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Giraudo, Rachel Faye

Publication Date
2011

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Intangible Heritage and Tourism Development at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site

by

Rachel Faye Giraudo

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

and the Designated Emphasis

in

Women, Gender, and Sexuality

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Margaret W. Conkey, Co-chair
Professor Nelson H. H. Graburn, Co-chair
Professor Rosemary A. Joyce
Professor Gillian P. Hart

Spring 2011

Intangible Heritage and Tourism Development at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site

Abstract

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by

Rachel Faye Giraudo

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

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University of California, Berkeley

Professor Margaret W. Conkey, Co-Chair

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Through the case study of the Tsodilo World Heritage Site in Botswana, I investigate the relationship between heritage conservation and tourism development. This is done by analyzing what I argue are the opposing conservation aims of World Heritage status and the commodifying tendencies that this status encourages on cultural heritage through increased tourism. More specifically, "intangible heritage" (criterion vi of the World Heritage cultural listing criteria) is addressed as governments and NGOs in southern Africa are increasingly relying upon cultural heritage tourism to assist in the "development" of socially and economically marginalized populations. I discuss the transformation of local and national heritage sites into World Heritage sites through the processes of place making and heritage making, and I contend that heritage management plans for these sites do more than "manage," but rather accelerate cultural change and change in heritage values, especially for those sites designated for their intangible heritage.

In this dissertation, I also elaborate on issues of ethnicity and nationalism and women and development through an examination of the production of a heritage management plan at Tsodilo modeled on community-based natural resource management (CBNRM). Indeed, the significance of the tourism industry to Botswana's economy, coupled with the contentious relations that the government has with its ethnic minorities, foregrounds a critical examination of the politics of heritage and conservation in the country. Furthermore, due to Botswana's nationalist stance on identity politics as well as the globalizing processes of development, the gender roles of the country's ethnic minorities are being transformed as they progressively enter a market economy through their varied inductions into the tourism industry. As local communities living near Tsodilo are increasingly consigned to self-reliance through tourism development, I question whether commodification of the site's intangible heritage ultimately works against the conservation aims of World Heritage and, if so, in what specific ways. The case study of heritage and tourism at Tsodilo provides a window to looking at "development" in southern Africa, as well as how national narratives of inclusion and legitimacy produce a dilemma for the promotion of heritage tourism among Botswana's ethnic minorities.

Dedicated to the residents of Tsodilo

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List of Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARV	Anti Retro-Viral (treatment)
AWHF	African World Heritage Fund
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BWP	Botswana Pula (currency)
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CHA	Controlled Hunting Area
CKGR	Central Kalahari Game Reserve
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GPS	Global Positioning Systems
HIV	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Museums and Sites
IRB	Institutional Review Board
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
KFO	Kuru Family of Organisations
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NMMAG	National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery
ODMP	Okavango Delta Management Plan
RAD	Remote Area Dweller
RADP	Remote Area Development Programme
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SGL	Special Game License
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
TB	Tuberculosis
TCDT	Tsodilo Community Development Trust
TMA	Tsodilo Management Authority
TOCaDI	Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VDC	Village Development Committee
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WMA	Wildlife Management Area
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
WWII	World War II
ZCC	Zion Christian Church

Notes on Orthography and Foreign Words

This dissertation incorporates transcriptions and translations of words from different languages (i.e., Setswana, Ju|'hoansi, Simbukushu, and Afrikaans) and requires a note about orthography and a list of commonly used foreign words.

The phonetic orthography for Ju|'hoansi includes symbolic representations for four clicks (three of which are used in this dissertation). There is another orthography for Nguni languages that is more commonly used in Botswana to write clicks. I include both here.

Phonetic	Nguni	
|	C	= dental click; tongue against front teeth
!	Q	= palatal click; tongue against the upper palate
||	X	= lateral click; produced at the sides of the tongue
=		= alveolar-palatal click; tongue against alveolar ridge

Commonly used foreign words in this dissertation:

baakie (Afrikaans) = pickup truck
boswa (Setswana) = heritage, inheritance
botlhanka (Setswana) = serf
dingwao (Setswana) = history
kgosi (Setswana) = chief
kgotla/dikgotla (Setswana) = public meeting (place)/public meetings
kraal (Afrikaans) = to enclose livestock
marapa (Simbukushu) = large drum
mekoro/mokoro (Setswana) = dugout canoe/dugout canoes
merafe/morafe (Setswana) = tribe/tribes
n!ore (Ju|'hoansi) = hereditary foraging area
ngwao-boswa (Setswana) = cultural heritage
Pula (Setswana) = Botswana's national currency; rain

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to a number of people and institutions that contributed to the successful completion of my dissertation.

First, I would like to thank the residents of Tsodilo for allowing me to live in their village and conduct ethnographic research. Although in order to maintain confidentiality I cannot mention people by name, I am especially indebted to certain individuals and families in Tsodilo. It would not be possible for me to engage in extended fieldwork without my research assistants, both residents of Tsodilo, who not only helped to translate Simbukushu and Ju|'hoansi for me, but also helped me acculturate, in large part, by including me along with their familial activities. I am grateful to the Hambukushu *kgosi* (chief) and the Ju|'hoansi headman for initially granting me permission to start an anthropological research project, as well as for their help in facilitating my research over the years. I am thankful to my VDC neighbors who shared with me their food, stories, and dogs. A number of people passed away during my fieldwork and dissertation write up periods, and I especially mourn the passing of a Ju|'hoansi woman who I admired a great deal and who allowed me to live on her property my last months in Tsodilo.

I extend my gratitude to the organizations in Botswana that made my research possible. The Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs swiftly approved my research permit. At the Botswana National Museum, I wish to thank Phillip Segadika who went out of his way to ensure that I had the necessary materials and support to complete my research. I also appreciate the help of Festus Fane Sowelo and the rest of the staff at the Tsodilo site museum. They also ensured that I had the right support, including water, electricity, telephone, Internet, and office space. The other organization in Botswana that made this research possible is the Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives (TOCaDI), which has undergone major changes since I first visited it in 2005. The late Kabo Mosweu originally helped me with my request for a research affiliation with TOCaDI. Karine and Nathaniel Nuulimba and Willemien and the late Braam le Roux of the Letloa Trust also assisted me with background research on Tsodilo and hosted me a number of times. Alison White provided me with important historical information about earlier development initiatives for Tsodilo. I would like to thank the entire staff of TOCaDI and the Letloa Trust who made my work possible.

A number of people were pivotal to my stay in Botswana. Elaine and Barrie Pryce were beyond generous in hosting me at their lodge in Samochima whenever I needed a break from Tsodilo and when I needed a hot shower and a hot meal. I learned a great deal from both of them about the region and about Tsodilo. I am just as grateful for the friendship of Jasmin Back and Chris Harbour. Birthe Gjern and Mieke van der Post provided me with unique insights into arts development programs for Khoisan speakers in Botswana, given their long-term experience in this field. Betsey Brada, Bianca Dahl, and Amanda Miller are also due many thanks.

When I first started to prepare my research proposal, I was kindly given advice by Dr. Didier Boukhaze-Khan and Professor Sheila Coulson. Also in the early stages, Professor Herman M. Batibo facilitated my Setswana language training at the University of Botswana. I would like to thank Alec Campbell and Dr. Michael Taylor for sharing research materials with me about

**UNESCO, Intangible Heritage, and Cultural Tourism:
Conservation and Commodification**

Introduction

Twi, a Ju|'hoansi woman in her late thirties, spends a few hours each day creating ostrich eggshell necklaces and leather bags that she plans to sell to tourists, who she refers to as her "clients."[1] She lives several kilometers away from where her clients regularly visit. The tourist destination, Tsodilo, is a set of hills with thousands of rock art images, and is now fenced off and only government staff members and tourists are regularly allowed to stay there. Twi is proud of her beautiful crafts that are desired by many tourists, and she makes a seasonable, though steady, income from their sale. She and her extended family members live in a settlement (population approximately 40) about two kilometers away from the larger Hambukushu settlement (population approximately 160). The Ju|'hoansi were relocated from Tsodilo to this location 16 years ago by the government of Botswana in order to nominate the hills for World Heritage status. Since Tsodilo's designation as World Heritage in 2001, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been involved in community development, including training on producing tourist crafts. Twi attends the workshops that the NGOs host. She is also active in the new community trust that this NGO helped establish in her settlement. The NGOs and the government promise Twi and the other residents of Tsodilo "development" through tourism thanks to Tsodilo's World Heritage status and a new heritage management plan. However, tourism has always been a part of Twi's life, and, in fact, her parents' lives, who, for decades, helped guide tourists, had their photographs taken by tourists, and sold crafts to tourists. Indeed, Twi's father is one of the most photographed Ju|'hoansi, appearing in numerous magazines and photography books. Personal stories like Twi's inform my heritage ethnography at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site in Botswana.

In this chapter, I introduce the topics that this dissertation grapples with and the specific research questions that it answers through my extensive ethnographic fieldwork and archival research. First, I introduce the politics of World Heritage, namely the issue that World Heritage status is desirable to southern African governments because they want to profit from the increased tourism and site branding gained when this status is bestowed on their heritage sites. This phenomenon has particular significance in southern Africa where the World Heritage Centre keeps a satellite office, the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF), to encourage an increasing number of World Heritage sites on the continent. Next, I complicate the utilization of a World Heritage listing, originally intended for heritage conservation, when such blatant economic intentions motivate listing heritage sites with this status. In particular, I am concerned with how the cultural heritage of people living near heritage sites is commodified through cultural heritage

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[1] The names of Tsodilo informants used in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

tourism as a development strategy of the state.[2] I then introduce Tsodilo and explain the politics of heritage tourism in Botswana.

In the second half of this chapter I discuss my research questions and methodology in depth. I also address disciplinary discourses of research ethics in anthropology and archaeology, and I reflect upon my own research limitations. Finally, I end this chapter detailing, chapter-by-chapter, the organization of the dissertation.

A World Heritage Conundrum, A Southern African Endeavor

States aspire to have their monuments and landscapes inscribed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as World Heritage sites because the designation affords them international recognition, further instills a sense of pride in national heritage, and makes them eligible for monetary aid toward conservation. Developing countries especially desire the global acclaim and financial benefits of World Heritage site status (Harrison and Hitchcock 2005). This is particularly true in the southern African region where the number of World Heritage sites has increased dramatically over the past 12 years.[3] These southern African countries are now, in the postcolony, independently responsible for developing both a national identity out of a multiplicity of ethnic identities, and building a sustainable economy that is beneficial to the majority of its citizens and not just for an elite minority. The identification, conservation, and marketing of heritage sites makes possible both of these endeavors, and obtaining World Heritage status is expected to increase the value and appeal of these sites. When heritage sites gain World Heritage status they become new nodes in global flows of "heritage values" (Lipe 1984). As of August 2010, the most recent meeting of the World Heritage Committee, there are now 911 World Heritage sites that assign importance to the cultural and natural resources contained within these properties. Sites are, however, chosen only from those countries that have ratified the 1972 World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 2005).[4] Although UNESCO's primary objective is the conservation of these sites, their value as "global property" transforms them into desirable and accessible places that foreign and domestic tourists want to visit (Meskell 2002a, 2005). World Heritage status thus promotes tourism at these sites, and their subsequent development for tourism is an enterprise that southern African countries welcome.

During my first visit to southern Africa in 1999—a four-month backtracking trek—I visited seven different places that were designated at the time, or were ultimately named, as World

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[2] "Cultural heritage tourism," "cultural tourism," and "heritage tourism" are sometimes used synonymously to refer to tourism of the cultural heritage of a region. "Cultural tourism" generally refers to tourism oriented toward living traditions, while "heritage tourism" is more inclusive of historic and archaeological traditions, material culture, and sites.

[3] There are two official uses of the geographical term *southern Africa*. The United Nations (UN) employs the term to refer to the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), which consists of Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, and Swaziland. All ten of SACU's World Heritage sites were listed in the past 12 years (1999–2010). The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is comprised of Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Eighteen of SADC's 35 World Heritage sites were listed in the past 12 years (1999–2010).

[4] As of August 2010, there are there are 78 World Heritage sites located in 30 State Parties on the African continent; 8.6 percent of the total 911 global properties listed as World Heritage are in Africa.

Heritage sites by UNESCO.[5] My budget travel guides and local travel brochures all advertised these sites as must-see tourist destinations, and I, like many other tourists, sought out such places deemed so extraordinary as to be listed as World Heritage. These and the other World Heritage sites in southern Africa that I have since visited are developed for tourism by their respective states, which UNESCO refers to as "States Parties," to bolster local and national economies.[6] To varying degrees, hospitality infrastructures are set in place around these sites so that private industries and local communities can earn revenue drawn from foreign and domestic tourists. For example, Robben Island, a World Heritage site in South Africa and the former political prison where Nelson Mandela was incarcerated for nearly three decades, is now a heavily marketed destination with its own logo, merchandise, and specialized tour operators that hosts up to 2,000 visitors a day in peak season, and about 700,000 visitors annually (see Deacon 2004, Shackley 2001). In comparison, at the Twyfelfontein World Heritage Site in Namibia, there are only a few tourism operators and community guides to facilitate access for over 100 visitors a day in peak season, and about 40,000 visitors annually (see Novelli and Gebhardt 2007). Twyfelfontein, which is also know as /Ui-//aes, is a rock art site, and archaeologists attribute the majority of its rock imagery to the ancestors of modern-day Khoisan speakers (Dowson 1992; but also see Smith and Ouzman 2004).[7] The relative development of these southern African World Heritage sites for tourism may differ, but that these conservation areas are decisively and explicitly being developed for tourism appears at odds with the World Heritage mission.

Although the original aim of the World Heritage Convention was the preservation of physical, or tangible, heritage, almost four decades of policy implementation and scholarship since the World Heritage Convention have, over time, produced more nuanced conceptions of "heritage," including non-physical, or intangible, heritage. The 2003 Convention of the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage expanded upon and formalized UNESCO's more comprehensive definition of "heritage" by articulating that non-physical heritage forms, such as performance arts and traditional knowledge systems, are also universally valuable and worthy of conservation (UNESCO 2003a).[8] Before the 2003 Convention of the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, heritage managers in southern Africa, and elsewhere, already embraced notions of

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[5] In Namibia, I visited Twyfelfontein, which is also known as /Ui-//aes (listed in 2007). In South Africa, I visited the Cape Floral Region Protected Areas (listed in 2004), the Richtersveld Botanical Landscape (listed in 2007), and Robben Island (listed in 1999). In Zimbabwe, I visited the Great Zimbabwe National Monument (listed in 1986) and the Matobo Hills (listed in 2003). At the Zimbabwe-Zambia border, I visited Victoria Falls, which is also known as Mosi-oa-Tunya (listed in 1989).

[6] In subsequent visits, I visited two additional World Heritage sites: Tsodilo in Botswana (listed in 2001) and Khami Ruins National Monument in Zimbabwe (listed in 1986). Throughout the span of my travels to southern Africa I also visited a number of sites that are on the current World Heritage Tentative List: Gcwihaba Caves in Botswana (on the Tentative List in 1999, and relisted in 2010), Makgadikgadi Pans Landscape in Botswana (on the Tentative List in 1999, and relisted in 2010), Okavango Delta in Botswana (on the Tentative List in 2010), Brandberg National Monument Area in Namibia (on the Tentative List in 2002), Welwitschia Plains in Namibia (on the Tentative List in 2002), Kimberley Mines and Associated Early Industries in South Africa (on the Tentative List in 2004), and The Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape in South Africa (on the Tentative List in 2004).

[7] The Khoisan, or Khoesan, language family consists of click-consonant languages spoken in southern and eastern Africa by less than about 200,000 people. There are two main subdivisions of the Khoisan language family: Khoi (or Khoe) and San (Güldemann and Vossen 2000). In this dissertation, I refer to both Khoi speakers and San speakers to reflect these language family subdivisions, I refer to Khoisan speakers when referring to Khoi and San speakers collectively, and I also mention specific Khoisan languages when referring to the speakers of these languages. I elaborate more on this point and about Khoisan speakers in chapter 4.

[8] These concepts are discussed in depth in chapter 2.

"intangible heritage" to recognize diverse cultural traditions attributed to World Heritage sites. The provision of a more inclusive understanding of heritage by acknowledging intangible heritage, and not just the traditionally lauded monumental heritage, helped showcase the significance that local and indigenous communities bestow on their cultural landmarks and landscapes (Munjeri 2004, Rössler 2006, Smith and Akagawa 2009). In southern Africa, these heritage managers loosely interpreted the concept of "intangible heritage" from criterion vi of the World Heritage cultural listing criteria used to inscribe several World Heritage sites in the region (UNESCO 2008).[9] In the World Heritage Operational Guidelines, criterion vi applies to properties that are "directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance," but it is the only criterion that cannot be submitted on its own for nomination for World Heritage status and must be paired with at least one other criterion (UNESCO 2008:20). In southern Africa, sites inscribed with criterion vi are often promoted as "authentic" local, or indigenous, heritage to discerning tourists.[10]

Despite the global economic recession in recent years, tourism remains one of the largest industries in the world (World Travel & Tourism Council [WTTC] 2010), and southern Africa's tourism industry is increasingly becoming more important to the region's economic growth and development (see Southern African Development Community 1998; Hospitality and Tourism Association of Botswana 2006; Cleverdon 2002).[11] Even though wildlife and nature tourism are both historically and currently the most exemplary forms of tourism in southern Africa, heritage tourism is increasingly being promoted as an alternative and less financially exclusive, form of tourism for both tourists and tourism operators.[12] It also demonstrates that southern Africa has more to offer than wildlife and landscapes. Foreign and domestic tourists want to visit sites of living and archaeological cultures, from assorted ethnic groups to prehistoric monuments,

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[9] The 12 southern African World Heritage sites inscribed with criterion vi include: Tsodilo (Botswana); Royal Hill of Ambohimanga (Madagascar); Chongoni Rock-Art Area (Malawi); Aapravasi Ghat (Mauritius); Le Morne Cultural Landscape (Mauritius); Island of Mozambique (Mozambique); Fossil Hominid Sites of Sterkfontein, Swartkrans, Kromdraii, and Environs (South Africa); Robben Island (South Africa); Stone Town of Zanzibar (Tanzania); Kondoa Rock-Art Sites (Tanzania); Great Zimbabwe National Monument (Zimbabwe); and Matobo Hills (Zimbabwe).

[10] There is a breadth of scholarship on authenticity and tourism with which I engage in this dissertation, specifically in chapter 6. Daniel Joseph Boorstin (1961) helped to bring the issue of authenticity to attention with his definition of "pseudo-events." Dean MacCannell (1999) provided an analytical framework for understanding tourism behavior, notably the tourist's search for authenticity through the "cultural other," and he introduced the notion of "staged authenticity." John Urry (2002) contributed to this discourse with his work on the "tourist gaze." Critiques of the concept of authenticity, such as Jean Baudrillard's (1983) work on "simulation" and "simulacra" and Umberto Eco's (1986) work on "hyperreality," problematized the dichotomy of the authentic and inauthentic. Ning Wang (1999) also noted that these postmodern critiques are useful in thinking beyond object authenticity and toward "existential authenticity."

[11] The tourism industry represents 9.2 percent of the global gross domestic product (GDP) (WTTC 2010).

[12] In Africa, wildlife and nature tourism, as well as wildlife hunting, which are known collectively as "safari" (meaning "long journey" in Kiswahili), have a long history as leisurely pursuits of the wealthy to experience an imagined African wilderness (Adams and McShane 1996). Because these forms of tourism require the costs of professional guides, transportation, equipment, and supplies, they can be exceptionally expensive (e.g., besides airfare and visas, professional safaris typically cost several hundred—or even thousand—dollars a day, though budget operators can provide safaris for substantially less money). Unlike safaris, heritage tourism is not limited to remote areas and is more accessible (because there is cultural heritage where there are people) and thus less financially exclusive to tourists visiting urban areas or to self-drive tourists visiting more remote regions.

because of an interest and curiosity in other, or their own, cultures and histories (Smith and Robinson 2006, Boniface and Fowler 1993, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). World Heritage status designated to historic and archaeological sites trumpets their significance to potential tourists, and when these sites are also inscribed with criterion vi that means there are most likely nearby communities that also ascribe their own value to these places.[13] Often it is the relationship of these communities to World Heritage sites inscribed with criterion vi that is another element of appeal to tourists who long to witness culturally important places, and the link between a site's tangible and intangible heritage is taken as a testament to its authenticity (Leask and Fyall 2006). On one hand then, World Heritage status is meant to conserve the cultural heritage of these places, including their intangible heritage. Yet on the other hand, the international status of World Heritage designation is employed to market and develop these sites, including their tangible and intangible heritage, which indelibly alters them. Thus there appears an apparent contradiction of UNESCO's aims to conserve culture through World Heritage designation when this status also overwhelmingly commodifies it.

Intangible heritage does not stagnate, but continuously transforms through cultural transmission. The ways in which UNESCO's heritage policies define "intangible heritage" do not fully nor properly account for the changing condition of intangible heritage through cultural transmission, but these policies still attempt the conservation of intangible heritage through designation. A World Heritage listing, however, contributes to branding heritage sites and promoting tourism, and in many cases, commodifying the intangible heritage attributed to these sites. Although heritage conservation and heritage commodification are not inherently at odds, they are when conservation status is used as a cover for economic development. In "developing" parts of the world, like southern Africa, where heritage tourism is one of the only ways in which people can participate in a market economy, their intangible heritage is one of the only "skills" or "products" they have to offer. Furthermore, besides merely commodifying intangible heritage, tourism also develops the environment in which cultural transmission takes place at such a large-scale level, thus it not only alters intangible heritage but also cultural landscapes.

World Heritage status is notably contingent upon the creation of heritage management plans for properties that States Parties wish to have listed (Leask and Fyall 2006; UNESCO 2005, 2008). Heritage management plans are often in existence before a World Heritage designation in order for a site to be nominated, but World Heritage Advisory Bodies (i.e., the International Council on Monuments and Sites [ICOMOS] and the International Union for Conservation of Nature [IUCN]), sometimes do recommend that these heritage management plans are revised or rewritten by States Parties with the World Heritage mission more clearly in mind. The inclusion of local communities living near these sites in conservation management strategies along with the assurance that World Heritage status is also beneficial to local communities are two such mission objectives (UNESCO 2005, 2008) Tourism is one very noticeable interpretation of the suggested component of heritage management plans that stresses local community involvement

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[13] World Heritage status is also granted to natural sites, which is discussed in chapter 2.

and benefits (Drost 1996, Pedersen 2002, Harrison and Hitchcock 2005).[14] However, in some countries, heritage management plans can involve the guidance of not only a States Party but also NGOs, and this entanglement of governing forces—a supranational organization, a state, and a NGO—muddies the transparency of conservation efforts. NGOs receive financial aid from a number of donors, many of whom are in the private sector, so their role in heritage management plans might also reflect their funders' corporate goals (Hulme and Edwards 1997, Edoho 2008), further complicating the matter. NGOs are ubiquitous in the southern African governance landscape (Hearn 2007), and several are tied to heritage conservation efforts via sustainable development.[15] Southern African countries also benefit from development aid and corporate sponsorship for specific government programs, such as heritage management and tourism programs, and I contend that these donor agencies and corporations improve their public image from the successful public marketing of their sponsorship.

Tsodilo Hills, Mountain of the Gods

The Republic of Botswana is a land-locked country in southern Africa bordered by South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. The country is approximately 566,730 square kilometers, mostly flat savannah, and comprised of two main geographical features: the Kalahari Desert in the middle and the Okavango Delta in the north. Botswana is sparsely populated with only 1,977,569 million people estimated in 2010 (World Bank 2010), the majority of whom live in the country's eastern region and are ethnic Tswana.[16] Formerly the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1885–1966), a British protectorate, Botswana gained its independence in 1966. Prior to Independence, plans were already underway to create a national museum that would, in part, conserve and exhibit the new country's cultural and natural heritage. In 1968, the National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery officially opened in the new capital city, Gaborone. Thirty years after the museum's launch, on November 23, 1998, Botswana ratified the World Heritage Convention, and in 2001 the country's first and only World Heritage site, Tsodilo, was inscribed (UNESCO 2001). The Tsodilo World Heritage Site is located in the furthest northwest part of the country in the Ngamiland District, which is one of the most remote parts of Botswana and is inhabited primarily by the country's ethnic minorities.

The jutting landscape of the Tsodilo Hills—Male Hill, Female Hill, Child Hill, and Grandchild Hill—encompasses hundreds of rock art panels and possesses occupational deposits dating as old as 100,000 years. This rich array of archaeological heritage is arguably the most significant criteria for the site's listing as World Heritage.[17] Criterion vi, which reflects the spiritual connection that nearby communities have with the Tsodilo Hills, is another reason for Tsodilo's

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[14] UNESCO's World Heritage Centre hosts its own World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Programme. The United Nations Foundation, which supports public-private partnerships, and Expedia, Inc., a travel corporation, collaborated to create the World Heritage Alliance for Sustainable Tourism in 2005, which promotes sustainable tourism at World Heritage Sites. In 2009, TripAdvisor, a travel content and media brand of Expedia, Inc., partnered with the World Heritage Centre to promote World Heritage sites online (World Heritage Centre [WHC] 2009a).

[15] In southern Africa (i.e., Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe), there are about 793 NGOs (World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations 2010).

[16] Approximately 79 percent of Botswana's current population is ethnic Tswana (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] 2010).

[17] Tsodilo was listed as World Heritage in 2001 with criteria i, iii, and vi (UNESCO 2001).

listing as World Heritage. The San speaking Ju|'hoansi and the Bantu speaking Hambukushu—both ethnic minorities—are now resident in the Tsodilo settlement (total population, approximately 200) and regard the hills as a sacred place, evidenced by their oral histories and by ongoing religious traditions that take place there (National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery [NMMAG] 2000; Segadika 2006; Thebe 2006).[18] Starting in the early 1990s, the landscape of the Tsodilo Hills and the residents of the Tsodilo settlement underwent dramatic changes that were initiated by the Botswana National Museum.[19] In 1994, the first heritage management plan for Tsodilo was published in association with the Botswana National Museum (Campbell 1994), and the implementation of this heritage management plan began in order to prepare the site for nomination as World Heritage, thus demonstrating conservation principles already in place as well as the site's cultural and touristic value.[20] Once the official nomination process commenced in 1998, heritage management and tourism strategies physically altered the hills and significantly affected the way of life of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu living there.

During my backpacking trek in 1999—two years before Tsodilo was inscribed as World Heritage—tourists could still not reach the site without a reliable four-wheel drive vehicle or access to an aircraft to land on the small airstrip by the hills. With my relatively limited budget at the time, neither of these were reasonable options for me. However, by early 2001—the year the site was inscribed as World Heritage—a new road was smoothed on a sandy incline from the Okavango Panhandle to the hills, literally opening up the place to an exponentially increasing number of visitors who could now visit the new World Heritage site with a mere two-wheel drive vehicle.[21] For instance, in 1996, tourist numbers at Tsodilo were about 2,000 annually (Walker 1998:5), but by 2005 reached more than 10,000 annually (Segadika 2010:146). Despite the easier access, the site remains off the beaten track of the more heavily trafficked, regional tourist routes, but the place is now less exclusive, revealing its new role as a "global property."[22]

Along with a development facilitator from the nearby NGO, Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiative (TOCaDI), I first visited the Tsodilo Hills in July 2005 in order to explore the possibility of conducting future dissertation research on cultural heritage and identity politics. We even traveled there without our own vehicle, and we instead took a public bus to the Tsodilo–Chukumuchu junction. From the turn-off on the tarred road, we hitched a ride with a very large water truck supplying a government utilities project near the Tsodilo settlement, about 35 kilometers northwest of the junction.[23] Then, from the settlement, we walked the remaining five kilometers through the "core zone," which is the fenced area within which are the four hills

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[18] The Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu only permanently settled in Tsodilo within the past 50 years, though permanent settlement is a relatively new phenomenon for many ethnic groups in the region, as most are either traditionally nomadic or migrated to the region within the past 150 years. Both the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu point to the earlier presence of another Khoisan speaking group who they cohabitated with at Tsodilo in the late nineteenth century. This is discussed in more depth in chapter 3.

[19] The National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery institution is now known separately as the Botswana National Museum and the Botswana National Art Gallery.

[20] The history of the Tsodilo Hills and its heritage management history are discussed in full in chapter 3.

[21] The road to Tsodilo from the tarred road junction just south of Nxamasere is still difficult for two-wheel drive vehicles to navigate because of patches of soft sand, especially in the rainy season.

[22] The term "global property" is expanded upon in chapter 2. It is used here to denote that World Heritage sites transcend local and national significance, and thus these properties are made accessible to global citizens.

[23] The government of Botswana maintains its presence in rural areas, like Tsodilo, through various development projects, such as roadwork, in which some residents are offered short-term employment.

known as Tsodilo, the tallest of which is also the highest point in the mostly level country (1,395 meters above sea level and about 385 meters from the base). By the time we reached the site museum it was too late in the day, and thus too risky, to tour the hills and reliably secure a ride back to the tarred road before dark given the lack of traffic. We instead opted to quickly view the museum exhibits before leaving in the *bakkie* (pickup truck) of the only other two visitors present.[24]

Some of my first on-the-ground impressions of Tsodilo's identity politics materialized from my viewing of the site museum's permanent exhibit titled, "My Tsodilo: Thoughts on Tsodilo by Tsodilo People," which contains images and comments of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu from the Tsodilo settlement, "The Locals," as well as other residents from neighboring settlements, villages, and towns, government officials, and explorers to the site, "The Visitors." Another section of the exhibit titled, "The Researchers," features the archaeologists and heritage managers, several of whom were at some time affiliated with the Botswana National Museum, and who helped to distinguish Tsodilo's research significance used in preparation for its World Heritage listing.[25] The contrast between "The Locals" with "The Visitors" and "The Researchers," as constructed in this exhibit, reverberated in my mind as I pondered the impacts of heritage management at Tsodilo. What did the local community members think about Tsodilo being designated a World Heritage site, the construction of the site museum and "core zone," and the increasing number of tourists? Just a few weeks before my visit, the Botswana National Museum, TOCaDI, and another NGO, the Letloa Trust, completed a heritage management plan for Tsodilo that was expected to improve the livelihoods of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu living there (Ecosurv 2005).[26] When I inquired about the possibility of my dissertation research being conducted at Tsodilo, I was asked to focus on some aspect of this new heritage management plan.

Tsodilo stands out as an engaging case study to explore the issues of heritage conservation, tourism development, and identity politics for at least two reasons. First, the community development process that the Botswana National Museum, TOCaDI, and the Letloa Trust propose through the new heritage management plan highlights tourism as the primary mechanism through which the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu can develop their settlement (Ecosurv 2005; TOCaDI 2002a, 2002b).[27] Tourism, according to the 2005 heritage management plan, is meant to increase formal and informal employment for locals through new salaried positions as well as commissioned jobs, such as guiding and craft production. Traditionally, the Ju|'hoansi are hunters-gatherers and the Hambukushu are agro-pastoralists, but both subsistence lifestyles have

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[24] We came back two days later with a private vehicle, so we had adequate time to hike one of the trails and visit the Ju|'hoansi community at the Tsodilo settlement.

[25] These include the archaeologist Larry Robbins, the anthropologist Ed Wilmsen, the founding director of the Botswana National Museum Alec Campbell, the former director of the Botswana National Museum Tjako Mpulubusi, and the geologist Marek von Wendorff.

[26] The Letloa Trust is a NGO in the Kuru Family of Organisations (KFO). Its role is to manage the finance and governance of KFO. The Letloa Trust is the responsible entity for managing funds for Tsodilo's new heritage management plan. TOCaDI is another Kuru NGO, and the Letloa Trust offers practical guidance to it. TOCaDI is responsible for assisting community members in villages and settlements around Shakawe, Botswana, such as Tsodilo, with cultural and development initiatives.

[27] In 2009, the Botswana National Museum began preparing yet another heritage management plan for the "core zone," funded by the AWHF, as the 2005 heritage management plan primarily deals with the "buffer zone" where the local communities reside.

rapidly changed in the past few decades, and both ethnic groups are now increasingly dependent on cash. Development of the site for tourism is also expected to increase amenities for the people in the Tsodilo settlement, such as access to water and electricity, as there is currently only one government water pump installed for cattle and there is no electricity.[28] Additionally, community-based tourism is intended to help with these residents' "capacity building" through the recently formed community trust that manages their local economic development. Second, there exists a documented complexity of ethnic relations between the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu and their competing claims of site ownership; both claim to have arrived at Tsodilo before the other and both have origin stories associated with the hills. The Botswana National Museum and tourism operators market to site tourists these stories of the connection to the hills that the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu hold as part of their intangible heritage.[29] This, in turn, exacerbates the complicated ethnic affairs of the Tsodilo settlement as the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu position themselves to benefit from tourists and encroaching development. The case study of heritage and tourism at Tsodilo provides a window to looking at "development" in southern Africa as well as how national narratives of inclusion and legitimacy produce a dilemma for the promotion of heritage tourism among Botswana's ethnic minorities.

Heritage Tourism in Botswana, "Land of the Tswana"

The successful partnership that the government of Botswana forged with the De Beers corporation after the discovery of diamonds in 1967, in which proceeds from Botswana's diamond mines were to be split equally, permitted the country to economically equip itself to navigate a path of steady development and modernization (Acemoglu et al. 2003, Leith 2005, Hillbom 2008).[30] However, one gemstone—even the precious diamond—cannot be relied upon too long as the only significant contributor to the country's gross domestic product (GDP).[31] The government of Botswana knows that it needs a more diversified economy and cannot rely on the mining sector indefinitely. Tourism has slowly filled a void in the diversity of Botswana's political economy, and the industry now has the second highest GDP behind the mining industry.[32] Following the success of nature and wildlife tourism, heritage tourism, in which tourists travel to see historic and archaeological sites, as well as to experience various living cultures, is expected to help diversify the tourism sector of Botswana's economy (WTTC 2007).

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[28] However, the Tsodilo site museum, which is five kilometers from the Hambukushu ward of the Tsodilo settlement, has solar-powered boreholes, ablutions, a diesel-powered generator for electricity, a landline for telephone, fax and Internet, and even satellite television. These amenities are primarily intended for the Botswana National Museum staff, while water and ablutions are available to tourists. In 2009, the government installed plastic water tanks in the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu settlements.

[29] Many safari operators represent the Ju|'hoansi as the more legitimate ethnic group at Tsodilo because the Ju|'hoansi are Khoisan speakers and most southern African rock art is attributed to the ancestors of modern-day Khoisan speakers.

[30] Botswana has the largest, most productive diamond mines in the world: Jwaneng and Orapa. Revenue from diamond mining has provided Botswana with a consistently growing GDP for the past 40 years. The government of Botswana applied these proceeds toward development initiatives that improved the country's social indicators of development (i.e., literacy, education, housing, population, employment, etc.).

[31] Diamond mining accounts for over one-third of Botswana's GDP and almost half of the government's revenues (CIA 2010).

[32] Tourism accounts for 16 percent of Botswana's GDP and 10 percent of the country's employment (WTTC 2007).

The dilemma of heritage tourism in Botswana lies, in part, with the country's conservative political stance on ethnicity. At its independence in 1966, the country scripted explicit anti-ethnic governmental policies that forbade ethnic favoritism, or acknowledgement, in an attempt to avoid the excruciating racism harbored in neighboring South Africa, which was then an apartheid state. However, to achieve this it adopted assimilationist policies to incorporate ethnic minorities into a Tswana state (i.e., Section 15 (4) (*d*), Section 15 (9), and Sections 77–79 of the Constitution of Botswana, Section 2 of the Chieftainship Act, and the Tribal Territories Act [see Nyati-Ramahobo 2008]). At Independence, government-sponsored population censuses no longer collected ethnic data, and instead generically referred to all permanent inhabitants as "citizens of Botswana" (Republic of Botswana [RoB] 1966). Although understandable, and perhaps even commendable at the time, scholars and human rights groups have since criticized this nationalist policy for concealing the ethnic elitism of the Tswana after whom the country is named (Botswana translates to "land of the Tswana") and whose language, Setswana, became the national language. Scholars and human rights groups argue that the minority ethnic groups, or tribes, in the country are not granted equal rights and are marginalized by the government (Good 1993, 1999, 2008; Nyati-Ramahobo 2002, 2008).[33] Examples of these human rights violations include, to name just a few, detrimental land policy acts that allocated the greatest majority of the country's land to Tswana tribal land boards and promoted pastoral development of land (Republic of Botswana [RoB] 1968, 1975), forced relocations of minority ethnic groups (i.e., Khoisan speakers) (e.g., Hitchcock 2002, Saugestad 2005, Mbaiwa 2005a), and the government's refusal to incorporate mother-tongue language instruction into the educational system (see Hays 2009 and Nyati-Ramahobo 2000). Botswana has effectively become a culturally hegemonic, or "anti-multicultural," state. Although nation building is a state project, in Botswana this undertaking comes at the cost of assimilating minority ethnic groups into the *Tswana* nation, who then become the lowest members of a new social class system based on ethnicity.[34]

Botswana's exceptionality as an upper-middle income country in sub-Saharan Africa is remarkable given that most other sub-Saharan African countries have low income or lower-middle income economies, but a closer look at wealth distribution among its citizenry magnifies the ethnic issues that the state ignores.[35] The eastern region of the country is much more populated and developed than the rest of Botswana, but the significantly greater affluence of citizens living in the eastern region, who are primarily Tswana and Kalanga (a Bantu speaking ethnic group related to the Shona of Zimbabwe), also supports the notion that ethnic elitism, while denounced and disregarded by the government, is very much a social and political reality.[36] Outside the eastern region, the rest of the country is populated by several minority

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[33] In this dissertation, I employ the term *ethnic group* to refer to people who relate to one another through language and cultural heritage. The names of southern African ethnic groups were historically referred to as "tribes" (*merafe* in Setswana). In this dissertation, I use the term *tribe* to refer to social groups often bound together as an ethnic polity. For example, the government of Botswana officially recognizes only eight tribes, all of which are ethnic Tswana: Bakgatla, Bakwena, Bamalete, Bamangwato, Bangwaketse, Barolong, Batawana, and Batlôkwa (RoB 1987).

[34] Botswana's identity politics are discussed in depth in chapter 4.

[35] Botswana is one of only six countries in sub-Saharan Africa with upper-middle income economies, as defined by the World Bank. The others are Gabon, Mauritius, Namibia, Seychelles, and South Africa.

[36] The Kalanga are an elite ethnic minority in Botswana, an exception among other ethnic minorities in the country (see Werbner 2004).

ethnic groups, such as Kgalagadi, Herero, Hambukushu, Wayeyi, Nharo, Ju|'hoansi, Bugakhwe, and other Bantu and Khoisan speakers, as well as Tswana.[37] Ethnic minorities are generally the most impoverished citizens, and they are also severely underrepresented, or unrepresented, in the country's government, business sectors, and in higher education. Botswana's nationalist rhetoric has disguised its uneven development (Hitchcock and Holm 1993, Hope and Edge 1996). Although viewed favorably by the rest of the world as an African success story, Botswana is not without its flaws. Scholars and human rights groups increasingly point out the social and economic disparity between members of different ethnic groups in the country as will be shown in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

In order to democratize exploitation of its natural resources, Botswana, at the urging of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), began community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) programs in 1989, though CBNRM really took off during the early 1990s (see Rozemeijer 2009).[38] These programs began in villages and smaller settlements, which were primarily comprised of one or two ethnic groups—generally minority ethnic groups—that then formed community trusts to manage nearby natural and wildlife resources.[39] CBNRM management strategies include community trusts auctioning land leases to tourism operators, auctioning hunting rights that they are granted by the government, and orchestrating more grassroots community-based tourism within their villages or settlements.[40] In general, NGOs and development organizations advise villages and smaller settlements on forming community trusts and participating in CBNRM.[41] The philosophy behind CBNRM programs is to entrust "ownership" of the environment and other natural and cultural resources of a specific area to the people living there, and in Botswana such people involved in CBNRM are usually the rural poor, who are most often ethnic minorities. Thus allowing these people to then economically benefit from nearby resources provides them an incentive to conserve and manage these resources. Community trusts engaged in CBNRM programs can enter into joint ventures with established businesses and improve their organizational management and business knowledge, known as "capacity building" in development terminology, which contributes to Botswana's aims of steady development and economic diversification (e.g., Botswana's "Vision 2016" [Presidential Task Group for a Long Term Vision for Botswana 1997]).

Although the best studied CBNRM projects in the country are those projects dealing with nature and wildlife tourism in exclusive Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs), especially those in and around the Okavango Delta (Mbaiwa 2005a, 2005b), a significant number of CBNRM projects

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[37] Although the country does not collect ethnic data through census taking, there are statistics, however questionable, about the demographic composition of ethnic groups in Botswana: Tswana 79 percent, Kalanga 11 percent, Khoisan three percent, and other ethnic groups seven percent (CIA 2010). Whites (i.e., English speakers and Afrikaans speakers) are also a minority group in Botswana, as are people with Chinese, Indian, and other non-African ancestry. Whites are, however, overwhelmingly one of the wealthiest demographic groups.

[38] The first CBNRM program began in 1989 at the Chobe Enclave.

[39] In general, a village is a settlement of more than 500 people that is gazetted by the government of Botswana (RoB 1998). Tsodilo is not technically a village because its population is less than 500, though the people who live there speak of their settlement as a village. In fact, while the Hambukushu speak of the entire settlement as one village, the Ju|'hoansi refer to their settlement as separate from that the Hambukushu settlement (they are also referred to as two different "wards" of the same settlement). The Ju|'hoansi live two kilometers west from the Hambukushu.

[40] The land parcels auctioned to tourism operators are first leased to community trusts by tribal land boards set up by the government.

[41] This topic is discussed fully in chapter 5.

are now focused on community-based tourism around cultural heritage, such as heritage tourism with the Ju|'hoansi and Herero at |Xai-|Xai, heritage tourism with the !Xoo and Kgalagadi in the Kalagadi Controlled Hunting Area (CHA) in southwestern Botswana (KD1), and heritage tourism on a Nharo-owned game ranch in Ghanzi called Dqãe Qare (see Rozemeijer 2001).[42] These community-based tourism projects involve many different community members in several aspects of the tourism business, from the production of tourist crafts to bookkeeping. However, the government of Botswana closely monitors the implementation of heritage tourism CBNRM projects because of the country's nationalist rhetoric that is intolerant of ethnic partiality (RoB 2007). Heritage tourism inevitably encourages the commodification of ethnic groups, so the promotion of this type of tourism and its gradual acceptance by the government of Botswana is remarkable. It appears to be a step forward for the government of Botswana to recognize that the ethnic makeup of the country is heterogeneous, and that the ethnic minorities are relatively poor while the ethnic Tswana and Kalanga, along with the whites and a few other demographic groups, are typically the only middle-income citizens. In this dissertation, I argue, though, that the government's support of heritage tourism through CBNRM is also due to its other aims to weaken state welfare and continue assimilating minority ethnic groups into the nation and the market economy.[43]

Economic development through CBNRM programs is affecting traditional gender roles among the minority ethnic groups involved, as tourism is becoming a new survival strategy, although this is part of a larger cultural transformation stemming from the country's modernization as well as its battle with health pandemics.[44] Many ethnic minorities are no longer able, or allowed, to practice their traditional lifestyle of subsistence agriculture or hunting and gathering, so they instead must find a new means of livelihood (RoB 1994, 2001). The government of Botswana is encouraging its citizens to transition from their traditional lifestyles to a market economy. Moreover, the crippling HIV/AIDS pandemic is continuously altering the country's population profile and further changing the basic social structure of many ethnic groups (Klaits 2010). Throughout this transition to a market economy, and within the uncertainty of debilitating health pandemics, minority women are more and more becoming the heads of households, and increasingly able to do so as they earn money through tourism endeavors. Not surprisingly, women from minority ethnic groups are not taken into special consideration for governmental policies, even though the country does have national women's policies. However, minority women who are involved in heritage tourism through CBNRM are becoming a large population statistic represented in these grassroots programs (Cassidy 2001).[45] This is due, in part, to increasing international attention on women as an ideal demographic group to target in rural development. Cultural crafts are one of the most sought-after tourism products in Botswana, and minority women are generally the ones who produce them.[46] Now that minority women are entering the market economy through the production and sale of tourist crafts and participation in

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[42] !Xoo and Nharo are Khoisan languages.

[43] This argument is addressed explicitly in chapter 5.

[44] The social structure Tswana and many other Bantu speaking ethnic groups are traditionally patriarchal, though some Bantu speaking minority ethnic groups in Botswana, such as the Wayeyi and Hambukushu are matrilineal. However most Khoisan speaking ethnic groups are egalitarian.

[45] Most of these records are kept by NGOs and development organizations as the government does not keep official ethnic statistics.

[46] Cultural crafts, such as woven baskets from palm fibers and ostrich eggshell jewelry, are also exported and are well-known commodities in the African arts and crafts trade (see Cunningham and Terry 2006).

other tourism enterprises, as well as through other means, they are gaining more financial independence. The role of minority ethnic women in tourism development demonstrates the effects of this industry on transforming gender norms within the country.[47]

At the Tsodilo Hills, tourists come to see rock paintings and archaeological sites and to photograph and buy crafts from the Ju|'hoansi (more famously known as "Bushmen") and the Hambukushu. Though in low numbers, heritage tourism at the hills has persisted for four decades, long before the site gained World Heritage status (Taylor 1997). In light of the new heritage management plan for the hills (Ecosurv 2005), TOCaDI advised the Tsodilo residents to establish a community trust, and the Tsodilo Community Development Trust (TCDT) was officially registered in December 2005. The TCDT is in place to help facilitate the settlement's development following CBNRM protocol (van der Jagt et al. 2000, Cassidy 2000, van der Jagt and Rozemeijer 2002). Heritage tourism is intended to improve the livelihoods of those living in the Tsodilo settlement, and the TCDT is meant to officially represent those Tsodilo residents who are benefiting from existing and future community-tourism projects. The new heritage management plan and the development it entails, is quickly changing Tsodilo's governance mechanisms from local tribal authorities to the recognition of the TCDT, the board of which is, in general, elected annually.[48] Not surprisingly, the cultural heritage of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu at Tsodilo is overtly affected in myriad ways by the development of the site for conservation and tourism (e.g., tourism revenue, new zoning restrictions, exposure to tourists, etc.), altering the intangible heritage which the site's World Heritage listing proposes to protect and to manage because their beliefs and oral histories related to the hills have become a cultural commodity for tourist consumption.

Studying World Heritage and Tourism in Context

In this dissertation, I argue that World Heritage status entails neoliberal policies that, within the discourse of sustainable development, transform local heritage sites into global heritage sites, and ultimately into international tourist destinations, and thus commodities. The processes of implementing heritage conservation policies and development strategies, which are most often negotiated at the national and transnational levels, require in-depth analyses in order to theorize the predicament of World Heritage status in developing countries where these sites are often utilized as a means for capital gain, especially through tourism enterprises. I examine these issues through an extended case study of the Tsodilo Hills in northwestern Botswana. Tsodilo was inscribed as a World Heritage site in 2001, in part, for its intangible heritage, which pertains to the beliefs of the local communities who claim ancestral affiliation to the hills and place strong religious values on them. Since 2001, the Botswana National Museum, TOCaDI, and the Letloa Trust are working together to develop the site for conservation and tourism through the implementation of a new heritage management plan that is funded by the major diamond

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[47] Gender and development through heritage tourism is discussed in chapters 5 and 6.
[48] The Hambukushu *kgosi* (chief) is recognized as the only legitimate tribal authority in Tsodilo by the government of Botswana. This is because the Ju|'hoansi traditionally have a more egalitarian social structure without individual leadership, and this style of leadership is not acknowledged by the government of Botswana. The governance of the TCDT challenges both the Hambukushu and Ju|'hoansi leadership styles.

corporation De Beers/Debswana.[49] As local communities living near Tsodilo are increasingly consigned to self-reliance through tourism development, I question whether commodification of the site's intangible heritage ultimately works against the conservation aims of World Heritage and, if so, in what specific ways. I further address heritage tourism as development in a culturally hegemonic country such as Botswana as well as women's roles in CBNRM development.

Based on a more than two-year ethnographic case study at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site, as well as archival research, this dissertation examines and builds upon scholarship on tourism and conservation, cultural heritage and nationalism, and women and development.[50] The questions this dissertation addresses are important to understanding the impacts of global conservation schemes on local communities living near heritage sites. My research among the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu living near the Tsodilo Hills, as well as with NGO and museum staff, examines these topics in order to consider the transformation of cultural landmarks and landscapes into commodified World Heritage sites, and how peoples' relationships to them change and are also commodified. Central to my research objectives are the following set of core questions, and the relevant academic literature to which they contribute.

First, because intangible heritage is not inert and heritage tourism is increasingly becoming the only way for many marginalized groups to participate in any market economy, does World Heritage status actually challenge the ideal of intangible heritage conservation and management? This core research question frames the main theoretical project of this dissertation, which examines the commodification of culture and heritage conservation through a neoliberal lens. I investigated this question at Tsodilo, which is one of 12 World Heritage sites in southern Africa inscribed with the intangible heritage criterion vi. As international conventions convert local cultural heritage into World Heritage, landscape meanings and values change, and one exceedingly conspicuous effect is the proliferation of tourism endeavors at these sites. In this dissertation, I scrutinize conservation policies aimed at intangible heritage that often enable the commodification of culture, and I look into which features of intangible heritage remain and which features change or are reformed.

Tourism and conservation appear to be at odds. Whereas tourism often entails the practice of consumption, such as cultural consumption, conservation is the protection or preservation of resources, such as culture heritage. The intersection of these topics is explored by multiple academic disciplines; tourism is a broadly interdisciplinary scholarly topic, and so is cultural

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[49] Debswana is the state-controlled entity of De Beers in Botswana. When diamonds were discovered in Botswana in 1967, the government of Botswana entered a lucrative partnership with De Beers to share the proceeds of mining in the country half and half. Launched in 2007, the Diamond Trust is De Beers and Debswana's corporate social investment entity that transferred BWP 10,000,000 (about US$1,500,000) to the Letloa Trust in November 2009 to implement the new heritage management plan for Tsodilo.

[50] The primary research period for this project took place January 2007–January 2009 and July–September 2009. In addition, I completed two preparatory trips: June–August 2005 and June–August 2006. The first preparatory trip was to the southern Africa region where I visited potential dissertation research sites in South Africa and Botswana. The second preparatory trip was to Botswana, and specifically to the Tsodilo Hills. For my primary research period, I spent the first two and one-half months in Gaborone learning Setswana at the University of Botswana, conducting interviews, and undertaking some archival research. I lived in the Tsodilo settlement from the end of March 2007 until the end of December 2008. In July 2009, I returned to Botswana to complete fieldwork for this dissertation, spending a month in Gaborone carrying out more archival research, and a month in the Tsodilo Hills finalizing a mapping project and delivering my preliminary analyses to Tsodilo residents.

heritage, though to a lesser extent. The academic literature on heritage tourism and conservation addresses a number of interrelated themes, and I am interested in the approaches to these topics undertaken by anthropologists and other social scientists. Anthropological studies of tourism began in the 1970s, burgeoning ever since (Graburn 1983, Smith 1977, Smith and Brent 2001, Nash 1981, Rojek and Urry 1997, Leite and Graburn 2009), and as the discipline took on the topic of globalization, anthropologists embraced interdisciplinary concepts related to tourism as they refocused their notion of static cultures to one of mobile, "traveling cultures" (Clifford 1997).

Key topics to the anthropological study of tourism are: conceptions of "the tourist" (Cohen 1973, Graburn and Barthel-Bouchier 2001, MacCannell 1999), "the tourist experience" (Cohen 1979; Graburn 1977, 2001a, Crick 1989), and the "tourist gaze" (MacCannell 1999, Urry 2002). These topics were crucial to the development of tourism studies as a relevant field of inquiry because they helped to define new social analytics reflective of the social forms of late modernity. In addition, a subset of crosscutting concepts to the anthropological study of tourism includes: "authenticity" (MacCannell 1973, 1999; Urry 2002, Jamal and Hill 2002, Wang 1999), "cultural commodification" (Adorno 1991, Cohen 1988, Shepherd 2002, Urry 1995), and "nostalgia" (Stewart 1988, Jacobs 2004, Frow 1991). The quest for cultural authenticity by tourists, set against the modern world with its global flow of exchange values, increases the likelihood of cultural commodification (see Appadurai 1986), and thus the lack of authenticity in art, experiences, native hosts, *et cetera*, that tourists hope to find (Cohen 1988). Tourists are also motivated by nostalgia, which is the desire, or yearning, for the past, or what came before the transformation of the modern Self (Jacobs 2004, Stewart 1988). Thus cultural heritage serves as a metonym of the past and helps to promote nostalgia.

In studying the globalization of intangible heritage in World Heritage, there are issues of its interpretation and management that are thrown into the forefront with heritage tourism. Scholarship on heritage tourism (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, Bruner 2005, Daher 2000) makes clear the apparent clash between the dueling goals of tourism and conservation, namely the commodification of cultural heritage (Harrison and Hitchcock 2005, McKercher and du Cros 2002, Hall and Tucker 2004, Nuryanti 1996). In the "developing" world, such as in southern Africa, tourism is often deployed for economic development (Telfer and Sharpley 2007). Tourism is utilized to help alleviate poverty (pro-poor tourism) in southern Africa (Ashley and Roe 2002), and has led to the proliferation of tourism endeavors by international development agencies and NGOs working in the region. When tourists from more industrial parts of the world come to visit the cultural heritage of southern Africa, they are looking for "authentic" cultures that are more "primitive" than their own. Tourism to southern Africa also evokes a nostalgia for the colonial past (Rosaldo 1989). A specific conservation challenge that cultural heritage as tourism development potentially interrupts in southern Africa is the simultaneous and inherently contradictory desire that culture remain, or be presented, as more or less fixed, while pushing for economic development and a national modernity.

Secondly, although the recognition and preservation of a country's cultural heritage is associated with nation building, does promoting the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities, which empowers group identity and illuminates cultural diversity, threaten a perceived sense of national unity? Since Independence, Botswana has actively pursued nation building, including the production of

a *Tswana* national, as opposed to a multicultural, identity. Ongoing criticism by scholars and human rights groups of the country's marginalizing policies towards its ethnic minorities appears to reinforce rather than temper the government's assimilationist agenda. However, the government of Botswana is faced with the economic dilemmas of diversifying its GDP, which is overwhelmingly dependent on diamond mining, and lessening the economic drain of state welfare by encouraging individual accountability amongst its rural poor, who are predominantly ethnic minorities. Heritage tourism at the country's only World Heritage site is part of the new heritage management plan for Tsodilo. This dissertation addresses the local particularities of Botswana, and in it, I question whether spotlighting the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities for the sake of sustainable tourism development challenges the homogenous national identity that "anti-multicultural" states, like Botswana, wish to generate and maintain, and even enforce.

Academic literature on cultural heritage, in general, discusses cultural heritage as the tangible and intangible remains of the past with political salience in the present (Cleere 1984, Lowenthal 1998, Walsh 1992). In an era of modernization, the interpretation, management, and portrayal of cultural heritage is also closely linked to contemporary identity politics (Meskell 2002b, Abu El-Haj 2001, Kohl and Fawcett 1995). Thus cultural heritage is an issue relevant to discourses of nationalism, multiculturalism, and indigenous rights. Two key concepts in cultural heritage studies relevant to nationalism are "tradition" (Hobsbawm 1983; AlSayyad 2001, 2004) and an imagined sense of nationalism (see Anderson 1991). However, nationalism as expressed in Botswana, excludes the recognition of multiple ethnic and racial groups, which is why I refer to it as "anti-multicultural" in this dissertation.

The World Heritage Convention, as is discussed more fully in chapter 2, was established in 1972 to declare an "outstanding universal value" for tangible and intangible cultural and natural heritage. As well as being used politically by State Parties, these heritage sites also become global patrimony. In addition to international recognition, World Heritage status also brings with it the promise of conservation assistance to help preserve heritage sites (through the World Heritage Fund). The discourse of World Heritage is, however, considered to be an example of the hegemonic power of UNESCO, which manages the appropriation and portrayal of once localized heritage on a global scale (see Musitelli 2002). Indeed, World Heritage sites are, in general, politically charged and contested by various stakeholders, as the well-known case of Stonehenge has demonstrated (Chippendale et al. 1990). The study of cultural property and museums is thus crucial to understanding the role of cultural heritage today (Karp et al. 2006, Layton et al. 2001, Walsh 1992).

Third, do community-based tourism projects that enable minority women in developing countries to earn an income through the production and sale of tourist crafts, or through employment in the tourism industry, stimulate a change in traditional gender roles through their participation in community development initiatives and because of new financial positions in the household that these minority women achieve? Gender roles are in flux among Botswana's ethnic minorities as nationalist assimilation policies and development agendas contribute toward transforming traditional cultures. Heritage tourism commodifies traditional culture, yet development alters it in the transition to a market economy as certain aspects of culture are retained and others are reformulated. Within CBNRM projects, minority women are increasingly involved in heritage tourism through craft production and other tourism-related jobs, yet minority men are

encouraged by development facilitators to become the leaders of these new tourism initiatives. This dissertation explores the methods that community members living near World Heritage sites employ to amend their livelihood strategies to enter the market economy and how certain tactics are altering and reforming traditional cultures and gender roles.

In southern Africa, the people most often affected by conservation zoning and tourism development are the most marginalized, whether by race, ethnicity, socio-economics, education, or gender, because they are rarely allowed to fully collaborate in the planning processes of conservation and tourism development. CBNRM programs attempt to alleviate these inequalities, but their success in this endeavor varies. Some communities are able to negotiate business deals with tourism operators and decide upon their own course of development while maintaining control over the land and resources where they reside. Others cannot avoid the standard top-down approach of governments, development agencies, and the private sector when it comes to the exploitation of resources and desired development. CBNRM may promote a more grassroots approach to development, but its motivations still retain the legacy of capitalism.

Studying Up, Studying Through

Methodology and theory are inevitably intertwined. In addressing my methodological approaches, I also explain their connection to the theoretical frameworks I broach in my research analyses. I choose to study processes of tourism and conservation, heritage and nationalism, and women and development through the lens of neoliberal discourse because it is salient to my argument that World Heritage status is transforming heritage landscapes into sites of capitalism and affecting the livelihoods of people living nearby. One way to interpret neoliberalism is as an ideology of economic market principles that permeates into state governance and people's daily lives (Harvey 2005). To examine the intersections of these topics within the context of global capitalism and free markets, I apply cultural and spatial theories that guide my methodologies. I use ethnography as the main approach in addressing my research questions, though I am also aware that this method of "writing culture" cannot be taken for granted or employed uncritically (Clifford and Marcus 1986).

In examining these multi-faceted issues at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site, I find a number of analytical concepts useful. For example, Michel Foucault's (2003) analytical concept of "governmentality" best helps me to articulate the processes of self-governing, such as regulating constructions of identity and involvement in sustainable development by the Tsodilo residents as they enter a market economy through cultural and heritage tourism. This concept also applies to understanding the shift in traditional gender roles, as women become the major demographic group involved in economic development through cultural and heritage tourism. Furthermore, I find James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta's (2002) concept of "transnational governmentality" useful to account for the modes of governing that take place as a result of the relationships between supranational organizations, states, and NGOs (and their donors). These theoretical concepts are relevant to a study of cultural heritage and tourism in southern Africa because although UNESCO, which is housed in Europe (though, it is technically run by many non-Europeans), determines the management procedures of World Heritage sites around the globe, states (and sometimes NGOs) implement their own heritage conservation and tourism plans for World Heritage sites located within their territory. State Parties implementing heritage and

tourism plans use "technologies of power" (Foucault 1995) to compel citizens to commodify their intangible heritage in order to develop.

Inherent to a study of neoliberal trends is the tendency to, as Laura Nader (1972) termed it, "study up," and as Susan Reinhold (Shore and Wright 1997) added, "study through." That is, rather than merely studying the effects of neoliberalism on specific communities, studying the apparatus of neoliberalism (e.g., institutions and policies) is crucial to more fully comprehending it. While my research project is primarily a geographically site-centered ethnography conducted among nearby communities of the Tsodilo World Heritage Site, it does "study up," as I also examine the practices of the Botswana National Museum and the NGOs TOCaDI and the Letloa Trust, which are all involved in the implementation of the new heritage management plan at Tsodilo. In my research I also "study through" by tracing the networks of UNESCO, CBNRM, and other national policies. In addition to my ethnographic fieldwork at Tsodilo and my observations museum and NGO staff, I interviewed a wide range of people implicated in or by the fact of Tsodilo being named World Heritage: site museum employees, Botswana National Museum employees, development facilitators, NGO workers, lodge owners, early researchers to Tsodilo, a diamond prospector, among others. I also make use of secondary sources, like ethnographic accounts of the World Heritage Centre and other World Heritage institutions. Thus I attempt to address the governmentality of the state (Gupta and Ferguson 1997a).

Specifically, how do I match my methodology to my research questions? First, to examine the inconsistency of World Heritage conservation objectives for intangible heritage and its community development objectives, I examine the implementation of the newly revised heritage management plan and incorporate my observations and formal interviews. Second, to examine the social effects of heritage tourism as an economic diversification strategy of an "anti-multicultural" state, I conjoin analyses from my ethnographic fieldwork and archival research.[51] Finally, to study the transformations of gender roles transforming in community-based tourism projects, I "shadowed" women around their daily lives and asked focused questions about gender and women's roles in traditional Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu societies.

The research design for my dissertation project is site-centered for highly focused data, although it also figuratively entails multiples sites by studying the state, NGOs, and policies. In order for me to get the deepest understanding of social behavior at Tsodilo I needed to be part of the Tsodilo communities for an extended period of time. The length of my fieldwork also allowed me to witness changes in the "development" of Tsodilo during the earlier stages of the implementation of the new heritage management plan. Over this period, the residents of Tsodilo also got to know me better as I established relationships with them, as well as establishing my research persona. Over time, I was able to learn which were the more appropriate questions to ask related to my research, and I also gained the trust of the Tsodilo residents to talk with me about my research questions in more detail.

I lived in Tsodilo from March 2007–December 2008, and visited again in August 2009. From March 2007–October 2008, I rented a Village Development Committee (VDC) building in the heart of the Hambukushu ward of the Tsodilo settlement, near the gate of Tsodilo's "core zone."

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[51] I conducted archival research at the Botswana National Museum library, the Tsodilo site museum, the TOCaDI library, and the Botswana National Archives.

The TOCaDI development facilitator for Tsodilo arranged my housing (she used to live in the building, but then had a hut built for herself in the Ju|'hoansi ward). Other VDC buildings were used for the TCDT office and an art room run by TOCaDI. Two staff members of the Tsodilo site museum—the driver and the fence repairer—also lived in VDC buildings. The large marula trees a few hundred feet away were used to shade the ground for *dikgotla* (public meetings).[52] I lived across the main road running through the Tsodilo settlement (toward Chukumuchu) from the Hambukushu *kgosi* (chief) and my closest neighbor was his second wife, a Wayeyi woman, and her family. During November and December 2008 I lived in a tent on the property of Twi, the Ju|'hoansi woman introduced at the start of this chapter and who was then the current chairperson of the TCDT. This move was made in order for me to downsize before leaving the field, as well as to gain another perspective by living in the Ju|'hoansi ward of Tsodilo.

I had a *bakkie* (pickup truck) throughout the primary period of my fieldwork, and this vehicle not only gave me mobility, it also helped me develop relationships with Tsodilo residents who often needed rides to the closest village and town—Nxamasere and Shakawe—or my help fetching water from the borehole at the site museum, which had the cleanest and most reliable source of water in Tsodilo. Having one of the few vehicles in Tsodilo also caused problems for me as Tsodilo residents, site museum staff members, and others would not always so gently ask me for a ride but demand it of me. The insistence by some people got to be so overwhelming that I spoke to the Hambukushu *kgosi* and site museum manager to support me in my refusal of certain requests to drive people where they wanted to go. The backlash of refusing these requests, though, was that it was held against me when I would in turn ask for their assistance in answering my research questions, as they sometimes also refused to help. During my stay in Tsodilo in August 2009, I got around by hitchhiking, which allowed me to better understand the difficulties of mobility for most Tsodilo residents, as well as eliminated the tensions associated with having a vehicle in communities where vehicles were scarce but very useful.

My approach to ethnographic fieldwork includes three major components: participant observation, direct observation, and formal and informal interviews. During fieldwork, participant observation was the central method I employed to become aware of social practices related to my research topics at Tsodilo. I observed and partook in *dikgotla*, TCDT board meetings and workshops, tourist craft production and guiding, as well as daily life. I spent several days a week directly observing interactions between Tsodilo residents and tourists at the site museum and at their compounds where tourists would visit them to take photos and buy crafts. I also formally interviewed 80 adults and informally interviewed several others.[53] In addition, I created kinship charts for every family in the settlement, and I travelled with Tsodilo residents to visit members of their extended families in the surrounding settlements and villages. Most days, I typed my observations of these events into documents on my laptop computer and wrote down other observations in my personal journals. Photography was yet another way that I recorded my experiences in Tsodilo.

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[52] The scientific name for marula is *Sclerocarya birrea.*

[53] The total population of Tsodilo is approximately 200, though it fluctuates as people move to other villages to stay with family or to towns for employment. About 40 percent of the population is children (under 18), and many of them are away at school in Chukumuchu, Shakawe, Nxau-Nxau, or Gumare, as there are no schools in Tsodilo. Interviews generally lasted over an hour each and were conducted in the mother tongue language of the interviewee. My translators assisted with these interviews and I transcribed the recorded interviews based on their translations.

Although I learned to speak Setswana, the *lingua franca* of the region and the national language of Botswana, at the intermediate level, I hired two local translators who became research assistants.[54] Both of my translators were women in their early twenties (and young mothers) who completed Form Three, or the equivalent of tenth grade (mid-high school level education) in the United States. One woman primarily provided Simbukushu translation while the other primarily provided Ju|'hoansi translation. Both women helped me define interview questions. My research assistants were pivotal to my integration into village life because they invited me to meals and other daily rituals. We took many trips together during my time there. My Hambukushu translator and I traveled to other tourism sites in Botswana to inspect traditional crafts, as she was once one of the shop assistants for the community curio shop where crafts are sold. We even visited Gcwihaba, an underground cave site held to be sacred by nearby communities that was first put on the Tentative List for World Heritage status in 1999. With my Ju|'hoansi translator, also a former shop assistant for the community curio shop, we visited other rural areas and went to Tsumkwe, Namibia for a traditional knowledge workshop with other Khoisan speakers. My relationship with these two women allowed me access into their home lives and that of their extended families. In a settlement as small as Tsodilo, this meant that their families became a kin referent for my association to others in the community.

Although my main support for this research project began with the Botswana National Museum and TOCaDI, the longer I stayed in Tsodilo the more my relationship with staff members at these institutions changed. The more senior members of the Tsodilo site museum staff not from Tsodilo had a very precarious relationship with the Tsodilo communities. On one hand, some of them seemed to resent being stationed in an isolated part of the country. While, on the other hand, Tsodilo residents did not trust them as they represented government and had more amenities (e.g., water, electricity, telephone, vehicle access, television, etc.) and money than anyone else in Tsodilo. The site museum manager and the two other staff members with post-secondary certificates in museum studies were also in charge of employing Tsodilo community members for salaried and piecemeal jobs, and granting permission to Tsodilo community members to use water, electricity, the telephone, or to obtain rides in the museum vehicle. This caused a very uneven level of status and power in Tsodilo tipping in favor of the site museum staff.

When I first arrived, many Tsodilo residents assumed that I worked with or for the site museum or government (in fact, some were excited that I was there to help them "develop"). However, during my first couple of months in Tsodilo, the senior staff at the site museum (from Gaborone) bullied me, probably because of their jealousies of my position as an independent researcher. The bullying escalated and resulted in a meeting between the senior site museum staff and myself that was mediated by the Hambukushu *kgosi*. This incident, including the reluctance of the senior site museum staff members to meet with Hambukushu *kgosi*, helped establish to two things. First, it became clear that the senior site museum staff, as government employees, believed themselves to be above the Tsodilo communities (the senior site museum staff members would call meetings at the site museum and make Tsodilo elders walk several kilometers from the settlement to attend these meetings, but the same staff members insisted on being driven to the

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[54] I also learned to speak, read, and write Afrikaans at the intermediate level, which was helpful when I travelled to Ghanzi or to Namibia where Afrikaans is more widely spoken.

settlement for similar meetings held at the TCDT office or the *kgotla* [public meeting place] on condition of their attendance). Second, it was made clear that I was not working with or for the site museum and that I would also be subjected to their ranking system. However, I still had more opportunity to circumnavigate the antics of these senior site museum staff than the Tsodilo residents.

My relationship with the staff members of TOCaDI and the Letloa Trust also evolved. Much of this has to do with the turnover in staff at these NGOs. In November 2007, the director of TOCaDI died in a probable "passion killing" (in Botswana, this is the term for murder-suicides between romantic partners). In May 2008, a new director took over TOCaDI, but he left the organization in early 2010. In mid-2009, TOCaDI lost more than half of its staff as the NGO's funding was significantly reduced due to donor agencies pulling out, in part, because of the global economic recession. Until 2008, the offices of the Letloa Trust were housed at the same facility in Shakawe as were TOCaDI's offices. The longtime director stepped down and a new director took up the position in Maun, where the Letloa Trust offices were relocated. The tension I felt with these Kuru Family of Organisations (KFO) NGOs heightened after the death of the TOCaDI director in November 2007 since he was originally responsible for my affiliation and his sudden passing meant a lack of leadership for TOCaDI. Some other Kuru NGO managers were skeptical of my anthropological project, as they, rightly so, did not see how the project would more immediately contribute to helping their mission of supporting the status of ethnic minorities in Botswana. I, in turn, felt frustration with the development facilitator meant to be stationed at Tsodilo. This woman only came to Tsodilo about once a month for a day or two even though she was supposed to be stationed there nearly full-time. Over time, I perceived her to be much more preoccupied with the elevated status that her professional life out of the remote area granted her along with building her personal wealth, and that this was why she was reluctant to stay in Tsodilo. KFO was going through upheaval, and over time I was able to see beyond the organization's stated objective of helping ethnic minorities in Botswana and more critically examine the role of KFO in Botswana and in the minority rights debates of the region.

Reflection on Ethics

I am doing anthropology as a feminist with concerns of the ethnocentrism and androcentrism of social science research (see Longino 1994). I aim to carry out collaborative research throughout my research design, including: choosing research questions of interest to the people with whom I work, working with Tsodilo residents and other stakeholders to conduct research, and negotiating anthropological representation with community members and stakeholders. The feminist methodology that I employ was greatly influenced by writings on decolonizing methodologies (Smith 1999). As anthropology was established as a discipline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as part of a larger colonial project (both for and against other aspects of colonialism), there is good need to re-evaluate its purpose and methods. Thus in my research, I strived for a more collaborative approach, though, as I problematize in chapter 5, this was not always attainable. In 2005, during one of my two preparatory visits to Tsodilo, I asked for permission to do heritage tourism research from the Ju|'hoansi headman, which he granted.[55] The following year, I returned to address the specifics of my research project, and I discussed my

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[55] The Ju|'hoansi and other Khoisan speakers do not traditionally have a headman or *kgosi*, but increasingly the use of such titles are encouraged so that they and gain more official recognition from local and national governments.

research plans with the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu at Tsodilo. As I also employed two translators from the settlement, I helped create local employment, and I also made it more possible for Tsodilo residents to help shape the direction of my research questions. Furthermore, I returned in August 2009 with my preliminary research analyses to negotiate my anthropological authority in representing Tsodilo residents in my doctoral dissertation and in any subsequent publications. Another collaborative aspect of my research was a mapping project on the intangible heritage and memory of Tsodilo, included here as an appendix.

Anthropology, like other social sciences, is rightfully criticized for the ethical treatment of its study: human subjects. Historically, the socio-cultural sub-discipline emerged with the advent of colonialism and imperialism. As Western civilizations sought to explore and conquer new lands, scholars wanted to understand the diverse human cultures they encountered. The discipline has received some its most fervent and harsh criticism in the past 25 years. These critiques centered on the lingering colonial and imperial ties of the project of anthropology, such as the superior power relations of the anthropologist who controls representation of his or her research subjects and the direct role of influence that anthropologists have on their subjects (Rosaldo 1989). While the great majority of anthropologists have altered their research methods, relatively fewer have re-conceptualized the project of anthropology. Although this is also beyond the scope of my research, in doing anthropology as a feminist, I have strived to conduct research of interest to the Tsodilo residents. I also overstepped potential research boundaries. For example, when my Ju|'hoansi translator was taken with her infant son by the police in the nighttime at the insistence of Hambukushu men in Tsodilo jealous of her employment as a shop assistant, I spoke to the Ju|'hoansi elders and we drove to the police station in the middle of the night to have her released.[56] Thus my research commitments are two-fold: that my research findings contribute to academic discourses and that they directly and indirectly benefit the residents of the Tsodilo settlement.

Conducting ethnographic research with people who are at an extreme economic disadvantage to myself, made me reevaluate my research ethics and how a feminist methodology influenced my particular research design. Here, I want to delineate what I see as my research limitations and try to position myself within my dissertation project as a whole. I am doing this to write myself into this dissertation, so that readers can understand my role in Tsodilo. Perhaps the most obvious aspect is that I am a foreigner, a white American attempting to read the culture of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu residents of Tsodilo, who are ethnic minorities in Botswana. I am educationally and economically privileged to carry out ethnographic and archival research halfway around the world, and am to some degree complicit in the domination of the very cultural groups with whom I work. There were other issues as well. For instance, my race and gender played a role in during my research. My race signaled my foreignness and privilege, and my gender confounded my relationship with different ethnic groups. For example, it was not always appropriate for me to spend research time with men, as male and female relationships between non-family members were often presumed to be romantic. Language was another barrier. Although I learned to speak Setswana, I found it difficult to improve my speaking abilities in the language while in the field because it was the *lingua franca* of the Tsodilo communities, and people would code-switch between Setswana and their mother tongue or other

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[56] I will detail this incident in chapter 6.

languages. While in the field, I ended up speaking a creole of English, Setswana, Simbukushu, and Ju|'hoansi.

From an institutional perspective, I fulfilled some of my research ethics requirements through institutional review board (IRB) assessments of my research methods. I gained consent of research participants in Tsodilo with a lengthy form outlining my research objectives and the ways in which their participation in my research would be used. I held *dikgotla* in Tsodilo to discuss my research and the consent forms, and I went house to house with translators to read through the forms and ask Tsodilo residents to participate in my research. Although I wondered at the beginning if it was going to be possible to gain informed consent in places where people are at an extreme economic and formal educational disadvantage, the fact that several people asserted their agency by denying to participate in my research re-instilled some faith in this procedure. I also went through the process of signing a research contract with the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA). This contract, which was approved by TOCaDI and WIMSA, is specifically required for researchers and media producers working with Khoisan speakers. Although this research does not rectify the issue of power relations between researcher and subjects, it does attempt to make the process more collaborative with specified benefits earmarked for the communities with whom I worked alongside.

Dissertation Outline

In my dissertation, I investigate issues central to the management of World Heritage sites in the southern African region to unravel the paradoxical relationship between heritage conservation and tourism development. Specifically, I examine the conservation of southern African World Heritage sites designated with criterion vi for their local traditions, and I critically address the impact of tourism on heritage management at these sites. This is done by analyzing what I argue are the opposing conservation aims of World Heritage status and the commodifying tendencies this status encourages on cultural heritage though increased tourism. I also discuss the production of heritage management plans for these sites and their implementation by various organizations and actors. These key topics are observed in depth at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site in Botswana. I also elaborate on ethnicity and nationalism and women and development. Indeed, the significance of the tourism industry to Botswana's economy, coupled with the contentious relations that the government of Botswana has with its ethnic minorities, foregrounds a critical examination of the politics of heritage and conservation. Furthermore, due to Botswana's nationalist stance on identity politics as well as the globalizing processes of development, the gender roles of the country's ethnic minorities are transforming as these people progressively enter a market economy through their induction into the tourism industry. In addition to the issues that my dissertation explores, debates, and to which it contributes, the collaborative methodology to which I aspire—drawn from feminist insights—shapes part of the dissertation results in the form of a mapping project. My dissertation is arranged as an anthology of essays that explores the complexities of these issues.

In chapter 2, "The Nationalization and Universal Valorization of Heritage Landscapes in Southern Africa," I show how World Heritage sites are both refigured as national symbols and how they become "nodes" in global flows of heritage value, thus demonstrating how neoliberal policies are at play in southern African heritage landscapes. I begin the chapter by introducing

the history of heritage management in southern Africa, with a focus on this history in Botswana as well as Botswana's new policy of corporate sponsorship of heritage sites and heritage management. Next, I examine the World Heritage Convention, such as the process of World Heritage listing, the convention's original emphasis on the conservation of immovable heritage, and UNESCO's more recent inclusion of non-physical aspects of heritage. I highlight the difficulty that UNESCO staff and regional heritage managers have in articulating criterion vi, or intangible heritage, of the World Heritage cultural listing criteria, and I point out how UNESCO and regional heritage managers have reinterpreted this criterion through the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage. Using Tsodilo and other southern African World Heritage sites as examples, I demonstrate how southern African states utilize their cultural and archaeological heritage for nation building in the postcolonial and post-apartheid eras.

In chapter 3, "A Dialectical History of Heritage Tourism at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site," I show how the Tsodilo Hills were transformed into a World Heritage site, and I illuminate the effects that this status has on the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu living nearby. I begin by examining the construction of place at Tsodilo as a dialectical process between the "native" and the "scientific expert." I do this by presenting the early explorer and research histories of the Tsodilo Hills in tension with the oral histories of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu community members who reside there. I discuss Tsodilo's earlier history of heritage management and tourism since the protectorate era, and I describe the official process of Tsodilo becoming a World Heritage site, including Botswana's ratification of the World Heritage Convention, the compilation of a site dossier for nomination, and UNESCO's requirement for a new heritage management plan at Tsodilo emphasizing community participation. I then examine the recent development of Tsodilo for community-based tourism through the formation of the 2005 heritage management plan, and how the heritage management plan exemplifies neoliberal policies at play in the struggle of place making and in the transformation of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu communities into capitalistic individuals.

In chapter 4, "Identity Politics in Botswana: Concealing Ethnic Inequalities by Promoting Undifferentiated Citizenship," I trace the unique history of Botswana's identity politics by exploring the shifts in identity markers from colonial and postcolonial accounts, and through the aid of archaeological narratives. In particular, I detail the identity politics of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu. I expose Botswana's long history of cultural contact, including a recent past of "serfdom" by the Tswana—the ethnic majority and elite—over other ethnic groups in the country. I also reveal the ongoing cultural assimilation of non-Tswana ethnic groups in Botswana by the Tswana elites through governmental policymaking and the promotion of undifferentiated citizenship. I then elaborate on culture as commodity, and how heritage tourism (re)produces difference through the marketing of unique cultural experiences, thus challenging the limits of community-based heritage tourism programs in Botswana. Although Botswana upholds that all of its citizens are "indigenous," many international and regional NGOs and human rights groups claim that Khoisan speakers, who are at the bottom of the country's ethnic and class hierarchies, are more "indigenous" than Bantu speakers. The commodification of identity through heritage tourism reinforces the ethnic identities of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu at Tsodilo, including the marker of indigeneity, and both ethnic groups make use of their perceived ethnic identities to navigate the socio-political and economic terrain of Botswana's "development."

In chapter 5, "Community-Based Tourism and the Political Economy of Botswana," I trace how tourism became the second highest income-generating industry in Botswana, and why the government is now intent on diversifying its tourism sector, such as by promoting community-based tourism. I also review and examine the 22-year history of CBNRM initiatives in Botswana, which focus on wildlife management and community-based tourism in order to alleviate poverty in the country's most remote areas that are primarily inhabited by ethnic minorities. I explain how international and regional NGOs provide governance training to nascent community trusts that are formed to operate within the CBNRM mandate. I detail how within CBNRM discourse the concept of "community" becomes a site or object of governance, and how NGOs and governments can exploit the notion of "community involvement" to imply that their development projects are collaborative ventures. I then examine the use of living cultures and archaeological heritage for development initiatives *via* heritage tourism and the social production of conservation and tourism spaces, arguing that heritage conservation and tourism simultaneously dispossess and incorporate people in heritage landscape conservation and management. In this chapter, I elucidate how the government of Botswana is promoting community-based tourism as an economic diversification strategy to alleviate dependency on state welfare by its poor, thus re-inscribing conservation with capitalism.

In chapter 6, "Global Heritage, Community Tourism: The Reconfiguration of Ethnic and Gendered Identities," I examine how community-based heritage tourism affects the ethnic and gendered identity politics of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu living near Tsodilo. I reveal an uneasy history of relations between the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu at Tsodilo, and I show how the Hambukushu continue to subjugate the Ju|'hoansi, exacerbated by community-based heritage tourism. I also analyze how gender roles are being transformed, focusing primarily on the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu women who are involved in community-based heritage tourism at Tsodilo. Increasingly, women are the heads of households in Botswana due to waning marriage traditions, urbanization, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and many rural women earn their household income through tourism. At Tsodilo, more women participate in community-based heritage tourism than men, yet men are more often encouraged to partake in development and tourism leadership in large part due to the guidance of government and NGO employees. In this chapter, I examine the impact that government and NGO condoned patriarchy has on the traditionally egalitarian Ju|'hoansi and matrilineal Hambukushu. I also discuss how new forms of governance contribute to changing the traditional gender roles of community members involved in community-based tourism.

In concluding this dissertation in chapter 7, "Conclusion: The Value of Heritage", I return to the paradox between heritage conservation and tourism commodification at World Heritage sites, specifically in southern Africa. I clarify the contributions that I make toward understanding the cluster of issues caught up at the intersection of development, heritage, and tourism at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site. Through a critical and engaged ethnography, I show how I make a substantive understanding of how many of the general issues at stake in tourism to World Heritage sites are "played out" in specific locations and historical situations.

Finally, in the appendix, "Mapping Intangible Heritage and Memory at the Tsodilo Hills," I address the theoretical, methodological, and ethical issues of using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to map intangible heritage and memory.

Figure 1.1: Map of Africa (*The World Factbook*, CIA 2010)

Figure 1.2: Map of Botswana (*The World Factbook*, CIA 2010)
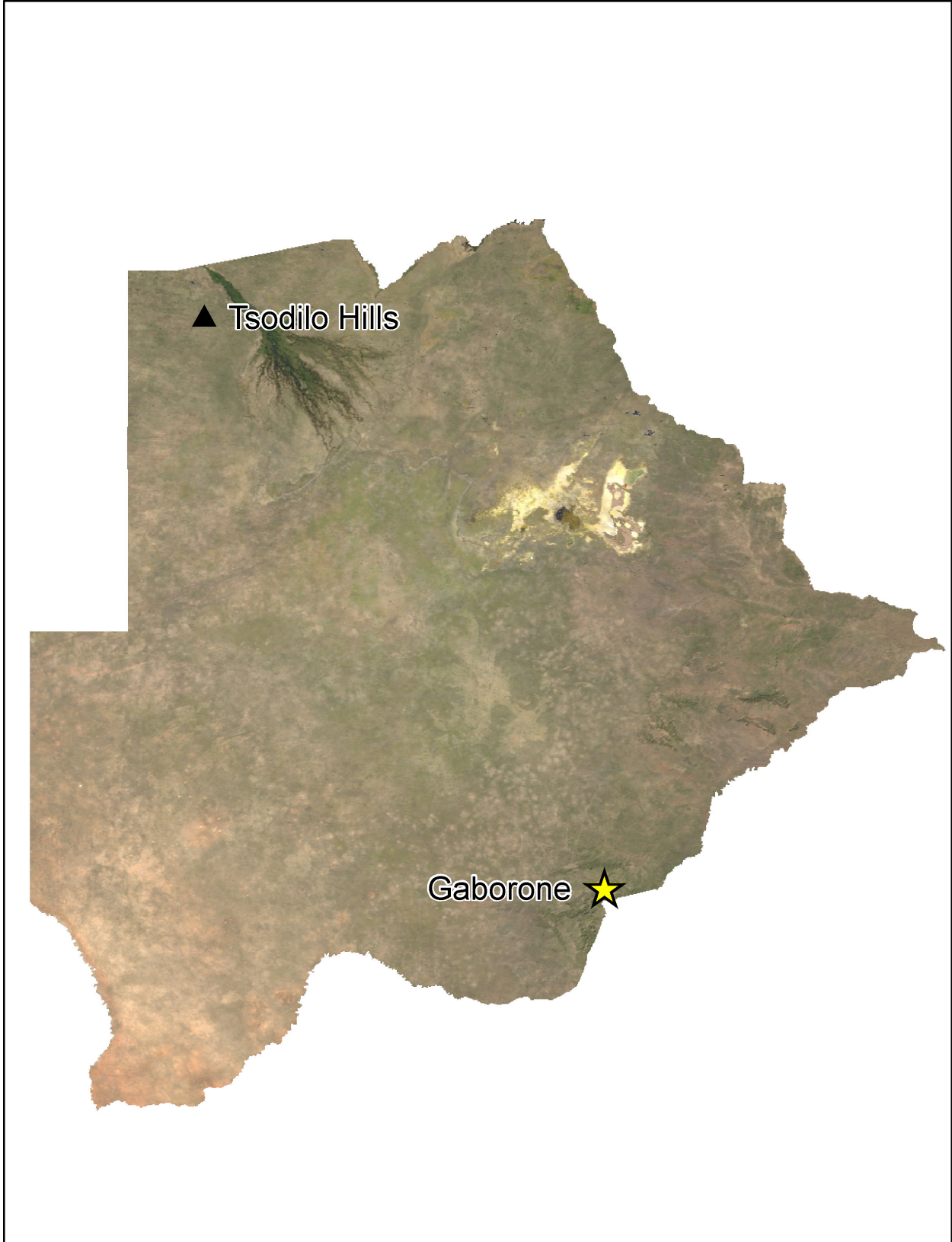
Figure 1.3: Satellite Imagery of Botswana

Figure 1.4: Photograph of the Tsodilo Hills (by author, 2007)

The Nationalization and Universal Valorization of
Heritage Landscapes in Southern Africa

"A nation without a past is a lost nation, and a people without a past is a people without a soul."
    Seretse Khama, Botswana's first president, 1970[1]

"What makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application. World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located."
    World Heritage Centre website[2]

The Heritage Boom in Southern Africa

"Heritage" is a common buzzword in southern Africa (Shepherd 2008); a catchphrase used to refer to tradition, history, and the material remnants of the pre-colonial, colonial, and recent past. Heritage discourses are so momentous in the region right now (Rassool 2000, 2006)—at the 50 year independence anniversary for many southern African countries and more than 15 years after the end of apartheid in South Africa—because the promotion of cultural heritage contributes to a re-identification among diverse ethnic and racial groups co-inhabiting the same countries and for the promising economic gains cultural heritage tourism generates. In the postcolony, an increased consciousness and celebration of African heritage by new nations and diverse ethnic and racial groups helps to contrast the medley of indigenous and colonial-era heritage sites (e.g., rock art sites, sacred origin sites, and historic sites of racial and ethnic oppression) with the more widely recognized European heritage sites (i.e., monumental architecture, historic buildings, and churches). The term *heritage landscape* thus reflects both the pervading presence of heritage in southern African discourses, and the acknowledgement of more distinctively indigenous conceptions of heritage in the region. In this chapter, I demonstrate how heritage landscapes in southern Africa are used for nation building and how they become global through international policymaking. I also explain the concepts used to define "heritage" by UNESCO and heritage managers in southern Africa.

In order to trace the legacies of colonialism in heritage management, I discuss the history of heritage management in southern Africa, specifically focusing on Botswana's history of heritage management. I then review the history of the World Heritage Convention, describing the process of listing World Heritage sites, the convention's original emphasis on the conservation of immovable heritage, and UNESCO's more recent inclusion of non-physical aspects of heritage, or "intangible heritage." I also highlight the difficulty that UNESCO staff and regional heritage managers have in articulating and applying criterion vi of the World Heritage cultural listing criteria, and I point out how UNESCO and regional heritage managers reinterpret this criterion through the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage (UNESCO 2003a). Specifically, I briefly examine the production and maintenance of heritage landscapes in Botswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, all of which have World Heritage sites inscribed with

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[1] Khama 1970; see also Parsons 2006:668.
[2] WHC 2010a.

criterion vi. I also investigate how the conservation and presentation of cultural and archaeological heritage is fashioned for national objectives while fulfilling international obligations.[3] Using the Tsodilo Hills in Botswana, Robben Island in South Africa, and the Great Zimbabwe National Monument and the Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe—all World Heritage sites inscribed with criterion vi—as examples, I demonstrate through a short comparison how southern African states exploit their cultural and archaeological heritage for nation building and economic gain in the postcolonial and post-apartheid eras.

As awareness develops about the unique diversity of cultural heritage forms in southern Africa, it leads to a growing number of new heritage sites, cultural material objects, and traditions in these countries that requires increased state spending to pay for conservation expenses. However, many of these countries are low or lower-middle income countries with small state budgets, or they have other more pressing budgetary expenses, like healthcare, and the funds allocated for heritage management are too little. Often international heritage and development organizations contribute funds to help pay for conservation expenses. Another option that some southern African countries are seeking out to assist with these costs is corporate sponsorship of heritage sites and heritage management, in which corporations fund the management of heritage sites in exchange for corporate recognition in the form of site naming privileges, branding site signage, and the exclusive use of the facilities at heritage sites. The encroachment of the private sector into heritage management is becoming more common in the region. Corporate sponsorship of heritage sites in Botswana through the "Adopt A Monument" campaign program forges partnerships with private businesses to pay for the costs of heritage conservation (Botswana National Museum [BNM] 2008). Thus in this chapter, I also show how World Heritage sites become "nodes" in global flows of heritage value, showcasing how neoliberal policies are at play in southern African heritage landscapes.

Heritage Management in Southern Africa

At the end of World War II (WWII), heritage management began gaining international visibility as another symptom of late modernity in the industrialized world.[4] With the proliferation of development projects that threatened cultural and natural heritage sites, such as the building of dams and roads, countries (and some colonies) had to choose which relics of their ancient and more recent pasts to salvage, and how to go about protecting them from destructive development projects (Barthel 1996). Thus modernization seemingly forced states to deal with issues of heritage conservation. In addition, as more and more archaeological projects were undertaken and thus revealed numerous heritage sites and unearthed vast amounts of artifacts and other cultural objects, museums mushroomed and heritage conservation was established as a modern industry, "the heritage industry" (Hewison 1987). Heritage management grew significantly,

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[3] Botswana was a British protectorate named the "Bechuanaland Protectorate" from 1885–1966. In 1652, the Dutch East India Company settled in the western cape peninsula of South Africa, which later became a British colony from 1814–1910 and known by the name of the "Cape Colony." From 1910–1994, South Africa was governed under an apartheid regime that overwhelmingly privileged its white minority and restricted the rights and freedoms of other racial and ethnic groups. Zimbabwe was a British colony named "(Southern) Rhodesia" from 1901–1980. Since 1980, Zimbabwe has been under the rule of the notorious Robert Mugabe.

[4] The post–WWII era characterizes the transnational efforts of heritage management around the world. This was a time of national rebuilding after the war, and of countries working together on international projects (i.e., UNESCO).

developing into professional and academic fields in numerous countries around the world (Cleere 2005; Lowenthal 1985, 1998; Fowler 1992; Walsh 1992). The second half of the twentieth century was an era marked by increased globalization and the spread of political, economic, and ideological hegemonic practices from more politically powerful world regions elsewhere, as well as cultural, intellectual, and militarized revolts from the marginalized. Heritage management practices formulated in Europe and North America are an example of this hegemony. However, the ways in which these practices are then appropriated and reconfigured by members of marginalized groups is a testament to the agency of these marginalized groups (e.g., Sully 2007, Ndoro 2005).

As the heritage industry was underway in Europe and North America, in southern Africa, many territories were being decolonized, gaining their independence from white rule, and undergoing radical social and economic development. During this transitional time period (starting with Ghana's independence in 1957 through the end of South Africa's apartheid regime in 1994), new southern African countries were also increasingly involved in heritage management. The modernization principles shadowing the "new world order" in the twentieth century included nation-building objectives that new southern African countries were under pressure to conform to after independence. These countries needed to prove to themselves and the rest of the world that they were also modern, and thus worthy of their independence from colonial governments. In addition, since Europeans did not view their former colonial subjects as having had (much) history prior to colonization, constructing a narrative about their rich indigenous past before the advent of colonization was a significant way in which formerly colonized peoples could declare their autonomy and their own social evolution (Said 2003). Therefore, the history of heritage management in southern Africa mirrors many of the colonial and postcolonial struggles and victories that the countries in this region experienced, and it also helps to understand the current state of heritage management in southern Africa today.

Prior to colonization in the seventeenth century, indigenous forms of heritage management were already in place to transmit cultural practices and to maintain the treatment, or conservation, of cultural materials. After all, ethnic groups in Africa maintained their own cultural identities for many centuries before the arrival of Europeans. They did, however, often express their past orally through storytelling and song rather than in writing. This was one way of relaying to new generations how to treat sacred sites in the landscape. Although these practices do not equate with the principles of heritage management advocated by the West, they were, in fact, localized forms that allowed for cultural transmission and continuity. Africans also had different values associated with their cultural heritage than did their colonizers. Some colonizers, as I will soon discuss, denied that Africans even had a material past on the continent. In southern Africa, colonial administrations began to enforce Westernized forms of heritage conservation (i.e., museums and heritage policies) beginning at the turn of the twentieth century. These colonial forms of heritage management, based on modern European concepts of "heritage"—as fixed and material, and very often monumental—continued to dominate the preservation and valorization of African heritage even after these countries gained independence from white rule.

When first analyzing the differences in values placed on heritage in the broadest sense—encompassing material culture, living traditions, and nature—the approaches to conserving and safeguarding heritage appear to vary most greatly between indigenous Africans and their

European colonizers; in fact, they are often dichotomized. Colonial heritage management stressed policies to restrict access to heritage sites, archiving material objects in museums, and inventorying cultural traditions in order to produce knowledge of the African Other. In contrast, Africans practiced heritage management according to their own heritage values, depending on specific ethnic and socio-political groups. For example, rather than restricting access to heritage sites, specific groups might permit access to heritage sites within specific culturally significant contexts (e.g., spiritual or religious use of rock art caves as shrines). By analyzing the situation more closely, though, the divisions between various Westernized approaches to conservation on the one hand and the diversity of cultural worldviews of the numerous African ethnic groups on the other hand, show how increasingly heterogeneous heritage values are in southern Africa. Heritage management is not just a "black and white" issue, both racially and in complexity. Even in a postcolonial and post-apartheid era, the cultural politics surrounding heritage management are tumultuous due to the stakes that ethnic parties and regimes have in their representation and in the representation of their countries' past.

Colonial administrations in southern Africa purposefully disregarded indigenous cultural heritage. Colonial administrators ignored or downplayed long-standing cultural practices, or heritage, that might challenge their colonial undertaking that they justified in part through the primitivist narratives of African cultures that they constructed. To continue a primitivist account of African cultures, colonial administrators portrayed Africans as savages in need of the civilizing forces that colonization and religious conversion to Christianity could provide. Although a somewhat simplified timeline, one can say that basically, over the several hundred years' span of colonization in southern Africa, land was seized by force, and Africans were killed, enslaved, or colonized. Colonial administrators and missionaries also greatly affected the cultural practices of African ethnic groups through their imposed legal systems and Christianization (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997). Cultural change was certainly accelerated during colonization, but to keep some semblance of political stability African ethnic groups were coerced into creating cultural practices to obtain legitimizing recognition from colonial authorities, specifically from their British colonizers who reigned through indirect rule (Mamdani 1996). This then led to the "invention of tradition" as a way for Africans to assert their agency (Hobsbawm 1983, Ranger 1983).[5]

Meanwhile, from the late nineteenth century throughout the twentieth century, archaeological discoveries of monumental architecture and trading cultures in southern Africa, such as the Great Zimbabwe ruins in Zimbabwe and the Mapungubwe ruins in South Africa, were purposefully misinterpreted by archaeologists working under colonial and apartheid regimes in order to mollify the consequences of such findings on the heated political climate (Fontein 2006, Dubow 1995). Mapungubwe is now attributed to the pre-Shona state (Bantu speakers) and its ruins, which were built from 1,220–1,300 B.P., are composed of stone masonry architecture (Huffman 2009). Its decline likely gave rise to the Shona state, Great Zimbabwe, for which the stone masonry architecture was built between 1,300–1,450 B.P. (Hall and Stefoff 2006). In the late nineteenth century, archaeologists originally interpreted Great Zimbabwe to have a non-Bantu origin, perhaps having been built by Arab traders (Fontein 2006). Only since the mid–twentieth

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[5] The "invention of tradition" literature, though a major contribution to postcolonial and postmodern studies, was widely critiqued for undermining colonized communities (see Briggs 1996). This topic is also discussed in chapter 6.

century has a consensus among archaeologists there attributed the ruins to an indigenous African origin. There is still lingering skepticism on the part of some whites in the region; again, the attempt to belittle the intelligence of indigenous Africans to justify imperial endeavors. Likewise, archaeologists discovered Mapungubwe in 1932, but its discovery was officially kept secret from the public by the government because its Bantu origins threatened the apartheid regime's primitivist justification (Dubow 1995). Only after apartheid ended in 1994 did research on Mapungubwe become public, and the ruins were declared a World Heritage site in 2003. The effect of the initial silencing of African heritage and archaeological sites was a validation of the colonial mission and severed links between contemporary Africans and their past.

Toward the end of the official colonial era in southern Africa, heritage conservation was, to some degree, left to newly independent African countries to maintain. However, several of these countries were still under white rule, such as South Africa and Zimbabwe. At the end of official colonization, southern African countries were expected to develop the presentation of their heritage to showcase their modernity to the rest of the world. Newly independent countries established heritage programs soon after Independence, such as Botswana, and others, such as South Africa and Zimbabwe, reformulated their heritage programs at the end of white rule. At the end of colonization until the end of the apartheid—from the mid-1960s to the mid-1990s—the training that heritage managers and conservation professionals from southern Africa received was from museum and cultural resource management programs in Europe, North America, and Australia. South Africa, however, has long maintained archaeological heritage management programs (though controversial) on the African continent during and after its apartheid rule (see Shepherd 2002, Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008). Many other southern African countries only began their own degree and certification programs in heritage management after the end of white rule. Even though these types of professional programs now exist in most southern African countries, heritage professionals from these countries still seek advanced training in Europe, North America, and Australia, which sustains the idea that a colonial legacy of heritage management persists. Likewise, these southern African countries continue—including post-apartheid South Africa—to predominately employ Western forms of heritage conservation, although they also strive to incorporate indigenous forms as well, such as through increased community engagement (see Chirikure and Pwiti 2008, Chirikure et al. 2010, Ndoro 2005). Of course, what counts as "indigenous" remains embedded in national and regional cultural politics.[6]

The promotion of heritage discourses in southern Africa is deeply connected with the construction of national "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991). Heritage is a tool to create a national culture out of a multiplicity of ethnicities and racial groups for all of these newly independent countries, though it has had different uses depending on the history and political dynamics of each country. For example, when apartheid ended, the new South Africa seemingly embraced its multiculturalism and pursued a nationalism of cultural pluralism. Heritage was crucial at this stage for its part in much needed nationwide healing after all of the atrocities experienced during apartheid. Thus South Africa assumed a leadership role in the direction of heritage management practices for the region as postcolonial cultural therapy. In comparison, Zimbabwe's nationalism reasserted its African origins, approaching heritage management as cultural revivalism, which also became very influential in the region. Although Zimbabwe's

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[6] In chapter 4, I expand upon my discussion of indigeneity in Africa.

archaeology and heritage management programs are well recognized, due to the continuing political and economic struggles of Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe's regime, many university and museum positions were politicized or underfunded, and academics and heritage professionals were forced to find employment elsewhere. In Botswana, whose history I will come to shortly, heritage was narrated to support Tswana nationalism and is therefore very different than South Africa or Zimbabwe's use of heritage for nationalism (though, like Botswana, Zimbabwe promotes one ethnic culture, the Shona). In addition to heritage discourses, cultural relics are also used to emblemize new countries and archaeological heritage is used as a metonym for a pre-colonial past. For example, Zimbabwe chose the very name of the new country from the Great Zimbabwe ruins as homage to its indigenous past (Fontein 2006, Hall and Stefoff 2006). Likewise, post-apartheid South Africa chose to feature indigenous rock art in its new coat of arms (Smith et al. 2000a, Barnard 2005), a tribute to the country's Khoisan prehistory that predates the numerous ethnic and racial groups who now inhabit the land.

Heritage management in these newly independent countries includes the healing processes of the recognition and revitalization of subaltern groups. Due to the violent conditions of colonialism and apartheid, local cultural practices were often suppressed and archaeological pasts denied. In the postcolony, southern Africa's new, or revised, museums and heritage programs helped to begin the healing of wounds inflicted during colonialism through their acknowledgment of African and other non-white cultures, and by sharing painful stories of the past including those stories in the struggle for independence (Witz 2006, Coombes 2003, Rassool 2000). Museums and heritage programs also helped to revitalize cultural traditions by celebrating African heritage at museums or other events and exhibits coordinated by heritage professionals (Rassool 2006). Furthermore, the acknowledgement of African heritage contributed to the construction of a pre-colonial past, which colonial administrators had previously attempted to downgrade. Instead of the traditional European markers of heritage and industry (i.e., written history and monuments) landscapes and oral traditions were recognized as distinctive indigenous forms. Thus the history of heritage management in southern Africa, and indeed elsewhere, is more than just a conservation project, but it is also deeply political. Heritage management in southern Africa reflects and underwrites the national politics of the countries in the region.

Still, heritage management brings with it lingering sentiments of the colonial project as contemporary conservation principles are rooted in Western culture. While heritage management has gone on to serve in nation building and cultural revitalization projects of postcolonial southern Africa, it also brings with it the economic policies of development and modernization. Southern African governments generally fund their national museums and heritage management projects, thus most heritage managers are civil servants, and these governments must budget for heritage management. Heritage conservation can be expensive both in managing heritage sites, objects, and traditions, and in making heritage publically accessible. These costs put more strain on government spending, which can have serious consequences, given the weak economies of some southern African countries. One option for these countries is the privatization of government entities, including heritage management. While many other industries in southern African countries are already privatized, heritage management—a nation-building project—may seem like an odd choice to also privatize. Some southern African heritage sites are now sponsored by corporations whose public images benefit from the link between the corporations and their support of African heritage. Heritage sites possess "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu 1977)

that corporations need in order to maneuver the politicized terrain of business development in postcolonial southern Africa.

Heritage Management in Botswana

The above discussion of heritage management within the backdrop of southern Africa's colonial past reveals its general historical trends in the region. Here I detail the history of Botswana's heritage management. Botswana was formerly a British protectorate, Bechuanaland, from March 31, 1885 until September 30, 1966.[7] At the onset of the Bechuanaland Protectorate local Tswana rulers were in charge, but the High Commissioner for South Africa, based in Mafeking, took over control of the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1891. The southern part of the territory became a Crown colony known as British Bechuanaland, and it was subsumed under the Cape Colony and is now a part of South Africa. The rest of the Bechuanaland Protectorate became the Republic of Botswana.

The first heritage management policies in the Bechuanaland Protectorate were enacted in the early twentieth century, including the "Bushman Relics and Ancient Ruins Protection Proclamation Act (No. 40 of 1911)" that officially recognized and protected the Tsodilo Hills.[8] These early policies were ripple effects from those established in the Cape Colony, because when heritage management policies were enacted in the Cape Colony their adoption was encouraged in the other regions under British colonial authority. Also in the early-twentieth century, the colonial administrators serving in the Bechuanaland Protectorate wrote of the need to house some of the cultural items from the various ethnic groups they encountered and in response to cultural changes they witnessed. Colonial administrators along with a Tswana chief Bathoen of the Bangwaketse, wanted to establish a museum to document and preserve the cultural heritage of African ethnic groups, but no money was ever offered by the High Commissioner based in Mafeking. Just before Independence, heritage management really got underway, or that is how the founder of the Botswana National Museum, Alec Campbell (pers. comm., January 30, 2007), tells the story.

In 1966, the president-to-be, Seretse Khama, gave Campbell a plot of land and some money to build a national museum. With the help of several expatriates, Campbell constructed the Botswana National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery (later divided into the Botswana National Museum and the Botswana National Art Gallery), which opened in 1968. Campbell, also the first director of the museum, originally came to the Bechuanaland Protectorate as an employee of the colonial administration. He became a citizen of the new Republic of Botswana, a *Motswana*, and has remained very active over the decades in the Botswana National Museum and with many research projects, including seminal fieldwork on the rock art and archaeology of Tsodilo.[9] Campbell received a Bachelor's degree at Rhodes University in South Africa, where he

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[7] Eventually the Bechuanaland Protectorate consisted of southern and northern parts: Ngamiland and Chobe were given protectorate status in 1890.

[8] Other early policies include Proclamation 68 of 1934 ("Bushmen Relics"), a 1938 list of "Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques," and another of list of the same type in 1951 (Campbell 1998:30).

[9] The singular form of "a citizen of Botswana" is *Motswana* and the plural is *Batswana*. These are also the terms used to identify ethnic Tswana. The naming of the country and citizenry of Botswana demonstrates the ethnic hegemony of the Tswana. Besides this one instance, I do not use *Motswana* or *Batswana* to refer to citizens of Botswana, so as not to confuse the reader.

studied African languages. For more than 40 years, Campbell has professionally dedicated himself to establishing museum practices in the country and researching and publishing on Botswana's archaeology, history, and cultures.

From 1967–1968, the staff members and volunteers of the Botswana National Museum created a permanent natural history exhibit in the new museum gallery located in Gaborone, the country's capital. This exhibit still contains displays on human origins in Africa, geology and wildlife in Botswana, and the history and cultural heritage of Botswana. The early staff of the museum also helped to author heritage policies to protect and conserve the country's archaeological and historical sites (e.g., the 1967 National Museum and Art Gallery Act and the 1970 Monuments and Relics Act), which were identified through their new research programs as well by foreign and local researchers affiliating with the institution. In 1972, museum staff began various collecting expeditions around the country (Pule 1998:240), but heritage preservation effectively began when the museum appointed its first archaeologists (Walker 1991:55). In 1975, the government of Botswana took control over the Botswana National Museum placing the institution under the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs (Pule 1998:241). It remained in this ministry until 2007 when it was transferred to the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture, and it was transferred again in 2009 to the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism.

At first, the other museum staff included an assortment of expatriates and, over time, a growing number of ethnic Tswana. In the 1990s, Campbell stepped down as director thus making way for others to take the position. By the mid-1990s, the first ethnic Tswana became director of the Botswana National Museum, Tjako Mpulubusi. Since then, the position has increasingly become more of a political seat (of the ruling party) than one for museum professionals. Also in the late 1990s, the Botswana National Museum pursued World Heritage listings for several of its sites. The country ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1998, and Tsodilo was listed as the first World Heritage site of Botswana in 2001.

There are currently eight other heritage sites in Botswana on the World Heritage Tentative List: Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Chobe Linyanti System, Gcwihaba Caves, Makgadikgadi Pans Landscape, Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape (trans-boundary listing), Okavango Delta, Toutswemogala Hill Iron Age Settlement, and Tswapong Hills Cultural Landscape. They were all placed on the Tentative List in 1999 (some relisted in 2010). All of these heritage sites are already drawing tourists, though some are more popular than others. For example, the Makgadikgadi Pans Landscape, saltpans from a dried-out Pleistocene lake, is a well-known safari destination with a few lodges and campgrounds. Gcwihaba, a few hundred kilometers south of Tsodilo, is a set of caverns with stunning stalagmites and stalactites. Fewer tourists venture there, but it is still popular among those who not only want to see the geological wonder, but also the Khoisan speakers living nearby (i.e., Ju|'hoansi). However, these sites on the Tentative List will likely need to wait as Botswana has prioritized its World Heritage goals on the most profitable of them all.

Among a number of other cultural and natural sites, Botswana is currently seeking to have the Okavango Delta listed as World Heritage. In fact, the director for the World Heritage Centre visited conservation officials in Botswana in early 2010. The Okavango Delta is the largest inland delta in the world and is also a uniquely lush ecosystem otherwise surrounded by scrub

savannah.[10] Numerous animal species live in the Okavango Delta, which is also the most popular tourist destination in the country. A head curator at the Botswana National Museum had this to say in an interview with the press during the visit to Botswana by the director of the World Heritage Centre:

> There is a whole section of tourists who target [the] most popular sites such as World Heritage Sites because they are known to represent something unique and outstanding that other destinations do not have…further listing will publicise the site as a destination and highlight its current status as one of the wonders of the world, and as a cultural landscape of complimentary contrasts—wildlife and people, desert and flourishing waters. [Maramwidze 2010]

This statement makes clear that the intention by the Botswana National Museum for listing World Heritage sites is not only for conservation, but also for tourism potential.

The World Heritage Convention

Knowing the history of the World Heritage Convention is important to an understanding of the position of a supranational organization like UNESCO in the economic development of southern African countries. Here I concisely review the history of the World Heritage Convention and World Heritage Centre, and I explain the process of World Heritage listing, the World Heritage Convention's original emphasis on the conservation of immovable heritage, and UNESCO's more recent inclusion of non-physical aspects of heritage.

On November 16, 1972, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 27 years after the UN (and UNESCO) was established. The World Heritage Convention provides global recognition to heritage sites around the world that are designated because of their "outstanding universal value" (UNESCO 2005, Titchen, 1996, Cleere, 2001). Countries seeking this status desire international acknowledgement of their cultural and natural heritage, as well as access to conservation funds for which the designation makes them eligible to apply (e.g., the World Heritage Fund). As of August 2010, 187 countries have ratified the World Heritage Convention becoming State Parties and there are 911 designated World Heritage sites located within 151 of these State Parties (78 sites are located on the African continent in 30 different State Parties, so nine percent of the total number of World Heritages sites are in Africa). Established in 1992, the World Heritage Centre in Paris, France, provides administrative support for the World Heritage Convention, and its staff offers conservation guidance to State Parties and other countries interested in ratifying the convention and having their heritage sites listed.

The original goal of the World Heritage Convention was to establish a global framework of conservation for the world's cultural and natural heritage, a need precipitated by the increasing number of development projects that hampered the preservation of archaeological monuments and natural areas. By the mid–twentieth century, heritage management was gaining momentum, and a burgeoning coalition of policymakers eventually helped streamline a variety of heritage management approaches by establishing global forms of heritage preservation. Earlier

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[10] The Okavango Delta is also a site listed under the Ramsar Convention of the Wetlands, and has its own Okavango Delta Management Plan (Department of Environmental Affairs 2008). Tsodilo is included in the Ramsar boundaries and also in the ODMP.

development projects that threatened heritage sites around the world, such as Egypt's Abu Simbel temples, Italy's Venice, and Pakistan's Mohenjo-daro, generated global concern about their long-term conservation leading to international fundraising to preserve these sites (WHC 2010b).[11] UNESCO along with the International Council on Museums and Sites (ICOMOS) helped to draft a policy for the protection of the world's cultural heritage (WHC 2010b). At a White House conference in 1965, the United States contributed to international policymaking on conservation by suggesting the combination of cultural *and* natural conservation through the "World Heritage Trust" (WHC 2010b). The World Heritage Convention was finally agreed upon in 1972.

Timeline of UNESCO Conventions Concerning Culture and Heritage

1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention

1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property

1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage

2001 Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage

2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions

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Figure 2.1

The institutional framework and mission of the World Heritage Convention mirrors that of UNESCO, an example of global cultural pluralism under European hegemony, or as the anthropologist Marshall Sahlins observed, a "Culture of cultures" (cited in Di Giovine 2009:35, Sahlins 1993). The World Heritage Centre, located in UNESCO's Main Office in Paris, France, has a secretariat with more than 80 multinational staff. It provides administrative and organizational services to the World Heritage Committee, which is the central decision-making body for the World Heritage Convention. The World Heritage Committee is made up of delegates from 21 State Parties with staggered terms of four (previously six) years. They meet annually in changing locations (e.g., Seville, Spain in 2009, Brasilia, Brazil in 2010, and Paris in 2011). State Parties submit nomination files and State of Conservation reports to the World Heritage Centre. State Parties also send delegates to the World Heritage General Assembly, which is held twice a year in Paris. The World Heritage General Assembly elects and monitors

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[11] The building of the Aswan High Dam on the Nile River and subsequent creation of Lake Nasser in Egypt threatened the Abu Simbel temples (referred to by UNESCO as the Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae) requiring their relocation (1964–1968), which multinational aid funded through UNESCO. Industrialization and the construction of artesian wells that contributed to sinking the city of Venice led to more serious efforts to conserve the city, including the Venice Charter of 1964. Mohenjo-daro was and is still in danger of flooding from the nearby Indus River, erosion due to earlier excavations exposing the monument, and looting.

the World Heritage Committee. Decisions on new World Heritage sites are made by "consensus," a process that fosters lobbying as the way to push nominations forward.

There are three other organizations, Advisory Bodies, that work closely with the World Heritage Centre: ICOMOS, IUCN, and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM). These organizations provide evaluation, monitoring, and training services for World Heritage sites and State Parties. Established in 1965, ICOMOS is an international, non-governmental member organization of heritage experts and is also headquartered in Paris. It assists in evaluating "cultural" and "mixed" heritage sites. Established in 1948, IUCN is another international, non-governmental member organization of conservation and nature experts and institutions that is headquartered in Gland, Switzerland. It provides technical evaluations for "natural" heritage sites. Both ICOMOS and IUCN contributed to the formation of the World Heritage Convention. Established in 1956, ICCROM is an intergovernmental organization with 126 member states and is headquartered in Rome, Italy. ICCROM gives technical advice and organizes training programs for the World Heritage Committee.

There are several steps for the inscription of World Heritage sites. First, countries must agree to and ratify the World Heritage Convention, which then binds them as State Parties to upholding the objectives of the World Heritage Convention. If these countries have not already suggested sites for World Heritage designation prior to their ratification of the World Heritage Convention, then new State Parties can later identify sites that they wish to place on the Tentative List and have nominated (a site must be on the Tentative List before it can be nominated).

In southern Africa, World Heritage experts appointed by the World Heritage Centre, and now by the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF), assist State Parties during the identification process of choosing which sites are ready to place on the Tentative List and which ones should be nominated for World Heritage consideration first. In May 2006, the South African Trust Law established the AWHF, a satellite office of the World Heritage Centre (a Category II Centre), to help facilitate more nominations of World Heritage sites by African nations (WHC 2006). Its South African location signals the country's ongoing leadership of the continent's heritage management.

Once a site is on the Tentative List, previous research on it as well as conservation policies already in place are compiled in order to create a nomination dossier (UNESCO 2008). The Advisory Bodies ICOMOS and the IUCN evaluate the nomination dossier and the heritage site through a site visit before the World Heritage Committee can vote to accept it at the General Assembly. The Tentative List ensures that the value of the site is recognized, but the lobbying system for the actual designation affords each country an opportunity to have a site listed as World Heritage. The sites that are placed on the Tentative List are prioritized in terms of their conservation urgency before they can be selected for designation as World Heritage. The Advisory Bodies and World Heritage Committee prefer sites that are relatively less developed, which are termed more "authentic" and possessing more "integrity" (UNESCO 2005:79–95). State Party officials from relevant government ministries and departments attend World Heritage

General Assembly meetings in order to lobby in support of their nomination(s) with delegates from other State Parties and members of the World Heritage Committee. If the nominated site receives World Heritage status, then it is now eligible to receive international conservation funding from World Heritage Centre. It also gains an elevated status in the eyes of tourists as it carries the World Heritage brand.

Once designated with World Heritage status, sites are not only considered for conservation assistance from UNESCO, but they must also conform to the World Heritage Convention's operational guidelines (UNESCO 2008). Although World Heritage sites remain the property of the countries in whose territories they are located, these sites are also considered to be in the interest of the international community to preserve. This means that State Parties must manage the conservation of these sites according to the parameters of the World Heritage Convention and related policies or risk having these sites put on the List of World Heritage in Danger or removed altogether, something that undermines the attraction of the sites for tourism and is often interpreted as a statement of poor- or even mis-management.[12] World Heritage sites are chosen because they are judged to be of "outstanding universal value" (UNESCO 2005). Their subsequent development makes them "global properties" because instead of serving only or even primarily local or national needs, they must now fulfill international requirements. Furthermore, the governance of these sites is no longer just in the hands of local communities or even State Parties. The World Heritage Committee also now has a stake in these properties, which are utilized to serve the World Heritage Convention's objectives, such as conservation, accessibility, and education. Heritage sites thus are caught in the desires of supranational policy-making (Musitelli 2002).

The overrepresentation of sites listed as "cultural" and located in Europe attests to the World Heritage Convention's original emphasis on immovable cultural heritage as well as the influence of European State Parties with representation on the World Heritage Committee.[13] In 1992, the World Heritage Committee added "cultural landscapes," which showcase the "combined works of nature and man," to the types of heritage that the World Heritage Convention seeks to safeguard (Rössler 2000, Mitchell et al. 2009). Furthermore, in 1994, the World Heritage Committee approved its "Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List" aimed at encouraging a more diverse list of heritage sites (Labadi 2005, 2007). In addition to soliciting more "natural" and "mixed" heritage sites and encouraging countries outside Europe and North America to ratify the World Heritage Convention and submit nominations, the World Heritage Committee also adopted an expanding definition of heritage. Of the now 911 sites listed as of August 2010, 704 are "cultural," 180 are "natural," and 27 are "mixed" cultural and natural. There are now ten selection criteria used to designate World Heritage sites that can be used together or independently, although criterion vi (intangible

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[12] There are currently 34 World Heritage sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger and 14 of these sites are in Africa, or 41 percent of this list.

[13] For instance, only 42 of the 78 World Heritage sites in Africa are "cultural" (32 are "natural" and four are "mixed"), and this is the smallest margin of difference between "cultural" and "natural" sites represented as World Heritage in any region. In comparison, of the 445 World Heritage sites in Europe and North America, 377 are "cultural" (58 are "natural" and ten are "mixed").

heritage) must be used in combination with other criteria (UNESCO 2008). Listed below are the criteria, the first six of which are "cultural" and the last four of which are "natural":

> **(i)** to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
> **(ii)** to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
> **(iii)** to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
> **(iv)** to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
> **(v)** to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
> **(vi)** to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
> **(vii)** to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
> **(viii)** to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
> **(ix)** to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
> **(x)** to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation. [UNESCO 2005:52–53, emphasis added]

As mentioned above, only criterion vi cannot be used independently because of the World Heritage Convention's emphasis on material heritage. It is, however, ironic that many would argue that there could not ever be heritage that is without the intangible, suggesting that even the so-called material or tangible heritage is dependent upon the intangibles: the stories, myths, histories, and traditions that have made a "place" meaningful. But because of the primacy of material or tangible heritage, there is difficulty on the part of the World Heritage Centre staff and regional heritage managers in articulating criterion vi, or intangible heritage, of the World Heritage cultural listing criteria. However, they have reinterpreted this criterion through the Intangible Heritage Convention. Because at their inception, World Heritage policies were primarily focused on the monumental and on other more material aspects of heritage, the inclusion of immaterial heritage took longer to incorporate. It was especially difficult for World Heritage Centre staff to decide how to conserve intangible heritage as their objective was for a long time limited to preserving material culture. The same time that the World Heritage Convention was underway, there were similar attempts to protect intellectual property rights of folklore, such as the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) that began as a convention in 1967 (Hafstein 2004). Issues of intellectual property rights and copyright were theorized at the same time that the World Heritage Convention guidelines were changing to accommodate a more inclusive notion of heritage (Hafstein 2004).

In/Tangible Heritage

UNESCO's definitions for "heritage," "cultural landscape," and "value" were formulated for the purposes of its policies, and are therefore adjustable as the policies change. However, heritage managers in southern Africa and heritage scholars sometimes use these terms differently. Here I seek to clarify these differences and elaborate on their important nuances, especially in expressing the im/material divides of heritage and culture; that is, what constitutes tangible and intangible heritage. This is necessary in order to distinguish between the multiple uses of these terms by the actors and institutions that employ them, and how these concepts have transformed over time. Additionally, I evaluate whether through its classification and listing practices for cultural heritage UNESCO, in fact, fails to understand a key point in heritage conservation, which is that all of these elements of heritage are interrelated.

UNESCO splits the concept of "heritage" into "cultural" and "natural" divisions. Article 1 of World Heritage Convention states that "cultural heritage" includes monuments, groups of buildings, and sites:

> **monuments:** architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
> **groups of buildings:** groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
> **sites:** works of man [*sic*] or the combined works of nature and man [*sic*], and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view. [UNESCO 2005:10, emphasis added]

All of these definitions are examples of material, or tangible, heritage. However, they still—and in fact must—incorporate elements of cultural values associated with physical objects. Their "outstanding universal value" relies upon cultural consensus based on expert knowledge of history, science, aesthetics, and anthropology. According to Article 2 of the World Heritage Convention, "natural heritage" includes natural features, geological and physiographical formations, and natural sites:

> **natural features** consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;
> **geological and physiographical formations** and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;
> **natural sites** or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty. [UNESCO 2005:10, emphasis added]

These definitions are also more tangible examples of heritage, but because they deal with ecology (especially if used with criteria ix and x), they take into account other, non-physical elements of their existence. That is, to protect part of nature, one needs to protect the whole. Again, it is the agreement made about these sites using expert knowledge that shows how their value is culturally constructed. All of the features described in the two articles of the World Heritage Convention, however, are tangible, material elements of heritage.

Indeed, the original emphasis of the World Heritage Convention was on material culture, as represented by its policy terminology. However, over time the weight given to tangible heritage did not account for everything that UNESCO was attempting to conserve through the World Heritage Convention. Likewise, these definitions suited a more Eurocentric view of heritage and this, along with the longer tradition of European and North American countries to locate, interpret, and designate heritage sites, was manifest in the disproportionate number of World Heritage sites located in European and North American countries (445 World Heritage sites are located in European and North American continents, or 49 percent of the total number as of 2010). As mentioned above, the World Heritage Committee added "cultural landscapes" to its repertoire of heritage forms accepted for listing to expand the dimensions of its classification of heritage. The Operational Guidelines for World Heritage notes that cultural landscapes, "are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces both external and internal" (UNESCO 2008:14). In order to be designated with World Heritage status, sites need to be found to have "outstanding universal value." The World Heritage Convention defines this value as, "cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity" (UNESCO 2008:14). The supposed universality of heritage value is why I use the term "global heritage" to discuss World Heritage sites. "Global heritage" refers to heritage that is no longer local or national, but heritage that is deemed desirable to the whole world, and thus the physical location of the heritage also, though only symbolically, becomes world property.

When countries ratify the World Heritage Convention, they agree to these definitions, though this does not mean that State Parties interpret such terms in the same way for their own conservation efforts. Southern African State Parties use concepts of heritage adapted from their own cultures as well as those in use by international heritage scholars. For example, historian Neil Parsons explains that the use of the Setswana slogan *"Ngwao ke Boswa"* ("Our Culture is Our Heritage") by the government of Botswana actually appropriates the word for history, *dingwao*, as there was no Setswana word for culture before Independence (Parsons 2006:668). *Boswa* means heritage and inheritance in Setswana, and it is now commonly used in a hyphenated form, *ngwao-boswa*, to express cultural heritage (Parsons 2006:668). The Setswana terms do not allude to an im/material division of heritage that is all too important to the World Heritage Convention. Additionally, Botswana and other southern African countries do not possess the same forms of cultural heritage sites that Europe does, such as monumental architecture or historical sites of Christian or large-scale religious significance. However, the World Heritage Convention's original desire was to conserve monuments, and this led to their prevalence on the World Heritage list. Southern Africa's diverse forms of cultural heritage contribute to a broader understanding of what constitutes heritage, including the importance of intangible heritage.

Folklorist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) traces the global initiatives leading to UNESCO's recent convention on "intangible heritage," which is the new fashionable term in use among heritage managers around the world, though what intangible heritage entails has been known for decades by other monikers, most notably as "folklore." In 2003, UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage after several decades of

policymaking to account for non-physical aspects of heritage that require conservation (Hafstein 2004). Global initiatives to support the preservation of intangible heritage go back to 1952, but, according to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004:53), legal frameworks, such as those for intellectual property and copyright, failed at protecting the notion of folklore because it is not an individual activity but a group or social one. She explains that although the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore, a 2001 report drastically revised the 1989 recommendation's terms by shifting emphasis from the work of folklorists and folklore institutions to supporting the folklore practitioners (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004:53).

One of the main points Kirshenblatt-Gimblett makes is that all UNESCO distinctions between forms of heritage are arbitrary because they are all, in fact, interrelated (2004:51). In the definitions of heritage provided by UNESCO above, they all parlay variations of tangible heritage. However, with the Intangible Heritage Convention, UNESCO now has the language to address the practitioners of intangible heritage and not merely the specific examples of intangible heritage. UNESCO does this by supporting the mechanisms of cultural reproduction, which Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004:53) explains as, "according value to the 'carriers' and 'transmitters' of traditions, as well as to their habitus and habitat." This is very important to understand in order to reflect on the conservation of criterion vi. Although the Intangible Heritage Convention is distinct from the World Heritage Convention, it nonetheless articulates relevant points about the limits of conserving only tangible heritage. Criterion vi is used in the designation of World Heritage sites for the intangible heritage associated with them, however, many of the conservation policies currently in place only take into account what is necessary to preserve tangible heritage. By viewing tangible and intangible heritage not only as interrelated, but also as inseparable, it becomes clearer that in order to conserve either the tangible or intangible heritage that policies need to take into consideration how to conserve the integrity of both together.

UNESCO's holistic definition of "intangible heritage" still embraces an inventory notion of folklore rather than a legal one; that is, that merely inventorying or listing heritage does not conserve or safeguard it.[14] Although this inventory notion takes into account that intangible heritage is not static but is always changing, the implementation of the Intangible Heritage Convention potentially contributes to the accelerated change of intangible heritage through policy-making. For instance, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004:55) writes that, "however much these measures are intended to *safeguard* something that already exists, their most dramatic effect is to build the capacity for something new, including an internationally agreed-upon concept of heritage, cultural inventories, cultural policy, documentation, archives, research institutions, and the like." The passing of the Intangible Heritage Convention led to a revitalization of policy and discussion about the World Heritage Convention's criterion vi, though there is a difference in UNESCO's language between "safeguarding" of intangible heritage and the "conservation" of tangible heritage. "Safeguarding" takes into consideration a more holistic understanding of

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[14] UNESCO defines *intangible heritage* as, "all forms of traditional and popular or folk culture, i.e. collective works originating in a given community based on tradition. These creations are transmitted orally or by gesture, and are modified over a period of time through a process of collective recreation. They include oral traditions, customs, languages, music, dance, rituals, festivities, traditional medicine and pharmacopoeia, the culinary arts and all kinds of special skills connected with the material aspects of culture, such as tools and the habitat" (cited in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004:54).

intangible heritage, whereas "conservation" reflects a less dynamic view of living culture. When heritage is designated for conservation, it can be "killed" with the intent of stopping it in its time-space. Its own heritage ecology is not legally protected.

What use are UNESCO conventions with regards to intangible heritage? Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004:57) notes, "world heritage lists arise from operations that convert selected aspects of localized descent heritage into a translocal consent heritage – the heritage of humanity," and that, "the list is also the most visible, least costly, and most conventional way to 'do something' – something symbolic – about neglected communities and traditions." In other words, heritage lists, such as those made by the World Heritage Convention or the Intangible Heritage Convention, on their own do not do too much to conserve or safeguard heritage except serving as a gesture of potential international assistance. Furthermore, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004:57) argues that, "you cannot protect what you do not value…UNESCO places considerable faith – too much faith, according to some participants in the process – in the power of valorization to effect revitalization." Though one may presuppose that a UNESCO heritage listing contributes to the safeguarding of tangible or intangible heritage, such listings may in fact do the reverse.

Recognition of intangible heritage can also be interpreted as the secularization of culture, or the making of "metaculture" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006). In the case of World Heritage sites inscribed with criterion vi, intellectual and cultural property is opened up to the rest of the world through the listing. However, what is often ignored in listing intangible heritage through UNESCO is the State Parties' appropriation of local heritage. State Parties presume to own the collective heritage of its citizenry when they nominate it for protection under UNESCO. This prompts the question, does protection and safeguarding actually mean dispossession (see Hafstein 2009)? For example, in Botswana's attempt at nationalizing culture, in some instances for profit through tourism, the country has effectually dispossessed its ethnic minorities of their culture and heritage.[15] This was done through assimilationist policies that have created an underclass of ethnic minorities. This process has been further compounded with the national appropriation of the cultural and intangible heritage of ethnic minorities. How does the conservation of intangible heritage at the Tsodilo Hills, or at other southern African World Heritage sites, work effectively if the government and local NGOs commodify it through cultural heritage tourism? Following Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's argument that the habitus of the practitioners of intangible heritage needs to also be conserved, I argue that the development of heritage sites inscribed with criterion vi can dramatically impact, if not challenge, the intangible heritage associated with these sites.

Heritage For Hire

Once identified, heritage sites can be costly to conserve for local and national governments, even for those State Parties eligible for international assistance for their World Heritage sites through the World Heritage Fund. In order to remain eligible for international assistance, though, State Parties must maintain conservation standards as outlined in the Operational Guidelines for World

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[15] In early 2010, Botswana formally ratified the Intangible Heritage Convention (going into effect in July 2010) and began inventorying intangible culture in the country (Daily News 2010a, 2010b). The Minister of Youth, Sport and Culture, Shaw Kgathi, told the press that, "his ministry was drawing up a national inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage which will be sent to UNESCO so that nobody can claim it as his/hers" (Daily News 2010c).

Heritage (UNESCO 2008). This means that World Heritage sites cannot be overly developed or else they risk losing their coveted status, as was the case of Dresden, Germany in 2009 (Underhill 2009). The funding assistance is, however, relatively small (generally below US$30,000) considering that a World Heritage status greatly contributes to heritage management costs and can challenge conservation attempts with the potential of mass tourism that comes with this status. One approach to financing heritage conservation in southern Africa is corporate sponsorship, a form of public-private partnerships; this is when corporations, or businesses in the private sector, fund the management of heritage sites usually in exchange for corporate recognition in the form of site naming privileges, branding site signage, and the exclusive use of facilities at heritage sites. The approach to heritage management through these public-private partnerships is what Botswana is currently beginning to explore.

In 2008, the Botswana National Museum launched the "Adopt A Monument" campaign program (BNM 2008). After their success in acquiring funding for the heritage management plan for Tsodilo (through their partnership with KFO they secured funding from De Beers/Debswana), the Botswana National Museum resolved to find alternative ways to fund the conservation of the hundreds of heritage sites for which the institution is responsible. Although Botswana is financially more well off than many of its neighbors, the surge of research in the country identifying new heritage sites leaves the Botswana National Museum with the costly task of conservation. These costs include protection from development projects, public education, and tourism. However, the Botswana National Museum, like many other government agencies both in southern Africa and in the "developing" world, does not boast the revenue to manage all of its heritage sites. In fact, since I started preparing for this research project, the Botswana National Museum has floated between three different government ministries, ultimately ending up under the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism as of June 2009. When heritage sites are identified, some of the more impressive ones have the potential to become tourism destinations, but many of notable heritage sites in Botswana do not charge an entry fee from tourists due to their remote location in the country and lack infrastructure and staff. However, many heritage sites still have expenses associated with site facilities and caretaker salaries. With tourism rising in the country, and thus more visitors to these heritage sites costing the Botswana National Museum more money, corporate sponsorship became one way to, essentially, have heritage pay for itself.

The "Adopt A Monument" program was established to entice corporations into sponsoring heritage management in Botswana. Corporations are encouraged to indicate a site that they wish to sponsor financially, and, in return, they will gain rights to the site, such as naming privileges and special access to site facilities. When I interviewed Phillip Segadika (pers. comm., November 4, 2008), Head of the Archaeology Department at the Botswana National Museum and the main author of the plan, he told me his inspiration came from corporate sponsorship of national sports teams. The example he used in describing his plan to me was of a telecommunications company, Orange (a brand of France Télécom), that sponsors the national soccer (football) team, the Zebras, and how this helped link the company's name to the national sports team. Segadika hopes that a similar program can be established for national heritage sites. Due to the government of Botswana's joint ventures with corporations, such as the Debswana subsidiary of De Beers, appealing to these businesses for funds can appear to be a form of "national money." Thus in addition to the funds that the Botswana National Museum gets from

foreign agencies (e.g., the U.S. Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation) and international organizations (e.g., UNESCO), corporate sponsorship from Botswana businesses can be another potential way to gain important funding.[16]

However, corporate sponsorship of national heritage does not signal that countries like Botswana are not able or willing to financially conserve their own heritage. Instead they rely on corporations, some of which are vested partners with these governments, to help sponsor heritage management projects. These corporations are willing to sponsor government initiatives, such as financing heritage management plans, in order to improve their public image. This is especially crucial for transnational corporations to show that they are somehow giving back to relatively poor African communities given that their work extracts resources and is therefore exploitative. The director of the Botswana National Art Gallery, Steven Mogotsi, told the press at the "Adopt a Monument" launch:

> The Adopt a Monument Campaign is not about taking ownership of the monument. We are encouraging companies to get involved; they can *brand* themselves with these monuments like putting their posters at the location and companies can fund the management and conservation plans that can be pledged. [Maretlwaneng 2008, emphasis added]

However, what are the ethical considerations that these public-private partnerships open up? As explained earlier in this chapter, heritage management has strong ties to the colonial project in that it involves inventorying sites of heritage significance and even demarcating them for specific usage. As states are no longer able or willing to conserve heritage sites located within their territories, the private sector is sought after for financial assistance. Several countries in southern Africa, including Botswana, already have national privatization policies, and diverse government sectors are increasingly appealing to this trend. Heritage management is one government sector that is relying more and more on tourism to help fund it. Thus stronger consideration should be given of how the conservation of heritage in more vulnerable developing countries is tied to market principles in these public-private partnerships.

World Heritage status actively enables pockets of neoliberalism that transform heritage landscapes into transnational spaces. A free market mentality is overtaking aspects of traditional national governance around the world, and government sectors, such as heritage management, are susceptible to it. Even in economically liberalized countries like Botswana, the adoption of supranational policies and subsequent development reproduces neoliberal spaces as evidenced by altered local economies of World Heritage sites that become privatized. In developing countries, such as those in southern Africa, World Heritage sites provide national governments with the opportunities to increase employment, which many countries desire since they either strive to increase their economic productivity or can no longer afford to have citizens live a more traditional lifestyle of subsistence agriculture, pastoralism, or hunting and gathering. However, if State Parties cannot afford to fund their heritage conservation, then private businesses are permitted to get involved in these preservation attempts. World Heritage also contributes to international and local tourism operators exploiting these destinations. UNESCO policies are enacted in local spaces, including community development initiatives and private deals that

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[16] Indeed, many heritage institutions around the world are following the public-private partnership model.

UNESCO makes with companies, such as TripAdvisor and Google, to promote global tourism.[17] The neoliberal tendencies of World Heritage are nuanced at each site, and, as I show with Tsodilo, sometimes the listing of World Heritage sites is effectively coercive.

Furthermore, the proliferation of World Heritage sites is not necessarily because of the desire of State Parties to conserve their heritage sites, but because they want to profit from them so that the heritage sites can in effect pay for their own conservation costs (a reminder or remnant of the neocolonial strands of UNESCO). Heritage has many uses in postcolonial Africa, such as revivalism, healing, nationalism, as well as profit. I argue that State Parties desire World Heritage status for their heritage sites to achieve a combination of these uses. World Heritage itself is a brand that State Parties obtain through the recognition of their heritage sites. World Heritage branding is useful for promoting tourism because with it heritage sites are transformed into sought-after tourism destinations.

As of August 2010, African World Heritage sites make up less than nine percent of the overall List. In southern Africa, most of the "cultural" World Heritage sites are landscapes as opposed to the monumental ones that exemplify Europe, thus contrasting with the original notion of material heritage with which UNESCO was conceived. Although there are sites in southern Africa that reflect the monumental exemplary of World Heritage, more and more "cultural" sites are being recognized that do not demonstrate such a material presence. These heritage landscapes showcase the more holistic aims of World Heritage through their inscription of "cultural" and "natural" heritage, including criterion vi. Once these heritage landscapes become World Heritage sites and are transformed into tourism destinations, they also contribute to the economies of the country and of the region. The AWHF wants to support the increasing number of World Heritage sites on the continent as well as the maintenance of these sites. As part of its mission, the AWHF states, "through effective and sustainable management, Africa's world heritage sites will be catalysts in transforming Africa's image and act as a vehicle to stimulate economic growth and infrastructure development" (African World Heritage Fund [AWHF] 2010). This mission statement illustrates one of the arguments that I make in this dissertation, which is that World Heritage status is deployed for economic gain, and additionally, I question whether, and in what ways, conservation and commodification are working side by side, especially with regards to intangible heritage.

The In/Tangible Heritage Landscape of the Tsodilo Hills

There is much folklore associated with the landscape of the Tsodilo Hills. Surrounded on either side by hundreds of kilometers of relatively level scrub savannah and swampy delta, the quartzite hills protrude from the adjacent flatness producing spectacular vistas, and they are a haven for many life forms in the harsh desert. It is no wonder that this landscape inspires the people who experience it and who rely upon it for their survival. The story repeated most often by the residents of Tsodilo during my extended fieldwork there was about the naming of the hills. The tale, which has several different versions, explains that before there were four hills, now named

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[17] As mentioned in chapter 1, TripAdvisor, a travel content and media brand of Expedia, Inc., partnered with the World Heritage Centre in 2009 to promote World Heritage sites online. TripAdvisor pledged US$1,500,000 to the World Heritage Centre (WHC 2009a). Google formed an alliance with the World Heritage Centre in 2009 to provide virtual street views of 19 World Heritage sites to its users (WHC 2009b).

Male, Female, Child, and Grandchild, there were four beings, a man, his two wives, and a child. The jealous wives fought, and when one decided to leave, she brought the child with her. They then became hills. This story explains why Male Hill and Female Hill are close to one another and Child Hill and Grandchild Hill are further away.

Several ethnic groups claim the Tsodilo Hills as their origin location, including the Ju|'hoansi, Hambukushu, and nearby Khoi speakers.[18] The origin stories associated with the hills are about the first animals and people. On the top of Female Hill there are boulders with grooved indentations. The Hambukushu, a traditionally agro-pastoral and fishing people, say that this is where the first cattle arrived when the rocks on the hill were still "wet," leaving behind the imprints of these cows' first steps (Segadika 2006:34). The Ju|'hoansi who are traditionally a hunting and gathering people, say that these indentations were from eland (*Taurotragus oryx*), which is the world's largest antelope and one that is of great importance to many Khoisan cultures (Biesele 1993, Lewis-Williams and Pearce 2004). The Ju|'hoansi also point to other boulders a little further away with indentations showing the tracks of many different animals that came to Tsodilo when the earth was "new." Furthermore, recent archaeological evidence points out that the hills may have held spiritual significance starting in the Middle Stone Age up until its most recent occupation (see Coulson et al. 2011).

In addition to folklore, the hills are also important for the natural resources they contain, such as water and plant life, which the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu living nearby continue to utilize. There are a number of springs located on the hills that provide seasonal and occasionally yearlong water, which is a precious resource in an arid environment. Although access to these springs is greatly restricted by the recent development of the hills into a conservation and tourist zone, Tsodilo residents still regularly acquire water from a few sources located within the hills. One of the most revered springs, Chokamo, contains water all year long.[19] Its water is said to possess healing properties, and Tsodilo residents and members of various regional churches come to retrieve water here that is used for drinking and bathing.[20] Like other areas of the hills that are considered dangerous to humans, Chokamo is considered especially dangerous because of the spirits of the well and because of the African rock pythons (*Python sebae*) that live in the water.[21]

The Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu residents of Tsodilo come to the hills to gather edible plant sources such as mongongo nut, monkey orange, and sour plum, and an assortment of berries and

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[18] The Khoi speakers at Tsodilo are referred to as the "Nxaekhwe" by the Ju|'hoansi. However, they are known as "Bugakhwe"—shortened to "Khwe"—by the Khwe interviewers for a booklet by the Teemacane Trust (Chumbo and Mmaba 2002).

[19] Another spelling is "Tshokgam" (Campbell et al. 2010:27).

[20] Several Christian church groups from Botswana and the broader southern African region regularly pilgrimage to the Tsodilo Hills for religious and spiritual purposes. There are also a number of Christian church groups in the Tsodilo settlement that also make use of the sacredness of the hills. One church that has increasingly identified itself with Tsodilo is the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), to which several members of the Tsodilo site museum staff and Tsodilo residents belong. ZCC members frequently come to the hills to pray and collect water from Chokamo. Water from Chokamo is collected in containers, and although some of the water may be utilized at or near the site, it is often taken away from the hills to be used later.

[21] On a water-collecting trip to Chokamo with a Tsodilo resident in 2008, I spotted a large African rock python in the water and personally verified stories of snakes living there and the inherent danger of Chokamo.

seeds including velvet raisin and small false mopane.[22] They also come to collect medicinal plants. Some of the plant materials are also used in the production of necklaces and other crafts that the Tsodilo residents sell to tourists. The flora at the hills is much richer in comparison with the flora found just a few kilometers away in the Hambukushu ward of the Tsodilo settlement and even further away in the Ju|'hoansi ward. This is because the hills foster unique microclimates with numerous plant species by providing shade from the blistering sun and yearlong reliable water. The many crevices of the hills also entice an assortment of animals, such as the vervet monkey, crested porcupine, black-backed jackal, bat-eared fox, greater kudu, and African wild dog.[23] Other animals either occasionally visit the hills, like elephant, or are no longer spotted at the hills because of excessive hunting and loss of habitat due to expanding human populations, such as lion and giraffe.[24] There are also a wide variety of birds, such as helmeted guineafowl, rollers, and several rare species of owls.[25] This powerful combination of water, flora, and fauna makes the hills both fertile with resources and at the same time dangerous for the competition of these supplies, especially from animals like poisonous snakes and leopard (*Panthera pardus*) that inhabit the hills.

These folk stories along with the continued practices of collecting water and other natural resources from the hills by the Tsodilo residents make up part of the intangible heritage of Tsodilo, which, through its listing as World Heritage, Botswana hopes to conserve. Although the hills are noted for their numerous rock paintings, boasting one of the highest concentrations of rock art in the world, as well as archaeological research revealing ongoing habitation of the site dating back about 100,000 years, the folk stories and traditional resource uses connected with the hills are also part of what makes them special (UNESCO 2001). Not only do heritage managers seek to preserve the rock art and archaeological sites at the Tsodilo Hills, but also the intangible heritage of the site as demonstrated in the dossier prepared for the nomination of Tsodilo as World Heritage (NMMAG 2000). Thus the goal of such holistic conservation as safeguarding tangible and intangible heritage is dependent upon maintaining certain aspects of living culture related to the hills.

The Tsodilo Hills is a heritage landscape, or "heritage(-)scape" (Garden 2006, Di Giovine 2009), as it is not merely a site of monumental or material significance to the country of Botswana or UNESCO, but because it also possesses cultural significance to the communities living nearby. The addition of intangible heritage as a factor in its nomination (criterion vi) acknowledges both the material and immaterial elements of the hills in the constitution of a dynamic heritage

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[22] The scientific names for these species: mongongo is *Schinziophyton rautanenii*, monkey orange (two species) are *Strychnos cocculoides* and *Strychnos spinosa*, sour plum (two species) are *Ximenia caffra* and *Ximenia americana*, velvet raisin is *Grewia flava*, and small false mopane is *Guibourtia coleosperma*.

[23] The scientific names for these species: vervet monkey is *Chlorocebus pygerythrus*, crested porcupine is *Hystrix cristata*, black-backed jackal is *Canis mesomelas*, bat-eared fox is *Otocyon megalotis*, greater kudu is *Tragelaphus strepsiceros*, and African wild dog is *Lycaon pictus*.

[24] The scientific names for these species: elephant is *Loxodonta africana*, lion is *Panthera leo*, and giraffe is *Giraffa camelopardalis giraffa*.

[25] The scientific names for these species: helmeted guineafowl is *Numida meleagris*, the genus for rollers is *Coracias*, and the genus for owl is *Strix*.

landscape. The nomination dossier prepared by the Botswana National Museum for Tsodilo claims:

> Traditions speak of Tsodilo as being the home of all living creatures. Relating this to van der Post, his guide Samutchoso stressed the point that Tsodilo was home to the spirits of each animal, bird, insect, and plant that has been created (van der Post 1958:159).
>
> The rock art of Tsodilo clearly testifies to the long tradition of the site as spiritual. To this day the !Kung visit one of the paintings, the Rhino Trail, panel 3, to ask for rain from their spirits. The rock art does reveal, in its dot/dash motifs that are frequently painted next to or encircling figures, that the art may have incorporated ideas about rainmaking, as the vertical dashes recall rain drips. Some scenic compositions which comprise paintings of fat animals, including cattle with dashes descending from their bellies, have been interpreted as mythological creatures or ritual rain bulls. The human figures, full breasts and often erect penises further suggest concepts involving potency or fertility.
>
> The waterhole, which is the abode of the pythons draws thousands of believers who look to it to chase away evil spirits. Many other places and caves have similar accounts of Tsodilo, the sacred shrine. [NMMAG 2000:36][26]

This dossier entry for World Heritage's criterion vi claims that the archaeological heritage—especially the rock art—and the intangible heritage of Tsodilo are inextricably linked. UNESCO's acceptance of criterion vi for Tsodilo in its report prepared by ICOMOS confirms this claim (and also paraphrases the nomination dossier):

> Traditions speak of Tsodilo as being the home of all living creatures, more particularly home to the spirits of each animal, bird, insect, and plant that has been created. Though exact interpretation and dating of the rock art is uncertain, the art itself clearly testifies to the long tradition of the site as spiritual, a tradition continued today in practices of the !Kung and in visits by, in effect, pilgrims in Western parlance, often from some distance. [UNESCO 2001:61]

The Botswana National Museum in its nomination dossier and the World Heritage Committee in approving Tsodilo's designation as a World Heritage site both consider Tsodilo's archaeological heritage and its intangible heritage worthy of preservation. Yet, there are also the subsequent conservation policies and site development plans that clearly alter the habitus (see Bourdeiu 1977) for the folklore practitioners living at Tsodilo who, as I will reveal in the next chapter, were not necessarily considered during the site's inscription as World Heritage (see Thebe 2006). Heritage landscapes in southern Africa, like Tsodilo, are used in nation building and have the potential to become internationally valorized by UNESCO. This conservation status extends itself to intangible heritage, and through these conservation efforts the intangible heritage of Tsodilo surpasses its localized importance to that of national significance and ultimately as a recognizable symbol of global humanity.

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[26] There are a few points of clarification for this excerpt. First, South African author and explorer Laurens van der Post will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3. Second, The Ju|'hoansi are also known as the !Kung. At Tsodilo, government employees, NGO employees, researchers, and others have also at various times used the terms "Bushmen," "Basarwa," and "San" to name them. Third, the scholarly interpretations of Tsodilo's rock art that were included in the nomination dossier were primarily drawn from a handful of researchers, most of whom helped to prepare Tsodilo's nomination dossier.

Southern African Heritage Landscapes

As of August 2010, there are 911 World Heritage sites, 35 of which are in southern African countries (SADC member countries). Although there were several sites designated as World Heritage in the 1980s and 1990s, World Heritage inscription in the southern African region escalated after the end of South Africa's apartheid regime in 1994 (18 of the 35 sites were designated as World Heritage since 1999, two years after South Africa ratified the World Heritage Convention). This is likely because sanctions against and political boycotts of South Africa hampered international agreements, such as the World Heritage Convention. It is also because of the renewed interest in heritage after apartheid when the country rejoiced in its pluralistic citizenry. South Africa alone added all eight of its World Heritage sites since 1997 when it ratified the World Heritage Convention (it has the most World Heritage sites of any southern African country). Several other southern African countries, such as Lesotho (2003), Namibia (2000), and Swaziland (2005) only ratified the World Heritage Convention within the last decade to become State Parties. However, the visibility of World Heritage in southern Africa is increasing now that many of these countries have World Heritage sites. Although Africa is underrepresented on the list of UNESCO World Heritage sites, especially given its size and its historical depth of human life and human diversity, there are new initiatives to promote the increase of World Heritage sites on the continent. During the past decade there have been several World Heritage workshops for African State Parties and heritage managers and museum professionals from the continent to learn about managing and promoting their heritage alongside UNESCO objectives (e.g., Africa 2009 Programme by ICCROM). The AWHF is now also assisting State Parties with grants to conserve their World Heritage sites.

As I mentioned earlier, heritage in southern Africa is significant for cultural revivalism especially in the wake of a colonial past. Although its colonial past often overshadows its indigenous heritage, southern Africa's heritage landscapes are used for multiple means beyond cultural revitalization, such as nation building, demonstrating modernity, and economic development through tourism. In examining the production and maintenance of heritage landscapes in southern Africa to investigate how the conservation and presentation of cultural and archaeological heritage is fashioned for national objectives while fulfilling international obligations, I find it useful to compare, though briefly, relevant case studies. Using Tsodilo and other southern African World Heritage sites as examples, I demonstrate here how southern African states utilize their cultural and archaeological heritage for nation building in the postcolonial and post-apartheid eras. In particular, I compare the following World Heritage sites that were inscribed with criterion vi: Tsodilo in Botswana, Robben Island in South Africa, and the Great Zimbabwe National Monument and the Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe.[27] Through comparing these sites, I show how the intangible heritage of these World Heritage sites is used in nation building and how it has been exploited to stimulate local economies through marketing them for tourism.

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[27] The 12 southern African World Heritage sites inscribed with criterion vi include: Tsodilo (Botswana); Royal Hill of Ambohimanga (Madagascar); Chongoni Rock-Art Area (Malawi); Aapravasi Ghat (Mauritius); Le Morne Cultural Landscape (Mauritius); Island of Mozambique (Mozambique); Fossil Hominid Sites of Sterkfontein, Swartkrans, Kromdraii, and Environs (South Africa); Robben Island (South Africa); Stone Town of Zanzibar (Tanzania); Kondoa Rock-Art Sites (Tanzania); Great Zimbabwe National Monument (Zimbabwe); and Matobo Hills (Zimbabwe).

As detailed above, Tsodilo was inscribed as World Heritage in 2001, in part due to its intangible heritage. Due to its World Heritage status, the government of Botswana has taken an interest in developing the site for tourism. Part of this development occurred in anticipation of its World Heritage listing, such as the construction of a site museum and fence around the hills that effectively closed them off from the local communities whose intangible heritage about the hills and all that they mean to them was used as a reason to inscribe the site. Tsodilo has officially become a site of national importance and the property of the Botswana National Museum; this clearly and blatantly comes at the expense of the local communities. A new heritage management plan for Tsodilo, which is funded by De Beers/Debswana, opens the site to joint ventures between the government, the TCDT, and private companies. This revised heritage management plan was a condition of Tsodilo receiving its World Heritage status, thus it directly contributed to the commercialization of site.

Robben Island in South Africa—the former political prison where Nelson Mandela was incarcerated for decades during the country's apartheid regime—was inscribed as World Heritage in 1998, in part, due to its intangible heritage. The justification for its listing with criterion vi is its role, "in the transformation of an oppressed society [it] has come to symbolize the rebirth of democracy in South Africa, a country which has come to be viewed as a unique example of transformation in a world troubled by political uncertainty" (UNESCO 1999:101). This statement reflects the use of the site's symbolism for building new democratic nationalist sentiments in a post-apartheid country. Robben Island is an example of the exceptional use of criterion vi. Although Robben Island continues to represent the country's triumph over apartheid, it is increasingly used as an economic boost for Cape Town's economy. Up to 2,000 visitors come to Robben Island a day during the peak tourist season, and about 700,000 visitors annually (Deacon 2004, Shackley 2001). Not only do visitors tour the former political prison to learn about South Africa's apartheid history, often former political prisoners, they are also encouraged to purchase available merchandise, much of which features the Robben Island branding and logo. The government of South Africa and private businesses use Robben Island's symbolism of resistance to oppression as a lucrative money machine, which subsequently influences the types of tourist narratives shared (see Coombes 2003).

The Great Zimbabwe National Monument in Zimbabwe—the ruins of an Iron Age society—was inscribed as World Heritage in 1985, due, in part, to its intangible heritage. In its Advisory Body report for the nomination, ICOMOS justifies Great Zimbabwe's listing with criterion vi because, "the entire Zimbabwe nation has identified with this historically symbolic ensemble and has adopted as its emblem the steatite bird, which may have been a royal totem" (International Council on Monuments and Sites 1986:3).[28] In fact, when Zimbabwe gained its independence from white rule in 1980, the new government decided on the name of the archaeological ruins to be the name of the country ("(Southern) Rhodesia" was named after Cecil John Rhodes, the mining magnate and founder of De Beers). Despite the past decade of political and economic destabilization in Zimbabwe, the Great Zimbabwe National Monument continues to draw both foreign and domestic tourists who contribute to the local economy. However, the site is also used

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[28] The stone-carved Zimbabwe bird is the national symbol of Zimbabwe. During excavations of Great Zimbabwe during the late nineteenth century, Cecil John Rhodes took five stone-carved birds. At its independence in 1981, four of these birds were returned to Zimbabwe while the fifth is in Rhodes' South African home.

as a political device and this, as the anthropologist Joost Fontein (2006) chronicles, has led to the silencing of the spirits there, and ultimately a transformation of its intangible heritage. Fontein's ethnographic and archival research reveals how the government of Zimbabwe marginalized local clan perspectives of Great Zimbabwe when it was declared World Heritage. He calls this international conservation development the "anti-politics of World Heritage," which puts into question whether such international conventions depoliticize claims about the universal value of Great Zimbabwe. State authority has, along with professional archaeologists' and heritage managers' interpretations of the monument, disenchanted the local Nemanwa, Charumbira, and Mugabe clans (Fontein 2006).

The Matobo Hills in western Zimbabwe was inscribed as World Heritage in 2003 for its archaeological and intangible heritage. The report prepared by ICOMOS states:

> Sacred shrines within the hills are places where contact can be made with the spiritual world. The living traditions associated with the shrines represent one of the most powerful intangible traditions in southern Africa and one that could be said to be of universal significance. [UNESCO 2003b:236]

The Matobo (or Matopos) Hills was developed in the mid–twentieth century by the Rhodesian colonial administration into a tourism destination with park facilities, and later with lodges (Ranger 1999). Local Africans (mostly ethnic Ndebele, a Zulu-speaking minority group in Zimbabwe) were moved to the outskirts of the delineated park boundaries. Although the Matobo Hills are not seen as having the direct national significance that the Great Zimbabwe National Monument has (perhaps because Rhodes is buried there), it is still an important tourism site. The dispossessed Ndebele continue to trek to the park each day, mostly to sell tourist crafts or collect grasses, but shrines located within and just outside park boundaries are still utilized for cultural purposes. However, there is a lack of restitution of the hills to the Ndebele who are an ethnic minority, and who entered the country in the nineteenth century violently clashing with the Shona, the ethnic majority in Zimbabwe.

Each of these sites is unique by attesting to local history, but they all share the commonality of being listed as World Heritage and remaining vulnerable to their commodification by tourism markets. Tsodilo as World Heritage has usurped minority heritage into national and global heritage. The government of Botswana is engaging in public-private partnerships aimed not only at heritage conservation but also tourism expansion. However, the exemplary example of a heritage site exploited for its tourism potential is Robben Island. Although it serves as a metonym for resistance to apartheid, its other great use now is as a moneymaker, which the World Heritage brand contributes to by alerting tourists to its exceptionality. Great Zimbabwe and the Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe are more entangled in a history of colonialism and imperialism, and while they are utilized as national landmarks, their tourism potential is curtailed by the ongoing political strife in the country. What these World Heritage sites demonstrate is that World Heritage status has disrupted the local meanings of these sites as they were turned into political engines and into commodities.

Global Consumption of Heritage

> We were taught, sometimes in a very positive way, to despise ourselves and our ways of life. We were made to believe that we had no past to speak of, no history to boast of. The past, so far as we were concerned, was just a blank and nothing more. Only the present mattered and we had very little control over it. It seemed we were in for a definite period of foreign tutelage, without any hope of our ever again becoming our own masters. The end result of all this was that our self-pride and our self-confidence were badly undermined.
>
> It should now be our intention to try to retrieve what we can of our past. We should write our own history books to prove that we did have a past, and that it was a past that was just as worth writing and learning about as any other. We must do this for the simple reason that *a nation without a past is a lost nation, and a people without a past is a people without a soul*. [Khama 1970, emphasis added]

The above passage is a larger section of the speech that Botswana's first President, Seretse Khama, gave at the 1970 graduation of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, a line of which is an epigraph to this chapter. I include this speech again in concluding this chapter to emphasize how deliberate it was of newly independent southern African countries like Botswana in turning to their past and their cultural heritage, or *ngwao-boswa*, to create a national identity. The sentiments that Seretse Khama expresses, such as his encouragement of citizens of Botswana to write their own history in order to reclaim their cultural pride, echoes with the country's efforts to establish a thriving heritage management program since Independence. Nation building and heritage management work hand in hand in the postcolonial Global South, calling into question the politics of heritage conservation.

Through a brief comparison of World Heritage sites in the southern African region that were inscribed by invoking criterion vi, I have shown how these sites are both refigured as national symbols and how they become "nodes" in global flows of heritage value. I have also showcased how neoliberal policies are at play in southern African heritage landscapes, thus expanding my argument that in a southern African context World Heritage site status necessitates touristic development. World Heritage sites are valuable because they help these countries earn revenue, though this is not necessarily the only reason why countries desire to have their heritage sites proclaimed as World Heritage. Much of the initial desire to ratify the World Heritage Convention and have national heritage sites recognized globally is to demonstrate the modernity of the countries by having world-class heritage. However, with the World Heritage designation, sites are transformed as international policies are enacted upon them and they are developed to accommodate international visitors. Heritage sites that were designated for their intangible heritage are therefore placed in a precarious position because the cultural attitudes and folklore that locals have for such sites are often altered through social and economic development and commodified through tourism.

Next, returning to my opening epigraph about the universal application of World Heritage and how World Heritage sites are said to belong to everybody:

> What makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application. World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located. [WHC 2010a]

This rhetoric supports a cosmopolitan ownership of heritage sites, but while the idea of this heritage may be made global, the majority of tourism proceeds at these sites generally belong only to State Parties or travel companies. As local heritage becomes nationalized heritage, governments usurp control. When, in turn, national governments can no longer afford to maintain its conservation, they may appeal to the private sector, thus opening up its maintenance to market rationalities. In making heritage universal, World Heritage essentially dislodges local control over heritage. Multinational committees are deciding upon the values ascribed to make World Heritage of "outstanding universal value." When this heritage is living or intangible, local culture is made into "global property." Unlike tangible heritage, such as monuments, buildings, sites, landscapes, and artifacts, immaterial heritage cannot be repossessed easily. People can, however, see their intangible heritage disintegrate with a World Heritage listing. Forms of intangible heritage, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, and traditional craftsmanship, are transmitted from one generation to the next. Thus communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history constantly recreate these forms. Intangible heritage is a necessity for the continuity of cultural identity, and is deeply connected with material culture. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004:60) notes that, "tangible heritage, without intangible heritage, is a mere husk or inert matter…as for intangible heritage, it is not only embodied, but also inseparable from the material and social worlds of persons." Non-Western cultures maintained their intangible heritage for thousands of years before cultural policy, so we must consider that what cultural policy is doing is drawing attention to heritage, thus opening the doors to increased commodification.

Figure 1.4: Photograph of Botswana Tourism Organisation Billboard (by author, 2007)

A Dialectical History of Heritage Tourism at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site

"To The Spirits,
   The Tsodilo Hills
   We beg most humbly the pardon of the great spirits of these Slippery Hills for any disrespect we may have shown them unintentionally and for any disturbance we may have caused in their ancient resting place. At the foot of this great painting, which is such clear evidence of their presence and of their power to make flesh and blood create beyond its immediate self, we bury this letter as an act of profound contrition, hoping they will read it and forgive us. We beg that anyone coming after us, finding this letter and reading it too, will be moved by it to show them greater respect than we have done."
                    The Lost World of the Kalahari, by Laurens van der Post[1]

Making "Tsodilo"

Tsodilo, famed for its rock art and spiritual properties, is home to two ethnic groups, the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu, who have contrasting stories of when they first arrived at the hills and who between them are the legitimate owners of the hills today. Mashika is the Hambukushu *kgosi* of Tsodilo. He is probably in his mid-nineties, though his government-issued identification card states he is younger, and although he is blind, he is extraordinarily charismatic and is still highly respected by Tsodilo residents and regional authorities. Nearly all the Hambukushu in Tsodilo are relatives of Mashika: his cousins and children and their extended families. When asked how long he has lived in Tsodilo, he gestures toward the large, shady marula and mokolwane palms trees where *dikgotla* are held and explains that it was he who planted them when he settled in Tsodilo.[2] Mashika claims it was his grandfather's people who first came to Tsodilo (in the nineteenth century), and that his grandfather taught him many of the secrets of the hills, which he has since shared with explorers, researchers, and tourists in four decades of guiding. These researchers, in turn, published Mashika's accounts. He also monitored the conservation of Tsodilo's rock art, and his diligence on this matter gained him both the chieftainship of Tsodilo in the 1970s as well as a Presidential Certificate of Honour in 2009 (announced in 2008).

Xabo, a Ju|'hoansi man about fifty (though his government-issued identification card also claims he is younger), is the *de facto* leader of the Ju|'hoansi at Tsodilo, a position he inherited from his father who passed away a decade ago. Although the Ju|'hoansi do not traditionally have leaders, Xabo has become one in order to ensure fair representation for his extended family living at Tsodilo. He has a difficult job because, on one hand, the Hambukushu occasionally scoff at him, and on the other hand, his siblings do not always agree on his mediation with the Hambukushu and the government. Xabo claims that the Ju|'hoansi were in Tsodilo before the Hambukushu, and that there was already another ethnic group living there when they arrived: the Nxaekhwe. After some intermarriage, the Nxaekhwe were chased away by the Ju|'hoansi who continued to use Tsodilo as a *n!ore* (hereditary foraging area). Xabo says that although the Hambukushu also intermarried with the Nxaekhwe, the Hambukushu lived by the delta (in Tamacha, a village just

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[1] Van der Post 1958:215.
[2] The scientific name for mokolwane palm is *Hyphaene patersiana*.

south of Sepopa) and only much later, in the 1960s, more permanently settled in Tsodilo. The Ju|'hoansi also permanently settled in Tsodilo around this time because they were more readily being sought after by small throngs of tourists who came to the hills in planes or Land Rovers to photograph them. Xabo's father and other elders also worked with the researchers to whom Mashika refers, but for historical reasons that I detail here, the government does not recognize them and instead gave control of Tsodilo first to the Hambukushu and later to the Botswana National Museum.

In this chapter, I describe the history of tourism at Tsodilo and its transformation into a World Heritage site, examining the construction of "place" and "heritage" at Tsodilo as a dialectical process between the "native" and the "scientific expert," or between "indigenous knowledge" and "scientific knowledge" (Agrawal 1995, 2002). I present explorer and research histories of Tsodilo—the earliest forms of tourism—to position the knowledge of Tsodilo produced by these explorers and researchers in tension with the oral histories of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu who reside near Tsodilo today, as well as oral testimony recorded in earlier times by explorers and researchers. The knowledge that the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu shared with me about the hills and their stories of living there for several generations sometimes conflict with accounts by explorers, researchers, the government of Botswana, as well as with each other's accounts. Over time, though, these multiple histories of Tsodilo together helped to constitute an official narrative used for Tsodilo's World Heritage nomination, which is perpetuated in its re-telling to tourists today.

I also discuss the history of heritage management and tourism at Tsodilo since the protectorate era, underscoring the *Tsodilo Hills Management Plan: Scheme for Implementation* (Campbell 1994) that resulted in the displacement of the Ju|'hoansi and fenced off the hills from both the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu communities. This history helps to contextualize the juncture that a World Heritage status presents in the livelihoods of the Tsodilo residents today. The official process of Tsodilo becoming a World Heritage site, which was initiated by the Botswana National Museum, included Botswana's ratification of the World Heritage Convention, the compilation of a nomination dossier for the site, and UNESCO's requirement that the Botswana National Museum prepare an updated heritage management plan for Tsodilo that emphasizes local community participation and benefits.

The formation and initial implementation of a new heritage management plan, the *Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site Integrated Management Plan* (Ecosurv 2005), sets the premise of my ethnographic fieldwork, which is to better understand the effects of heritage management and tourism development on the residents of Tsodilo and on the conservation of Tsodilo's intangible heritage. I lay out and examine the most recent development of Tsodilo for community-based tourism, which is currently being implemented through the 2005 heritage management plan. This heritage management plan was created through the cooperation of the NGO umbrella, the Kuru Family of Organisations (KFO), and the Botswana National Museum, while De Beers/Debswana

is financing its implementation.[3] The partnership of the government of Botswana with KFO, an NGO umbrella that focuses on ethnic minority rights, and the corporate sponsorship by De Beers/Debswana is a peculiar dynamic scrutinized here as it highlights the increasing complexity of heritage management when multiple stakeholders, such as a government, an NGO, and a corporation, are all involved in developing local heritage for conservation and as a tourism product.

This chapter demonstrates how the 2005 heritage management plan for the Tsodilo World Heritage Site exemplifies a market-driven approach resulting in heritage privatization and the commodification of heritage for conservation. Even though the government of Botswana promotes liberalized economic policies, the continuing practice of the state of identifying and promoting cultural heritage enables the corporate sector to have a stronger role in heritage management. This is evident at many World Heritage sites in southern Africa, and at Tsodilo this dynamic is part of the place-making struggle where tourism development is intended to transition the nearby Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu communities into a market economy.

Place Making at Tsodilo

To investigate the historical and contemporary site of Tsodilo, it is necessary to first examine the processes involved in creating the social place "Tsodilo." By comparing and contrasting stories about its history from explorers and researchers with those of local community members, as well as with ethnohistoric and archival accounts, it is possible to unravel how Tsodilo became the place as it is referred to today. Place making is a process by which people stake their claims to a location (see Gupta and Ferguson 1997b, Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2001, Bender 1993, Basso 1996), and thus place making at Tsodilo is contestable because multiple stakeholders make conflicting claims about its history and their rights to it. For example, even its name is contested. "Tsodilo" is the name used by researchers and the government, but the local residents do not refer to the hills as "Tsodilo," though they do refer to their settlement next to the Village Development Committee (VDC) structures (in the Hambukushu ward of the Tsodilo settlement) by this name. The Ju|'hoansi call the hills "≠xi n!um," which in their language means "copper mountain" (Biesele 1974:1).[4] The Hambukushu call the hills "Diwe," which in their language translates to "hills." The name "Tsodilo" is likely from the Setswana word for the sparkling mineral specularite, *sebilo*, which archaeologists discovered at Iron Age mines within the hills (Campbell et al. 2010:23). The name "Sorila," a corruption of *sebilo*, was first recorded on a map

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[3] The Letloa Trust and TOCaDI are the two Kuru NGOs involved in the *Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site Integrated Management Plan*. The Letloa Trust is responsible for managing the funds for the implementation of the heritage management plan that were secured from De Beers/Debswana, as well as serving as one of the stakeholders on the newly formed Tsodilo Management Authority (TMA), which monitors the implementation of the heritage management plan. TOCaDI is responsible for grassroots development work among the communities at Tsodilo, such as "capacity building" for the management of the recently formed community trust and the finances of the community curio shop.

[4] Anthropologist Megan Biesele notes that only Female Hill has this name and that Male Hill is called "Tula" (1974:1). Biesele spells the main spring on Female Hill as "Gobiku" (I refer to this spring as "Gobeku") and the other two as "Chokxam" (I refer to the spring as "Chokamo") and "N!orid[ë]" (Biesele 1974:1).

that John Arrowsmith made for David Livingstone's travel account (Livingstone 1857; see also Wilcox 1984:151, Campbell et al. 2010:23).[5]

My interest in place making at Tsodilo began when I first visited the site museum at Tsodilo in July 2005. There the permanent exhibit, "My Tsodilo: Thoughts on Tsodilo by Tsodilo People," struck me because it showcases and contrasts the scientific and indigenous knowledge of Tsodilo. I was to spend many afternoons working in this permanent exhibit during my fieldwork. While seeking refuge from the suffocating desert heat in the air-conditioned exhibition room, I would get up from my desk positioned at the entrance and walk around reading the displays (during the bone-chilling winters, the exhibition room, likewise, offered a warmer shelter to the crisp, windy outdoors.) This, in addition to the informational placards near the site museum office (the "Reception Gallery"), is the only formally curated museum exhibit with which tourists interact at Tsodilo, and if they have not read the limited descriptions of Tsodilo in travel guidebooks prior to arriving, then it is generally all the written information they can glean during their visit to the site.[6] Throughout the long hall of the exhibition, panels are posted along the way alternating between explorers' and tourists' written and photographic accounts, such as those of David Livingstone and Laurens van der Post, with quotations from members of the local community and regional dignitaries (these panels were in galleries titled "The Visitors" and "The Locals"). Laurens van der Post, the most famous explorer to Tsodilo, is quoted:

> All the time I was at the Slippery Hills I had the feeling that I was in a great and ancient temple. Indeed, from the moment I first saw them rising suddenly out of the flat plain…I had the same upsurge of emotions that made the psalmist cry out: I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help." [Gallery 2, Panel 3]

A Herero *kgosi* of the neighboring village is quoted:

> Years ago, when water was at Tsodilo, people left their footprints while it was wet. The prints did not fade because it was God's doing. These and the pictures were made by God to show his existence to us. We climb the *Female* as there is water and drawings there. We call it *Female* because we know that a female is kinder than a male. [Gallery 3, Panel 2]

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[5] The first European to Tsodilo, Siegfried Passarge, first publishes the hills on a map as "Chorilo Mt" (Passarge 1899:311); he later refers to them as "Tshoriloberge" (Wilmsen 1997:121). French explorer, François Balsan, notes that an earlier explorer, Max Happe refers to the hills as "Sedillo" (Balsan 1953:139). Balsan refers to the hills as "Tsodillo" (Balsan 1953). In fact, it appears that Laurens van der Post is the first person to publish the name "Tsodilo Hills" (van der Post 1958). Alec Campbell and David Coulson (1988:12) write that the Ju|'hoansi call the hills, "The Bracelet of the Shining Copper," or, "The Bracelet of the Sunset," while the Hambukushu refer to the hills as, "The Precipitous Rocks." Biesele (1974) thinks the Ju|'hoansi named the hills "Copper Mountain" because the Ju|'hoansi and other Khoisan speakers traded their ostrich eggshell jewelry with Bantu speakers for copper goods.

[6] The other "exhibit" is the open-air museum of the Tsodilo Hills, which is "curated" by guides from the Tsodilo settlement who provide interpretations of rock art and who also relay scientific information provided to them by scientific experts (mostly archaeologists and rock art specialists) in guide training sessions run in conjunction with the Tsodilo site museum.

A Ju|'hoansi elder from Tsodilo is also quoted:

> I was born in Tsodilo but my elders never informed me about our culture. Our customs have disappeared. Performing rituals for a good year or a successful hunt was embedded in our old traditions and we thrived. Mongongo, wild fruits and wild animals were always available. Now with interference from Government and tourists, all that food has vanished. [Gallery 3, Panel 3]

At the end of the long hall is a circular gallery with quotations and biographies of the researchers and heritage managers of Tsodilo and is titled, "The Researchers."[7] The researchers include the archaeologist Larry Robbins, the anthropologist Ed Wilmsen, the founding director of the Botswana National Museum Alec Campbell, the former director of the Botswana National Museum Tjako Mpulubusi, and the geologist Marek von Wendorff, all of whom played an important role in gaining Tsodilo its World Heritage status. Their introductory panel states:

> The unique features of Tsodilo attract academics and researchers interested in uncovering the ancient history of this area. Documenting and analyzing the thousands of rock paintings is important. However, researchers have also excavated ancient villages, recorded the oral traditions of local tribes and identified species peculiar to Tsodilo.
>
> These archaeologists, anthropologists and natural scientists have been able to build up a picture of the geology of this area, of animal and human migration, trade and spiritual beliefs. Arriving with their picks and cameras, surveying equipment and notebooks, researchers are leaving us with a better understanding of Tsodilo and its place in southern Africa. [Gallery 4, Panel 2]

Conferring between these different voices that represent Tsodilo's cultural significance showcases the history of Tsodilo as being mutually constituted, on one hand, by the "indigenous informant," and, on the other hand, by the "scientific expert." It also raises issues of the power of knowledge by these different actors, such as whose knowledge is inscribed in powerful place-making and heritage-making endeavors. It is in this chapter that I show how Tsodilo's history is best understood as a dialectic process.

This exhibition was just a sample of what was to come when I returned to Tsodilo to conduct research. Although my research results are also part of the "scientific knowledge" of Tsodilo, my interest in understanding the point-of-view of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu about the hills and ensuing tourism development showed me just how contested an understanding of the place could be. The residents of Tsodilo fought with one another over their rights to Tsodilo, and they told different versions of the history of their arrival to the hills, but this is only one facet of Tsodilo's place-making debate. In addition, when I began investigating the history of tourism at Tsodilo, I spoke with the researchers and archaeologists involved in nominating the site for World Heritage status. They informed me that the World Heritage nomination and the 1994 heritage management plan devised in anticipation of this nomination were both collaborative projects in which the local communities consensually participated. I was also told that living and deceased members of the local communities at Tsodilo were their "friends," and that their research was assisted greatly by this friendship through the sharing of knowledge about the hills along with the community

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[7] In an interview with graphic and exhibition designer Paul Melenhorst (pers. comm., November 3, 2008), I learned that he led the design team in creating the permanent site museum exhibit, "My Tsodilo: Thoughts on Tsodilo by Tsodilo People," and also assisted in designing the nomination dossier for Tsodilo (NMMAG 2000). Content for the permanent site museum exhibit and nomination dossier came from researchers and other staff.

members' oral histories. Based on my interviews and other informal interactions with researchers and long-time tour operators in the area, however, I was to understand that their academic, professional, and official knowledge of Tsodilo was informed, in large part, by knowledge shared with them by the Tsodilo residents. This knowledge, though altered to suit a researcher's needs and research trends, when repeated in scholarly publications then became "scientific" and these researchers became "scientific experts." The stories and information shared by the local residents creates the category of "indigenous knowledge." Although there are power differentials in knowledge production and valuation between scientific expertise and indigenous knowledge, I hope to unsettle this authority by challenging some of the researchers' accounts. These scientific and indigenous accounts of Tsodilo represent two very different levels of power in making Tsodilo the place it is today, as well as creating the official narrative of Tsodilo's cultural heritage, a point I return to later in this chapter.

Situating Ngamiland

In order to better understand Tsodilo's history, it is important to explain the recent cultural history of Ngamiland, the region in northwestern Botswana where the Tsodilo Hills lie. Botswana, which is mostly arid scrub savannah, features two main geographical features: the expansive Kalahari Desert in the middle and the Okavango Delta in the north. The Okavango Delta, which is the largest inland delta in the world, is the cornerstone of Ngamiland. The region became part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1890, and then became an official district of the new Republic of Botswana at Independence (North-West District). It is more sparsely populated than other districts in the country (estimated population 125,000 in 2001 and projected population 158,000 for 2011 [Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre (HOORC) 2007]), but boasts a large percentage of the country's ethnic minorities.[8] These ethnic minorities, including Khoisan speakers, Wayeyi, Hambukushu, Subiya, and Kgalagadi, are typically lower on the country's intertwined ethnic and class hierarchies, as will be described in chapter 4. The government of Botswana only recognizes Tswana tribal authority in Ngamiland, so all of these minority ethnic groups fall under the administration of the Batawana, a Tswana tribe that continues to control Ngamiland since establishing a presence in the region in the mid-nineteenth century (Tlou 1985). The Batawana were also given the entire region under the Tribal Land Act (RoB 1968), and land distribution is run through the Tawana Land Board.

The Ngamiland region's first inhabitants were Khoisan speakers. Bantu speakers began migrating south from central Africa at least 1,000 years ago, interacting with Khoisan speakers and bringing with them Iron Age technologies and pastoralism. Many of these migrants passed through to settle more permanently in the territories that later became South Africa (the Kalahari Desert is rather uninhabitable to agriculturalists and pastoralists). By the nineteenth century, Khoi speakers (e.g, Bugakhwe and Gunikhwe) populated areas along the delta, and who were later referred to as "River Bushmen" (Taylor 2000). San speakers (e.g., Ju|'hoansi) populated areas to the west and south, further away from constant water sources, surviving in harsh living conditions. In the eighteenth century, the Wayeyi (Bantu speakers) migrated south and settled around the delta (Tlou 1985). The Wayeyi people were excellent hunters of the wildlife that flourished in the delta and took advantage of prime fishing (Tlou 1985). However, they also had

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[8] Although official census data are not taken on ethnicity or race, sociolinguistic surveys help to show how multilingual and multiethnic northwestern Botswana is (Hasselbring et al. 2001).

to contend with devastating malaria (from mosquitoes), sleeping sickness (from tsetse flies), and rinderpest (cattle plague) endemic to the watery region. The Wayeyi coexisted with the Khoi speakers already occupying the delta without much recorded conflict (Tlou 1985). However, when the Batawana expanded their region in the mid-1800s to the Tsao area of Ngamiland, the Batawana kept both the Wayeyi and Khoisan speakers as indentured serfs.

In the late 1800s, the Hambukushu (Bantu speakers) migrated south into the delta. The Hambukushu were escaping their own tribal leaders in the expanding Lozi Empire of the Zambezi River region who were selling them into the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Larson 2001). When the agro-pastoral Hambukushu arrived in the delta region, they were relatively impoverished without cattle and land for their slash-and-burn agricultural fields. They settled to the west of the delta in the panhandle, where they foraged and fished, eventually gaining both land and cattle. Unlike the Wayeyi, the Hambukushu did not become indentured serfs of the Batawana. They also paid tribute to the Batawana, but were permitted a more elevated social status relative to other ethnic groups in Ngamiland. The Hambukushu and other ethnic groups migrating to Ngamiland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries achieved their ethno-class status based on such historical interactions with the Batawana, which ultimately influences their political and social representation today (see chapter 4).

The Ngamiland region not only has one of the more diverse populations in Botswana, but also some of the most impoverished people by the country's standards. Sadly, Ngamiland also has some of the highest rates of HIV/AIDS prevalence in the country, which itself has the second highest rate of HIV/AIDS prevalence in the world (UNAIDS 2009).[9] This region, far from Gaborone, also misses out on infrastructure and other locally desirable aspects of development, such as schools and health clinics. Despite drawbacks to regional development, the people of Ngamiland are more able to benefit from tourism because the region is now a hub of nature and wildlife tourism (ecotourism) in Botswana, which is centered on the Okavango Delta and the Moremi Wildlife Reserve (Mbaiwa 2005a). Thanks to Botswana's low-impact and high-cost tourism policy (RoB 1990), the country makes significant revenue from foreign and domestic tourists on vacation to this region (i.e., 120,000 visitors a year [HOORC 2007]). Most low-impact, high-cost tourists, however, stay at luxury lodges in the delta or they sign up for organized safaris in the Ngamiland and Chobe districts, and thus bulk of tourism proceeds is rather limited to tour and lodge operators (HOORC 2009).

One popular stop, though off the beaten trek, is the Tsodilo World Heritage Site. Tsodilo is situated to the west of the Okavango panhandle and is still rather remote, but organized safari operators along with self-drive tourists often add Tsodilo to their travel itineraries. It is far enough from Ngamiland's main tourism town, Maun, to warrant either an overnight at the hills themselves or at a nearby lodge near Shakawe or Sepopa. However, being on the opposite side of the country from Gaborone, Botswana's capital, means that most Botswana citizens have not visited Tsodilo. In fact, the centrality of development in and around Gaborone has impeded development elsewhere, especially in more remote districts like Ngamiland. This affects development monies toward these districts' infrastructure, the lack of which deters some

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[9] In a 2009 government report, the estimated HIV/AIDS prevalence for Ngamiland East (actually the lower half of the North-West District south of Tsao) is 19.8 percent and for Ngamiland West (the top half of the North-West District, including Tsodilo) is 16.5 percent (RoB 2009:17).

wealthier, more urban Botswana citizens who prefer amenities or who lack private transportation from traveling to such remote districts. Large school and church groups do journey there, though, for the educational and spiritual values for which Tsodilo is known. However, underdevelopment does help keep the region more "pristine," or unspoiled by human encroachment, which is important in the ecotourism market. Although a national monument and now a World Heritage site, Tsodilo is well known as an important place of national significance to most citizens of Botswana (e.g., it is mentioned in school curriculum books, on national television and radio, and it is portrayed in publications by the Botswana National Museum and other government agencies), but a place not many have had the opportunity or desire to visit. In addition to the more obvious allure of Tsodilo's majestic hills, cultural tourism appeals to foreign and domestic tourists who are interested in rural African life. Thus Tsodilo continues to entice new visitors, and I turn next to the history of this voyeuristic fascination.

Exploring Tsodilo

As noted above, the first mention of Tsodilo, as "Sorila," appears on a map in the famous explorer David Livingstone's 1857 account, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*. However, the first European to actually visit Tsodilo and publish findings from such a trip was a Prussian geographer, Siegfried Passarge, who came for just a few days in 1898, and then almost a decade later published the first written account mentioning Tsodilo, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (The Bushmen of the Kalahari), including details and tracings of the rock art at the hills (Passarge 1907:Table 2; see also Campbell et al. 2010:12). Passarge's publication would lead to several more expeditions by various explorers and researchers. He also conducted ethnological studies among the various ethnic groups whom he encountered in his travels and published these accounts as well, which were later used by researchers entangled in rather acrimonious debates of the ethnohistory of Ngamiland.[10]

In addition to Passarge, there were other European or European-descent visitors to the Tsodilo Hills in the first half of the twentieth century, though they never published their findings. For example, there is a 1913 report by Max Happe about his trip to Tsodilo (Balsan 1953:139). However, mining recruiting through the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA, or "Wenela") probably brought more visitors to Tsodilo in the early twentieth century, as WNLA planes flew over *en route* to Mohembo, the border town next to the Caprivi Strip. Throughout much of the twentieth century, Ngamiland was a mining recruitment center for South African diamond mines that required cheap labor. Mine managers easily exploited such labor from Africans who were hired and flown in from the entire southern African region. Mohembo, the base for mining recruitment in northwest Ngamiland, is about 50 kilometers north of Tsodilo. Mining laborers were transported by airplane, thus it is highly probable that pilots flying to and from Mohembo spotted the Tsodilo Hills from above and came out to visit, whether by airplane, landing on the ancient Pleistocene lakebed next to Male Hill, or by terrain vehicle through the sand and bush.[11] Of course, interested parties could come by more traditional means as well. For example, J. Ross Yelland notes that Andrew Wright, a local merchant whose descendants still

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[10] Wilmsen (1997) more recently translated these significant findings of Passarge from German to English.
[11] A few of the older and elderly male Tsodilo residents recalled to me their experiences of working in the mines of South Africa during their youth.

own various shops in Ngamiland, visited Tsodilo in 1935 on a three-month journey by ox-wagon (Yelland n.d.:10).

In the 1950s, the next notable explorers arrived. First, a French expedition team led by François Balsan came in 1951: l'Exédition Panhard-Capricorne (the Panhard-Capricorn Expedition). Interestingly, Andrew Wright's daughter helped Balsan's team by arranging the team's guide to Tsodilo (Balsan 1955:135). The team's exploits at Tsodilo, including mention of the rock art, or "Bushmen paintings," were recorded in Balsan's book, *Capricorn Road* (Balsan 1955, see also Balsan 1953). The goal of this expedition was to find the fabled "lost city of the Kalahari," but the team instead reaches the rock paintings of the Tsodilo Hills after some setbacks and many adventurous exploits.[12] Balsan contributed to naming Tsodilo, including the hills, which he refers to as "mont Femelle" and "mont Mâle" (Balsan 1953:141, Balsan 1955). A set of rock art images of rhinos were named after him, "Balsan's Rhinos" (Yelland n.d.:23), though later renamed, "Rhino Panel." Thus place making at Tsodilo continued through new exploration of the site.

Balsan's account, with its colorful scenes, was likely the inspiration for the next, and the most famous, explorer to Tsodilo, Laurens van der Post, the South African born author who dramatically chronicled his travels to Tsodilo in his British Broadcasting Corporation television miniseries (1956) and his book (1958), both titled, *The Lost World of the Kalahari*.[13] In 1955, he set out on an elaborately organized media expedition, replete with video camera equipment, in what is now northern Botswana in search of the "River Bushmen" of the Okavango Delta. Van der Post's expedition was plagued with interpersonal and technological problems, though, and along the way, when he and his team were unable to find "River Bushmen," the party decided to detour from the delta region to the Tsodilo Hills. Although van der Post does not credit Balsan as his inspiration, van der Post's biographer, J. D. F. Jones, does recognize Balsan's influence on van der Post (Jones 2001:222).[14]

Van der Post's 1955 visit to Tsodilo set in motion an exploratory travel desire for the "primitive" cultural Other that rippled through Western society and whose elite grabbed onto the popularity of psychoanalysis, and Tsodilo became one destination for that experience. The "Bushmen" represented the primitive archetype of humanity in van der Post's writing. Although van der Post never met any "Bushmen" at Tsodilo, he did encounter their enigmatic rock art images covering cliff faces as well as some recent signs of habitation. His guide, a Hambukushu man, likely explained that "Bushmen" were not sedentary people and that they moved around a lot.[15] Van der Post's experiences at Tsodilo have remained as the most permeating myths of the hills in Western consciousness.[16] In his account he recalls his camera equipment failing and his party being attacked by bees. He then writes a letter of apology to the spirits of the hills (the epigraph

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[12] According to Mike Hoare, "the lost city of the Kalahari" is a fabled city in ruins in the Kalahari Desert that several explorers attempted to locate (Hoare 2007:8–9).

[13] Van der Post's television miniseries garnered the second highest viewership ever at that point in time; only the coronation of Queen Elizabeth had a higher viewership (Barnard 2007:59).

[14] Hogarth Press, which belonged to Virgina Woolf's husband Leonard (both of the Bloomsbury Group), originally published the book in England. Thus the book was released to the literary intelligentsia of the time.

[15] Based on what I know of the history of guiding at Tsodilo, I believe that van der Post's Hambukushu guide was likely Mashika or Mashika's grandfather who Mashika credits as having taught him the secrets of Tsodilo.

[16] There is, however, much academic recoil to van der Post's romanticism of Khoisan speakers (see Barnard 1989, Wilmsen 1995, Jones 2001).

to this chapter), which he leaves in a bottle lodged between the boulders of Female Hill.[17] This panel has since been named the "van der Post Panel." His short stay in Tsodilo was so significant in defining Tsodilo, that guides repeatedly mention him and show this panel to tourists (as well as quotations from van der Post's book being showcased in the site museum exhibition hall) further "sacralizing" the place as one of exploration (MacCannell 1999).[18]

Van der Post further "opened" Tsodilo to the world. In 1957, there was another expedition to Tsodilo and a survey of the whole area undertaken by Edmund Wright of the Geological Survey Office for the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Yelland n.d.:11). In 1958, the notorious mercenary "Mad" Mike Hoare went to Tsodilo before setting up another expedition the following year (Yelland n.d.:11). In 1959, admittedly inspired by Balsan's book (and also the desire to find the "lost city of the Kalahari" [Hoare 2007]), Hoare organized an expedition to the Tsodilo Hills, which he advertised in international newspapers to entice men with the money to afford such a trip:

> Would you like to join an adventure and possibly dangerous expedition through the Kalahari Desert to the fabulous Haunted Hills of Tsodillo in search of Bushmen and Bushmen paintings? We shall proceed in three Land Rovers. Time taken three weeks. Cost £100. [Lindhard n.d.:2]

In his unpublished travelogue, Niels Lindhard, a white South African professional, writes that because he was bored with family life and his job he applied for the exciting mission Hoare presented. Lindhard set out with other "penpushers" (white-collar workers) who responded to Hoare's advertisement (Lindhard n.d.). These men—Hoare did not allow women—represented the West coming from countries such as the United States, (white) South Africa, England, and Germany. During their expedition, they encountered Khoisan speakers in the Kalahari Desert, and upon reaching the Tsodilo Hills, the men spent four days exploring and locating rock paintings (Lindhard n.d.:19). The Land Rovers used to travel to Tsodilo were even named after the hills: "Male," "Female," and "Piccanin" (this last name is a derogatory way to refer to a black child).

Another "penpusher" on Hoare's organized adventure to Tsodilo was J. Ross Yelland who was fascinated with the rock paintings. He went back on another expedition to Tsodilo in 1961 led by C.F. Vermaak and arranged by the New Venture Division of the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company (Yelland n.d.:2). Yelland notes that during his expeditions there was just one Hambukushu cattle owner and 16 "Bushmen" who had inhabited Tsodilo since the turn of the century (Yelland n.d.:13). He also notes that while the "Bushmen" migrated from one hill to the other from the dry season to the rainy season, the Hambukushu cattle owner left Tsodilo in

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[17] The owners of a lodge near Shakawe told me about the existence of this bottle when they gave tours of the hills from the mid-1970s through the 1980s. The bottle is no longer there, and although I was told that it is now accessioned in the Botswana National Museum in Gaborone, when I visited the Botswana National Museum and spoke to the collections staff in July 2009, I was told that they have no record of it. Interestingly, Ione Rudner told me that when she spotted van der Post's bottle in 1963, she also left a note inside it (personal communication, April 24, 2008).
[18] Van der Post later returned to Tsodilo, and with Jane Taylor he co-authored *Testament to the Bushmen* (van der Post and Taylor 1985). In the 1980s, van der Post also starred in another television miniseries that filmed at Tsodilo. His association with the site is so pervasive, that van der Post is referred to explicitly in the World Heritage nomination dossier for Tsodilo (NMMAG 2000). He is referred to in great detail in the nomination dossier in the justification for the site's intangible heritage (NMMAG 2000:12, 36).

the dry season (Yelland n.d.:13).[19] Tsodilo was becoming more important to the romanticism of exploration, though its next era of discovery by the Western world would resound of scientific endeavors to legitimate successive waves of visitors.

Researching Tsodilo

Spurred by these explorers' accounts, in the 1960s, other Westerners began to arrive at Tsodilo to conduct archaeological, ethnological, and other scientific research at the hills (e.g., Junod 1963). In July 1963, a general scientific expedition led by Frank Taylor conducted various research activities at Tsodilo over two and a half days (Banks 1973). South African archaeologist Ione Rudner (the only woman in a team of seven) was along to record the rock art at Tsodilo. Rudner then published on the rock art of Tsodilo, the recent settlement of Khoisan speakers at Tsodilo, and the people she encountered there, specifically the current Hambukushu *kgosi* (Rudner 1965; Rudner and Rudner 1968, 1970). Alec Campbell also visited Tsodilo for the first time in 1963 (Campbell and Coulson 1998). He accompanied George Silberbauer, who was then a civil servant of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and who wrote about the status of G|wi (Khoisan Speakers) in Botswana and advised on the construction of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) (see Silberbauer 1965). Campbell's trip to Tsodilo began his life-long work there recording its rock art, excavating archaeological sites, and conducting oral history interviews with the Tsodilo residents. Campbell also started a more official heritage management program at Tsodilo through the Botswana National Museum. In 1964, Sue Bucklin, a graduate student in Anthropology from Northwestern University, conducted a two-month rock art survey along with ethnographic work at Tsodilo (see Wilcox 1984).[20] Several other notable anthropologists made their way to Tsodilo in the 1960s and 1970s: Richard Lee, Megan Biesele, Robert Hitchcock, and Polly Wiessner among them

A more formal research program at Tsodilo commenced once the Botswana National Museum was established. In 1976, Alec Campbell and the staff of the Botswana National Museum began surveying the rock art of Tsodilo (Campbell et al. 1980), and in the 1980s Campbell began publishing his findings of the site's rock art and archaeology. In an early publication, Campbell and his research associates note that the Ju|'hoansi at Tsodilo say they have always lived at the hills, and that the Hambukushu say their own ethnic group came from the northeast in the nineteenth century (Campbell et al. 1980:477–478). Campbell also writes that the Ju|'hoansi state that perhaps a female ancestor made a dancing penis painting (Campbell et al. 1980:478), and he notes that, "although none of the San paints today, they do make use of some of the designs found on the rocks in decorating wooden planks which they sell to tourists" (Campbell et al. 1980:478). Campbell's attempts at questioning the Ju|'hoansi and the Hambukushu about the makers of the rock art yielded the same answers that other researchers had been given, namely, that the Ju|'hoansi do not believe humans made the paintings and that the Hambukushu believe them to be "Bushmen paintings" (Campbell n.d.:37). However, in this specific article, it appears

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[19] The Hambukushu cattle owner was likely Mashika, as he used Tsodilo as his cattle post. However, Yelland's observation contradicts Mashika's account that Mashika was alone in Tsodilo without the Ju|'hoansi. Mashika's second wife, a Wayeyi woman, also confirmed during my interview with her that Mashika was not telling the whole truth and that the Ju|'hoansi were in Tsodilo before Mashika moved there.

[20] Bucklin never published her findings. While tracing her research, I located her field notes in the A. R. Wilcox Collection archived at the Rock Art Research Institute in Johannesburg, South Africa. She married in the late 1960s, changing her surname to Abiad and moved to Italy.

that he is more convinced they were made by Khoisan speakers, though he does reference that Passarge's interactions with Khoisan speakers in 1898 indicated that they also believed that no humans made the paintings (Campbell n.d.:37).

Other early researchers (and an explorer turned amateur researcher) made more confirming observations. For example, on page 213 of journal #3 (AW/03/158) of Bucklin's journals in the A. R. Wilcox Collection, Bucklin writes about the white paintings at White Paintings Shelter. She mentions that through interviews she learned that these white paintings were made by San speakers from "!audaum" between 1957–1964. Yelland also notes that there were white paintings added to a site on Male Hill between his first visit in 1959 to his second visit in 1961 (Yelland n.d.:22). Yelland believes that the white paintings of this site were produced by the Ju|'hoansi living there (Yelland n.d.:23–24).

The question of who made the Tsodilo rock art is one that other researchers have also asked. Based on her fieldwork in the early 1970s, Biesele writes that in regards to who made the paintings:

> Many of the !Kung Bushmen are adamant that the paintings at Tsodilo cannot have been made by human hands. Informant after informant said that he had never seen a person who could paint on the rocks like that. Instead, they said, it must have been made by the great God himself, Gaoxa, who put the paintings there. One !Kung woman described the large number of animals represented there – giraffe, warthog, rhinoceros, zebra, gemsbok, baboon, eland, elephant – and concluded by calling Tsodilo "Gaoxa's store" in analogy with the many items hanging on the walls of a trading store.
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> A !Kung man said that Gaoxa used to keep cattle, goats and sheep a Tsodilo. One can tell, he said, because it is still possible to see their hoofprints. Gaoxa also kept all the wild animals of the bush there, and together with his domestic flocks, they were herded together in metal kraals.
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> Another woman thought that if Gaoxa had not painted the pictures, it must have been the Tsaukwe Bushmen, a group living to the south and east of the !Kung area. Still another woman stated that Gaoxa made both the male and female hills. Then Gaoxa gave the place to the Bushmen (Zhu/tw[ã]si) and told them to live there and eat the bush food and animals he put there. Gaoxa then left and does not return to Tsodilo. But before he went away he painted beautiful animals and designs on the rocks, and Bushmen have copied these designs in their beadwork. Especially associated with the Hills is the popular black and white zigzag design of the zebra's hide. Several of the best bead-artists around Tsodilo said that they got their ideas from the paintings. [Biesele 1974:1–2]

Biesele's publication helped to make more clear that the Ju|'hoansi did not readily associate themselves as being the producers of Tsodilo's rock imagery, but that perhaps other Khoisan speakers were. It also reinforces the notion of the material heritage—the rock imagery— influencing the cultural heritage and the material culture of the people living by the hills, in this case, the "bead-artists."

During the 1980s and 1990s, Campbell continued to work with a group of mostly American scholars conducting archaeological research at sites in the hills, such as Divuyu, Nqoma, White Paintings Shelter, and White Rhino Cave, among others. Their research has revealed that the human occupation of the Tsodilo Hills dates back to more than 70,000 B.P., and that much later the hills were exploited for the iridescent mineral specularite that has been extensively mined since about 1,300 B.P. (see summary in Campbell et al. 2010; Denbow 1980; Murphy et al. 2001).

These researchers contributed to the production of popular representations of both the rock art of Tsodilo and the people inhabiting the hills (e.g., Campbell et al. 1994a, Campbell et al. 1994b, Robbins et al. 1993, Wilmsen 1989). In fact, Tsodilo became the site as the basis or the inspiration for the development of the argument that our understandings about the lifeways and histories of hunter-gatherers must be revised, thus instigating the so-called Kalahari Debate, which is discussed in chapter 4. For example, James Denbow and Edwin Wilmsen argued that archaeological evidence at Tsodilo showed that hunter-gatherers (Khoisan speakers) and pastoralists (Bantu speakers) had interacted for several hundred years (Denbow and Wilmsen 1986). Thus the researchers attempted to dispel the notion that Khoisan speakers occupied the Kalahari alone—and in an imagined utopian, "un-contacted" state—until a more recent arrival by Bantu speakers. The Kalahari Debate remains contentious and has modern-day political consequences, such as regarding the status of indigeneity for Khoisan speakers in Botswana and the interpretation of much the country's (hunter-gatherer) archaeological heritage. Several of these researchers arguing on behalf of revising theories of how the Kalahari was settled were also involved in the preparation of listing the hills as World Heritage. The fascination of these researchers with the archaeology of the site and their desire to conserve their scientific data eventually trumped their interest in the relationship between the local inhabitants and the hills.

Researchers continue to add to archaeological knowledge produced about Tsodilo. Ed and Cathelijne Eastwood more recently examined Tsodilo's rock art and conducted ethnographic interviews with the Ju|'hoansi there during a visit in 2004 to make the link between certain rock imagery as representing items of clothing (i.e., loincloths and aprons) used in initiations (Eastwood and Eastwood 2006:153, see also Eastwood 2003). Ethnoarchaeology, like the Eastwoods' research, continues to re-cast a scientific understanding of the rock art at Tsodilo.

Tsodilo's research significance now goes far beyond its rock art. Recent archaeological research by archaeologist Sheila Coulson and her research associates (Coulson et al. 2011, Coulson 2006, Coulson and Walker 2003) has caught the attention of international news media over the possibility that some of the earliest evidence of ritual behavior is found at Tsodilo. In particular, Coulson and her research associates believe that a stone ledge located in White Rhino Cave on Female Hill was perhaps manipulated with cupules (rock engravings) to resemble a large snake (i.e., an African rock python), and in combination with Middle Stone Age lithic evidence, they are proposing new interpretations of modern human evolution (Coulson et al. 2011). This interpretation has led to media frenzy, as well as a backlash by other archaeologists working at Tsodilo (see Robbins et al. 2007, as well as a reply by Coulson 2007).

In the past decade, researchers have also documented the oral histories of the previous inhabitants of Tsodilo. In their 2003 field report, Coulson and Walker discuss the ethnographic interviews they held with an elderly Khwe man from Shakawe, his son, and his nephew (an employee of the Letloa Trust) who accompanied them to Tsodilo (Coulson and Walker 2003). The elderly Khwe man told them that, "God had created Tsodilo as a tower for them to be closer to heaven and enable easier communication and that was why he put the Khoe there, to make it easier for them to pray to him" (Coulson and Walker 2003).[21] This research complements earlier work by Campbell and his associates, as well as by TOCaDI and the Letloa Trust in demonstrating that there is another ethnic group, the Khwe, who also regard Tsodilo as sacred, and who, perhaps, are the more likely descendants of some of the rock art producers of the past. In a book produced by Khwe employees of the Letloa Trust, the same Khwe elder is quoted:

> I visited the area called Qomqoana and saw the hills called Tsodilo hills and I remember that these were the hills of our San creation and where my forefathers came from. When our forefathers were created in Tsodilo (Ûwâtwâtco), they started to make the 'Craft Marks' on the hills and also divided the people into families. Then they started hunting and gathering of veld-food. [Chumbo and Mmaba 2002:8]

The two communities at Tsodilo, the Ju|'hoansi and the Hambukushu, also shared with me their stories of living there. The Ju|'hoansi tell their story of arriving at the hills when the Nxaekhwe were still there. They intermarried with the Nxaekhwe, but then when they fought, the Ju|'hoansi were successful in chasing away the Nxaekhwe from the hills because of the poison that the Ju|'hoansi know how to make, which they put on their arrows. The Ju|'hoansi continued to use Tsodilo as a *n!ore*, although they were not sedentary. They decided to settle in Tsodilo in the mid-1970s when tourism became a part of their mixed economy. Many of the older Hambukushu (except Mashika) also shared with me that when the Hambukushu first came to Tsodilo, they found the Nxaekhwe. They had also intermarried with the Nxaekhwe, which is why they sometimes choose to call the Ju|'hoansi their relatives. Eventually, the Hambukushu left Tsodilo for Tamacha, a village near the Okavango River, but some occasionally returned to Tsodilo to forage and allow their cattle to graze.

Once Tsodilo was listed as World Heritage, it became the research site for a number of student projects on heritage management, an increasingly important subject in Botswana (e.g., Mmotlana 2003, Seepi 2003, Tilley 2005). Successive waves of anthropological and archaeological research were crucial in creating the "scientific knowledge" of Tsodilo, largely based on collecting "indigenous knowledge" from Tsodilo residents; this earlier research also contributed to the construction of a heritage discourse about Tsodilo that ultimately led to more studies of Tsodilo's heritage management, including my own.

Touring Tsodilo

After early explorers and research accounts were published and widely read, Tsodilo became etched in the minds of Westerners. It became a unique and exclusive adventure that only the daring or wealthy set out for. Commercial tourism began in Tsodilo at the very end of the 1960s, and here I provide a short historiography of "an adventure to egalitarianism through voyeurism."

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[21] "Khoe" is another spelling of "Khoi" and refers to Khoi speakers, such as the Khwe. These are also the same people that the Ju|'hoansi refer to as Nxaekhwe.

First, let me try to capture what the appeal of Tsodilo was to tourists. Michael Main describes this quite well when he writes of Tsodilo:

> Nothing in one's experience of the Kalahari prepares one for the approach to Tsodilo Hills. You may fly or drive but either way the first sight of these hills will not fail to evoke a strong feeling of excitement. It may partly be from a sense of achievement in having penetrated to such a remote part of Africa; it may also be amazement at being so unexpectedly confronted with hills in an area otherwise known for the unrelenting flatness of its landscape. For me, however, the excitement comes from the spirit. [Main 2000:31]

Indeed, the "spirit" of Tsodilo is what many tourists to the hills continue to seek out. The romanticism evoked by earlier explorers and re-inscribed by researchers is the thrill of discovery repeated time and time again by tourists wanting to see Tsodilo with their own eyes and reenact an adventurous journey to a rock art site deep in the Kalahari. Again, van der Post and other explorers, and later researchers, "sacralize" the spirituality (MacCannell 1999), or what we would today categorize as the intangible heritage, of Tsodilo.[22] Knowledge of Tsodilo is commodified, including a knowledge of the place, a knowledge of its "discovery," a knowledge of its indigenous inhabitants, and a knowledge of its "spirit."

Having been mobile between Tsodilo and Tjinip, a cattle post (Taylor 1997), and other neighboring settlements (e.g., Xaudum, Dibetama, and Gani/Zaza), the Ju|'hoansi started to settle more permanently around Tsodilo due, in large part, to the increase in the number of tourists and the trading resources that they brought with them. By the late 1960s, exclusive safari companies established the Tsodilo Hills on their travel itineraries. Also by this time, a camp was built next to the Okavango River south of Shakawe, but with the Tsodilo area in mind. Owned by Botswana Gaming Industries, it operated as a hunting camp and also to served as a stopover for guests *en route* to other camps. High-paying tourists also chose to ride in four-wheel drive vehicles (i.e., Land Rovers) for at least four hours to reach Tsodilo, driving along a very sandy road cleared for the camp. In 1971, a basic airstrip was constructed next to the hills allowing the first commercial flights full of tourists—Tsodilo was a destination of the exclusive Lindblad Expeditions for more than a decade—to land and participate in photographic safaris. Commercial planes and safari operators with four-wheel drive vehicles would make repeated trips to Tsodilo during the next 30 years (before the site's World Heritage designation) so that wealthy clients, typically from the "developed" world, could photograph "Bushmen and Bushmen paintings" (see Lindhard n.d.).

During this time, the Ju|'hoansi actively managed their own tourism by negotiating and working in association with safari operators and the camp owners. The photographic safari operators compensated the Ju|'hoansi with provisions, such as tinned food items and tobacco, and with some money in exchange for tours of the rock paintings.[23] Tourists also bought crafts from Ju|'hoansi, such as ostrich eggshell jewelry and bows and arrows (as the researchers discussed above had also noted in their publications about crafts produced for tourists). Starting in the mid-

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[22] Tsodilo's intangible heritage is also used to re-inscribe its meaning. For example, "Mountain of the Gods" is the Botswana National Museum moniker for Tsodilo, and tourists see this name lettered on the gate when they arrive at the site.

[23] As of 1975, the new owners of the camp would drive the Ju|'hoansi back to Shakawe where they could use the money to purchase items from the shops.

1970s, the new owners of the camp heightened the staging of cultural tourism by transporting the Ju|'hoansi from Tsodilo to their camp, where the Ju|'hoansi were asked to create a their own temporary camp. The owners led the tourists through the bush surrounding to a staged camp where Ju|'hoansi women were singing and clapping and the men dancing. Likewise, the Ju|'hoansi men who were no longer as regularly wearing traditional clothing would don these skins when the camp owners and other safari operators arrived at Tsodilo with clients; the Ju|'hoansi men would sit on the hood of the camp owner's Land Rover and the tour through the hills would begin. The Ju|'hoansi were aware of their representation of the "primitive" Other and replicated these representations of their traditional culture to please tourists.

By the late 1970s, the government of Botswana began to limit hunting rights, issuing hunting permits called Special Game Licenses (SGLs), and these new governmental policies severely impacted ethnic groups that still depended on game meat for their diet and animal hides and bones for clothing and household goods, especially Khoisan speakers who were traditionally dependent on hunting and gathering as a subsistence strategy. By the 1990s, hunting was illegal throughout the country and the limited SGLs issued were much more difficult to come by and were often issued only to wealthy safari operators and their clients. Khoisan speakers and other traditional hunters were arrested and taken to prison for illegal hunting after such laws were enacted. These new laws amputated the way of life for thousands of Khoisan speakers (and other ethnic groups) in Botswana casting them into overnight poverty and turning them into welfare recipients of Botswana's food aid. At Tsodilo, this meant that the Ju|'hoansi needed new subsistence strategies to cope with such a drastic change. Fortunately for them, they had a regular though not abundant stream of tourists coming to Tsodilo who would hire them as guides to view the rock paintings, buy their crafts, take their photographs, and watch them dance. At this time, much fewer Hambukushu were involved in Tsodilo's growing tourism industry, but the Hambukushu were more able to sustain themselves through agriculture and the cattle they reared.

Heritage Making at Tsodilo

Along with place making, there exists a complementary process of "heritage making" behind each World Heritage site. Whereas place making entails the processes of defining and claiming place, the processes of heritage making can also involve the re-telling of, as well as the silencing of, certain events that lead to the valuation of sites and to the construction of site narratives. For instance, the official histories of World Heritage sites rely on the narratives provided by State Parties in their nomination dossiers. In the "making" of these World Heritage sites, constructed site narratives often mask uneven relationships between local residents with researchers and other stakeholders, such as how knowledge is produced about a site and to what degree all parties took part in collaboratively choosing a site narrative.[24] These power differentials were very apparent when I investigated the nomination history for Tsodilo, and I learned that multiple versions of Tsodilo's past informed one another (i.e., the place making process resulted in a narrative ultimately decided upon by researchers and staff members of the Botswana National Museum). However, the museum staff members who prepared the World Heritage nomination dossier for Tsodilo and who helped to create the permanent exhibition at the Tsodilo site

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[24] It appears, however, to be in the best interest of a State Party wanting a successful nomination bid to write a more cohesive narrative in support of its nomination without too many dissenting viewpoints.

museum also have a vested stake in the research representation of Tsodilo.[25] The constructed narrative of Tsodilo, which was edited by museum staff members and research associates, privileges researcher accounts (many of these researchers were employed by the Botswana National Museum) and the Botswana National Museum's managerial position over the Tsodilo residents' accounts and viewpoints, yet another attempt of hegemonic place making at Tsodilo.

I first learned of the contestation of Tsodilo's heritage making through oral history interviews with Tsodilo residents and through archival research at the Tsodilo site museum, the TOCaDI library, and the Botswana National Archives. Previously, I had been told that Tsodilo's World Heritage status was desirable to all stakeholders. However, inquiring into archival records in comparison with various published research accounts and the personal accounts of residents, I learned that there was much more to the story, and this led me to think about heritage making as a complementary process to place making at World Heritage sites. By looking into the history of the World Heritage nomination for Tsodilo, I uncovered aspects of Tsodilo's heritage making that are rarely if ever repeated by researchers or staff members of the Botswana National Museum, perhaps because they do not reflect well on the methods deployed to have Tsodilo listed, as well as changes in museum staffing. By uncovering efforts of heritage making at Tsodilo, I was able to better understand the effects of World Heritage status on local communities, including how State Parties, more generally, represent collaboration in nomination dossiers and heritage management plans.

Tsodilo's formal heritage management history, at least from a Western perspective, began with the "Bushman Relics and Ancient Ruins Protection Proclamation Act (No. 40 of 1911)." In 1927, the site was declared a National Monument of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In 1968, the Botswana National Museum assumed responsibility for the site, and in 1970, the Monuments and Relics Act was passed to address how to conserve sites like Tsodilo (the Monuments and Relics Act was later amended in 2001). Although Tsodilo has technically been under the protection of some form of heritage statute or policy since 1911, monitoring its conservation was difficult because the site is so remote in relation to Mafeking, South Africa (the administrative seat of the Bechuanaland Protectorate) and the Botswana National Museum based in Gaborone, some 1,300 kilometers away. Tsodilo's inaccessibility actually helped to conserve it, but with the grandiose publications by explorers and the scientific pomp of researchers, the push to make Tsodilo more accessible to tourists also requires increased attention to its heritage management.

As discussed earlier, a key person to both the establishment of the Botswana National Museum and the expansion of Tsodilo's research and heritage management is Alec Campbell. He first visited Tsodilo in 1963 and that visit began his life-long relationship with the site and the people living there; Campbell and his colleagues have conducted archaeological and ethnological research at the hills since the mid-1970s. As the Ngamiland region began to develop more and more, Campbell sought to maintain the integrity of Tsodilo's archaeological heritage and its remote atmosphere, and the Botswana National Museum hired a local Hambukushu man to act as a caretaker of the hills (this is one reason why the Ju|'hoansi feel that the Hambukushu were given control of Tsodilo). The Hambukushu man was in charge of keeping a registration booklet of tourists coming and leaving the site, as well as reporting any damage, such as vandalism, to

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[25] Many of the staff members of the Botswana National Museum who helped to prepare the nomination dossier for Tsodilo no longer work for the institution.

the local authorities and to the Botswana National Museum. Campbell also authored the 1994 heritage management plan, which was based on an earlier interim management plan by Nick Walker, who was by then the Acting Director of the Botswana National Museum. Campbell and Walker were already interested in nominating Tsodilo as World Heritage, even as early as the late 1980s. This initial heritage management plan was an attempt to encourage a more serious commitment by the Botswana National Museum's toward promoting and preserving Tsodilo.

Campbell and Walker, both conducting archaeological research at Tsodilo, wanted the rock paintings and archaeological sites protected from tourists whose numbers they presumed (correctly) would exponentially increase over time (though, their heritage management plan would ultimately lead to increased tourism). The heritage management plan they published and which passed through the respective government bodies, included the relocation of the Ju|'hoansi from the base of Male Hill. The hills became a conservation area, and Campbell did not want the Ju|'hoansi leaving modern-era goods—which he called "litter"—around the area (pers. comm., January 23, 2007). The Ju|'hoansi also had cattle that were given to them by the government as part of a rural development program because subsistence hunting was being phased out. Museum administration feared that these cattle would rub against rock paintings and tromp through the archaeological sites. Campbell gave the Ju|'hoansi an ultimatum to clean up and find a new place to *kraal* (enclose livestock) their cattle, or move to a new place chosen by the government. He also offered them an incentive to leave: water. Working with the Remote Area Dweller Programme (RADP), the Botswana National Museum promised a water borehole to the Ju|'hoansi for relocating.[26] The Ju|'hoansi did not want to be separated from the cattle, which amounted to their new "wealth," at least according to the values of the Tswana and other Bantu pastoralists, and they wanted water.[27] The relocation site that the government chose was in scrub savannah several kilometers away from their settlement at Male Hill, which was next to the rich vegetation and water sources of the hills. The new settlement was therefore quite a compromise. The presence of litter that came from the use of market goods that the Ju|'hoansi bought or that tourists left interfered with Campbell and Walker's more immaculate vision of the conservation of the hills and the rock paintings and archaeological sites found there. Furthermore, their colleagues' research that advocated for Bantu history at Tsodilo—revisionists in the Kalahari Debate to be discussed in chapter 4—and their personal relationships with the Hambukushu perhaps made them less sympathetic to the Ju|'hoansi at Tsodilo. The early implementation of the 1994 heritage management plan began with the displacement of the Ju|'hoansi, but this aspect has almost entirely been left out of the history of heritage management at Tsodilo. In fact, in a 2000 publication, several of these researchers refer to the former Ju|'hoansi settlement site at Male Hill as "abandoned."[28] Otherwise, this relocation is rarely mentioned.

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[26] Although Gobeku and Chokamo had steady water most of the year, it was still not enough for the Ju|'hoansi and their new cattle. The Ju|'hoansi had to rely on the permission of the Hambukushu to use the handmade well near the Hambukushu settlement, and this was no guarantee because of the inter-ethnic conflict that I discuss in chapter 4.

[27] Campbell claims he offered the Ju|'hoansi the option to keep one or two people at Male Hill for tourism, but that the Ju|'hoansi wanted to remain together (pers. comm., January 23, 2007). He also acknowledges that the 1994 heritage management was not implemented as well as he had hoped (Campbell did not want the heritage management plan to negatively affect the Tsodilo residents), and that this was due to multiple government agencies becoming more involved in Tsodilo's development.

[28] The authors' write, "[White Paintings Rock Shelter] is situated at the base of Male hill within one km of a Zhu San village that was recently abandoned" (Robbins et al. 2000:1086).

The Tsodilo researchers described above, many of whom worked for or were affiliated with the Botswana National Museum, eventually succeeded in their objective of listing Tsodilo as World Heritage. First, in the mid-1990s, the Botswana National Museum staff began pursuing the World Heritage listing by enticing the government of Botswana to ratify the World Heritage Convention through official memos and bringing World Heritage experts for visits. Botswana ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1998, and Tsodilo and four other sites in the country were then placed on the Tentative List in 1999 (see chapter 2). Although the construction of the Tsodilo site museum complex had been ongoing since 1994, it took the push of the World Heritage nomination status to finalize and complete it.[29] Five trails were at least partially cleared for the site and one of them, Rhino Trail, was signposted.[30] There were also campsites marked for tourists along with piped water drawn by solar-powered boreholes. Also by this time, the Botswana National Museum had a new director, Ticky Pule, a woman whose entire professional career at that point had been at this institution.[31] Pule represented Botswana at the World Heritage General Assembly meetings to lobby on behalf of Tsodilo's listing. At the 25th session of the World Heritage Committee, December 11–16, 2001 in Helsinki, Finland, and on a day Pule remembers as being remarkably cold (pers. comm., October 26, 2008), the World Heritage Committee listed Tsodilo as Botswana's first World Heritage site. The Tsodilo site museum was officially opened with much fanfare by the then-President of Botswana, Festus Mogae, on May 5, 2001. As the president and many other important dignitaries were to attend the ceremony, transportation to Tsodilo needed to be improved; in early 2001, the roads to the hills were smoothed and graveled, thus reducing a three and a half hour journey to less than an hour.

However, the Tsodilo residents were not entirely supportive of the hills being transformed into a World Heritage site, and they resisted the implementation of the 1994 heritage management plan, notably that this meant the relocation of the Ju|'hoansi, that the hills would be fenced, and that the Hambukushu would therefore lose grazing rights near the base of Male Hill. While the archaeologists insist that the relocation was consensual, an historic voice of dissension can be found in government memos, such as one from 1999 in which top government officials, in responding to negative reports that the Ju|'hoansi at Tsodilo felt coerced into a relocation, visited the hills to brief the Ju|'hoansi that they were not to listen to foreign human rights activists and that the government had their best interest in mind. The minutes report a senior government official stating:

> One of the human rights groups that influenced the community to belie[ve] that they were forcefully removed from the original settlement in the hills. You should not listen to such people because they will delay you from benefitting from the project. Such people do not want progress and should not be listened to. The human rights groups have their own hidden agendas.
>
> We do not want the Xade incident to happen in Tsodilo. Human rights groups want to see you in the original state so that they can photograph you. Botswana government does not compare you to wild animals that can be photographed at any time. [RoB 1999:2]

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[29] The Tsodilo site museum complex itself consisted of an office, an exhibition hall, staff houses, and ablution facilities.

[30] The trails are: Rhino Trail, Cliff Trail, Lion Trail, Male Hill Trail, and Male Hill Summit Trail.

[31] Pule eventually became the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture, leaving this post in 2010.

Here, the senior government official is referring to the international campaign by the human rights group Survival International, who had brought attention to the forced removals of Khoisan speakers in the CKGR by the government of Botswana (see chapter 4). In these minutes, it is reported that Xabo, the Ju|'hoansi headman, replied that he did not mind having his photo taken and that he was unhappy with the relocation, therefore challenging the senior government official's reasoning (RoB 1999:3). Regardless, this meeting did little to resolve the contentious issues of Tsodilo's heritage management, which were still very apparent to me during my fieldwork from 2007–2009.

Through my ethnographic observations and interviews it was patently obvious to me that the Ju|'hoansi today report that they do not feel they had had influence in the decision of their relocation. The owners of the nearby lodge (formally a camp) that specialized in tours to Tsodilo throughout the 1970s and 1980s also told me that this relocation was not a positive development and argued that removing the Ju|'hoansi from the hills would take them away from their main livelihood of tourism. There are undoubtedly problems with what constitutes consent in such a major decision as to forfeit a settlement to the Botswana National Museum. Although memory can always be revisionist, and people now regret the move, they do report today that they felt pressured into this decision by museum staff and other government entities.

Heritage Management as a Regime of Change

Through the process of heritage making at Tsodilo, in which the researchers and the staff members of the Botswana National Museum had the more dominant voice, the narrative retold about this World Heritage site emphasizes its archaeology and its secularized spiritual nature and deemphasizes the importance of the place to the spiritual and economic means of Tsodilo and other nearby residents. However, today, Tsodilo residents are expected to replicate this heritage narrative, and, in fact, enact this heritage narrative in order to make a living through heritage tourism, as they are not, for the most part, permitted to carry on with what had been their traditional livelihood strategies. The researchers and the government of Botswana are both responsible for not mentioning, and therefore silencing, the more coercive tactics they employed to dispossess the local residents of the hills. The narratives of Tsodilo produced by explorers, and especially by researchers, rely on local knowledge but are not always credited to the local community members. Furthermore, given the role of Tsodilo in the pursuit of research evidence to support claims of a revisionist history in the Kalahari Debate, archaeologists did not see that their research might well have led to support for the local Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu claims to the site, as these ethnic groups were admittedly more recent arrivals.[32] Furthermore, these researchers' notion of heritage management, somewhat outdated by the mid-1990s, dispossessed the very people whose knowledge helped build their professional careers.

The successive paradigms of heritage management since the protectorate era each influenced the people inhabiting the Tsodilo Hills, and thus the intangible heritage related to the place. Many of these paradigms do more than acknowledge the cultural heritage of Tsodilo in an attempt to conserve Tsodilo's heritage; these paradigms are, in fact, "regimes of change." The first regime

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[32] Since neither of these ethnic groups are considered the "real" descendants of the rock art producers, they are not included or considered "authentic" enough to exercise their claims to the place. Notions of "authenticity" all too often structure decisions and actions in heritage management, especially when "scientific knowledge" is privileged.

of heritage management began with the 1911 act that *de facto* acknowledged a site like Tsodilo. The first regime does not do much more than make this acknowledgement, although, this is also the period of exploration at the hills. But this changes with the second heritage management regime that begins in 1968 with the opening of the Botswana National Museum and ends in 1993. During that 26-year period, museum staff and archaeologists enjoyed research expeditions to Tsodilo and instituted some cautionary measures, such as leaving a registration booklet with the Hambukushu. The third regime of heritage management at Tsodilo began with the 1994 heritage management plan that displaced residents and fenced off the hills in what might be called a "fortress" model of conservation. It ends in 2001 with the site's World Heritage inscription. This "regime of change" is jarringly apparent, as it made way for a new national and global valuation of Tsodilo. Finally, the fourth regime of heritage management involves both Tsodilo's World Heritage status and the 2005 heritage management plan that is gradually being implemented. This new heritage management plan was formed, in part, because of comments made by ICOMOS (de Maret 1995). This latest paradigm is meant to "develop" the Tsodilo communities by integrating them into a market economy. Each of these "regimes of change" has contributed to the altered values of Tsodilo's heritage.

KFO also took a central role in the formation of this new heritage management plan, consultations for which began in 2000. Instead of the "fortress" model of conservation used in the 1994 heritage management plan, in which local residents and their livelihoods were not given much consideration, KFO wanted development initiatives to be the primary objective of the new management plan (see TOCaDI 2002a, 2002b). The mechanism targeted for development is tourism (i.e., a game sanctuary, lodges, and community camps), and KFO and the Botswana National Museum set up "capacity building" programs for the local residents to establish and run a community trust. These "capacity building" programs were aimed at providing the local residents with knowledge and skills about their transformation to a market economy through tourism. Heritage management thus entered a regime of development, following the community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) approach that NGOs were helping to implement throughout southern African.[33]

Between 2001 and 2005, the Botswana National Museum and KFO held numerous meetings with Tsodilo residents about the new heritage management plan. KFO was involved in community consultations and appraisements about development needs. Both entities decided to hire an independent consulting group to prepare the new heritage management plan. They decided on Ecosurv, an environmental consulting firm based in Gaborone. Producing the heritage management plan involved researching a number of details, including the livelihoods of the communities, new zoning of the land around the World Heritage site, and tourism development. After the heritage management plan was finalized, a few days before my arrival in Shakawe in July 2005, its implementation would lie waiting amidst the anticipation of some of the Tsodilo residents, KFO, and the Botswana National Museum. After its completion, it had to be approved by the government of Botswana; it was only approved by outgoing-President Festus Mogae in May 2007, but money to implement the project was held up and only released in November 2009.

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[33] CBNRM will be discussed in chapter 5.

The 1994 heritage management plan primarily sought to conserve the archaeology at the hills, and community development was not considered desirable. However, after Tsodilo's listing as World Heritage, the 2005 heritage management plan decisively pursues community development. These regimes of heritage management have, on one hand, dispossessed the local communities of Tsodilo, and, on the other hand, reincorporated their relationship to the hills through resource management and exploitation (see chapter 5). Conservation seems to actively be promoting change. At the time, the Acting Director of the Botswana National Museum Nick Walker notes:

> The original idea was to keep development to a minimum and retain the wilderness setting as much as possible. However, other agencies are keen on improving the living conditions of the residents and want to develop the settlement. We are trying to persuade them that the local people will be able to make a good living through tourism, but tourists will not come in large numbers to see a modern township. Rather, any projects that will clash with tourism should be located at other deserving centres. [Walker 1998:5]

Reflecting on the values of the third paradigm of heritage management at Tsodilo, Walker shares how the conservation attempts were for the site alone and that the nearby community members were not intended to receive development aid. This contrasts with what happens after Tsodilo receives World Heritage status and "development" is actively pursued. Indeed, even the World Heritage Convention Advisory Body representative visiting Tsodilo in the mid-1990s comments: "[h]aving Tsodilo put on the World Heritage List…will help in marketing the site to tourists, in raising additional capital and in negotiating international assistance" (de Maret 1995:3). Phenyo Thebe, the first site manager of Tsodilo wrote articles for the Botswana National Museum's newsletter, *The Zebra's Voice*, in which he explains the benefits of this listing (e.g., international recognition, public awareness, international assistance, and a tourism boost), as well as the government's intention with Tsodilo's World Heritage listing (Thebe 2002a, 2002b).[34] Thebe writes:

> Government objectives include diversifying the economy and creating rural employment opportunities. Cultural tourism offers such an alternative. Tsodilo has considerable potential not only because of its unique and spectacular rock art but also because of its wilderness setting. There are a few cultural places that can compete with Tsodilo in this regard.
>
> The declaration of Tsodilo as a World Heritage Site will contribute towards making Botswana a key tourist destination. The inscription of the area will also enhance local development and create job opportunities, especially indirectly through the support of local enterprises and small-related businesses. It is therefore important that the place remains attractive. It will also provide a scientific basis for Tsodilo. [Thebe 2002a:8]

Since Tsodilo was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2001, tourist numbers have increased dramatically. In 1988, tourist visitor numbers to Tsodilo were about 1,000 annually, and in 1996, about 2,000 annually (Walker 1998:5). By the mid-2000s tourist visitor numbers to Tsodilo reached more than 10,000! Again, this is very different from Walker and Campbell's vision of Tsodilo's conservation, though it is their heritage management plan and campaigning for World Heritage status that ultimately set this tourism activity into motion.

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[34] The "zebra" of *The Zebra's Voice* is a rock painting from Tsodilo that the Botswana National Museum uses as its institutional logo.

The Tsodilo Ju|'hoansi must now travel several kilometers to reach tourists, their "clients," when they act as guides around the hills. The Ju|'hoansi women complain that their relocation settlement is too difficult for tourists to find—it is off the main road and hidden among bushes and trees—and so often the tourists instead buy crafts from the new community curio shop at the Tsodilo site museum. All the attention bestowed to the communities surrounding Tsodilo has led to increased competition for resources. The Hambukushu outnumber the Ju|'hoansi and dominate village politics, including the newly formed community trust that was established with the help of TOCaDI and the Botswana National Museum. The Hambukushu also control the newly regulated community-based tourism initiatives that the government is encouraging in order to make rural individuals more self-reliant and not as dependent on state welfare. The Hambukushu possess the majority of jobs at the site museum, outnumber the Ju|'hoansi guides, and run the curio shop at the Tsodilo site museum; the Ju|'hoansi women do not trust they will be reimbursed for their crafts for sale at sell at the curio shop.[35] These heritage management "regimes of change" further marginalize local Tsodilo residents from the very heritage that they are both a part of and that the Botswana National Museum and UNESCO wishes to conserve.

Public-Private Partnerships in Heritage Management

Funding for the new heritage management plan was procured from De Beers, which is the largest diamond corporation in the world, and the government-run subsidiary known as Debswana (a partnership between De Beers and the government of Botswana). In 2001, KFO secured a pledge of funding from De Beers (formalized in 2003), which was then in the midst of a downfall in public image. As mentioned above, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, De Beers was accused by the international human rights group Survival International of being partially responsible for the eviction of Khoisan speakers from the CKGR in Botswana. The G|wi and G||ana ethnic groups from central Botswana were granted rights to the reserve in the 1960s, but the government of Botswana began forcibly evicting them in the late 1980s and the evictions escalated in the late 1990s. Human rights groups cried afoul that these evictions were taking place so that De Beers could prospect and mine for diamonds in the CKGR (the Gope area). In the early 2000s, De Beers' public image suffered when Survival International called for a boycott of Botswana's diamonds insinuating them to be "conflict diamonds."

De Beers chairman, Nicky Oppenheimer, was already in touch with the then-director of the Letloa Trust, Braam le Roux, and through their relationship they were able to stay in contact about possible development opportunities that De Beers could help sponsor (Braam le Roux, pers. comm., October 23, 2008). KFO put forth a number of projects that needed sponsoring, including the new heritage management plan for Tsodilo and a Khoisan mother tongue education program (UNESCO Institute of Education [Co-ordinating Organisation], with Contributing Consultants for Letloa [Kuru Family of Organisations] 2005). KFO also issued a public statement in support of De Beers, denouncing any wrongdoing in the CKGR evictions, and distanced the Kuru NGO umbrella from Survival International. The Tsodilo project moved forward while the Parliament of Botswana derailed KFO's other project on mother tongue education for Khoisan minorities in Botswana; the country maintained its steadfast attitude to not privilege any one ethnic group. The national language of Setswana and the official language of

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[35] Incidents surrounding the management of the community curio shop are detailed in chapter 6.

English were the only languages permissible for primary education in the country. Another issue, though, was that the government of Botswana controls De Beers' national subsidiary, Debswana. Thus any corporate sponsorship that De Beers intends to give to projects in Botswana must also be supported by Debswana, and *de facto*, by the government of Botswana.

This led to another battle over the funds promised to Tsodilo. De Beers had to work with Debswana, which is run, in part, by the government of Botswana. De Beers and Debswana created the Diamond Trust, which was the national face of their corporate sponsorship in the country. Although De Beers/Debswana held a launch party for the Diamond Trust and the Tsodilo project as the first beneficiary of this new trust on August 20, 2007 (Matlapana 2007), the funds would not be released for more than two years afterward. Instead, the Botswana National Museum and KFO would ensue in long argument over who was to manage the funds, and I was witness to these disputes, or, rather, to the frustrations of the Botswana National Museum and KFO after their meetings. Senior management staff of the Botswana National Museum argued that they were responsible for Tsodilo and that they had initially asked KFO for help in *seeking* the funds, not in managing the funds. The directors of KFO countered that they had secured the funds and that their financial accounting was more transparent than the government's because of mandatory annual audits.

In examining the public-private partnership between De Beers, KFO, and the government of Botswana, the murkiness of this type of heritage management funding becomes more evident. In the wake of much negative press about its role in the illegal evictions of Khoisan speakers from the CKRG in order to gain diamond-mining concessions, the public-private partnership of De Beers/Debswana with KFO and the government of Botswana appears to be a recuperation strategy of its public image. As mentioned in chapter 2, a World Heritage status with all of its requirements can actually open local heritage sites to become pockets of neoliberalism, which is the direction, as I have shown here, that Tsodilo was spun.

Competing Claims of Place and Heritage

Although there are inevitable tensions between Mashika and Xabo over the representation and ownership of Tsodilo, both acknowledge that the Botswana National Museum, an arm of the government, now has the greatest stake in the place. And while the relationship of the Tsodilo residents to the hills continues to be an important component to their social and economic "development," their deference to the spiritual power of Tsodilo is increasingly commodified because of it.

Knowledge about Tsodilo has been co-produced by multiple parties, from explorers and researchers ("scientific knowledge") to the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu living there ("indigenous knowledge"). Their stories of the place were selectively amalgamated into a palimpsest of a nomination dossier for World Heritage status, which signifies the importance of the site to the government of Botswana, UNESCO, and tourists. One current struggle in place making at Tsodilo, however, is its commercial value. The government of Botswana is using the site's World Heritage status to develop Tsodilo into an international tourist destination, but this is seemingly contradictory to this conservation status with which the State Party also sought to preserve Tsodilo's archaeological and intangible heritage. A market-driven approach of

assessing heritage sites demonstrates that in a postcolonial, post-apartheid era, heritage is more than therapeutic and healing, it is also a valuable industry.[36] Place making and the formation of the history (heritage making) of the hills now known as Tsodilo are dialectic processes, and many stakeholders compete to benefit from its accepted re-telling. Thus the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu contend not only in claiming an origin at Tsodilo, but also in controlling tourism to the site.

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[36] In spite of the rhetoric about heritage being healing, from the standpoint of the local communities at Tsodilo, this approach has been degenerative.
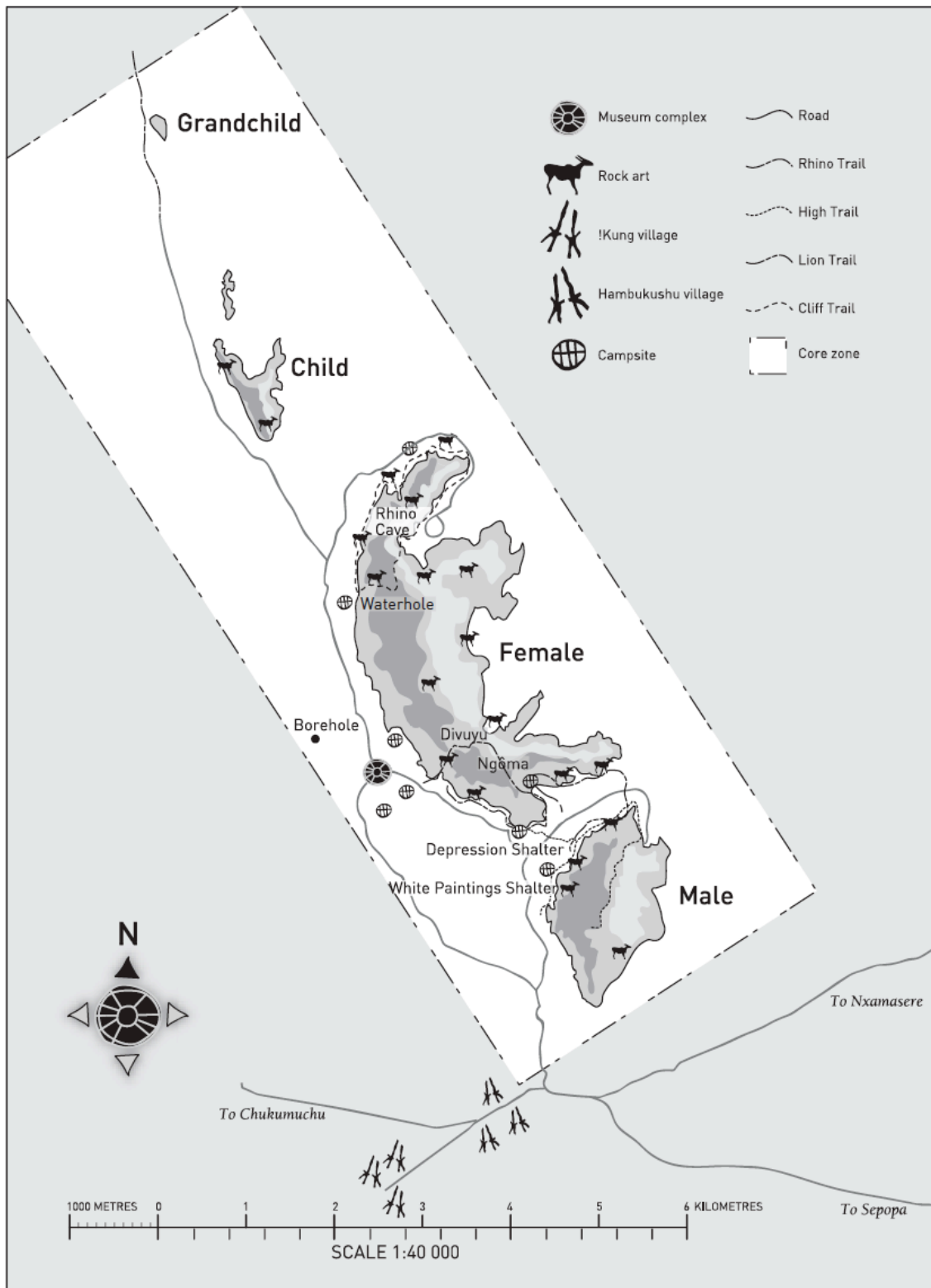
Figure 3.1: Map of the Tsodilo World Heritage Site (by the Botswana National Museum)

Figure 3.2: Photograph of Rhino Panel (by author, 2005)

Identity Politics in Botswana: Concealing Ethnic Inequalities by Promoting Undifferentiated Citizenship

> "How universal was the language of oppression! They had said of the Masarwa what every white man had said of every black man: 'They can't think for themselves. They don't know anything.' The matter never rested there. The stronger man caught hold of the weaker man and made a circus animal out of him, reducing him to the state of misery and subjection and non-humanity. The combinations were the same, first conquest, then abhorrence at the looks of the conquered and, from there onwards, all the forms of horror and evil practices."
> *Maru*, by Bessie Head[1]

Identity Politics

In July 2006, when I first met Xaru, my Ju|'hoansi translator at Tsodilo, she was just about to undergo major life changing events. In March 2007, this young, intelligent Ju|'hoansi woman gave birth to her first child, a son. She also went on maternity leave from the recently re-opened community curio shop at the Tsodilo site museum, where she was employed as a shop assistant to attend to customers, keep track of merchandise, and take care of the bookkeeping. She had high hopes for her future, including her relationship with her son's father, a Wayeyi man who stayed in Tsodilo for a few months the previous year on a work project. By the end of 2007, Xaru's work and personal affairs became much more difficult. Some Hambukushu members of the Tsodilo Community Trust, jealous of her position at the curio shop, intimidated her until she left the position.[2] Her boyfriend rarely visited and openly flirted and pursued other women. Then, she began to lose her family. She had already lost a younger sister the year I met her, and at Tsodilo she only had her father and her mother's sister, who generally stayed away at a nearby cattle post.

In early 2008, I went with Xaru to Gani, a village about 30 kilometers west of Mohembo. Just outside Gani is Zaza, a Ju|'hoansi settlement where Xaru's old grandmother, her grandmother's husband, and her many cousins live. Several Tsodilo Ju|'hoansi trace have relatives from Gani/Zaza, as Xabo's father married with a woman from Gani/Zaza (not Xabo's mother) who brought several of her family members with her to Tsodilo in the late 1960s or early 1970s. Even Xabo found his wife in Gani/Zaza. Xaru's other younger sister also lived in Gani/Zaza and had recently given birth to a girl. She was not breastfeeding, which I deduced was because she was likely HIV-positive (she died in 2010). Just like at Tsodilo, the Ju|'hoansi at Zaza, near Gani, lived further away in their own separate settlement from the Hambukushu and Kgalagadi.

A couple of months after this initial trip, we drove back to Gani/Zaza thinking that Xaru's grandmother's husband, who is blind, was lost in the forest and that an old woman was dead. When we arrived we learned the news that Xaru's grandmother had died and that another elderly person was lost. Because she was a government "destitute," as many Khoisan speakers are, social welfare services covered her burial costs. Afterward, we brought some of Xaru's cousins

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[1] Head 1995:105.

[2] I come back to a related incident in chapter 6.

and their young children to Tsodilo, and this made Xaru happy. Unfortunately, when she tried to work again for a drought relief job (a government labor program that provides piecemeal employment) in Tsodilo, she continued to come up against the jealousies of the Hambukushu. "The blacks," Xaru would tell me, "think they own this place." Xaru spoke perfect English and learned quickly, and the Hambukushu, she knew, saw her as a threat. The Hambukushu, like other Bantu speakers, did not like it when a *Mosarwa* asserted him- or herself (especially a woman!).

At a traditional knowledge workshop in Tsumkwe, Nambia in April 2008, I heard Xaru, who as the only Ju|'hoansi from Tsodilo who was fluent English represented the discussion she had with her family members from Tsodilo, speak about her frustrations of the black and white people who, they felt, oppressed them.[3] Despite her excitement in participating in the workshop, where she met with several family members now living within the borders of Namibia, her level of hopelessness plummeted over the next few months.[4] The Hambukushu ridiculed her for engaging with tourists, and yet her Ju|'hoansi family at Tsodilo and at Gani/Zaza relied on her English skills, literacy, numeracy, and her ability to conduct business with tourists. Life was hard for Xaru being a Ju|'hoansi woman and coping with rapid cultural change among the spreading HIV/AIDS pandemic; her position at the bottom of an ethno-class hierarchy seemingly limited her economic and political opportunities in the new sphere of identity politics and development.

Throughout the years I have known Xaru, the everyday occurrences and some major setbacks she encountered, showed me firsthand what identity politics could be like between the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu at Tsodilo, as well as between the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu with other ethnic groups in the country. I learned of the continuing presence of ethno-class hierarchies particular to Botswana, even though the country is often lauded for being a genuine democracy. Thus in this chapter, I trace the unique history of Botswana's identity politics to show how it contrasts with the histories of the identity politics of neighboring countries in southern Africa. I also discuss the history of Botswana's racial, ethnic, gender, and class politics situated within the southern African context by exploring the shifts in identity markers from colonial and postcolonial accounts and through the aid of archaeological narratives. In particular, I detail the identity politics of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu, the two ethnic groups at the Tsodilo Hills. I want to expose Botswana's long history of cultural contact, including a recent past of serfdom by the Tswana—the ethnic majority and elite—over other ethnic groups in the country. I also make explicit the ongoing cultural assimilation of non-Tswana ethnic groups in Botswana by Tswana elites, or "Tswanafication" (Solway 2002:715), through governmental policymaking and the promotion of undifferentiated citizenship.

I then elaborate on the idea of culture as commodity, and how heritage tourism (re)produces difference through the marketing of unique cultural experiences. Thus I challenge the limits of

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[3] In April 2008, I drove with several adults and one infant to a traditional knowledge workshop in Tsumkwe, Namibia that was facilitated by the Kuru Museum and Cultural Centre (Kuru D'Kar Trust). Mini-workshops were held on traditional music, games, skills, *et cetera*, and everyone from Tsodilo seemed to thoroughly enjoy the opportunity to participate in the workshop and the chance to visit with their relatives in Namibia.
[4] For some time, the Ju|'hoansi were permitted to pass between Botswana and Namibia over the border fence, but now passports are required. Several Ju|'hoansi from Gani/Zaza now live in or near Tsumkwe. In preparation for the traditional knowledge workshop, I assisted some Ju|'hoansi participants from Tsodilo in applying for their Botswana passports (e.g., driving to the government offices in Gumare and helping to fill out the forms).

community-based heritage tourism programs in Botswana given that the country maintains governmental policies that restrict ethnic partiality, which, in effect, serve to conceal ethnic inequalities. Although Botswana upholds that all of its citizens are indigenous, many international and regional NGOs and human rights groups claim that Khoisan speakers (e.g., Ju|'hoansi), who are at the lowest level of the country's ethnic and class hierarchies, are more indigenous than Bantu speakers (e.g., Tswana and Hambukushu). The commodification of identity through heritage tourism reinforces the ethnic identities of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu at Tsodilo, including the marker of indigeneity. Both groups make use of their perceived ethnic identities to navigate the socio-political and economic terrain of Botswana's development, and in the process of which, they become neoliberal subjects.

Ethnic Identity in Botswana

Discourses of social relations in southern Africa center on race, so ethnicity can sometimes be overlooked. Although the race issue is still critical in a region plagued by the ghosts of apartheid, it is certainly not the only social issue with which to be reckoned in the postcolonial and post-apartheid eras. In public discourses, politicians concentrate on race to maneuver away from disputes over political power and control of natural resources based on ethnic claims or socio-economic class between ethnic groups. For example, the ruling parties in South Africa and Zimbabwe (African National Congress and Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front) focus their attention on black Africans' political and economic liberation from white minorities, and typically not on issues between black ethnic groups, mixed race groups, or other non-black or white groups. Although they are often still overshadowed by race, scholarly discourses more frequently and thoroughly explore ethnicity in relation to political economy (Posner 2005; Comaroff and Comaroff 2008, 2009). As mentioned in chapter 1, I refer to the term *ethnicity* to discuss cultural and ethnic groups instead of the more outdated term *tribalism*, which refers to socio-political groups, though among ethnic groups (e.g., the Tswana are an ethnic group and the Bamangwato are a Tswana tribe). I want to discuss ethnicity to emphasize the heterogeneity of the people of southern Africa where the racial dichotomy of black and white does not uphold.[5]

In discussing ethnicity in Botswana it is important to note that unlike many other southern African countries, it was never a formal colony, but rather a protectorate, which means that it was nominally independent and did not have as many European settlers occupying its territory. It was also one of the first African countries to gain its independence from white rule (in 1966). Furthermore, Botswana is upheld by the international community as a model of democratic and economic success to other African countries ("Africa's success story" and "Africa's model democracy"). These points are important to keep in mind because the regional southern African literature emphasizes race more than ethnicity, in part, because of the region's history of white rule and apartheid, both aspects of an ongoing colonial presence. Botswana, however, is more of an exception given that it never went through the same degree of racial liberalization struggles as its neighbors, nor, as I will explain, did it need to. In Botswana, the government does not highlight race for the same reason it does not openly discuss ethnicity; that is, the government

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[5] Anthropologists conceptualize "ethnicity" differently. For example, Federik Barth (1969) views "ethnicity" as an "individualistic strategy" where boundary maintenance is achieved through the interactions between individuals and is not fixed *a priori*. On the other hand, Gerald D. Berreman (1981) approaches "ethnicity" as a level of social stratification or social inequality. Both of these uses of "ethnicity" apply to my analysis in this chapter.

does not do so in order to avoid potential racial and ethnic conflicts, which it fears could lead to something like a Balkanization of ethnicities in the country. The history of race and ethnicity in Botswana is somewhat unique to this country, and it is thus deserving of more study in order to understand its historical exceptionality.

In Botswana, ethnic groups are referred to as *merafe*.[6] However, the government of Botswana actively discourages discussions of ethnicity because of racial issues of the past and to avoid fueling ethnic conflict. At its independence in 1966, the new government adopted policies that forbade racial and ethnic partiality (i.e., Section 15 (4) (*d*), Section 15 (9), and Sections 77–79 of the Constitution of Botswana [see Nyati-Ramahobo 2008]). This was done when its neighboring country, South Africa, was in the midst of a hyper-racist nationalist government, the Afrikaner-led National Party. In 1951, Seretse Khama, heir to the Bamangwato chieftaincy, a powerful Tswana tribe, was exiled from the Bechuanaland Protectorate by the colonial administration for marrying a white working-class British woman named Ruth Williams, whom he met while studying in Oxford, England (they married in 1947).[7] Seretse Khama's uncle, Tschekedi Khama, who was then regent of the Bamangwato tribe, was very upset that Seretse married without his tribe's permission and did not want to relinquish his ruling powers to Seretse because of this marriage (Dutfield 1990, Williams 2007). However, it was the government of South Africa that was resolute that Seretse Khama not be allowed to lead the Bamangwato. The government of South Africa did not want a black tribal leader to bring his white wife home to southern Africa in the midst of its own political apartheid system; a prominent interracial couple in the neighboring territory would be "too much" (Dutfield 1990, Williams 2007). The British government and the colonial administration based in southern Africa buckled under the threats of losing South African mineral resources, and the government forced Seretse Khama and his wife Ruth to leave the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Dutfield 1990, Williams 2007). In 1956, Seretse Khama renounced his birthright to the Bamangwato chieftaincy in order to move back to his homeland with his wife. Then, in 1961, Seretse Khama helped to found the Bechuanaland Democratic Party, which later became the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). At Independence, voters elected the BDP to power, and as the leader of the BDP, Seretse Khama became the new country's first president.

Given the political situation in South Africa at the time, and the interference of South Africa with Botswana's own tribal leadership affairs, the reaction of the new government of Botswana to denounce racial and ethnic partiality was commendable. Over time, though, these policies gave way to the concealment of ethnic inequalities in the country through the promotion of undifferentiated citizenship. Simultaneously denouncing ethnic partiality while selecting one cultural worldview to dominate national development led to deep-seated inequalities among people from different ethnic groups holding contrasting worldviews. The traditionally pastoral Tswana benefitted the most, as it was only their tribal groups who were recognized (i.e., Section 2 of the Chieftainship Act, and the Tribal Territories Act [see Nyati-Ramahobo 2008]). However, the Kalanga were also able to succeed due, in part, to their traditional livelihood of agriculture that permitted more time for education, thus helping them achieve prominent positions in politics and business, even unnerving some Tswana politicians with their resounding successes (see

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[6] The singular form of *merafe* (tribes) is *morafe* (tribe).
[7] LIFE Magazine even profiled Seretse and Ruth Khama's marriage in an article titled, "The White Queen" (Bourke-White and LIFE Magazine 1950).

Werbner 2004). At the very bottom, though, were the ethnic groups that held a dramatically different worldview to the Tswana, or, for historical reasons, were so marginalized. The various ethnic groups comprising Khoisan speakers have been undoubtedly the biggest losers when it comes to national policies. In the name of assimilation, government officials targeted Khoisan speakers as being unwilling to cooperate and unwilling to develop.[8]

Not only does the government of Botswana not want to directly address ethnicity, but gender remains somewhat of an off-limits subject too.[9] Women are also not equally represented in politics or business. Although women have served as the political heads or permanent secretaries of government ministries or as members of Parliament, they remain a very small minority in government. In addition to avoiding ethnic partiality, the government claims that women are also a special interest group and that it is unconstitutional to specifically acknowledge their needs as such; this rationale is distinctly different to South Africa's current rights-based political discourse. In the 1980s, Unity Dow, a lawyer and former Botswana High Court judge, legally pursued the issue, invoking an equal rights discourse in a landmark court case (Dow 1995). Dow successfully sued the government of Botswana to change a citizenship mandate so that children of female citizens of the country would automatically receive Botswana citizenship. Prior to this court case, only the children of male citizens received Botswana citizenship. Dow and other prominent women helped to challenge the issue of women's rights in the country, and in the 1980s and 1990s a new women's movement, Emang Basadi Women's Association, was underway with its own manifestos (Emang Basadi Women's Association 1993, 1999). This movement, however, is not as momentous or influential as it once was, and the government maintains that women's issues and rights are too particular and therefore contrary to national interests.

Even though I highlight ethnicity, the issue of race is not absent in Botswana's identity politics. Amongst its near 2,000,000 populace, there is a small percentage of white Botswana citizens and white expatriates. Many of these whites, primarily English and Afrikaans speaking, are the descendants of settlers who came during the British colonial regime and the Boer expansion into the Kalahari. Many others are missionaries and business people who settled in Botswana to escape the political problems of neighboring countries. Still others are living in Botswana with work visas and are employed in the tourism industry. In addition to whites, there are also sizable populations of Chinese, Pakistani, and other non-white, non-African ethnic groups in the country.[10] Though they are not as well represented politically, whites and other non-Africans in Botswana are generally better off financially than the majority of Bantu or Khoisan speakers, especially those in more rural areas further from Gaborone and other main cities. However, the political and economic elite includes mainly Tswana and Kalanga. While there is significantly

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[8] Festus Mogae, the former president of Botswana, made racist remarks about Khoisan speakers when he called them "Stone Age creature[s]" (Daley 1996), and other government officials also use the rhetoric of primitivism as a rationale for assimilating Khoisan speakers. For example, Mogae stated, "how can you have a Stone Age creature continue to exist in the age of computers? …If the Bushmen want to survive, they must change or otherwise like the dodo, they will perish" (Daley 1996).

[9] There is, however, a Women's Affairs Department in the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs.

[10] A growing number of political and economic refugees from Zimbabwe have immigrated to Botswana over the past decade, but they are typically met there with xenophobia because of the fear they will take away jobs and government provisions, and that they will contribute to increased crime.

less racial strife in Botswana than in neighboring countries, people, in general, tend to mix mostly, though not exclusively, within their own ethnic or racial group.

Interestingly, not all Africans in Botswana consider themselves black. Although Bantu speakers do, Khoisan speakers consider themselves racially distinct. They refer to themselves as "red" (Barnard 2007:1, 140), though during my fieldwork with the Ju|'hoansi living nearby the Tsodilo Hills, Xaru considered her ethnic group to be "orange," a remark about the nuances of her extended family's skin tone. At Tsodilo, I also learned that sometimes Khoisan speakers even view themselves racially more similar to whites than blacks, perhaps as a way to exert their difference from blacks and align themselves with whites who are most often tourists or development workers (see also Taylor 1997). Whether red, orange, or even white, Khoisan speakers do not affiliate themselves as black, which is an important distinction in understanding their identity politics.

Ethnicity in the Past

To understand the role of ethnicity in southern Africa today requires an examination of the role of ethnicity in the historical and archaeological past. Historians and anthropologists provide excellent sources for understanding ethnicity during a period of culture contact, especially when European settlers arrived in southern Africa. Archaeological accounts of culture contact prior to colonization help provide a sense of how ethnicity played out hundreds of years before the first Europeans came to southern Africa. Although we can never be certain that our modern understanding of what ethnicity is was shared by African people in the pre-colonial and colonial past, by amalgamating various lines of evidence in discourses that describe difference in the past, we can achieve a firmer grasp on what ethnicity has come to mean in southern Africa's present. As important as a diachronic examination of ethnicity is, we must also be aware of the politics of academic representations of the past and the Other.

Archaeological and historical accounts demonstrate culture contact in the southern Africa region for at least several hundred years (Mitchell 2002, Hall 1990, see also Stahl 2005). Although official colonization of the region along with the trans-Atlantic slave trade are the most severe junctures of culture contact in the recent past, various ethnicities were long in contact with one another, nonetheless leading to ruptures in each other's lives. The territory now known as Botswana was, in the distant past, a land inhabited mostly by hunting and gathering peoples (and herders), who were the ancestors of the present-day Khoisan speakers (Tlou and Campbell 1997, Barnard 1992a). In fact, hunter-gatherers left traces of their material culture, such as stone tools, faunal remains, pottery, and rock art, some of which archaeologists have scientifically dated to as far back as 100,000 years (Campbell et al. 2010). Using material traces, archaeologists argue that there is evidence of occupation in Botswana beginning at the advent of modern humans in the Middle Stone Age (70,000–100,000 years ago) (Robbins et al. 2000, Coulson et al. 2011). The Bantu expansion into southern Africa began about 1,500–2,000 years ago, bringing with it pastoral and iron smelting cultures (Mitchell 2002). The level of intercultural exchange between Bantu speakers and Khoisan speakers when they came into increased contact is, as I describe below, debatable. However, archaeological accounts of culture contact between Khoisan and Bantu speakers provide insight into the peoples who first traversed what much later became modern Botswana.

Over the past 20 years, though especially in the early 1990s, anthropologists and archaeologists studying hunter-gatherers in the past and present have vociferously debated the extent of culture contact between Khoisan speakers and Bantu speakers.[11] The most contentious issue between scholars taking part in this debate, the so-called Kalahari Debate, was whether modern-day Khoisan speakers maintained a hunter-gatherer and herding lifestyle with all of its attributes (e.g., egalitarianism and nomadism) until European colonialism and the ensuing increase of regional culture contact (for overview see Sadr 1997, Barnard 1992b). Proponents of the notion that Khoisan speakers maintained a hunter-gatherer lifestyle argued that the majority of culture contact between Khoisan speakers in the Kalahari and Bantu speakers (and whites) occurred only since the beginning of colonization and that they had more or less maintained a hunting and gathering lifestyle for thousands of years (Solway and Lee 1990, Lee and Guenther 1991). These scholars, many of whom were professionally connected with the Harvard Kalahari Research Group, are known as "traditionalists," as decades of anthropological research led them to advocate that Khoisan speakers had been, for the most part, hunter-gatherers until the mid twentieth century (Lee 2003, Shostack 1983, Biesele 1993). On the other side of the debate, the "revisionists" argued that Khoisan speakers had adapted their subsistence strategies when in contact with other ethnic groups prior to European contact and were not purely hunting and gathering throughout time (Wilmsen 1989, 1993; Wilmsen and Denbow 1990). Revisionists, basing most of their work on archaeological and ethnohistoric accounts in Botswana (Tsodilo is a pivotal site to their claims), scoffed at the traditionalists' idealist view, and pushed forth the notion of a much more complex settlement of the Kalahari and surrounds (Schrire 1980, Denbow and Wilmsen 1986, Wilmsen 1989). Edwin ("Ed") Wilmsen, a key proponent of the revisionist argument, advocated the move away from considering Khoisan speakers as ethnically distinctive and toward analyzing them from a Marxist perspective as a proletariat class (Wilmsen 2002). The Kalahari Debate is relevant to my argument about identity politics because of the political consequences of proving earlier origins: indigeneity requires a "first peoples" declaration, which a revisionist view potentially threatens.

An understanding of how difference was manifested among populations in southern Africa becomes clearer and somewhat less contentious through the historical record. However, as most African cultures did not employ native writing systems during colonization, it was those who worked for or were associated with colonial administrations, explorers, and Christian missionaries who kept most of the written historical records. Thus these records have inherent biases regarding descriptions of interactions between ethnic groups (see Wilmsen 1997). For instance, records on Tswana tribes were kept in order to maintain useful relationships with tribal leaders in order to strategically perpetuate indirect rule (see Mamdani 1996:ch. 3). There are also records that demonstrate frustrations with the local Tswana tribes. For example, starting at the beginning of the twentieth century missionaries from the London Missionary Society kept records of their disapproval of the indentured servitude in which the Batawana tribe of the Tswana kept the Wayeyi (Bantu speakers) and Khoisan speakers in the Ngamiland region (London Missionary Society 1935). These records provide a glimpse back into the past, albeit through a distinctively colonial lens. The Tswana consider(ed) Khoisan speakers, who they derogatorily call *Basarwa*, as less-than-human, and historically kept them as indentured serfs on

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[11] The linguistic term *Bantu* refers to a language family, but was turned into a derogatory expression to refer to black Africans by the apartheid government of South Africa. It is used here only as a linguistic term.

their farms (Motzafi-Haller 1994, 1995). In the past, the Batawana tribe in Ngamiland referred to Wayeyi in the equally insulting term, *Makuba* (useless people), and kept them as indentured servants or slaves.[12] Due to their historic subjugation, the Khoisan speakers and Wayeyi are still low-ranking ethno-classes in Botswana today, and consider each other "cousins," though Khoisan speakers are at the definite bottom of this hierarchy.[13] This current ethno-class system based on a historic tribute system, *kgamelo*, is derived from the interactions of Tswana tribes with other ethnic groups as they expanded their polities throughout the territory that is now Botswana (see Taylor 2000, Wilmsen 1989).[14]

Oral histories are another method of understanding ethnicity in the past. Historians working in Botswana also rely upon oral histories that they conduct or reuse oral histories collected by other researchers. Historian Thomas Tlou (1985) wrote perhaps the most well known history of the Batawana state in Ngamiland from 1750–1906, and his research relies, in large part, on oral histories that he collected during the 1970s in order to flesh out a social history of the region rather than rely solely on colonial and missionary records. In his historical account, Tlou describes the diverse histories of several ethnic groups in Ngamiland and how the Batawana gained control of the region through *kgamelo*. Oral history is an effective way to approach an understanding of the past through the voices of local Africans (Vansina 1985). Besides the fact that personal accounts and memories are subjective, another concern about the use of oral histories is how far back they go. Through the disruptions of migrations, colonialism, and development, some of the oral traditions have faltered and thus so have certain historical references for descendant communities. Still, oral history remains an important resource for scholars studying multiple aspects of the past, such as how various ethnic groups interacted with one another, but it is always important to consider them in context with other lines of evidence, if at all possible. This is one of the methods I employed in order to discern the settlement history of Tsodilo.

Ju|'hoansi, The "Real People"

The Khoisan speakers living at Tsodilo are Ju|'hoansi and have also been referred to as !Kung, Zhu, and !Xun by various academics (Barnard 2007). To the public, they are best known as "Bushmen." Before highlighting some of the main points of the breadth of research about the Ju|'hoansi, I would like to explain my use of the term "Bushmen" here, as opposed to the anthropological and more politically correct term "San," which was adopted by some anthropologists as early as the 1960s to refer to various African ethnic groups who speak Khoi and San languages. "Bushmen" was originally a pejorative name given to Khoisan speakers by white settlers (*Boesman* in Afrikaans). Over time, it was also the name that the global media used

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[12] The "Bechuanaland Protectorate Native Labourers (Protection) Proclamation, 1936," made indentured servitude, or slavery, illegal.

[13] Tlou notes that the Khoisan and Wayeyi are historically described as having dependent relations of *botlhanka* (serfs) with the Batawana; hereditary serfs were known as *batlhanka wa lolwapa* (*batlhanka* of the household) (Tlou 1977). Even though the Wayeyi are Bantu speakers, perhaps the Wayeyi were made serfs because they are matrilineal and did not share many customs with the Batawana.

[14] Anthropologist Isaac Schapera, who worked in conjunction with the Bechuanaland Protectorate, writes, "the *kgamêlô* system bound the commoners of the tribe closely to the Chief…they were dependent upon him for their subsistence" (Schapera 1994:250). Another dependency relationship was the issuing of *mafisa* (leased cattle), but which did not make commoners entirely reliant of a chief.

to reference Khoisan speakers, and it is thus how much of the wider public knows them, including foreign tourists who visit Khoisan speakers in southern Africa. In addition to the term "San," scholars and some NGOs now refer to Khoisan speakers by their language names (e.g., Ju|'hoansi, Nharo, and Bugakhwe). Throughout my ethnographic research, I learned that the Ju|'hoansi at Tsodilo call themselves "Bushmen" when in the presence of tourists, though I never heard them refer to themselves as "San" when explaining their culture or ethnicity. On rare occasion, the only self-references I heard of Khoisan speakers identifying themselves as "San" were Khoisan speakers in elevated socio-political and economic positions as NGO employees. I occasionally use the term "Bushmen," not to re-inscribe any inherent racism, but instead to explore the history of the "othering" (Fabian 1991, 2002) and objectification of a people as a tourist product. The most appropriate conceptual name for this cultural construct created through the tourist gaze is "Bushmen." The history of the objectification of Khoisan speakers is, therefore, important in order to make a point of examining how a cultural group became a tourist product, and how through their own agency, this same cultural group (re)negotiated their ethnic performance for economic gain and political visibility.

In addition, I wish to draw attention to the naming convention of Khoisan speakers by Bantu speakers in Botswana, notably by the dominant Tswana tribes. Bantu speakers in Botswana refer to all Khoisan speakers, including the Ju|'hoansi, as *Basarwa*, and this term is thought to originally derive from the expression, *bao babasaruing dikgomo* (those who do not rear cattle) (Ditshwanelo 2007).[15] Historically, the Tswana viewed Khoisan speakers as not fully human because they were nomadic, and this helped foster a cultural rationale for the coercive servitude of these people by Tswana tribes until, at least officially, the mid-1930s (Taylor 2000). A discriminatory attitude toward Khoisan speakers by the Tswana and other Bantu speakers in Botswana persists to the present day. For example, in the many noun classes that the national language Setswana uses, the noun class used to refer to Khoisan speakers was previously a non-human noun class, "ma-," for *Masarwa* (Motzafi-Haller 1994:557). It is only recently that Khoisan speakers are referred to in Setswana using a human noun class, "ba-," for *Basarwa*. During my fieldwork, I observed that the Ju|'hoansi at Tsodilo detest being called *Basarwa* because to them that is the most derogatory name to be called. This also demonstrates how they employ their image, to be named as "Bushmen," for political and economic gain, and thus how they reject their subjugation by the government of Botswana.

Although earlier attempts at the anthropology and archaeology of Khoisan speakers involved ethnocentric and racist notions of them, it is still important to share this history to better understand its relationship to cultural heritage tourism in its positioning of Khoisan speakers as objects to be viewed and consumed. My interpretation of this history, in brief, is as follows. In the early twentieth century, Khoisan speakers—perceived to represent the most primitive cultures, and who for the previous several hundred years of colonialism elicited contempt by Europeans and European settlers—were transformed from subjects of subjugation and annihilation into subjects of exhibition and spectacle.[16] During the Enlightenment, the notion of the "Bushmen" materialized as an object of curiosity, and Khoisan speakers were exhibited in foreign sideshows and lecture circuits, such as Sara Baartman, the "Hottentot Venus" (Crais and

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[15] The singular form of *Basarwa* is *Mosarwa*, and all Khoisan languages are collectively referred to as *Sesarwa*.
[16] This type of colonial gaze occurred elsewhere in England's empire, such as India (Prakash 1999:ch. 4) and Egypt (Mitchell 1988:ch. 1).

Scully 2009, Holmes 2007), and their bodies were collected and catalogued as museum objects (Morris 1996). These practices continued well into the twentieth century (Skotnes 1996, Parsons 2009).

European settlers next encroached upon the remaining Khoisan speakers living in more inhospitable places, such as the Kalahari Desert, to seek out authentic specimens of this now romantically portrayed primitive race, the "Bushmen." In the middle of the twentieth century and during the decline of official colonization in Africa, the West renewed an interest in an essentialized understanding of Khoisan speakers as a manifestation of the peace and egalitarian principles they now coveted after the end of an apocalyptic WWII. The notion of the "Bushmen" evoked an aura of primitive innocence in the minds of people in the West who had seen them exhibited in sideshows and lecture tours around Europe and the United States, as well as viewing images of them captured and later published by explorers and colonial officials (Gordon 1997).[17] For example, after his horror in discovering the involvement of his company, Raytheon, in building the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, American engineer Laurence Marshall brought his wife, Lorna, and their two children to southern Africa to search for Khoisan speakers in the 1950s as a series of personally funded expeditions (Wilmsen 1999). Marshall's daughter Elizabeth published the now classic, *The Harmless People*, in 1958, which detailed her family's experiences with different Khoisan tribes, including the Ju|'hoansi, in and around the Kalahari Desert throughout the decade (Marshall 1989). Marshall's son John became a prolific ethnographic filmmaker of Khoisan speakers, and he was well known for his documentaries chronicling traditional Ju|'hoansi in Namibia and Botswana, as well as their adaptation to an increasingly sedentary life in the last half of the twentieth century. Though notably one of the first serious early investigators of the "Bushmen," the Marshall family members were not alone in a quest for the "Bushmen," other explorers and public figures were simultaneously in pursuit of them, such as the now infamous Laurens van der Post described in chapter 3.

Beginning in the 1960s, anthropologists took a deep interest in studying Khoisan speakers' culture, physiology, and material culture (see Lee et al. 1996). At one point, the joke went that anthropologists outnumbered Khoisan speakers in the Kalahari.[18] Anthropologists described the Ju|'hoansi as traditionally being an egalitarian, hunter-gatherer society (Lee 2003). They are also famous for their healing dances and traditional healers, or shamans (Katz 1982, Katz et al. 1997, Keeney 2003). These observations are more reflective of the past, though, as more and more the Ju|'hoansi are coerced into economic development and cultural assimilation by more powerful ethnic groups (Hitchcock and Holm 1993, Smith et al. 2000b). In Tsodilo, these more powerful ethnic groups include the Hambukushu, Wayeyi, Herero, and Tswana, as well as whites (e.g., tourists, missionaries, development workers, and researchers). Since Independence, the Ju|'hoansi and other minority ethnic groups in Botswana have increasingly lost their rights to land (RoB 1968) and their rights to their traditional cultural practices (Hitchcock 2001). For instance, hunting was made illegal in the late 1970s without hunting permits called Special Game Licenses

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[17] Heavily influenced Carl Gustav Jung's analytical psychology, van der Post proposed that "Bushmen" were an archetype: the "lost soul" (Jones 2001).
[18] In 1967, the government of Botswana passed the Anthropological Research Act to monitor the number of anthropologists in the country and the types of research they undertook (RoB 1967). It was originally presented as the Bushmen Protection Bill to control the amount of social science research on Khoisan speakers (Parsons and Hitchcock 1985:433).

(SGLs) under the Unified Hunting Regulations (RoB 1979). These hunting permits were then almost entirely discontinued by the mid-1990s (Hitchcock 2001, see also RoB 2001). Thus when Ju|'hoansi, or any other persons whose traditional livelihoods involve hunting, kills a wild animal, then the hunters are now considered "poachers." This also means that they are held accountable to the law of Botswana, and if persecuted, they will likely spend time in prison. Gone too, are the foraging ranges, as more powerful Bantu speakers take over Ju|'hoansi traditional lands, *legally*, through the new tribal land board system that privileges cattle rearing and agriculture over foraging (RoB 1975). The Ju|'hoansi land system traditionally revolved around hereditary foraging territories called *n!ore*, which were usually around water springs, and to which certain Ju|'hoansi had rights and could share these rights with their families (Lee 2003). The land boards privilege the use of territories and surrounding water sources for cattle. In essence, the worldviews of Khoisan speakers, including the Ju|'hoansi, are not observed by the government of Botswana, and this ethnocentrism, along with historical injustices, has led to their continued marginalization by the state.

The names of government-sponsored programs to deal with impoverished Khoisan speakers have changed over the decades. The primary one is now known as the Remote Area Dweller Programme (RADP). The great majority of Khoisan speakers, including the Tsodilo Ju|'hoansi, in Botswana are now welfare recipients known as Remote Area Dwellers (RADs), and receive what several humanitarians have noted are insufficient food and monetary rations each month (Saugestad 2001). This program is meant to provide assistance to Khoisan speakers and other RADs now that they can no longer sustain their traditional livelihood. However, what the appearance of these programs demonstrates is that Khoisan speakers have essentially become squatters on their own land and welfare recipients of the state. RADP schools are used to assist in acculturating Khoisan children into the national culture (le Roux 2000). The government of Botswana perceives its role as assimilating ethnic groups into the nation, but its treatment of Khoisan speakers has become a thorny issue due to international human rights campaign on behalf of Khoisan speakers. The government invokes the rhetoric of primitivism of Khoisan speakers alongside national goals of progress to rationalize its social welfare programs, such as the RADP.

At Tsodilo there are about 40 Ju|'hoansi, although this number fluctuates as the children go to RADP schools (in Nxau-Nxau and Gumare) and as people visit relatives in outlying settlements (e.g., Xaudum, Dibetama, and Gani/Zaza). The population centers on the family of Xabo, whose father was considered the leader of the Tsodilo Ju|'hoansi as was his father before him. Xabo's siblings and their extended families comprise the rest of the settlement. With the passing of Xabo's father and the men of that generation, the Tsodilo Ju|'hoansi are in a state of flux. Aspects of their traditional culture remain, yet so much has changed. For example, they are no longer allowed to hunt, although, from time to time, a porcupine or another smaller animal might be killed for consumption and its skin used to make a leather bag.[19] They still gather, but this is more difficult now that they are sedentary and desirable foraging ranges are further away, or, in more restricted places, such as the Tsodilo "core zone" (see also RoB 1994). There are no longer any healers in Tsodilo. In fact, within the past 15 years—around the time when the Botswana National Museum sent employees to Tsodilo to prepare a site museum—Xabo and many other

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[19] I heard from a former Tsodilo site museum manager about large-game hunts, but I never heard of one happening while I stayed at the hills.

Ju|'hoansi converted to Christianity. Two Ju|'hoansi, a younger brother and younger sister to Xabo, have jobs at the Tsodilo site museum. This allows for them to financially care for their extended family (e.g., food, transportation, medicine, and school-related fees). Otherwise, monetary income is earned from guiding, craft sales, and piecemeal work offered by the government (families also benefit from food and money to given to "destitutes" and orphans by the government).

The Tsodilo Ju|'hoansi have not only been involved with tourism for decades, but their images were also mass-produced in well-known photography books (Johnson et al. 1999, Bannister and Lewis-Williams 1991). When I purchased these photography books and brought them to Tsodilo, the Ju|'hoansi community marveled at what appeared to be a family album on sale elsewhere but unavailable to them personally.[20] Some photography images are reprinted over and over again in tourism brochures, even though they are now outdated and no longer accurately represent the way of life of the Ju|'hoansi in Tsodilo today. Furthermore, some of those images reappearing in tourism brochures are deceased relatives of the Tsodilo Ju|'hoansi (e.g., I once found a frame-quality photographic image of Twi's father at the gift shop of the Victoria Falls Hotel in Zimbabwe). Their ethnic imagery carries with it much symbolic significance, which I return to again in chapter 6.

Hambukushu: Weavers from the North

In comparison to all the research done on the Ju|'hoansi, relatively little research has been done on the Hambukushu. The Hambukushu have received much less attention from researchers for a few reasons. First of all, they are a Bantu-speaking ethnic group from an area where most settlers did not venture: the northern area of the Zambezi River. Researchers believe that the Hambukushu migrated southward from central Africa (toward the Zambezi River in the territory that is now Zambia) and became part of a Lozi empire of the eighteenth century (Larson 2001).[21] Secondly, as the Hambukushu who migrated south out of Lozi empire were no longer part of an organized polity, nor did they come into significant historical contact with European settlers, they are not mentioned much in historical records. By the mid–twentieth century, the Hambukushu were dispersed in several countries—Botswana, Namibia, Angola, and Zambia—without much political representation in any of them. The history of the Hambukushu is mostly gathered from oral testimonies. The scholar who did the most research with the Hambukushu is Thomas Larson, an anthropologist who did much of his research in the 1950s and 1970s, and whose research was subsequently published in a number of journal articles and a more recent monograph (Larson 1970, 2001).

Unlike the Ju|'hoansi, the Hambukushu living at Tsodilo maintain less of a cultural mystique that would lure the tourist imaginary. To foreign tourists, the Hambukushu are another Bantu-speaking, agro-pastoral cultural group in northern Botswana. To domestic tourists, the Hambukushu are a recently arrived ethnic group escaping political upheavals in Angola, and thus they are met with some xenophobia. They are, however, famous for the beautifully woven

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[20] I gave them a copy of the larger photography book (Johnson et al. 1999).
[21] The Wayeyi were another ethnic group that became part of a Lozi empire around the Zambezi River floodplain known as Barotseland (see Larson 1989).

baskets that the women make from palm fibers dyed brown and orange from natural products or bleached white from sun and water (Cunningham and Terry 2006, Terry 1986).

While many Hambukushu in Botswana first arrived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was also another migration of Hambukushu to Botswana starting in 1967. These Hambukushu, refugees from the violence of the Angolan War of Independence, settled in camps along the panhandle region north of Gumare, in what is known as the Etshas (and numbered 1–13). Whereas many of the Hambukushu who came during earlier migrations had, to varying degrees, adopted cultural customs of the Tswana, specifically the Batawana, the Hambukushu refugees from Angola brought with them a revival of their culture, such as the production of cultural crafts, songs, and dancing. These and other aspects of Hambukushu intangible heritage revitalized the Hambukushu ethnic movement in Botswana.

Perhaps the most well known product of Hambukushu culture is their basket making. Some of the most successful early development initiatives in the Etsha camps focused on basket making and other weaving. This led to an expanding niche market for Ngamiland basketry sourced primarily from the Etshas and Gumare. M. Elizabeth Terry writes, "weaving is the work of a very skilled person who has learned her craft at an early age and has taken ten to fifteen years to perfect it" (Terry 1986:49). Thus basket making was an industry in which artisans, mostly women, hone their crafts over a long period of time. Terry notes that an average size basket (30 centimeters diameter by seven centimeters height) typically takes 25 hours of solid weaving to finish, and for slower weavers it can take 40 hours; basket making is difficult to do well and the basket makers in Ngmailand are able to command a higher price for their products. Weavers also have to collect and prepare their materials, which takes time and requires access to resources (Terry 1986:49). Most weavers learn from their mothers or grandmothers, and thus basket making is not only part of the intangible heritage of Hambukushu, but perhaps the most widely recognized form of it.

Hambukushu basket making and weaving became a highly sought after commodity in the world arts and crafts market. While the government of Botswana identifies this craft industry as being regional—from Ngamiland—rather than specific to the Hambukushu (and Wayeyi), it nevertheless provides the Hambukushu with a platform on which to forge a more collective ethnic identity. Similarly to the ways in which the Tswana disregard Khoisan speakers' cultures, Hambukushu culture has also been looked down upon and assimilation pursued instead. Their increasing visibility with their basket making and weaving traditions now lends itself to a revitalization of other cultural express, such as music and dance, which are performed at regional and national events.

There are about 160 Hambukushu at Tsodilo, though, like the Ju|'hoansi, this population is in some flux as children often school outside of Tsodilo and young adults are increasingly working in larger villages and towns, such as Nxamasere, Shakawe, Gumare, and Maun. Tsodilo's Hambukushu population centers on Mashika and his extended family, and only a few families have no direct relationship to Mashika. The Tsodilo Hambukushu primarily engage in agriculture, and those who can afford it also rear cattle. Smaller animals, such as goats and chickens, are also kept and sold. Like the Ju|'hoansi, the Hambukushu find employment at the Tsodilo site museum and through piecemeal government jobs (drought relief). One man,

unrelated to Mashika, has a salaried position looking after the airstrip, which does not require much work any longer since the road to Tsodilo was graveled in 2001 making it much more permissible and timely for tour operators and tourists to drive to the hills rather than fly. Although Larson focuses on the reputation of the Hambukushu for their rainmaking abilities (Larson 2001), at Tsodilo there are no rainmakers (see Larson 2001). There are, however, healers, including Mashika, his eldest daughter, an a few others. Although the Hambukushu are not necessarily a main attraction for tourists visiting Tsodilo, Mashika's family has a long history of guiding tourists at Tsodilo and thus tourism is also an important part of their mixed subsistence economy.

Tswanafication

As introduced in chapter 1, the government of Botswana has pursued assimilationist policies for its ethnic minorities since Independence. However, these policies overwhelmingly privilege Tswana culture. For instance, only Tswana tribes are legally recognized (Nyati-Ramahobo 2008). The language of the Tswana, Setswana, is the national language and the only one that is permissible to teach in public primary schools along with the official language, English (Nyati-Ramahobo 2002, 2004). Tswana tribes control the country's land through tribal land boards, though non-Tswana work at these land boards, and thus at certain levels, non-Tswana also take part in land distribution decision making. Tswana tribal chiefs are the *de facto* leaders of the entire country and minority ethnic groups struggle to have their chiefs locally and nationally recognized (Werbner 2002). The Tswana dominate the government, the business sector, and higher education. When ethnic minorities complain that they do not have equal representation, they are encouraged to pursue access by adopting Tswana customs. They are also acculturated through the national education system. Although these assimilationist practices are akin to nation building processes in other parts of the world, what is outstanding here is that they are taking place in a postcolonial setting adjacent to a post-apartheid country with a significant human rights discourse, where it seems more likely that the political rights of citizens would be a more visible issue for the state. In an era of official decolonization, attempts made to create independent African states in territories demarcated by colonial administrations that contain multiple ethnic groups face numerous political and economic struggles. Botswana appears to be more of an exception, although at what cost?

In southern Africa, newly independent countries from colonial or white rule have had to consider the nations they are building in a postcolonial era. This is very difficult given racist histories and ethnic strife of the territories demarcated by colonizers. Each country has a unique history of racial and ethnic interactions before, during, and after colonization that contribute to its present day situation. Unlike its neighbors, Botswana does not have to constantly deal with a certain severity of race relations as do South Africa and Zimbabwe because, first, it never had a significant white population, and, second, because it has always had some recognized intact African leadership (even though whites did control the administration of the protectorate for more than six decades). However, the country must now deal with how to govern multiple ethnic groups in the country when it has a recent history of subjugating some of these very ethnic groups. How do members of minority ethnic groups who are marginalized by the government of Botswana recognize themselves in Botswana's citizenry? Being an ethnic minority is difficult, because due to the government's assimilationist policies, ethnic minorities are made to feel like

less visible sectors of society. It also makes it possible that the government elites, who are overwhelmingly Tswana (and Kalanga), make decisions that further marginalize minority ethnic groups. When ethnic minorities protest, they are told that they are "unpatriotic" and not upholding national interests.

The story of how the Tswana gained leadership in the territory now known as Botswana has colonial origins. Let me start with their arrival. As with other Bantu speakers, the ancestors of the present-day Tswana migrated south from central Africa at least 1,500 years ago. However, the socio-cultural groups now known as Tswana likely settled in what is now southeastern Botswana in the fifteenth century (Tlou and Campbell 1997:92–93).[22] The Tswana groups formed tribes that withstood Zulu invaders from South Africa during the Difaqane of 1823–1840 (Tlou and Campbell 1997:151–154).[23] In fact, after the Difaqane, the Tswana tribes became even stronger and formed a tribute system, *kgamelo*, to subjugate other ethnic groups within their polities (Tlou and Campbell 1997:167–170). In 1885, the British government made Bechuanaland (named after the Bechuana, which is what the British called the Tswana) a protectorate after the call for help by Tswana chiefs of the Bamangwato tribe (Khama III), Bakwena tribe (Sebele), and Bangweaketse tribe (Bathoen), who all travelled to London, Enland to request assistance (Tlou and Campbell 1997:ch. 23). These chiefs asked for protection from the Boers' expansion into the Kalahari and Ngamiland. The British granted protectorate status, in large part, because their own trading and missionary efforts were threatened by the Boers and by Cecil John Rhodes' interest in acquiring mining concessions. After the protectorate was granted in 1885 (with an extension to the northern part of what is now Ngamiland and Chobe in 1890), the Tswana rulers remained in power for six years until white colonial administrators took over in 1891 transferring control to Mafeking in South Africa. After this handover, the colonial administration respected Khama III, a strict Christian, over the other Tswana chiefs, and its approval of Khama III helped the Bamangwato maintain good relations with England into the next century.

Thus when Seretse Khama, who was the hereditary chief to the Bamangwato tribe, had given up his chieftaincy in order to end his exile imposed by the British government, he was also giving up power to the most influential Tswana tribe in the protectorate. He was still, however, the chief in the eyes of his people, and, as noted above, at Independence his political party, the BDP, won the popular vote and he became the first president of Botswana.[24] It is worth noting that even though Botswana is technically a multi-party, parliamentary democracy, the BDP never lost control of central government. The three presidents after Seretse Khama, including his son Ian Khama, ascended to their positions when the current president resigned and without an election: automatic succession (e.g., Seretse Khama's death made way for Ketumile Masire, who retired after 18 years to make way for Festus Mogae, who, in turn, retired after nine years so that Ian Khama could take over).[25] They were all subsequently elected president at the respective next

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[22] Some early Tswana groups (later "tribes" and then "polities") were in Botswana, though, in the thirteenth century (Tlou and Campbell 1997:92). There are actually more ethnic Tswana living in South Africa today then there are in Botswana. The area south of Botswana was known as British Bechuanaland in the nineteenth century and the South African government ultimately subsumed it.

[23] The Difaqane were violent invasions by Zulu speakers from what is now South Africa between 1815–1840.

[24] Botswana won its independence on September 30, 1966, and its constitution was approved in March 1965.

[25] Masire amended the constitution in 1990 so that the vice president could assume the presidency when the current president retired.

general elections when the BDP took the voter majority.[26] Even though Botswana touts its multi-party democracy, it is still very much run through the existing Tswana—Bamangwato—leadership.[27]

Indeed, one argument for the assimilation of ethnic minorities by an ethnic majority is to avoid ethnic factions from forming and competing (i.e., "tribalism"). For example, ethnic factionalism contributed to the 2007–2008 Kenyan crisis that began after the 2007 presidential election. In its worst form, ethnic factionalism has lead to genocide, such as in Rwanda in 1994. However, assimilation comes at the cost of losing cultural rights, which is also "violent." Losing one's own culture and adopting another culture most often makes such a person fall into the bottom socio-economic class, an "ethno-class." This is increasingly the case in Botswana, where through governmental policymaking ethnic minorities are not only forced to assimilate with the Tswana majority, but they are forced to do so while their own cultures are ridiculed. Belittling of non-Tswana cultures happens even though the government firmly supports nationalism and the non-recognition of ethnic difference.

The Indigeneity Issue in Botswana

Anthropologists and other social science scholars continue to grapple with a polarized use of the term *indigenous*, which surrounds transnational indigeneity movements (see Niezen 2003). On one side of the debate, *indigenous* (or even *Indigenous* as it is referred to in the capitalized form in the Americas) refers to a socio-political and cultural classification of peoples who are the original inhabitants on either the land they occupy or lands they were removed from, are marginalized by occupier peoples, and have a complex and sustainable relationship with the environment around them based on hundreds or even thousands of years of generational knowledge. On the other side of the debate, *indigenous* is used as a socio-legal term for establishing the rights of people to their resources. These multiple definitions are not mutually exclusive, though some scholars and human rights activists see more slippage between the two than certain governmental policymakers. Indigeneity is a much more complicated issue in Africa due to a legacy of white settler colonialism and ethnic factionalism (see Barnard 2006, Hodgson 2009). In southern Africa, several archaeologists, anthropologists, biologists, and linguists declare the ancestors of present-day Khoisan speakers as *the* first peoples of the region and likely of the continent (Mitchell 2002, Tlou and Campbell 1997, Wells 2002, Knight et al. 2003). Khoisan speakers exemplify what it means to be "indigenous" in both the socio-political and cultural usages, as well as the legal terms. However, the government of Botswana declares that all of its citizens are "indigenous" (Saugestad 2001, Cook and Sarkin 2009).

Indigenous is a policy term in Botswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe with racial connotations generally meant to differentiate Africans from non-African settlers. For instance, Zimbabwe is still struggling to enforce the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act that was passed in 2007 aimed toward making business ownership in the country at least 50 percent indigenous-owned, where "indigenous" refers to people (and their descendants) who were oppressed because

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[26] Ian Khama was so sure that he would be elected that before the presidential election in 2009 that the government of Botswana issued new currency with his likeness on the BWP 10 bank note a couple months before the election.

[27] Both Seretse Khama and his son Ian Khama are Bamangwato. Masire is Bangwaketse and Mogae is Kalanga. In addition to being the current President of Botswana, Ian Khama is also the Paramount Chief of the Bamangwato.

of their race before April 18, 1981 when the country's white rule ended.[28] Zimbabwe's government even has an Indigenization and Empowerment Minister to guide policy on these matters.[29] Botswana, however, decided that all of its citizens are "indigenous." Therefore, white and other non-African ethnic citizens of Botswana are also legally "indigenous." Thus if a white man who was a colonial officer becomes a citizen of the country he also becomes "indigenous" (and I personally know white former colonial officials who are now "indigenous"). It is this legal use of the term *indigenous* that causes much conflict and tension between human rights activists advocating on behalf of Khoisan speakers as "indigenous" and the government of Botswana throwing their arms up in response that *all* its citizens are "indigenous." The human rights groups actually view the term *indigenous* to mean something other than its policy usage in southern African countries. These activists are appealing to the fact that Khoisan speakers are unique in the country as they are direct descendants from the first inhabitants of the entire southern African region as scientifically proven by biologists, linguists, and archaeologists; and proven otherwise by oral testimony. That, although Bantu speakers have occupied parts of the southern Africa region for at least 1,500 years, this came by their displacing Khoisan speakers. Thus the Khoisan speakers are the original inhabitants of the land that now comprises modern Botswana and it is they who should be considered the "first peoples."

Regardless of an awareness of the damage that an invasive culture, such as European colonialism can do, the government of Botswana attempts to legitimize its Tswana hegemony—itself a form of colonialism—but by selectively using aspects of the rhetoric of multiculturalism (i.e., its promotion of racial liberalization and ethnic acceptance through "colorblindness"). This is contradictory given that Botswana does not actively support multiculturalism amongst the multiple ethnic groups in its territory. When a country chooses not to recognize ethnic or racial differences rather than genuinely support an equal rights democracy, such governmental policies can be used to conceal problems between members of different ethnic or racial groups. This is certainly the case in Botswana where by consciously choosing not to officially acknowledge ethnic difference, ethnic inequalities are effectively being masked through policy. It is the reluctance of the government of Botswana to address its ethnic diversity while simultaneously ratifying UN declarations, such as the World Heritage Convention (1998) and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), which is why I call Botswana "anti-multicultural." It is Botswana's "anti-multicultural" stance that also attracts international controversy.

In 2007, after pressure from local and international human rights groups, Botswana finally signed the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Botswana was reluctant to ratify it for many years because the government wanted to uphold its self-determination and protect its mineral rights.[30] Due to policies that nationalize natural resources, the government does not want to give up land or diamond rights to specific ethnic groups in the country. Furthermore, the government believes that certain international human rights groups undermine their national

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[28] While this law appears to be correcting historical wrongs, it is extremely controversial, not only for what it entails, but also because of the political party enforcing it (see Totolo 2010).

[29] Another example of a reinterpretation of a crucial term, *black*, exists within South Africa's Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act that passed in 2003, and which is aimed at supporting non-white ethnic groups—including blacks, mixed-race people, and Chinese, who are all considered "black"—succeed in business.

[30] The UN adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007 with only four votes against the declaration from the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

unity by promoting Khoisan speakers as "indigenous," for which, as detailed above, the country has a differing definition.

A key example of the controversy surrounding the indigenism debate in Botswana is the evictions of the G|wi and G||ana Khoisan speakers from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR). The land that constitutes the CKGR was set aside as a reserve in the early 1960s both for the wildlife and as a haven for Khoisan speakers whose territory was encroached upon (Silberbauer 1965). The CKGR was created in 1961, several years before diamonds were discovered. Once the country mustered diamond fever, though, anybody that stood in the way of the country's diamond prospecting, or worse, on land that the diamond prospectors deemed worthy of exploit, found oneself the scourge of the government. This was the case for the G|wi and G||ana who were forcibly relocated, escalating in the 1990s and continuing into the mid-2000s (see Hitchcock 2002); evictions that were, however, deemed illegal by the High Court of Botswana in 2006 (see Taylor 2007).[31] Because the government does not recognize ethnic difference but upholds diamonds as being of national importance ("national money"), the G|wi and G||ana were attacked for being "backward" and not willing to modernize by various government officials. These attacks were justifications by the government of Botswana to continue with the evictions of the G|wi and G||ana through the 2000s. Even though the Botswana High Court ordered that the G|wi and G||ana to be allowed back to their settlements in the CKGR, the government of Botswana further denied them access back to the CKGR with the ability to support themselves with water. The G|wi and G||ana again sued the government and, in January 2011, won their right to water in the CKGR.

Culture as Commodity

In the wake of the concealment of ethnic hierarchies in Botswana, it is somewhat ironic that the government pursues cultural and heritage tourism for economic diversity. The tourism industry enables the commodification of ethnic difference, and different ethnic groups become distinctive cultural brands thus illuminating ethnic difference. There are several examples of ethnic groups in Botswana that already possess very distinguishing trademarks. Herero women are known for wearing voluminous cotton dresses with matching hats shaped like a bull's horns (Durham 1995, 1999). These outfits are alluring to tourists who buy postcards that feature Herero women in their traditional clothing, or who try to take their own photographs to remind themselves of the exoticized dress. The Wayeyi, who mostly live around the Okavango Delta, are known to tourists as polers of *mekoro* (dugout canoes), which tourists encounter when they are taken on *mekoro* during wildlife and nature excursions to the delta.[32] The Hambukushu and a few other less populous Bantu speaking ethnic groups who live alongside the Okavango Panhandle are also *mokoro* polers. Even the Tswana are well known for their traditional music, dances, and costumes, and traditional dance groups perform throughout the country at cultural events and government functions. However, most popular among foreign tourists are the "Bushmen," known for looking very different than Bantu speakers and for their unique clothing and ornamentation. Each of these distinct ethnic groups has a way to capitalize on their identities, and their necessity to do so is a sign of their neoliberal subjectivity. Cultural commodification

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[31] The evictions were even a human rights case investigated by the American Anthropological Association in 1997 (American Anthropological Association Committee for Human Rights 1997).

[32] The singular of *mekoro* (dugout canoes) is *mokoro* (dugout canoe).

through tourism is just one of the new "ethno-businesses" described by John L. and Jean Comaroff in their book, *Ethnicity, Inc.* (2009).

In *Ethnicity, Inc.*, the Comaroffs outline the ways in which ethnic groups around the world organize to create businesses based on their identity. One example they give is that of ethnic groups who are shaping themselves like corporations. For example, Native American tribes are pursuing profits through the opening and maintaining of casinos in North America that benefit members of these sovereign tribes. In South Africa, the Royal Bafokeng Nation (ethnic Tswana) organized its ethnic members into a corporation to manage and benefit from their platinum resources in the North West Province. The hereditary king of the Royal Bafokeng Nation serves as Chief Executive Officer, and the Bafokeng commoners are thus relegated to a "shareholder" status. Another African example the Comaroffs describe has to do with the intellectual cultural property of Khoisan speakers with regards to the medicinal use of the Kalahari succulent plant *Hoodia gordonii* as a dietary aid. *Hoodia gordonii* suppresses appetite and thirst, and the plant and its synthetic derivatives are sold around the world to be taken as weight loss supplements. A South African lawyer representing the Khoisan speakers of the region, Roger Chennels, successfully sued to have *Hoodia gordonii* become a patented plant because of the age-old knowledge that Khoisan speakers possess of its use to ward off hunger and thirst. This knowledge is how pharmaceutical scientists learned about its weight loss potential. This was a key case in intellectual property rights for cultural groups all over the world, and a huge victory in southern Africa. However, there were counterfeit products sold and testing by pharmaceutical companies to make a cheaper, synthetic version, so eventually pharmaceutical companies pulled out, thus withholding the big payouts for which Chennels and Khoisan speakers were hoping. This type of intellectual property case also dealt with how to best represent such diverse linguistic and cultural groups across an entire region; Chennels was waging a legal battle on behalf of Khoisan speakers of the entire southern African region, as a transnational San identity is espoused in ongoing indigenism debates (see Chennels et al. 2009).

Branding oneself as tourism capital is another way that ethnic identity is being subsumed into today's corporate selfhood. By either belonging to a promoted ethnic group or self-identifying with a specific ethnic group, individuals are able to potentially reap economic benefits. As already noted, tourism is one of the fastest growing industries in the world as well as the economic diversification strategy that the government of Botswana is actively pursuing. President Ian Khama mentions tourism second to mining in his State of the Nation addresses in 2010 and 2009 (see Khama 2010, 2009). Ethnic groups in Botswana can thus deploy the strategy of marketing their unique cultural attributes to the foreign, regional, and domestic tourists who travel through the country each year; or, for ethnic minorities, what is sometimes more likely is that members of other ethnic and racial groups will be in charge of this marketing and will likely gain the majority of revenue that such ventures produce (i.e., white-owned tourism operators in Botswana and neighboring countries benefit from selling an African ethnic experience). However, new liberalization regulation affects cultural tourism businesses in the private sector because it restricts or prevents tourism services provided by non-citizens in Botswana (RoB 2006). As this regulation is enforced, citizen-owned tourism operators in Botswana will likely have more control over marketing.

The marketing of cultural groups for tourism takes its form in brochures, websites, ad campaigns, at tourism conventions, and through word of mouth.[33] Images and expressions of ethnic groups become representational of the groups and the experience that the tourism companies are trying to sell. In situations where ethnic groups are practicing "self-conscious self-representation" (Bunten 2008), individuals may replicate existing representations of themselves in the media and by other tourism companies for profit and also to assert their agency. Representations of African ethnic groups in the media are often informed by academic research, most notably social science and humanities scholarship. The circulation of these representations makes it permissible for both individuals to profit from them and to be hindered by them. For example, Khoisan speakers are able to self-consciously self-commodify their ethnicity to partake in tourism endeavors, yet they are also bound to maintain a traditional lifestyle to be convincing to both tourists and to the various national governments with which they struggle for political recognition. This was the case for the Khomani San in South Africa—some of whom lived as "Bushmen" and some of whom assumed a more assimilated identity (as "Coloureds")—as they fought for recognition and land rights from the government in South Africa in the late 1990s (Robins 2001).

As mentioned above, the most unique cultural experience in Botswana is to visit Khoisan speakers. Perhaps this is because Khoisan cultures are so unlike any of the Bantu cultures. In general, they also look physically different. Instead of being traditional agro-pastoralists, the Khoisan are traditionally hunter-gatherers and the notion of "primitive man" that their image conjures up is appealing to a large majority of tourists visiting Botswana, which is home to the most Khoisan speakers in southern Africa. However, in order to fulfill the tourist's desire of "primitive man," an image written about them often in anthropological literature, the Khoisan speakers must practice this representation of themselves even if their lives have completely changed from a reliance on hunting and gathering (and herding) or from wearing traditional skin clothing, *et cetera*. This image is then reinforced to tourists who see the representation of "primitive man" reinforced during their visits to "traditional" villages. These "traditional" villages, or the traditional activities that tourists pay to participate in—such as tracking animals, learning about native plants, practicing traditional games, even participating in a healing dance— are purposefully designed by tour operators or development workers for which tourists pay to experience (i.e., "staged authenticity" [MacCannell 1973, 1999]).

Now that the government of Botswana is eager to both diversify its national economy and its tourism sector in the economy, cultural tourism is an important niche market, and one that thrives, ironically, on the packaging of ethnic difference. It may also be the vessel with which the message of Khoisan speakers' indigeneity is finally more fully accepted by the government. Anthropologist Alexis Celeste Bunten (2008) points out that indigenous groups or other marginalized ethnic groups are able to knowingly commodify their identities for touristic performance in order to earn money and also to express their political agency. This is also happening amongst Khoisan speakers in Botswana who perform an "indigenous" identity for tourists, which reaffirms their representation as "first peoples." This is a solidification that

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[33] On the website of one of the more "ethical" tourism companies that organizes trip to Tsodilo, cultural tourism with Khoisan speakers is advertized: "meet the men to prepare for a traditional hunt…the women will often perform the drum dance, a woman's healing dance, or the melon dance, an unselfconscious and free-spirited traditional dance representing the joyful celebration of a successful harvest around the afternoon fire."

potentially threatens the claims by the government of Botswana that all its citizens are "indigenous."

The case of the Hambukushu involved in heritage tourism does not pose the threat of indigeneity in Botswana because the Hambukushu are self-proclaimed to be (more) recent arrivals. However, as their basketry and weaving craftsmanship gains worldwide attention there has been a turn to rejuvenate their cultural identity. In the past decade, a group has formed that celebrates Hambukushu culture, Mbungu-wa-Kathimanga Cultural Society. This group hosts regional meetings to share their ethnic history and performing arts, as well as to provide opportunity for Hambukushu in Botswana and Namibia to socialize. There is also a social-networking group on Facebook, "Mbukushu Online (Thitjo no Ndimi)," that brings together Hambukushu in the region and throughout the world to share knowledge of their culture, as well as helping to organize cultural events. In fact, it is their song and dance that is the other feature of their culture that is commodified The Hambukushu use a large drum, *marapa*, which is beaten while women clap, sing, and dance. These women are wearing skirts made from sorghum stalks and porcupine quills (*Hystrix cristata)*. As these women dance, a male lead normally joins them. The man also wears a sorghum skirt, but he bears both a headdress and a shoulder attachment made from a zebra's mane (*Equus quagga*). In traditionally performed dances, he is the center of the music and whistles to the drummers to change the tempo, and the women dance with him. The Hambukushu use a lot of shoulder action in their dancing: up, down, up, down in rapid succession and to the beat. In fact, Hambukushu drumming and dancing is also a popular event at the Kuru San Dance Festival, which had been run annually until 2008.[34]

Limits of Heritage Tourism in Botswana

Can the heritage tourism industry, which encourages the commodification of distinct cultural products, succeed in a country that does not officially recognize ethnic difference? Over the past several decades this issue has been tested as the heritage tourism sector grows. Only within the past decade when the government of Botswana very seriously reconsidered its economic diversity strategy has heritage tourism been so actively pursued. In his 2009 State of the Nation address, President Ian Khama explains, "to broaden our tourism base and protect our cultural heritage, monuments and heritage sites will be established and operated by communities and other interested stakeholders" (Khama 2009). In his 2010 State of the Nation address, Ian Khama is more explicit when he states:

> Government has embarked on a number of initiatives to diversify tourism. A hundred heritage sites across the country are being developed. [Khama 2010]

Khama mentions the "Adopt-A-Monument" program, which I introduce in chapter 2, in both State of the Nation addresses as contributing to tourism diversification by developing heritage sites and building "capacity" among community members. An interest in heritage tourism has also led to joint ventures between the government of Botswana and regional NGOs, such as KFO, to prepare heritage management plans that increase such "capacity" among ethnic minority

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[34] As of 2008, the Kuru San Dance Festival is held every other year. In alternating years, workshops are hosted for Khoisan speakers at their settlements. The last Kuru San Dance Festival was held in D'Kar, Botswana in August 2010.

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groups who become "destinations" for tourists to visit. For example, the Kuru San Dance Festival, which started in 1997 to positively showcase the music, dance, and culture of Khoisan speakers, became such a huge success that the Botswana Tourism Board is now also facilitating cultural events in order to lure tourists, such as the Western Kgalagadi Cultural Festival. The cultural commodification implicit with heritage tourism does accentuate cultural differences and thus empowers cultural identity among ethnic minorities. The government of Botswana does not want to deal with the special interests of its ethnic minorities, and there are already signs of initiatives that the government is taking to pursue heritage tourism while trying to avoid the ethnic issue, such as by nationalizing CBNRM and tourism.

Similar to heritage management, heritage tourism is also attractive to private industries that seek to align themselves with national causes. Unlike the Kuru San Dance Festival, which is primarily sponsored by KFO donor agencies (often Christian charities), the Western Kgalagadi Cultural Festival is sponsored by Gem Diamonds, which is the company to which De Beers sold its Gope (in the CKGR) mining concessions (Seretse 2010a). These cultural festivals have grown so popular over time that they became tourism events, thus catching the interest of the Botswana Tourism Board. Not everyone is pleased with the increased involvement by the government and by corporations working in tandem with the government. At the 2010 Kuru San Dance Festival, a Nharo woman and the master of ceremonies of the event, pleaded:

> Please bring back our culture so that people do not make [a] profit through it. Everybody should
> make [a] profit out of their own cultures; our culture is gone and we want it back. [Seretse 2010b]

A representative of Conservation International, one of the other sponsors of the Western Kgalagadi Cultural Festival, claims that for the 2010 festival, "the people from the corridor have realised that they could improve their livelihoods by selling their culture as a tourism product; so they came up with the theme, 'Our culture is our life'" (Seretse 2010a). Quite literally the link has been made that rural communities in Botswana can "sell" their culture, and this motivates the government and development agencies to pursue heritage commodification as a course of action. This agenda is quite an about turn from government rhetoric claiming that it was protecting the interests of Khoisan speakers from the commodifying tendencies of tourism by assimilating them, as it now seeks to promote their heritage, albeit through national control.

Government control of heritage exploitation is gaining ground, and the government is deploying another UNESCO convention to do so. As mentioned in chapter 2, Botswana, having just ratified the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage in early 2010, is in the process of inventorying the cultural heritage of the country. In essence, the government is nationalizing intangible heritage. By identifying and then "protecting" both heritage sites and heritage practices under the Botswana National Museum, the government of Botswana is declaring these forms of heritage to be of interest on the national scale and not just the regional or even the local scale. Given the inequalities among ethnic groups in the country, when the heritage of ethnic minorities is subsumed under national heritage, localized ethnic minorities not could only lose control of their identity but also the control of marketing their identity (see Hafstein 2009). Current regulations in Botswana suggest that the government is nationalizing heritage tourism, which is, again, favoring the Tswana and other elites currently in power over the country's ethnic minorities. Furthermore, with current tourism liberalization regulations, wealthier ethnic groups have the potential to make a profit from poor ethnic minority groups

through tourism. The rationale will likely remain that citizens are equal and have the same right to profit from resources of national importance. However, whereas until recently these resources were primarily diamonds and wildlife, now they also include specific ethnic heritage, raising new ethical issues.

As mentioned earlier, Botswana's heritage managers primarily promote a national culture in celebration of its Tswana majority. For example, the Botswana National Museum's exhibits do not elaborate on the ethnic differences of the material culture that they display. Rather, these exhibits point to the geographic region from which cultural materials are found (e.g., basketry from Ngamiland). Furthermore, examples of the cultural practices and sites of its ethnic minorities are often reinterpreted and represented as being those of Tswana origin and thus of national significance. In southern Botswana, the archaeological and sacred site Matsieng is now interpreted to be the origin site of the Tswana—Matsieng's "footprints"—but the "footprints" are thought by archaeologists to be engravings made by Khoisan speakers thousands of years ago and that the Tswana have, perhaps unknowingly, appropriated Khoisan cultural heritage (Walker 1997). With the attempt by the government to nationalize Botswana's heritage—one attribute to add to "Tswanafication"—this appropriation is explicit in forging a new national identity, but one that does not necessarily address the existing inequities between ethnic groups.

In Botswana, ethno-class hierarchies pose a challenge to citizenship claims to the country. As with other African countries, ethnic or racial inequality and citizenship are historically relational. So much attention is directed towards race and class, but ethnicity and class is not a priority of political discourse. In Botswana, state building and nationalist projects that claim to be making a country where all ethnic groups are equally considered and are equal citizens does not conform to the policies of the country. For instance, the single national identity that the government of Botswana projects means little given if it is enfolded within ethnic hierarchies, even if these hierarchies are "concealed" or publicly unstated. What I have shown here is how those who occupy the lowest rung of this ethno-class ladder in Botswana react to, organize against and yet profit from and struggle within such hierarchies, particularly as regards the politics, economies and sociality that these (officially) "unrecognized" hierarchies engender. I have also shown how the government of Botswana is responsive to these changes, even welcoming to some of them, as long as they are in control.

Xaru always knew that tourists, her "clients," came to see her family and purchase their crafts. However, as heritage tourism is now pursued as a development strategy, more powerful ethnic groups who are joining the tourism industry have a greater ability to exert control over Khoisan speakers and other lower-ranked ethnic groups based on historic ethno-class hierarchies that are still in place today, but hopefully and undoubtedly changing. The interference by the government of Botswana into the heritage tourism industry, though, leaves the future of this potential change uncertain.

Figure 4.1: Photograph of Tsodilo Hambukushu Woman Weaving a Basket (by author, 2008)

**Figure 4.2: Photograph of the Tsodilo Ju|'hoansi Dance Group
at the 2007 Kuru San Dance Festival (by author, 2007)**

Community-Based Tourism and the Political Economy of Botswana

"The partnership between De Beers and Botswana has been likened to a marriage. I sometimes wonder whether a better analogy might not be that of Siamese twins."
Festus Mogae, former president of Botswana[1]

Toward Tourism

On October 5, 2007, the U.S. Ambassador to Botswana officially visited the Tsodilo World Heritage Site. I helped to organize that Xabo, the Ju|'hoansi headman, would serve as her guide.[2] After her early morning two-hour hike on the Rhino Trail around Female Hill, the U.S. Ambassador looked through the curio shop inside the Tsodilo site museum to buy crafts, including several baskets woven from palm fibers and necklaces made from mokolwane palm nuts, assorted seeds and berries, and ostrich eggshell. While browsing, she picked up a bow and arrows set hanging on the curio shop shelving and asked me if I knew how it was made. I redirected her question to Xabo, who then proceeded to answer the U.S. Ambassador's question at length, translated into English by one of her staff members. Instead of a straightforward answer, Xabo gave a much longer explanation. He first explained that the bow and arrows sets sold in the curio shop are not the ones that his people used in the past. This is because the government of Botswana no longer allows people to hunt for subsistence and those caught without special permits are sent to jail. This is also the reason why the bowstrings are now made from the sinew of cow and not from eland, which are illegal to hunt. Xabo clarified for the U.S. Ambassador that the bow and arrows sets that he and others in his settlement produce are primarily to sell to tourists (for about BWP 100, or about US$15). He went on to outline the serious issues his people face, such as lack of water and employment. Xabo ended his explanation stating that he knows about the new heritage management plan and is hoping that it will benefit his extended family members, who are now suffering without water or employment.[3]

Although neither the U.S. Ambassador, nor I, anticipated that Xabo would give that type of answer to a seemingly straightforward question about how a bow and arrows set is made, Xabo took advantage of the opportunity he had with an important dignitary to mobilize his family's present situation. His strategic explanation to the U.S. Ambassador illustrates some of the benefits and disadvantages of conservation and tourism. On one hand, Xabo and his extended family are eager to improve their livelihoods with the development that tourism brings. On the other hand, they are in the predicament of needing development because of conservation and heritage management laws that alter their traditional way of life. His explanation also shows how he and others in the tourism industry potentially mobilize their agency in being able to address these issues to tourists, who are, on occasion, political dignitaries visiting as part of their official

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[1] Mogae made this comment in 1997 when he was the vice president of Botswana (see Good 2003:17).
[2] From September 2007–September 2008, I was a Fulbright Fellow (U.S. Department of State) to the Republic of Botswana. In addition to organizing Xabo as a guide for the U.S. Ambassador, I also arranged meetings for her with the trust board members of the TCDT and the Hambukushu *kgosi* Mashika.
[3] Xabo was one of the Tsodilo residents consulted in the creation of the *Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site Integrated Management Plan* (Ecosurv 2005).

duties. At Tsodilo, these interactions with tourists offer guides the opportunity to decide upon their particular narrated tour of the hills, including additional information they choose to provide. This direct audience with foreign and domestic tourists permits them the opportunity to speak out about issues and concerns that the state might otherwise ignore.

This chapter is about community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) initiatives, specifically community-based tourism, and the political economy of Botswana. First, I provide an overview of the political economy of Botswana, which is dependent on the mineral mining sector, especially diamond mining. I then trace how tourism became the second highest income-producing industry, overtaking the traditional cattle industry, and why the government of Botswana is now intent on diversifying its tourism sector, thus making way for community-based *heritage* tourism. Botswana is an upper-middle income country that chartered its own slow but steady development in large part due to the discovery of diamonds after Independence in 1966. The government of Botswana partnered with the De Beers corporation—forming the Debswana subsidiary—and equally splits the proceeds of the country's world-renowned diamond mines, which the government uses to provide social welfare and other services to its citizens. Contrary to De Beers' marketing slogan, diamonds do *not* last forever, though, and the government of Botswana is actively pursuing alternative development initiatives to lessen citizen dependency on social welfare.

Prompted by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), CBNRM programs officially began in the country in 1989, albeit with poorly defined goals, but with the general aim to give rural populations an incentive to manage their natural resources (e.g., environment, wildlife, and cultural heritage) through economic gains (Rozemeijer 2009, Gujadhur 2000a).[4] In Botswana, CBNRM programs promoted wildlife management and community-based tourism to help alleviate poverty in the country's most remote areas (van der Jagt et al. 2000, Fabricius et al. 2004). Guided by NGOs, and later and to a lesser degree, the government, residents of rural settlements and small villages were given more control over land rights conceded to them under CBNRM guidelines (Gujadhur 2000b, Cassidy 2000, van der Jagt and Rozemeijer 2002). This chapter mentions case studies of the CBNRM community-based tourism projects that Kuru NGOs, which advocate for ethnic minority rights and community-based development, and other NGOs working in the country direct, and it critically investigates community-based tourism through the framework of "transnational governmentality" (Ferguson and Gupta 2002). It also highlights women's involvement in CBNRM during its history in Botswana.

This chapter then examines the impact of heritage management on local populations and indigenous peoples, and how living cultures and archaeological heritage are used for development initiatives, especially via heritage tourism. Returning to the history of heritage management at Tsodilo, this examination begins with a discussion on heritage management and heritage tourism as a means for sustainable development. International discussions of sustainability began in 1987 with the UN's *Our Common Future*, or the Brundtland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987), and the concept originated as a way of thinking about the protection of the planet and humanity's future. Since then, with the 1992 Earth Summit (and adoption of Agenda 21 and the Rio Declaration on Environment and

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[4] CBNRM began as the USAID-funded Natural Resource Management Project.

Development), sustainability discourses have been interpreted and deployed by NGOs and governments for their own means, including development. This chapter specifically reviews conservation and tourism efforts in Botswana, and the role of CBNRM and community-based tourism—focusing on heritage tourism—in the country. I also reappropriate the concept "territorialization" articulated by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in their two-volume work on capitalism (Deleuze and Guattari 1983, 1987) for my argument that conservation and community-based tourism projects set up around natural and cultural heritage landscapes simultaneously dispossess and reincorporate people in landscape conservation and management. The deployment of conservation and tourism as a development strategy of the state redraws the landscape: the way it is represented and the way that it is experienced. It is this hegemonic use of reshaping landscape and people for economic and social development that I call into question.

Changing Trends in Botswana's Political Economy

Since Independence, the government of Botswana has gone from one of the poorest countries in the world to a solidly upper-middle income country. Until recently, it had one of the fastest growing economies in the world, and it is now one of the most financially stable countries in Africa. For example, in 2010, the estimated nominal GDP for Botswana was US$12,501,000,000 (and the estimated per capita nominal GDP was US$6,796) (International Monetary Fund 2010). Much of its economic success comes from the government's strategic move to partner with De Beers and the presence of the world's largest kimberlite diamond mines, which produce gem-quality diamonds for export. De Beers opened its first mine in Orapa in 1972, and Jwaneng was opened in 1982 and is "the richest diamond mine in the world" (De Beers Group 2008).[5] As already mentioned, the partnership between De Beers and the government of Botswana, which began in 1967, amounts to an equal split of the proceeds from diamond exploitation.[6] It has funded Botswana's development for about 40 years, and currently funds just under 40 percent of the country's government costs (World Bank 2011). Prudent management of these resources by the government has enabled Botswana's economic and social development.

Proceeds from diamond mining are credited with financing much of the infrastructure throughout the country and providing citizens with the means to succeed in a global economy without dependency on foreign aid, a rare case among most African countries. Thus diamonds are linked with Botswana's national prosperity, and even former President Festus Mogae has declared the diamond industry in Botswana stronger than a marriage and rather like a twin (see opening eipigraph). Citizens are expected to support the industry, and those who are critical of diamond exploitation are considered "unpatriotic." Even foreigners who are critical of the diamond industry gain the ire of the government, (e.g., political scientist Kenneth Good who was declared a "Prohibited Immigrant" based on his critical writings of the government and the role of diamond mining in the political economy [see Good 2008, Pegg 2005]). The national imaginary of Botswana is, in essence, tied to its economic and democratic success since the early 1970s, of which diamonds played a central role. In redefining its future, however, Botswana requires a broadening of this national imaginary, and other industries are becoming more important to its

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[5] De Beers successfully renewed all their licenses with 25-year extensions in 2004 (De Beers Group 2007).
[6] The other large mining company is Bamangwato Concessions Limited, which mines nickel, gold, and copper, and is also partially owned by the government. Bamangwato is also the name of the most powerful ethnic Tswana tribe in Botswana.

evolving nature. Tourism and conservation, in particular, are now part of Botswana's new national imaginary. The country is globally advertised for its "pristine" environments, and images of the significance of both tourism and conservation are regularly broadcast on national television and radio and reproduced through government tourism brochures. Wildlife and nature have become national commodities, which are also used in nation branding. However, as I will show here, now culture is being commodified and used for similar purposes too.

Botswana appears to have overcome many of the pitfalls of the resource curse of "developing" countries, such as the excessive borrowing and corruption that can occur when a country's economy is based on the exploitation of a narrow variety of natural resources. Although Botswana has avoided some of the extreme pitfalls of the resource curse through good money management and political transparency, the country must still cope with the looming omen of an undiversified economy. Government leaders are aware of the timeline of when diamonds are expected to run out, and they are making steps to alleviate the sudden shortfall of diamond revenue, or in the case of a drop in diamond demand, such as during the global recession in 2008–2009 (World Bank 2011). Botswana continues to makes steps toward economic diversification.

In addition to its upper-middle income status, it has one of the best financial risk records. In 2010, Standard & Poor's again gave Botswana an "A" grade credit rating (Standard & Poor's 2010). Also in 2010, Transparency International again ranked Botswana as Africa's least corrupt country, and it is ranked 33rd in the world (Transparency International 2010).[7] Botswana is currently the seat of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Although the country is suffering from a huge health epidemic and therefore has a broad presence of international health workers, it does not have a great need for international economic development projects like other African countries. In fact, USAID and the Peace Corps phased out their development operations in Botswana in 1996 and 1997, respectively.[8] Likewise, the Dutch development agency Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) pulled out in 2003.

Until about 20 years ago, cattle was the other major industry in the country, though it still remains important culturally. The Tswana are traditionally pastoralists, so after Independence the government promoted cattle rearing. The cattle industry was, until the late 1980s, the second highest profitable industry in the country, but now accounts for less than three percent of the GDP. During the 1970s, it became one of the main initiatives pursued for rural development, such as the National Policy on Tribal Land Grazing Policy (RoB 1975). However, the scrub savannah of much of the country cannot sustain the disastrous environmental effects of cattle rearing on such a widespread scale, and this industry took quite a toll on the environment and wildlife. In addition to soil degradation, fencing for cattle also blocks wild animals from reaching crucial water sources during the Kalahari's dry season, leading to a high mortality rate of these animals during seasonal migrations. Wild animals are also susceptible to diseases spread by domesticated cattle and other domesticated breeds (e.g., African buffalo [*Syncerus caffer*] contract illnesses from domesticated cattle and African wild dog [*Lycaon pictus*] contract

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[7] For comparison, the United States is ranked 22nd and South Africa is ranked 54th.
[8] The Regional Center for Southern Africa, which implements USAID, is headquartered in Gaborone. Also, the Peace Corps re-launched their program in Botswana in 2003, but it is primarily geared toward the health issues stemming from the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

illnesses from domesticated dogs). Additionally, ranchers raising cattle will shoot to kill wild animals that are on their land, or those they feel threaten their cattle, like predatory felines such as lion, leopard, and cheetah.[9] Foremost, though, proceeds from the cattle industry would not be enough to continue to uphold Botswana's economic development. Although the industry is still widely engaged in by citizens, Botswana needs more significant capital than can be achieved through cattle rearing to pay for its government and the public services its government provides. While cattle rearing is a traditional industry and individuals with a modest amount of personal wealth and land can partake in it, its environmental consequences also prohibit the productivity of tourism, which, as I trace next, was becoming a much more lucrative industry.

As tourism numbers rose during the 1980s, wild animals and the environment became the next national resources to exploit, and the tourism industry overtook the cattle industry as Botswana's second-highest GDP. The relatively small population density and lack of rural development due, in part, to an inhospitable desert-like environment, helped to deter overdevelopment in much of the country's territory. Humans did not encroach upon wild animals in the Kalahari Desert and the Okavango Delta so much so that wildlife numbers dwindled to the extent as occurred in some other African countries that were more densely populated and more developed. Also, for this reason, the natural areas remained relatively "pristine." Thus these regions became major destinations for tourists visiting the region who wanted to see African landscapes and wildlife. Botswana's tourism industry notably started to increase in the late 1970s, but was more of a destination for the wealthy who ventured there with elite safari companies.[10] Botswana's wildlife and ecosystems were becoming more integral to the economy and to the national imaginary. By the 1980s, however, the government understood that the industry was an important step in forgoing the resource curse, and it imposed sensible tourism policies that favored a lower number of tourists at higher costs of tourism services in order to conserve their natural resources, the environment and wildlife, and to gain the maximum amount of profits (Matenge 1991).

Tourism helped to diversify the national economy and seemingly came to the rescue of environmental conservation in Botswana. As the majority of tourists came to see wildlife areas and for the natural scenery, to protect its economic interest, the government created strict conservation and tourism policies (RoB 2001, 1990, 1992, 1996). The government was also forced to reconsider its earlier policymaking that favored pastoralism for development. As mentioned above, many of the fences that were constructed to keep wildlife from mixing with domestic animals also interrupted crucial migratory routes for several animal species literally decimating them in drought years, especially undulates, but also crippling the entire ecosystem in which the undulates were part of the food chain. The government had to review its earlier development strategy to enable that the country's tourism kept a high status so that tourists would pay more to visit, and thus the government focused on its conservation agenda (RoB 1990, 1992, 1996; Stevens and Jansen 2002). Natural areas had to remain pristine and wildlife had to be protected from fences and from poachers to continue to draw high-paying tourists from around the world. Tourism is a major growth industry and currently accounts for 16 percent of

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[9] The scientific names for these predatory felines are: lion is *Panthera leo*, leopard is *Panthera pardus*, and cheetah is *Acinonyx jubatus*.

[10] For example, on May 12, 1975, actors Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton were married for the second time in the Chobe National park, Botswana. They also honeymooned in the country, contributing to the exotic glamour of Botswana's wildlife destinations.

Botswana's GDP and ten percent of employment (WTTC 2007), most of which is still wildlife and nature tourism. The broad-base political economy of Botswana has always maintained some reliance on cattle because of the pastoral roots of the Tswana, but when diamonds were discovered the country was able to "develop" using diamond revenue. However, the government is currently leaning toward tourism to diversify its economy.

Although tourism is now an important industry, the proceeds often remain with the few companies and managers who control the majority of the industry. Historically, most of the tour operators in Botswana were foreign, or if they were citizens, they were generally white. Even though the country had an increase of tourists visiting over the decades, the economic benefits in the country were not very widespread, and this contributed to a widening gap between rich and poor in the remote areas of Botswana. The conservative leadership of the country wants to use tourism as another potential industry to help alleviate poverty, especially in rural areas where the bulk of tourists come to see wildlife and nature. Although the country has chartered its own development path, as mentioned in chapter 4, certain demographic groups have been, for the most part, left behind. In general, those demographic groups who do not benefit as much from the economic development of Botswana's diamond mining industry are ethnic minorities and women.

The government has provided welfare to citizens not able to support themselves financially, though these people usually cannot support themselves because their traditional livelihood strategies were either prohibited or severely restricted by the government. Another, perhaps more obvious reason is the transition from traditional livelihoods—which in Botswana range from hunting and gathering to pastoralism—to a market economy. Tourism is seen as the way forward in permitting people to use what is most accessible to them as a skill in assimilating to a new economic ideology.

Cultural Heritage as a "Resource"

Sound economic management and government transparency helped to keep Botswana's mining profits primarily going back into the country's "development," and not necessarily remaining in the hands of an elite few. However, development initiatives are typically concentrated in urban areas around the country's capital, Gaborone, and the southeastern region more generally (which is also where most ethnic Tswana and Kalanga live). This sets up an urban and rural divide. Whereas, roads, electricity, schools, and other signs of social development are prominent around the country's capital city and southeastern districts, the more remote areas are not provided with as much development infrastructure. This imbalance is also reflective of the ethnocentrism of the Tswana leaders who reward their own culture's settlement patterns with more supportive opportunities from government funding. Ethnic minorities who do not live in more densely populated areas have, in many instances, been left out from many of the development opportunities from which other citizens benefit. The government encourages population density with the incentive that it will provide amenities to citizens this way (RoB 1998, 2002), but this requires that ethnic groups traditionally accustomed to living in much smaller and disperse populations modify their cultural values to fit this new national model.

In forging ahead with a new nation, the government had to decide what to do with its inhabitants who led drastically different lifestyles then the pastoral Tswana so that they could be assimilated. The target ethnic groups for rural development initiatives were Khoisan speakers who lost land during the protectorate era and with the beginnings of the new country, and who lost their traditional subsistence livelihoods as hunting (and gathering) were restricted and eventually made illegal. The government must now support Khoisan speakers and other marginalized minority ethnic groups who can no longer sustain their traditional lifestyles. Diamond and other mining sector profits fund social welfare programs in the country. As mentioned in chapter 4, one government initiative is the Remote Area Dweller Programme (RADP).[11] This program is part of an agenda by the government to incorporate its citizens into a national economy. Government programs, however, appear to create greater dependency on handouts, and the government is now interested in lessening the dependency of rural poor on welfare. The cost of social welfare programs and the slow pace of integration have many government officials reconsidering ways to "develop" or assimilate ethnic minorities. The sustainability ethos of "capacity building" and self-sufficiency is promoted in rural areas. After all, what skills do ethnic minorities in rural areas have to contribute to a national economy?

Not to be overlooked, Botswana is one of the hardest-hit countries with a HIV/AIDS prevalence rate of around 20–30 percent of the total population, depending on the source (UNAIDS 2009, RoB 2009). In order to curb the disastrous effects of the health pandemic on the population and economy, Botswana made anti-retro viral (ARV) treatments free to its citizens. Despite the major financial assistance that foreign aid programs, such as the U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, bring to this endeavor, healthcare remains one of the biggest expenses for the government. However, securing the country's population is one of the top national priorities because in the late 1990s—at the height of the untreated HIV/AIDS crisis in Botswana—the population was actually decreasing. In fact, former President Festus Mogae once commented on how the Botswana people were "threatened with extinction." The exorbitant costs of treating HIV/AIDS for such a large percentage of its citizens over the course of their lives (now extended due to ARVs) have made the government rethink its healthcare provision. The overreliance of citizens on the government for food, cash, and now ARVs also motivated the government to start looking at alternatives to welfare to encourage self-sufficiency by its citizens.[12]

The government recognizes that it cannot maintain a long-term welfare model for so many of its citizens. Although diamonds remain a desirable commodity despite the recent economic downturn in which the country did lose a substantial amount of proceeds (sales have since picked up), the government is looking for alternatives to promote self-sufficiency. Tourism is one industry that shows promise. The government wants its citizens to internalize the idea that they need to take care of themselves. For example, President Ian Khama promotes "the five Ds": democracy, discipline, dignity, development, and delivery. These are the principles that Ian Khama wants Botswana citizens to live by and are also the principles through which he expects the government to be run. Reliance on the government is no longer desirable, and the push for self-sufficiency is part of the "governmentality" of sustainable development: the "techniques of

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[11] RADP was formally known as the Bushmen Development Programme. There is also the Destitution Programme, Orphan Care, and the Old-Age Pension (for citizens over 65 years).
[12] Tuberculosis (TB) is also widespread in the rural areas.

rule" by which citizens come to discipline themselves and take on more responsibility (Rose 1999).

At the urging of USAID to encourage more widespread economic development opportunities, CBNRM began in Botswana in 1989, but it was in the 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s that CBNRM gained momentum in the country. The earliest CBNRM projects revolved around nature and wildlife as the natural resources that local communities could both manage and profit from (see Jones 2002). Large tracks of land in Botswana were designated as Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs) by the government for the local communities to exploit (Rozemeijer 2009, Arntzen 2003). One impetus for CBNRM was the possibility of a land coalition, that is, that ethnic minorities could gain some control of the land (as they are not recognized as having a native right to it) through conservation. Thus it could potentially promise legal access to land by the country's most disenfranchised. CBNRM would, theoretically, provide opportunities for ethnic minorities in rural areas to learn how to conduct business and have the chance at developing skills that are more and more desirable and necessary in an increasingly globalized world (Cassidy 2000, van der Jagt et al. 2000). In the mid-1990s, CBNRM programs also started to incorporate heritage as a resource (see Rozemeijer 2001).

Although Botswana was never formally colonized, its historic and modern land and land-use policies reflect the impact of the protectorate era. Since Independence, Botswana's infrastructure has readily increased and development initiatives are at the top of the country's agenda. The land issue is thus a pertinent topic to examining conservation and development. During the protectorate administration, land was mostly demarcated within Tswana tribal areas, though some land was set-aside for white settlers (today, five percent is freehold land). At Independence, tribal land boards helped to determine the use of land, implementing new land use policies, such as pastoral development (RoB 1975). As mentioned in chapter 4, this policy further marginalized Botswana's ethnic minorities who did not have the same cultural worldview or land tenure system as the Tswana. CBNRM is expected to ease the difficulties many ethnic minorities now have in Botswana by legally identifying their rights to the natural resources on the land they occupy or live nearby.

Since the start of CBNRM programs in Botswana, NGOs have played a central role in helping to assist with "capacity building" and poverty alleviation for local populations and indigenous peoples, who are the people most acutely affected by the conservation of nearby nature, wildlife, and heritage, all deemed "resources" within the CBNRM model. As discussed above, the general aim of CBNRM is to increase local communities' claims to these resources through shared resource management. However, only recently has the government of Botswana been overtly concerned with CBNRM, creating a national CBNRM policy (RoB 2007). Heritage tourism is increasingly viewed by NGOs working in Botswana as a means for sustainable development based on the CBNRM model. Community-based tourism is a development strategy modeled on CBNRM that increases the ability of local communities to manage nearby resources, including heritage, and to benefit from them through their participation in tourism business and resource conservation. It is meant to increase community members' participation in tourism enterprise and heritage and nature conservation (Gujadhur 2001, Hancock and Potts 2002). Development NGOs and government-employed heritage managers praise and promote community-based heritage tourism for its grassroots approach to the conservation of heritage resources and for the

opportunities of economic development that it provides to local communities. The role of NGOs in the process attests to the significance of understanding the state through transnational governmentality.

The impetus for heritage tourism is that it requires what very many rural Africans already have. People do not need to manufacture culture; they already have it. Africans from non-European heritage appeal greatly to foreign tourists, who are generally middle-class, because of the authenticity and cultural difference that many African people represent. The fact that Africans already have something that other people—wealthy tourists—want to consume, helped to persuade development agencies into believing that cultural heritage tourism is a practical way for the less fortunate to enter a market economy (as well as for increased political visibility). Heritage tourism involves foreign and domestic tourists visiting historic and archaeological sites, museums, cultural events, peoples, *et cetera*, to experience various cultural traditions. The government of Botswana appears to be indifferent about cultural heritage tourism. This is because it helps to diversify the tourism sector, which is important economically. While the government does not have much experience of working closely with human and minority rights NGOs in the country, such as KFO, it is starting to work with these NGOs for the mutual benefit of assisting the rural poor to be financially self-sufficient. CBNRM is used as a model to encourage citizens to profit from nearby resources, including their cultural resources, in order to become self-sufficient and join the market economy. The government is mostly supportive of community-based heritage tourism because such endeavors correspond well with the government's latest development agenda, *Vision 2016* (Presidential Task Group for a Long Term Vision for Botswana 1997), which promotes self-sufficiency. Heritage is becoming an increasingly important commodity.

NGOs and the Governmentality of Botswana

NGOs make up a substantial segment of civil society in Botswana, even though they are not as ubiquitous as they are in other southern African countries that have weaker economies. Still, NGOs continue to proliferate in Botswana to work in fields, such as health and the environment. Due to the country's "anti-multicultural" sentiments, it is quite a challenge for NGOs wanting to support ethnic minorities to organize and be recognized by the government without being accused of being divisive and "unpatriotic." The largest NGO umbrella for ethnic minorities in the country, the Kuru Family of Organisations (KFO), began in the early 1980s in D'Kar, a small village in the Ghanzi District. It actually began as a community run organization that later, in 1986, became the Kuru Development Trust (that was then restructured in 2001 to become KFO). A minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Braam le Roux, and his wife, Willemien le Roux, had a parish right in the heart of an area of Nharo speakers, who were displaced by white ranchers (mostly Afrikaans) starting in the late nineteenth century.[13] What started out as missionary work, a lifestyle in which Willemien le Roux grew up, as her parents were missionaries in D'Kar, led to the establishment of the community run organization known as "Kuru," which means "to do" in Nharo.[14] Although KFO began with Christian missionaries at its head and, in essence, has always maintained a more Christian spiritual link, its organizational mission has changed over

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[13] Nharo speakers then became cheap or free labor for these farmers.
[14] In the early 1990s, Braam and Willemien le Roux were temporarily listed as "Prohibited Immigrants" by the government of Botswana, which was suspicious of Kuru's objectives of working with Khoisan speakers.

time; at its core, it has always strived to help the more marginalized members of Botswana society reclaim their stake in the modern world. In 2001, after a tumultuous couple of years of factionalism in D'Kar, the Kuru Development Trust expanded into the Kuru NGO umbrella now known as KFO. Currently, there are eight Kuru NGOs.[15]

The Kuru NGO of central relevance to Tsodilo is TOCaDI, and its mission is cultural recognition and rural development for the communities in the Okavango Panhandle region of northwestern Botswana (Ngamiland District). In the late 1990s, Braam le Roux established TOCaDI in Shakawe, one of the larger towns in northwestern Ngamiland about 12 kilometers from the Namibian border. Also in the late 1990s, Braam le Roux and Khoisan leaders toured around southern Africa to assess the regional situation of Khoisan speakers. The need for more representation through a broader NGO presence helped to propel Kuru management to establish more NGOs, including the Letloa Trust. From Shakawe, Braam and Willemien le Roux helped to run TOCaDI and the Letloa Trust, enticing more seasoned development workers, volunteers, and researchers to assist in operations, as well as—and more importantly—training Khoisan staff members (they also have staff members of other ethnic backgrounds) to work at the NGOs.[16] There are several settlements and small villages in Ngamiland in which TOCaDI was able to establish a presence. Instead of only helping Khoisan speakers, though, TOCaDI management realized that other ethnic minorities (e.g., the Wayeyi and Hambukushu) were also marginalized—though not to the extent as Khoisan speakers—and decided to include them in their NGO programs. Prior to a more recent reorganization of the NGO, the people and areas with which TOCaDI engaged ranged from the Ju|'hoansi and Herero in |Xai-|Xai and around Dobe to the Wayeyi, Hambukushu, and Khwe living in settlements closer to the Okavango Delta.

TOCaDI began working in Tsodilo in 2000, though TOCaDI staff increased their involvement just after the site was designated as World Heritage. When KFO was approached by the Botswana National Museum to help fundraise for a new heritage management plan for Tsodilo, TOCaDI—being the closest Kuru NGO—started its development presence with the communities. Staff members went to Tsodilo to scope out the needs of the Tsodilo residents. Next, a job for a community development facilitator was advertised and a young Ju|'hoansi woman from Qangwa (near Dobe) was hired. Other development workers, including some volunteers, also assessed the community needs and resources at Tsodilo. TOCaDI identified cultural heritage tourism as a means of sustainable development for the Tsodilo community members. Although the residents of Tsodilo had engaged in cultural heritage tourism decades before, TOCaDI anticipated that with the new UNESCO designation there would be an increased number of tourists. Plans were drawn up by TOCaDI staff members and presented to the Botswana National Museum (TOCaDI 2002a, 2002b), eventually becoming the precursors for the 2005 heritage management plan.

Since I began fieldwork in Botswana, TOCaDI has undergone major transitions. When I arrived, I heard that its leadership was not considered strong, and then with the death of its director in 2007 (a Khoisan man), there was an obvious lack of management. By mid-2008, there was a new

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[15] These NGOs include: The Letloa Trust, Bokamoso Trust, Gantsi Craft, Komku Trust, TOCaDI, San Arts and Crafts, South African San Institute, and Kuru D'Kar Trust.

[16] In addition to whites, international development workers, and Khoisan speakers, TOCaDI has employed Hambukushu, Wayeyi, Tswana, and other Bantu speakers.

director, a Wayeyi man, but he faced having to fix the staffing and financial problems of the NGO, which had gotten overwhelmingly problematic with not enough oversight on actual projects in previous years. By mid-2009, TOCaDI's staff was drastically reduced, and it limited its focus to a select number of projects that included Tsodilo. The Wayeyi director then left TOCaDI in 2010. What I have observed of TOCaDI since I began my research was that as one of the more visible employers in the region, staff members of TOCaDI (and the Letloa Trust when its offices were located in Shakawe) had elevated social positions based on having an income, as well as the opportunities that come with working for a minority rights and development organization (e.g., workshops and trips abroad or to other southern African countries). TOCaDI staff members, though, spoke on behalf of the more disenfranchised communities who they were representing (and who some staff members were part of), and with lack of management oversight, they were occasionally ambivalent in this regard.

During the 1990s, a foreign development agency, Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV), worked with Khoisan speakers in Botswana on cultural heritage tourism projects, including one with the Kuru Development Trust. The three model projects that SNV funded helped to set up a "governmentality" of development through community-based tourism: heritage tourism with the Ju|'hoansi and Herero at |Xai-|Xai, heritage tourism with the !Xoo and Kgalagadi in the Kalagadi Controlled Hunting Area (CHA) in southwestern Botswana (KD1), and heritage tourism on a Nharo-owned game ranch in Ghanzi called Dqãe Qare (see Rozemeijer 2001). Cultural development initiatives were shown to be a plausible way forward for ethnic minorities in the country. These projects also inspired TOCaDI's attempts with community-based tourism, such a cultural hiking trail for the Khwe of the Okavango Panhandle. However, none of these projects dealt directly with women or gender, even though women were becoming more heavily invested in CBNRM and community-based tourism (see Cassidy 2001), and in not doing so, inadvertently marginalized minority women from participating in tourism development.

The Deterritorialization and Re-territorialization of Conservation and Tourism

Similar to the conservation of natural and wildlife areas, the conservation and management of heritage sites, especially archaeological sites, has historically involved both the removal of people from areas designated for conservation and the dispossession of local resources for people who were relocated or are living near conservation areas (e.g., only heritage management staff live near these sites). Nature preserves and parks generally still do not contain unofficial people living within their boundaries, and this makes the planning and management of these parks and preserves a divisive issue between states and local populations who are affected. Earlier models of nature conservation mobilized the notion of "conservation" to be the protection of the environment, wildlife, and other natural resources from humans and human activity (see Brockington 2002, Igoe 2004, West et al. 2006). However, newer models of nature conservation, such as CBNRM, share the objective to improve the livelihoods of people affected by conservation schemes. Similarly, heritage management models also undergo the politicized dilemma of protecting heritage resources while minimizing the negative effects that they potentially have on local populations. However, heritage management is distinctive in that it conserves, or safeguards, human heritage, so the removal of people connected to a particular heritage brings up interesting ethical issues and simultaneously links it with existing

environmental debates about conservation and political ecology.[17] One major effort made by nature and heritage conservationists is using tourism as both an incentive for conservation and as a means to improve the local and regional economies of people living near conservation areas, such as through ecotourism and cultural heritage tourism.

Tourism is one of the largest industries in the world (WTTC 2010), an observation not lost on conservationists or government officials in "developing" parts of the world. In areas of the world that are experiencing major development and shifts to a capitalist ideology, including Africa, tourism is an appealing industry that benefits this transition of a larger, unskilled population in to a capitalist global system. Community-based tourism endeavors are pursued to help local populations develop their economies and business skills, while simultaneously helping them recognize value in their surrounding natural resources with the hope that these resources will be locally conserved (e.g., pro-poor tourism). International conservationists and national governments provide development opportunities for populations affected by conservation as an exchange for essentially transfiguring both the local populations' landscapes and their cultural traditions through conservation (see Igoe and Brockington 2007). Shared management of natural resources is the more popular approach, in which conservation areas are designated and natural resource use becomes prohibited or limited to "protect" the conservation areas, and local populations are permitted to financially benefit from their proximity to these natural resources through monitored exploitation (e.g., hunting) and tourism. Conservation landscapes thus also include heritage landscapes, and their simultaneous protection and exploitation affect local and indigenous peoples nearby. In fact, heritage conservation borrows from the natural conservation paradigm with the impetus for community-based heritage tourism programs.

In effect, what heritage conservation and tourism (and nature and wildlife conservation and ecotourism) as dual processes end up doing, to borrow Deleuze and Guattari's (1983, 1987) understanding of "territorialization," is to deterritorialize and re-territorialize the heritage landscape. Deleuze and Guattari write:

> Capitalism…is not at all territorial, even in its beginnings: its power of deterritorialization consists in taking as its object…"materialized labor," the commodity. [Deleuze and Guattari 1987:454]

The meanings that heritage and place have to the people to whom they belong are rewritten through conservation and capitalist ideologies (Brockington and Igoe 2006). Conservation policies and heritage management plans, such as Tsodilo's two heritage management plans, have deterritorialized the meanings local inhabitants have with the land, and, quite literally, dispossessed these people of the land. At the same time, development initiatives re-territorialize local inhabitants so that they are encouraged to exploit the landscape in order to join a market economy and modernize. In effect, heritage conservation and tourism maps a new relationship of people to their heritage and to their heritage landscape. Heritage management is not conservation, but is effectively a "regime of change" of these relationships and of the representation of space.

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[17] Even if the people relocated are not directly linked to the heritage site, they still might rely on aspects of it within their cultural lives and for their local economy; thus they can still be negatively affected by their relocation.

For example, when Tsodilo was officially designated a World Heritage Site in 2001, attention toward developing it for conservation and tourism ensued with the creation of a new heritage management plan that was finalized in 2005. Unlike the 1994 heritage management plan that upheld a "fortress" model to heritage conservation (prioritizing the site's archaeological heritage), the new heritage management plan was expected to improve the livelihoods of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu residents (living in the "buffer zone") through community-based heritage tourism of the CBNRM model. However, in my research I learned that although tourism has only recently been regulated at the site by the government of Botswana and KFO to encourage economic development for the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu people who reside there, these local residents were engaged in tourism for several decades before the government involved itself and regulated the industry under the premise of CBNRM. Tsodilo residents, especially the Ju|'hoansi, successfully managed tourism as a key economic strategy for at least 30 years before government regulation and the official development of the site's tourism. Based on my ethnographic fieldwork, I learned that current regulation of the site's heritage management actually gives the local residents less control over cultural and natural resources at Tsodilo.

The two main models of heritage management in southern Africa follow models of wildlife and nature conservation. The first model of heritage management based on the natural conservation paradigm is the "fortress" model (following Daniel Brockington's [2002] notion of "fortress conservation") where heritage was not seen in relation or connection to living Africans thereby necessitating its preservation by its separation from living people. In this model of heritage management, sites are often depopulated for conservation. For example, in chapter 2, I refer to the Matobo National Park in Zimbabwe, which was depopulated in the mid–twentieth century partly on behalf of the "protection" of its cultural and natural resources. The Ndebele who once lived within the park were relocated to settlements outside newly designated park boundaries. The 1994 heritage management plan at Tsodilo follows the colonial model of "protecting" heritage from African populations, which is the "fortress" model.

A newer heritage management model is inspired by sustainable development, which also means that it engulfs some of the problems of "development" ideology, such as it still being driven by capitalism. The community-based heritage tourism as development model is inspired by sustainable conservation and sustainable development initiatives (i.e., CBNRM) to include local inhabitants into the heritage management model. Reflecting upon the negative consequences of the heritage management policies adopted by colonial administrations (i.e., the "fortress" model), such as economic inequality around heritage sites, contemporary heritage managers who employ a community-based model endeavor to work with local populations in order to conserve heritage and encourage the "development" of nearby communities. In this scenario, conservation and "development" are seen to work hand in hand. This model is used in the 2005 heritage management plan for Tsodilo, approaching community "development" through cultural heritage tourism, as such, though, it opens up heritage management to new problematic issues.

As introduced in chapter 3, Tsodilo's landscape today as a World Heritage site was constructed through heritage management, notably with the 1994 heritage management plan. Archaeologists working with the Botswana National Museum presented a persuasive case to government agencies to prepare the Tsodilo Hills for nomination as World Heritage. The 1994 heritage management plan followed the "fortress" model of conservation, though, and this meant that the

people living near Tsodilo (and their animals) needed to be on the other side of the fence to the hills. These archaeologists wanted the rock paintings and archaeological sites protected from tourists whose numbers they presumed (correctly) would increase over time. The 1994 heritage management plan included the relocation of the Ju|'hoansi from the base of Male Hill, which was now part of the conservation "core zone," to a new location chosen by the government. The relocation site that the government chose was in scrub savannah several kilometers away from the former settlement of the Ju|'hoansi. The relocation took place in late 1994, ironically just before the UN's Decade of Indigenous Peoples began. The archaeologists involved in the 1994 heritage management plan had envisioned the conservation of the hills and the rock paintings found there, but, it seems, were less interested in the people. According to them, the Ju|'hoansi littered and kept cattle that tromped through the hills and could rub against the rock paintings. These cattle, however, were given to the Ju|'hoansi by the government in the late 1970s when hunting restrictions were enacted and to persuade them to adapt a pastoral lifestyle. Now possessing cattle worked against the Ju|'hoansi. The government picked a place to drill a borehole, and the Ju|'hoansi were moved there during the rainy season of 1994. One older Ju|'hoansi woman relayed to a TOCaDI employee (in 2003) that the "museum people and the Hambukushu people were saying that we are disturbing the tourists." The successive development and conservation projects by the government of Botswana at Tsodilo shows how the government further marginalized the residents of Tsodilo and created these residents' dependency on reproducing a heritage ultimately altered, and commodified, in order to survive.

The archaeologists, however, claim that the relocation was consensual, though interviews with Tsodilo residents and other key persons, as well as archival research, showed me otherwise. For instance, an historic voice of dissention is found in government memos, such as one from 1999 in which top government officials responding to a negative report about that the Ju|'hoansi at Tsodilo feeling coerced into a relocation, visited the hills to brief the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu that they were not to listen to foreign human rights activists and that government had their best interest in mind (see chapter 3). Through my ethnographic observations and interviews, it was overwhelmingly obvious to me that the Ju|'hoansi did not feel they had influence in the decision of their relocation. Nearby lodge owners also told me during interviews that this relocation was not a positive development and argued that removing the Ju|'hoansi from the hills would take them away from their main livelihood of tourism.

At the time of Tsodilo's designation, UNESCO, responding to the recommendations from an ICOMOS report (de Maret 1995) required that Botswana create a new heritage management plan, one that would more thoroughly engage the community in conservation management and tourism development. As mentioned, the new heritage management plan devised by KFO in conjunction with the Botswana National Museum and bank-rolled by diamond giant De Beers was completed in 2005 and finally approved by the President's Office in 2007. Although De Beers prematurely celebrated its corporate sponsorship with a party covered by the press in August 2007 (Matlapana 2007), the funds were only released in November 2009 after a long battle between KFO and the Botswana National Museum for control over them. At Tsodilo, the residents complained to me that development in their area is moving along much too slowly after all the sacrifices they made for both heritage management plans, including their relocation and their regulated tourism activities (e.g., the Tsodilo site museum decides how much local guides can charge tourists and prohibits residents from selling their crafts by the gate, insisting instead

that they use the curio shop, which is run by the TCDT). They had yet to see any amenities that they associated with development, such as water, a primary school, or a health clinic. Meanwhile, the Tsodilo site museum had an extraordinary amount of amenities in comparison, as it is a tourism destination, making more explicit how so-called "community development" was actually disempowering the Tsodilo residents.

Did a new conservation status save Tsodilo's heritage? Since Tsodilo was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site, tourist numbers have jumped from 2,000 annually in 1996 (Walker 1998:5) to over 10,000 annually a decade later (Segadika 2010:146). Although the new heritage management plan attempts to draw attention back to helping the Tsodilo residents profit from their heritage, it also further enables the commodification of their heritage as their primary development strategy, thus acting as a "regime of change."

"Community" and "Collaboration" in CBNRM

As discussed above, CBNRM is a newer model for natural resource management explicitly involving local populations; CBNRM programs began in southern Africa in the late 1980s signaling a change in conservation philosophies from the protection of nature alone to the protection of nature *with* people. Earlier conservation efforts relied upon the fencing and depopulation of nature areas, which often ignored the human rights of people who were impacted by such conservation schemes. These conservation attempts, based on the "fortress" model, regularly pitted local populations against conservation because people lost access to land and resources and thus became more impoverished and further marginalized. In contrast, CBNRM programs attempt to play a role in the social development and poverty alleviation of local populations that are affected by conservation. This is done through a turn to the sustainable development discourse, which recognizes both the need of conservation as well as the needs of local populations who affected by conservation. This approach is currently being undertaken in Botswana's heritage management as the country attempts to unburden itself with the high costs of citizen welfare, and with the hope that heritage can, in a sense, pay for itself. However, as part of the CBNRM approach, NGOs and government agencies guide local communities in the drafting and implementation of heritage management and tourism plans but they also often misunderstand and misrepresent the relationships among community members with which they work, specifically power relations (i.e., ethnicity, gender, and class). Here, I analyze two key CBNRM concepts, "community" and "collaboration," and I problematize them in relation to their usage in heritage management and heritage tourism initiatives.

The term "community" is, in general, not problematized enough. It usually conjures the image of a more or less cohesive social group, or unit, based on culture, ethnicity, or proximity. Within CBNRM discourse, the concept of "community" becomes a site or an object of governance within the southern African development landscape. For instance, development NGOs and southern African governments are able to exploit the notion of "community involvement" to imply that their development projects are collaborative ventures, when, in fact, they actually misunderstand and misrepresent the relationships among the local community members with which they work, specifically power relations (i.e., ethnicity, gender, and class), sometimes intentionally. As I show in chapter 4, communities are contested sites, and thus there are social and political relationships within these communities that need to be made more transparent for

projects to work according with the CBNRM framework (see Poteete 2009). In Botswana, this is especially important given the country's stance on ethnicity and gender. For instance, community-based heritage tourism is an alternative to private sector tourism, and development NGOs and heritage managers alike herald the program as a grassroots development and conservation scheme. However, the government of Botswana is promoting community-based heritage tourism through its economic-diversification strategy to alleviate dependency on state welfare by its poor, and its agenda can have serious consequences on these people.

The Letloa Trust and TOCaDI regularly hosted representatives from donor agencies. I witnessed a number of these meetings that took place at a lodge near Shakawe. Many of the donor agencies had their own objectives, and management from the Letloa Trust and TOCaDI had to revise their NGO activities to reflect the mission of potential donors in order to receive funding to continue. Many of these donor agencies have community involvement requirements for their financial aid. The KFO representatives would have to insist that they were especially equipped to serve communities, in this case, rural communities. From what I witnessed over the duration of my fieldwork, I knew this was not always the case. For example, the TOCaDI development facilitator for Tsodilo rarely visited, and when she did come, she stayed in her hut, or she came only to run a workshop. The development facilitator was not well entrenched in the Tsodilo communities, though, understandably, any involvement by KFO or government agencies in Tsodilo was ultimately contentious between the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu. Likewise, participation by Tsodilo residents in any KFO-related development project was competitive and very difficult to organize without some type of fractionalization, whether between ethnic groups or families. However, the donor agencies were not to be bothered with these inconvenient details for fear of their withholding the funds to enable KFO programs (and KFO salaries).

CBNRM facilitators evidently refer to the notion of "community" when identifying stakeholders in their development plans, such as those for heritage management and tourism. In the development context, the term "community" denotes a group of people in a geographic area. Rarely, though, do CBNRM facilitators formally scrutinize the concept of "community" in development schemes, such as management plans for heritage sites, and in not doing so they inevitably gloss over power relations of an assumed collectivity within the defined community. CBNRM facilitators liberally throw around the term "community" transforming it into development jargon and legalese. Sociologist Nikolas Rose (1999:175) argues that the notion of "community" becomes governmental when it is made technical, and I argue that by the deployment of "community" in development schemes it becomes a site or object of governance. For instance, the state is not just "spatialized" in Gaborone, but also heavily relies on NGO assistance for basic infrastructure; for example, KFO's partnering with the Botswana National Museum shows that the state is not just the government. KFO and the Botswana National Museum together approach Tsodilo as one community.

Whereas KFO attempted a much more nuanced approach to the notion of "community" at Tsodilo, recognizing the fractious power relations between ethnic groups, the donor agencies were more wary of potential problems. Similarly, the Botswana National Museum, an entity of the government of Botswana, ultimately ignores the heterogeneity of Tsodilo's "community," though museum employees and some officials will certainly acknowledge their difficulty working with such a "community" (both still ignore gender and class issues). Similarly, the

approach to "community involvement" taken at Tsodilo for the new heritage management plan was a compromise between KFO and the Botswana National Museum, the latter of which would likely prefer a top-down development approach. After all, it is because of KFO that Tsodilo's new heritage management plan focuses on the "buffer zones" rather than the "core zone."[18] While the Tsodilo residents do not agree that they are one community, and while there are multiple levels of power relations within these settlements, Tsodilo residents are treated as one community, ultimately at the insistence of the government of Botswana and because of donor agencies. In Botswana, "community" is based on geography and upholds the government's assimilationist strategies. This way of defining communities also assists in influencing, even controlling, citizens of Botswana through the many initiatives to develop and become more self-sufficient that are aimed on the community-level.

The anthropologist Peter Geschire asks, "why do developers see it as self-evident that in Africa development has to be realized through 'communities'?" (2009:77). In Geschire's work on community forests in Cameroon, he realized that the village becomes the unit of community in the eyes of the law (2009:88). However, villagization in many African countries, such as Botswana, is part of an ongoing development scheme, but many villages lack the homogeneity that CBNRM facilitators might think. CBNRM is thus part of the hegemonic processes of nation building and capitalist imperialism. Villages, or settlements, can consist of more than one ethnic group, unrelated families, and transients, among other variables, and there is often a lack of relatedness between all the individuals in a village or settlement. In Botswana, for example, the government will not award amenities to settlements with a population less than 500 (RoB 1998, 2002). The villagization rationale has perpetuated economic disparities among Botswana's ethnic minorities, especially Khoisan speakers who traditionally lived in smaller family units. Tsodilo, with just about 200 people, does not qualify, nor will it soon with the pull for people to leave to find employment elsewhere and due to the ethnic makeup of the communities there. Furthermore, within settlements and villages there are power differences between ethnic groups, between families, and between genders.[19] Thus the term "community" is often applied to people living in the same area, but these people do not always have a cohesive cultural or historical connection to one another. The use of "community" in this context is a product of the neoliberal turn, where this construct helps to rationalize the movement of international donor money and development projects in return, conscripting space and people into capitalism. It is part of the deterritorialization of labor and commodities through the misunderstanding of heterogeneous populations.

At Tsodilo, KFO and the Botswana National Museum exacerbated ethnic strife with the new heritage management plan, part of which necessitated the establishment of a community trust. The Tsodilo Community Development Trust (TCDT) was registered in December 2005, and it is expected to govern the participation of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu residents of Tsodilo in their economic development, such as in their negotiation of possible joint ventures with private tourism businesses. Since its inception, the TCDT has been met with fear and suspicion among the older Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu because it is primarily comprised of younger members (under 30 years old) who attended school and became literate and numerate, unlike the majority

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[18] The Botswana National Museum received funding from AWHF in 2009 to create a new management plan for Tsodilo's "core zone."
[19] This is elaborated on in chapter 6.

of the elders. The Hambukushu, who hold a higher entho-class position than the Ju|'hoansi, have had more opportunities at schooling and therefore make the case for their larger representation on the trust board.[20] Until 2009, the Hambukushu dominated the community trust board (in 2008, by nine to one). To alleviate this imbalance, in mid-2009, TOCaDI required that the TCDT have an equal number of Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu members on the trust board in order for the TCDT to continue to receive funding from KFO (including monetary sitting allowances for trust board members). As explained, KFO receives funding from donor agencies who want to "give back," and who target community development projects, such as the ones with which KFO is involved. Like most donor funding, however, it is applied for a specific agenda that local communities must now be aligned with so that they can be sure to receive the benefits of this donor funding. For example, local communities need to have a community trust that is registered with the government in order to be recognized as a legal entity, which enables development projects to be run. Community members then compete for the positions to be affiliated with the community trust in order to receive the monetary sitting allowances for trust board members, control the funds of the community trust, and participate in other development opportunities that these positions open up for them.[21] Even though there are Tsodilo residents who are more aware of what KFO and the Botswana National Museum intend for them to do with the TCDT, its actual deployment is up to a wider variety of residents and can take on whole new meanings given the social dynamics of the settlement.

Representation on the community trust, even the voting process, has led to power conflicts between the two ethnic groups and even among the Hambukushu families in an attempt to destabilize the traditional authority of the *kgosi's* family. When the 2008 trust chairperson, a Ju|'hoansi woman, died in January 2009 from an illness, the Ju|'hoansi were intimidated to continue to participate on the board and blamed the chairperson's death on the witchcraft of the Hambukushu. Despite these issues, the government of Botswana mostly overlooks such ethnic struggles because it does not recognize ethnic difference and prefers to govern its citizenry through the "community," or the village unit. The new heritage management plan for Tsodilo, like other development initiatives, follows the same rubric, thus making the articulation of "community" a form of governance. CBNRM and other heritage management practices at Tsodilo, have, essentially, helped to govern the residents there by both incorporating them into national and regional governance mechanisms and by making them more dependent on state welfare. Tsodilo residents are additionally being pushed into self-sufficiency through tourism. With accordance to the new heritage management plan, the Tsodilo Management Authority (TMA) was created to consist of stakeholders, including the Botswana National Museum, TOCaDI, the Letloa Trust, relevant ministries of the government of Botswana, and two representatives from the Tsodilo settlements.

Heritage managers often poorly misunderstand relationships among a demarcated community, and thus do not take into account how local people who are involved use heritage management

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[20] The Hambukushu are wealthier than the Ju|'hoansi and can afford to send their children to board with relatives in villages with schools closer to Tsodilo than the schools that are available to the children of the Ju|'hoansi. The Ju|'hoansi are designated as Remote Area Dwellers (RADs) by the government of Botswana and are sent to RADP schools further away from Tsodilo (e.g., Nxau-Nxau and Gumare). The strain of separation is one reason why many Ju|'hoansi children do not complete their education (see le Roux 2000).
[21] The Hambukushu also dominate the Village Development Committee (VDC).

plans as political means within their communities (e.g., competition between the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu over access to tourism opportunities). Not only is the use of the term "community" questionable within CBNRM projects, the use of "collaboration" is also problematic. To collaborate means to work together, and this teamwork is often meant to represent that of stakeholder entities, such as NGOs, governments, and communities. Not everyone in a community actually collaborates with a NGO or government, but instead this cooperation lies between specific individuals within a community and individuals from the NGO and government, that is, if there is cooperation at all. Often the contact person from the community is not necessarily someone well representative of a given community's collective dynamics. For instance, representation in development initiatives signals prestige for many individuals from rural areas, and these positions are highly sought after leading to resentment by individuals who are not selected. The TCDT and the TMA are both examples of competitive positions between Tsodilo residents, and women are often excluded because of Tswana traditional gender systems.

For the new heritage management plan at Tsodilo, a Ju|'hoansi man and Hambukushu man (no women) were selected as "collaborators" by the consultancy group that KFO and the Botswana National Museum hired. Although the Ju|'hoansi man, the headman of his settlement, was a more appropriate choice, the other man was less so. Thus to further the point of the misunderstanding of community dynamics within CBNRM, take for example, that one of these "collaborators," an older Hambukushu man involved with the *kgosi's* daughter, had no relatives in the village and had lived in the village for less than a decade. Although I am unaware of the selection procedure by the consultancy group, his involvement in this heritage management plan does not seem an accurate reflection of the matrilineal Hambukushu settlement dynamics. Furthermore, when talking to one of the directors of the consultancy group in 2008, and in reviewing photographs and notes of their consultations with Tsodilo residents, the director seemed to think that employees of TOCaDI who are Khoisan speakers were Tsodilo residents. Indeed, Khoisan speakers and others working for TOCaDI take on the dual role of being representatives of communities of which they do not directly belong and also upholding the objectives of the TOCaDI (or other Kuru NGOs). Donor agencies can therefore be easily mistaken with working with rural community members when they are actually working with NGO employees. Now that there is a community trust at Tsodilo, though, trust board members automatically become the identifiable "collaborators" on the part of the community within the heritage management plan and other development initiatives. These positions are always competitive, and thus CBNRM facilitators, such as KFO and the Botswana National Museum reinforce current ethno-class hierarchies through their development agendas.

Although the 2005 heritage management plan was meant to be collaborative, or at least more inclusive, it turned into a consultation. In addition to the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu men selected to assist the consultancy company that was hired to make the new heritage management plan, KFO and the Botswana National Museum also hosted meetings both in Tsodilo and elsewhere (e.g., Shakawe and Maun) to tell Tsodilo residents what to expect with the new heritage management plan. When I formally interviewed the residents of Tsodilo in 2008, the majority did not know what the heritage management plan was or would do, but they did recall *dikgotla* where representatives from KFO and the Botswana National Museum spoke to them.[22] Many people, mostly older adults, did not fully understand what the purposes of the *dikgotla*

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[22] These *dikgotla* were ongoing, as there were several that took place during the time of my fieldwork.

were meant to be. Although the KFO and the Botswana National Museum attempted to inclusively work with the Tsodilo residents, the meetings and workshops that these organizations held still alienated the majority of residents who not only felt they had no say in the heritage management plan, but who also did not understand what the heritage management plan was intended to do.

Power Struggles in Heritage Tourism as Development

Tourism is a growing industry in the southern African region, and in Botswana it is the second highest income-producing industry behind diamond mining. Although most tourism is wildlife or nature based, a growing sector of it is related to cultural and archaeological heritage. As southern Africa is subsumed into a global tourism industry, localized heritage becomes a resource that independent African states can market to increase revenue. In Botswana, heritage tourism is increasingly being recognized as a way for local communities to earn money through the commodification of their identities and their past. This is somewhat ironic given that, as discussed in chapter 4, the country does not officially permit recognition of ethnic differences while heritage tourism highlights them. Indeed, community-based heritage tourism has over the past 15 years become a space for ethnic minorities within the country to protest the Tswana cultural hegemony. It does, however, ultimately reshape the (heritage) landscape.

For example, let us return to the way in which Xabo addressed the U.S. Ambassador during her official visit to Tsodilo in October 2007. Xabo pointed out to her that he was selling an idea of who the Ju|'hoansi were in the past, but this representation was something that the Ju|'hoansi are unable to continuing practicing in the present. This interaction was a rare instance when heritage tourism can not only be a space in which marginalized ethnic minorities can voice their concerns and views, but can also be heard by politically relevant people. After hearing Xabo's speech and making her purchase, the U.S. Ambassador was getting ready to leave when Keitumetse, a Hambukushu man about my age who worked at the Tsodilo site museum and was active in community development, walked over to her to talk briefly about the TCDT. He then gave her a gift of an ostrich eggshell bracelet and earrings (that the U.S. Ambassador remarked looked liked mountains and would remind her of Tsodilo). Keitumetse asked her not to forget Tsodilo and she assured him she would not. On the way back to the Tsodilo settlement, we stopped by to visit Makisha, and he discussed Tsodilo's issues with the U.S. Ambassador, such as the lack of water and the need for a clinic and school. Days after the U.S. Ambassador's visit, her aides sent me applications for the U.S. Ambassador's Fund Program to forward to the TCDT so that the trust board members could fill them out and apply. The applications were never even started, though, because the idea of independently asking for money for a specific project was probably overwhelming and unfamiliar to trust board members who are used to being almost entirely guided by TOCaDI and the Botswana National Museum.

Through a sustainable development discourse, governments, NGOs, and other development agencies may view cultural and archaeological heritage as a resource from which local populations and indigenous peoples can profit. However, CBNRM and community-based tourism are only idealized as collaborative initiatives, when, instead, they often still follow a capitalistic model of resource exploitation. For instance, the community dynamics at Tsodilo are contentious, but by ignoring these dynamics, KFO and the Botswana National Museum are

making problems worse. Only a handful of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu are actually collaborating in the new heritage management plan and the greater majority of Tsodilo residents do not know what the management plan entails. However, hotel chains were, as of December 2009, staking out Tsodilo to bid for tenders for the new lodges expected to open. In this chapter, I have shown that the government's support of heritage tourism through CBNRM is also due to its other aims to weaken state welfare and continue assimilating minority ethnic groups into the nation and the market economy.

As a concluding note, during the late 1990s and early 2000s, some of the community trusts created along the principles of CBNRM that were bringing in millions of Pula became corrupted by poor financial management, and CBNRM elicited a review by the government of Botswana resulting in a more state-driven policy in which the government receives more than half of community trust proceeds (i.e., the Environment Fund [RoB 2007:14]).[23] Thus while neighboring Namibia's CBNRM program is witnessing decentralization, Botswana's CBNRM program, in an about turn, became more centrist with President Ian Khama's National Environmental Fund, approved in 2007 when he was still vice president.[24] Ian Khama and other politicians wary of CBNRM cite the corruption of community trusts with financial accountability. Although NGOs dominated CBNRM implementation in Botswana during the 1990s, the government of Botswana became more involved in the regulation of the country's CBNRM programs in the early 2000s, and as of 2007 requires community-based organizations like community trusts to give the central government 65 percent of their profits through the National Environmental Fund (RoB 2007:14). This new policy, which was not enforced while I was conducting fieldwork, defeats the incentives of CBNRM. However, the CBNRM model in Botswana has served as an extension of state governance encouraging self-reliance of disenfranchised ethnic minorities by utilizing nearby resources, including their own cultural heritage.

Cultural heritage tourism existed as an informal industry that the majority of the Ju|'hoansi and some of the Hambukushu at Tsodilo were engaged with for 30 years before the government and development NGOs got involved. The government involved itself because of the outcry of archaeologists who demanded rigid conservation policies for Tsodilo. As explained in chapter 3, these archaeologists became "scientific experts" able to impose their conservation recommendations through policymakers due to their "scientific knowledge," their privileged and powerful backgrounds, and because of their familiarity of working alongside government. My research has made clear certain points: that the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu have a history of managing cultural heritage tourism that precedes governmental regulation to assist them though community-based tourism programs, that government interventions have actually taken away tourism as a source of income, and that the archaeologists' drive to conserve and protect the site actually resulted in its increased "destruction" through its development as a World Heritage site. Furthermore, although CBNRM is the favored approach for empowering local communities to

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[23] The government's reasoning for this intervention being that millions of Pula were being mismanaged, in part, because community trusts were run by trust board members who had little or no formal education. Thus the government argued that community trusts were incapable of fully managing their finances and that a bulk of the proceeds should be returned to central government.

[24] Also, the government of Botswana recently permitted the privatization of its National Parks. The privatization of government services, even park services, insinuates that neoliberal policies, which are much more ubiquitous in the developed regions of the world, are influencing the governance of southern African countries.

manage their resources, it can also be misused as a tool of capitalism if shortcuts are taken. This is evident in Botswana where government interventions in CBNRM simultaneously promote local exploitation of resources for increased self-reliance by the rural poor, while redefining what communities are and expecting these communities to give more than half of their proceeds back to central government.

Figure 5.1: Photograph of Tsodilo Curio Shop (by author, 2007)

Global Heritage, Community Tourism:
The Reconfiguration of Ethnic and Gendered Identities

Cultural Commodification at Tsodilo

In February 2008, German filmmakers came to Tsodilo with the intention of returning later in the year to produce a documentary film about the place. They asked for my assistance to meet the residents of Tsodilo and site museum staff, and I helped by providing introductions to the relevant leaders of the Tsodilo settlement and directing them toward the Botswana National Museum, TOCaDI, and the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA). Their intended film was to be produced for German national television, and it would be part of a series on World Heritage sites from around the globe. These filmmakers, a husband and wife, were particularly interested in documenting World Heritage sites in Africa, and they shared with me their recent films of two World Heritage sites in Madagascar. After going through the right channels to receive the necessary permissions to proceed—the Botswana National Museum, TOCaDI, and WIMSA—the filmmakers came back with a team in late April ready to produce a "documentary" on Tsodilo. In making the film, they decided to hire Tsodilo residents to both appear in it and assist with its production. I found it very interesting to witness how they decided to project a certain image of Tsodilo to share with German television viewers. The scenes they wove together to present the Tsodilo World Heritage Site to Germans included exquisite cinematography of the hills, the rock art, and the archaeology, as well as a peculiar focus on its human occupation.[1] The film team hired older Ju|'hoansi men who looked like "Bushmen" (light-skinned, nobody who was of mixed ethnicity) to dress in traditional skins (purchased for the Tsodilo Ju|'hoansi dance group by TOCaDI) and carry bow and arrows (the ones sold to tourists) for their scenes. One of the older men refused to go barefoot, so the film team shot the "actors" from the legs up. The men also wore beaded headbands, which is not the tradition for the Tsodilo Ju|'hoansi (these headbands were acquired during our trip to Tsumkwe, Namibia for a traditional knowledge workshop earlier that month). There was a lot of improvisation to match the expectations of the filmmakers' vision. Ju|'hoansi children, home from their RADP schools, were also hired to dress in traditional skins and play at the cave site on the Rhino Trail of Female Hill (this generation, however, was born at their resettlement site several kilometers away), and more Ju|'hoansi men and women were hired to have a traditional dance by a nighttime campfire near Male Hill (close to their former settlement site from the early 1990s). Where were the Hambukushu in this portrayal of Tsodilo? The Hambukushu were hired only to assist the film crew, such as with carrying equipment, guarding equipment, and cooking. They were the backstage to a representative film of Tsodilo that clearly focused on the Ju|'hoansi.[2]

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[1] Scenes of wild animals were also shot at a game park in Namibia to illustrate what Tsodilo's rock imagery represented, at least according to the filmmakers.

[2] Other films have been produced about Tsodilo that primarily focus on the Ju|'hoansi, from "documentaries" to unabashedly romanticized portrayals.

The final version of the film, which I have seen only in German, features a very romantic image of the Ju|'hoansi as "Bushmen" inhabiting the hills. The scene of modern village life is a panned shot of the Hambukushu settlement. From the filmmakers' point of view, it appears that the reality of an African World Heritage site is less rewarding to document then an imaginary one. The idea perpetuated of the Tsodilo World Heritage Site is still one of "Bushmen and Bushmen paintings" (Lindhard n.d.). This scenario is analogous to some of the issues at stake in heritage tourism at Tsodilo today. Whether or not the government of Botswana wants all of its citizens to be treated equally, this is a view that does not always apply to foreign visitors or tourists who envision Khoisan speakers as a very different and perhaps a more special people of southern Africa. However, despite the foregrounding of Khoisan speakers in the West's imaginary of the Kalahari, they often remain in the background of heritage tourism development even with the promotion of their increased involvement through CBNRM initiatives.

In chapter 5, I illustrated how heritage tourism is used as a development strategy of the state. In particular, tourism is promoted alongside heritage management plans. As such, heritage tourism is marketed by the state to encourage poor people dependent on state welfare to become more economically self-sufficient through entrepreneurial initiatives in which these people are expected to capitalize on their existing resources: their living traditions and their archaeological heritage. Heritage tourism is most commonly facilitated through private industry. It is, however, increasingly viewed as a development tool by governments, NGOs, and other agencies to encourage community training in business growth and modernization principles. Heritage tourism can also help to ensure maintenance of cultural traditions and cultural diversity; states recognize that such "symbolic capital" is indispensable to their international appearance as distinctive sovereign territories because of nation branding. This is particularly true of states in the postcolony. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu writes that, "symbolic capital, a transformed and thereby *disguised* form of physical 'economic' capital, produces its proper effect inasmuch, and only inasmuch, as it conceals the fact that it originates in 'material' forms of capital which are also, in the last analysis, the source of its effects" (Bourdieu 1977:183). Cultural heritage is part of a nation's "symbolic capital." As discussed earlier in this dissertation, anthropological and archaeological research has significant influence on the development and promotion of heritage tourism. There are, however, definite socio-political and economic consequences when heritage tourism is part of national or international development strategies, especially with regards to the ethnic and gendered identities of those meant to participate in it.

In this chapter, I examine how community-based heritage tourism affects the ethnic and gendered identity politics of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu living near the Tsodilo Hills. I also analyze the cultural commodification of the "intangible heritage" of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu as they must now resort to a cash economy for self-reliance via heritage tourism. As mentioned throughout this dissertation, the Khoisan-speaking Ju|'hoansi are romantically represented as primitive "Bushmen" in popular literature and media, and here I investigate whether or not this representation shapes the ethnic performance of the Ju|'hoansi as they vie with the Hambukushu for heritage tourism business. Although the heritage of the Bantu-speaking Hambukushu is not as well known and is less desirable to tourists, the Hambukushu are the more dominant ethnic group at Tsodilo and they control most of the development projects initiated by the Botswana National Museum and KFO. In this chapter, I continue to reveal an uneasy history of relations between the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu at Tsodilo, and I show how the

Hambukushu continue to subjugate the Ju|'hoansi, exacerbated by community-based heritage tourism.

I also analyze the transforming gender roles, focusing primarily on women, of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu who are involved in community-based heritage tourism at Tsodilo. Increasingly, women are the heads of households in Botswana due to waning marriage traditions, urbanization, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and many rural women earn their household income through tourism. At Tsodilo, more women participate in community-based heritage tourism than men, yet men are more often encouraged to partake in development and tourism leadership in large part due to the guidance of NGO and government employees. Here I examine how NGO and government development initiatives have influenced the gender roles of the traditionally egalitarian Ju|'hoansi and matrilineal Hambukushu. Civil society in remote areas, like Ngamiland, is heavily reliant on NGOs, and as is the case with KFO, the government occasionally partners with NGOs for development initiatives. Each of these institutions contributes to the reconfiguration of ethnic and gendered identities at Tsodilo.

The Tourism Imaginary: Tradition, Authenticity, and Nostalgia

Africa's cultural heritage is a destination for foreign and domestic tourists alike because of their pre-existing imaginaries of what Africa's cultural heritage entails. These tourism imaginaries are bound up in popular culture that makes people aware of places and other types of attractions as destinations and that contributes to their expectations of these destinations when they travel for an "authentic" encounter. Anthropologist Miriam Kahn writes, "when people choose specific travel destinations, it is usually because their imaginations have already journeyed there ahead of them," and that the "imagined possibilities directly influence what travelers encounter, creating a constant and animated dialogue between images in the mind and realities on the ground" (Kahn 2003:308). The experiences of tourists contribute to the ongoing tourism imaginary of a destination, yet are also part of its deconstruction. Similar to how nature is "destroyed" to recreate it for tourism (Kahn 2011), cultural heritage can also be "destroyed" for its re-creation as a tourism commodity. Thus deception is integral to the tourist imaginary, and what matters most is how much people are willing to see through it or be taken in by it (MacCannell 2011).

Heritage tourism in a southern African context entails careful attention to the concepts of "tradition," "authenticity," and "nostalgia." These concepts are also relevant to understanding how Tsodilo residents represent themselves to tourists and how this relates to tourists' expectations, or imaginaries, of them. In discussing intangible attributes of heritage, the concept of "tradition" is pivotal to address. "Tradition" is the passing down of ideas and behaviors, or cultural transmission (Graburn 2001b, Horner 1990). In this sense, "tradition" closely coincides with how some anthropologists define "culture," though anthropologists have multiple definitions of "culture" because it is not an easily delineated concept and "tradition" is not central to all of these definitions. Tradition, like culture, is passed down through the generations, and hence it incorporates a shared set of behaviors or beliefs through temporality (Horner 1990). As discussed earlier, scholarly discourse re-evaluated the concept of "tradition" to expose that tradition is continuously being reinvented; this is because tradition, like culture, is not static and is always changing (see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). In this view, "tradition" is better conceived of as a process similar to the maintenance of culture or the process of ethnicity.

Tradition is relevant to heritage tourism, because it is the essentialized notions of "tradition" that are wrapped up in tourists' imaginaries of cultural Others. However, traditions are not static, but the tourist imaginary wants to keep them so, and thus tourism contributes to the breakdown of heritage traditions to fulfill tourists' desires.

The notion of the "invention of tradition" helps to explain colonial and imperial encounters with the "primitive" Other (see AlSayyad 2001, 2004; Jacobs 2004). For example, in order for British colonial officials to effectively control their southern African colonies they had to define tribal law and tradition to negotiate their colonial presence with diverse cultural groups (Ranger 1983). Due to the stressful tensions of historic cultural contact—colonialism, internal migrations, and the trans-Atlantic slave trade—African traditions were changing rapidly. Therefore, colonial officers called into question the authenticity of various African cultural traditions in attempt to destabilize the legitimacy of African groups (see Mamdani 1996).[3] This is an important paradox that anthropology must keep in sight; tradition is fluidic, and though anthropologists mistakenly believe they can capture it for a while through description, they cannot control the nature of traditions to inevitably change. The attempt to define and preserve it is part of our imperialist heritage. Thus the debate surrounding the "invention of tradition" helps to problematize the tourist imaginary because notions of "tradition" were already manipulated during colonialism and continue to be manipulated through ongoing imperialism of which heritage tourism is part.

Over the past 30 years, though, scholars have re-examined these topics. The postmodern critique is critical to contemporary tourism studies. Although tourism is discussed as part of modernity, due to the development and changing status of cultures worldwide, the types of analyses scholars produce are aided by an understanding of the semiotic nature of meaning making in tourism (Dann 1996, 2002; Urry 2002). The tourism issue that postmodernism destabilizes is the notion of "authenticity," or original, empirical experiences. "Authenticity" is central to most of the abovementioned works on tourism because what the tourist seeks in tourism destinations and with his or her hosts is an authenticity lacking at home (MacCannell 1999). Because of a quest for "authenticity," the modern world with its global flow of exchange value increases the likelihood of commodification (see Appadurai 1986), and thus the lack of "authenticity" in experiences, native hosts, art, *et cetera*, that the tourist might hope to find (Cohen 1988). For example, foreign tourists from suburban or urban areas in more industrialized parts of the world seek a "primitive" encounter with African cultures in remote areas, perhaps because of how complicated they perceive their own lives to be. However, they are willing to overlook the staging of authenticity to recapture a feeling that motivated their travels in the first place.

As described in chapter 1, the debate about "authenticity" stems back at least 50 years. Early on, Daniel Boorstin (1961) brought the issue of authenticity to attention with his definition of "pseudo-events," or the counterfeit, fabricated events in modern life. Echoing Theodor W. Adorno's criticism of mass culture (1991), Boorstin argues that the authentic tourist experience is seldom found and that the "destination" is artificial. Jean Baudrillard (1983) further elaborates

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[3] The impacts of these colonial encounters had similar effects in parts of North America where colonial governments tried to identify, or categorize, tribes using, amongst other arbitrary attributes (e.g., physical appearance), their traditions (see Watkins 2005). Throughout the history of the United States, Native Americans accused of falsifying their past or of assimilation were deemed not "traditional" enough and lost legal status and federal rights (Watkins 2005).

on the rise of mass culture and the demise of authenticity by arguing that cultural reproduction produces less authentic signs and symbols, which he calls, "simulation," and "simulacra." Dean MacCannell (1999) refers to the problem of the authentic tourist experience as, "staged authenticity," in which the tourist never achieves the real experiences he or she seeks, though the tourist may not be wise enough to understand the staging. In other words, places and experiences become commodified as their values change. This is the case in southern Africa, where even before community-based heritage tourism, people were already involved in staging their own "traditions" and "authenticity" in the wake of a cultural breakdown.

However, the postmodern critic would quibble, what is "authentic" anyways? Umberto Eco (1986) argues that there is little difference between real and fake, original and reproduction; everything can be written as authentic or inauthentic because there is no difference. There is instead a multiplicity of readings. Ning Wang (1999) clarifies the constructed nature of authenticity and the relationship between so-called authentic and inauthentic experiences using a postmodern analysis of reflexivity. This perverse take on "authenticity" is still favorable with scholars who continue to challenge and push beyond normative descriptions of "the tourist" and "the tourist experience." Moving beyond the authenticity debate, the commodification of places and experiences can also be favorable when revitalizing or supporting destinations or cultural practices. However, the issue of who has the power of controlling the representations of what is being presented as authentic and what the overall power relations are in an endeavor such as heritage tourism is especially problematic in relatively poor places, like in rural southern Africa. Anthropologist Mike Robinson suggests that tourism is central to cultural re-making and re-invention, and that "tourists, by virtue of their ability to 'gaze', effectively reaffirm the cultural dominance of consumption and its capitalist framework" (Robinson 2001:38). He adds, "travelling to gaze upon communities which have retained their cultural identity, or which are able to present representations of their identity, and travelling to discover one's own identity, indicate that tourism is, in part at least, a somewhat parasitic search for those things lost" (Robinson 2001:53). For example, at Tsodilo do the Ju|'hoansi act like "Bushmen" because they want to, or because that is a representation of them that they are pressured into staging to earn money now that they are no longer able to follow their traditional livelihood strategies? Who are perpetuating the images of Ju|'hoansi as primitive "Bushmen" in advertisements? Are tourists getting what they came for when they visit the Ju|'hoansi? Why are the Hambukushu not considered to be as authentic to Tsodilo? Yet, at the same time, how are they considered to be more integrated into Botswana nationalism?

Finally, "nostalgia" refers to longings for the past. Multiple types of nostalgia are at play in southern African heritage tourism, such as colonial and native African longings for a romanticized past. Tourists seeking to revive the feeling of a pre-globalized world, the colonial encounter, or the pre-colonial encounter, want to view ethnic groups that exhibit characteristics that satisfy these types of nostalgia. For example, foreign tourists who want to experience African ethnic groups or re-create a colonial encounter with African ethnic groups prior to the internationalism so prevalent today have certain types of nostalgia. Likewise, domestic tourists or even diasporic tourists want to experience African ethnic groups who still have their "culture." Additionally, archaeological tourism, or archaeotourism, draws tourists nostalgic for "the act of discovery." Tsodilo is particularly interesting because of its presence of Khoisan speakers next to

a rock art site. The belief that African ethnic groups possess untainted traditions, or that they are "authentic," is part of their "symbolic capital."

Ethnic Politics and Tourism Development

Tsodilo's rock art is the most well known aspect of its archaeological heritage, in part because of explorer and researcher accounts, and because it is now known to have one of the highest densities of rock imagery in the world. Archaeological excavations undertaken since the 1980s also brought attention to the near continuous occupation of the site since the Middle Stone Age, including Iron Age settlements. Tsodilo is a pivotal site in the acrimonious Kalahari Debate among anthropologists that began in the late 1980s—a debate that centered on the representation of the Kalahari Khoisan speakers as having been unchanged hunter-gatherers lacking a more complex history. These explorer and researcher representations of Tsodilo and of the people living at Tsodilo continue to perpetuate an imaginary of the place as a destination for tourists who want to encounter Khoisan speakers living very close to paintings attributed to their ancestors. The branding of the site as World Heritage further advertises its significance, though this is opposed to what archaeologists had in mind. For example, archaeologist Andrew Reid writes:

> A multi-ethnic approach also needs to be adopted in the public dissemination of research within the region. We can hope that the declaration of the Tsodilo Hills as Botswana's first World Heritage Site (in 2001) will be used to promote an appropriately multi-ethnic perspective on the Kalahari. Such a perspective must encourage the inhabitants of the Kalahari today to recognize the multitude of cultural influences on their past, but that can only be done if they are offered equable status and rights within nation-states. [Reid 2005:371]

By reaching for a pluralistic account of Tsodilo through its World Heritage inscription, archaeologists, such as Reid, hope for more "equable status and rights" of African ethnic groups to heritage sites. However, by shaking the link between Khoisan speakers and Tsodilo and opening it to a multitude of Bantu speakers, this proclamation seems to ensure even further marginalization of Khoisan speakers from one of their remaining cultural and economic resources. If only tourists were not so discerning.

The Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu living at Tsodilo represent different aspects of the tourism imaginary of Africa's heritage. Both are relatively poor and disadvantaged by the country's standards, and they have a fraught relationship as they compete for resources. At first, they competed over access to water at the hills, and over time they competed over ownership of the hills and the economic benefits from heritage tourism. However, the Ju|'hoansi are upheld as "indigenous" by human rights groups and some academics. Likewise, foreigners romantically refer to them as "Bushmen." These representations of the Ju|'hoansi contribute to their popularity as tourist attractions. The authenticity of the Hambukushu at Tsodilo is challenged by the presence of the Ju|'hoansi, and tourists who do not know the history of Tsodilo's settlement often overlook the Hambukushu.

"Bushmen" are represented through anthropological literature and popular media as the ultimate "primitive" Other, and are thus intriguing to both foreign and domestic tourists in Botswana. Tourists want to see the "Bushmen" who wear traditional skins and hunt with a bow and arrows,

a supposed throwback to an evolutionary and colonial past. Today, though, most Khoisan speakers wear Western clothing, are sedentary, and compared to any other ethnic group in the country are, for the most part, impoverished. Another social issue facing several Ju|'hoansi (and other Khoisan) communities is alcoholism. Over the past several decades, many Ju|'hoansi developed a dependency on alcohol that is fueled in part by despair of their marginalization and increased inability to survive with their traditional livelihoods (see Lee 2003). Neighboring Bantu-speaking communities also encourage this alcoholism as they profit from selling the Ju|'hoansi, other Khoisan speakers, or anyone else alcohol, both home-brewed and alcohol from commercial sources. This was grossly apparent when I visited |Xai-|Xai in June 2008 with a Hambukushu woman and two Ju|'hoansi men from Tsodilo (on our way to the Gcwihaba Caves we stopped to meet the community trust board of |Xai-|Xai). My *baakie* was surrounded by intoxicated people, mostly Ju|'hoansi, from teenagers to the elderly. So intoxicated were they that it took some time for them to realize that two of my party were Ju|'hoansi and not the typical tourists who they might otherwise expect. This was also an uncomfortable encounter for the two Tsodilo Ju|'hoansi men, as alcoholism is not as big of a problem at Tsodilo (though there is alcoholism among both the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu). One of these men, surprised, turned to me and asked, "Why are we here?" The fact that the Ju|'hoansi that the tourists come to visit do not necessarily meet with tourists' expectations of them as "Bushmen" is not always tested, though, as tourism encounters are often constructed away from Ju|'hoansi settlements as a form of "staged authenticity."

For example, game ranches near Ghanzi, Botswana hire Khoisan speakers to dress in traditional leather skins and perform games and dances and teach tourists about local flora and fauna. These constructed encounters also take place in "cultural villages," dance festivals, and bush walks. Seldom do tourism brochures market Khoisan speakers in their present disadvantaged setting, nor do safari operators take tourists to see them there. However, tourism operators continue to propagate a nostalgic notion of them as noble hunter-gatherers, shamans, and masters of music, dance, and art. For example, while visiting an upscale lodge near the CKGR in August 2007, I noticed that the cultural activities offered to tourists feature Khoisan speakers who, on their own accord, dress in traditional skins (though with some store-bought, modern embellishments) and perform their traditional songs, dances, and games at abandoned "villages" of grass huts (perhaps because where they live now would juxtapose the tourist imaginary of the Khoisan). Similarly, I would hear the confusion of tourists when they arrived at the Ju|'hoansi ward of the Tsodilo settlement; they would question, "What is *this*?" It was the Ju|'hoansi ward of the Tsodilo settlement, and the Ju|'hoansi wearing modern, but tattered, clothing sitting around their mud huts (styled after the Hambukushu) or corrugated-metal shacks. Cattle belonging to the Hambukushu ran through their compounds, and the Ju|'hoansi kept their own goats, dogs and chickens. It was not the grass huts and near-naked "Bushmen" that the tourists often thought they were coming to see. The building of the imaginaries of "Bushmen" as the "primitives" of global humanity and of other Bantu speakers as generic Africans attests to the issues in heritage tourism at Tsodilo today. The reality of their cultural identities as being both marginalized by the state, and the Ju|'hoansi being subjugated by the Hambukushu is further enmeshed in tourism development at Tsodilo.

Khoisan speakers in other parts of southern Africa have also either staged their identities or had them staged (e.g., Robins 2001, White 1995, Sylvain 2005). Anthropologist Steven Robins

(2001) discusses how Khoisan speakers in the Khomani region of South Africa are trapped in representing themselves as "primitives" in order to gain acknowledgement by the new government. Similarly, anthropologist Hylton White (1995) shows how at the Kagga Kamma tourism site in the Cederberg mountains of South Africa, Khoisan speakers where brought in from the Khomani region of the country to act as "Bushmen" for the entertainment of guests and to fit into the imagined environment (see also Buntman 1996). Anthropologist Renée Sylvain (2005) shows how more powerful ethnic groups in Namibia (i.e., Herero and whites) use community-based tourism to continue to exploit the Ju|'hoansi in the Omaheke region. Whereas in other parts of southern Africa Bantu speakers can be quite a draw for tourists, in the Kalahari this is not the case. The Hambukushu at Tsodilo are not perceived as authentic to the hills. The issue with the heritage of the Hambukushu is that they are self-professed newcomers to Botswana and do not have the same "symbolic capital" at a rock art site as they do closer to the Okavango Delta where they are linked with larger Hambukushu cultural centers (e.g., the Etsha camps and Gumare), and where the Hambukushu and Wayeyi are known for their *mokoro* (dugout canoe) polling skills, and therefore are more expected by tourists in this type of locale. At Tsodilo, though, they are considered somewhat out of place to be relevant to the site's particular heritage tourism market; they are not considered culturally as interesting, yet they dominate politics of heritage tourism and development at Tsodilo.

As outlined in chapter 3, tourists—safari groups, church groups, school groups, and self-drivers—have travelled to Tsodilo since the late 1960s and early 1970s, and since that time, the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu managed their own involvement in tourism at Tsodilo. Tourism proceeds contributed most significantly to the Ju|'hoansi household income, especially when they lost their hunting rights in the late 1970s. So how does the new heritage management plan with its development initiatives differ from the tourism that the Tsodilo residents already engaged in for decades previously? World Heritage status meant increased tourism to the site thanks to easier access with a newly graveled road as well as a new site museum with facilities. By managing the development of tourism for the community through the CBNRM model, KFO and the Botswana National Museum now expect that increased tourism at the site will help "develop" the local communities, though the Botswana National Museum did not originally intend for Tsodilo to "develop." Instead of remaining an increasingly dependent rural poor community, the CBNRM-modeled management plan is meant to give local residents potentially more control over their economic, political, and social development through "capacity building." They are also expected to become more self-sufficient using their local resources, which include archaeological and cultural heritage. However, given the backdrop of ethnic politics in Botswana generally and in Tsodilo more specifically, the ways in which multiple ethnic groups work with one another for the commodification of cultural heritage is not quite so straightforward.

While the researchers and the Botswana National Museum staff who nominated Tsodilo for World Heritage status initially thought of Tsodilo's listing as a way to conserve its cultural heritage, World Heritage status is now being used as a way to "develop" the rural people living around it. In fact, World Heritage status has put the site in more jeopardy from increased visitation to the site. World Heritage status made Tsodilo much more of a global destination. With the increasing amount of tourists, the different appeals of Tsodilo are becoming more apparent. Instead of finding Khoisan speakers next to rock art, tourists are coming for World

Heritage. Thus the objective of Tsodilo belonging to a more pluralistic society of Africans in Botswana is becoming a reality.

Ethnicity is increasingly becoming a global commodity and is utilized for corporate organization and branding (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). "Indigenous" identities are a particular niche market amongst tourists striving to experience cultural difference. The Ju|'hoansi in Tsodilo are aware of tourists' fascination with them as "Bushmen" and indigenes, and this seemingly puts them at an advantage over the Hambukushu who are not always differentiated from other Bantu speakers. Furthermore, the presence of Khoisan speakers at a rock art site—the imagery attributed to the ancestors of Khoisan speakers—is an anomaly in southern Africa and is a huge touristic draw for the site, despite what revisionists are attempting to demonstrate in their research and political agendas. However, the Hambukushu are the more dominant ethnic group at Tsodilo, and were originally given control of the Tsodilo Hills by the government of Botswana in the 1970s (e.g., Mashika was made *kgosi* and the Botswana National Museum hired a Hambukushu man to keep records of the visitors that came). The Hambukushu control most of the development initiatives initiated by the government of Botswana (i.e., VDC) and KFO (e.g., TCDT and the community curio shop). Community-based heritage tourism actually exacerbates ethnic tensions as the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu are encouraged to commodify their identities and their origin stories to lure the interest of tourists in order to profit from this market. This is evident in the interpretations of Tsodilo's rock art to tourists by Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu guides. These interpretations make up part of the intangible heritage that remains of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu, which, in turn, builds their "symbolic capital" with which to lure tourists.

Because the Hambukushu have more educational opportunities, and because the senior site museum staff requires, in general, that guides speak English, younger Hambukushu men now dominate guiding. The interpretations of rock art by guides are also varied and have changed due to the site's World Heritage status. For example, based on my experiences following guides, rock art that archaeologists refer to as "geometric shapes" are identified as baskets by the Hambukushu guides (Hambukushu women make baskets woven from palm fibers), whereas the one regular Ju|'hoansi guide describes certain "geometric" images as tortoise shells or suns. Meanwhile, the rock art researchers seek to emphasize their scientific interpretations through educating the local guides about their research findings on the rock art. Since Tsodilo's World Heritage listing, the site museum has hosted guiding workshops where local guides are instructed on how to interpret the rock paintings using archaeologists' "scientific knowledge" (a re-education of the "facts"). Also, during my fieldwork, the senior site museum staff told guides they can only charge BWP 30 per group of tourists instead of the BWP 50 that they began charging after learning what private tour guides were charging (the reasoning being that they were not certified guides). The heritage management of Tsodilo not only attempts to enforce heritage interpretations (through workshops), but also the site as an economic resource, reconfirming its role as a "regime of change."

As explained in chapter 3, in the past, the Ju|'hoansi were often photographed in traditional animal skin clothing, or posing with a bow and arrows. Living at the hills, young children learned about the rock paintings and other important sites, which then provided them with the information to become guides themselves. This is no longer the case because their current

settlement is several kilometers away, and too far to travel to just begin a rigorous trek through the hills. Also, most Ju|'hoansi children now board at RADP schools far away from Tsodilo. Even the Hambukushu guiding tradition has evolved, and many Hambukushu guides learn about Tsodilo based on what they read at the Tsodilo site museum as opposed to learning primarily from Mashika or other Hambukushu elders who once served as guides. Guiding, for reasons expressed in chapter 5, is central to ownership claims of Tsodilo. Thus the physical location of Tsodilo residents cut off from the hills affects their ability to transmit intimate knowledge about the locations and secrets of the hills, which is part of their intangible heritage.

While tourists to Tsodilo are not required to pay entrance fees (though, there were plans to introduce a fee in 2010), they often hire local guides and purchase crafts thereby contributing to the local economy.[4] These crafts include ostrich eggshell jewelry, necklaces made from assorted natural products, leather bags, bows and arrows, and baskets, among a wider variety of crafts. TOCaDI is heavily invested in the production and sale of crafts by the residents of Tsodilo, and hosted quality-control workshops while I was there. Another craft initiative by TOCaDI is the project of Tsodilo greeting cards made from local sand and designed to look like rock paintings. The project began in the early 2000s when an artist visited Tsodilo and selected a few of the more promising artists to participate in a workshop. With the absence of the TOCaDI development facilitator at Tsodilo during the two years I was there, however, not much activity took place for this project. The greeting cards were sold out at the community curio shop, and then the artists had to wait for the TOCaDI development facilitator to come with more materials. In other words, the project was not self-sustaining; Tsodilo residents relied on TOCaDI not only for materials but also for leadership. Yet another cultural development initiative of TOCaDI was the enablement of professional dance groups at Tsodilo through the purchase of traditional dance outfits for both the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu dance groups. This project was much more successful, and both dance groups practiced and performed at regional functions and sometimes for tourists while I was there.

In scrutinizing conservation policies aimed at intangible heritage that often enable the commodification of culture, which features of intangible heritage remain and which features change or are reformed? As Robinson (2001:42) states, "toured communities are increasingly required to live out their manufactured ethnicity for the gaze of the other, with the result that the destruction of some traditions and their replacement by others is required by the state, and then negotiated in various ways by those whose bodies and practices are thus required (but do not necessarily directly consent) to incarnate policy." At Tsodilo, those aspects of intangible heritage that are more easily marketable, such as rock art interpretations and craft skills, and are the forms that remain.

Gender and Tourism Development

In addition to contributing to ethnic strife, economic development through CBNRM programs can also affect traditional gender roles among the minority ethnic groups involved. This is

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[4] Alternatively, some tourists guide themselves through the hills using guidebooks or come with private tour guides. Sometimes tourists complain that the local guides at Tsodilo do not measure up to their expectations of wanting to learn more about the archaeology and rock art of the hills ("scientific knowledge"), whereas in the past the draw was focused more on the cultural encounter.

especially true where tourism is becoming a new survival strategy, though gender transformations are part of a larger cultural transformation stemming from the country's modernization as well as its battle with health pandemics. The Tswana are traditionally patriarchal and patrilineal, whereas the Hambukushu and Wayeyi are patriarchal, but matrilineal. However most Khoisan-speaking ethnic groups are egalitarian. Here, I explore the effects that development schemes have on traditional gender roles. As mentioned, the government of Botswana is encouraging its citizens to transition from their traditional lifestyles to a market economy, and this ideological shift along with the crippling HIV/AIDS pandemic further changes the basic social structure of many ethnic groups. Throughout this transition to a market economy, and within the uncertainty of debilitating health pandemics, minority women are more and more becoming the heads of households, and increasingly able to do so as they earn money through tourism endeavors. Not surprisingly, women from minority ethnic groups are not taken into special consideration for governmental policies. However, minority women who are involved in heritage tourism through CBNRM are becoming a large population statistic represented in these grassroots programs (Cassidy 2001). This is due, in part, to increasing international attention on women as an ideal demographic group to target in rural development. Cultural crafts are one of the most sought-after tourism products in Botswana, and minority women are generally the ones who produce them. Now that minority women are entering the market economy through the production and sale of tourist crafts and participation in other tourism enterprises, as well as through other means, they are gaining more financial independence. The role of minority women in tourism development demonstrates the effects of this industry on transforming gender norms within the country.

Though there are a number of disruptive forces changing the traditional gender roles of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu at Tsodilo, heritage tourism is significant in that it affects both labor division and cultural representations of gender. It contributes to a transformation of gender identities as these ethnic groups become less "ethnic" and become more identifiable as citizens of Botswana who are part of a labor economy. As already mentioned, the Ju|'hoansi are traditionally an egalitarian society with a division of labor between genders for food procurement: Ju|'hoansi men hunt and Ju|'hoansi women gather. Also, the Hambukushu are traditionally a matrilineal, though patriarchal, society with a division of labor between genders for food procurement and also leadership. Hambukushu men look after cattle, hunt, and are responsible for larger crops, such as sorghum and millet. Hambukushu men can become a chief (though the chiefly line passes down to the son of the older sister to the current chief) and they take on other leadership roles outside the household. Hambukushu women look after the smaller animals (e.g., chickens) of the household and are responsible for smaller crops, such as legumes and pumpkins. Most Hambukushu women do not engage in leadership roles beyond the domestic sphere of their household compounds (see Larson 2001).

As I learned through the case of Tsodilo, and as I detail in chapter 5, the government of Botswana along with KFO approach community development and village representation through the formation of community trusts. The Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu must work together even though they are culturally quite distinct and have a history of fraught relations in order "develop" their village alongside the principles of a CBNRM-modeled management plan. Men are earmarked to take leadership responsibilities, while women are sometimes actively discouraged from it. Men are approached to be representatives of the Tsodilo communities, in part, because if

women are selected then jealousies arise leaving the women's perceived safety in jeopardy. The traditionally egalitarian Ju|'hoansi now face social stratification through the formation of a community trust, which the Hambukushu dominate.

Hambukushu men compete to head the TCDT board as it gives them greater social standing in Tsodilo and in the region. Hambukushu women participate in the community trust, but are often harassed if they seek higher positions on the trust board. More Ju|'hoansi men participate in the community trust as the Ju|'hoansi women are harassed by the Hambukushu men when they participate. However, Twi—the Ju|'hoansi woman I introduced at the beginning of this dissertation—ran for and won the trust chairperson position in 2008, though her own mother, Tula, did not vote for her (I helped to collect votes to keep the election more anonymous as the previous chairperson preferred votes to be a show of hands). The reluctance of her mother to vote for Twi was out of concern of the jealousies that being the trust chairperson would evoke. Indeed it did, and when Twi and Tula both became desperately ill with TB some months later, the former trust chairperson, now the vice chairperson, lamented that Twi was weak, referring to her health, character, and leadership.

As I learned through the case of Tsodilo, the division of labor for heritage tourism reveals that men generally become the guides while women become the craft producers. A large number of Ju|'hoansi men also produce crafts while only a few Hambukushu men do so, perhaps because men who are no longer able to hunt now contribute to their household economies by making crafts along with women (e.g., bow and arrows sets, walking sticks, and carved mokolwane palms nuts). The Hambukushu men are able to stay busy tending to their agricultural fields and to their cattle. Women are able to contribute to their household economies, which are increasingly dependent on cash, as well as looking after children and completing other cultural tasks. The majority of women my age are not married or in stable relationships but have children, which suggests that the social demographics of Ngamiland, and the country, are shifting toward female-headed households. Tour guiding is, however, almost completely dominated by men (only one Ju|'hoansi woman very occasionally guides), especially Hambukushu men. Although most tourists come to Tsodilo to see "Bushmen" along with rock art, the Hambukushu men are taking over the tour guiding industry in Tsodilo because they are more educated and speak better English. These labor roles are becoming more naturalized as development projects take off and the representation of Tsodilo's heritage changes.

For example, as described in chapter 5, NGOs like KFO are invested in leading development projects in rural communities such as at Tsodilo. However, NGO employees bring with them an institutional culture, including their own gender dynamics, to the types of development structures that they are partly responsible for establishing. During my fieldwork period, TOCaDI employed a Ju|'hoansi woman as the development facilitator to Tsodilo, a Hambukushu man to work with the TCDT, and a Herero man (sub-contracted from another NGO) to help with the bookkeeping of the community curio shop. With the woman development facilitator gone most of the time, only the Hambukushu man made regular appearances and did not address any of the gender imbalances in the composition of the TCDT. Some of these related issues came to light, however during an incident in October 2007 that I describe next.

Another example of the interplay between ethnicity and gender in tourism development at Tsodilo is the management of the community curio shop. Although, the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu had practiced their own tourism at Tsodilo since the late 1960s, selling their crafts to tourists, such as ostrich eggshell and seed necklaces and bow and arrow sets, they were not able to do so as readily after the 1994 heritage management plan and the construction of the fence. Many Tsodilo residents sold their crafts at the gate to Tsodilo's new "core zone," but site museum employees frowned upon this practice. When the Botswana National Museum and KFO prepared the 2005 heritage management plan, they received funding (from the office of the ODMP) for the pilot project of a community curio shop located at the Tsodilo site museum. By then the Botswana National Museum and KFO had already organized some of the younger men and women residents to form an interim community trust that became the TCDT, and which would manage the curio shop. The senior site museum staff helped to select two shop assistants for the community curio shop: one Hambukushu woman and one Ju|'hoansi woman. However, not only was representation on the community trust and other development programs competitive, any employment opportunities were as well.

Both women selected as shop assistants were pregnant when their positions began, and thus when they later went on maternity leave, the trust board members had to find a temporary replacement. One of my research assistants was the temporary replacement, and I would later learn about the jealousies inflicted on her, especially by the then-trust chairperson. Eventually, both of the original shop assistants were back to work, and then a major theft took place. In October 2007 (after the U.S. Ambassador's visit), thieves stole more than BWP 4,000 from the curio shop. The trust board decided to hire *dingaka* (traditional doctors) to uncover the thieves. In a very public performance, the *dingaka* (who are also relatives to the then-trust chairperson) pointed to the Ju|'hoansi shop assistant and a Zimbabwean man staying in Tsodilo as the thieves. Another Hambukushu member of the trust board called the police to have these two people taken into custody based on the work of the *dingaka*.[5]

My brief analysis of this event is that the Hambukushu, specifically the then-trust chairperson, was establishing control of the curio shop and employment opportunities. The Ju|'hoansi woman and Zimbabwean were vulnerable to existing sentiments against them by both the Hambukushu and the police (Zimbabwean immigrants are currently looked down upon in Botswana). After this event, most of the Ju|'hoansi were too intimidated to continue participating in the curio shop or the TCDT (the money was never replaced from the theft and so the craft producers were never paid). Furthermore, the trust board members used money received from TOCaDI to pay the *dingaka*, which challenged the NGO's relationship with the community trust. The Ju|'hoansi instead sold their crafts from their household compounds, as tourists specifically sought them out even though they were further from the gate and the hills. Meanwhile, communal sentiment was that it was the then-trust chairperson who stole the money all along to pay for new equipment for his cattle post. In fact, the Hambukushu *kgosi* relayed to me that even he thought it was the then-trust chairperson.

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[5] When I learned that the woman and her infant were taken into police custody for questioning based on the *dingaka*, I drove to the Ju|'hoansi settlement and offered to drive the elders to the police station in Shakawe to retrieve her. I drove with Xabo and another man late at night, and we were able to take the woman back to Tsodilo that same night.

Intimidated, the Ju|'hoansi woman immediately left her coveted employment position. Eventually, a grandson of the *kgosi* was hired as a replacement, but ten months later he was caught stealing from the curio shop and replaced by the sister of the Hambukushu man who called the police on the Ju|'hoansi woman and Zimbabwean man. I was close enough with this man that he confessed to me what he did and why he did it, stating that the people in Tsodilo are not educated enough to know how to use money well. He left Tsodilo for Maun, the tourism capital of Botswana, in order to pursue a tourism certificate with the money he stole from the curio shop. Not much action was taken by the trust board to get the money back. One reason may be that because he is a grandson of the Hambukushu *kgosi* and his sister is a trust board member other residents felt powerless. The craft producers again went unpaid after this theft, and they had still not been paid in August 2009 when I last visited. I did notice, however, that Tsodilo residents were back at the gate selling their crafts.

Ethnicity and gender are entangled in heritage tourism and development at Tsodilo. Power through development is controlled by the Botswana National Museum and TOCaDI, and from within the Tsodilo settlement, by the TCDT. Thus competition between the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu is a big issue, but it also confounds gender relations as the ethnic groups have very different traditional gender roles. Gender roles are inevitably re-formed, especially due to changing power relations between community members.

Tourism through Life and Death

The mother of Twi (the Ju|'hoansi woman I introduce at the start of this dissertation) is Tula. Like Twi's father, Tula was also featured in numerous publications throughout her life at Tsodilo. In fact, she is featured as a young woman in the glossy, coffee table photography books I mention in chapter 4. When I met Tula she was already an old woman, and the last of her generation at Tsodilo. Unlike the younger adults and especially the children, she was not interested in me the first several months I lived in Tsodilo, and I only knew her from a distance. Then one evening while sitting around the nighttime campfire she said wanted to show me necklaces. I went to her hut, immaculately ordered inside, and she brought out a jar. She showed me the beaded necklaces, which were very beautiful and obviously very special to her. I admired them not understanding the context of our encounter (naively thinking that she was opening up to me), and then she said, "100." That was the cost of one of the necklaces that she wanted to sell to me; a long necklace of blue beads with rust-colored carved wooden pieces heavily dusted in "Bushman perfume," the aroma intoxicating.[6] Although disheartened that our relationship was still one of cultural producer and cultural consumer, I agreed to the sale. Back at the campfire, her Ju|'hoansi family teased her for charging me so much, suggesting that since I live in Tsodilo and help the Ju|'hoansi there she should only charge me half that amount.

By early 2008, Tula and Twi became very ill. Everyone seemed to have a bad cough, especially older people, and I attributed most coughing to smoky campfires. However, they both had TB and had to move to Gumare (where Twi's Wayeyi husband had a house) to be closer to the large clinic. They were on heavy medication for TB, and although Twi was coping, Tula could not. She grew very, very thin, and she was thin and lanky to begin with. On my way to the Gcwihaba Caves with a few Tsodilo residents in June 2008, I stopped by to see Tula and Twi in Gumare.

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[6] "Bushman perfume" consists of dried, ground herbs and roots.

They were both emaciated, but Tula was so faint she could hardly stay conscious. The mother of Twi's husband took the utmost care with Tula. When a clinic van came, this elderly Wayeyi woman (so strong and compassionate) lifted Tula with so much care and gracefully carried her to the clinic vehicle. A week later, Tula was dead.

I was asked to drive and retrieve Twi and relatives to come back for a funeral at Tsodilo. On the way to Gumare, Xabo became angry with Twi's husband for not telling him immediately about Tula's death. After all, Tula was his family—his people—and Twi's husband should have told him immediately. I mourned for Tula as well. Just a few months before we had passed each other on the path and she clasped her hands together and exclaimed, "Rachel!" (I thought I was finally making some headway into being closer with Tula). We spent the night in Gumare and came back the following day; Twi leaving Gumare for good. I was asked to design a funeral program on my laptop computer and printout copies. Using the photograph I first took of Tula when I arrived (so that I could learn names and faces, I took headshots of everyone who agreed to participate in my research), as to me she looked so dignified in this photograph, and playing with fonts, I created a funeral program following the direction of what to include on it that I received from her family. The non-local site museum staff wanted to be involved with the funeral too, and one employee, a Herero, told me that the Ju|'hoansi do not know how to hold a funeral and that they should not be in charge of this one. Indeed, the Hambukushu came to assist in the ceremony for Tula's burial. They came out of respect, and they also helped to prepare funerary arrangements, such as cooking and preparing for the service that would take place the following morning.

Meanwhile, the younger Hambukushu guides were bringing carloads and even small busloads of tourists to Twi's compound, where the mourning was taking place. This was unusual, as the Hambukushu guides typically did not want to share business with the Ju|'hoansi. When I arrived there after creating funeral programs and printing them out, I found a family of tourists photographing everyone in Twi's compound. In a rage, I took my camera out and walked up to them to photograph them. They looked at me aghast, and I moaned how dare they be so disrespectful at a funeral. The man brushed me aside as being haughty, but did turn around and leave. Behind him I saw the Hambukushu guides and angrily remarked that they never brought tourists to their funerals (I had been to a couple of their funerals, which they took very seriously, and during which times hardly any guides even showed up at the site museum). They also disregarded me, muttering that the tourists wanted to see the "Bushmen." Unsure if my reaction was justified, I soon had a more *emic* understanding. During the night before the burial, a Ju|'hoansi woman around my age and who worked at the site museum (so she was very familiar with tourists) asked me through sadness and tears why the whites want to take photos of them (the Ju|'hoansi) like this, meaning at a funeral and in grief. It was not a pointed question. She explained they had come in the afternoon, and that the Ju|'hoansi agreed but not near Twi's compound. Instead, they had put on traditional skins and walked to Xabo's compound, which was much further away, for the photographs. My best answer was that the tourists did not realize this was a funeral (as whites general do not flock to other whites' funerals to take leisurely snapshots).

Tula lived as an object of fascination of the Western world. In fact, her image can still be purchased online through Corbis Images, which now has copyright to most of the images by the

photographers who chronicled her life in the 1970s. She is also the face on tourism development reports prepared while composing the new heritage management plan. Her image available on the Internet will continue to perpetuate the notion of "Bushmen" that so many tourists are eager to see for themselves. Even her last days before her burial were a tourist spectacle, and ones that others sought to control and profit from. When she was lowered into the earth, everyone threw in the funeral programs that I had made (confusing me after the effort I put into making what I thought was a keepsake). They told me that they were also burying her image, which was part of moving on after someone dies. If only they knew how widespread her image really is.

I lived in a tent beside Tula's hut my final couple months of fieldwork. I left Tsodilo just before Christmas in 2008, and then headed to Ghanzi and Gaborone. I learned that Twi died just a few weeks after I left. After recovering from TB, Twi learned she had HIV/AIDS, which I assumed she had contracted from her Wayeyi husband as she divorced him immediately afterward. She was too weak to survive ARVs after the TB treatment, and she remained emaciated and sullen the rest of the year. Only the thought of her teenage daughter, away at a RADP school, brought a sparkle back to her eyes. After Twi's death, her daughter became an orphan, and she also lost the sparkle in her eyes.

Concluding Thoughts on Cultural Heritage and the Commodified Identity

As discussed in chapter 5, within the CBNRM model that is meant to decentralize the management of natural resources and replace the "fortress" model that separated people from their local resources, there are two problematic concepts, "community" and "collaboration," as deployed at Tsodilo. The Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu are now forced to work together as one "community" because of the government of Botswana's policies on ethnicity, and because the government looks to geography to define communities. The *kgosi* of Tsodilo is Hambukushu because of a decision made by the government, and he now has official leadership of both Hambukushu and Ju|'hoansi wards of the Tsodilo settlement. The Ju|'hoansi however, see their ward of the settlement as being a separate settlement altogether (and it is located two kilometers away), and they explicitly and repeatedly asked KFO, the Botswana National Museum, and for my help to get their own community trust and curio shop because they found it impossible to work with the Hambukushu. Although the TCDT usurps some of the *kgosi*'s traditional leadership, power still rests with the Hambukushu because they dominate the trust board. Thus the notion of "community" in CBNRM actually benefits the development strategies of both the government and the NGO and does not take into account how the majority of the residents of Tsodilo see themselves and their relationships with one another.

When heritage tourism is pursued for economic development, what happens to social and gender relations in host communities? How do "development" and the transition to a market economy through heritage tourism affect the gender roles of community participants in these projects? Women are actually the largest demographic group involved in the heritage tourism industry at Tsodilo through craft production, but men are encouraged to control the industry through their leadership in the community trust. The two ethnic groups represented on the TCDT have very different traditional gender systems, and when forced to work with each other, both traditional cultures are put under strain. Women are increasingly being marginalized by the development projects, even though they participate in tourism labor more than men do.

In concluding this chapter, there are two important points to revist. First, there is the issue of preserving what is already always changing, "intangible heritage." However, it now changes even more because of a conservation status, which is perhaps beyond a tension and rather a contradiction of the World Heritage mantra of conservation and safeguarding. Then, there is the second issue of the ideological clash between tourists' desire for cultural pluralism (which is also the policy of UNESCO) and the government of Botswana's "anti-multicultural" stance. These are radically different notions of diversity. The Ju|'hoansi as well as the Hambukushu rely on an imaginary of themselves for their livelihood, which the government denies them, while at the same time also denying the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu their traditional subsistence strategies. At Tsodilo, heritage management and tourism have not only redrawn space at a heritage site, they have redrawn values of heritage.

Figure 6.1: Photograph of Hambukushu Guide and Tourists at Tsodilo (by author, 2007)

Figure 6.2: Photograph of Quality-Control Workshop for Crafts at Tsodilo (by author, 2007)

Conclusion: The Value of Heritage

World Heritage and Tourism

UNESCO adopted the World Heritage Convention on November 21, 1972 to conserve and protect cultural and natural heritage through international cooperation. At the heart of the World Heritage Convention is the value of heritage, which is defined as, "cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity" (UNESCO 2008:14). Once designated, local and national heritage therefore becomes global heritage, and heritage sites become "global properties," symbolically opening access to these sites, or heritage landscapes, to everybody. Thus the World Heritage Convention proposes that the heritage inscribed belongs to the global community, irrespective of territory. Although the convention states that there is a universality of the significance of heritage, what constitutes "heritage" has always been debatable. For instance, although originally meant to conserve and protect non-moveable, material heritage, the convention now includes aspects of intangible heritage through criterion vi, which is one of ten criteria that a site or landscape can be nominated with for World Heritage status. Living heritage belonging to very particular people can now be deemed as possessing "outstanding universal value" and subject to all that comes with this label. While the universalism of World Heritage is at the core of "the commons," the notion of a universal value of heritage is itself a hegemonic tool. This hegemonic twist is especially clear with the usurpation of local intangible heritage.

Although the World Heritage Convention does not explicitly mention tourism, it is now interpreted as part of a site's development. Tourists, as consumers, prefer to follow successful trends, and they believe the authoritative experts that promote World Heritage. Once designated, World Heritage sites necessitate their own development, including international tourism; it is a part of making them more accessible through their new role as "global properties." UNESCO World Heritage therefore acts as a brand, and one that "developing" countries seek out for a variety of reasons, from international recognition of their cultural and natural heritage to economic development. Although it is UNESCO's mission to promote World Heritage as a form of international cooperation between State Parties, these State Parties also employ their own agency in how they utilize the conservation status. Tourism, as one of the fastest growing industries in the world, is increasingly becoming a major element of a site's transformation when it gains the World Heritage brand. The more tourism destinations that these countries possess, the more opportunities for making tourism revenue, which makes gaining World Heritage status a desirable endeavor indeed.

World Heritage tourism has, in its relatively short history, made a large impact on the sites that the conservation status is meant to protect. For example, Kakadu National Park in Australia (inscribed in 1981, and with criterion vi) receives more than 200,000 tourists a year. Similar to Tsodilo, Kakadu is attributed to the indigenous peoples of the region—Aboriginal communities—and has an abundance of rock art demonstrating its cultural significance. Even more tourists visit Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa National Park (Ayers Rock) in Australia, a sacred site to the

nearby Aboriginal communities (inscribed in 1987, and with criterion vi) that receives over 400,000 visitors a year, in large part, due to its World Heritage designation. Both of these Australian World Heritage sites illustrate the ongoing hegemony that a World Heritage status perpetuates, as in addition to the colonization of Aboriginal lands in Australia by the state, including of Aboriginal sacred sites, now the global community also has a stake in these sacred sites and can demand access. The crux of tourism and development, or tourism *as* development, is tested under such conditions.

World Heritage sites can be an essential part of regional economies for many countries because of the tourism that they elicit; and some of these profits can go toward the maintenance of preserving these sites and toward micro-development. In other parts of the world, however, tourism at World Heritage sites has had a very negative effect on heritage preservation, such as in China where parts of The Great Wall (inscribed in 1987, and with criterion vi) are crumbling due to mass tourism. Yet in other, more "developed" parts of the world, countries now weigh their options of the benefits and drawbacks of a World Heritage designation, as did Germany, which decided to construct a highway through the Dresden Elbe Valley (inscribed in 2004) leading to the site's delisting in 2009.

Although tourism can help to revitalize cultural heritage, it is important to remember that the very social structures that enable mass tourism also contribute to "destroying" the very cultural heritage to which tourists flock. The link between World Heritage and the UN's larger social issues (e.g., Millennium Development Goals and Agenda 21 for culture), such as peace, poverty alleviation, and sustainable development, further elucidate the hegemony of both the UN and of the World Heritage Convention. For example, anthropologist Akbar Keshodkar (2011) demonstrates with the case of the Stone Town of Zanzibar (inscribed in 2000, and with criterion vi) how World Heritage actually celebrates poverty because places designated as World Heritage are not permitted to locally develop and transform. Keshodkar reveals how the "gaze" on third world cities through World Heritage actually perpetuates an Orientalist relationship between the tourist and the cultural Other. As the Stone Town of Zanzibar increases in tourism popularity, residents learn that they cannot afford to maintain their "traditional" houses and businesses as required by World Heritage, and they are subsequently bought out by big businesses that can (Keshodkar 2011). World Heritage has also significantly affected residents in Tai Qian, China where residents were relocated, lost their land, and had their livelihoods dramatically changed so that the country could obtain World Heritage status for Mount Taishan (inscribed in 1987, and with criterion vi) (Xiang and Wall 2011). These examples demonstrate that World Heritage and subsequent tourism development can actually work against the World Heritage Convention's, and, in fact, the UN's stated objectives.

Commodification of Intangible Heritage

Does World Heritage status actually help conserve and safeguard cultural heritage when it is explicitly sought after for economic development through tourism? Furthermore, does the commodification of intangible heritage through increased tourism conflict with the conservation aims of World Heritage? As I have shown, World Heritage is a brand that is a part of the making of destinations. In southern Africa, governments see World Heritage designation as not only beneficial for international recognition but also for economic development. While most World

Heritage sites are then increasingly commodified for tourism, such as through site branding and merchandising, those sites inscribed because of their intangible heritage (criterion vi) really show how substantial the tension is between conservation and commodification.

Intangible heritage, in particular, is transformed as people are disassociated from heritage sites. This is clear in the case of Tsodilo where the Ju|'hoansi were relocated several kilometers away and the hills fenced off. The relationship that the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu had with Tsodilo before the designation is indelibly altered. During my interviews with Tsodilo residents, several referred to the hills as now belonging to the government or to the world rather than to either the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu. Furthermore, heritage management and tourism development are together another way of transforming the intangible heritage related to sites and landscapes as a process of the deterritorialization and re-territorialization of heritage values; one set of symbolic values ascribed to a place and set of practices is replaced with another set of symbolic values, and values that may not have particular resonance to the local people. Heritage management is complicit, if not explicitly at work, in *re*-valuing intangible heritage and heritage sites through both conservation and tourism development.

Cultural change is contradictory to World Heritage conservation objectives, and intangible heritage (criterion vi) is perhaps the most difficult heritage form to safeguard once a site receives designation. Intangible heritage is already always changing. However, as World Heritage policies permeate national museums and heritage institutions, their utilization is reinterpreted and deployed to suit the needs of State Parties. As I have explained in this dissertation, in southern Africa, a major incentive in addition to international recognition is to promote economic development through tourism. However, when the habitus of community members living nearby World Heritage sites is altered due to heritage management and tourism development, so is their intangible heritage. This situation remains basically unresolved and is perhaps un-resolvable: tensions between preservation, in the sense of keeping things intact and maintaining them, and the changes in understandings, uses, and notions of tradition, meanings, and significances.

Heritage Tourism and Identity Politics

In Botswana, which does not recognize ethnic difference, what are the limits of heritage tourism, which is now pursued by NGOs and certain sectors of government for economic development, especially as a development initiative for ethnic minorities? Does promoting the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities through tourism conflict with the nationalist rhetoric and policies of this "anti-multicultural" state?

The use of heritage for development, especially cultural heritage, has important implications for the local communities residing near World Heritage sites, and as the sociopolitical dynamics of World Heritage sites are unique they each deserve more critical inquiry. Heritage ethnographies enable a more nuanced understanding of these impacts, like on the reconfiguration of ethnicity and gender, which are relevant to scholarship on World Heritage and tourism, and, of course, to ongoing heritage management at these sites. For example, in this dissertation, I have examined tourism development at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site, where the nearby communities are ethnic minorities who are marginalized by the government of Botswana due, in part, to the country's assimilationist policies. Through a World Heritage designation, the government

appropriates local heritage under nationalism, and at the same time promotes cultural commodification to encourage more economic responsibility among its rural poor. This use of World Heritage status and its subsequent heritage management plan affect, somewhat problematically, both the ethnic and gendered identity politics of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu living nearby.

In Botswana, ethno-class hierarchies pose a challenge to the citizenship claims of the country. As with other African countries, ethnic or racial inequality and citizenship are historically relational. So much attention is directed towards race and class, but ethnicity and class is not a high priority of political discourse. In Botswana, nation-building policies that claim to contribute to a country where all citizens are "equal" does not accurately reflect the social reality of its heterogeneous citizenry who experience a more unequal right to their livelihoods and identities. For instance, the single national identity that the government of Botswana projects means little given it is enfolded within ethnic hierarchies, even if publicly unstated.

Ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples increasingly rely on representations of themselves in order to profit from the heritage tourism industry. However, this reliance happens despite that ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples are also being forced to change their traditional cultures to assimilate. In "developing" parts of the world, national governments promote heritage tourism as a means for these people to be more self-reliant and less dependent on national aid, which their dispossession originally made necessary. In the case of Botswana, ethnic minorities are forced into assimilating into the national culture while at the same time encouraged to join a market economy through heritage tourism. However, this industry creates tension as the "anti-multicultural" government denies their marketable ethnic representations. The ethnic nationalism of the government of Botswana and the ideological imperialism of development have together re-inscribed both the heritage landscape and heritage values.

Lessons from the Tsodilo Hills

What lessons can we learn from heritage tourism at Tsodilo? World Heritage status is not always perceived of as a conservation strategy, but some countries, as demonstrated with Botswana, see it as a mechanism for economic development. Studying localized forms of the global, such as World Heritage and tourism in southern Africa, by examining top-down heritage management strategies in the production of culture, helps to elucidate its far-reaching effects as well as its site-specific dynamics.

While the World Heritage Centre is headquartered in Paris, there is a new satellite office located in South Africa—the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF)—that opened in 2006 to help to promote more designations on the continent. Governments in this region are eager for more sustainable development through existing resources, including cultural heritage, and the tourism potential that a World Heritage designation can generate is highly desirable. Heritage site development is seen as a way to help alleviate poverty in southern Africa, but tourism can be unpredictable depending on the site's "sacralization" (MacCannell 1999). Some sites elicit more tourism than others depending on their "symbolic capital." This is certainly the case at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site in Botswana, where tourism numbers have quadrupled in the ten years since its designation.

The conservation of Tsodilo not only physically displaced people from the hills, but also prohibited much of their access to maintaining their relationship with the hills, or their intangible heritage (criterion vi) associated with the place. The spiritual significance of the hills to local communities is the reason why criterion vi, the intangible heritage criterion, was included in nominating Tsodilo as World Heritage. Currently, Tsodilo residents return to the hills now as guides, to work at the Tsodilo site museum or other piecemeal jobs for which the Tsodilo site museum employs residents, and only occasionally to collect wild foods, medicine, and sacred water. The natural materials collected from the hills are also often used to make crafts sold to tourists. Tsodilo is now an important economic resource, but one which the government controls. The government relies on the people living nearby to maintain their culture for Tsodilo's spiritual legacy to continue as well as to support themselves in a cash economy.

Heritage management and tourism are always serving ideological functions; these ideological functions change and can be analyzed genealogically through successive forms of tourism and heritage management plans. There have been multiple forms of tourism interactions at Tsodilo, beginning with the earliest explorers and researchers, and tourism has since continued to, in essence, re-creating the experiences of explorers from the past. Archaeologists and heritage managers have also contributed significantly to the "regimes of change" that their practices encourage of cultural transformation. As "scientific experts" who are able to enforce their expertise through policymakers, their knowledge can be used at the expense of their collaborators, the "indigenous informants," as appears to be the case in Tsodilo. Although faced with a history and a future of continuing domination, the "indigenous informants" utilize their agency as well, but strife between multiple ethnic groups, such as between the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu, can complicate our understanding of the many local agents, or stakeholders, at play in place making and heritage making at Tsodilo.

Toward the end of my fieldwork, the global economic recession showed signs of its severity. In 2009, Botswana suffered major economic losses as the diamond industry stumbled along with other luxury goods industries. The country had to take large loans out, which reaffirmed its stance in the need to diversify its national economy. Tourism, however, is a fickle industry, though Botswana has certainly etched out a niche in the ecotourism market, even earning top tourism awards. In late 2009, just after funds were released for the implementation of the *Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site Integrated Management Plan* (Ecosurv 2005), tourism companies began to inspect the hills in anticipation of submitting tenders to build the planned lodges beside the sacred hills. World Heritage status has set in motion the increased commodification of Tsodilo's cultural resources.

Figure 7.1: Sunset at Female Hill, the "Copper Mountain" (by author, 2008)

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Mapping Intangible Heritage and Memory at the Tsodilo Hills

Introduction

The Tsodilo Hills was inscribed as Botswana's first World Heritage site in 2001 (UNESCO 2001). Of the three criteria for which the site was inscribed, two are for its archaeological heritage (i.e., rock art [criterion i] and Middle and Late Stone Age habitation sites [criterion iii]) and one is for its intangible heritage (criterion vi). In this appendix, I discuss how a feminist methodology approach—one that is collaborative, community-based, and useful to the people with whom I work—resulted in an intangible heritage and memory mapping project at Tsodilo. The project explores how Geographic Information Systems (GIS) can be used to record and better understand the intangible aspects of cultural heritage. It questions how the recording of intangible heritage can assist with the management of tangible heritage, such as archaeological remains, and whether GIS is an effective database technology, or even an appropriate method, to help manage intangible aspects of cultural heritage that can be mapped on the landscape. Furthermore, it also serves to map the memories of settlement sites within the conservation area of the World Heritage site prior to its listing.

Building on the recently implemented *Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site Integrated Management Plan* (Ecosurv 2005; see also TOCaDI 2002a, 2002b), which lays out the site's development and conservation plans in light of its World Heritage listing, the products resulting from this project are meant to assist the Tsodilo residents in negotiating the presentation of their intangible heritage to the public through the process of mapping intangible heritage. Mapping the former settlement sites of Tsodilo residents before their relocation in 1994 is also meant to help visualize their presence within the heritage landscape before it was earmarked for a World Heritage nomination and eventual designation. These results should be of interest to other scholars seeking to incorporate non-tangible aspects of the history and archaeology of a landscape into a presentable interpretation of the past for the general public. By emphasizing consultation and collaboration with descendent and local communities, this project should also be of interest to those wanting to utilize geo-spatial technologies to assist in more ethically conscious anthropological research.

Tsodilo's Intangible Heritage

"Heritage" as conceived of by UNESCO is cultural or natural "property," or tangible remnants from the cultural, geological, or environmental past (UNESCO 2005:10). Likewise, what is now referred to as "intangible heritage" is non-physical, but something also remaining from the past, such as belief systems, oral histories, knowledge about plants, *et cetera* (UNESCO 2003a). Within the 1972 World Heritage Convention, non-physical heritage falls under criterion vi, which states that it, "be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance" (UNESCO 2005:52). UNESCO's preference for recognizing the need to conserve physical heritage is demonstrated by the fact that criterion vi cannot stand on its own as a nominating criterion but must be linked with another more property-based criterion (UNESCO 2005:52). Non-physical

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heritage has been further defined as intangible heritage through the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003a). This convention, though distinct from the World Heritage Convention, elaborates on the necessity to recognize, define, and protect non-physical heritage.

The Tsodilo Hills, a group of four hills now known as Male Hill, Female Hill, Child Hill, and Grandchild Hill, have occupational deposits dating as far back as 100,000 years ago (see Robbins et al. 2000). Although Tsodilo has been inhabited for millennia, there are currently two ethnic groups residing nearby the hills (total population, approximately 200). The Ju|'hoansi arrived at Tsodilo in the late nineteenth century, claiming the site from the area's prior inhabitants, the Khoi speakers, or "River Bushmen." The Hambukushu also arrived in the late nineteenth century, though this ethnic group only began more permanently grazing their cattle at Tsodilo in the late 1960s when a few families settled a couple kilometers southwest from the base of Male Hill. Historically, the Ju|'hoansi occupied areas near rock shelters found within Female Hill and then formed more permanent settlements at the base of Male Hill (where tourists could find them) in the late 1960s–early 1970s. Due to conservation efforts laid out it in an earlier heritage management plan (Campbell 1994), in 1994 the Ju|'hoansi were relocated from the hills, now the "core zone," to a new settlement in the "buffer zone" several kilometers away. The Hambukushu also lost grazing land and agricultural fields that had been located within what became the new "core zone."

Of its inscribing criteria, criterion vi is for the site's "intangible heritage," or more specifically, the oral traditions and symbolism that humans have attributed to the place for many millennia. The intangible heritage of Tsodilo, based on the Advisory Body evaluation for UNESCO that paraphrases the site's nomination dossier for criterion vi, is:

> Traditions speak of Tsodilo as being the home of all living creatures, more particularly home to the spirits of each animal, bird, insect, and plant that has been created. Though exact interpretation and dating of the rock art is uncertain, the art itself clearly testifies to the long tradition of the site as spiritual, a tradition continued today in practices of the !Kung and in visits by, in effect, pilgrims in Western parlance, often from some distance. [UNESCO 2001:61]

Today, both the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu regard the hills as a sacred place, evidenced by their oral histories and by ongoing religious traditions that take place there (see Biesele 1974, Campbell et al. 1994b). Heritage managers in the country are now tasked with looking after Tsodilo's intangible heritage in the wake of new heritage management plans and a surge in tourism due to the site's World Heritage listing (Segadika 2006, Thebe 2006).

The intangible heritage of Tsodilo has yet to be well defined or studied due to the lack of ethnographic research on this topic at the site. Thus this project, which is described in this appendix, serves to document certain aspects of the intangible heritage of Tsodilo before it is gone or inevitably changes due to conservation activities and tourism development at the site. The new heritage management plan is designed to protect Tsodilo as a World Heritage site with the impact on the nearby residents greatly considered. Measures in the new heritage management plan strive to ensure that the local residents profit from its development. However, tourism and development can both be problematic in managing, or safeguarding, intangible heritage. This mapping project also contributes to identifying the practicalities of managing the intangible

heritage of Tsodilo as the site is transformed into an international tourist destination through participatory sustainable development, indelibly affecting the local residents there.

Mapping Intangible Heritage

What might GIS have to offer in managing heritage, especially at World Heritage sites? GIS has become a popular tool within a variety of academic disciplines, and in the early 1990s, archaeologists and some anthropologists began publishing their findings of incorporating GIS into their research, such as mapping landscapes and settlements (e.g., Allen et al. 1990, Aldenderfer and Maschner 1996, Wheatley and Gillings 2002, Connolly and Lane 2006). Heritage managers have also employed GIS to map heritage landscapes (natural and tangible cultural heritage), and this has often been done in consultation with governments and through locally and nationally produced heritage management plans (e.g., Dongoske and Damp 2007). The use of GIS to manage intangible heritage at World Heritage sites is still in its infancy (e.g., Fletcher et al. 2007). Further studies in this area have the opportunity to provide results as to how successful GIS is or can be in this regard, and how the spatial documentation of intangible heritage can potentially contribute to heritage management understandings and protocols concerning living heritage landscapes.

GIS is a system that creates and manages spatial data and attribute data (see Burrough and McDonnell 1998). Paul Bolstad defines GIS as, "a computer-based system to aid in the collection, maintenance, storage, analysis, output, and distribution of spatial data and information" (2002:1). A GIS usually involves a computer, data (that must be digitized to work with computer software), and a user to project and analyze the data (Burrough and McDonnell 1998). The user-friendliness that GIS software provides are the frameworks and parameters in order to enter, edit, manage, and analyze data, and create data outputs. This is how qualitative data, such as data associated with intangible heritage, can be utilized within a GIS. Because GIS software can organize many types of data, which widens its appeal to multiple disciplines, and can provide useful spatial analysis programs to help display relationships between and among data, GIS use continues to grow well outside of the discipline of geography.

GIS visualizes data through polygon overlay, which is the process of superimposing two layers and their attribute data to form a new layer (see Bolstad 2002:ch. 9). To analyze spatial data, simple polygon overlay is used to build new geometry; that is, to create new layers. Overlay procedures produce a new layer from two or more existing layers that use the same coordinate system. This basic level of analysis is useful for linking data sets together, separating data, or just manipulating data spatially. It is often used to produce visual outputs.

In order to be mapped, intangible heritage must be both spatially-based (using a global or Cartesian coordinate system) and place-based (see Bender 1993, Ingold 1993). Some forms of intangible heritage are easier to map than others; for example, at Tsodilo, sacred places and areas where there are plants and trees for which the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu have traditional knowledge. The forms of intangible heritage at Tsodilo that can be mapped also include: water sources (some considered spiritual) and stories about sites within the landscape. Other forms of intangible heritage, though, such as healing ceremonies, are not as amenable to mapping. The forms of intangible heritage that are more easily mapped are also aspects of cultural approaches

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to land use, and thus by mapping them this project can potentially assist the Tsodilo residents with claims to Tsodilo (and can, perhaps, assist in a revival of their relationship to the hills, and thus their identities).

Feminism and Mapping

GIS traditionally uses quantitative or numerical data, such as coordinate points to represent spatial locations, and processes quantitative data—from hydration percentages to risk levels—in order to produce predictive models and visual outputs. Human geographers are critical of predictive modeling for ignoring subjectivities inherent in the data represented (see Schuurman 2002, Schuurman and Pratt 2002). GIS creates visualizations that appear to have mutually exclusive categories of data because data entered is categorically conclusive and uncontestable in its representative form within a GIS. Epistemologically, this undermines feminist agendas because the categories created and reified with data entry neglect a deconstruction of this form of essentialism. GIS was developed, in part, for practical military use, and did not evolve with a strong theoretical background for critically addressing the possible applications of its representations and visual outputs toward research questions stemming from social theory. Indeed, the technological development of GIS was heavily focused on producing a strong surveillance method rather than negotiating the subjectivities within data categorization (see Pickles 1995, Roberts and Schein 1995). The criticisms from human geographers focus on two main points: (1) the representation of space and the representation of knowledge associated with space, and (2) the ethical implications of GIS as a powerful visualization and surveillance tool. During the 1990s, GIS was considered theory-poor with little or no engagement with epistemology or ontology. GIS was about information and the display of information for its own sake (naïve empiricism) rather than analyses, problem orientations, or theoretically informed, geographic knowledge (see Curry 1995). During the 1990s, the objective nature of GIS was considered fundamentally incompatible with emergent subjectivity approaches generated by postmodern and feminist critiques of science. This lead to a practice of GIS that was at odds with the research concerns of human and critical geographers (Lake 1993, Pickles 1997).

However, several geographers—mostly female—who practice GIS began arguing for an explicitly feminist GIS in the mid-1990s. These GIS scholars agreed with many of the critiques of GIS, but disagreed that the criticism necessitated such a division in the discipline (see Flowerdew 1998, Hanson 2002, Schuurman and Pratt 2002). Instead they sought to show how GIS could be used for feminist inquiry within geography, public health, political science, and other academic disciplines. While acknowledging the limitations of GIS, they continue to argue that it has much to offer and should not be given up (see Kwan 2002a, 2002b, 2004; McLafferty 2002). Rather, feminist GIS users can look for ways to use GIS that are compatible with feminist agendas.

In an attempt to consolidate these relevant criticisms of GIS as applied to an intangible heritage and memory mapping project, there are some theoretical and methodological issues to consider when utilizing GIS as a spatial database in heritage management. Crucial theoretical issues of using GIS to record intangible heritage include not only the representation of space and the representation of knowledge associated with space, but also the ethics of recording and geo-referencing intangible heritage. As mentioned, human geographers have long pointed out how

inherently problematic GIS is with regards to spatial representation. GIS relies on a Cartesian dualism representation of space, which ignores the very subjectivities of spatial knowledge that an ethnographic project could attempt to understand and elucidate. Furthermore, in addition to the ethics of representing ethnographic subjects, mapping their knowledge can also broach intellectual property issues. For instance, intangible heritage can be appropriated or it can used against the people to whom it is associated through inventorying and monitoring.

A Researcher's Mapping Dilemma

During visits to northern Botswana in 2005 and 2006, as I prepared to conduct doctoral fieldwork, the NGO with which I was going to affiliate (TOCaDI) and the Botswana National Museum responsible for the Tsodilo World Heritage Site where I planned to do research requested a more direct contribution of my scholarship in addition to the dissertation and publications that my intended research would produce. What could I provide? Having had prior training in GIS, I offered to help with mapping activities around Tsodilo. As my dissertation research questions developed, though, I further honed my mapping intentions on the intangible heritage of Tsodilo. Before the start of my fieldwork, I had also signed a research contract with the Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA), in which I also agreed to do mapping work.

From 2007–2009, I was engaged in ethnographic fieldwork studying the commoditization of intangible heritage at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site through the tourism development outlined in the 2005 heritage management plan. During this time, I increasingly became more critical of the "development" proposed through the heritage management plan and other governmental policies, especially when I learned that a previous heritage management plan was responsible for the displacement of an entire ethnic group (i.e., the Ju|'hoansi) from the hills in 1994 in order to "conserve" the rock art and archaeological heritage there. I was also inspired by Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) work on decolonizing methodologies, which resonates well with my own feminist-driven research agenda of participating in more effective and participatory research. Thus in addition to mapping the intangible heritage of Tsodilo, I was also now interested in mapping the Tsodilo residents' memories of their former settlements at the hills before they were dispossessed of the hills in order for the site to gain a new conservation status.

Although this project was conceived of as being a collaborative venture between TOCaDI and myself on one hand, and between the Botswana National Museum and myself on the other, events occurred that altered the opportunities of collaboration. The priorities of these two institutions shifted as well. To uphold my agreements with TOCaDI and the Botswana National Museum, I therefore decided to produce data for one of the five tourist trails around the hills: Rhino Trail. My goal is that in addition to monitoring and visualizing the intangible heritage of Tsodilo (of interest especially to the Botswana National Museum), these data can potentially be used as maps for local guides to sell or to utilize themselves during their tours of the hills (a goal of interest to TOCaDI and WIMSA). My other desire, as noted above, is to map the memories of the sites in the hills that the Ju|'hoansi inhabited before they were relocated, though this additional goal complicates my relationship with the Botswana National Museum. This is because the heritage managers, archaeologists, and government officials responsible for this relocation never mention it in their subsequent publications, and, in effect, this coercive act of

displacement for conservation has been silenced.[1] Thus by mapping the memories of people displaced by heritage management, my hope is that GIS can have a "counter-mapping" effect (Peluso 1995, Turnbull 1998) for the Tsodilo residents who have been negatively affected by heritage management.

Given the theoretical and methodological concerns I have briefly outlined above, how might the underserved peoples of the world still utilize GIS as a tool to their advantage? Participatory mapping work undertaken in "developing" countries and with indigenous peoples and other disadvantaged minorities often focuses on recording place names and land use, and has been beneficial in helping these people in their pursuit of having their land and cultural rights recognized by national governments and international policymakers. Although the spatial representation of GIS may be problematic for the reasons I outline above, it can also be an effective political tool.

Methodology

The research conducted for this mapping project with the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu about their intangible heritage associated with the Tsodilo Hills took place during my primary dissertation fieldwork period (January 2007–December 2008 and in August 2009). This project was meant to be a collaborative, community-based venture, but based on my dissertation research findings in which I problematize both "collaboration" and "community" this ideal somewhat alluded me. Although I was meant to work with TOCaDI and the Botswana National Museum, the people I was to work with were no longer available or were under-resourced and my relationship with some staff members of these institutions changed, ultimately altering what I could do with my mapping project.

Part of the conservation efforts for the Tsodilo Hills includes a set of five trails highlighting the area's archaeological and natural heritage: Rhino Trail, Cliff Trail, Lion Trail, and Male Hill Trail, and Male Hill Summit Trail. These trails provide visitors with direction through the unique geological, ecological, archaeological, and cultural offerings of the hills. The focus of this mapping project is the intangible heritage of one tourist trail: Rhino Trail. The maps produced from this project can be revised to showcase an interpretive Rhino Trail, which links its intangible heritage with its archaeological and natural heritage. As per my agreement with TOCaDI and WIMSA, these maps will be made available to the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu to sell to tourists who hire them as guides or the Tsodilo residents to use themselves (see Figure A.1 for a mapping sample of intangible heritage). In addition to the intangible heritage of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu, I also map their memories and stories of residing at the hills before the government of Botswana relocated them in 1994 to "conserve" the area.

For my dissertation research, I conducted and recorded extensive interviews with Tsodilo residents, in part, with regards to the site's intangible heritage. Later, I conducted more focused interviews with select informants to learn the meanings of place names and stories related to locations on Rhino Trail, such as about rock art and archaeological sites. I also asked about plant

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[1] It is important to point out that none of the current heritage managers working for the Botswana National Museum were part of the 1994 heritage management plan nor do they condone what happened. In fact, with certain audiences, these heritage managers speak out against the injustice of the relocation.

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names in the informants' mother tongue languages, as well as plant uses (i.e., edible and medicinal plants). Finally, I asked about where people lived before they were relocated.

Utilizing standard anthropological methods, such as participant observation, direct observation, and in-depth interviews, I documented some of the intangible heritage of the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu residing nearby Tsodilo. I recorded my field notes, photographs, images, and voice and video recording on my laptop computer. I took geographic coordinates of points and sites of interest with a Global Positioning Systems (GPS) unit as well. The purpose of this project is to map aspects of the intangible heritage of the Tsodilo Hills that the Ju|'hoansi and Hambukushu are willing to disclose and with the understanding that the products of this research project will potentially be shared with the public in the form of interpretive maps. I had already acquired GIS shapefiles for the area's orthographic imagery, elevation, zoning, roads, land use, tourist trails, vegetation, and other points of interests.

There are also methodological issues of using GIS to map intangible heritage. First of all, it is challenging to decide what aspects of intangible heritage to collect. Due to the broad understanding of what intangible heritage can entail, the researcher should select specific types of intangible heritage to record. For example, in this project, I chose to collect stories about places and archaeological sites and knowledge about plants and other resources. Second, there is the issue of representing intangible heritage attributes. In this project, I decided to enter text information and photographs related to points of interest (video and audio files could also be inserted). The topical areas of which I asked questions are:

(1) Specific reflections on the landscape of Rhino Trail
(2) Named landmarks with stories
(3) Remembrances of things that happened along the trail or in the area
(4) Comments on rock art and archaeological sites
(5) Comments on trail locations
(6) Remembrances of the settlements where people in Tsodilo come from

In representing this material for visual outputs, I can generate maps with call-out bubbles for the text and with photos. This is helpful so that guides can show this information to tourists. For the reasons I discuss earlier, there is understandable concern with GIS representing cultural information because of what it can be used for and because of how it represents information. I advocate a collaborative approach with the people whose intangible heritage is being collected in order to gain information about their intangible heritage and respecting to which types of their intangible heritage one can achieve access.

In addition to the difficulties of visualizing intangible heritage, I also had to be careful that the intangible heritage collected and displayed was not inappropriate for outsiders. Thus I collected stories about certain places along one trail—Rhino Trail, which is the only trail that is signposted—of which stories are already being told to tourists. All of the stories that I recorded are already shared with tourists, and other researchers have already published some of the stories, though I was able to collect different versions of these stories. My recording of these stories in a GIS database, however, has the potential to permit better monitoring of their relevance to the site as it is increasingly developed for tourism, and as local residents' knowledge of the site changes

due, in part, to their decisively restricted access to the very hills that were inscribed because of their special relationship to them.

Furthermore, I also kept note of the stories of habitation where the Ju|'hoansi once lived near the base of Male Hill before they were relocated in 1994 due to the first heritage management plan for the site. Not only do I have stories, but I also have photographs showing the old settlements in the hills from the 1960s to the 1980s (see Figure A.2 for a mapping sample of past Ju|'hoansi settlements). This is a case when mapping intangible heritage can go beyond the problematic representational issues to actually be a tool on behalf of marginalized peoples that it might otherwise work against.

Research Results

This research project addresses three main issues, which I briefly evaluate here.

(1) Intangible heritage, such as stories and knowledge about plant products, can be recorded using digital voice recording (with translation and transcription later), photography, video recording, and taking geographic coordinates with GPS units. These data can easily be integrated in a GIS database to monitor the changing stories, plant product localities, and plant product uses over time.

Due the dynamism of GIS, all of this recording work is possible, and, based on the visual outputs, can be effective in monitoring the inevitable change of intangible heritage associated with more tangible heritage. However, it is important to remain selective with regards to large file sizes required for voice and video recordings. For instance, I primarily entered typed text and photographs for this project.

(2) Recording intangible heritage benefits the management of tangible heritage because the uses of the tangible heritage can be understood in relation to the intangible heritage of the site. This improved understanding can help to provide more localized conservation strategies to the heritage management plans already in place.

The intangible heritage related to material culture and social landscapes refers to stories about places, religious practices, and knowledge about plant products, among other intangible forms. For the reasons that I introduce above, it is important to be aware of and record at least some of the associated intangible heritage in order to better understand the context of archaeological and other material culture remains within the human environment. Recording intangible heritage can assist in developing more sustainable conservation strategies of both tangible and intangible heritage through an enhanced knowledge of local beliefs and practices. For example, by knowing which sites are culturally special or taboo, heritage managers can make better-informed decisions about granting access to tourists to such sites.

(3) By doing research using a collaborative approach, the process and results of the research will be richer in terms of information gained, more feasible in terms of working around local residents' preferences, and more beneficial in terms of serving the needs of the local communities.

Collaboration is ideally the way forward in heritage research, but it can be especially problematic given the many stakeholders and local and national politics in which these research projects take place. Thus a more long-term dedication to understanding the particular set of issues within communities affected by heritage management can assist in at least partially circumnavigating some of the rather disastrous effects that heritage management potentially has.

Conclusion

The seemingly arbitrary divisions between tangible and intangible heritage are more easily theorized then they are accounted for in the recording work of heritage management, a field that has long prioritized the study and conservation of archaeological, historic, and ethnographic materials and sites. The values imbued upon tangible heritage, and a more ecological perspective concerning the interrelatedness of people's knowledge, stories, and religious practices with material culture and place, require that heritage managers provide more dynamic expressions of the tangible remains of the past. Material culture is still often interpreted to some degree in isolation of its more localized meanings, which enables heritage managers to produce etic interpretations that can serve to secularize local heritage or unknown heritage (and thus "created" heritage). This is also problematic because mapping intangible heritage, or intellectual property, can be used against people as a way of inventorying and monitoring (and surveillance).

By employing a feminist research agenda, I was able to better interrogate the impacts of my own research on the local residents of Tsodilo with whom I worked and for whom I hoped my research would benefit. Based on my ethnographic and archival research for my dissertation, I recognized that a mapping project would not necessarily be as useful to the community members as it would to the institutions with which I affiliated officially or less formally. Thus the seemingly obvious question of where and how the Tsodilo residents have or had a relationship with the hills required a new emphasis on memory; this type of research would be much more relevant to the Tsodilo residents given the ongoing transformation of the hills into a tourism destination.
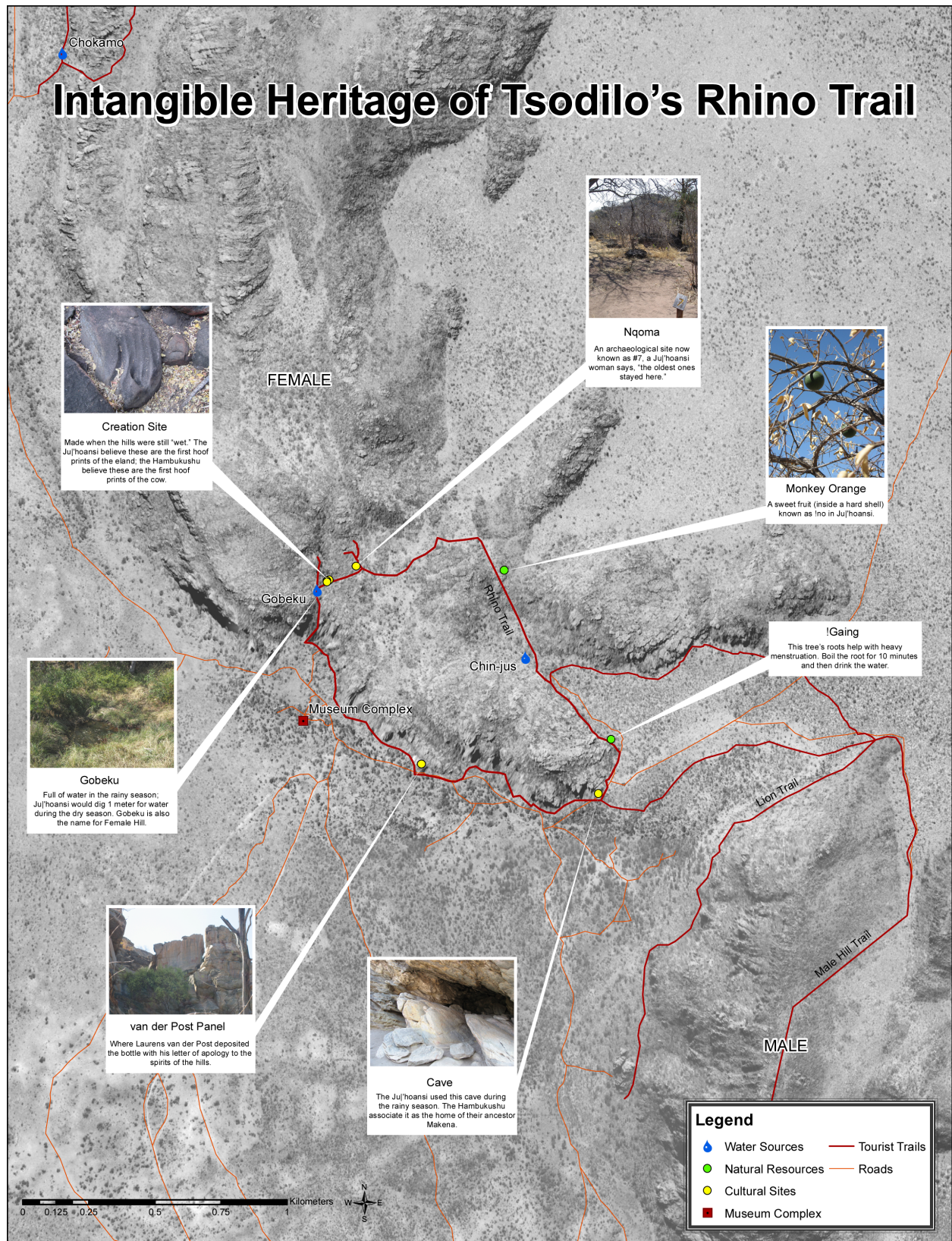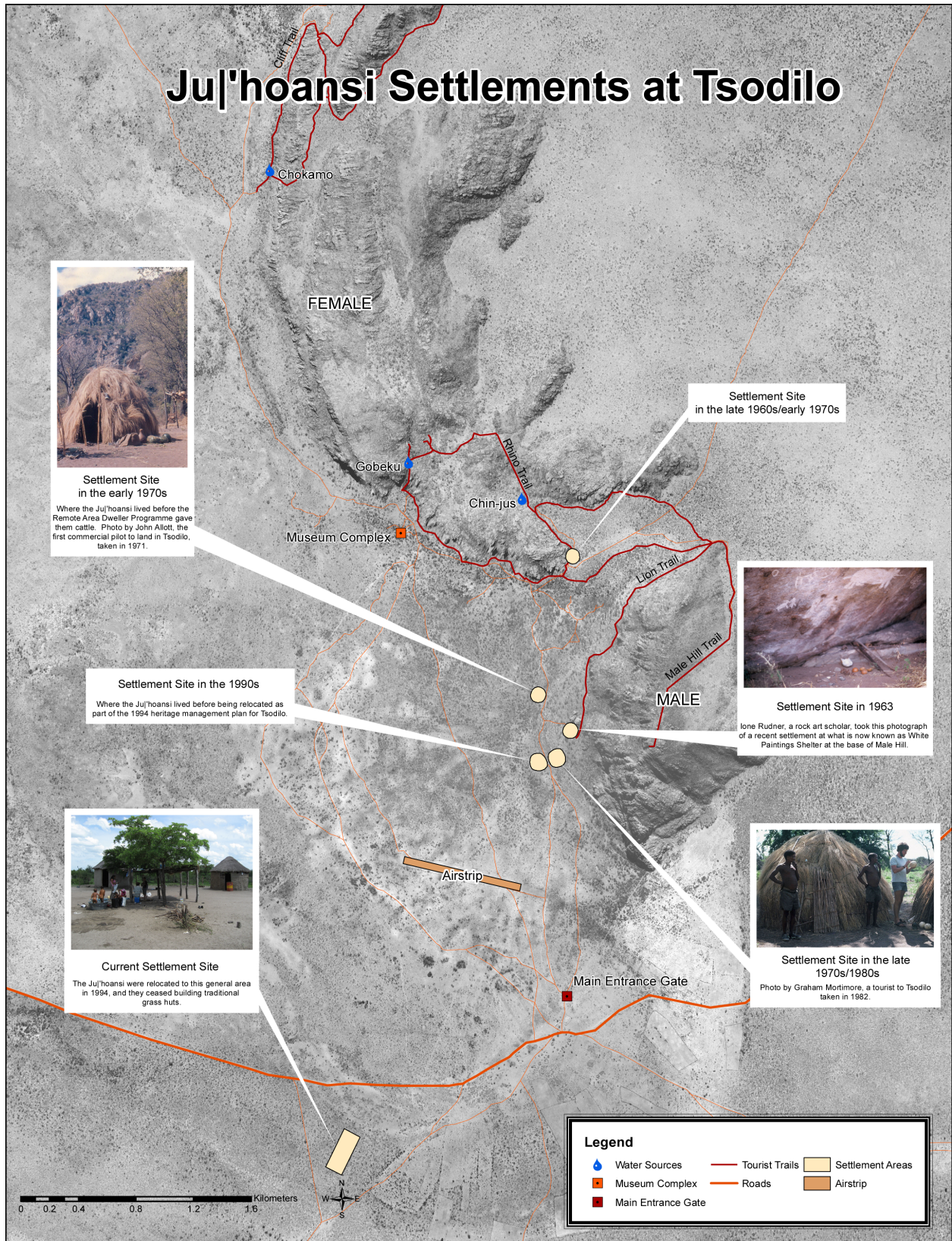
Figure A.1

Ju|'hoansi Settlements at Tsodilo

Settlement Site
in the early 1970s

Where the Ju|'hoansi lived before the
Remote Area Dweller Programme gave
them cattle. Photo by John Allott, the
first commercial pilot to land in Tsodilo,
taken in 1971.

Settlement Site
in the late 1960s/early 1970s

Settlement Site in 1963

Ione Rudner, a rock art scholar, took this photograph
of a recent settlement at what is now known as White
Paintings Shelter at the base of Male Hill.

Settlement Site in the 1990s

Where the Ju|'hoansi lived before being relocated as
part of the 1994 heritage management plan for Tsodilo.

Current Settlement Site

The Ju|'hoansi were relocated to this general area
in 1994, and they ceased building traditional
grass huts.

Settlement Site in the late
1970s/1980s

Photo by Graham Mortimore, a tourist to Tsodilo
taken in 1982.

FEMALE

MALE

Chokamo

Gobeku

Chin-jus

Museum Complex

Cliff Trail

Rhino Trail

Lion Trail

Male Hill Trail

Airstrip

Main Entrance Gate

Legend

Water Sources
Museum Complex
Main Entrance Gate
Tourist Trails
Roads
Settlement Areas
Airstrip

Kilometers
0   0.2   0.4   0.8   1.2   1.6

Figure A.2

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