chose Nyae Nyae:

“Every two or three years, we gather enough money and travel. Africa is a place you either love or hate and we love it. We like the wilderness and its purity; how different it is from our country. You can feel like your true self here.” (German tourists, November 22, 2018).

Two other tourists explain:

“We really enjoyed it because it is so peaceful to see people who still live this way. You know we consume and consume all the time. These people live with so little and they are used to it, they are happy. I really enjoyed the experience. I felt connected with nature and myself somehow.” (male Canadian tourist, November 24, 2018).

“I enjoyed it so much, to see these people live a simple life. I felt so connected with nature, I wish I could live this life, but you know we are used to having everything.” (female Russian tourist, November 24, 2018).

A Ju/’hoan tour guide believes that tourists visit Nyae Nyae because they have a different way of life and tourists want to see the different. They do not know nature and how ‘the world used to be’. “So, they come here to see this; the natural lifestyle.” (Ju/’hoan tour guide, January 15, 2019).

4.2.3 DOUBLE IDENTITY

Much has been written about the double identity of the San, how their representation as the authentic indigenous people of nature comes in contrast and at the same time coexists with their status as marginalized by past apartheid regimes and modern-day capitalism (Koot, 2018). Nevertheless, the double identity narrative is not prominent currently in the marketing of cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae. As the TUCSIN marketing manager explains there is a hidden side of the San; tour operators at first wanted to include both the traditional and the modern village in the tours, but eventually they preferred to leave out the modern village as is “more of a poverty scenario that they do not want to expose their guests to.” (TUCSIN marketing manager, January 21, 2019). The above claim also confirms the TUCSIN community outreach coordinator “All of our tour operators want us to hide the modern village and the modern lifestyle from their guests, because they want the guests to believe that this is how the San live.”, and he continues by giving an example for a newly set camp set by a local former guide “The guide we work with here has his own village now. He quit his job here to develop his own

product, and he brings his family there and hides any modern thing from the tourists. He does not want the tourists to see his family wearing modern clothes, in modern houses.” (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018). A tour operator mentions “Tourists want to see something quickly and move on. They do not want to travel for 5 hours and see poverty. They can find that closer to Windhoek. They come here to meet the real Bushmen.” (Tour operator, December 7, 2018).

The narrative however, changes when visitors eventually visit Nyae Nyae. During a conversation between a staff member and a visitor interested in a village tour, the first informed the latter that the tour is a performance to show how the Ju/'hoansi used to live in the past. They demonstrate their traditions, but they do not live like this anymore (Lodge staff member, November 30, 2018). Regarding this contradiction, the community outreach coordinator explains that the only thing that is staged for the tourists are the skins, “everything else that you see the knowledge and skills that will demonstrate are daily parts of their lives.” (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018). The lodge manager says the following along the same line, “Sometimes they (the tourists) feel disappointed that it is not like the old days, but I tell them that we have to accept it. I change, you change, life is different since when I was a kid. We have to go with the changes.” (Lodge manager, January 18, 2019).

The community outreach coordinator in an interview claims that they would like to change the narrative they have adopted so far in their marketing, and their new activities will serve this purpose.

“Tourists want to see what we currently offer, but I think this is unhealthy. We should be open. We really want the San to revive their culture for themselves, how they want, to strengthen themselves culturally and we want to market a product which is not a lie. I want them to know how it really is. I don't want to explain all the time that the only thing that is staged for you is the traditional clothes, the San do not wear the traditional clothes, they wear them for you, and then I say but they are proud to wear them. So, what we talk about the last two years is that TUCSIN will continue to develop projects that help the San here to own their culture and preserve it as they define it.” (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018).

The marketing director mentions the following about their new marketing strategy and activities:

“So that is what we want to explain to the guests. Because he (a Ju/'hoan guide) will also there with his normal western clothes and he would be guiding and he will say to the people: Ok this is my traditional village, this is how we used to live and partly we still live this way, but we have a mix of western living as well. But the tourists see more of the traditional scene and they know that this is all made up, it is not how things still are. It is pure tradition. And this is what we are trying to promote. Keep your heritage as it is, try and bring your children up in your heritage so they will participate in the village, they learn what the elder teach them of the old things they were used to. That is our aim as well, we want to promote this healthy lifestyle of holding on in your tradition.” (TUCSIN marketing manager, January 21, 2019).

The owners of Nhoma Safari Camp have already adopted a different approach to cultural tourism, in which they use the double identity narrative in the core of their marketing strategy.

According to the camp website “A visit to Nhoma Safari Camp will destroy the stereotype image people have of Bushmen and replace it with a more realistic view as well as amazement for the skills and knowledge lost by modern man.” (NhomaSafariCamp, 2018).

“It is easy to say that the Bushmen are not traditional anymore and that cultural tourism is dead. However, enough of their tradition and skills are left to make cultural tourism viable. If the children are to have any future, it is essential that their parents have a source of income. Tourism is not necessarily a permanent solution, but a way of utilising the land. It is most important that they don't lose this land to cattle owners of other tribes.” (NhomaSafariCamp, 2018).

Nhoma Safari camp was not operating while the fieldwork of this research was taking place, so it was not possible to visit it and gather data regarding the activities they offer and the narrative they have adopted. However, it is essential to include this camp in this analysis as they appear to be adopting a different approach from other stakeholders in the area. For this reason, the following segment from the website of a tour operator that cooperates with Nhoma Safari camp is included:

“Looking through our trips and destinations, you'll realise that we don't offer many trips that focus on local people and cultures. As a matter of principle, we'd prefer to avoid them rather than risk sending our travellers on visits that aren't sensitively handled – as such interactions are potentially damaging for the local cultures. Whilst researching, we've seen cultural trips that we refuse to support because of this. However, in Nhoma Camp we have great confidence. We know that the money the villagers earn from our travellers' visits has, over the years, made huge positive impacts on their lives; tourism has significantly helped the whole village. It has also increased the value that the people place on their own traditional skills and culture – as they now see these skills as a passport to earning money, rather than an anachronism.” (ExpertAfrica, 2018).

Even if third parties try to conceal the double identity of the San in their narratives or promote as a unique experience and an ethical travel choice, it eventually comes down to the actual encounter, in which the tourists come in close contact with the local tour guides and Ju/'hoansi who deliver the tourism product, their culture. The double identity narrative varies during the cultural activities.

For many tourists, the tour guide is the sole informant about the culture and history of the Ju/'hoansi. The majority of locals does not speak English, so the tour guide also acts as a translator. Furthermore, the Ju/'hoansi are relatively reserved and hesitate to engage more with the tourists in most cases; the interaction is thus narrowed to questions the visitors may ask, which the guides usually answer directly without addressing them to the local Ju/'hoansi. Therefore, the narratives the tour guides reproduce are highly significant. Since there is no script or written guide, every tour guide has a different approach to the tours and the experience, by the information the tour guide shares with the tourists and the questions the tourists pose to the tour guide.

During the fieldwork, I participated in village tours with three different tour guides arranged by TUCSIN Tsumkwe lodge. One guide was fully transparent about the current state of the Ju/'hoansi. For instance, in one tour, as soon as we reached the settlement, the tour guide

disclosed that the village is constructed to represent a traditional village the Ju/'hoansi were constructing in the past, when they used to move from one place to another. "We use this village to demonstrate our culture. We used to bring tourists to the other village, but the tourists were complaining about the noise from the children, the dogs and the cows". To a tourist who asked where the rest of the people are, he also responded that some were in Tsumkwe, or they work, and women go to sell their crafts in town. Answering another question about traditional hunting that takes days, the guide stated, "We don't do this anymore, these were the real Bushmen, now we just go for hunting sometimes. People can go to the shop to buy some things they need, but they also go to the bush and hunt for food." (Ju/'hoan tour guide, Mountain Pos December 12, 2018).

On another instance in the same village, Mountain Pos, but with a different tour guide, the tourist group had expressed to the guide their excitement to visit the 'real bushmen': "I got the suggestion for this place from a friend who had been to Nyae Nyae and she says it's the real thing. So, we decided to drive all the way here to see the real bushmen." (male Canadian tourist, November 24, 2018).

In this case, the tour guide gave little information to the tourists about the village and the culture and they proceeded on the bushwalk. When I asked the guide about this specific tour, he responded, "These tourists wanted to see the Bushmen and that is what we offer them. I am a Ju/'hoan person, but it is a bit complicated because the tourists want to see some things quickly. It is like a show but what we show is our culture." (Ju/'hoan tour guide, November 25, 2018).

On another interview he also added that tourists have limited time, they want to see some interesting things and leave. "If they stay for more, then it is ok, we can do more and show them the real thing. You can take them to the bush and spend some time there. If they come for only some hours, it is not possible." (Ju/'hoan tour guide, January 15, 2019). This guide also mentioned that if visitors ask questions and want to learn about the culture, he will explain to them in detail. On the same issue, a Ju/'hoan woman explain that if tourists ask questions about the modern life, she is happy to tell them there is a modern village and she will bring them to the village to see it (Female Ju/'hoan, Mountain Pos, December 18, 2018). Another Ju/'hoan woman adds,

"Sometimes they like to see this (modern) village and they understand that in the modern life you want to have money to buy things, but we always take them first to the traditional village to show them the tradition and if they ask, we can show them the modern village." (Female Ju/'hoan, Mountain Pos, November 30, 2018).

Finally, the last tour guide who had also recently constructed his own campsite concealed the modern identity of the Ju/'hoansi completely. "This is the settlement of my parents and everything that you will see is how it is." (Tour guide, /Ari-G//aqua, November 25, 2018). Regarding this campsite, a visitor mentions:

"We went there, and it seemed so clean and tidy, like they don't live there. The huts didn't have anything inside. And you could see that they are expecting us. We asked (name of tour guide) and he was going around the subject, saying that yes sometimes they stay here sometimes they don't. But in the end, he admitted that there is a modern village close by where they actually live." (female Polish tourist, December 9, 2018).

In the Little Hunter's museum, the narrative is more consistent. In the wooden kiosk which operates as the welcoming area for visitors, there is a sign which specifically stresses out that the aim of the Living Museum is not to show the modern life, but to reanimate the original culture, to prevent the complete loss of the tradition. During the tour, the guide also states that there is a modern village nearby and they constructed this settlement to show their traditions, the old way of living. The LCFN representative states the following about the way they handle the double identity of the Ju/'hoansi in their living museums:

“The stand with one leg on the modern world and with one leg on the old world. They just do it better in the living museum because they really have a place to circulate all the wisdom and they make money out of it and they have a netter standing on the modern world. They use it as a tool to gather more traditional knowledge.” (LCFN representative, January 24, 2019).

A Ju/'hoan man in //Xa/oba mentions that tourists want to see the traditional and the old culture, “That is why we wear our traditional clothes and then we go to the museum and we welcome them. If they book the full day activity, we can take them to the modern village too.” (male Ju/'hoan, //Xa/oba, January 5, 2019).

4.3 THE CULTURAL TOURIST

In this chapter, I would like to focus on the perspective of tourists when engaging in cultural activities in Nyae Nyae. This analysis will attempt to answer the third sub-question, namely, *how do tourists perceive cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae?* The findings discussed in this chapter are based on interviews and informal conversations I had with tourists in Nyae Nyae as well as comments tourists made during the activities. As mentioned in the methodology chapter the term tourist, includes all visitors in Nyae Nyae, the typical leisure tourists, volunteer-tourists, representatives of NGOs and other development workers who did not hold a permanent position in the area but came to visit for a few days. I chose to include volunteer-tourists, representatives of NGOs and other development workers in this category as the duration and function on their visit did not distinguish them from other visitors.

4.3.1 PERCEPTIONS OF AUTHENTICITY

Authenticity plays an important role in cultural tourism, so it is worthwhile to examine how tourists perceive authenticity while engaging in cultural activities. Firstly, it is essential to see what tourists define an authentic Ju/'hoansi cultural experience. For some authentic is described as the original, traditional, non-western, whereas some others defined it as the *current reality*. A German tourist associated authenticity with natural life and ‘native stuff’ (male German tourist, November 25, 2018), and another visitor with primitiveness, “Authentic means to live close to nature, in a primitive state. That is the reason why I avoid museums. I want the real thing. I hope that this village we are going to is authentic.” (female Polish tourist, December 9, 2018). Whereas an English visitor responded that authentic is a relative term (male English tourist, December 4, 2018) and another associated authenticity with the current state of the local community, “An authentic experience is to see how the people really live now.” (male German tourist, December 11, 2018). Finally, a Korean tourist associated authenticity with uniqueness, “Authenticity is what makes a culture different. I do not want to see McDonalds everywhere I want to see the real culture these people have.” (male Korean tourist, December 3, 2018).

When tourists were asked to evaluate the authenticity of the experience at the end of the activity, their responses also varied. Individuals who associated authenticity with tradition and non-modern, expressed their disappointment, “I was sad to see the old ways gone. This was a performance and not how they live and hunt today, so it was a disappointing inauthentic experience.” (female American tourist, January 18, 2019) and “For some, this village may be all they need to get an authentic experience of bushmen life, not for us.” (male American tourist, January 18, 2019). A Polish visitor elaborates further her opinion about the authenticity of the activity:

“If authentic is traditional, then no, it’s not authentic. Because they do not live the same way anymore. But they showed us elements of their culture which they still exercise, which are still authentic and they part of their lives.” (female Polish tourist, December 9, 2018).

Two other visitors, who were not aware that the activity was a representation of the traditional culture, also mentioned, “It better be authentic. We paid so much money for it. And the guide says so. I would be very disappointed if this were just a performance.” (male Canadian tourist, November 24, 2018) and,

“I think it was authentic. They seemed very comfortable in the skins and knew what they were doing in the bush. So, I think they live this way still. And why not? This is an ancient way of living. Close to nature. It’s authentic. And even if they don’t live this way we don’t care, we will show the pictures to our friends and say that they do. They will never know!” (female Russian tourist, November 24, 2018).

In contrast, other individuals had a different approach to the concept of authenticity. Many pointed out that the Ju/’hoansi demonstrated real elements of their culture, so even if this was a performance, the tourists regarded it as authentic. An English tourist admitted that at first, he had been disappointed as what he saw was not the real village, but he did not feel that the performance was exaggerating and forced. “The people were very laid-back, the performance was nice, it felt natural and not forced.” (male English tourist, December 4, 2018). On the same line, a German tourist says, “What they showed us was interesting, and it felt authentic the way they did it. Maybe they don’t wear the same clothes anymore, but they seemed to know what they were doing so I was fine with it.” (male German tourist, December 11, 2018). Another visitor regarded the experience as authentic as she was able to see the tradition but also the changes, especially how the modern culture is infiltrating the villages (female Namibian-German tourist, November 26, 2018).

4.3.2 AWARENESS OF THE ‘STAGE’

The findings above also illustrate the importance of how aware tourists are that the activity is a representation of the traditional lifestyle and culture. In the cases where tourists were aware that the activities are representations of the traditional culture, the responses were overall positive. Many tourists felt that this was a much preferable way of demonstrating the Ju/’hoan culture as they did not feel like intruding the Ju/’hoansi personal space. Those who had participated in other cultural activities with other ethnic groups such as the Himba, they also compared the activities with the ones in Nyae Nyae; in fact, the proactive character of the activity, made a positive impression to the visitors.

A group of Hungarian tourists had booked the activity through the lodge and visited the cultural village in Mountain Pos. They commented that they preferred this activity over the one with the Himba. “The Himba were just sitting there doing nothing. It was uncomfortable because we were in their village, you could see that people were bored. Here it is nice because they seem interested to show their culture and skills.” (male Hungarian tourist, December 12, 2018). Two other tourists from the same group also compared these two cultural activities and characterised the Ju/’hoansi as *really different*, friendly and interested to demonstrate their culture (male Hungarian tourist, December 12, 2018). Furthermore, a Hungarian woman points out that the cultural village is a much-preferred way of demonstrating the culture as she “did not feel that we invaded their privacy. It is nice that they can show what they want to show.” (female Hungarian tourist December 12, 2018).



Photo 4: Group of Tourists in Mountain Pos

A group of English tourists who visited the living museum in //Xa/oba, mentioned that it did not feel like a show, and they could tell that the Ju/’hoansi perform these activities in the same way in their everyday life too (female English tourist, December 4, 2018). “The people were very laid-back, and the performance didn’t seem exaggerating and forced. At the beginning we were disappointed that this was not their real village, but the performance was nice, it felt natural and not forced.” (male English tourist, December 4, 2018). Furthermore, an English tourist expressed his concern about intruding, “At first, we were concerned that we might intrude, but they told us that this village is for representation purposes, and people were friendly, so we felt more comfortable with the whole experience.” (male English tourist, December 4, 2018).

Another group of tourists from Germany that visited //Xa/oba as well, explains “At the beginning I was a bit disappointed that they don’t live like this anymore. But what they showed us was interesting and it felt authentic the way they did it. Maybe they don’t wear the same clothes anymore, but they seemed to know what they were doing so I was fine with it.” (male German tourist, December 11, 2018). Another visitor also added that he preferred this activity over a museum visit, as it was more interactive, and the activities took place in the actual place the Ju/’hoansi live. “We know that they were acting but still, they showed us their culture, it is not something they made up.” (male German tourist, December 11, 2018). However, two other visitors from the same group express their concern and scepticism,

“I don’t know what to think. It feels weird to pay them money to get naked. It is like being in a zoo. They don’t live like this anymore. I know it is traditional, but it feels weird. They take off their clothes and put up a show. I don’t understand why they have to do this in this way. I would like to visit their ordinary village and not this fake one. To get to know them and see their everyday life and then about their culture how it has changed through the years. This doesn’t seem authentic.” (male German tourist, December 11, 2018).

“I am very confused. I don’t know what to think. On the one hand, it was very weird but on the other hand what they showed us was interesting. The actual facts about the plants, and the fire and the tracking that was interesting. I understand that it is a way to make a profit and maybe it’s their only source of income, but it doesn’t seem right. I don’t know how much I enjoyed it because I asked the tour guide where the young people and he said that they don’t like to participate. So, I think the way they do the activity should change. It would be much more authentic if they showed us the same activities but with their everyday clothes and how they live now.” (female German tourist, December 11, 2018).

Finally, a Korean tourist who visited Makuri camp individually pointed out that his presence caused the primitiveness, “I said that I would like to take some pictures, and two people changed their clothes to traditional clothes so I can take a picture. That was funny.” (male Korean tourist, December 3, 2018).

On the other hand, in the cases where it was not disclosed to the tourists beforehand that the activity was a performance, and they realised that afterwards, they were expressing more negative feelings. A tourist in Mountain Pos doubted about the credibility of the activity, “It is just a show. They cannot live like this anymore. Because children go to school. They need the money.” (male German tourist, November 22, 2018). Tourists who visited the newly set camp in /Ari-G//aqna, expressed stronger feelings of disappointment:

“The inauthenticity of the experience made me feel uncomfortable because I think they didn’t like to be there. I felt uncomfortable because I understood this is the only way of making money. I don’t want to criticise that, but the fact that the tour guide wanted to hide that this was not a real village is weird. I’m ok with it being a re-enactment, it is just the feeling I got was weird.” (male American tourist, January 18, 2019).

A group of Polish tourists expressed strong feelings of dissatisfaction about the way the tour guide concealed the reality, and they characterized the village as *fake* and a *rip-off* (female, Polish tourist, December 9, 2018), “We asked (name of tour guide) and he was going around

the subject, saying that sometimes they stay here sometimes they don't. But in the end, he admitted that there is a modern village close by where they live.” (female Polish tourist, December 9, 2018).

Finally, an interesting case to look at, is when tourists were not aware that the activity was a performance neither beforehand nor afterwards. Two visitors in Mountain Pos seemed in denial about the possibility that the activity might not be *authentic*, “It better be authentic. We paid so much money for it. And the guide says so. I would be very disappointed if this were just a performance” (male Canadian tourist, November 24, 2018) and, “even if they don't live this way we don't care, we will show the pictures to our friends and say that they do. They will never know!” (female Russian tourist, November 24, 2018)

4.3.3 VIEWS ON COMMUNITY SUPPORT

Regardless of how authentic or inauthentic the experience was, and the level of awareness about the *stage*, most tourists expressed contentment about their visit. This satisfaction was attributed to the benefits their visit had to the local Ju/'hoan community.

Visitors at the Little Hunter's museum when asked about what they liked at the activity mentioned the financial benefits their visit had to the local community as one of the aspects about the visit they valued the most. Visitors regarded as positive aspects the fact that the money goes straight to the people and not through a tour operator (male German tourist, December 11, 2018) and that the museum is a way for visitors to give back to the community and support the preservation of the Ju/'hoan culture (female English tourist, December 4, 2018).



Photo 5: Tourists Photographing Ju/'hoansi in //Xa/oba

A second German tourist expressed the duty he feels as a European to support the poor, “I have seen the poverty here so I like that I can help them even a little bit. We in Europe have so much; it's the least we can do to help them.” (male German tourist, December 11, 2018). Those who

visited the villages that cooperate with the lodge also perceived the financial support as beneficial, as in this way the Ju/'hoansi can earn some income by demonstrating their culture, (female Hungarian tourist, December 12, 2018), take care of their families (male Hungarian tourist, December 12, 2018) and educate themselves (female Hungarian tourist, December 12, 2018).

Furthermore, visitors reported the emotional gratification the encounter had on themselves, especially when the Ju/'hoansi expressed their gratitude to them; "It was so fun to see kids getting excited about the candy we gave them, their smiles warmed my heart." (female American tourist, January 18, 2019), and "I brought a scarf from home to give to a village girl. She was so happy but shy, it felt good and emotional." (female Russian tourist, November 24, 2018). A German tourist confessed that he felt good for himself when he donated school supplies at the village, but also reported his guilt as he takes for granted such material goods in his everyday life compared to his hosts who do not (male German tourist, December 1, 2018). In general tourists expressed that the encounter made them feel good about themselves but had difficulty elaborating further (female & male Hungarian tourists, December 12, 2018). Finally, two tourists noted the conflict between the traditional and the modern life of the Ju/'hoansi but did not perceive tourism development as negative; "Their lives are not easy, and it is difficult to make a living that does not conflict with the traditional life. I hope our visit helped at least a bit." (female Namibian-German tourist, November 26, 2018), and "I believe that the traditional way of life won't be able to continue in the modern world. And I can see that tourism is a valuable income source, so I'm glad I contributed." (male German tourist, January 15, 2019).

Other visitors, who were also involved in organisations for the development of Nyae Nyae, expressed stronger feelings regarding their duty to the local community and criticized the cultural activities. "Our goal is also to preserve the culture but show them that can be modern at the same time. And they can show that to the tourists as well, not this show". The same individual also highlighted his duty towards the Ju/'hoansi, "We have the knowledge and the resources. So, we have the duty to share the knowledge. We can't leave them like this exactly because it is our fault, we have to help them improve their livelihood by using technology." (male German tourist, November 26, 2018). Two visitors from another charity organisation expressed their personal views on development as well:

"I want to support them because, I clearly see the need of people to participate in the modern living, to get education and make money to increase the living standards because I don't think they want to stay or can stay on the tradition because they see all the advertising and all the marketing, they want to participate." (male German tourist, November 25, 2018).

"Personally, I really want to contribute to that because the governments all over Africa they do not do it. If we do not support them from outside, it is not happening as fast. You can see a lot of schools, kindergartens, cultural places, they are all supported by different organizations from Europe, and if this would not happen it would be much slower or worse than expected." (male German tourist, November 25, 2018).

4.4 THE TOURISM PRODUCERS AND SUPPLIERS

In this chapter, I will address the final sub-question, *how do tourism producers and suppliers perceive cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae?* As the narrative of cultural tourism is shifting and the Ju/'hoansi are not merely a tourism attraction but also tourism producers, it is important to focus on the perspective of the cultural tourism suppliers. This analysis is essential for having a rounded view on the cultural tourism sector and hence meta-tourism. As tourism producers are regarded the Ju/'hoansi and as suppliers the organisations and tourism entities that provide cultural tourism products in Nyae Nyae.

4.4.1 PERCEPTIONS OF ORGANISATIONS ON CULTURAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

To begin with, it is important to examine how certain organisations view and manage cultural tourism development in Nyae Nyae Conservancy. According to the Program officer for natural resource management and the sole NNDFN representative of NNDFN in Nyae Nyae, cultural tourism is important for the conservancy. In the past, NNDFN was involved in visioning a tourism development plan but the plan failed to reach the implementation stage. As the NNDFN representative admits, the conservancy is not benefiting from the cultural tourism sector, only from trophy hunting (Program officer for natural resource management and representative of NNDFN in Tsumkwe, December 5, 2018). The representative of NNDFN in Windhoek had a strikingly different approach to the topic. When asked about the impact of cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae and their intention to further develop cultural tourism, she responded that cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae is so limited that it does not have a huge impact on the local Ju/'hoan community. Nevertheless, she admitted later that there is competition among villages as to who will get the most visitors because that they can earn cash from the activities and the crafts (NNDFN representative in Windhoek, January 23, 2019).

“We did some research which was about tourism development and all the things they could do to actively encourage more tourism, but they have difficulty managing their day-to-day operations without having this. Some things happen but not by them. So, it is just beyond their capacity. Also, just the number of cars going to that area and to Khaudum is so low. There are some campsites, but it is not worth investing in campsites where ten people come per year.” (NNDFN representative in Windhoek, January 23, 2019).

Furthermore, the NNDFN representative showed limited understanding on the way cultural tourism is practised in Nyae Nyae:

“I am not aware what other villages do [...], I have been only to the living cultural museum [...] I know people from the lodge go to other villages where I don't know how they have established their activities and their routines so I can't say how culturally accurate it is. I mean they don't have access to many other materials they can't do a lot of other stuff, but they will be trying to please the tourist rather than perpetuate cultural truths I suspect. But I don't know.” (NNDFN representative in Windhoek, January 23, 2019).

Finally, the same representative suggests that the Ju/'hoansi are not aware of the impact tourism development will have on them as they lack experience. "Some have been to Grashoek. That is the extent of the tourism exposure, the understanding of the potential and the impact is limited by their experience." (NNDFN representative in Windhoek, January 23, 2019).

Evidently, cultural tourism is not a priority for NNDFN and as they claim the conservancy does not focus on tourism either. The NNC manager, however, presents a different opinion when asked about cultural tourism and the approach of the conservancy. As he explains, cultural tourism will benefit the community in many ways. Cultural tourism can contribute to the preservation of the traditional culture as more people will exercise it. It will also create more jobs and consequently more financial benefits for those who exercise it (Nyae Nyae Conservancy manager, December 13, 2018). The manager also expresses the wish of the Conservancy to develop a lodge and a campsite with a private investor (Nyae Nyae Conservancy manager, December 13, 2018). The TUCSIN community outreach coordinator also confirms the intention of NNC of owning a lodge "They want their own lodge. Our next meeting will specifically discuss this topic, that what are the consequences, good or bad, if we have TUCSIN lodge which is a community lodge, and the conservancy has a lodge." (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018).

Furthermore, many Ju/'hoansi expressed the opinion that the conservancy should manage the activities, as they will then receive a fairer wage. "If it is the conservancy that sends the tourists, it would be better. They can get the fees and send them straight to the people who do the activities." (male Ju/'hoan, Mountain Pos December 18, 2018). A Ju/'hoan tour guide explains the current situation,

"The conservancy were supposed to have that (tourism projects). Like with tour operations but they don't have that. Because they cannot find a way to work with the tourists. They don't know how to do tourism. If someone goes to the conservancy, they can find them a tour guide but not usually. I tried to suggest to them to have a tourism officer, but they never did it, maybe they don't have someone, or they don't have the money. They have only a pricelist for the guides and a visit to the village." (Ju/'hoan tour guide, January 15, 2019).

As there was no official tourism development plan from neither NNDFN nor NNC when the fieldwork of this research took place, it became apparent that TUCSIN was taking control of such initiatives. "It's just a matter of having a plan because we see that there was no plan in tourism." says the community outreach coordinator.

"We want to help the conservancy to manage it because if you just go around and see the signs that says campsite, living museum and people see tourists and see money but they don't know how to engage with them. So, we want the whole Nyae Nyae to agree that this is our plan, and this is how we will all benefit from tourism and the conservancy has to manage it." (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018).

Added to this, based on the survey TUCSIN recently carried out which I had the opportunity to access the preliminary data, out of 29 villages, 8 are involved in cultural tourism already and 17 expressed their intention to be involved in cultural tourism. Additionally, out of the 17 villages, 8 have already expressed their intention to the conservancy. Furthermore, TUCSIN

intends to transfer the management of the lodge to the local community, “They will have ownership of not just how the lodge operates but also how they want tourism to be developed.” (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018). As of now, the lodge and the projects are governed by a board in which the conservancy and traditional authority are also represented.

Nevertheless, TUCSIN’s domination in the cultural tourism sector has created several issues. The NNC manager states that the conservancy has a partnership with TUCSIN on paper, but in reality, there is little cooperation and communication is limited. “They operate on their own and make their own projects. They are developing the village campsites now but is not clear what the benefit of the conservancy will be because the earnings will go directly to the villages” (Nyae Nyae Conservancy manager, December 13, 2018). Added to this, the NNDFN representative criticizes the approach of TUCSIN to cultural tourism development, “So, what is going there is a canned version, not the true ethnic San version of it. Something to please the tourists, it’s entertainment when you have dinner. It is not cultural preservation.” (NNDFN representative in Windhoek, January 23, 2019) and states the following about the cooperation between TUCSIN and NNC,

“The purpose of TUCSIN going there was to do training for the local people. And that has never happened. [...] The lodge doesn’t give money to the conservancy, so it is its own entity which is only connecting with the community when they serve the purpose of income generation really. I don’t see them giving back to the community. So, they are a bit out of tangent, because they are not really sure what their role is.” (NNDFN representative in Windhoek, January 23, 2019)

Finally, the NNDFN representative explain the reason why many tourism entities choose to bypass the conservancy and make an agreement with the Ju/’hoansi directly.

“The conservancies are not well managed organisations so in fact all that they give you is a real pain. If a tourism entity wants to have some people come and do something, it is quite a pain to try and organize with the conservancy, they don’t have emails, they can’t make decisions very often, it is all over the place. I can see why it is easier just to go straight and make a deal with the people. Most in Nyae Nyae they just bypass them.” (NNDFN representative in Windhoek, January 23, 2019).

4.4.2 JU/’HOANSI HAVING A SHARE ON THE CULTURAL TOURISM SECTOR

Another issue that has surfaced from the development of cultural tourism and the active participation of the Ju/’hoansi as tourism producers is the creation of camps and traditional villages without the authorisation from the traditional authority. While the fieldwork of this research was taking place, a local tour guide had recently set up his own cultural village. A representative of NNDFN in Tsumkwe explains that there is process one has to follow to create a campsite and a village, but it seems that some manage to skip these processes (Program officer for natural resource management and representative of NNDFN in Tsumkwe, December 5, 2018). And he elaborates further,

“There are a lot of campsites popping out everywhere, it doesn’t look very sustainable, the conservancy has to work out a plan, because there are so many campsites, people see the opportunities that they make money from tourism. The constitution clearly states what are the steps to create a campsite.” (Program officer for natural resource management and representative of NNDFN in Tsumkwe, December 5, 2018).

The NNC manager complains that community members set up illegal camps (Nyae Nyae Conservancy manager, December 13, 2018). The TUCSIN community outreach coordinator explains that recently a tour guide who was working for the lodge, quitted his job as he wanted to develop his own product; so, he set up a traditional village and campsite without following the required process. “He brings his family there and hides any modern thing from the tourists. He doesn’t want the tourists to see his family, wearing modern clothes, in modern houses, and I think this is unhealthy” (TUCSIN Community outreach coordinator, December 5, 2018). And although the TUCSIN community outreach coordinator claims that TUCSIN’s objective is to support the Ju/’hoansi in reviving their culture for themselves, as they want, he also criticizes the way this specific Ju/’hoan tour guide is designing his tourism product.

Furthermore, the lodge is cooperating with this tour operator and brings tourists to that camp, even though the village is not registered. This has created tension among the other villages. According to the lodge manager, they cooperate with /Ari-G//aqla because it gives the visitor a lot of different options; “You can do a sleepover there, live exactly like the San people. A lot of people want to stay there, sleep and eat, hunt and gather like the San people and /Ari-G//aqla offers this. It is the only village that has this option close to us.” (Lodge manager, January 18, 2019). From a Ju/’hoan perspective, a woman from Doupos complains that the lodge stopped bringing tourists and instead the lodge brings tourists to the ‘illegal’ village, “Without tourists we do not have income.” (female Ju/’hoan, Doupos, November 28, 2018). Another respondent from Mountain Pos mentions “Nobody knows about this village. It is something that (name of tour guide) started without letting anybody know. It is not approved; it is illegal and maybe he will be in trouble.” (male Ju/’hoan, Mountain Pos, November 30, 2018). The tour guide who set up the traditional village, refused to have an interview.

Another tour guides, whom I had the opportunity to interview also expressed his desire to create a traditional village and campsite.

“If you are very qualified as a tour guide you can have your own business, lodge, campsite whatever. I really want to have my own business because I think I have enough experience on that. I started in 1994 to work as a guide here at the lodge and then we moved up to Nhoma, and then I came back to Tsumkwe lodge.” (Ju/’hoan tour guide, January 15, 2019).

Another matter that has surfaced is that many lodges close to Windhoek approach the Ju/’hoansi of Nyae Nyae Conservancy to staff their cultural activities’ itinerary. As a Ju/’hoan woman explains “lodges take more and more San people from here to their lodges to demonstrate the San culture, so tourists do not come here anymore. They can just go to Windhoek to see the San culture.” (Female Ju/’hoan, Mountain Pos, November 30, 2018). The NNC manager states that Ju/’hoansi are taken to lodges outside of the Conservancy without the permission of the Traditional Authority (NNC manager, December 13, 2018).

A couple from Mountain Pos until recently worked in a lodge close to Windhoek and explain their own perspective:

“Someone came and told us that the owner of (name of the lodge) needs some San people. We went there and there are tourists three times per day. In the morning, in the afternoon, and in the evening where you can sit by the fire tell stories, talk about the stars and everything. [...] We wanted to make some money and that is a good opportunity. We took some of the kids with us but the older ones we left them here. The smaller we took them, and they also went school there.” (male Ju/’hoan, Mountain Pos, December 18, 2018).

“There is a lady in Doupos, she is the person who is very connected to the lodge and she decided that it will be for six months. We went 8 people in total and now this lady from Doupos went herself there. [...] We like it both here and there, but there we have more tourists so more money. We can make money in a short period of time there. It is very good there, we had everything, we could buy food, the children had enough clothes and, on the way back we bought things to bring here.” (female Ju/’hoan, Mountain Pos, December 18, 2018).

The lodge manager expresses her dissatisfaction with the above situation. She explains that this practice creates a competitive disadvantage to Tsumkwe lodge “They give the activities that actually tourists come to Tsumkwe for.” (Lodge manager, January 18, 2019). In addition, she states that after a meeting with the NNC, they collectively decided that Ju/’hoansi who are employed by other lodges, will not receive the annual benefit the conservancy distributes to its members. “This measure might change the situation a bit.” (Lodge manager, January 18, 2019).

The NNDFN representative explains her own perspective on the matter,

“In the beginning with Naankuse, we helped set up an agreement with the conservancy so they would get N\$5000 per month for support in projects, then there were some issues and the conservancy wanted to stop, they didn’t think it was well done [...]. Now they do their own separate thing, and they don’t go through the conservancy. I won’t criticise someone going there because they get fed for 3 months, they come back with a bunch of food, what else they could have been doing. It is very hard to criticize; it may not be optimal from our perspective, but I cannot give them an alternative way of making this money and that food.” (NNDFN representative in Windhoek, January 23, 2019).

One of the lodges that are referred above, apart from the typical San cultural activities, also offers a volunteer-tourism product, in which tourists can participate in the education of the Ju/’hoan children whose parents are employed by the lodge. “Volunteering at the Clever Cubs School provides a unique opportunity to make a positive impact on the local San Bushman children, whilst surrounded by Namibia’s beautiful landscapes and wildlife.” (Naankuse, 2018).

4.4.3 THE LOCAL GAZE

In chapter 4.2 we briefly discussed how the mutual gaze influences the way the Ju/’hoansi portray their double identity. In chapter 4.3 we looked into the tourist gaze and how this

influences the experience. In this chapter we will deeper our analysis to the local gaze to have a complete apprehension of the relations between hosts and guests.

A Ju/'hoan tour guide briefly explains that when he started working for the first owner on Tsumkwe lodge, tourism was newly introduced in Nyae Nyae. He had to reach the others how to handle tourists and how to behave around them. Now the Ju/'hoansi know exactly what to do when tourists arrive; "They know what the tourists expect from them. So, they are now better at taking the people in the bush, explain them what they are doing. They know how to answer the questions the tourists have." (Ju/'hoan tour guide, January 11, 2019).

Furthermore, he mentions that he advises the others to treat the tourists as guests and teach them about the San culture.

"What I tell them is that you don't have to pretend, just do what you always are doing. Treat them like your guest and teach them what they want to learn from you, this is very important, you are the only one still having your own culture. Most of the people want to see you because they read books about you. Because of the anthropologists who were here before that is why the people come here. So, you have to treat them like your guest, make them happy." (Ju/'hoan tour guide, January 11, 2019).

Some respondents also explain their respective on visitors' expectations. A Ju/'hoan man says that the tourists who come have already read about them and pay a lot of money to come to Nyae Nyae, so he feels responsible to show them his culture (male Ju/'hoan, (Mountain Pos, November 30, 2018). Another respondent also stresses the responsibility he feels towards the tourists, "People like to see the bushmen because it is an ancient lifestyle, and we are the only one that still have it. So, we should preserve the culture and show it to the others." (male Ju/'hoan, Doupos, November 28, 2018). A Ju/'hoansi tour guide notes the significance of their natural lifestyle in tourism,

"People from overseas have a different way of life. When they come here, they want to see the different. The way people are living here. They can do things in the bush and I think most of the people don't know nature and how the world used to be. So, they come here to see this; the natural lifestyle." (Ju/'hoan tour guide, January 15, 2019).

A number of respondents mentioned that the traditional clothing is an important element of the cultural activity; "When the tourists come, they want to see the traditional way and the old culture. That is why we wear our traditional clothes." (male Ju/'hoan, //Xa/oba, January 5, 2019). Two other respondents explain that the lodge has instructed them to wear the skins, "If we wear skins the tourists will pay us more money." (male Ju/'hoan, Mountain Pos, November 30, 2018), and "Sometimes the young people don't like to participate. They want to be modern and live in the city, but they see that when they wear skins people want to take photos with them and they can earn money." (male Ju/'hoan, Doupos, November 28, 2018). Furthermore, a Ju/'hoan woman explains that she does not wear skins when the tourists are not present "maybe they will get broken and when the tourists come, I won't have the traditional clothes to wear. It is difficult to get more skins." (female Ju/'hoan, Mountain Pos, December 18, 2018).



Photo 6: Ju/'hoansi in /Ari-G//aqna

village, they mentioned that they used to use only the modern village, but tourists were complaining about the noise, the children and the animals (Ju/'hoan tour guide, Mountain Pos December 12, 2018). In //Xa/oba, they highlighted that tourists are interested only in the traditional ways and the old culture. In any case, if tourists want to visit the modern village too, the Ju/'hoansi mentioned that they will be pleased to show them that village as well.

“For example, you two girls (meaning myself and another researcher) sitting with us we don't have any problem. If tourists want to do so it is ok, but we don't think they want to because there is so much noise, from kids and cows.” (male Ju/'hoan, Mountain Pos, November 30, 2018).

Finally, a respondent mentions that other elements such as hairstyle play a role in the activity, “When the tourists come, and you have different hair, like this (meaning hair extensions) you cannot go. The tourists don't like the San person with long hair. It's not traditional.” (female Ju/'hoan, Mountain Pos, December 18, 2018). Added to this, other respondents mention that tourists have limited time and are not able to walk long distances, so they adjust the activities to cater to the visitors' needs (female Ju/'hoan, Mountain Pos, December 18, 2018). Sometimes they even collect the bush food in advance and bring it closer to the village (female Ju/'hoansi, Doupos, November 28, 2018).

Last but not least, when interviewees were asked whether they show visitors the modern

5. DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will correlate the primary findings with the theoretical framework of this research. To do so, I will firstly restate the problem and the aim of the study. Then, I will discuss the overarching findings that derived from the previous chapters and I will critically reflect on the theoretical framework this research has employed. Finally, I will conclude with some practical recommendations and suggestions for future research.

5.1 RESTATING THE PROBLEM

Namibia is increasingly becoming a popular destination for international tourists; thus, the impact of tourism development becomes more and more evident in local communities, especially for those involved in cultural tourism. One community like this is the Ju/'hoan community of Nyae Nyae. As the Ju/'hoansi's participation in cultural tourism and modern society is growing, inevitably a new narrative is created. Instead of being portrayed as the pristine hunter-gatherers untouched by modernity, the Ju/'hoansi are marketed as tourism producers in their own right. This narrative creates a form of meta-tourism, which thematises its own effects on the host communities. Consequently, tourists by confronting the 'Other' and contributing to their development, experience authenticity in an existential level, as they perceive themselves as the authentic one the 'Other' struggles to look alike.

Inspired by the article of Garland and Gordon on meta-tourism, this research aims to explore how this genre of tourism manifests in Nyae Nyae and its effect on the Ju/'hoan community. Particularly, this study focuses on how the cultural activities are practised and marketed by various entities. Furthermore, this research explores the perceptions of the hosts and the guests about cultural tourism.

5.2 DISCUSSING THE KEY FINDINGS

This research demonstrated the way meta-tourism takes shapes in Nyae Nyae Conservancy and its implications. Firstly, cultural activities' itinerary is inspired by the Ju/'hoan culture but is created and planned by third parties such as LCFN and TUCSIN.

All tourism providers deliver more or less the same product; cultural activities that involve a visit to a traditional settlement, Ju/'hoansi dressed in the traditional clothes, performing dancing and singing and the core activity, *the bushwalk*. Some minor differences lie on how they are organised and the technicalities, such as the degree of standardisation of the cultural product and the way the revenues are allocated to the community.

Furthermore, as the activities are designed to cater to the guests' needs and schedule, they are not a realistic representation of the Ju/'hoan culture. They also depend on a large degree to the expectations the tourists express. As the local Ju/'hoansi and especially the tour guides want to meet the expectations of their guests, they act in such a way that caters to the image of the traditional pristine hunter-gatherer. The villages are created for representation purposes, so tourists find them tidy and without distractions; activities that ordinarily take hours such as

hunting and gathering are compressed, and other activities such as dancing serve a different purpose. Added to this, the activities are limited to showcasing the traditional side of the Ju/'hoan lifestyle. Little is shown from their everyday life, in the village they ordinarily settle. The double identity of the Ju/'hoansi is a complex reality to unfold during a brief encounter. Tourists spend on average two hours in the cultural activities, they do not typically ask questions or interact with the Ju/'hoansi in a meaningful level, therefore, they limit themselves to what they see during the activities and the information the tour guide shares with them. As a result, tourists are shown a sterilised compressed version of the Ju/'hoan lifestyle and culture. One important remark here is that the Ju/'hoansi do not feel that their performance is inauthentic as they demonstrate their culture and they are willing to host visitors in both villages, traditional and modern.

Additionally, the itineraries and the marketing of the activities are decided and managed by the organizations involved; there is a lack of an organised local initiative to create and promote a tourism product that will be delivered directly to the tourists. NNC and hence NNDFN do not participate in the planning of tourism projects. In fact, the stance of NNDFN about the limited capacity of Ju/'hoansi to develop a cultural tourism plan is striking. Therefore, the private initiatives that prevail in the tourism sector create a fragile balance and increase the dissatisfaction among community members. Among the tourism providers TUCSIN Tsumkwe Lodge dominates the tourism sector in Nyae Nyae and the villages that cooperate with the lodge receive the majority of visitor. Added to this, the lack of a commonly accepted tourism plan and communication has led individuals to bypass institutional processes and either seek employment in lodges outside the conservancy or create their own cultural unauthorised village.

Especially in the case of the tour guides, they have acquired such skills that can be involved not merely as actors but as tourism suppliers. A newly set camp from a tour guide is such an example. This camp has created some unrest as it has challenged the processes the community camps follow and the tour guide's cooperation with the lodge has intensified the tension. Nevertheless, this case is an example of using one's double nature and portray themselves as they see fit. In this case, the Ju/'hoansi who participate, except the tour guide, are portrayed as the pristine hunter-gatherers. Thus, it becomes apparent that this initiative is heavily influenced by the local gaze; the hosts want to meet their guests' expectations, by projecting the typical image of the traditional lifestyle.

Moreover, as organisations in Nyae Nyae, rely heavily on donors and tourists, they promote cultural tourism as a positive force. Tourism development brings financial revenues to organisations that they can use in development projects. Tourism, also, paradoxically provides income generation that enables the Ju/'hoansi to become members of the modern society and at the same time, contributes to their cultural preservation. It cultivates a sense of pride to the Ju/'hoansi who demonstrate their culture and through the activities they gain financial independence. This argument is used by the majority of organisations involved in cultural tourism in the area.

Added to this, this research shows that the majority of tourists considered that their visit had a positive impact to the local community. Tourists widely believed that through tourism, the Ju/'hoansi can educate and support themselves financially. Many visitors highlighted the difference between themselves and the Ju/'hoansi. In fact, a reoccurring pattern, especially among those involved in volunteering or development projects, was their duty towards the less fortunate. Also, in the case of the latter, elements of white paternalism were much less subtle.

Tourists also reported that by helping those less economically advanced, they felt good about themselves. They were aware, most of the times, about the effect of tourism in the host community and they experience existential authenticity by contributing to the development of that community through tourism. Tourism thus, provides the justification they need to assert themselves as the authentic one the 'Other' wants to look alike. Consequently, it can be argued that tourists experience meta-tourism in a certain degree.

The authenticity discourse has also subtly changed. Instead of exclusively promoting the Ju/'hoansi as the noble savages who live close to nature, organisations promote the effect this nature will have on the tourists and the benefits they will personally have from the encounter. As the tour operators cannot (or do not want) to promote the stereotypical Bushman image anymore, they encourage visitors not to assess the authenticity of the experience based on the primitiveness of the Bushmen. But instead, they focus on the impact the encounter will have on the visitors themselves. In this case specifically, tourists expressed the feeling of finding their true self by coming in contact with the 'Other'. Seeing something so different from themselves made them reflect upon their life and by combining the encounter with the financial aid, this feeling is further enhanced.

Finally, as the tour suppliers realise that concealing the double identity of the Ju/'hoansi is not a sustainable strategy and despite the pressure from tour operators to conceal this complex reality, they make attempts to change the narrative. However, these changes in the narratives are being imposed by the non-San tourism providers, so they are met with scepticism from the local community as the traditional Bushman image has been linked with higher earnings.

5.3 REFLECTING ON THE THEORY

Regarding meta-tourism as it has been defined in this research, it is not evident in the physical acts of the cultural activities as they are currently performed. The tourists visit traditional settlements and the local Ju/'hoansi dress in their traditional leather clothing. Thus, what the tourists physically gaze upon is the image of the pristine hunter-gatherers untouched by the western world. Nevertheless, the cultural tourism product is not experienced only by what the tourists see. The accompanying narratives are also important in the shaping of the cultural experience.

The narrative analysis has highlighted the system of ideas that shape cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae. The proclaimed community support highly illustrates the way meta-tourism manifests in Nyae Nyae. By helping the underprivileged, tourists gain reassurance that they are not exploitative consumers but benevolent patrons as they support the local community with their non-intrusive visit. Although, tourists are aware of the impact of tourism and the modern socioeconomic system on the local community, and even if they express their initial disappointment that the experience is not as primitive as they expected (objective authenticity), they adopt a different ideology; they do not assess the authenticity of the experience by the constructivist sense of what consists as authentic. Instead, they shift their focus to the effect the encounter has on themselves (existential authenticity). As Garland and Gordon (1999) argue:

“By visiting the Bushmen, tourists seek and often claim to find redemption for the alienation and fragmentation of their lives. By coming into contact with those perceived as their symbolic opposites, tourists gain reassurance that they are themselves worthy and whole and they find their own authenticity.”

Tourists, thus, gain satisfaction from the philanthropical aspect of the activity and experience a much-needed existential authenticity. Through meta-tourism, guests allow themselves to experience an adventure off the beaten track, while drawing enjoyment from the realisation of their difference from their hosts and by asserting themselves as the authentic, the object of desire that the *Other* wants to look alike. As Wilson (2014) argues the enjoyment of the Western consumer culture is dependent upon its imagined distance from the poverty and suffering of Africa.

The fact that tourists are not concerned about the tourism experience being a performance can be linked with Cohen's (1995) argument that the post-modern tourist aware of the impact of tourism on fragile host communities, is not concerned about the 'staged authenticity' anymore. Instead, authenticity is experienced on an existential level which is rooted in the participation in the development of the hosts. As their function as tourists blurs with the one as patrons of development, the 'gaze' evoked by the participation in development boosts the guests' identity; "it provides a certain cachet, a mark of respectability, which brings instant approbation and value" (Kapoor, 2020).

Regarding the effect of meta-tourism on the host community, Garland and Gordon (1999) argue:

"Meta-tourism offers bushman tourism providers at least a partial chance to decide for themselves how much they want to cater to tourists' desires to consume their cultural otherness, and how much they want to assert their more modern identities as indigenous peoples or tourism producers."

However, one should consider the forces of the local and the tourist gaze. Tourists stereotypical expectations are reflected on the locals who behave accordingly to meet these expectations and benefit financially (Urry, 1996). Especially in the case of the Ju/'hoansi, for whom tourism is one of the limited income sources, the gaze becomes even more powerful. The Ju/'hoansi perceive that they should provide an authentic experience which is the one associated with the objectivist approach to authenticity. Depending on the awareness of tourists that the activities are a representation of the traditional culture, and what they personally consider as authentic, misunderstandings between hosts and guests may occur.

Finally, since the meta-narrative has been imposed by the non-San tourism providers, the degree in which meta-tourism is an empowering device, can be contested, especially when these providers depend on the agendas of donors. As Robins (2001) has argued, organisations who rely heavily on donors, express a strong interest in cultural survival of vanishing cultures. As a result, NGOs strategically use the hunter-gatherer identity and the argument of cultural preservation. The implication of this, however, is that charity work becomes a tourism product, either by marketing and using the participants as the attraction itself or by promoting philanthro/volunteer-tourism. The commodification of development thus, renders the hosts in a position where they have to remain in a constant state of becoming developed. Baptista (2017) has described the merging of development and tourism as *developmentourism*, where underdevelopment becomes a market attribute, and the hosts use underdevelopment to achieve market integration. Added to this, participatory development is often apolitical bureaucratic and top-down to ensure the projects they implement are manageable safe and controllable (Kapoor, 2020). As a result, community development functions less as empowering the hosts and more about gratifying the guests (ibid.).

5.4 PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Based on the findings and the above discussion, I would like to propose some practical suggestions and research recommendations that could be beneficial to take into consideration and possibly apply in Nyae Nyae Conservancy and in other landscapes where the community is involved in cultural tourism.

Firstly, even though, the community is the main attraction of cultural tourism in Nyae Nyae, collective decision making is limited. Community participation is key in cultural tourism as it can lead to more efficient decision-making and greater motivation to be part of the process (Hitchcock, 1993). Participation can also empower individually by reinforcing the sense of pride and socially by increasing community cohesion (Cole, 2006). Moreover, the participation can increase the community's carrying capacity by reducing tourism's negative impacts while enhancing its positive effects (Jamal & Getz, 1995). For this reason, it is important to increase the involvement of the Ju/'hoan community in the governing processes with a bottom-up approach. To achieve this, there should be constant communication among the organisations involved in Nyae Nyae, especially TUCSIN and NNC and develop a generally accepted tourism development plan in which the community will have decision making power.

In relation to the meta-tourist, it is important to reflect individually on ourselves when engaging in cultural tourism; our motives, expectations and impressions of the encounter with the host community. In a wider context, we should possibly reconsider the way and speed in which we consume places and people and possibly adopt a slower pace on this consumption.

As for future research recommendations, cultures are always in process (Bruner, 1994), so research in cultural tourism is always relevant and as long as new tourism projects are introduced in Nyae Nyae, there will always be academic interest on the way the Ju/'hoansi community and the other stakeholders involved, respond and how the dynamics shift. Furthermore, as the concept of existential authenticity opens up broad prospects for re-justification of authenticity seeking as the foundation of tourist motivation (Wang, 1999), it would be also interesting to further explore this concept in cultural tourism and especially from a psychoanalytical perceptive.

6. CONCLUSION

The starting point of the present research study was the article of Garland and Gordon (1999) on meta-tourism and even though as a term it has not been widely explored, its context is included in many discussions around development and tourism. Meta-tourism could be used as a lens to analyse 'benevolent' forms of tourism which are becoming more and more popular. Shifting the focus from objective or constructive authentic experiences to the existential authenticity the individual experiences when engaging in tourism can provide insight on the ideologies the tourism sector is dominated by and unveil the complex power relations of the stakeholders involved.

Therefore, by using meta-tourism to explore how cultural tourism is practised in Nyae Nyae, it appears that the encounter between hosts and guests is so brief and cultural exchange is so limited that the complexity of their double identity of the Ju/'hoansi is impossible to unfold. As a result, tourists are shown a sterilised compressed version of the Ju/'hoan lifestyle and culture that excludes their contemporary side. Furthermore, the generally accepted narrative is that tourism is a positive force in the local community that paradoxically provides income generation that enables the Ju/'hoansi to become members of the modern society and at the same time, contributes to their cultural preservation. Influenced by this narrative tourists adopt an ideology that justifies the double identity of the Ju/'hoansi and instead of focusing on the authenticity of their hosts, they centre their attention to the benevolent character of their visit and their contribution to the potential inclusion of the Ju/'hoansi in modern society. This creates an authenticity in an existential level as they perceive themselves as the authentic one the 'other' wants to imitate.

Even though this mentality may add to the donor driven paternalistic approach of many stakeholders, it is important to stress out the potentials of meta-tourism as an empowering device. Nyae Nyae is a unique place where the Ju/'hoansi have ownership over their land, but not of their cultural identity in tourism. Sharing the control over the narrative with the community and including them in the decision making of the tourism development plan could increase the capacity and resilience of Nyae Nyae and the Ju/'hoansi as a whole.

7. REFERENCES

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8. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDES

TOPIC LIST: TOURISTS

Introduce self and research

Questions about tourist's background:

- Where are you coming from?
- Have you been to Africa before?
- Is this your first time in Namibia?
- How long are you here for?
- Why did you choose to visit Nyae Nyae?

Questions about expectations:

- Were you familiar with the San before your visit?
- What did you expect to see?
- What kind of activities did you expect to do?
- What do you think is different is you and them?

Questions about the experience:

- What did you think about the activities in general?
- How would you describe them?
- Which words would you use to characterize them?
- Did your opinion about the Ju/'hoansi change?

Questions about authenticity:

- What would you characterize as authentic?
- Would you characterize this experience as authentic?

Questions about preferences:

- What did you like and what did you not like about the activities?
- What would you do differently?

Questions about feelings:

- Could you describe your feelings during the activities?
- How was the encounter with the San?
- What did you feel when you met them?

Questions regarding development:

- What did you think about the current state of the San?
- What role do you play/ would you like to have in the development?
- What do you think about being able to provide support?
- How does this make you feel?

Thank interviewee

TOPIC LIST: JU/'HOANSI

Questions about involvement in tourism:

- In what way are you involved in cultural tourism?
- How long are you involved in the activities?
- What do you prefer to show to the tourists?

Questions about the activities:

- What do you do during the activities?
- What do you think about the activities?
- What would you do differently?
- How do you prepare for the tourists?

Questions about the tourists:

- What do you think about the tourists who come here?
- Why do you think they visit you?
- What do you think they want to see?
- What do you expect from them?
- What is the difference between you and the visitors?
- What do you think they believe about you?
- Do you show tourists the modern village? Do you think they would like to see it?

Questions about tourism development:

- How has tourism evolved through the years?
- Has tourism affected your everyday life? In what way?
- What is your opinion about tourism development?
- How do you benefit from tourism?
- Are there community members who do not like tourism development?

TOPIC LIST: OTHER STAKEHOLDERS

Questions about organization

- Main field of work
- Management and decision-making style

Questions about cultural activities:

- What cultural activities do you provide?
- How do you decide what to offer?
- How do you design the activities?

Questions about tourism:

- What do you think about tourism in general?

- What is your approach to tourism?
- What do you think about cultural tourism development in Nyae Nyae?
- What is your role in the development of cultural tourism?
- Do you have any future projects?
- Why did you choose to work in the development of cultural tourism?

Questions about cooperation with other organisations



Media and Research Contract of the San of Southern Africa

Between

the San Organisation

Details: **NYAE NYAE CONSERVANCY**

P O BOX 45 GROOTFONTEIN/TSUMKWE, NAMIBIA TEL: 067-244011

Bank account

NAME OF BANK: FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF NAMIBIA

BRANCH CODE: 280173

BRANCH: GROOTFONTEIN BRANCH

ADDRESS: P O BOX 285, WINDHOEK, NAMIBIA

NAME OF ACCOUNT: NNC CALL

ACCOUNT NUMBER: 62248572671

And

The Applicant for media or research with the Nyae Nyae Conservancy

Details _____

THE PARTIES AGREE AND RECORD AS FOLLOWS:

1. THE PROJECT

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

Project name and details _____

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

The purpose of this contract is to ensure that all San intellectual property (including images, traditional knowledge, music and other heritage components as recorded in any medium) is controlled and protected. If envisaging a more complex project, the Applicant should hold further discussions with WIMSA.

2. UNDERTAKINGS BY THE APPLICANT

The Applicant undertakes as follows:

- 2.1 That the information provided and recorded herein is correct.
- 2.2 To respect the culture, dignity and wishes of the San throughout the project, and not to publish any facts or portrayals that might be harmful or detrimental to the San.
- 2.3 Will comply with restrictions regarding access and conservancy regulations in respect to camping in designated camp sites or at the lodge or in a specific agreement with a village with the NNC's knowledge
- 2.4 To provide the San with three copies of the final product or products, free of charge.
- 2.5 Not to utilise any of the materials commercially, or for any purpose not disclosed herein, save with the written permission of the San.
- 2.6 To remit to Nyae Nyae Conservancy N\$4,000/day filming fees in addition to N\$2,000 one-off payment for logistical arrangements.
- 2.7 All other payments must be made in cash to the individuals of the NNC that you may work with. Please ensure you have all agreed on these payments and everyone is happy before filming or doing your research
- 2.8 To remit to Nyae Nyae Conservancy N\$2,000-00 once-off payment for researchers that will do research in the Nyae Nyae area.

3. UNDERTAKINGS BY THE SAN ORGANISATION

The Nyae Nyae Conservancy undertakes to do the following:

- 3.1 To cooperate with the Applicant in every possible way regarding the successful completion of the project.

4. OWNERSHIP

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

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

5. PAYMENT (SEE 2.5 ABOVE)

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

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

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

6. GENERAL

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

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

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

Signed by the **Applicant** at _____

on this _____ day of _____ 201_____

Witnesses 1 _____

2 _____

Applicant _____

Signed by the **Nyae Nyae Conservancy** at _____

on this _____ day of _____ 201_____

Witnesses 1 _____

2 _____

Nyae Nyae Conservancy _____

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

NNDFN _____ Date _____

PLEASE NOTE: IN ADDITION TO THIS APPROVAL YOU MAY NEED PERMISSION/WORK PERMIT FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA TO DO FILMING OR RESEARCH IN NAMIBIA

Additional Information Sheet

ANNEXURE TO MEDIA AND RESEARCH CONTRACT

Note: This form records the subject matter to be addressed by a company or individual wishing to engage in a media or research project with or involving the San of Nyae Nyae. If the parties feel that the matter does not warrant the degree of detail specified here, they may agree to provide no more than the bare essentials.

1. APPLICANT / CONTRACTOR DETAILS

Organisation _____

Contact person _____

Full physical address _____

Postal address _____

Telephone # (add code) _____ Fax # _____

Email address _____

2. THE PROJECT

Project name or title _____

Project description _____

Project details _____

3. SENSITIVITY

Does the media subject matter or research involve any intellectual property of a form that requires special protection (e.g. rituals, myths, performances, traditional plant or medical knowledge or secrets)?

Details _____

BANK ACCOUNT DETAILS OF THE NYAE NYAE CONSERVANCY:

Bank account	NAME OF BANK:	FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF NAMIBIA
	BRANCH:	GROOTFONTEIN BRANCH
	ADDRESS:	P O BOX 30, GROOTFONTEIN, NAMIBIA
	NAME OF ACCOUNT:	NNC CALL
	TYPE OF ACCOUNT:	1-DAY CALL ACCOUNT
	BRANCH CODE:	280173
	ACCOUNT NUMBER:	62248572671

