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The Presentation of Traditional Activities in Cultural Tourism among the Ju/'hoansi in Living Museums and Cultural Villages of North-Eastern Namibia

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1. Introduction

“We came to say good morning as every day, when the people of Doupos joyfully started to whisper and busily look for things in their houses and huts. My colleague Josef and I stood around wondering, as often not understanding the language and the signs, asking ourselves what was happening. Speaking in Ju/’hoansi, the men and women started wrapping us in Kudu and Springboek skins, decorating us with colourful beaded necklaces, fitting us headbands, bags and hunting or gathering tools and insisted that we keep our shoes on because our delicate feet were not used to the bush soil. Perfectly adapted to the visitors’ habits, the San immediately arranged us into groups, placed us in front of perfect photography scenarios with huts, fire places and the bush in the background and took pictures of us. The two young guys of about 17 years were laughingly putting on their traditional costumes too, !Kunta leaving on his neon coloured underpants and receiving instructions and advice from the elders who tiredly decided to stay in the ‘modern village’ and follow their everyday tasks. In a very casual and funny mood the two teenagers took us into the bush for their voluntarily organized hunting and gathering walk (From my field diary, August 2014).”

This event taking place on the 20th of August 2014, during my second field research in a Cultural Village of the Ju/’hoansi located in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy of North-Eastern Namibia, reveals the key elements I will be discussing in the course of this master’s thesis. The Ju/’hoansi San, often categorized as ‘authentic’ hunters and gatherers in the media, are today in some cases involved in touristic businesses, being paid for the performance of ‘traditional’ activities and therefore used to deal with the desires and habits of international visitors. For this purpose the visual appearance is modified, changing everyday clothing with traditional dresses and switching location, marking a seemingly clear separation between the space of tourism activity and the one for living. Everyday tasks are a regular occupation, in contrast to the time-limited touristic performances. The children and teenagers, growing up in this complex and diversified context, develop their own playful strategies to deal with cultural performances and take chances to rehearse their embodied and acquired knowledge.

Anthropologists are frequent visitors and, as long-duration guests in their so-called ‘modern villages’ receive, a different treatment than one-day tourists. In the fieldwork situation the ethnological research becomes itself a performance and the question of “(...) *who is performing for whom* (Korom 2013: 4).” arises. I was part of a collective field practice organized by

Werner Zips and Manuela Zips-Mairitsch in January 2014, enabled by the University of Vienna. It led us to Cultural Villages and Living Museums in Namibia and carried the title “Life in a ‘Living Museum’ – The Cultural Marketing of San Communities in Northern Namibia”. In two weeks, together with 20 other students we visited four touristic villages for some days each: Grashoek and //Xa/oba – or the ‘Little Hunter’s Museum’ - are Living Museums, Doupos is a Cultural Village and with Djokhoe, the last three mentioned are part of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. The aim was to practice anthropological research methods and to explore the marketing strategies of the indigenous San communities working in tourism.

In August and September 2014, I carried out a longer field research, together with my colleague Josef Wukovits. We travelled back to Namibia and after two weeks in Windhoek lived in the ‘modern village’ of Doupos for three weeks, where, because of some reasons I will explain later on, we did not attend touristic activities. The methodology and anthropological approach was quite different in the two field researches, allowing different views on the topic and opening new points of discussion, the reason why critical comparison is required.

The Ju/’hoansi are a subgroup of the San living in Southern Africa (Suzman 2001). Their physical appearance, the remarkable language including four click sounds, the hunter-gatherer lifestyle and their image as people ‘from the past’, living in harmony with nature, have attracted anthropologists and scientists since the 19th century and later also filmmakers and novel writers. This inspired romanticising literature and movies and motivated - often evolutionist - ethnological research (Barnabas/ Finlay 2012: 75ff.), making the San one among the best ‘explored’ indigenous societies worldwide (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 22).

In the past, the San suffered violence and marginalisation from neighbouring groups and later the national state (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011; Zips-Mairitsch 2009), as it happened to so many minority indigenous societies around the world. Nowadays, a global tendency towards cultural commercialization for touristic purposes can be observed in many indigenous communities. Tourism is the largest industry worldwide and occupies about a third of world exports (Urry 2002); it is either a ‘chance’ or a ‘threat’ for many people. These judgemental juxtapositions are part of vivid popular discussions and academic researches contextualizing tourism either as empowerment or exploitation for indigenous peoples. I rather tend to rely on authors who theorize cultural marketing as empowerment and strategy containing elements of change, invention and creativity.

With few alternative sources of income some of the Ju/'hoansi in Namibia equally got involved in the tourism business and are guided by larger projects with the aim to empower them. Conservancies are areas of land, on which communities are managers over territory and wildlife and which combine nature conservation and human development (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 199f.). The Nyae Nyae Conservancy was the first built on communal land in Namibia and is situated in the Tsumkwe District, where most of the Ju/'hoansi live (ibid: 206). Tourism was recognized as an important potential source for economic growth and since the 1990s the 'Community Based Natural Resource Management' CBNRM, combines the three areas. The power of decision lies with the Ju/'hoansi living there, who further offer touristic activities in Cultural Villages (Van der Burg 2013: 11).

The Living Museums are part of a project by the 'Living Culture Foundation Namibia' LCFN¹, initiated by Werner Pfeifer, a German-Namibian. He himself describes the concept as Open-Air-Museums, in which actors show how their culture was before colonization, but accentuating the fact that it is not their way of living today anymore. The foundation offers them aid and training, but no economic help (Werner Pfeifer, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek).

The Ju/'hoansi organized themselves and used or reconstructed their costumes, tools, and huts, taking their cultural heritage as a means of generating income. They offer different established activities for paying visitors with the aim to show the 'authentic' cultural life of their ancestors, including Bushwalks, Hunting Trips, Craft Making activities, dance and game performances, storytelling and Healing Dances with differing duration and interaction. For the cultural performances the Ju/'hoansi prepare themselves in several ways, mostly replacing their usual clothes with 'traditional' attire, giving the performances an 'authentic' appearance.

A varied number of performance styles developed in the course of cultural interpretation among the Ju/'hoansi people. From very commercialized acts for short-time tourists with restricted time performed in Safari Lodges, to adapted performances in traditional clothes in the 'natural' environment of the San and partly animating tourists to participate, up to intense and longer experiences with deeper involvement of the visitors. The Ju/'hoansi are not the only ones performing things unusual for the audience; the visitors are similarly acting on their stage and considerably influence the outcome of a performance (Goffman 1959: 232). Be-

¹ Homepage of the LCFN: <http://www.lcfn.info/>, 31.05.2016, 10.30.

cause of given conditions, I was not able to collect data from tourists directly, so I will critically rely on my touristic-like experiences and those of my colleagues.

Women and men were equally important as informers and interview partners during both researches, although the female representation as guides and official touristic informers was scarcer. Starting with Richard Lee's book 'Man the Hunter', gender has always been a big concern in the research of the San. Although I consider discussions on gender as essential and as a highly considerable part of anthropological analysis, I chose not to explicitly focus on this topic, given the big extent of its debates. I would rather focus on the collective participation in cultural performances and analyse the differences or commonalities between generations, focusing on possible further developments.

Cultural Villages and Living Museums exist mainly through the use and performance of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) and less through material culture as 'ordinary' museums do (Jackson 2011). By using the term 'performance' - claiming that the San in Living Museums and Cultural Villages stage their culture - I do not suggest that a contradiction is given between preserving and performing. In a broad sense, every human action could be seen as performance; performance studies include the analysis of staged, aesthetic theatre and acting, as well as performativity in ordinary life (Schechner 2013).

The focus of performance studies is very broad, its definitions permeable. For the purpose of this thesis, the term 'performance' includes the observation of people's everyday interaction forming a staged self (Goffman 1959), including complex phases of preparation (Schechner 2013), the use of the body and its behaviours, the conscious or unconscious manipulation of specific gestures and actions, including embodied cultural practices (Bourdieu 1982), the transmission of cultural heritage through performance (Taylor 2003), incorporated (re-)identification with (re-)learned 'traditions' (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009), as well as the explicit staging of choreographed acts for economic income.

At the intersection of touristic cultural commodification and performance, MacCannel (1973) coined the term 'staged authenticity'. The discussions on 'authenticity', 'staged' culture and 'back' and 'front stage' dichotomies in touristic activities are contradictory and criticisable, but relevant in the context of the Living Museums and Cultural Villages of the Namibian San. I am not interested in answering discussions by judging and finding out through empirical

material what is 'real', 'authentic' or 'staged', what is relevant for my research is its analysis - the creative interpretations of history and culture, the economic management of heritage strategically using the body and 'traditional' knowledge and possible implications for the actors and the following generation.

I am intrigued by strategies and actions the Ju/'hoansi apply to perform cultural activities for tourists, in analysing how a performance is constructed, what kind of rules regulate the acts and how the audience is involved as part of the performance. I would further like to explore which motivations for performing exist, what significance these might have on the use of their 'traditional' knowledge and cultural identity and what kind of possible developments might arise.

In the next chapter I will offer an insight into the approach and methods used for the research and further introduce the people this thesis is about; giving a historical overview, illuminating legal aspects and giving some ethnographic information. I will then plunge into the wide topic of cultural tourism, analysing impacts and possible sustainable alternatives and then present the practical touristic and cultural offers of the Ju/'hoansi in Namibia. The thesis is then divided in a theoretical and an empirical approach and analysis of the research question. The theoretical part covers arguments on the commodification of culture, discussions on 'authenticity' as a relevant marker for tourism - although in itself a questionable term - and useful concepts from performance studies, applying them in the tourism context. I will then empirically analyse the concrete performances of the Ju/'hoansi starting with phases of preparation, the performances itself and lastly its reception and implications, concluding with possible future developments. Finally, I will trace the most relevant conclusions from the preceding discussions.

Since tourism is such a huge and fast growing economy, it is unavoidable to consider its implications. It seems to be a common concern that tourism and global dynamics might threaten or exploit local people and 'traditions'. Although this is unfortunately certainly the case in some places, it is also relevant to illustrate cases of alternative cultural tourism, considering opportunities and transformations and challenging creative interpretations of heritage not only as negative side-effects.

The San are among the most researched and described indigenous people worldwide – in the past, as well as in the present, in academics as in popular media; even the Ju/'hoansi of Doupos have vastly been observed and documented. I claim and hope that the specific approach through performance in the touristic context, including the audience' experiences, trying to perceive the actors' approach to cultural performances and exploring the new generation handling 'traditional' activities, might contribute with some interesting aspects.

2. Reflections on Research Experience

2.1. Research Questions

According to the issues presented in the introductory chapter, the following research question and further subquestions are going to lead through my argumentations:

How are cultural heritage and traditional knowledge among the Ju/'hoansi in North-Eastern Namibia used and shaped in order to create, prepare and present touristic cultural performances and which role do the latter play for the performers themselves?

How are cultural performances adapted to underlying circumstances concerning matters of saleability, 'authenticity' and innovation?

What are the motivations to participate in touristic activities and how are the commodified performances related to the daily life of the performers?

How is the (touristic) audience involved in the cultural activities and performances?

How does the young generation approach issues of traditional knowledge, cultural performances and visiting tourists and what are possible future perspectives?

2.2. Field Practice: Approach and Methods

The field practice to Namibia was my first serious experience of field research, consequently I was very excited during the first preparatory session for the travel. In this first meeting in October 2013, Werner and Manuela Zips introduced us to the field – theoretically and practically.

On the practical side, the upcoming experience promised to be a real adventure with the following depicted circumstances: a dry bush, the burning sun, the black mamba and other poisonous snakes (for me the worst of all worries), no sanitary or hygienic facilities, camping tents and 4x4 cars. The people researched could probably be begging and demanding exchange of goods for giving information and further, alcoholism was a big problem in that region. Nevertheless, a lot of positive and exciting aspects promised that the journey would be a stimulating and unforgettable experience.

On the theoretical side, the processes happening in the Living Museums and Cultural Villages sounded interesting, but puzzling. I could not really imagine how they would look like, these commodified villages with menus and paid activities. It sounded to me more like 'Disneyland' (a common accusation used for restored villages) and I almost felt a little disappointed about the circumstances, fearing that we would not be able to find out about the 'real stuff' because of people keeping up a façade. It is interesting to observe my own worries in the context of common desires and expectations of travellers, who stereotypically search for 'authentic' experiences as described in the 'The Tourist Gaze' by John Urry (2002) and want to look behind cultural staging for touristic purposes, as analysed in 'The Tourist' by Dean MacCannell (1999).

I was fascinated by the Sub-Saharan African region in general, although I did not have much previous knowledge about Southern Africa. The San are a very famous ethnic population, but I did not know much more about them, than what I knew through popular representations such as the movie "The Gods Must Be Crazy" (1980). My topical interests were material culture including clothes and crafts and immaterial heritage such as dances and performances, although the research question and approach changed several times in the course of the last two years.

From 06/01/2014 to 27/01/2014 we - a group of twenty students and our two professors - undertook a voyage to Namibia, with the aim to practice anthropological field research methods. Werner Zips and Manuela Zips-Mairitsch had already facilitated the access having gathered various contacts and knowing the people we were going to visit, relying on a ten years travelling experience to that area. We split up in smaller groups – I was in a very nice composition of nine people, including the professors and travelling to the North for about ten days, staying in four different villages (Grashoek, //Xa/oba, Doupos and Djokhoe). The time slot was of

course very restricted and since we moved from village to village, we only stayed for 2 or 3 days in each. In all villages we saw some of the commodified performances offered on the menu. For that reason, we mostly approached the San as a group and in the context of paid activities; we rarely experienced them in their daily routines or through alternative ways of earning income. This gave me the impression that their whole life revolved around touristic performances.

The methodological focus lay on narrative, formal and announced interviews which we conducted alone or in small groups either with English speaking people or facilitated through an interpreter². Consequently, the main empirical data collected, consisted of around 90 Interviews, made by different students and sometimes with the same interview partners. It is noticeable after having compared and analysed the interviews, that there is a clear coherence of answers. In fact, they were very positive towards tourism and in unison gave a description of pride regarding their cultural heritage.

Another relevant method was participant observation and, I think, the most fruitful of all - the self-reflexion through the experience of participating as a paying tourist. Standing between research and tourism, it is very important to look at one's own position in the field. Even having had more insight in their everyday-lives than a 'normal' tourist - because we stayed longer in the villages, we were allowed to enter their actual living places and our professors already knew the people - we still had a tourist-like approach. In each village we experienced at least one touristic performance and we always appeared in a larger group.

2.3. Field Research

2.3.1. Approach and Position in the Field

After having elaborated and analysed the data from the first research and written an article on the topic, my colleague from the field practice, Josef Wukovits, asked me if I was interested to accompany him back to the field, since he planned to make the research for his master thesis there. Given my interest in the topic, I wanted to see and experience more about the performances, but in a small group, and so I welcomed the challenge to stay for a longer and more intense period in only one place. I therefore agreed and we travelled back to Namibia in August 2014. We studied the same overall subject but specified our research topics.

² An interview situation in Doupos is depicted in Pic.3.

I appreciated not being alone; apart from organizational benefits, it was possible to have a scientific exchange in the field. Since we had two different research areas and because of generational differences, it was not difficult to take spaces for ourselves and different groups of interlocutors formed around us. We had daily intense discussion and exchanged ideas about the things we saw and the thoughts that we had. We spent one and a half months in the field; the first 10 days, from 04/08/2014 to 14/08/2014 in Windhoek and then for three weeks in the village Doupos from 16/08/2014 to 05/09/2014.

In Windhoek we organized meetings with people from different institutions to reach a contextualisation of the topic and to conduct expert interviews. We casually met people from different ethnic backgrounds of Namibia – which gave me a more national view on the San. We further met several travellers, whom we informally chatted with about their expectations when travelling to indigenous communities. On our way to the North we stumbled upon some alternative cultural performance styles of the Ju/'hoansi, such as a 'Bushwalk' in the 'N/a'an ku sê Lodge' near Windhoek and touristic dances in the 'Tsumkwe Country Lodge'.

In Tsumkwe, the most important town for the Ju/'hoansi of North-Eastern Namibia, we met the tourist guide Tsemkgao !L/ae nicknamed 'Smallboy'. We knew him already from our previous research and he facilitated our access to the village of Doupos, inhabited by around 50 people. They had already been informed, since I had made the approach through Facebook, being in contact with Quinten Gerrie, 18 year old son of Gerrie Cigae Cwi. The latter is the pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in Tsumkwe, a key figure in the organizing committee and treasurer of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. He describes himself headman of Doupos, responsible for the infrastructure in the village.

Surprisingly and without asking for it, we were allowed to place our car with the roof tent directly inside the living space of Doupos and not as we had expected on the camping site near to the 'cultural village'. We were assigned the place on the ground of the house of the pastor's family, which allowed us precious insight in the every-day life of the villagers. Given this fact, we found ourselves in what MacCannell (1973) would have called the 'backstage'-area. And we sometimes really felt like this, because unfortunately we were not allowed to see the touristic performances. The people informed us that they did not want us to come with them to the activities and having been welcomed so warmly, we did not want to abuse their kindness and so accepted their decision.

We were very surprised, because through fearful imagination we had rather seen ourselves surrounded by tourist buses staying with us on the camping site. We later realized that on the one hand, the Ju/'hoansi did not understand our interest about the tourists, since in their opinion they could offer us much more interesting activities. On the other hand, it had to do with the organizational aspect of the touristic activities being officially booked in the lodge. I had originally planned to observe and interview the tourists, as a very relevant part of the whole process. Since it was not possible, I will therefore partly rely on my own and my colleagues' self-experience and on literature research.

Retrospectively, I am thankful for how things went, because I can consequently compare two very different approaches - a more touristic perspective, when in January we mainly experienced the performances as an audience and as short-time travellers, and the perspective from the backstage-area in August, when we were regularly left back and observed the 'actors' go on stage, heard the singing from the distance and saw them coming back some hours later. We participated in some 'private' activities they arranged for us. In all cases it was them proposing to do something and each time there were remarkable differences to the activities we had experienced as 'tourists' back in January.

The differentiation between being an anthropologist or a tourist can blur and lose its relevance, as I agree with Crick, who already twenty years ago suggested a partial identitarian overlap between these two categories (Crick 1995). The difference may lay within the motivations for, and the length and extent of the residence in a foreign place (*ibid*). Relevant in my opinion are however the statements and categorisations of the hosting people, which will further influence the relations of the travellers to the visited population.

Different factors made me think, that in this second research period we were not seen as tourists. Given the fact, that the Ju/'hoansi of Doupos have already been broadly researched for decades, they are used to anthropologists staying at their place and asking intrusive questions. So they may have developed different kinds of categorizing white visitors. Not wanting to dichotomize too much their point of view, but with a wish to understand why they would not want us to go on the touristic performances with them, I could imagine that the people did not want to mix up our roles and positions. It would have been unclear for us and them to regularly jump between hosts at the village, paying visitors in the activities and official researchers with technical equipment.

I was trying to position myself as a guest and as an anthropologist. On the one hand, I felt integrated in family relations, experiencing everyday-life activities and playing with the children, but then regularly tried to remind myself of my 'real' task for these weeks. I felt that I could not jump between the roles and opted for a very participative and less formal approach. The researcher is included in the field and inevitably influences the situation – it is therefore impossible not to integrate him or her, searching for a more objective methodology (Mboti 2012: 53ff). Mboti - part of a larger researching group, studying the San in Southern Africa in the context of cultural tourism - proposes to engage in 'lived' contexts with 'lived methodology', including and analysing the anthropologists' role and engaging in the performative aspects of cultural situations, seeing research as a performance itself (ibid: 56ff.).

The very first approach in Doupos was successful, since after our arrival, the people kindly offered for us to stay directly in their private sphere. Nevertheless in the first two days we asked ourselves how we would best become integrated in the community. The people were friendly but quite shy towards us and I was struggling with my position, not knowing if I should plunge myself directly into the field or rather respect their hospitality without intruding their private sphere too much. I did not understand the language and so I did not know what the people were talking about when I passed by them.

I immediately started joining the women's circles, sitting together and making crafts and jewellery, which was the perfect approach to sit and talk with them for the whole day. On the third day – I was working with beads with Xoan//a, the daughter of the famous healer !Kunta Boo and important key figure in the village and Josef was sitting around a fireplace in the neighbouring court with Xoan//a's daughter Dixao - we were each formally adopted by a member of the village. Further our San-names were chosen and yelled all over the place to all the people to memorize them, since we would from then on exclusively be addressed with these names. Xoan//a declared herself my grandmother and gave me her name, I later became the daughter of !Kunta Boo and his wife N!ae. Josef had become the son of Dixao and got the name of her shy husband ≠Oma. We got beaded jewellery from our new family members during the course of our stay. Since then we felt more integrated into the village dynamics and in my 'grandmother' I found an important contact person and motherly protection.

This imaginary ties of relationship were not logical but known by all people – including relatives staying in Tsumkwe - and were kept for our whole period of residence. The name rela-

tionships exist among the Ju/'hoansi parallel to kinship-relations (Lee 1993: 61ff.). Elder people name younger ones after themselves, it is never the parents giving their children their names. There is only a restricted repertoire of names (in the 1960's Richard Lee counted 35 male and 32 female names) and nicknames are added to differentiate people with the same names. There is no genealogical sense in these constructed relationships, the ties relate people to each other who are far relatives and they exist throughout a lifetime. All anthropologists that remain longer in the field are re-named and their Western names lose importance as soon as the Ju/'hoansi want to address them regularly; some are further adopted and included in kin ties (Lee 1993: 61-78).

The practical circumstances including lack of hygienic facilities or electricity and little private space were not at all a problem to us. Personally however, some doubts and worries approached me, which mainly derived from language and communication problems and from my own insecurity about my position. People sometimes quite directly approached me asking for things, mainly money, tobacco and especially for every single piece of clothing I was wearing. This behaviour seemed quite rude to me, considering my own culturally shaped education. We paid our 'rent', but did not explicitly pay for private cultural activities and we were not able to organize them directly with the residents, without the help of Smallboy or a translator. At the end we distributed gifts and clothes to say thank you and goodbye and people were almost aggressively taking things and blaming us if some of them did not get any goods. I partly considered that as part of the language problems, not being able to express complex forms of gratitude for sharing goods, but partly I could simply not understand. We once therefore consulted Gerrie Cigae Cwi, to translate our thanks and asked for feedback about our cohabitation. The most important persons of Doupos reunited and expressed their warm hospitality, thanking us for our visit and we found out that our staying did not seem to be too much of a burden to them.

Once we prepared a surprise - we bought a goat and gave it as a present for the people in Doupos. We expected a warm thanking and a big village festivity. Instead, the goat was taken, prepared and eaten and afterwards everyone split; Josef and I were quite disappointed about our generosity not being explicitly rewarded. Only back home I read Richard Lee's 'Eating Christmas in the Kalahari' - a similar story, but with an ox for Christmas Eve instead of a goat. Lee found out that joking and insulting the meat given by a member of the community is a strategy to avoid that the hunter becomes too arrogant and to enable fair sharing and equali-

ty (Lee 1993: 186ff.). We could be grateful that in our case the meat was not insulted, probably because of courtesy towards western guests and because of the incorporated gentle behaviour towards touristic visitors.

Especially the children were very important in the first days of insecurity, and they constantly surrounded and followed us from the first minutes. The children and young adults were the only people who accompanied us to the performing area with. They did all the activities we had experienced with the adults in exchange for fees during the first field research. Imitating the performances they had observed, children explained bush food and made private singing and dancing sessions around a fire but laughing and experimenting. The children were our gatekeepers to the community and our closest contacts.

2.3.2. Methods used in the Field

I discovered what was for me, a new method to get in contact with people. I started to draw a portrait of almost each person living in Doupos. Through this activity I could sit with them for hours, having an occupation. After a while people came to me and asked me to draw them or someone else; it became an attraction not only for the children, as always a large group of people reunited around me and watched me drawing, making comments. The drawings were passed around several times per day and when new people arrived, they always had to take a look at the pictures. I had around twenty intimate minutes with each person, with intense exchange of looks and sometimes people relaxed and started to tell stories or answer my questions in a mixture of English, Ju/'hoan and gestures. At the end I gave each person a copy of his or her drawing, to express my thanks and leave a memory of our visit. Going back half a year later, Werner Zips and Manuela Zips-Mairitsch told me that the drawings had been kept and were proudly shown to them remembering our stay at the village.

I did a lot of participant observation - getting up in the morning I used to go to the groups of people, mainly women, sitting around the fire and producing crafts; especially the making of jewellery has a central meaning in everyday life. I normally spent the whole day there, sitting around, learning craft making techniques, eating and drinking with them and making my own pieces that were partly sold in their craft shop. Through this approach I had several informal conversations, acquired knowledge through the process of "learning by doing" and recognized aspects and connections relevant for the research.

I recognized that Interviews were not a suitable method to get information from the residents of Doupos during this second field research. As soon as people saw the recorder or if we asked an official translator to sit with us, the friendly atmosphere faded and people were suddenly very 'busy' with other things. I felt I would have to decide between approaching the village life as a person - from which they were aware it was a researcher - but living and experiencing everyday-life, gathering my information through informal talk and participation or between being a formal researcher and so automatically keeping up a certain distance. In that case I would have received the formalized answers that were interiorized through decades of interview giving to (western) scholars as I could see in the very similar answers given in most of the interviews in the field practice. Nevertheless, they were interesting to analyse, to see how some people depicted themselves officially speaking for the recorder. In narrative interviews held at the end of my second field research, my partners started to describe things that completely contradicted the way of life I had observed and discussed with them in the weeks before.

Language was a big and constant problem during the research, because only some young boys spoke English, but not on a very high level. Through the practical approach we 'talked', using words of English, Ju/'hoan and Afrikaans and a lot of gesticulation and pointing at objects. To explain something, people tended to demonstrate it instead of explaining it. I learned a few basic words and sentences in Ju/'hoan and people were very happy and proud to teach me.

I see it as a considerable shortcoming not being able to understand informal talks and to have reduced comprehension during interviews. A translator could never reproduce the subtle details of a speech and creates a new context when coming from outside and being paid. That is a reason why my research methods in the second phases shifted to more practical approaches. I followed the circumstances, adapted to situations and considered myself as part of the performance.

Relying on Malinowski, Korom states the importance of including observation into anthropological fieldwork methods, to complete and challenge the words of the subjects, since its recordings alone would not be able to catch the whole cultural and social context and atmosphere (Korom 2013: 3). Taylor regards embodied behaviour and performances as storages of memories, systems of learning and relevant transmitters of knowledge (2003: 2f.). The occupation with nonverbal practices involving unwritten and performed knowledge requires direct

engagement and dialogue with the people and the methodologies for its research have to be revised constantly (ibid: 12). Engaging in ‘lived’ contexts requires ‘lived’ methods that include the researcher as part of an interactive performance (Mboti 2012: 55). Since my research question revolves around intangible heritage and lived practices, my methods required an active engagement in the field.

The two researches are very different from each other because of the approach we had and we had to have, given certain circumstances built by the people we were travelling with and to. This influenced my methodology and further my topic, for example having to re-consider front- and backstage concepts and focusing on the new generation – the children and young adults who respond to and re-develop cultural performances.

2.4. Methods

2.4.1. Data Collection

I extensively positioned myself during the last chapters and described the circumstances that influenced my research. I shall list and describe the concrete empirical methods applied in the field during this chapter.

Goffman (1959) considered human interaction inside a theatre metaphor and analysed society through the direct interaction between people. According to him, the actors cannot verbally articulate the knowledge about their actions. He therefore proposes naturalistic and participative observation as the only method to gather empirical data and excludes interviews and verbal information (Willens 2012: 42f.). Although I partly rely on Goffman on a theoretical level, I do not stick too much to his methods, opting for a triangulation of methods in which different perspectives are combined (Flick 2012: 309). I applied different methods according to the situation and the research questions (Lübers 2012: 393). Given the frame of a field practice, I further used an investigator-triangulation, since the empirical data derives from different researchers concerned with the same overall topic (Flick 2012: 312)

Narrative Interviews are used to detect specific patterns of action through a rather colloquial and open approach. The interviewer starts by introducing himself and proceeds by posing an open and wide-ranging starting question, inviting the narrator to speak extensively and associatively, with as many details as possible and choosing him/ herself the order and the con-

tents of his answer (Sieder 2008). The aim is to make the interviewee tell a story, describe an experience or a characteristic routine. Narration is a fundamental strategy to let people connect actions between each other, including the revision, analysis and evaluation of personal experiences (Mayring 2002: 72).

The first question is crucial - for the rest of the interview, the researcher leads his interviewee through short instructions or questions if necessary, but does not interrupt the narration. At the end, a more intense phase of questions can help to clarify open arguments (Sieder 2008). The difficulty is to find an interview partner who will possibly narrate extensively and who has relevant information to contribute to the topic (Mayring 2002: 74). This form of interview is useful for anthropological research, when the exploration of subjective feelings and opinions of the actors involved in a phenomenon are of importance (ibid: 74). The interview situation is a social action, created through the dialogical interaction between the researcher and the researched.

This form of interview was relevant for the collection of my data, given the fact that my topic includes individual choices and challenges for the people concerned. The problems with narrative interviews in my case were the lack of language knowledge from both sides and that many interview partners (especially the less experienced) were often intimidated by our questions and only answered with short sentences. A further problem was our inexperience during the first field practice in making interviews. As a consequence most of us tended to pose more detailed questions, desperately trying to animate the people to speak. Interestingly the answers of our interlocutors were sometimes quite similar to each other – giving the impression that the Ju/'hoansi rely on a range of suitable answers for this kind of scholar interviews.

I can rely on a collection of 75 interviews (of which two were held during the 2nd field research), that were conducted by our research group - 20 students including myself and two professors – mainly with San people of the visited villages and involved in touristic performances. These narrative interviews were performed in groups or alone, sometimes one interview partner appears in several interviews or similar contents are included. The levels of experience and the style of posing questions differ considerably on the side of interviewers as well as of the interviewees.

I had a semi-structured guideline prepared for each interview, including the topics I was interested to hear about, which was then changed individually during the conversation. Each interview has been recorded and then transcribed for further analysis. Transcriptions are necessary to secure the spoken word, with the aim to obtain a detailed documentation of an interview, although the transcription methods and styles can differ considerably (Kowal/ O’Connell 2012: 438). The method I applied was a detailed word by word, literary transcription, in which grammatical errors as well as breaks and emotional expressions were included; but not using a phonetical transcription (Mayring 2002 89ff.). Only when the interview partner was hardly understandable, because of language difficulties or atmospheric noises, I chose to extract and sum up only the relevant parts I could follow.

Expert Interviews rely on a pre-structured guideline of specific questions prepared for the respective expert, but are open for new points of discussion that may arise during the conversation (Halbmayer/ Salat 2011: 22). The aim is to acquire specific information about processes, institutions or developments in a specific area, through the profound knowledge of long-time experts in the field.

My empirical data includes 17 expert interviews from the field practice in January and 6 from the second research in August. They were conducted with chosen experts and representatives from various significant institutions in the area. The relevant organizations were WIMSA – (Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa)³, LCFN (Living Culture Foundation Namibia)⁴, MAN (Museums Association of Namibia)⁵ and NNC (Nyae Nyae Conservancy). Further important individual experts were the primary school teachers in Grashoek, the teacher adviser of the San Education Project in Tsumkwe, the ‘G!hunku Crafts’ shop manager in Tsumkwe, pastor and headman of Doupos Gerrie Cigae Cwi and the tourist guide of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge Smallboy. These people were helpful in contextualizing the processes, analysing the current situation and giving specific and useful information.

Informal Talks are unstructured and casual and are partly led into specific directions by questions or actions of the researcher (Halbmayer/ Salat 2011: 20). Informal talks appeared especially during my second field research, when I spent a lot of time with the people of

³ For further information on Wimsa: <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/wimsa>, 01.08.2016, 10.30

⁴ Homepage of the LCFN: <http://www.lcfn.info/>, 31.05.2016, 10.30.

⁵ Homepage of MAN <http://www.museums.com.na/>, 01.08.2016, 10.30

Doupos, actively participating in the village tasks. While sitting around, making jewellery or drawing, I could start conversations or ask specific things I was interested in without formally marking it as an interview. I was partly able to record them, but mostly wrote them down immediately after talking, asking the people to spell special words or expressions. This method would have been more efficient knowing the native language, but hand signs and pantomimic representations together with specific terms and keywords were still helpful in my case.

Participant observation is since Bronislaw Malinowski's field research on the Trobriand Islands in the 1910s, the most significant method of anthropological field research. As an alternative to extracting words and narrations of participants about specific practices, observation tries to involve the researcher into processes on a long-term basis, plunging him into daily life activities (Lüders 2012: 384). Field research is that kind of qualitative research method, that leads the anthropologist into the 'natural' field of the 'research objects' and participative observation is therefore the active involvement of the researcher in the field (Mayring 2002: 54, 80). The results are expected to be closer to the actors' inner world and the researcher has to follow and adapt to the situation, mostly not being able to follow a concrete research plan (ibid: 55).

“Participation enables the ethnographer to learn about events, feelings, rules and norms in context rather than asking about them. (...) It enables the entire context of an event to be included in the observation, rather than relying on the interpretation, recollection and reordering of events that tend to go with reporting (O'Reilly 2009: 160).”

Since the main focus of my master's thesis are performances in all its phases, participative observation has been a very relevant method to capture and experience lived practices. The extent of participation in my empirical observation method varied from situation to situation - being more passive during official and staged cultural performances, more performative when being included in the interactive performance activities of the Ju/'hoansi and very participative in the village itself, actively learning and participating in everyday tasks.

The observed information has to be documented and protocolled and that is an essential part in the process of collecting empirical data (Lüders 2012: 396). The discussions recalled from the observation are written down and undergo a process of transformation through the narrative exposition by the researcher (ibid: 396). I daily actualized my field notes with observa-

tions and experiences I made and wrote an extensive and detailed field diary during my stay. I further included informal talks, special terms, sketches of the villages, genealogical trees, craft making techniques, specific explanations and other things I thought would be useful for further analysis.

Self- Reflection is essential in anthropological research, to avoid authoritative deductions and considering that field research is not an isolated action on a neutral spot (Korom 2013: 55). Mboti proposes an auto-reflexive and action-oriented approach to research, challenging the notion of subjective methods as negative side-effects of the empirical approach. He therefore stands for an explicit inclusion of the researcher in the relation to the researched in the field (Mboti 2012: 53ff.).

The anthropological data consist to a large extent of the (subjective) interpretations of the person in the field; knowledge is not observer-independent and the cultural text is built through dialogue and reciprocal observation (Mboti 2012: 60). One's own emotions are relevant for the outcome of the research, the anthropologist cannot simply switch them off during fieldwork and personal conflicts with people may arise, during the interaction with others (Korom 2013: 63-70). It is therefore interesting to go through self-reflection and step aside to observe oneself in the context of the field.

I experienced myself how the methods and the outcome of a field research are subjective and suggestible. I further realized, how flexible my own role in the field was and how this influenced my perspective on the topic. It was therefore important to reflect my own position in the interaction with colleagues, representatives from official organizations and the hosts – as a tourist, as an anthropologist, as a guest, as a learner. I will not use myself as a research object, but I will consider my experiences and my emotions as a participant during field experience.

Photography and video are used for the documentation of specific procedures and used in combination with field notes (Halbmayer/ Salat 2011: 55). Although film and photography seem to catch reality more objectively than through the transformative process of transcribing or writing field notes, they are equally only a subjective perspective of the person capturing the images (Denzin 2010: 423). Film and photography speak a language of emotions and meanings, codifying and framing reality for the viewer (ibid: 423). Therefore a critical use of visual material has to be applied for its use in academic research, considering the emotions

pictures evoke in the eyes of the observer and connecting the images to one's research question (ibid: 426f.).

The visual material in my case served as supporting data to the documented one and helped to visualise the intangible performances I could not extensively describe through writing. Back from the field I was then able to observe movements, gestures and preparations through the visual and moving images. In the course of this master thesis I will rely on the collected visual material as essential data for my analysis.

Portrait drawing served especially as a medium to approach and make contact with people and can be considered as a supportive method for starting informal talks. It partly inspired people to start drawing themselves and represented a social event for all the people in Doupos. Whereas drawing was a relevant part of old-school anthropological expeditions before photography, it is nowadays seldom considered. Carol Hendrickson used drawing as a visual field method during her fieldwork in Mexico and had a similar approach: "*The idea of Hendrickson being an open spectacle introduced an opportunity for people in the public area to observe the act of drawing or begin a conversation with her* (Edinger 2015: online)." She considered drawing as a visual part in producing field notes, used parallel to verbal forms of documentation, helping to visualise one's own ideas in the field. Drawing further becomes a matter of interest to people around (Hendrickson 2008).

2.4.2. Data Analysis

I used an inductive approach for the analysis of my research data, starting from the empirical case and then combining it with anthropological theories to obtain results. Before entering the field I had read basic literature about the issues – I could rely on superficial knowledge about the historical background of the case, theoretical understanding about processes of cultural commodification as well as on a methodological backpack from my academic education until then. I was however not as prepared as the guiding professor had recommended we be and I recognized many connections only later, when I added theoretical literature to the pre-analysed empirical data.

I based my data analysis on the 'Grounded Theory' originally developed by Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser in 1978. It is a theoretical as well as methodological object-based approach that includes data collection, analysis and theory formation (Böhm 2012: 476). Later in the

process, I combined this analysis method with ‘Thematic Coding’ adapted by Flick (2002). These two methods were best suited for my approach, since I went back to the field twice and I constantly had to reconceptualise my research interest and the obtained data and the results. I decided to start from the data to formulate concepts and hypotheses, maintaining a flexible and inductive approach.

The Grounded Theory is a creative approach based on the coding of written empirical data and allows a comparison of the material searching for commonalities and differences between each other (Böhm 2012: 476). Memos are the essential starting point for this method and help to name and order the data. Codes are labeled concepts and its differentiated forms are called categories. Three phases and/ or types of coding are used with the aim to obtain a list of concepts, categories and its relations. The latter open up discussions and permit to analyse the data, which ideally leads to an answer to the research question (ibid: 477).

The open coding consists of recognizing concepts through theory generating questions applied on short text parts, larger paragraphs and finally the whole text. The codes are based on the researcher’s previous experience although not yet oriented towards existing theories. After comparison with the research question, only relevant codes are kept for further analysis (Böhm 2012: 477f.). Axial coding describes the elaboration and differentiation of the concepts to smaller categories and includes the building of relations, connections and the detection of cause and effect relationships (ibid: 479). The selective coding is the final phase and includes the selection and connection of all memos, codes, categories and relations. In the network of the sorted empirical data, a key concept is recognized which ideally is the central part of the research question. It can change during the process of data analysis, the reason why a constant reformulation and review of the data is necessary (ibid: 482).

Thematic coding was developed by Uwe Flick (2002) out of the theoretic coding applied in the Grounded Theory. The comparison of data takes place on the basis of pre-defined concepts. The process of thematic coding starts from the analysis of singular cases and is then controlled and adapted through the comparison to other cases. In a first step a thematic structure is created through the coding of selected data. This structure is in the succeeding step controlled and re-considered with the rest of the empirical material (ibid: 271ff.).

In the first phase of research, the written data collected during the field practice consisted of field notes and diaries, documented informal talks and interview transcriptions. The first step was to analyse the empirical data from the field practice through open coding - discovering topics and subtopics in the interviews and observation protocols and finding connections between both. Reading the whole text analytically, I was open for topics and connections to arise, which I coded and then summed up in larger categories (Halbmayer/ Salat 2011: 60ff). I regularly controlled if the built categories still fitted to my research question. In a second step I added theories from literature which I found accordingly to the topics extracted from my data.

Before analysing the material from my second field research, I already had topics and concepts in mind that derived from the combination of empirical and theoretical analysis and had already written a first scientific paper about the topic. In this second phase of data analysis I applied a thematic coding, in which I assigned information from the several types of empirical material to already pre-defined topics, but allowing the formation of new categories if required. My research question had changed after the first step of data analysis, during the second field research and was re-adapted accordingly to the new categories extracted from the data analysis. It was a constant and reciprocal adaptation between research question and research answers.

Relying on empirical methods to base my research question on, I find it very important to include individual voices and opinions. I was inspired by the book 'Voices of the San' (2004) in which the San "*tell their own stories in their own words* (cover text)" after a century lasting tradition of their voices being covered by outside speakers. In the empirical analysis of this master thesis I therefore partly illustrate arguments and examples on the basis of individual quotations and also include my subjective impressions from the written field diaries. Through the two field approaches I recognized what was told in long years of anthropological education – the subjectivity built through one's own perspective to the field. Trying to maintain a scientific and critical approach I will at the same time relate to the individual voices of the people this thesis is about.

2.5. Definition of the Field

In my introductory pages I regularly mentioned the indicative terms and concepts ‘San’ and ‘Ju/’hoansi’, ‘visitors’ and ‘us’, ‘North-Eastern Namibia’ and ‘Tsumkwe District’, ‘Cultural Villages’ and ‘Living Museums’, referring to my research focus as ‘Cultural’ or ‘Touristic Performances’. Before introducing the people and the concepts I have been studying about, I want to define and narrow down my field of research. Since a definition of the ‘field’ cannot be set on universal standards, I chose to shortly describe my constructed field on three levels - geographically, socially and theoretically.

It is hard to narrow down the field and almost impossible to make an objective and clear demarcation of it. The field does not exist independently from the anthropologist – he constructs it through his perspective and research interest. A field is not ‘durable’ anymore, as it was thought to be in the early years of ethnology (Hannerz 2003: 13). The field is not fixed or steady, but underlies constant re-adaption:

„‘The field’ is a (arguably the) central component of the anthropological tradition, to be sure; but anthropology also teaches that traditions are always reworked and even reinvented as needed (Gupta/ Ferguson 1997: 4).”

Geographically ‘my’ field is based on the territories in which I have met the Ju/’hoansi doing touristic performances. Its boundaries are therefore dependent from my research-based travelling, leaning on the concept of ‘Follow the People’ or ‘Follow the Thing’ developed by George Marcus (1995: 107). The San are not bound to national borders, but because of organizational issues I approached them through the Namibian context. I started in Windhoek, where I met some of the Ju/’hoansi who normally live in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and travelled by car to the Northern part of the country, where I visited five places of residence of the San.

Windhoek is the capital city of Namibia and offers all facilities and infrastructure of a metropolis. The head quarters of most organizations relevant for my research were located in Windhoek. Further, I could set the Ju/’hoansi in relation to the nation state speaking to people from different ethnic backgrounds of Namibia living in capital city.

The 'N/a'an ku sê Lodge' is a touristic luxury destination working on sustainability and supporting wildlife conservation as well as local communities. It is located between Windhoek and Windhoek Airport and collaborates with the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. Selected Ju/'hoansi people from the North settle down for periods of three months to display their 'traditional' activities within the 'N/a'an ku sê – Ancient San Skills Academy'⁶ getting medical, nutritional and schooling support in exchange.

Tsumkwe District (former 'Bushmanland') is located inside the Otjozondjupa district in the North-Eastern part of Namibia at the border to Botswana. It is divided in Tsumkwe District West in which the N=aja Conservancy is located and in Tsumkwe District East, including the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and Khaudum National Park (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 39f; Suzman 2001: 39)⁷.

Tsumkwe is the most important town for the Ju/'hoansi of the Tsumkwe District (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 39). The 'Tsumkwe Country Lodge'⁸ offers sleeping and leisure possibilities for touring groups since 1996, is a starting point for touristic tours and a location for touristic performances (Lee 2014: 202).

Doupos is part of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, which combines sustainability for people and wildlife with tourism business. Further, in this area hunting rights were given to the people. It is a Cultural Village offering touristic activities mainly organized by tourist guides from the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. The living space or so-called 'modern village' is physically separated from the 'traditional village' which presents the official location for touristic performances. Doupos has reached a certain prominence because of its around 80 years old and experienced traditional healer !Kunta Boo and his family, who are easily trackable via Google, and Youtube as well as through various articles and film documentations.

Djokhoe is a village placed in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy but is not officially integrated in the tourism programme of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. It is located near to a big Baobab tree that attracts tourists who may stay on a camping site. Djokhoe does not have a 'traditional

⁶ Homepage of the N/a'an ku sê Lodge: <http://www.naankuselodge.com/the-san-bushmen.html>, 01.08.2016, 10.30.

⁷ A map showing the locations of the Conservancies in the Otjozondjupa District is included in the appendix.

⁸ Homepage of the 'Tsumkwe Country Lodge': <http://tsumkwecountrylodge.wheretostay.na/>, 01.08.2016, 10.30.

village' and is not officially oriented towards touristic cultural performances, although on request and for a negotiated amount of money, 'traditional' dances can be performed for visitors.

Grashoek and //Xa/oba or the Little Hunter's Museum are both Living Museums and were built with the aid of the 'Living Culture Foundation Namibia' LCFN, a project enabling the "*Preservation of traditional culture* (URL 3)", creating a source of income and promoting cultural exchange. The supporting organizations are located in Windhoek, Namibia and Tangermünde, Germany. Grashoek is part of the N=Ja Jaqna Conservancy and is the biggest Living Museum of the LCFN, whereas //Xa/oba is located in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy.

The people included in my research are Ju/'hoansi living on different sites in the North-Eastern part of Namibia. The organizations, headquarters, institutions and tourism facilities involved in the cultural performances of the same Ju/'hoansi have direct geographical connections to the capital city Windhoek and to Germany. The visitors further arrive from all parts of the world since tourism is a global phenomenon with multi-sited actions and implications. The global and the national contextualization are therefore evident and important.

This research can be seen in any way as multi-sited, as I will on the one hand compare performances from different villages with a similar scope but different styles and on the other hand include a global, a national and a local scale. Hannerz (2003) claims that multi-sited ethnography was already existent in Malinowski's research, following the action of the 'Kula Ring' on different sites (ibid: 3). George Marcus was then the first anthropologist to explicitly develop a method of multisited field research, with the aim to connect geographically distant places trying to avoid a binary opposition between 'here' and 'there' (Marcus, 1995). The local situations and single sites are embedded in a global context – this world system does not necessarily have to be a holistic frame as proposed by Wallerstein, but rather consists of endless distinct perspectives and processes (Marcus 1995: 99).

A site is not necessarily geographical, especially in the case of social and cultural anthropology – a discipline studying people in relation to their goods, environments and relations. A (social) field is constituted by networks of networks, which are individually constructed by sets of relationships (Glick-Schiller 2005: 4f.). The relations between the networks are as important to understand as the ones within (Hannerz 2003: 8). Anthropologists should abandon a

holistic ambition of wanting to grasp all connections involved in a process and rather make a clear selection (ibid: 9).

My social field consists of the people I visited personally and their connections to the networks they are connected to. Every person involved in a performance is relevant for its success, including technical staff, business managers, circles of fans and political agents (Schechner 2013: 244). I refer especially to the Ju/'hoansi living in the mentioned villages, whereby I had the most intense contact with the people of Doupos. I include the visitors, visiting the Ju/'hoansi, the tourists and in my case especially, the anthropologists – as a group attending the performances. I further include the actors that enable and influence the performances from an institutional level – the organizers of the projects involved, the tourism service providers and the tour guides describing the actions to outsiders. I will further include the people reflecting about the topic – scientists, tourists, commentators, media images.

The field is shaped by my theoretical focus, reducing my perspective to what I find interesting in order to give answers to my research question. The approach to my thesis is constituted by theories on Cultural Tourism and the Commodification of (Intangible) Culture as well as the analysis of theories about Authenticity. The core of my theoretical analysis is based on Performance Studies studying the construction and phases of a performance, the use of the body in a presentation as well as its implication on actors and spectators.

I approached the Ju/'hoansi through their exhibition of traditional activities to outside visitors. My field is therefore constructed by the performativity of the people involved, their relations, interactions and habits. The site was constructed through the staging of cultural performances and the materials they handled. I approached the people through asking about their motivations in participating in touristic performances and the reception and implications on themselves and their children. My field is further constructed by the reflection on what impression the cultural performances left on me.

The field of my master thesis is based on the multi-sited geographical places inside Namibia and on the Ju/'hoansi performing cultural activities for tourists, embedded in a local, national and global scale. The people I interacted with to explore the construction and implications of cultural performances were the San, who themselves are dependent from and influence networks of agents staying in Namibia and Germany and visitors travelling around the globe.

2.6. Anthropological Relevance

The San of Southern Africa – as I have already made clear - are people of long-term interest for researchers, travellers, artists and especially anthropologists since centuries. I could vividly realize how big the interest for San communities still is, attending the 11th Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies CHAGS ⁹ held at the University of Vienna in September 2015 and hearing the Ju/'hoansi of Doupos describing Megan Biesele's stay in their village. Especially 'The Harvard Kalahari Research Group' formed in 1967 by Richard Lee and Irven DeVore is based on a dozen of researching members and is still actively engaged in the research on San communities in Southern Africa (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 166).

Considering the ongoing scientific research, it is relevant to find a special interest inside the research of the San. As I made clear in the introduction, I consider the study of chances and impacts of the commodification of culture and heritage in the context of tourism very current and important. For that reason I do not want to detain myself with discussions on hunters and gatherers theories but focus on global and ongoing processes that have their impacts and relevance worldwide.

The regional and theoretical orientations of my research are quite classically anthropologic. Tourism studies arose quite lately in the 1970's based on a quite controversial relation to anthropology (Stronza 2001: 264). Tourism is today one of the biggest economic sectors and relevant social aspects can be studied in this context. A big concern for ethnologists and anthropologists since its beginning is the threat of modern societies to the traditions of indigenous people, nowadays especially 'caused' by commercialization and tourism. The relevance of its analysis in anthropology is therefore implicit. Connected to this topics are matters of 'authenticity' – a starting point for anthropological and touristic excursions searching for the 'unspoiled' and 'real' (Fillitz/ Saris 2013: 1f.).

The conservation of 'heritage' is a common process guided by anthropologists, tourists and museologists as well as national and international organizations, dealing with material and immaterial culture. The commodification happening when Intangible Heritage is displayed in tourism through performances, will be a central point of discussion in this thesis. Performance studies were founded in Sociology in the 1960 by Goffman (1959), Turner (1982) and

⁹ Homepage of Chags: <https://chags.univie.ac.at/>, 25.05.2016; 16.30

Schechner (1985) and are still ongoing, although not as intense as once. The field of study is very open and interdisciplinary (Schechner 2013) and offers more a general frame and perspective on the world than rigid theories.

Through performance studies I approach the topic of touristic performances on a detailed and individual level, analysing their constructions and aftermaths on the actors involved. What I tried to focus on, are further developments of the performances and ongoing difficulties for the Ju/'hoansi in the Tsumkwe District. I will try to highlight economic implications as well as the practical use of traditional knowledge by the different generations involved. This research might add some new and interesting insights to the huge amount of anthropological work on the San of Southern Africa.

3. Introducing the People: The Ju/'hoansi San of Namibia

3.1. Terminology and Classification of the San

The San of Southern Africa are definitely known throughout scientific and popular worlds. An obsessive and often romanticizing fascination for these people took place in the last decades, from documentaries, newspaper articles, books and movies like the very known “The Gods must be Crazy” up to countless researches in a variety of academic disciplines – especially in anthropology they are among the best described indigenous people (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 22).

Attributes as former ‘savages’ up to ‘survivors from the stone age’ and ‘noble primitives’ were part of their representations and persist until today in tourism advertising (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 163, 245). The problem about these stereotypical classifications are not only the accompanying, often negative, connotations which I will analyse further on, but also the assumption of the San being a homogenous group which is not the case as Suzman states:

“The process of identifying San as a social category or class is highly problematic, not least because many of the people whom we now consider and who consider themselves to be San did not share a common identity in the past. The category ‘San’ or ‘Bushman’ was in fact imposed from outside on the diverse indigenous inhabitants of southern Africa following the in-migration of pastoralist and agrarian Bantuspeaking societies, and later white colonials (Suzman 2001: 2).“

The term 'Bushmen' for the San people goes back to Dutch settlers in the 17th century, related to their natural environment and was used without questioning until the 1930's. A series of connotations attached themselves to the term relating to 'uncivilized' and 'primitive', yet 'Bushmen' is often heard up to the present (ibid:156). The Khoekhoe (from the Dutch people called 'Hottentot') were herders, migrated to Southern Africa about 4000 years ago and met the San; but they remained two distinct groups (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 156). The San of today rely on a common Khoe or San language (Suzman 2001: 2) and because of that, linguists proposed 'Khoesan' as a fitting umbrella term, ignoring historical and social unifying or differentiating factors (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 156). In the 1960's 'The Harvard Kalahari Research Group' proposed to replace the ethically and gender discriminating term 'Bushmen' with 'San', a relatively neutral Nama term that relies on their gathering-activity (ibid: 156). Today, however many still prefer to describe themselves as 'Bushmen' referring to their indigenous identity (Le Roux/ White 2004: 5).

'San' seemed the least negatively connoted term although signification is always attached by the context in which it is used (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 159). The San consist of about 35 individual languages and can hardly be generalized as a single group - a completely fair word can therefore not be found. Politically, the term relates to an arising pan-San movement (ibid: 159) that connected each other through a collective identity, unfortunately built through the underprivileged socio-economic status and a marginal position in the national states of Southern Africa (Suzman 2001: 3).

Community sense is constructed through the recognition of common features and the distinction versus others (Saugestadt 2011: 104). A heritage as 'first people' in the today's nation state serves the San to construct a common identity (Suzman 2001: 3). A further linkage derives from the categorisation of 'hunters and gatherers societies' related to their original major subsistence basis - a controversially discussed category in anthropology. Environmental and cultural conditions have changed considerably and a history of working in the farms of majority groups have changed this aspect of identity (ibid: 3f).

Around 100 000 San live in Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola and Zambia (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 6; Suzman 2001:4). In Namibia there are around 30 000 to 33 000 San which correspond to about 2% of the total population, living especially in the North-Eastern area of the country - they are however not bounded to national borders but ex-

tend themselves over to Botswana (Suzman 2001: 1). From these, the second largest San group after the Hai//om, are the Ju/'hoansi (Suzman 2001: 3; Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 6). Their number is imprecise, although WIMSA – Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa – estimates around 6000 all over Namibia (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011:6). The Ju/'hoansi who were formerly sometimes labeled as '!Kung' have four special click consonants¹⁰ in their language, a fact that intrigued scientists from different disciplines (ibid: 4f.).

Namibia faces several socio-economic and ecological difficulties. It is one of the most arid Sub-Saharan African countries and has to deal with huge water limitations (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 3). The country relies on industry economy, agriculture and fishing; further tourism is seen as a potential source (ibid: 39). 5% of the population control 75% of the country's domestic production and 70% of the population lives in rural areas, whereas the Ju/'hoansi are on the lowest scale of Namibian society being very poor and often landless (ibid: 31f). After independence the nation state had re-divided the country into 13 regions. Otjozondjupa at the North-Eastern border to Botswana is one of the poorest districts and home of most of the Ju/'hoansi (ibid: 39f).

According to the historical developments I will use the term 'San' in general and 'Ju/'hoansi' as ethnic specification in the course of my master's thesis. Interestingly the San often refer to themselves as 'Bushmen' - an expression I will not adopt in this text, for the reasons mentioned earlier, except if integrated in a direct quotation. The San community is built through a common identity as indigenous people and a precarious situation of economic and political disadvantage, as well as an approximately common historical background.

3.2. Historical Overview

3.2.1. From Early Times to First Waves of Migration

The San are said to be the most ancient inhabitants of Southern Africa, living there at least since 20 000 years (Le Roux/ White 2004: 2). In Namibia, the San are equally the oldest population:

“Archaeological, genetic and historical sources all suggest the presence of human populations in Namibia from as long ago as 8 000 BC. Furthermore they suggest that most of the

¹⁰ An explanation of the 'click' sounds is included in the appendix.

peoples currently classified as San are the direct genetic, linguistic and cultural descendants of the prehistoric populations of the area (Suzman 2001: 2)”.

At that time, the San lived in small and flexible ‘hunters and gatherers’ groups and later started trading contacts with other groups in the region. Although they lived from mixed economy from time to time, the early San never relied completely on livestock (Suzman 2001: 5). It was not until around 6000 BC that the Khoekhoe, a pastoralist ethnic population, migrated to Southern Africa (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 161).

Around 500 years ago, a significant number of Bantu-speaking groups came to Namibia, among them the ancestors of today’s Herero people. These migration waves caused big internal displacements, as the pastoralists with their herds settled down and crossed path with the nomadic San living directly from the environment (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 172). Some groups co-existed in peace with the new population exchanging goods and ideas, while there have also been acts of resistance and wars, sometimes subjecting the San and making them serfs or slaves. In any case this developments have caused big changes that have influences on the living situation to this day (Suzman 2001: 5).

The big transformations started with white colonialism in Southern Africa, beginning with the Dutch in 1652 and continuing with regular Western visitors such as colonialists, missionaries, anthropologists and others (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 161). Dutch colonialism provoked genocides, slavery and land dispossession, whereas the scientific exploitation has caused symbolic violence that placed the San on an evolutionist’s stage of ‘savages’; the methods of investigation for this purpose were humiliating (ibid: 163f).

In 1884 Namibia was annexed as German protectorate and named ‘Deutsch-Südwestafrika’; the colonialists practiced terrible cruelties on the population (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 172). The first brutal German genocide, was committed on Otjiherero- and Nama speaking groups – that gave the San the chance to escape some of the violent collisions with the invaders (Suzman 2001: 5). The San were seen as people on the lowest imaginable scale of humans and treated accordingly. The rebellions against the colonial invaders, which had been ‘succesfully’ defeated, were described as ‘Bushmanplague’ in the German ‘Siedlerpresse’ in 1911¹¹ (Zips-

¹¹ The article “Die Buschmannplage in Deutsch-Suedwestafrika”: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=SAMZ19140124.2.4,30.05.2016,12.00>

Mairitsch 2009: 172). The German colonial administration started displacing the indigenous San populations to 'native reserves', while white settlers as well as other 'native' farmers occupied their ancestral lands (Suzman 2001: 25). These events have started a series of never-ending disputes over land rights.

3.2.2. The Union of South African

In 1915 the Union of South Africa took over 'Deutsch-Südwestafrika', lost by the Germans during World War I (Suzman 2001: 5). The San came under strong oppression and suffered great land losses under South African land policies, so that up to the 1970's, less than 3% of them had official ownership of land (ibid: 5). In Tsumkwe District from the 1950's on, the San were forced or convinced to work in mines and farms, meanwhile Herero settled onto their land with their cattle (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 8). Since the Ju/'hoansi were on the lowest scale of national administration, they had no chance for political claims or land requests and their leaders were not officially recognized (ibid: 9).

The Odendaal Plan released in 1969 - South Africa's strategy for re-distributing communal lands or homelands in Namibia - left the Ju/'hoansi with 10% of their original territories, confined to 'Bushmanland' (today Tsumkwe District) in the North-Eastern part of Namibia at the border to Botswana (Dieckman/ Thiel/ et. al. 2014: 96). This area was structured to be populated exclusively by San people and came under the administration of the Department of Nature Conservation. The Kaudum area became a game reserve and the remaining land was given to Herero and Kavango (Suzman 2001: 41).

In 1959 the administrative centre of Tsumkwe was established on 'Bushmanland' and the Ju/'hoansi were forced to settle in the town, leaving their ancestral villages behind. It was an attempt of the South African Government to incorporate the indigenous communities into modern life, convincing them by promising food and water, education, medical support, job opportunities and agricultural training. The reality was high population density and a low rate of employment, cash circulation leading to high alcohol consumption, causing addiction and social problems. Further impacts were poverty, violence in the family, illnesses and apathy leading to an incredibly high rate of suicides (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 9f; Lee 2014: 183). At that time levels of mortality and violence in overcrowded Tsumkwe reached the highest in the world and hunger was a big problem - altogether giving Tsumkwe the surname 'the place of death' (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 10ff.).

The South African Defence Force SADF established a stronger presence in Namibia in the 1970's and the San were recruited as trackers and soldiers, leading to the establishment of the '36th Bushman Battalion' (Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2011: 11). The San were involved in the civil war lasting 23 years, which caused high dependence from Army salaries (Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2011: 11; Lee 2014: 183). In contrast to the 1960's, in the 1970's only 5% of the San still lived almost exclusively on hunting and gathering, as Richard Lee claims (1993: 22).

In the 1980's the Department of Nature Conservation planned to transform the Eastern part of 'Bushmanland' into a big game park, consequently excluding the original inhabitants from their lands (Lee 2014: 183). The San were given access only if dressed in 'traditional costumes' to nurture the fantasy of visiting tourists. This led to protests from the Ju/'hoansi and the critique of John Marshall, claiming that the government forced the people into a modern and urban context and wanted to pull them back into an artificial 'traditional' lifestyle - 'a plastic Stone Age' - when needed (Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2011: 13).

The dichotomy between nature and culture has caused negative impacts throughout Africa by building conservation parks which include the protection of nature and game and exclude the indigenous population from their ancestral lands. People were considered a threat to the environment and were allowed to live on it only as attraction for tourists (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 83). Native indigenous people living on the territory were often not involved in the planning and organization of nature parks, although their participation and knowledge would have been extremely important. This led to tensions between conservationists, NGO's and local actors (Zips/ Zips-Mairitsch 2007: 38ff.). In the worst cases indigenous people were removed from the protection area by force (ibid: 41). The often paternalistic policies often ignored how crucial land is for the lives of many indigenous societies; especially the San link their heritage back to the ancestors through the 'their' land and are admirably respectful to its fauna and flora (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 181).

In 1981 the anthropologists John Marshall established the 'Ju/Wa Bushman Development Foundation' JBDF, later called 'Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia' NNDFN in which he started to persuade the Ju/'hoansi living in Tsumkwe to move back to their *n!oresi* - the original family-bound territories of the San – helping them to start a mixed economy subsistence basis (Dieckman/ Thiel/ et. al. 2014: 96; Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2011: xxii). In 1986 John Marshall and Claire Ritchie founded the 'Ju/Wa Farmers Union' JFU out of the former 'Cattle

Fund' which was later renamed 'Nyae Nyae Development Farmers Cooperative' NNFC in 1990. This organization provided the Ju/'hoansi with cattle and consultation, helped the San articulate their needs and built a basis for the San's request for traditional land claims. Finally, the establishment of a game park was prevented (Bieseles/Hitchcock 2011: 153; Suzman 2001: 41f.).

3.2.3. After Namibian Independence

In 1990 Namibia gained independence from South Africa and even though the Ju/'hoansi celebrated with the nation, they were at the same time concerned about how to make themselves audible (Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2011: 14). At this time the Ju/'hoansi were still living in very poor conditions, without recognized forms of self-representation and lacking rights to their land and resources (Suzman 2001: 5). Through grassroots movements such as the NNDFN and being funded and supported by foreigners, the Ju/'hoansi of Northeastern Namibia were still quite well off claiming their rights, compared to San people in other areas of Namibia (ibid: 42) .

After independence the former 'tribal' homelands were replaced with the 13 regions of Namibia, among them Otjozondjupa – today one of the most underdeveloped of the country and largely rural (Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2011: 39). Tsumkwe District – former 'Bushmanland' – is one of two areas in Namibia, in which San represent the majority - in 2001 around 87% self-identified as San (Suzman 2001: 40). This district is divided into Tsumkwe East and Tsumkwe West - the former is today covered by the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and Kaudum National Park (Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2011: 39) and has 1600 inhabitants excluding Tsumkwe town (Suzman 2001: 40).

Tsumkwe District West was largely uninhabited until the forced redistribution of San people in the course of the Odendaal Plan in the 1970's and the establishment of the headquarters of the '36th Bushman Battalion' by the SADF in the area around Mangetti Dune in 1978 (Dieckman/ Thiem/ et.al. 2004: 141). After independence around 3000 people lived in this area (ibid: 141), which is still economically weaker than Tsumkwe East and has received less attention and support (Suzman 2001: 42).

The land rights problems were among the most difficult issues to handle for the new government, since a big part of the Namibian population derived their existence directly from the

soil (Suzman 2001: 80). The San had to deal with especially difficult negotiations around their land, caused by the contrast of de jure and de facto land rights, since most of the territory did not belong to them according to the national law (ibid: 82).

In 1991 at the National Land Conference on Land Reform and Land Question, representatives of the Ju/'hoansi from the NNDFN participated with the aim to become the legitimate owners of the Nyae Nyae area (Lee 2014: 183ff). The Communal Land Acts in Namibia based themselves on the distribution of regions decided in the Odendaal Plan in 1969 and granted the government control over communal lands, but giving the local populations right of allocation and assigning 'customary' and 'traditional' rights to 'traditional' authorities (Suzman 2001: 87). This gave the Ju/hoansi partial control over former 'Bushmanland' – meaning that they did not get ownership but instead received 'use rights' and could therefore be expelled any-time from 'their' land (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 16).

Only years later, the National Resettlement Policy of 1997 and 1998 aimed to redress past injustices giving local populations their own land, enabling them to enforce social and economic development (Suzman 2001: 90). The process was very slow and because of planning problems, some groups were resettled on land on which the circumstances were disadvantageous, remote and with little resources, which prevented them from accumulating wealth (ibid: 90f). The San of Nyae Nyae area had however already been 'resettled' under the South African Government (ibid: 83).

The vast majority of San in Namibia still live under very bad conditions; although hopes were big after independence and the new government under Sam Nujoma had promised special attention to the San (Suzman 2001: 6, 70). The San are statistically seen as the poorest ethnic group in Namibia and “[...] *are almost universally extremely poor* (ibid: 143).“ Many are dependent from cheap and unsecure labour, most San being unskilled workers and their wage being partly paid only with food or alcohol (ibid: 6). Working in farms has been a common occupation since centuries and harsh conditions regulate the life of workers. Hunger is a common phenomenon and in 2001, 70% of Namibian San were dependent from state-run food-aid programmes and pensions, which are often the only form of income. This causes dependence on state aid and further, hunting and gathering does not represent a considerable part of food provision anymore (ibid: xvii, 76). Consequently further problems are a low life

expectancy rate, health problems - especially tuberculosis - and alcohol dependency, which has caused much domestic abuse, violence, depression and apathy (ibid: 2).

Because of growing dependence from different groups since the colonial era, San in Namibia are until today trapped in this difficult position and have developed few skills to participate in political and economic systems (Suzman 2001: 7). They are still under-represented in government structures; only one representative is part of the National Assembly and none is part of locally and regionally elected bodies. Because of disorganisation at a grassroots level little improvement has been done, which causes a great feeling of exclusion and a lack of voice at a political level. Furthermore, only two of six San traditional authorities have been officially recognized and are represented in the Council of traditional leaders (both live in Tsumkwe East District) (ibid: 104).

The Ju/'hoansi living in the Tsumkwe District East are better off than most San in the rest of the country including West Tsumkwe, not only because of their success in gaining control over their territory, but also because of ongoing work of NGO's, their quite homogenous self-identified community- feeling and a proportionally high attention from outside interest, as Suzman states (2001: 40):

“Due to their spatial remoteness and ‘traditional’ lifestyle, the Ju/'hoansi of Nyae Nyae are conceivably the most written about, filmed and photographed people in the country. In the last three decades they have been the subject of scores of anthropological and academic theses, reports, nutritional surveys, land-use planning documents and evaluations (ibid: 39).“

Most development programmes in the Tsumkwe District have used a top-down attitude, painfully remembering the paternalistic approach that has been applied throughout the centuries in regards of the San (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 251). The more effective projects used a bottom-up strategy, where the population was included into the decision-making process (Suzman 2001: 144). The most effective NGO's that worked in the Tsumkwe area were the NNDFN and WIMSA (ibid: 78). The latter was established in 1996 with the aim to link San communities in the whole region, empowering them through land claims, political exchange, training and development projects (ibid: 79).

3.2.4. The Formation of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy

In the 1990's, inspired by successful programmes in other parts of Africa, sustainable eco-tourism was recognized as an option for Namibia (Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2011: 100). There had been some unfortunate incidents with tourists in the late 1980's, and the NNFC wished for the Ju/'hoansi to have tourism under control and generate (economic) benefits from it (ibid: 101ff). The government finally had to recognize that people, especially indigenous communities, can contribute to the protection of the environment, possessing wide knowledge about the fauna and flora of the area and being motivated to care for their 'traditional' territories (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 154). The Community Based Natural Resource Management CBNRM programme is an approach that combines wildlife conservation with human development using tourism as a tool for gaining income and increasing self-confidence (ibid: 254, 261).

“The decision of the people of Nyae Nyae to transform their farmers' co-operative into a conservancy was ultimately a community decision, which was partly motivated by a desire to live with and benefit from local wildlife (Suzman 2001: 43)” and so in 1998 the Nyae Nyae Conservancy was established out of the NNFC as the first built on communal land in Namibia (Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2011: 198). Conservancies are defined as areas of land, on which communities are managers over territory and wildlife and so combine nature conservation and human development (ibid: 199f.).

The conservancy was created at a conference of the Ministry of Wildlife Conservation and Tourism and the NNFC under the Nature Conservation Amendment Act 5 of 1996 (Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2011: 201ff). It was made possible by the 'Living in a Finite Environment project' (LIFE) by the Namibian Government and USAID, which provided fund and assistance for the people in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy (Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2002: online).

The factors that made the creation possible were the ethnic homogeneity of Ju/'hoansi, their previous involvement in natural resource management and development projects, unique cultural and wildlife aspects that attracted tourists and researchers, and pre-existing forms of community-based decisions (Bieseles/Hitchcock 2011: 206). Furthermore, hunting rights with 'traditional' weapons were recognized in 1987, a unique right for the San in Namibia - not even allowed in Tsumkwe West. This reduced poaching from the side of the San, which they had done in the need of food and meat (Suzman 2001: 47, 95; Bieseles/ Hitchcock 2011: 106). The programme has especially benefited the local population through capacity-building and

giving people rights over their land, although at the same time it excluded other groups (Suzman 2001: 134).

Although the big successes that the conservancy has caused, part of the population is still dependent on food aid. Especially people living in Tsumkwe town have limited agricultural skills and little possibilities of hunting and gathering, the reason why hunger is quite common (Suzman 2001: 47). Tourism currently does not provide a big part of financial security, most income comes from government jobs and pensions and further the conservancy itself offers jobs in the committee and as staff members in various programmes. Mining companies are also extremely active in the area and crafts selling is a significant factor of income, whereas cattle and hunting and gathering activities cannot be regarded as important basis of subsistence today (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 211-226). The best approach therefore is the combination of diversified sources of income to face variable and unpredictable factors from outside (Suzman 2001: 27).

The Western Part of Tsumkwe has had less attention and NGO engagement and community activities have been weaker. Following the example of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, community leaders of West Tsumkwe started approaching WIMSA in the 1990's, aiming to create their own (Suzman 2001: 41). The N=ǀa Jaqna Conservancy was finally established in 2003 by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) (Dieckman/ Thiem/ et.al. 2004: 142). Although less tourism activity is expected, five communities built the 'Omatoko Valley Rest Camp'¹² for tourists (Suzman 2001: 46) and further, the Living Museum of Grashoek is located inside the conservancy.

Until today only one out of five San can rely on de jure land rights, which causes instability and insecurity among many groups (Suzman 2001: 1). Additionally, the common perception of the San is quite negative, leading to low self-esteem and social, economic and political marginalisation (ibid: 6, 143). Therefore, empowering and bottom-up approaches should be emphasised on, to facilitate a sustainable development; further important are a focus on poverty reduction as well as an improved education (ibid: 81, 145).

¹² Homepage of the Omatoko Valley Rest Camp: <http://www.omatakovalley.com/>, 01.08.2016, 10.30

3.3. Common Images and National Categorization of the San

The San have been characterized, described and stereotyped with a series of specific attributions and images from popular, touristic, anthropological and legal sides. Because of surrounding and intruding Bantu-groups and white colonialists, the San suffered brutal violence, almost complete genocide, land resettlement and slavery since the 16th century (Barnabas/Finlay 2012: 71; Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 22). Added to that, Zips-Maritsch speaks of a symbolic violence due to popular and scientific stereotyping; but today, the San refuse to accept exoticizing ascriptions (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 22). Saugestad (2011) describes that the indigenous San are both visible (in an aesthetic, maybe voyeuristic manner) and at the same time invisible considering their status in modern society (ibid: 28).

During the first contacts with Dutch people in the middle of the 17th century, negative stereotypes were constructed as a contrast to ‘the good Christians’, not tolerating non-western alternatives of governance, language and physical appearance (Barnabas/ Finlay 2012: 72). The negative ascriptions of the ‘Bushmen’ even legitimized the killing of the ‘lower’ and ‘uncivilized’ people, leading to a massacre officially authorised in 1777, to exterminate the so-called ‘savages’ (ibid: 74).

In the 18th century idealized images came up and coexisted with the negative perceptions. The new stereotypes represented the San as more ‘innocent’, ‘spiritual’ and ‘authentic’ people than Western societies, living in harmony with the environment (Barnabas/ Finlay 2012: 75). This ideas derived from the romantic spirit that also created the ‘noble savage’ and an evolutionist trend in anthropology during that period. In the 19th century masses of (physical) anthropologists, physiognomists, linguists and others, travelled to Southern Africa to measure, document, record, take liquids, analyse the bodies and study the languages of the San (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 163f.). The Khoekhoe woman Sara Baartman who became famous as ‘Hottentot Venus’, was even forced to London and displayed in ‘varietés’ and to scientists (ibid: 163).

In the 20th century a more serious and detailed ethnographic work started with the Marshall family who travelled to the Ju/’hoansi and wrote anthropological books, made a big number of movies and engaged in politics empowering the San. When Laurence Marshall retired in 1950, he finally realized his dream and travelled with his son John to the Kalahari Desert to search the ‘wild Bushmen’ (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 7f). A year later his wife Lorna and

daughter Elizabeth followed and together they started a lifelong research in the fast changing society of the San (ibid: 8). At first they were looking for the ‘untouched’ people but then realized that many more aspects had to be included into their study (Barnabas/ Finlay 2012: 77). Until the 1950’s urbanisation, poverty and intra-national racism was largely ignored in media-representations and up to the recent day documentary movies, films and books mostly spread an idealized image (Barnabas/ Finlay 2012: 75, 78).

In his first approach Richard Lee - an anthropologist working with the Ju/’hoansi since the 1960’s - was equally looking for the remotely living San (Barnabas/ Finlay 2012: 79). Together with Irven deVore he organized the first anthropological symposium on ‘hunting and gathering’ societies in 1966, which resulted in the book ‘Man the Hunter’ (1968) (URL 2), in which he identified the ‘Bushmen’ as culturally isolated society. ‘The Harvard Kalahari Research Group’ is since then engaged in the research of San people. The anthropologic occupation with indigenous like the Ju/’hoansi has been characterized by the opposing positions between ‘traditionalists’ - who see ‘hunter and gatherer’ societies as living in isolation ever since - and the ‘revisionists’ - who believe that there has always been exchange with and influences by other groups – (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 164ff). Richard Lee (2014) revised his view in the following years, questioning the traditionalist/ revisionist debates and focusing on the radical changes that have taken place since the 1970’s: *“The changes have been so far-reaching and so rapid that many anthropologists and others have failed to absorb the implications (ibid: 229).“*

Ascribed characteristics and stereotypes have especially negative impacts when it comes to law and policy in the national context today. Starting with the European view on indigenous as ‘savages’, until today San are often deprived from self-determination (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 32). The ascriptions of ‘childlike’ or ‘primitive’ give San little consideration on a political scale and Suzman describes that even death caused by the delayed delivery of food rations has been taken as ‘natural thing’ by the government (2001: 7f).

Namibia is the second youngest state of Africa, having gained its independence only in 1990. In the process of nation-building the state followed the idea of a strong, unified and homogenous nation and therefore dealing with ‘tribal’, ‘ethnic’ or ‘traditional’ communities was not a major interest (Saugestadt 2011: 28). The idea of equality described in Namibia’s Constitution Article 10(2): - *“No persons shall be discriminated against on the grounds of sex, race,*

colour, ethnic origin, creed or social and economic status” (Suzman, 2001: 75) - was more important than the prioritisation of specific groups inside the nation. After the long years of South African Apartheid which had divided the state in different ‘races’, the aim of the young nation was to avoid racial discrimination and considering ‘indigenous’ people in special terms was associated with an unwanted ‘divide and rule’ principle (ibid: 72). For that reason the new formed government had refused to consider the concept of ‘indigenous’ or would rather generalize it to all black people who had lived in the country before Western intrusion (Suzman 2001: 72; Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 23). In international law by contrast, only the San and the Khoe could be defined as indigenous people of Namibia (Suzman 2001: 72).

The national approach striving for a homogenous nation does not provide long-term problem solutions, on the contrary - indigenous people would be in urgent need for legal pluralism. This applies especially to land rights, since indigenous land often seemed not to belong to anyone and has therefore been taken by the state or private farmers (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 23). The policy had negative impacts on indigenous people like the San suffering from marginalization, land dispossession and relocation, because of agricultural programs and the creation of game reserves. Poverty and human right violations were further problems (ibid: 80). Saugestad has consequently connected the term ‘indigenous’ to the concept of ‘inconvenient’, to describe the attitude of mainstream society towards ‘indigenous’ San in Botswana (Saugestad 2011: 28).

The definition of ‘indigenous’ is very difficult since it is based on questions of inclusion and exclusion - a too narrow selection might exclude people from their rights, whereas a too broad interpretation would make it difficult to make special rights to protect only specific groups (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 36). Since definitions made from the outside are always problematic, self-identification is especially relevant to consider (ibid: 37). Butler and Hinch proposed a definition, in which indigenous people are groups who occupied a certain area prior to modern states and borders (2007 (1): 5). The ‘sense of place’ is a very important characteristic for indigenous people, since they were often deprived from it (Lee 2006: 460). The UN factsheet on indigenous people proposes some common features of indigenous:

“Self-identification as indigenous [;] (...)Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies [;] Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources [;] Distinct

social, economic or political systems [;] Distinct language, culture and beliefs [;] Form non-dominant groups of society (...) (URL 9)”.

Indigenous groups were often associated with social minorities, but cultural aspects are also very important (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 83). The protection of cultural diversity is very relevant, since history and culture are crucial for the pride and self-awareness of indigenous people and because they are until today often commercially exploited by the modern state (ibid: 29, 184). The notion of indigeneity nowadays further includes the common experience of injustices and requests for land claims as well as the longing for recognition of their special legal status in the nation state (ibid: 41, 83, 88). Zips-Mairitsch contextualizes indigenous people as “[s]pecific societies with cultural particularities and a deep connection to their environment [who] find themselves in tension with modern statehood equipped with exclusive and sovereign claims to power and obligatory legislative competence (ibid: 88).“

Indigenous people have in the last years strived for a new position on the national and global scales and consequently, they had to reinvent themselves as ‘indigenous’, recognizing the empowering value of this term and self-identifying with it (Lee 2006: 457f.). Werner Zips sees in the explicit definition of the term ‘indigenous’ and especially in the proclamation through the UN General Assembly of the International Decade of the World’s Indigenous People a chance and opportunity for the concerned people, in terms of obtaining political and legal recognition, as well as the universal right of self-determination (Zips 2006: 27f.).

Through land restitutions and a new awareness in the nation state, the San have gained self-confidence and renegotiated their identity challenging the ascribed characteristics (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 80ff). ‘Indigeneity’ has the potential to be used as a strategy and especially in the tourism context the San rely on their cultural heritage, to create their own images. The romantic view however still lives on in the tourism industry, proclaiming myths of wilderness, ‘authenticity’ and especially constructing an opposite to the modern nation state and the visiting tourists (ibid: 75, 82).

4. Contextualizing the Issue: Cultural Tourism

4.1. Tourism and Social and Cultural Anthropology

The study of tourism in anthropology is rather recent, it started only in the 1970's. Before that it was not seen as a relevant field of research and tourists were considered to have a completely opposed approach to societies compared to anthropologists (Stronza 2001: 264). In the study of tourism there are very relevant issues to explore: resource management, social change and development, economy and cultural expressions as well as processes of cultural commodification, reinvented traditions and dynamics of intercultural exchange (ibid: 261f.).

The relation between anthropology and tourism is quite controversial, although they have things in common like the interest for foreign societies, the activity of travelling and collecting and being an outsider in a society. At the same time anthropologists developed an aversion against tourists, being stereotypically represented as superficial, ignorant and fun-driven (Crick 1995: 205, 208). Not only did tourists classically dislike each other, leading to a kind of competition about the degree of moral involvement in a foreign society (MacCannell 1999: 10), but until today Crick describes the jealous and competitive feeling anthropologists cherish towards tourists, even though the ethnological discipline initially started with travellers (1995: 208). Because of this negative feeling anthropology had ignored tourism as a matter of study for a long time (ibid: 207).

Anthropology traditionally explored isolated societies, a reason why tourists were not of special interest for academic research, but on the contrary might have been seen as rivals and tourism per se as threat of modernity. In 1976, MacCannell wrote the first extended work on tourism and tourists from a sociological perspective, using the tourist for the description of the modern man-in-general. He claimed that modernity has become a matter of insecurity and therefore people seek for 'authenticity' and the pristine, looking for it elsewhere than at home.

Tourism has become one of the most important economic factors worldwide. The World Tourism Organization WTO (URL 11) published in 2015, that world tourism generates 10% of the GDP, 1/11 of work is directly or indirectly created through tourism and 30% of the service export derives from this sector. Tourism should therefore matter to anthropologists and their field of study, since it touches almost all societies around the world directly or indirectly. Transportation and communication networks were intensified thanks to tourism and improved

travelling and researching, and the economic relevance of the tourism industry cannot be ignored anymore (Stronza 2001: 264).

4.2. Impacts and Alternatives in Tourism

Tourism has - apart from economic and environmental effects - caused a series of negative social impacts on the visited societies - especially in the 'classical' anthropological sites, meaning 'isolated' and indigenous peoples. Many nation states invest in great infrastructure for tourism, not paying attention to the actual needs of the local population and without questioning the sometimes involuntary involvement of locals (Stronza 2001: 268f.). Through cash flows or injustices provoked by ignorant tourism strategies, social problems such as dissatisfaction, alcohol and drugs abuse and prostitution might arise (ibid: 268f.).

A big and general fear not only of anthropologists, but of people in general is social and cultural change, caused by the intrusion of outsiders and the commodification of culture (Stronza 2001: 270). Tourism may provoke native rituals to lose their meaning, through the staging of 'inauthentic' cultural acts and foreign, western goods penetrating local everyday life actions. These general threats appear in most conversations with tourists at home (since most of the people in my circle of acquaintances travel regularly) and in 'exotic' destinations, as well as in many academic articles I read concerning this topic.

The constructed images of the 'threatened' and 'precious' cultures derive from stereotypes constructed by marketing industries and not seldom by the state, based on the demands of the visitors themselves, which at the same time fear to experience 'pseudo-events' (Stronza 2001: 271). The power of decision may hereby lay on the side of the consumers – the guests, who decide through their gaze how tourism attractions should be constructed – while the hosts are often portrayed as passive actors (ibid: 272f.). Stronza criticizes the little attention that has been paid to the living conditions of and the direct implications for people in hosting countries, which have been involved in the tourism industry (ibid: 267). Their active power of decision consists of selecting what they want to preserve, adapt or invent (ibid: 273).

Tourism can economically support poor indigenous communities. Global discussions asked the question how to use tourism as a contribution for national economic development and growth and some answers were finally set down in the Millenium Development Goals in 2000, planning how to use tourism in the fight against poverty (Goodwin 2007: 84f.). Poverty

has more dimensions than mere monetary lacking - namely joblessness, no land possession, no access to credit leads, no food, no clothes, a lack of access to medical aid and education. It further leads to a marginal position of many indigenous communities, not being able to actively participate in society und therefore suffering from insecurity (ibid: 85).

‘Pro-poor tourism’ focuses on the production of direct economic benefits for poor people, enabling access to information, strengthening cultural pride and participation in society, avoiding monoculture, over-dependence and exploitation from tourism, and further teaching how to manage risks and negative social and environmental impacts (Goodwin 2007: 88f.). People from poor communities might either participate in tourism through the direct employment in enterprises, or by providing goods for the tourism industries, through direct sales of souvenirs, by taxes from tourism profits or managing self-organized tourism projects - as it is the case of the San in Tsumke District - selling crafts and cultural performances outside their villages (ibid: 92). What is missing in the argumentations of Goodwin, is the actual call for the active involvement of the people in the making of tourism projects.

Since tourism affects people, lifestyles and environments and is a large part of the world’s economic activities, it is a big concern to social scientists, NGO’s, environmental conservationists and sometimes national states whose aim is to facilitate positive implications of tourism. According to Tomaselli, successful tourism development should include poverty reduction, rely on community-led and participatory communication strategies, use low cost and up-to-date information technology, be culturally sensitive, and further be ethically and ecologically friendly (Tomaselli 2012a: 18). Sustainable forms of tourism ideally combine environment conservation and human development with economic profit and are termed ‘alternative tourism’, ‘ecotourism’, ‘community-based tourism’ or ‘cultural tourism’ (Stronza 2001: 274).

A participatory approach can help reducing the negative impacts of tourism through the direct cooperation and communication with government agencies, non-governmental organizations and private tour companies (Stronza 2001: 274). Development should be a starting point for empowerment, meaning that native communities are actively engaged in discussions about the use of their knowledge and ideas and are able to control their social, economic and political status (Barnabas/ McLennan-Dodd 2012: 39, 42f.). The aim according to Barnabas and McLennan-Dodd, should be the turn from passive beneficiaries, to active community members creating jobs, improving their skills and managing their economy (ibid: 39). Cultural

identity should be taken seriously inside the processes of economic growth, its active construction is at the core of empowerment and should not be a side-effect of the involvement in tourism activities (ibid: 45).

One effective way of combining touristic involvement, economic profit, wildlife conservation and the active engagement of the people is Community Based Natural Resource Management CBNRM (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 254, 261). This programme is based on a bottom-up approach, in which the local population is involved in the decision-making process. It embraces the protection of fauna and flora by the people living on that territory, giving them the possibility to profit through activities with tourists, but demanding from the visitors a respectful approach to the nature and the hosting communities.

4.3. Cultural and Indigenous Tourism

Within the tourism industry, cultural tourism is the fastest growing sector according to Tomaselli (2012a: 19) and arose in its explicit form in the 1980's (Von Stauss 2012: 86). Cultural tourism is based on the concepts of "*otherness, and the discovery of the unusual and exotic, through adventure* (ibid: 86)", relies on the touristic interest for 'authenticity' (MacCannel 1999) and is structured by the 'romantic gaze' of travellers (Urry 2002). Cultural or indigenous tourism is because of its very discussable basis, object of critical discussion:

"Cultural tourism is considered by its critics to be politically incorrect, the subject of gross exploitation of the indigenous who use both reconstructed and real sites to present their performative selves as a way of earning a living (Tomaselli 2012a: 19)."

Cultural tourism includes the creation of attractions built on purpose, the 'preservation' of heritage, history and 'tradition' and the marketing of experiences which are often claimed to be 'authentic' (Von Stauss 2012: 86). Its basis is 'culture' which serves in this context as "[...] *a resource, a product, an experience and an outcome* (ibid: 86)." Bunten uses "*the cultural tourism formula* (2008: 385)" to describe techniques on which most concepts of cultural tourism rely on, including " [...] *the greeting, the guide, demonstrated use of the heritage language, traditional architecture, a performance, a gift shop or souvenirs for sale, and, often, demonstrations of traditional Native crafts* (ibid: 385).".

One form of cultural tourism is ‘indigenous tourism’, which describes touristic programmes in which indigenous culture serves a touristic offer, or - what is less often the case - the project is managed by indigenous peoples themselves (Goodwin 2007: 84). Hereby the images of ‘pristine’, ‘exotic’ and ‘peaceful’ are especially strong in the advertising (Tomaselli 2012a: 20). In this case, indigeneity is not seen as an inherent feature of a specific group, but as an attitude constructed for specific purposes by the people described as indigenous. Indigeneity is connected to genealogical ideas of people ‘from the past’, but constructed as an entirely modern concept for the purpose of touristic saleability or as a basis for land claims and self-determination as I have exemplified in the historical chapter (Tomaselli 2012b: 31). Indigeneity becomes a strategy with its image ideally controlled by the people concerned:

“Rather than being an essentialist category associated with myths of authenticity, traditionalism, primitivism and pre-rationality, we examined whether indigeneity could be reconceived as a contemporary performance of self that enacts a restoration of relations to one’s past (Tomaselli 2012b: 48).”

It is not only important to include indigenous people in the management of a project, decision-making includes also choices on the topic and style of presentation, as well as the images transported (Butler/ Hinch 2007a: 5f.). Butler and Hinch describe the powerful attraction that indigenous peoples present and the fascination they emanate for non-indigenous visitors, based on their often unique cultural values which are a good basis for marketing (ibid: 1). What is often forgotten here, is that this form of tourism is not only about the visited indigenous, but rather about the interaction of ‘same’ and ‘other’, between hosts and visitors (Von Stauss 2012: 85).

The actors involved in cultural tourism are generally the hosts, the visiting tourists, travel agents in the countries of origin, transportation companies and tour operators, governments who promote tourism or see tourism as a source for development and facilitate its projects through policies and financial assistances, the media that develops images for the tourists and helps shaping the identities of the hosts and finally external influences like trends and climatic circumstances, on which people have little control (Butler/ Hinch 2007a: 7). Since many indigenous communities live in remote areas, intermediaries create links, transportation networks and support them through the internet and booking facilities (Butler/ Hinch 2007b: 324).

Indigenous tourism should be well organized, planned and managed in order to have positive impacts for people and nature and to allow a fruitful exchange between indigenous and non-indigenous people, increasing intercultural communication as well as reciprocal learning (Butler/ Hinch 2007a: 3). Although seriously sustainable forms of cultural tourism are still rare, much has improved, since the first paternalistic forms in which tourists stared at indigenous people dancing (Butler/ Hinch 2007b: 331). The more knowledge about tourism and management the hosts get, the better they can adapt to the wishes of modern tourists, without vulnerably putting themselves into risk, but instead aiming for empowerment and acceptance in the tourism industry as well as inside the national state (ibid: 328f.).

4.4. Images Applied in Indigenous Tourism

Imagery is a crucial element in tourism and a positive one is the basis for good marketing; the transmitted images attract and interest future visitors (Butler/ Hinch 2007b: 323f.). The transported ideas should nevertheless be accepted among the indigenous communities, but especially in the past they have been distorted, negative and stereotyped by external forces. It is therefore relevant to reflect on the extent in which indigenous peoples can produce and manage the images themselves and how the categories 'traditional' and 'modern' are applied (ibid: 323f.).

Indigenous societies often have a marginal position in the nation states. Suffering from poverty, being excluded from jobs and education and lacking access to land or juridical rights, they often got into conflicts with other ethnic groups in the country and were further discriminated by majority groups, which sometimes even lead to genocide (Blench 1999). The groups were at the same time often idealized and to this day they are made to fit into specific romanticized imageries, used for the selfish purposes of big institutions.

In tourism often one group becomes representative for a whole nation, which may provoke dependence or exploitation (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 17ff.). At the same time the indigenous groups are summarized from various ethnicities into one community, which stands in contrast to 'the others' inside the nation state or to the visitors (Waite 1999: 147). Branding indigenous communities brings together marketing, culture and identity, essentializing a group's identity to make it easier to sell (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 18). Biology and genealogy often serve to construct a community sense in the course of commodification (ibid: 42).

Stereotypes are a key issue in the creation process of images fitting for the tourism industry – the ‘favourites’ for indigenous are: ‘romantic’, ‘pristine’, ‘isolated’, ‘primitive’, ‘unspoiled’ and ‘living like in the stone-age’ and are found in popular media, tourism brochures, homepages, movies, stories. According to Blench, the special attraction derives from the myth of societies living exactly like in the past (Blench 1999). For MacCannel tourism is motivated by its search for ‘authenticity’ or as Goffman puts it for the ‘true’ life, referring to what happens in the backstage area. Further, the concept of ‘Otherness’ attracts visitors through the thrill of ‘adventure’ and the ‘exotic’ (Von Stauss 2012: 86). The visual often helps constructing an image, for example the representation of naked indigenous in and loincloths constructs an opposed image to civilized societies (Waitt 1999: 155).

‘The primitive others’ attract because of the contrast created to the visiting societies (Garland/ Gordon 1999: 271f.). Stereotyped images often serve to legitimize privileges and social positions of ruling groups (Waitt 1999: 151). „*“Lost” tribes emerge not so much from the jungle or the desert as from the (alienated) bourgeois imagination of tourists* (Garland/ Gordon 1999: 274)” and western categories and values are still recognizable (ibid: 271).

A common motivation for travelling to indigenous and ‘isolated’ societies is what Gordon and Garland refer to as the ‘last-chance-glimpse’ (1999: 271.), but ironically, tourism itself is accused of transforming and spoiling ‘traditional’ societies. A quite contradictory point, is the longing of many tourists for the untouched and ‘authentic’ indigenous, which were constructed by the state and the tourism industry. Even if sometimes it is known that indigenous groups do not live like that anymore, their knowledge and closeness to heritage and history is idealized and sold as a way to transport the visitors into the past (Shepherd 2002: 191). The common tourist might be disappointed to see cash desks and reception points instead of a warm welcome and exchange economy, since they were looking for the ‘unspoiled’ and idyllic life (Shepherd 2002: 192). Expecting an idealized image of the friendly and harmonic ‘indigenous’, tourists might be shocked to have to pay for pictures and activities (Von Stauss 2012: 88).

An often used stereotype, is the association of indigenous as ‘eco-angels’, living in harmony with nature and possessing a huge knowledge about plants and the environment (Waitt 1999: 151; Blench 1999). Catchwords like ‘fun in the sun’ and ‘outback adventure’ respond to the

gaze of tourists longing for nature and adventure (Waitt 1999: 143). In some cases, the ‘chasing’ of indigenous ‘hidden in the bush’ presents a special attraction.

Land has always been a strong identitarian component for indigenous societies, although many groups lived as nomads and not on a fixed territory. Because of global and national developments, the notion of territory has changed. But also for the tourism industry specific places were directly connected to the people – is it for marketing reasons or for logistic purposes, for example to better trace the tourism attractions on maps. Territory has often been a conflictual point between national states and indigenous societies. Strict institutional rules and infrastructure divided and disturbed natural environments and indigenous habitats. Furthermore, many indigenous people around the world got in conflict with national parks and conservationists, as I outlined before in the specific case of the San.

The position of indigenous communities involved in tourism activities and therefore being active experts and managers in that sector, is sometimes hidden behind images of ‘pristine’ and ‘primitive’ (Garland/ Gordon 1999: 282). But unnecessary to say, living in a globalized world and being drawn into tourism, indigenous societies adapt their way of living to the given context. Alternative forms of tourism involvement may allow indigenous people to profit from economic benefits and at the same time influence the images that are transported in the course of a marketing process.

4.5. Concepts of Cultural Tourism in North-Eastern Namibia

As in other parts of the world, tourists visited the San in the North-Eastern part of Namibia caused some unfavorable incidents and negative consequences. The human and environmental risks that might arise from tourism, encouraged the finding of strategies for more sustainable tourism, which was summarized in Namibia’s green plan. The Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism therefore aimed “*to develop a sustainable tourism industry that will complement and not harm the attractions which draw tourists to Namibia* (Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism 1992: 74. In: Hitchcock 1997: 94).”.

During my field research I analysed two concepts that were developed in the course of the commodification of culture among the Ju/’hoansi. The two visited Living Museums are part of the Living Culture Foundation Namibia initiated by Werner Pfeiffer and are characterized by a strict organization and precise rules that should guarantee ‘authenticity’. In the Nyae

Nyae Conservancy the approach of Community Based Natural Resource Management combines tourism with wildlife protection and less officially presented Cultural Villages offer touristic cultural activities to paying visitors.

4.5.1. The NNC, Tsumkwe Country Lodge and Cultural Villages

In the 1980's there were no formal institutions or controlling organs for tourism in Northeastern Namibia; some travellers walked unwantedly into the intimate spheres of the people, took pictures without permission, chased children around and exploited the Ju/'hoansi and !Kung buying crafts and jewellery at unfairly low prices (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 101). A further danger was that attracted by the job opportunities, especially poor people abandoned their homes to work in tourism locations, where the pay was poor and dependency was created (Hitchcock 1997: 94). Hitchcock gathered his data in Namibia and Botswana between 1975 and 1995; he describes in an article from 1997, that many San had seasonal jobs ranging from toilet cleaners to camp labourers in tourism institutions or were working as hunting guides – a dangerous activity causing the death of several San (ibid: 100). No San was at that time employed in a management position (ibid: 100).

The new income of cash through tourism caused disagreement and conflicts in the home villages and gender inequalities grew, since men had more easily access to work. People were divided between gratefulness for having a job opportunity and dissatisfaction about the little control they had over activities happening around them (Hitchcock 1997: 100). Tourists and anthropologists walked randomly into their private spheres, sometimes asking them to do offending works and leaving very little recompense - with the excuse that San would not know about the real value of money (ibid: 100f.). Some people felt like being observed in a zoo, especially when some San started dressing up in leather clothing for the visitors to fit the outsiders imagination, or sometimes it was even asked by the tourists themselves (ibid: 102).

The effects on the San were social stratification inside the communities, growing desire for western goods and realizing the economic differences to the western people visiting. Out of that, an almost obsessive pursuit of tourists's cars and activities in the tourism industry developed (Hitchcock 1997: 103). New illnesses spread because of the increased contact with outsiders and tobacco and alcohol, distributed first by anthropologists and then becoming a popular gift or exchanging good from tourists and anthropologists became a big problem. The environmental impacts were among others the use of too many plants and roots for the craft

production sold to tourists and animals becoming aggressive because of increased safari hunting (ibid: 106f.).

As I have described in the previous chapters, in the 1990's the Ju Wa Bushmen Development Foundation under the leadership of Claire Ritchie, Megan Biesele and others, seriously started thinking about concepts of eco-tourism for the Ju/'hoansi, with the aim to give the people living in the area the chance to control and regulate the flows of visiting people and at the same time to create job opportunities (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 100). Tourism was at that time the third largest sector of Namibian economy (Garland/ Gordon 1999: 267); in 2011 direct and indirect tourism industries presented around 15,7% of the total GDP and 19,7% of national employment (URL 7: 20).

The creation of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy was a fruitful outcome from a conference with the Ministry of Wildlife Conservation and is the first one built on communal land in Namibia. It was established in 1998, with the size of approximately 9000 km² and today around 2300 residents living on it (URL 4). Cigae Cwi Gerrie, pastor of the Reformed Church in Tsumkwe, headman of Doupos and treasurer of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy says in an interview, that the number of villages that are today part of the conservancy increased from 36 to 40 (interview on 22.08.2014, Doupos).

A conservancy is *“a legally registered area with clearly defined borders and a constituted management body run by the community for the development of residents and the sustainable use of wildlife and tourism (URL 4).”* The discussed points were that wildlife should be used sustainably and as a resource by the local people. Tourism should be controlled by the Ju/'hoansi and established fees that would go to the indigenous communities directly, should be introduced. 'Traditional' knowledge should usefully be combined with scientific knowledge and training in wildlife management (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 106f.). Not only did the Conservancy give partial control over the territory to the indigenous population, it further generated income through campsites, direct employment, craft sales and cultural tourism (Suzman 2001: 41).

Specific tourism regulations were established by the members of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. The number of tourists should be controlled and tourists should not drive off the existing tracks. Tourists should approach local people with respect, ask them before taking photo-

graphs and not force people to remove their clothes. Further, specific amounts of money shall be paid for specific activities (not alcohol as it sometimes used to be) and craft items had to be paid fairly; the prices for the activities were recommended by the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. Further, the tourism guides should be local people (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 209f.).

The CBNRM programme in Namibia is based on community sense and includes the collaboration between NGO's, the government and the Ju/'hoansi, respecting their (former) activity as hunters and gatherers as potential strategy for sustainable biodiversity conservation (Suzman 2001: 134). The question of equal representation of all members in a 'community' is difficult, especially when it comes to originally equal societies (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 258). Although tourism is an aspect of the programme, critics say relating to CMNRM programmes in Botswana, that dealing with tourism is unpredictable and investment starts to be profitable only after a couple of years, that is why Zips-Mairitsch recommends to rely parallelly on other sources of income (ibid: 256).

The main place where visitors in the Tsumkwe District can sleep, camping or in rooms, is the Tsumkwe Country Lodge located in the town of Tsumkwe - the administrative centre of the region. The lodge is placed on the Nyae Nyae territory and is therefore involved in the tourism activities. From there, cultural activities leading to the San and/ or Wildlife tours to the Khaudum National Park or to Baobab Trees, can be booked and organized directly (URL 8).

One of the two tourist guides of the lodge, Smallboy, explained to us that complaints about tourism tours and activities go directly to the Conservancy and are then transmitted to the lodge, while contracts with tourists groups are signed with the lodge directly (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Tsumkwe). The guided tours organized by the Tsumkwe Country Lodge and leading to the Cultural Villages are mostly packaged and people may remain and sleep at the comfortable lodge. Unfortunately, I do not have precise numbers about the this, but in the course of three weeks and 16 touristic activities, no group slept at the campsite of Doupos.

Today, some of the villages are defined as Cultural Villages and have built special 'traditional villages' some metres apart from their living areas, where 'traditional' activities are performed for tourists in exchange for money. Especially the 'experience' is central in Cultural Villages sold as 'authentic' and responding to the tourist gaze. The two main visited Cultural

Villages of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy are Mountain Pos and Doupos (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Tsumkwe) of which in my research, Doupos will be in the focus. As an expert, I will ask Smallboy - tourguide and translator of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge - to explain how villages can become involved in tourism activities and what the criteria are:

“So if your village is willing for the tourists to go there and see your tradition, you can organize yourself. Because you know most of the people they started losing their culture and they like staying in town. I can not take the tourists to the village while you are in town. People are coming from far to see, just to see the bushmen tradition. I’s like I disappoint the tourists. So if you stay proud of your culture, you still want to continue with your culture, you organize yourself, you stay in the village and then you let me know, Smallboy, I’m willing, I’m ready, for my culture, the tourists can come. Then I can know and if I have a group I can take to your village and then you can perform your culture to the people and they see that you are real, still in your culture and you never lose your culture. So that’s what I have speak in the radio, and one of the thing also now, I can’t take the tourists to the village which is very far if the tourists have booked for half day. So if I drive from here and then I reach to the village, the hours are supposed to be in half day. When I reach the village its maybe eleven o’clock, then its not fine. Its not working like that, tourists will complain. So that is why we have seen the villages that are close. Like Doupos, Mountain Pos and Living Museum, which is closer. 30 minutes from here. Or 40 minutes, exactly. And you must also see the roads which is fine (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Tsumkwe).“

In winter time (Mai- September) when the roads are cleared from water puddles and the temperatures are mild, it is high season for tourism, while in the rain season it is a dangerous enterprise (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Tsumkwe). Smallboy normally goes out with the groups two times a week, but in August 2014, the Conservancy started a contract with a Spanish tour guiding group which brought him clients every day. The groups’ sizes can range from one person to 20 and according to Smallboy, most of the people come from America, Germany, France, Italy and South Africa (ibid).

According to Suzman the Ju/’hoansi of the Tsumkwe District East are far better off than San in other parts of Southern Africa (2001: 39). A general positive outcome of tourism is the economic benefit for the hosting society. Manuela Zips-Mairitsch claims for Botswana, that investments in tourism return only after 25 to 30 years, a time span far too long for poor

communities (Zips-Mairitsch 2009: 256). Following the analysis of Suzman, tourism in the Nyae Nyae area is economically quite positive compared to agriculture and self-subsistence, the income through tourism is nevertheless only one source of income (2001: 138). Biesele and Hitchcock (2011) also clearly state, that tourism is not the biggest source of income in the Nyae Nyae area (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 211, 218). CBNRM presents nonetheless a strong-benefit for the population in terms of capacity-building and securing land rights (Suzman 2001: 134).

From the point of view of the concerned however, income is mainly generated through tourism activities, as I recognized in several interviews. Tourism is for the Ju/'hoansi of the NNC the most immediate earning, whereas other sources seem to be taken less in consideration. Xoan//a and !uu compare the benefits from the conservancy and from tourism:

“We only have incomes from tourism and conservancy, so those two. Because the income we receive from conservancy is only when the year is over. Conservancy is paying for us, a little. Each village in the conservancy is happy here, but for the basis it's tourism (Xoan//a and !uu Cgaesje, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos).”

Local people and wildlife can profit from alternative tourism in different ways, protecting their ways of living and at the same generating income opportunities. Although working with tourism has proved successful in the Tsumkwe Area, it does not generate the main income. The government is the second main source and its jobs and pensions provide the biggest part of revenues (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 211, 218). The way up to the construction of a conservancy and the use of CBNRM has been long and complicated, but today the San of East Tsumkwe manage the cultural and touristic activities in their areas as well as the protection of nature on their own, increasing self-esteem by presenting their culture to international visitors.

4.5.2. The LCFN and Living Museums

The Living Culture Foundation (LCF) is a German-Namibian non-profit organization, which exists in Namibia to help indigenous communities constructing Living Museums, and in Germany to gather funds. The Living Culture Foundation Namibia (LCFN) was initiated by Werner Pfeiffer and is now managed together with Sebastian and Kathrin Dürschmidt.

The story started 2004 with the creation of 'The Living Museum of the Ju/'hoansi-San' in Grashoek. The LCF was then founded in 2007 and since that time, four more Living Museums have been created. The second Ju/'hoansi Museum was called 'Little Hunter's Museum' and was built in 2010. There further is the 'Mafwe Museum' presenting Bantu Culture in the Caprivi, the 'Damara Museum' and the 'Mbunza Museum' (URL 3). The idea of the LCF is to give every ethnic group in Namibia its own Living Museum (Sebastian Dürschmidt, lecture on 09.01.2014).

Werner Pfeiffer describes the concept as open-air-museum showing a specific time in history – in this case the time before colonization – using traditional tools reconstructed only from natural resources (Werner Pfeifer, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek). The idea for the project came from Werner's own experience, performing every summer as a stone-age-man and Viking in Northern Germany up to the present day. He is fascinated by the idea of actually experiencing the historical periods, seeing people in activity and being able to touch the authentic tools – as a teacher he would like history lessons to work like this. Coming back to Namibia – his homeland - he felt inspired to pursue his passion and relied on the cultural diversity he found here; especially the Ju/'hoansi fascinated him and reawakened his childhood adventure feelings (ibid). A practical reason for creating the Living Museums was also to avoid unwanted visitors in the private spheres of the indigenous peoples (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek).

The aims of the Living Culture Foundation are three:

- Fight against poverty in Namibia
- Preservation of traditional culture
- Creation of a cultural and intercultural exchange (URL 3)

According to Sebastian Dürschmidt, the culture of the Ju/'hoansi is not anymore existent in the way it used to be, and the Living Museum is a way to keep traditional knowledge 'alive' and to promote cultural exchange with international visitors, between ethnic groups within Namibia and in national education (Sebastian Dürschmidt, lecture on 09.01.2014). For that reason, the LCFN lately joined the Museums's Association of Namibia (MAN), to focus more on the transmission of knowledge inside the country. This processes further aim to raise the cultural pride of the Ju/'hoansi San. The LCFN describes their concept as follows:

“A Living Museum is an authentic way of presenting traditional culture. A Living Museums is a cultural school for tradition and a communal Namibian tourism business at the same time. Travelers can visit a Living Museum and thus can actively contribute to the preservation of traditional culture and fight against poverty in Namibia (URL 3)”.

The motivation to build a Living Museum mostly comes from the people themselves, who approach the foundation asking for support. The LCFN offers them technical aid and training having gathered experience through previous projects. A lot of group discussions are necessary to organize a social division of tasks inside the group and to develop the programmes; one person mostly crystallizes as the manager of the Museum – he must be a person of trust and responsibility, able to motivate and guide others. According to Sebastian Dürschmidt three years on average are necessary to build a Living Museum (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek).

The people from the LCFN guide the people creating the cultural programmes, recommending to keep the activities short, knowing about the visitors’ preferences and habits and training the actors for example on how to pose for photographs (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014; Werner Pfeifer, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek). As described on their homepage, only projects that can be seen as ‘authentic’ and which show a specific time in history, are accepted. Authenticity is an important characteristic of Living Museums, Sebastian Dürschmidt often accentuated during the interview (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek). For this reason, specific rules and standards, based on researched and existing traditional knowledge and mixed with the judgements of the organizers of the LCFN were created.

All the money gathered is at disposal of the Ju/’hoansi. 90% of the money earned during an activity is equally divided between all participants, whereas 10% are saved in a bank in Grootfontein, kept for the whole community to cover common expenses and investments (Tsemkgao Daqm, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba). The people do not get further monetary aid from the LCFN, the only expenses covered by donations are marketing and infrastructure costs. The rest is generated by the flow of money in Living Museums and even materials made disposable by the organization are bought or exchanged by the people participating (Sebastian Dürschmidt, lecture on 09.01.2014).

According to Sebastian Dürschmidt, the financial aspect of the Living Museums is a very positive one, he described that people active in this organization profit much more than the villages around. The projects of the LCFN aim to include all generations and sexes in their work and consider that many more people can profit from the project - if one member participates in the activities, the whole familie may benefit from it. In Grashoek, 75 people perform for tourists, but 500 inhabitants live from the project. In 2013, all 5 museums together earned 1,5 million N\$ (around 9300 €) (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek), a considerable sum for indigenous communities in Namibia. Further, the Museums offer the possibility to sell crafts, which is another relevant factor of income and can include even more people (Sebastian Dürschmidt, lecture on 09.01.2014).

The Living Museums are well coordinated and live from a strict organizational structure. There are eight performing groups, who work in a rotation principle – for big visitor groups, all performers may participate in the activity. Each group has an English-speaking guide and a group leader who controls the pre-fixed rules. If a group member behaves unfittingly he is punished with a seven days prohibition of participating in tourism activities. There further is a general manager, which in Grashoek is Henry /ui Nyani and who explained us the complex organization processes (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek). Another key figure in each Living Museum is the treasurer, who takes care of all money matters (Tsemkgao Daqm, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba).

I remained impressed by the perfect working order, when we arrived in Grashoek in August 2014 without pre-arrangement. In the course of a few minutes, the whole village was informed that we were coming and led us to the reception point¹³. Immediately two perfect English-speaking guides arrived and with a gentle smile led us into the shadow, welcomed us and informed about the possibilities available at the museum. In an interview with Henry /ui Nyani, he explained to us, what to do in that common situation:

“Most of them they will just come in and we have to see the car and then we have to run and call the people and we’re having a lot of stress, they have to run to come quickly to the tourists, but sometimes they will come to the village down to the reception and the guides will come there and meet them. Then they choose the programme, which they like and then we can make the booking and everything. [...] We are having some tour-guides and when they are

¹³ See reception point of the Little Hunter’s museum in Pic.1.

coming, they are taking care of them. Because we are having about eight groups. As you could see, we are having different types of huts here, so every group like now - if they are there, they are participating. If another car is coming, it will be another group. [...] Like now, we are having a timetable and everybody knows exactly if it is his turn. Like now it's group five, which is working now with this group. Number six is waiting. So they are already here, even if the car is coming, the car will just go there and if they see the car, then they know that it's their group (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 12.01.2014, Grashoek)."

In the Living Museums tourists can camp and are offered a basic infrastructure on the campsites. From there, a large variation of activities can be booked – from singular acts to a three day experience. The Roy's Camp¹⁴ near to Grootfontein which is 80 km away, offers packaged tours to Grashoek; there is no other nearby place to stay.

The Living Museums are constructed with the willingness of the ethnic communities interested in the project and who ask for the support of the LCFN. The focus on 'authenticity' is very important and for that purpose, rules regulate the 'traditional' activities performed. Living Museums are highly structured and organized and the actors involved are well informed about their roles and aims.

4.5.3. The N/a'an ku sê Lodge

Josef Wukovits and I were quite surprised, when at the reception of our hostel in Windhoek, between 'Carnivore Feeding Tours' and 'Horse Riding in the Namibian Wilderness', we found the activity 'Tracking Ancient San Skills', "*where for 2 hours you can experience a variety of San activities such as tracking in the veldt (bush), fire making with traditional San fire sticks, craft making and hunting in the traditional San way (URL 1)*". In the 'N/a'an ku sê Lodge', located only 45 kilometres from the capital city and half an hour away from Windhoek airport –"*perfectly situated to start or finish your trip to Namibia (URL 6)*" - tourists with restricted time at their disposal could have this unique experience.

We paid 80€ per person and were picked up to be driven to the luxurious lodge, which describes itself as the only charity lodge of Namibia and has laid its main focus on sustainability (URL 6). Next to the picture of 'Brangelina' - who sponsor the N/a'an ku sê project to help

¹⁴ Homepage of Roy's Camp: <http://www.roysrestcamp.com/>, 22.01.2016

animals and people of Namibia - we saw other familiar faces on the photographs which decorated the entrance hall. When we were then led to a clearing in the bush with a Safari Jeep, we indeed met people we knew from Doupos. Four women, two men, and some children were sitting between three traditional straw huts; among them was Cwi, son of the famous healer !Kunta Boo living in Doupos.

This project called 'Ancient San Skills Academy' is part of a cooperation between the N/a'an ku sê Lodge and the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. The lodge wants to improve job opportunities and the lives of the indigenous people offering accommodation, education, healthcare and better living conditions to some San families. 45 San are actually employed by the Lodge and are offered training and work. Further, groups from the NNC come southwards for a period of time, staying at the Lodge to display their cultural heritage (URL 6).

For a period of three months the group of people from Doupos – chosen by the pastor Cigae Gerrie – come to the Lodge to receive aid and make a similar job to the one done at home, except that the vegetation is slightly different from the one found 800 km up north. Talking to the people in Doupos, many of them seemed to enjoy their stay very much; they appreciated the comfort of the Lodge - for example an electric drill which allows them to bore holes into the ostrich egg beads much easier, as Dixao told me excitedly (Field notes, August 2014).

Relating to the distances, the N/a'an ku sê Lodge is an optimal solution for tourists with restricted time and a tight programme, to get to know the famous San people of Namibia without having to drive far northwards (Jeremy Silvester, interview on 12.08.2014, Windhoek). For the Ju/'hoansi themselves, it is a possibility to enjoy some kind of vacation and profit from the benefits of the project, doing the same work as they do at home.

4.5.4. Touristic Offers in Cultural Villages and Living Museums

The Ju/'hoansi in all mentioned villages offer a range of different activities at more or less fixed tariffs paid by the visitors. Sheets with the programme points and short explanations of each, together with prices and the approximate duration of the activities were at the disposal of visitors, tourists and guides. At the Living Museums these A4 sheets could be found under glass or plasticised, hanging at the reception point, whereas for the Cultural Villages, they could be studied at the reception of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge (Field notes, January 2014). I will on the next pages insert the list of programmes found at the different villages.

*Little Hunter's Museum of the Ju/'hoansi San
In //Xa/oba near Tsumkwe, Nyae Nyae Conservancy¹⁵*

Programme: 2014 – 2015

Bush walk with snaring, tracking and collecting bush food.

1,5 h; N\$ 100 / person

Singing, dancing and games around the camp fire. Feel free to join in the fun.

1,5 h; 100 / person

Crafts in the village: lighting a fire, making ropes and snares, jewellery, bow and arrow and prepare and taste traditional bush food. Learn and join in.

2h; N\$ 120 / person

Action Day: It includes everything as in programme 3 as well as the bush walk, singing, dancing, wedding ceremony, playing games, shoot a bow, throw a spear, and watch the traditional doctor healing a patient. We also teach you to make your own bow and arrow as well as ostrich egg pearls and your own jewellery the old way.

4-5h; N\$ 200 / person

Tracking Game: Following game tracks like Elephant, Oryx, Kudu, Wildebeest, Hartebeest, Warthog, Giraffe, or what we might find together with two hunters. Please take along about 5 litre of water.

N\$ 150 / person / day

Hunting Trip (One day or several days): Full Day walking in the wild together with two hunters, trying to catch Warthog, Kudu, Springhare, Porcupine or whatever might be so careless to cross our way. No guarantee to success though. Please take along 5 litre of water a day.

N\$ 200 / person / day

Hunting Trip (Several days): Decide by yourself how many days/nights you would like to disappear with your two Bushmen hunters into the Kalahari wilderness, trying to live as much of the land as you wish. No guarantee to success though. Please take along 5 litre of water a day.

N\$ 200 / person / day

//Xa/oba: Visit our modern village

½ h; N\$ 50 / person

Craft Making

The museum has a craft shop, where a lot of jewellery, tools, instruments and articles of daily use are being sold. The whole village and many surrounding villages profit from the sale of these products, as everyone is allowed to sell their crafts there.

¹⁵ This programme was photographed at the 'Little Hunter's Museum' at //Xa/oba and slightly completed with what I found on the official site of the LCFN (URL 3)

Special programme

3 Day Exclusive Ju/Hoan Experience

N\$ 600 / person

Day 1: get to know your host family and make your own San equipment:

You should start very early in the morning. A small San family including a hunter, his wife and their children will take care of you. Together you will produce some jewellery, ropes, your own bow and arrow. Included in the day is also blacksmithing an arrow head – if there is enough time. A lot of work! You can of course take your equipment home with you.

Day 2: A day in the bush:

All your equipment will now be used during your day in the bush with your San family. Get to know the incredible knowledge of your San family when it comes to bush food and medicine. Eat what you find! Set up traps and practice shooting with your bow. Collect grass and wood for your own hut in the bush. If you want you can spend the night there. Take or leave your sleeping bag, but do not forget to take along at least 5 litre of water and a hat!

Day 3: Singing and Dancing:

Today your San family will introduce you into a bigger group and will give you insights into the traditional beliefs of the Ju/'hoansi. You can take part into a healing ceremony and enjoy singing and dancing around a fire as well as some traditional games. At the end of the day you will visit your host family in the modern village to get to know how they live today.

Other

Camping

N\$ 40 / person

Two camp sites available, each with a dry toilet, bucket shower and braai facilities.

Water small N\$ 10

1 Bundle of fire wood N\$ 15

Film making

Professional film making for documentaries, movies etc.

Up to 2 days unlimited filming: N\$ 4500 (even if you only film a few hours)

For every further day: N\$ 1500

Special rates

Namibian student groups only pay half of above prices. Up to 4 teachers (group leaders) are free of charge, but others pay the students price. All groups must proof their Namibian origin to obtain reduced price. Our Living Museum is a private educational institution without any external financial aid. As we need to pay our actors we are not able to reduce prices below these offers.

Children policy

0-2 yrs free of charge, 3-12 yrs half price

Trip Options in Nyae Nyae

Half Day Trips:

(Please inform lodge management if you would like a lunch pack or prefer to return to lodge for lunch.

Please bring your own water.)

Option 1: Village Trip: Doupos or Mountain Pos.

- Includes Craft buying
- Explanation of traditional crafts
- Bush walk: explaining bush food & medicine and traditional fire making with sticks
- Photo opportunities
- Explanation of hunting equipment and how they make traps for birds
- Opportunity to ask questions so you may understand the life of the Ju/'hoan people

Option 2: game and bird viewing

- [...]

Full Day trips (include picnic lunch and water):

Option 1 (Daytime only): Village visits at Doupos and Mountain Pos

- Bush walk with explanations of bush foods, roots, medicines, traditional fire making with fire sticks
- Explanation of water roots used when there is no water (and can be used as food)
- Observing craft making
- Craft buying
- Observing poison arrow making
- Explanation of hunting techniques
- Explanation of tracking
- Photo opportunities

Option 2: Visit to Doupos and Mountain Pos:

- All activities listed above
- Return to lodge for dinner
- Return to village for traditional Healing Dance

Option 3: Same as option 2, but with picnic supper in the village. We request you purchase maize meal for the village.

¹⁶ This programme was photographed at the Reception Board of the 'Tsumkwe Country Lodge'.

Tsumkwe Country Lodge Rates 2014

Half Day Cultural Village

Minimum 4 and above	N\$ 400 p.p.
Minimum 3	N\$ 544 p.p.
Minimum 2	N\$ 817 p.p.
1 Person	N\$ 1325 p.p.

Full Day Cultural Village

Minimum 4 and above	N\$ 772 p.p.
Minimum 3	N\$ 945 p.p.
Minimum 2	N\$ 1417 p.p.
1 Person	N\$ 2300 p.p.

N/a'an ku sê Charity Lodge & Wildlife Sanctuary¹⁷

N/a'an ku sê Ancient San Skill Academy

This academy is a joint venture between the N/a'an ku sê Foundation and the Nyae Nyae Conservancy. It aims to serve as a reciprocal training venture where visiting groups from the Nyae Nyae Conservancy stay here at N/a'an ku sê to display their cultural heritage and skills to the visitors. When visiting the Academy, you will experience a variety of San activities such as signs and tracks of the veldt, fire making with traditional San fire sticks, the San will show you plants that they use for medicinal purposes, they will tell you how they hunt and set traps, and will finish off your visit to them with a few traditional dances and singing!

Cost: N\$500pp

Night out with San Bushman

You have a unique chance to experience San Bushman lifestyle as you can join them in their day-to-day life in this overnight activity. You will stay at the same village with the San from N/a'an ku sê Ancient San Skill Academy, eat as they eat and spend a night as they do every day. You get to really experience the San culture with all its specialties.

Cost N\$500pp

Hunting with San Bushman

This whole day activity brings you an once-in-a-lifetime chance to go out hunting with San Bushman. You can learn about tracking and hunting, experience a different hunt day and support the community, as the meat will go for the San Bushman families.

Cost: N\$2000pp

¹⁷ This Programme was taken from an information sheet of the 'N/a'an ku sê Lodge' found online: <http://naankuselodge.com/pdf/NaankuseLodgeAndWildlifeSanctuary2014.pdf> (20.05.2016, 17.00)

The list of programmes offer quite similar activities in both concepts, given to the interests of the people who come to visit: *“Tourists they are coming to see our traditional culture and they would like to learn. (...) Doing things like hunting and singing and playing games. And also how we make crafts (Komtsa Daqm, interview on 15.01.2014, //Xa/oba).“* In the opinion of the Ju/’hoansi, visitors come to their villages to learn about their culture and ancient traditions, so their main activity consists in explaining and performing it:

“Yeah, the Living Museum we are working in, it is our project. It is a project, which is here for us San communities to do our traditional things, to show people who want to learn, who interest our culture, like tourists or students who want to learn from us and to do interviews with us. And also the activities are just traditional, we are doing hunting and singing and dancing to people. It’s a business (Komtsa Daqm, interview on 15.01.2014, //Xa/oba).“

‘Bush Walks’ were a frequent activity I attended in all villages and in different forms. At least one English-speaking guide and some experts in hunting and gathering take the visitors group to a walk through the bush, explaining how to gather plants and roots and how to survive in the bush. The San show medicine plants and seeds that can be used for specific illnesses, further waterroots are dug out, their qualities shown and are then distributed for tasting. Visitors also learn how to make fire in the traditional way and often a traditional bird trap is built (Field notes, January 2014).

Tourists can go on a hunting trip with some male hunters – a very intensive and long experience, that can last from a full day to a couple of days. With some luck, smaller animals can be hunted, but usually the trip consists of pursuing animal tracks and of gathering roots and seeds (Field notes, January 2014).

The jewellery and craft making activities are the most interactive experience for the tourists, given that in a workshop-similar situation the visitors have to produce their own pieces after having observed the actors doing it. With the women, people can make small beads out of ostrich eggshells or seeds and nicely assemble necklaces or bracelets. With the men, visitors produce bows and arrows out of wood, natural cords and metal pieces. Afterwards with one’s own set, the tourists may put their shooting skills into practice, or at least learn how to do it (Field notes, January 2014).

The Ju/'hoansi offer singing and dancing activities. In the afternoon short and choreographed dances and games are performed and in some cases, the visitors are asked to join the circle, learn the choreographies and sing along. The experience of Healing Dances in the evening is very intensive and long, and consists in observing rather than participating (Fiel notes, January 2014).

The Living Museums offer them as 'special programme' and the Tsumwe Lodge as 'standard package': in a half, one, or several days, tourists can book a combination of activities and get to know a potpourri of all possible offers presenting the culture of the hosts. The Ju/'hoansi further ask money for being photographed, giving interviews, demand a fee for camping and have official prices for filming (Field notes, January 2014).

In the Living Museums, tours to the 'modern villages' are officially offered on the programme. They are quite short and cheap and include a guided tour which is not very detailed or instructive. The idea behind the museum was to protect the private life of the San and the tour is offered to permit visitors to see behind the curtains – in MacCannells sense, the backstage area.

The San recovered their old traditions, rebuilt ancient huts, reproduced traditional clothes and acquired knowledge about plants, roots, healing techniques from the elders, to present their cultural performances as 'authentic' as possible (Werner Pfeifer, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek). To analyse the situation according to Comaroffs' (2009) arguments, this occupation with their own identities, could lead to a re-identification with their culture, dealing with their traditions every time tourists ask for it.

On the other hand - as Werner Pfeifer claims - the performances for tourists are just a job, with their traditional clothes serving them as working uniforms (Werner Pfeifer, interview on 22.01.2014, Windhoek). The protagonists observed and interviewed seemed to really enjoy performing, to be 'happy' to teach the visitors bits of their culture and to exchange views (Kxore Erna /ui, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek; N!ae Komtsa, !Kunta !Amace, interviews on 17.01.2014, //Xa/oba). Further, the advantage of tourists coming to their villages and bringing money, is clearly a big motivation, whereas the levels of identification with the performed traditions may differ between individuals and include generational differences.

4.5.5. Comparing Cultural Villages and Living Museums

Cultural Villages and Living Museums both have similar activities offered in the programmes for tourism. They are after all based on the same cultural traditions, in a common territory and have similar aims for wildlife and population. The differences are given on an organizational scale, due to the differing institutions in which they are integrated. Both concepts were somehow initiated and regulated by Western engagement but aim to leave the projects in the hands of the Ju/'hoansi-San.

The activities offered by the Lodge and leading to the Cultural Villages are twice as expensive as the one paid directly in the Living Museums, but instead include a guide, shuttle transportation and sometimes a lunch box. The Living Museums and Cultural Villages do not seem to be in strong concurrence between each other. The activities at the N/a'an ku sê Lodge are far more expensive even if booked directly at the Lodge. These incomes contribute to the income of the Cultural Village of Doupos and due to the distance the latter is not in concurrence with the touristic activities of the Tsumkwe Area.

The Tsumkwe Country Lodge offers tours to the Little Hunter's Museum and so has three options for Cultural Activities – two Cultural Villages and one Living Museum. Smallboy explained to us, that visitors can tell whether they have preferences between the villages or he might explain them the differences; the most important seemed to be the distance and condition of the roads: *“Actually I don't see a difference, the culture is just the same, but the difference are the kilometres to the villages (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Tsumkwe).”*

The Living Museums are now officially on the map of the Museums Association of Namibia, whereas the small Cultural Villages still lack official status and infrastructure (Jeremy Silvester, interview on 12.08.2014, Windhoek). The marketing and framing of the Living Museums lies in the professional hands of the LCF and is therefore better represented than the unofficially installed Cultural Villages. On a local level though, Sebastian claims that the Tsumkwe Country Lodge favours tours to the Cultural Villages, although he wishes positive development for all the San communities in the area:

“[T]he lodge does not really send many tourists to the Living Museums, because they simply do not understand the difference. [...] But that's ok, you know? Because they can not do their own marketing. It's not that we want people only to come to the Living Museums, we want...

we are interested in the whole community profiting (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek).¹⁸

I was able to recognize relevant differences between the concepts of Cultural Villages and Living Museums relating to organizational structures. While in the first period of research I thought about Living Museums as concepts brought and organised by German-Namibians and about Cultural Villages as self-organized communities, this perception was somehow reversed in the course of the second period. Entering the sites of Living Museum one could realize, as Sebastian Dürschmidt had explained, that people were completely self-organized, welcomed the guests very professionally and could immediately organize activities.

In contrast, the Ju/'hoansi of Doupos seemed completely dependent from the guides and organizers of the Lodge or the coordinators of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy – all people who do not live in the village themselves. They seemed not to be authorized to organize activities on their own and without a guide or translator. Rather, they left everything as soon as the guide of the Lodge in Tsumkwe announced the arrival of tourists to make the activities and got their money paid out by the Lodge. Moreover, the help to formulate tourism regulations has been initiated by Western anthropologists to protect the San from Western tourists.

A further difference were the English speaking guides, who entertain the visitors. The Tsumkwe Country Lodge sends a guide directly to the Cultural Villages – whereas in the villages themselves it is difficult to find fluently English speaking people. The Living Museums by contrast have strict organizational systems, including managers and perfectly English speaking guides for each group of performers. In my opinion, the people in the Living Museums have received better instruction in tourism services, but in Smallboy's eyes, the explanations of the guides are not always perfect:

“ [...] when I take the tourists to the Hunters Museum, you know those guys, if I'm there, I have to help them mostly with names of the trees and names of the roots, they are not that good. So if I'm there I use to help them out with those names. And if they say something and

¹⁸ Original quotation: “[D]ie Lodge schickt auch nicht wirklich viele Touristen zu den Lebenden Museum, weil die einfach den Unterschied nicht begreifen. [...] Was ja auch ok ist, weisste? Weil die können ja trotzdem ihr eigenes Marketing nicht machen. Wir wollen ja jetzt nicht, dass nur Leute in die Lebenden Museen kommen. Wir wollen ja... Wir sind ja daran interessiert, dass es der ganzen Community gut geht.”

the tourists don't understand that, I have to explain it again, to make them understand what he means (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Tsumkwe)."

Another interesting difference between the two concepts is the approach to historical coherence and 'authenticity'. In the Cultural Village of Doupos 'modern' props could be seen under and on traditional costumes during the activities. In the Living Museums by contrast, certain rules served to explicitly hide objects from the back stage (or 'modern'/ everyday life) through accurate quality control of the group leaders. Every performer carries with him the required traditional tools and does not bring any unfitting, 'modern' accessories into the museum area (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek; Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek). Keeping up the standards of 'authenticity' in the explicit context of being a 'museum' is a key difference of LMs in contrast to the 'normal' CVs in the opinion of Sebastian Dürschmidt:

*„Well, we try of course to keep the standard of Living Museums quite high. Basically, what we call ‚authenticity‘ – meaning the performance of old traditions with real compromises to our times. Therefore ours is not a traditional village, because they are no villages which exist today, but museums (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek)“.*¹⁹

As programmes working in a similar cultural area, Living Museums and Cultural Villages offer a series of programmes, which relate to each other in terms of content and duration. The prices vary between the projects but especially the management and decision-making processes as well as the standards set for the cultural performances make the difference between the two. The common aim is however the improvement of the everyday life of the actors, living in a sustainable environment and being active participants in the tourism industry, managing their own heritage.

¹⁹ Original quotation: *“Ja, also wir versuchen natürlich den Standard von dem Lebenden Museum relativ hochzuhalten. Im Grunde auch das, was wir ‚Authentizität‘ nennen, also das Darstellen von alten Traditionen ohne wirkliche Kompromisse an die heutige Zeit. Deswegen ist unseres auch kein Traditional Village, weil das sind ja Villages dies heutzutage ja gibt, sondern das ist ein Museum.“*

4.6. Excursion: Traditional Craft Making and Marketing

Souvenirs are material goods that can be taken home as pieces of memory, as trophies or snapshots (Butler 2007b: 322; MacCannell 1999: 147). They have become status and affiliation signs and are found in every corner of our daily life (MacCannell 1999: 147). The authenticity-debate in this area is endless – souvenirs are often said to be produced on purpose, as cheap reproductions of pristine objects. Sometimes it is acceptable to take a souvenir home as a memory of an experience, even if its ‘inauthenticity’ is known about (Butler 2007b: 322).

For centuries, the women of the Tsumkwe Area were known for the production of ostrich eggshell beaded jewellery (Lee 2014: 220). Traditional beaded jewellery has ever since been a substantial part of goods traded in the course of *Hxaro* exchange – a non-equivalent gift exchange which served to foster social relations (ibid: 103). Before the formation of the Conservancy, traditional jewellery made out of ostrich eggshells was bought by travellers at absurdly low prices (ibid: 181). Craft making plays an important role up to the present day and became a major source of income, together with tourism and government jobs (Lee 2014: 181; Suzman 2001: 43f.). A total of 14% of income in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy was obtained through craft selling in 2011 (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 210) and Hitchcock speaks of a renaissance of handicraft today (Hitchcock, 1997: 100).

Out of imported eggshells, mainly women produce a high amount of headbands, necklaces, bracelets and bags, which are sold in official craft shops of the conservancy, in museum shops around the world (Lee 2014: 220), as well as in the villages themselves. In 2010, 115 000 N\$ (around 7150 €) were spent on crafts purchased in the official craft shop of the NNC (Dieckman/ Thiem/ et.al. 2014: 109). Craft making presents a possibility to reach the poor and allows them to participate in tourism without having direct contact with tourists (Goodwin 2007: 90).

Craft and jewellery making is a constant activity the women do in every free minute. It is a performance practiced every day and all day long and stands in contrast to the isolated and accentuated touristic performances. Craft production and selling is in the Cultural Villages and Living Museums a constant strategy to earn income, not being dependent on tourist’s seasons and possible for everyone who may not be willing to participate in cultural performances. Craft making is further a relevant alternative to tourism activities, as Henry /ui Nyani answer shows [Interviewer]: “*So what do you do when there are no visitors, no clients?*”

“We make necklaces, go into the bush gather bush food, we make new bows, we are working in the gardens. And we also make more crafts, so that we can put more crafts into the craftshop to sell (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek).”

The colourful glass and plastic beads - mostly imported from Czech Republic - are a desired item and used for personal joy, but they do however also enter the *Hxaro* exchange (Lee 2014: 103, 132). Even poor beggar women in the streets of Tsumkwe always had some beading work in their hands. Traditional bead work is by contrast done mostly for tourism performance and for selling it to visitors. The men create carving and wooden objects and further bows and arrows which are equally sold; but they are a smaller factor of income and a less frequent occupation.

The handmade crafts and jewellery are sold on the one hand in simple open-air shops situated in the ‘traditional villages’, on the other hand in two craft shops in Tsumkwe and are further exported to Windhoek and Germany. In the small craft shops in the villages, the name of the artist is written on small signs attached to the items, to guarantee that the money goes to the maker; from the total amount 5 N\$ (around 30 €-cents) go to the museum cash desk for common investments (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek):

“If people buy, the money will go to the owner. As you can see at the crafts shop they are having different types of names. The person who made it will get the money. So they will just write the name (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 11.01.2014 Grashoek).“

A private craft shop in Tsumkwe is held by Quinten Gerrie, son of Cwi Gerrie. There is further the official Conservancy craft shop named ‘G!hunku Crafts – San Handmade’²⁰ - situated in the Tsumkwe town centre - which is part of ‘Omba’²¹ – a fair trade handicraft organization. The craft shop of the NNC was founded in Baraka and nowadays provides technical assistance for the local population and offers training possibilities as well as income-generating mechanisms (Suzman 2001: 44). The prices are contracted on a very fair basis, giving the crafters the best possible amount of money and they have risen considerably in the last years (Paulina Tsause, interview on 04.09.2014, Tsumkwe).

²⁰ Homepage of G!hunku Crafts – San Handmade: <http://www.nndfn.org/projects/craft-projects/7-craft-projects-g-hunku-crafts>, 10.04.2016, 15.00

²¹ Homepage of Omba: <http://www.ombana.org/>, 10.04.2016, 15.00

Craft and jewellery are material goods exported nationally and internationally and are made out of imported materials – such as eggshells imported from South Africa. These eggshells – nowadays a rare resource - are sold only to specific women who are on a special list of crafters who work for the shop. The producers further have to follow strict instructions handed out on paper and their finished pieces undergo strict quality and cleanliness controls from their colleagues and finally from shop manager Paulina Tsauses²². The styles and pieces respond to requests from outside, such as orders from shops in Windhoek and Germany (Paulina Tsauses, interview on 04.09.2014, Tsumkwe). The traditional ostrich eggshell beaded jewellery is definitely much more requested than glass beaded one:

“Because there in Windhoek, mostly, even the tourists that came there at Omba Crafts they mostly want this eggshells. [...] And the costumers when they come here they use to ask mostly about the eggshells. [...] Omba Craft they use to communicate with people in Germany. And the German people like this eggshells. Yeah, it’s now from there that Omba and us make now a big communication and now we are working together. [...] All what I know is that the Conservancy office in Windhoek, the director, she is the one who used to buy it [the ostrich eggshells] now from Cape Town, South Africa. And then she sell it to us (Paulina Tsauses, interview on 04.09.2014, Tsumkwe).“

Classical hand beaded jewellery out of (imported) ostrich eggshells is part of the traditional costume fabricated for tourism performances but its production has always been an important occupation of women and a basis for exchange trades. The jewellery produced for commercial purposes relies on traditional techniques and responds to the ‘authenticity’ standards required from outside. For private purpose and pleasure, the making and wearing of glass beaded jewellery plays an important role and items were given to us as a friendly gesture. Craft production is therefore an interesting marker for tracing national and international embedment, is a constant activity of everyday life, a relevant factor of income and is considerably interlaced with tourism.

²² Two sheets of the quality standards for jewellery to be sold are documented in Pic.13 and 14..

4.7. Touristic Images of the San in Namibia

The ‘Bushmen’ are together with the ‘Himba’ the most prominent indigenous representatives of Cultural Tourism in Namibia, as Jeremy Silvester - Coordinator of the Museums Association of Namibia MAN - comments:

“Cultural Villages mainly cover San and Himba, because that is what tourists want. Or what people think, tourists want, I’m not always sure it’s the same thing. In the perspective of African imaginary, people expect to see huts, not zinc or bridges. That’s why. (Jeremy Silvester, interview on 12.08.2014, Windhoek).”

According to the historical overview given by Garland and Gordon, the images created around the San started with the hunting expeditions of Sir Francis Galton, Charles John Andersson and others at the end of 19th century, who reported romanticizing testimony about the exceptional hunting and tracking skills of the ‘Bushmen’ (1999: 268). After World War I, the Denver African Expedition brought home first movies about the ‘Bushmen’, who were depicted as beautiful, egalitarian, harmless and prehistoric. Because of the visual medium, which was regarded as direct proof of reality, these attributions have not been questioned then and persist until today (ibid: 268). Those same characteristics construct the *“prefabricated [...] authentic bushman* (ibid: 271)” and are used in tourism advertising, standing in contrast to the touristic self (ibid: 272).

The images of the ‘Bushmen’ in movies and films indirectly awaken the interest of tourists, whereas their pictures in flight magazines and tourism brochures are direct attention catchers (Tomaselli 2012b: 29, 36f.). According to Tomaselli, the San in Namibia are represented between being located in the past and being at the same time subjects of modernity (ibid: 36). Garland and Gordon 17 years ago described the position of the San in Namibia, which has not changed considerably:

*“In the context of such state-sanctioned cultural commodification, it is hardly surprising that those Namibian people labeled ‘bushmen’—long fetishized in ethnographies, documentaries, novels, and blockbuster films like *The Gods Must Be Crazy* and *A Far-Of Place*—have come to feature centrally in the discourse of Namibian tourism development. Indeed, tourism around so-called ‘bushman’ people has arguably become the hallmark of cultural tourism in*

Namibia, as is evidenced by the common use of bushman-style logos by safari companies (1999: 268).”

The general claim of many tourism researchers is that low cost flight and capitalistic free market have facilitated travelling and made remote villages more accessible (for example in Butler / Hinch 2007b: 325). To some extent this is certainly true for the North-Eastern part of Namibia, found on several Internet homepages, but one has to say, that all touristic San villages are considerably far away from big cities and main roads and are difficult to find on ‘Google Maps’. To reach all four villages I have visited, coming from big cities in Namibia and Botswana, the travellers at some point have to go off the asphalted road and continue their journey on an irregular gravel road, which is located between Grootfontein, Tsumkwe and the border to Botswana. From there, adventurous paths leading through the bush and according to the season regularly interrupted by big water puddles, lead to the Cultural Villages and Living Museums and are only doable with 4x4 cars. According to Butler/ Hinch again, this however is a favourable feature of indigenous tourism – the experience and adventure of discovering the people in the middle of great wildlife and genuine nature (2007b: 331f.) – often not taking into consideration the restrictive institutional nature saving policies which harass many indigenous communities.

The category of ‘hunters and gatherers’ is questionable in academic as well as in popular discussion, and I will not plunge into its interpretation. It is nonetheless a category used by tourism industry to promote the sense of ‘pristine’ and ‘prehistoric’ as well as the harmonic connection to the environment. The Ju/’hoansi in Namibia do not live exclusively on hunting and gathering anymore, but they might never have, always having had exchange with other groups living in the neighbourhood (Suzman 2001: 5; Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 222). In the processes of cultural commodification this concept however becomes a strategy, used for touristic and economic purpose. Although bush food is still part of their diet, the money gathered through tourism performance is sometimes easier to get than roots and plants gathered in long hours of walking.

During my experience in the Cultural Village Doupos I had interesting encounters with these ‘traditional’ activities. When in the morning, I saw the San put on their leather garments, charging their wooden arrows and disappearing into the bush – I knew, the hunting had begun - the hunting for the tourists’ attention. When I was once told that my ‘grandmother’ Xoan//a

was not in the village, because she was gathering water roots, I later realized that she and her father !Kunta Boo had passed the morning gathering water roots in a faraway area and then buried them in the soil near to the 'traditional village', where they would later gather it together with the tourists. Ironically, the tourists themselves could be seen as hunters and gatherers themselves, hunting hidden societies and exciting adventures and gathering souvenirs and experiences.

In the course of my stay in Windhoek, I got a better feeling for the national embedment of the Ju/'hoansi in Namibia. I observed and talked to people from different ethnic groups in Namibia and realized the peripheral role that San people play in the minds of many Namibians. When I talked about the research I was about to do, people – from German-Namibian tour guides to Namibian employees of the hostel in Windhoek - were puzzled about the long trip we were going to undertake to get to the San.

Completely different are the expectations of interested visitors from around the world. The San themselves seem to realize their special status and the attraction they present for the tourism industry. Here is what Smallboy – main guide to the Ju/'hoansi of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and employed by the Tsumkwe Country Lodge - has to say about the attraction of the 'Bushmen' to people worldwide:

„You know, they are the ones who, some of them they watch television about the San, they read books maybe about the Bushmen people, they are actually the ones who if they are really interested, to see the San people they drive from there up to here, then we take them out to the villages and then some, they make an arrangement with the other companies – that is doing tours to every country, so those companies are the ones that driving them up to Tsumkwe, even from here we take them to the specific places where they want to go (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Tsumkwe)“.

The interest of the tourists is sometimes limited to the wish to experience 'traditional' activities, as a guide from the Little Hunter's Museum told us about the interest of tourists to see the real life of the San:

“Some they are interested to go to the modern villages. But many of them are interested to the traditional culture. When they come, they want to see hunting. Or they want to see people

dancing and seeing people doing in the traditional way (Komtsa Daqm, interview on 17.01.2014, //Xa/oba)."

The imagery used within cultural tourism among the San has to be worked upon. Smallboy – as tourist expert of the East Tsumkwe Area explained in an interview, that it is relevant to explain to the touring visitors how the San live when they are not performing for tourists:

"Yeah, that's important you have to explain the people. Because they have to know the life of the San people, the life of previous times and nowadays. They have to know about that (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Tsumkwe)."

The LCFN focuses mainly on the *"preservation of traditional culture [and the] creation of a cultural and intercultural exchange (URL 3)"* and the focus on 'authentic' tools and representations is a key condition. Although the cultural activities proposed to tourists should be explicitly marked as part of museum activities and not as depiction of their actual lives (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek), the revision of transported images and stereotypes is not a priority of the Foundation.

It was very interesting to have an interview with Dr. Michael Uusiku Akuupa, Namibian anthropologist and specialist on cultural festivals in his country and on constructed imageries of the San in and outside Namibia. He advocates for a national identity which in his opinion is clearly missing. Namibia is associated with stereotypes that are commonly used in the African continent in general, pristine images of indigenous people such as the Himba or the San, which are through the tourism industry associated with the whole nation. In his opinion many of the stereotypes created around the San are provoked by the projects of the Living Culture Foundation of Namibia:

"[...] the government supports those programmes that enable to create wealth through tourism. That will be one of the points on the agenda of tourists that come to Africa. But they haven't done sufficient homework to see what images is projected out to tourists. We should have a Namibian identity, which identity is it, that we want to portray to the outside (Michael Uusiku Akuupa, interview on 13.08.2014, Katutura)."

In my opinion both projects help to give a voice to the Ju/'hoansi-San, giving the possibility to manage and influence the images transported by their own. The community-based approach to tourism in Namibia, helps changing the images of the San to modern producers of tourism and not as passive objects of cultural commodification (cf. Garland/ Gordon 1999: 267). Garland and Gordon ask themselves whether cultural tourism, in which culture becomes a commodity, is a mere leisure activity for tourists or if it might have empowering effects, proposing new approaches toward 'authenticity' (ibid: 270f.). Indigenous tourism might indeed present a possibility for economic, political and cultural empowerment for people occupying a marginalized position since centuries:

"Bushmen, as perhaps the most famous cultural "Others" in the world, and also among the world's historically most marginalized and disempowered people, represent a good test of the possibility of "progressive" cultural tourism development (Garland/ Gordon 1999: 270)."

5. Performed Culture, Authenticity and Heritage

The theoretical starting point for the topic of this master thesis is the commodification of cultural heritage within indigenous tourism. Because of the touristic gaze and its longing for 'authenticity', the traditions of the indigenous people involved in tourism want to be preserved and then exposed. In this case we are speaking of intangible cultural heritage, because I am treating lived activities made by people in specific situations. Since these cannot be exposed like material objects, the way to present them is through performances. The visitors and tourists pay to see the cultural acts and in this case, they take place in spaces built on purpose, which makes of the 'traditional' activities, staged performances. Theorizing the cultural performances of the Ju/'hoansi and the performativity of their daily lives in and around their villages, is at the intersection of the anthropology of tourism, the analysis of cultural commodification, discussions on authenticity and performance studies.

5.1. 'Culture' in the Tourism Context

"The culture, in the Living Museum, it brings us more guests and also some income. Because in our village, we don't have any job that the government is offering us. The only thing is that we can show our culture, that is where we get our income for ourselves, clothes for the kids, and also the support for the school. We get it from the culture, which the guests come to see here in the Living Museum (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek)."

This quotation of the main guide and manager of the Living Museum in Grashoek shows the importance of income, which the Ju/'hoansi get through the visits of tourists, offering them bits of 'traditional' activities to observe and experience. A global trend of replacing the sale of labour through the sale of culture can be observed among the San and throughout the world (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 11). The quotation further shows the interconnection of income and culture. The Ju/'hoansi have realized that in order to get better income and attract tourists, they have to make use of their culture, shape it and adapt it to what they think tourists would like to see. This, however, means that their financial and cultural capital merge and are difficult to separate (ibid: 8).

The pastor and headman of the Cultural Village of Doupos tells us almost apologizing: "*These days, we are struggle, we are poor people. That's why you have to make something to get money. There is no way, where you get income* (Gerrie Cigae Cwi, interview on 22.08.2014, Tsumkwe)." So, tourism becomes one of the main sources of income, gained through the exhibition of cultural activities:

"And the only thing, which we think, why you guys are coming here, is to learn about our culture and also to bring more money and marketing for us, the San-people. And also to tell others: How the San people are living and how you see them and how they were living in older days. (...) They come to see our culture and they are giving us a little bit of income. And it is a very good job, what we are doing here (/Gao N!aice, interview on 12.01.2014, Grashoek)."

In fact, few alternatives exist to guarantee a living for the Ju/'hoansi in North-Eastern Namibia and the money earned gives them the possibility to buy 'modern' clothes, shoes and food, but also material for craft making, cattle, pay school fees and make savings to pay for transports to the clinic if necessary, as several people from different villages explained in interviews (Cwi //ao, Dabe //ao, Henry /ui Nyani, Komtsa Daqm, Tsemkgao Daqm, Xoan//a Cgaesje, /Gao N!aice, interviews between 11. - 18.01.2014, Doupos, Grashoek, //Xa/oba).

5.1.1. Approaching the Term 'Culture'

The San using the 'culture' to gather income, tourism destroying the 'traditional' 'culture' of indigenous people and 'culture' being commodified - it is therefore inevitable to ask oneself, what is meant by the term 'culture'. Its definition is a century ongoing discussion in academia

and outside and the answer is a complex discussion. For the purpose of this research I am interested in analysing what culture means to the researched people.

Culture is not homogenous and has no clear demarcations, it is rather in constant renegotiation. Its primordial associations of being biologically bound are today overthrown (Comaroff/Comaroff 2009: 39) but served to define the idea of kin relations and distinguish human intelligence from animal's instincts (Sahlins 2011: 205). 'Culture' includes the human potential of building a community on the basis of common symbols and knowledge systems (ibid: 205). Wallace and Layton who treat the topic of 'culture' in the context of its saleability narrow down the term as follows:

"Culture consists of learned patterns of thought and behaviour that are characteristic of a particular community. Culture includes beliefs, values, language, political organisation and economic activity: also technology, art and material culture (2006: 46)."

'Culture' is for the Ju'hoansi of the Tsumkwe area much related to traditional knowledge and the past. They often relate it to hunting and gathering activities, the religion of their forefathers, traditional clothing and the content of tourism performances (!amace N!aici, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba; Tsemkgao Daqm, interview on 17.01.2014, //Xa/oba; N!ae Komtsa, interview on 17.01.2014, //Xa/oba; Kxore Erna /ui, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek). Henry /ui Nyani, one of the most eloquent people we meet in the course of our field practice explained in several ways, what 'culture' means to him (interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek):

"Culture is the meaning, that you are the person who stays in the bush. You know exactly how to stay there, to survive in the field. [...] Culture is the history. The history about the old things, and the things which we are teaching the children."

According to the interviews, keeping the Ju'hoansi culture alive is a very important issue, and the passing of cultural knowledge to the next generation is a significant concern (Henry /ui Nyani and /Gao N!aice, interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek). Looking into the future, it is essential to have the new generations learning about the traditions of the San. It matters on the one hand as a basis for economic security, as well as for the 'preservation' of relevant knowledge and cultural identity in general:

“The culture, to me, I think it's very important to ask. Because in the future if we don't have our culture, the culture will be thrown away. Then our children will not get any culture around. So that's why we have to keep our culture alive, so that in the future our next generation will know about the culture. [...] So that in the future times, our little kids can also get a generation which they can also get the culture (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek).”

Culture not only serves to survive in the bush: *“I also learn them how to use their culture, and how to do things so that they can survive with the guests”*, explained /Gao N!aice (interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek) He referred to the workshops he gives to other San people in South Africa on their common cultural heritage and on how to use it in the context of tourism. In the interviews given, culture was often mentioned in the context of income and of sharing their knowledge with guests and visitors: *“[...] if they [the San people] are not ashamed to wear the traditional clothes they can come and join the culture so that they can get their income (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek).“*

The relevant aspect of ‘culture’ for the purpose of this research, is its connection to property and saleability. Layton and Wallace ask the question whether culture can be a commodity that can be sold (2006). It was often and generally claimed, that cultural identity is not tangible and can therefore not be marketed, refusing to see the connection between economy and culture (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 22). The Comaroffs challenge Bourdieu’s differentiation of cultural and economical capital, claiming that in the course of cultural commodification they merge (ibid: 33).

An interesting discussion point is the controversy between materiality and the intangible. I lean towards Bourdieu’s approach to culture, who sees an interaction between ideas and material expressions (Layton/ Wallace 2006: 46). In Bourdieu’s sense, material culture is relevant in the course of the transmission of the ‘habitus’ (ibid: 67). Artefacts that embody values and traditions of a community are much easier to connect to the property of a single person or community, in contrast to ideas and ‘traditions’ that are more difficult to narrow down, since its creation process is harder to trace, being often based on collaboration (ibid: 47ff). Material goods have for a long time been more accessible, given their characteristic of being exchangeable and consumable, whereas the intangible has the characteristic of being a public and often collective idea (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 29ff.).

Layton and Wallace accuse the idea of copyright to derive from the Western idea of reward for an individual's work (2006: 50). There is a big question mark over the possession of cultural knowledge by indigenous people, who is and has in the past often been appropriated by others (ibid: 31). Through acknowledged ownership over one's heritage, it can however become a resource and a hope for indigenous communities (ibid: 53). At the same time, its commodification is a starting point for controversial discussions.

5.1.2. Culture, Inc.

A lot of literature and common discourses claim that, because in tourism - which is often said to be practiced by ignorant and superficial people - 'traditional' activities and artefacts are shown 'artificially' and 'staged', it automatically makes them 'meaningless' and leads to their changing and destruction (Butler/ Hinch 2007b: 319; Shepherd 2002: 183ff.). Commodification can instead be seen as starting point for the concerned, actually being enabled to find new ways and to be creative (Shepherd 2002: 184). Although global tourism and commercialization were and still are often seen as a threat and as exploitation of the native people, I will rely on authors who theorize cultural marketing as empowerment and creative strategy.

Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) wrote a very relevant essay on the topic, titled: "Ethnicity Inc.", in which they see the future, if not even the survival of certain ethnic groups, in the commodification of culture for tourism. Culture itself becomes labour and a source for income. This development can certainly be observed among the Ju/'hoansi people in Northern Namibia, who took their cultural identity as a basis for economic earning.

The Comaroffs state that cultural commodification does not necessarily imply the destruction of certain habits or traditions, but much more a revival, rediscovery or even creation of new traditions. Through cultural commodification, a basis for a creative engagement with one's own community feeling is set and ancestral heritage is transformed into an interesting and contestable resource (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 3).

The two anthropologists analyse the identification with and the construction and commodification of cultural identity in the context of nowadays globalization and neoliberalism. They expose the trends of commercializing ethnic identity and of indigenous groups forming corporations; often an integral part of the (economic) survival of these groups. Comaroff and Co-

maroff speak of tribes turning into ‘corporations’ (2009: 4); with a business-like approach and marketing, managing and promoting their culture (ibid: 8).

Building a collective ethnic identity requires a homogenised image towards the outside, to better advertise the difference to the target group. Identity is naturalized to fit into the consumer’s mind and its definition is chosen and constructed in the best case by the people themselves (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 12; 18). They claim that the main dialectic in the commercialization of ethnicity lays in the incorporation of identity and at the same time the commodification of culture. Both processes take place in every case, but the order and extent differentiate from each other (ibid: 21).

The Comaroffs further identify seven commonalities, which are found in every process of the fusion between culture and economy. The search for characteristics of belonging and membership, tracing genealogy and focusing on ‘blood’ has become an important issue (2009: 65). Often it is the commerce that stimulates the (re)creation of an ethnic group and forms its identity (ibid: 67ff.). Ethnic groups start looking for difference and practices that characterize the uniqueness of a group, often not being aware of it before (ibid: 74). Capital from outside may set in motion ethno-preneurs and the question about the real agents arises (ibid: 71).

Cultural entrepreneurship further strengthens political and economical sovereignty against the state and the law is contested (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 76ff.). Comaroff and Comaroff trace a shift from political demands of self-empowerment into the domain of the legal; the questions of intellectual property, copyright and law making are becoming a fundamental aspect for indigenous groups around the world. Moreover becoming an ethnic corporation often involves questions of territory and land claims and the branding of a culture (ibid: 80). This process becomes visible in the case of the San - land was a premise for the tourism business and is also an important factor of identity.

Although the processes of commodification mostly lead to more or less positive developments and successful stories, the argumentations in the book also highlight possible inequalities, that might be created or accentuated through it and the always dialectic effects of such processes. One has to ask about the benefits and disadvantages for the concerned, when the market influences human subjects and big players control the situation. Prosperity can stand in contrast to

equality and unequal powers from the past can still unfairly influence situations (Comaroff/Comaroff 2009: 142ff.).

Comaroff and Comaroff approach the matter on a meta-level, focusing especially on the common identities of whole communities, which is interesting to combine with Bunten's (2008) article "Sharing culture or selling out? Developing the commodified persona in the heritage industry", that focuses on the building of the persona in the touristic commodification of culture. Both treat matters of finding one's own identity, working for economic purpose and constructing an image to promote in the course of cultural performances, all topics that matter much to the analysis of the touristic involvement of the Ju/'hoansi San.

Bunten focuses on the individuals, concretely on Native American tour guides in a Tlingit society in Alaska. He describes the people finding features to transform and adapt their identity to make it fit into commodified packages (2008: 381). In the example he chose for his article, Bunten analysed how the Native tour guides through their experience in the tourism industry, adapted manners, language and stories for the visiting audience, to create a perfectly studied performance of themselves. Shaping their own presentation and appearance, they become a product and create a commodified persona (ibid: 381). A successful performance in front of the tourists is the key work of a tour guide, and according to the tourist's feedback one can always improve one's presentation (ibid: 381). The culture is here similarly simplified for the recipients, accentified through the visual appearance and manners of presentation are routinized in years-long-work (ibid: 380). His performance is further shaped by the interaction with the visitors (ibid: 382).

In contrast to Comaroff and Comaroff (2009), where indigenous communities choose and adapt features making them work for a commodified business, according to Bunten, the singular tourism worker undergoes 'self-commodification' which "*can be broadly defined as a set of beliefs and practices in which an individual chooses to construct a marketable identity product while striving to avoid alienating him- or herself* (Bunten 2008: 381)". A worker in the tourism industry can rely on a set of identities, according to the required premises in the context and the people he/ she finds him-/ herself with (ibid: 381, 389).

In the context of cultural tourism, 'authenticity' plays a role for the individual tour guides and 'difference' becomes a marking feature in the course of the construction of 'self' (Bunten

2008: 387). In the case of the Tinglit, the tourism workers have to balance between the wishes for ‘tradition’ and ‘hospitality’ from the tourists and their own ambition to avoid stereotypes constructed around themselves and their community (383ff.). They therefore find themselves in an ambivalent situation, contesting their positions and constructing their identities between economic requirements and forms of political expressions (ibid: 381: 389).

Because of the ambivalent feelings of native people working in the cultural tourism industry, tourism workers might work out systems of resistance. Humour is a form of self-reflection and joking can be used to comment about ‘modern’ elements that contrast the idealized visions of visitors and challenge common stereotypes. Less used are the transmission of misinformation up to not telling the truth, as well as ignoring or offending tourists, which of course has implications on the economic outcome of tourism businesses (Bunten 2008: 390).

Instead of considering commodification of indigenous culture in tourism businesses as a threat or with pity, one can analyse the processes as part of normal and interesting developments. On an individual as well as on a collective basis, specific arrangements are made to attract visitors as well as to maintain a certain self-awareness and challenging discussions about ongoing global processes. Heritage and traditions are taken as a starting point for economic improvement as well as for the reflection of one’s own cultural identity.

5.1.3. Intangible Cultural Heritage

The focus of my research question lays on the commodification of intangible heritage –lived and dynamic material produced by people, in contrast to objects. This concept gained increased importance since the 1990’s and was set in the UNESCO’s Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) in 2003 (Silvester 2011: 1f.). ICH is meant to be conserved, which leads to a museal idea of preserving and partly exposing it in exchange for economic benefit.

In the list in Article 2(2) of the UNESCO Convention, the following characteristics are included in the definition of ICH: oral traditions and expressions; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and traditional craftsmanship (Silvester 2011: 1f.). Intangible Heritage is connected to indigenous knowledge (ibid: 1) and relies on the recognition of the communities and individuals who live, preserve and transmit it (URL 10). The UNESCO definition (ibid) emphasizes the

importance of knowledge and skills and not the performance of traditions itself. It is further important to include both transmitted ancestral traditions as well as contemporary and urban practices (ibid).

Heritage is by some authors (Jackson/ Kidd 2011; Smith 2011) seen as an embodied performance itself, as a moment, a process, or a way of feeling (Smith 2011: 69). Heritage is a negotiation of the past in the present and built on controversial approaches from different communities (Smith 2011: 70ff.). For Taylor (2003), embodied performance itself is a producer, conserver and transmitter of cultural heritage. In contrast to the written word, cultural knowledge is stored through the incorporation in a performance (Taylor 2003).

The preservation of heritage can happen individually and in private or by official or national organisers - here questions of ownership and authority arise (Kidd 2011: 25). The importance of intellectual and cultural property has been recognized and laws guarantee its protection (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 33). MacCannell speaks of an obsession of modernity wanting to preserve and museumize the pre-modern before its disappearance (MacCannell 1999: 8). The idea of safeguarding is connected to the idea of protecting 'traditions' from the progressing globalization process, but heritage and culture are ongoing processes and their 'destruction' and change are a vital part it (Alivizatou 2001: 84). Alivizatou therefore asks whether it is more important to preserve the past or rather to constantly create new and dynamic heritage (ibid: 85).

The notions of museum has changed in the course of the years, they have become more accessible to all kind of groups and they try to get rid of the dead and static aura inherent in the term (Urry 2002: 118). The question arises, how 'lived' culture can be preserved and exposed, when people and identity and not objects are in the focus of museum-work, there is a demand for lived practices, which include aspects of change (Alivizatou 2001: 84, 93). The visits to museums are today becoming less about the object and more about the experience, the reason why more 'events' enter the site and the use of performances becomes important, using the approach of 'Edutainment' (Jackson 2011: 1). New ways of preservation and presentation are developed; multi-media, sensation and action have become important elements of today's museums (Urry 2002: 119f.).

Museums are one aspect of Namibia's attempt to reinforce development and cultural safeguarding through cultural tourism. The exposure of traditional objects in museums was however not an adequate representation of Namibia's ICH. The idea of museums as areas of exhibition, showing a static and objectified approach to culture, was carried from European travelers to Namibia (Silvester 2011: 2). The Namibian strategy to accomplish the aims set in the UNESCO convention, was the hosting of cultural festivals for traditional dances and music. Especially Cultural Villages were then identified as a fruitful strategy for the purpose, using ICH in terms of lived practices and combining it with economic benefits of cultural tourism for Namibian indigenous communities (Silvester 2011: 2).

The Museums Association of Namibia (MAN) is the representative organ for all Namibian Museums and Heritage institutions. MAN works as an NGO, but is officially recognized by the Namibian government (Jeremy Silvester, interview on 12.08.2014, Windhoek). One important aim of MAN is to develop the cultural museum landscape for international and national tourism but at the same time wants to break up with the idea of museums as exclusive tourist attraction. MAN wants to promote intra-national education and intercultural exchange:

“We are trying to get a connection with tourism. One idea we have is a Heritage and Tourism Conference. We are building up a connection with the tourism directorate. [...] The problem in Namibia is, that museums are seen as something for tourists, they come from far. And actually in our country we have so much of cultural diversity, environmental differences [...] But we would like to get a big come together of tourism and museum. But we haven't managed yet. Because of the ministries, we operate in different boxes. So cultural and museum is under Youth, Sports and Culture and Tourism is with Environment, that's why there is a big focus on environment and culture is neglected. One of our challenges, what makes Namibia unique, is not just the environment. In fact, environment is shaped by culture, and vice versa so this things really must be seen together. And education is again in another ministry but we think that our museums, our living museums should be seen as an asset for young Namibians, not just people flying in. So we are trying to build bridges, make links between education, tourism and cultural heritage (Jeremy Silvester, interview on 12.08.2014, Windhoek).”

This aim is common to Sebastian Dürschmidt, coordinator and co-founder of the LCFN. Since the project lately joined MAN, Living Museums should now also attract school groups

and interested people from Namibia, to allow an internal exchange and learning (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek).

The knowledge transmitted in the Living Museum is on an exclusively oral basis, both the source on which the presenters rely on and the methods of exposition (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek). Living Museums have similar aims as the Cultural Villages, but the term itself is more problematic. Adding the term 'Living' implies that the term 'Museum' itself does not include the depiction of lived 'culture', so the concept of the LCFN contains the idea of artificially performed heritage and tradition.

Regarding the linguistic and ideological discussions about LM and CV, Jeremy Silvester – Coordinator of the Museums Association of Namibia - asks the question: “*Will the primary focus rest on preservation or performance? In what ways will these new sites fulfil the museum mandate (Silvester 2011: 2)?*”. A common fear is the transformation of performed ICH into a meaningless commodity with an inherent and simplified identity (ibid: 1) or the performance becoming a mere ‘staged authenticity’ adapting too much to the touristic gaze.

5.2. ‘Authenticity’ in the Tourism Context

“But the spectacle should not be sensational. Because that leads to the question to what is authenticity. The whole idea of authenticity is hugely problematic. Is he an authentic bushman? Is he an authentic Namibian? What authenticizes a person? The question is, who decides what is going to be showcased for the tourists? I believe there is a script. Obviously someone narrated this script. And was sort of gatekeeping - what can we sell to the tourists. The question is do locals go there? Last time I was the only one in the register! My only problem is commodification of culture in a sensational manner. But when you type Namibia in YouTube or Google you get images of the LCFN, of people dancing. Why aren't there images of young people dancing in discos (Michael Uusiku Akuupa, interview on 13.08.2014, Katutura)?”

This quotation is taken from an Interview with Michael Uusiku Akuupa, Namibian Anthropologist, and picks up many elements that are relevant in the context of this thesis. The question about the staging of ‘tradition’, looking for the decision- making process in the course of cultural performances and the stereotypes created in the construction of an ‘authentic’ activity that possibly responds to outside requests are only some of the topics that relate matters of ‘authenticity’ to touristic performances.

5.2.1. The search for ‘Authenticity’

The touristic visit to the ‘Bushmen’ - as the San are still referred to in some tourism agencies or in everyday life speech - is connected to the notion of ‘authenticity’, because of the association with getting to see a culture that will soon change or even disappear (Garland/ Gordon 1999: 271). Through the growing tourism industry in Namibia, the Ju/’hoansi are placing themselves in a new light as progressive and modern tourism agents, although at the same time they demonstrate ‘traditional’ and ‘authentic’ activities to the visitors (ibid: 267, 272). The Living Culture Foundation Namibia indeed uses notions of ‘authenticity’ to sell its projects:

“Most of our projects live of the representation of realistic and traditional cultures of Namibian cultures and language groups. The authenticity and credibility of the presentation are of vital importance (URL 3).“

The question of ‘authenticity’ in the context of touristic cultural commodification is very precarious, but in my opinion has to be reflected. Although I do not think that the extent of ‘authenticity’ should be judged or examined in any way, the reason why I felt I had to include the perspective of ‘authenticity’ into the topic of cultural performances is because of the urgent discussions it seems to evoke in the minds of tourists and the latter indeed play a crucial role in this context.

For a better understanding of the notion of ‘authenticity’, I want to pick up Fillitz and Saris discussion (2013) on the term. They claim that it has been a relevant attribute for ethnographic fieldwork, connected to the finding of ‘truth’. People in the Western world in general, as consumers of products but also of ‘exotic’ experiences, try to discover the ‘real’ essence of things and situations (ibid: 1f.). It has its roots in Jean Jaques Rousseau romanticizing ideas of the 18th century, but in the course of the 21st century, characterized by globalisation, tourism industry and new methods of mass productions, these terms are being questioned (ibid: 15f.).

The concept of ‘authenticity’ started in the museum area, where experts and professionals were concerned with determining whether objects were ‘fake’ or not (Cohen 1988: 375). Fillitz and Saris (2013: 10-13) ask for the criteria of ‘authenticity’, finding out that objects become ‘authentic’ through their singularity, when ‘uncontaminated’ by outside factors and when specific materials, techniques and knowledge about the (traditional) production and

consumption of the object in question are traceable. Objects were declared 'authentic', if made for a 'traditional' purpose by a 'traditional' artist and especially if not meant for the global market or a purely commercial purpose (Cohen 1988: 375). Commodification seems to be a general characterization for 'inauthenticity', further modernity is an 'enemy' and Western influences affect it (ibid: 375). At the same time MacCannel (1999) illustrates that the 'modern' man and the era of modernity is characterized by its search for 'authenticity'.

For understanding the importance of 'authenticity' in the tourism economy, John Urry (2002) uses the famous concept of the tourists' gaze. It describes a way to look at things differently when leisure travellers are far from home, stress and daily routine. This fact is used and influenced by professional experts who help to construct specific images which are created in contrast to the realities tourists are confronted with at home (ibid: 1). Familiar activities and routines obtain a completely new thrill when performed by people in another society and in an unusual setting and when they are marked with specific signs by the tourism industries that label them as 'special' or 'authentic' (ibid: 7, 13). Daydreams and tourism advertising work together in the tourists' fantasy and help to produce images, shaping the perception of 'authenticity' (ibid: 14).

In particular the 'romantic gaze' is rooted in 18th century fantasies and is responsible for the fascination for indigenous people and the tourists wish to 'see' people isolated from 'civilized' societies (Urry 2002: 57). Tourism has always responded to this gaze with aesthetics and the spectacular; the scenery is very relevant. An idealized and staged over-construction sets fixed images in the heads of travellers, even if they do not correspond to the living reality (ibid: 78).

The Ju/'hoansi's association of 'culture' with heritage from the past, fits very well to the nostalgic and historical gaze of tourists. This has become a relevant factor in cultural tourism, where a trend to museumize the 'past' through a selective process of construction takes place - as I have exemplified in the last chapters (Urry 2002: 102). Nostalgia and sentimentality lead the tourist to the search for the 'pristine' reminding him of his own break with the 'past' (MacCannell 1999: 82).

In this context Cohen argues that tourists are willing to accept an object or a situation as ‘authentic’, as long as the characteristics of it correspond to their own criteria of ‘authenticity’ (Cohen 1988: 378). Although the ‘kitsch’ used as a response to the touristic gaze is sometimes laughed about and the staged scenarios are known to be ‘inauthentic’ in a classical sense, tourists may play with it or plunge into it, enjoying this relaxing passivity (Urry 2002: 91). Cohen exemplifies this habit: “*They willingly, even if often unconsciously, participate playfully in a game of “as if,” pretending that a contrived product is authentic, even if deep down they are not convinced of its authenticity* (1988: 383).“

The searching of ‘unspoiled’ but also not ‘commercialized’ groups is interesting in the context of performance, since the connotation of ‘staged’ seems to contradict ‘authentic’ cultural behaviours. The term of performance implies the sense of artifice and spectacle (Taylor, 2003: 13). When I told people in Windhoek about my research plans and the concepts of Living Museums they shook their head about the commercialization of culture. This made me reflect about the touristic perception of ‘authenticity’. The Living Museums and their staged activities seemed to contradict the expected ‘authentic’ perception of indigenous people, but at the same time in the opinion of the Ju/’hoansi themselves, people dancing with ‘western’ clothes might seem less ‘authentic’ than San people performing with ‘traditional’ music and costumes.

I very much agree with Garland and Gordon’s argumentation, that the question is not about the amount of ‘authenticity’ in the product, the ‘real thing’ or the discovery of the ‘backstage’, but about the quest for it: “*Our point is that tourism is about the quest, and not about the authenticity: so long as the quest can be understood to be authentic, the tourism “product” itself need not be* (1999: 281).“ The only degree that might matter, is the amount of authenticity, the tourists ask from their experience and its creation in a cooperative performance of visitors and actors (ibid: 280ff.).

‘Authenticity’ is a socially constructed, subjective and dynamic concept. The relevant discussions are not about the extent of ‘authenticity’, but about its perception from the tourist’s perspective as well as on its construction on the organizational level. The tourists’ gaze is diversified and influences the construction of tourism sites and performances, which are in some cases built on purpose for the satisfaction of the visitor.

5.2.2. Staged 'Authenticity'

In the context of Living Museums and Cultural Villages the concept of performance becomes relevant, because actors in constructed 'traditional villages' perform 'traditional' activities on a stage, that are not forcing part of their everyday life anymore. At the intersection of touristic cultural commodification, authenticity and performance – the term 'staged authenticity' by MacCannel (1973) is well known and often quoted. It has problematic implications clearly demarking what is 'authentic', what is staged and therefore 'performed authenticity' and what is 'fake'.

By the term performance I refer in this case to Goffman's theory of seeing everyday life as theatre defining performance as:

"(...) the way in which the individual in ordinary work situations presents himself and his activity to others, the ways in which he guides and controls the impressions they form of him, and the kinds of things he may and may not do while sustaining his performance before them (Goffman 1959: 9)."

Following Goffman the individual takes control over his body to manage specific situations and encounters. He present himself and his status in society as he needs it to possibly influence other individuals around him (1959: 17, 26f.). The person can further rely on the strategy of playing a different role to his usual one and the audience can judge if they would believe or disbelieve his acting (ibid: 28-31). Goffman's concept can be adapted to the context of touristic cultural commodification, since the 'performance' of culture can be seen as a mise-en-scene of specific roles, chosen to please the tourist's expectations and to gain profit from it.

To satisfy the touristic gaze an image has to be constructed, which can be related to Goffman's concept of 'personal front', which is formed by clothing, décor and body behaviours in addition to the acting. Following this theory a back stage exists, where the performance is prepared and no audience is allowed access to, whereas the front stage is where the audience and the performers meet, a routine is played and the performers are provided with the necessary props and costumes (Goffman 1959: 34; 231).

MacCannell expanded and adapted Goffman's theory to tourism situations. MacCannell (1999) claims that tourism is driven by the search for 'authenticity' and wanting to experience

the 'real life' of - in this case - indigenous people. In tourism, everyday life is fetishized and sensationalized due to the differing context than the one at home (ibid: 91). MacCannell (1973) developed the theory of 'staged authenticity' for this situation, claiming that tourists always look for the 'intimate' spheres, wanting to become 'one of them' and are driven by the wish to 'discover'. Tourism workers have responded to this with the artificial construction of the 'hidden' 'real life' of the natives, giving the tourists the impression to have discovered the 'real' but instead replacing the original with a scene (ibid: 589). To protect the indigenous' people private life, a staged performance area further serves to avoid tourists randomly stepping into people's private spheres (Urry 2002: 151).

The front stage is described as the meeting point for hosts and guests, where the service and the show take place and the back stage is where the actors prepare themselves, store the props and maybe hide objects and activities which would disturb the constructed image (MacCannell 1973: 590f.). The stages have been further diversified by MacCannell. The first front stage contains the touristic social space that animates tourists' wish to look behind, the second stage has been decorated to create a backstage atmosphere, while the third front stage already looks exactly like the back stage but is only a scenery. The fourth stage is already in the back stage area and is opened to outsiders but with restrictive rules. The fifth one is cleaned up and tourists may only have an occasional glimpse into it, while the sixth corresponds to the back stage described by Goffman, closed to outside views but animating tourists to want to look behind (MacCannell 1999: 101f.).

Although this separation is not meant to be physical and that strict, in the case of the Living Museums and Cultural Villages of North-Eastern Namibia the situation is explicitly observable. There are separated 'modern villages' in which the Ju/'hoansi live and change themselves and the 'traditional villages', where the activities take place. In the Living Museums specific rules serve to regulate the level of 'authenticity'. The 'modern village' and 'modern' clothes, were not explicitly hidden from the tourists; but not shown voluntarily either. I will discuss these matters more extensively during the empirical analysis.

What should be important to consider in tourism is, that even if 'authenticity' is promoted on a meta-level, the ways in which tourism itself has changed the lives of people should not be concealed and the people themselves should be able to decide how much of their 'modern identity' they want to present (Garland/ Gordon 1999: 282). It is difficult to define the terms

‘traditional’ and ‘authentic’ so the definition of the people involved - the visitors and consumers as well as the hosts and actors - has to be considered.

One aspect of ‘authenticity’ is its relation to the past. The tourism agents decide whether to choose a specific period of history, defined to depict best the ‘authenticity’ and traditions of a native culture or if tradition is rather seen as a dynamic development, incorporating new elements and changing through time. The Living Museums of Northern Namibia show their culture at the specific time ‘before colonization’, whereas the Cultural Villages have chosen a more flexible approach.

The tourists desiderate ‘authentic’ and intimate experiences, which means that the back stage wants to be seen, to experience the ‘real thing’. Since the cultural managers - meaning the ethnic populations performing - know about the tourists’ wishes, they sometimes produce an artificial ‘behind the scenes’, which MacCannell (1999) calls ‘staged authenticity’. A central point in this context are experiences - made by tourists and produced by tourism businesses (MacCannell 1973: 595).

5.2.3. Experience ‘Authenticity’

Wang (1999) recognized that there is a big difference between the ‘authenticity’ of tourism experiences and the one of material objects (ibid: 350). Comparing various articles on the topic of ‘authenticity’ - in my selection mostly treated in the context of tourism – I could find a focus on the experience of ‘authenticity’ and of the past (Zhu 2012; Jackson/ Kidd 2011).

In objective approaches, which are mostly applied in museum areas, absolute criteria allow to measure and categorize levels of ‘authenticity’. While MacCannell ‘accuses’ tourists to believe to experience ‘authenticity’, while the events are only ‘staged’, Wang points out that ‘authenticity’ is a much more complex issue than the mere difference between the ‘original’ and the ‘copy’ or ‘imitation’ (Wang 1999: 351ff.).

The constructivist approach recognizes ‘authenticity’ as a social construction and perception, result of one’s own imagination, stereotypes and expectations. ‘Authenticity’ is not measurable and there is no such a thing as an ‘original’ (Wang 1999: 354ff.). In this case, what tourists look for is ‘symbolic authenticity’, labeled by signs and symbols that are associated with the ‘authenticity’ of an object or activity (ibid: 356). In postmodern approaches ‘inauthentici-

ty' is not considered as a matter to be concerned with, because the notions of 'real' or 'false' are not relevant anymore.

Wang proposes the concept of 'existential authenticity', which involves the reception and feelings of the touristic audience and the self-making inherent in tourism experiences (1999: 351f., 365). In this form of 'authenticity', tourists are not concerned with the extent of it but only with their own state of being. This approach concentrates on the personal making of an 'authentic' self-experience, in contrast to the judging if an observed object or performance is 'authentic' or not. (Wang 1999: 360). This approach makes sense to me, especially in a context where tradition is built for and through the performance with tourists, as is the case of the Living Museums and Cultural Villages. The created atmosphere and the individual perception are ultimately more important than the judgement, whether the dance is 'real' and 'authentic' or performed - if there must even be a separation between both at all.

Richard brings the concept of 'creativity' into tourism, proposing that hosts and visitors together create places and experiences, based on the fruitful negotiation between both positions (Richards 2011: 1236, 1246). He speaks of tourism as 'experience economy' and describes creative tourism as participative and active (ibid: 12280, 1237). The experience of both, the touristic audience and the actors, contribute to the creation of a 'magic moment' and the individual interpretation of the re-enactment of historical traditions (Daniel 1996: 783). In dance performances 'existential authenticity' is relevant, because 'authenticity' here is not a criteria, but rather characterizes the search for experience and the state of being during tourism performances (Wang 1999: 359).

Daniel claims that especially dance performances - in contrast to other art forms - remain 'authentic' and creative: "*a re-creation of a historic past; a contemporary manifestation of inventiveness within traditions and among styles; a holistic and multisensory phenomenon* (ibid: 781).“ Since the body is carrier of cultural patterns in Bourdieu's sense of the habitus, intangible performances such as dances, can be stored and transmitted as repertoire through the body (Taylor 2003: 20). The actions however never remain the same; especially in dance, the people perceive as if the movements have been passed over for thousand years and have never changed, but since a performance is constructed, the embodiment changes from situation to situation (ibid: 20).

The dance performances may incorporate new movements into their structured styles and the recreations might still be defined as 'traditional' by the performing community. The steps and movements are learned from earlier generations and generalized or simplified for tourism performances, but the 'real' roots of dance movements are difficult to trace (Daniel 1996: 784). Dance performances often creatively incorporate new movements, making of this experience a creative alternative for 'authenticity' (Wang 1999: 359).

This is where Zhu's argumentations come in, contesting the concept of 'existential authenticity', arguing that the process of 'becoming' is more relevant than the state of 'being' and criticizing Wang for focusing too much on the self-reflection of a person (Zhu 2012: 1498). Zhu takes up the already existing concept of 'performative authenticity', which is based on the idea of Bourdieu's embodiment. Through ritualized performance, the body integrates personal memory and physical settings (ibid: 1499f.).

“However, judgment and the process of becoming authentic or inauthentic also depends on personal memory, the constructed identity and the complexity of the contemporary by participating in the ritual performance as embodied practice. [...] The ritual performance, integrated with the external world that is the socio-cultural and political environment, offers a deep understanding of the link between memory, habitus and embodied practice, which act together to produce the complex notion of authenticity (Zhu 2012: 1510f.)”

The understanding of 'authenticity' has nowadays moved from a static and measurable unit to the subjective perception of it during an experience. Performances are based on a collective construction of all participants who each have embodied heritage in the course of time; all together participate in the creation of a new situation. The transmission of intangible traditions is facilitated by the transfer through the bodies in performances and is therefore impalpable and in constant re-creation, making the distinction between 'authentic' and 'inauthentic' obsolete.

5.3. Performance Theories

My theoretical focus throughout the paper is influenced by theories of performance and embodiment. The basis were made by Goffman, Bourdieu, Schechner and Turner and their theories are used in performance studies until today. Lewis (2013) and Schechner (2013) have re-ordered theories of performance in a contemporary context.

Comparing the theories, I found four aspects that were focused on in literature and which seemed relevant to my research question. The first theoretical strand I will use for my analysis is Schechner (1985; 2013)'s division into phases of performance – which include among others preparation, rehearsal and aftermath. This perspective is relevant for me, because it allows me to focus on the construction and the perception of a performance. The Ju/'hoansi explicitly performed for fixed prices, which creates the association with theatre presentations; but of course the performances went on in their daily life and us observing, with activities performed for and with us without a commercial framing. This is the second theoretical strand, since all authors somehow focused on the dichotomy between ordinary life and special events (Lewis 2013), 'is' and 'as' performance (Schechner 1985) or front and back stage (Goffman 1959).

What I further take from performance studies is the analysis of the use of the body and its behaviours, the conscious or unconscious manipulation of specific gestures and the actions evolving through interaction, as well as the unconscious incorporation of embodied cultural structures (Bourdieu 1982; Taylor 2003). This is fourthly, connected to performance as a notion of 'play', used to learn and integrate cultural patterns by children playing, and imitating their parents (Schechner 2013; Bourdieu 1982; Lewis 2013).

5.3.1. Defining and Differentiating 'Performance'

Performance studies began among others with Goffman and were founded by Turner and Schechner in the 1960's. In a broad sense, every human action could be seen as performance; performance studies include the analysis of staged, aesthetic theatre and acting, as well as performance in ordinary life – relying on Goffman's concept of 'everyday life as theatre'. Schechner (1985) differentiates between 'is' and 'as' performance observing a whole range of human actions, behaviours and conscious and unconscious series of movements. Bourdieu (1977), analysed the use of the body and the embodiment of culture resulting in the habit, which Schechner (2013) sees as ritualized everyday-life behaviour. Lewis (2013) relies strongly on Schechner and Turner, building new theories on performing and focusing on the division of special events and ordinary life, which follows the same dichotomy others did in the field.

According to Schechner (2013) events of 'is' performances took place since humanity exists; at least traces could be found until 40.000 years ago. This events include dances, music and theatre and are part of universal human behaviour. The first performances probably served

ritual and entertainment purposes equally – there are no material signs for the performances themselves, but instruments were found, as well as costumes and masks representing humans, animals and supernatural creatures (ibid: 221ff.).

Performance studies are a dynamic and very open and interdisciplinary academic discussion with the aim to understand individual life and the ‘world’ in general (Schechner 2013: Preface). In performance studies, the whole world is seen as a stage and its people as actors, expressively and aesthetically creating their worlds through interaction (Korom 2013: 1). Schechner identifies seven functions of performance, namely “*to entertain, to create beauty, to mark or change identity, to make or foster community, to heal, to teach or persuade, to deal with the sacred and the demonic* (Schechner 2013: 46)”. According to the latter, there are three types of performance; first the ordinary praxis, second explicit cultural enactments and third, verbal art (ibid: 2). The following definition further illustrates the various aspects of performances:

“Performances are aesthetic practices – patterns of behaviour, ways of speaking, manners of bodily comportment – whose repetitions situate actors in time and space, structuring individual and group identities (Kapchan 1995: 479)”.

Erving Goffman, sociologist and one of the founders of performance studies, was interested in the self-presentation of individuals, during the interaction with others. He created a theatre-metaphor to explain social structures, treating the whole world as a ‘stage’ and the people as its actors. He based his ideas on the following passage of Shakespeare’s play “As You Like it” 2/7: “*All the world’s a stage. And all the men and women merely players: They have their exits and their entrances; And one man in his time plays many parts* (URL 12)”. In contrast to Shakespeare, who focused on the different age roles a human plays in the course of his life, Goffman theorized the roles a person plays to interact in a society in different situations. In “The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959)” he focused on the way people give informations about themselves during encounters. He further created the division into front and back stage to describe the contrast between what one presents to others and the place of construction of this image. For Goffman performance is:

“[T]he way in which the individual in ordinary work situations presents himself and his activity to others, the ways in which he guides and controls the impressions they form of him,

and the kinds of things he may and may not do while sustaining his performance before them (Goffman 1959: 9)."

On a more general level, Schechner tries to narrow down what is meant by 'performances' as human actions. He includes a broad series of human activities such as rituals, sports, plays, popular entertainments, performing arts such as dances, everyday life performances; further he adds the enactment of social categories such as gender and age; as well as modern media and the internet (Schechner 2013: 2). Performance studies focus on behaviours, interactions, social practices and events instead of objects, things or written texts; they analyse the creation, display and embodiment of social actions (ibid: 2). Schechner claims that our world is becoming more and more 'performative' and multiple, and communication methods more diversified, as a consequence alienating people from material books and the idea of the written word as ultimate medium. This is the reason why an approach through performance studies might be interesting and up-to-date (ibid: 3f.).

There is a common differentiation between performances as representations of human life in general or as staged and bounded acts. For Schechner, in ordinary life many activities can be viewed as performances, from formalized actions like ceremonies, up to loose and habitual or casual situations (Schechner 2013: 221ff.). Social life in general is a performance based on social scripts about behaviours – the more official an event, the stricter the script is (ibid: 221ff.). Social behaviour is per se constructed and the performer and the actor, further both construct it themselves and play a variety of roles (ibid: 221ff.).

In this context, Schechner differentiates between 'is' and 'as' performance. Anything can be studied 'as' performance, whereas an event 'is' performance when the historical and social context or tradition mark it as such – it is further framed, enacted, presented and highlighted, like dances or rituals. The categories exist, although the boundaries clearly blur, since performances appear everywhere (Schechner 2013).

The problem of 'performance' is that its definition is somehow too broad - everything could be defined as such (Lewis 2013: 5). In contrast to everyday life considered as a set of performances, in every society specific experiences can be set aside from ordinary, daily life - Lewis calls them 'special events'. They are more bounded, observable and public and in the anthropologists' opinion they should be the content of ethnological fieldwork (ibid: 5). 'Special

events' are marked with special costumes and music, and they often derive from ordinary and unmarked habits (ibid: 145).

A similar differentiation between ordinary life and marked events is made by Victor Turner, who studied performance in relation to social conflicts. He created the theory of 'social dramas' to describe regularly arising situations of discord and crisis in societies. 'Social dramas' are seen as harmonic or disharmonic social processes arising in conflict situations. They consist of four phases, namely the breach of regular and normed social relations, the crisis that amplifies the breach, a redressive action through mediation or arbitration that proposes resolution and finally, the phase of reintegration and consolidation of the groups that have caused the conflict(s) (Turner 1987: 74f.).

In a next step, Turner puts sociocultural, daily events including 'social dramas', in contrast to 'cultural performances', the latter including aesthetic and staged performances (Turner 1987: 24). Relating to Goffman, Turner claims that if daily life was a theatre, social drama is a kind of 'metatheatre' and a reflection of daily actions (ibid: 76). Social dramas usually provide the raw stuff for cultural genres, which are later reflected, exaggerated or magnified and give the possibilities to observe and question ourselves. At the same time, social drama may use rhetoric borrowed from cultural performances (ibid: 42). In general however, social dramas use an indicative language based on factuality, whereas the subjunctive language based on desire and possibility is a marker of 'cultural performances' (ibid: 41).

The notion of 'performativity' has been introduced as a concept defining situations in an even broader and less definable sense than 'performance'. Austin was the first to come up with this concept in 1955, describing 'something' that is part of 'real' life - especially actions that follow or complete 'words' (Schechner 2013: 123f.). The differentiation between 'performance' and 'performativity' has become less relevant, since in the postmodern area performance has spread out into all areas of life. It is nevertheless a useful concept to observe constructions of gender and race - broad and not limitable performativities (ibid: 151ff.). Both categories were partly justified biologically, but rely completely on artificial performativity. The use of the body and appropriate gendered behaviours are learned and embodied on the basis of social scripts (ibid: 151ff.).

Because of the regular interaction between performers and the audience, performance is characterized by dynamicity and shaped by constant tensions between continuity and innovation (Korom 2013: 3). It is further dependent from the skills of the actors, the context of the performance and the reception of the spectators (Edensor 2000: 324). The fast changing world causes a decrease of common patterns shared by all people in a community and also the setting is constantly re-created and invented; all cultural practices present a basis for modification (Lewis 2013: 140ff). The concept of ‘culture’ is in performance studies seen as a set of shared practices and performances, and therefore as a process rather than a system (ibid: 139):

“Instead, I want to argue for a provisional (and variable) consensus emerging around the idea that culture is best understood as enactment, as a process, and as a series of practices that (in most cases) distinguish one social group from another (Lewis 2013: 11).”

To add a critical and contrasting opinion to this general definitions of ‘performance’, I want to include Taylor (2003), who criticises that performance studies derive from a western perspective and academic tradition. She observed that non-Euro/American acts of performance are often analysed in the context of ‘traditional’ or ‘authentic’ (ibid: 8ff.). The term ‘performance’ itself is not translatable in many languages without changing its meaning, it is however interesting to analyse which relating terms in native languages exist and what they exactly refer to (ibid: 14f.). She therefore claims for an opening and development of methodologies and approaches more appropriate to all societies, through the critical engagement with performance worldwide (ibid: 12).

This very broad overview over some major contents of performance studies, made clear that there is little restriction about the real object of study. Focusing on my empirical data I have chosen some aspects that seemed relevant for my research question. A constant in performance studies is the differentiation between phases and stages of performance and the dichotomy between everyday life and ‘special events’ – two topics I will be concerned with during the next two chapters.

5.3.2. Phases of a Performance

Most studies on performance focus mainly on the act itself and scarcely consider the rest of the process, which is without question relevant as a whole. In some situations the stages before

the 'show' are much longer and more important for the participants, than the 'actual' performance (Schechner 1982: 16). Training, workshops, rehearsals, and warm-up happen before and cool-down and aftermath after the performance (ibid: 16). The habit of not considering the phases before and after can be understood with Goffman's division of front and back stage: the Euro-American convention does not allow outsiders to enter or see the backstage and private area.

To keep up the constructed self in Goffman's sense, the production and working process is hidden from the audience, and only the final result is shown (Goffman 1959: 52). According to the author, the 'dirty work', secrets and controversial information could affect the opinion about oneself and therefore have to remain in the backstage, hidden from the public (ibid: 54, 141). Since the aim of an individual is to be 'thought of highly', the back region is kept hidden to prepare the show, sharpen the routine, shape the body and put on an appropriate appearance, whereas the front region is exclusively reserved for the audience observing the show (ibid: 231ff.).

In Goffman's back stage the performance is prepared – that awakens interesting questions about how a show is generated, staged and nested in larger contexts. What Goffman has not considered, but Schechner does, is the reception and effect a performance has on the performers and the audiences (Schechner 2013: 225). Richard Schechner starts the whole process with the 'proto-performance', meaning the starting point that gives rise to a performance. This can be an idea, a talent or an occasion and may be huge in contrast to the singular performance - for example a century long tradition or life-long training resulting in a short act (ibid: 226).

Training is the phase in which known skills are transmitted and practiced. It can include informal techniques that are learned and absorbed consciously or unconsciously over time, or formal skills improvement and technical training. Especially a lot of child's playing is part of this learning phase. In some kinds of performance, this stage can be a life-long process and keep the body trained (Schechner 2013: 228ff.). Imitation and repetition are especially useful strategies, sometimes they are used instead of verbal explanations, letting the body absorb movements and gestures without theorizing them. This form of training revolves around the practice, whereas context knowledge may be added later (Schechner 2013: 230f.). The result of disciplined preparation is a "[...] *precisely embodied performance knowledge* (ibid: 230)".

Workshops are somehow between training and rehearsal, shaping possible rehearsal skills by deconstructing pre-structured cultural patterns (Schechner 1982: 103). It is a phase of active research and reflection based on personal and historical sources. Workshops look for an exchange between people and innovative outcomes, developing new behaviours and knowledge and going beyond the known limits (Schechner 2013: 233ff.).

The rehearsal phase is a creative process in which characters, choreographies etc. are created and or invented and strips of behaviour are put together to create a whole. It has different importance according to the context of performance. In Euro-American theatre traditions, this phase is often more important than the training, but where a rite is the subject of performance, explicit rehearsing becomes unnecessary (Schechner 1982: 19f.). Rehearsals are part of a building-up process in contrast to the deconstructive approach of workshops. The materials at disposal are reorganized and structured, often in order to produce a performance ready to show to an audience. It often relies on the basis of discussions between participants and it is therefore interesting to analyse how selection and adjustment processes work. This phase is not only inherent in staged performances, but also in ordinary life (Schechner 2013: 236ff.).

Every performance in all situations is then preceded by a warm-up phase, including the repetition of steps in the head, the revision of notes, the preparation of instruments and so on. It may follow a daily routine or include specific rites or costumes shortly preceding the actual performance (Schechner 2013: 239ff.).

The public performance has then infinite possibilities and is embedded in a large series of contextual influences. The context is hard to fence and includes all actors that contribute to the play, the different interests that influence the performance, the critiques and the reception of it (Schechner 2013: 244). Every performance has to follow specific rules, guidelines or traditional standards and is sometimes connected to history or to the law. The orders are ought to be followed by actors, spectators and the technical team, but they are sometimes broken on purpose or left behind for phases of improvisation (ibid: 249). What is ordinary in one context may be experimental in another (ibid: 260).

The cool-down phase follows directly after the (imaginary) curtain has fallen. The audience leaves, the actors slowly prepare themselves for ordinary life again, changing, washing, getting back to themselves and the performance is commented and discussed. The cool-down

phase has no formally prescribed behaviours and may consist of specific ritualized exercises or simply of socializing and eating together with the colleagues or having a celebration. This step serves as a bridge between the performance and normal life (Schechner 2013: 245).

The final phase is the aftermath, which may also include long-lasting transformation of the people involved. Its duration is indefinable and may be infinite. It includes reflections, memories or archival material produced from and about the show; memories can blur and disappear, material objects from the performance may last longer. The aftermath can influence the performance retroactively or create new performances, for example dramas based on historical events (Schechner 2013: 246 ff.).

5.3.3. Performance as Liminal Experience

The last phase of rehearsal before the performance is practice – the bodily performance is put together with music, costumes, light, and architecture and becomes an integrated whole. The performance is practiced until it becomes a ‘second nature’ and gestures, sounds and movements are memorized. Through embodiment, the ‘as if’ role is incorporated and taken over (Schechner 1985: 117ff.). A situation is then deconstructed and reconstructed during the actual performance process and the final phase allows the performer to have a passage before entering ordinary life again (ibid: 117ff.).

The two spheres are separated and at the same time connected by specific aspects. In Lewis’ perspective ‘special events’ are created to illuminate aspects of ordinary life. While everyday-life is a habitual routine, ‘special events’ stand out as exciting happenings that generate memories (Lewis 2013: 6). ‘Cultural performances’ are one case of Lewis’ ‘special events’ and express the opposite of ordinary life routines - being sacred, set-apart and sometimes illuminated with mystery (Turner 1987: 26).

The transition between ordinary life and cultural performances is by Victor Turner described as liminal, relying on Van Gennep’s concept of rites of passage (Turner 1987: 25). Turner does not necessarily refer to individual life phases, but rather to great social events that mark the passage of a whole group; such as rites, carnivals and spectacles – which belong to a society’s subjunctive mood, longing for emotions, desire and playfulness. He connects these occasions to the concept of liminality, including the phases of separation, in-between stage and re-aggregation (ibid: 101).

The performance process can be seen as a process of initiation in Van Genepp's notion; as a situation of transition and transformation or of transportation between the ordinary and the performative world. According to Schechner, performance can either definitely change and transform the people involved or temporarily transport the audience and then accompany him back to the starting point again (Schechner 1985: 126ff.). In the second case the phase of cool-down is very important, to assure that the 'transported' participants reach their point of departure again (ibid: 126ff.). Transformations often happen in rites of passage and normally only a few times in life, they are mostly additionally accompanied by provisional transportation during the ritual.

There are situations in rituals as well as in aesthetic theatre that may transport the spectator for a specific time, move him, but drop him again at the end, allowing him to re-enter ordinary life (Schechner 2013: 72ff.). Transportations happen to the actors as well as to spectators, whereas the latter may be involuntarily taken along. For the audience this process is what one calls a (sensory) 'experience' and can sometimes involve active participation from the spectators or the creation of a (temporary) community (Schechner 1985: 127).

The individual makes specific use of his body in order to build the role he needs in ordinary life as well as for specific acts. Goffman (1959) has strongly and physically divided the place of construction and the place of actual performance. Prepared in the backstage area and brought to the stage only in a 'favourable light', the individual prepares an appropriate impression of himself, which may help the individual to climb up hierarchical ladders (ibid: 45).

In this context, Goffman poses the question about the 'real' versus the 'staged' reality, and the audience's choice to belief or disbelief. The actors may intentionally want to mislead the spectator with a false role and construct a 'personal front' with specific dresses, physical characteristics, behaviours and manners (Goffman 1959: 28-35). There might therefore be a considerable difference between appearance and reality (ibid: 53). Schechner described the possibility of 'make-believe' that can take place in aesthetic drama as well as in ordinary life. Performances can serve to put on a role that the actors want their audiences to believe and accept as real (Schechner 2013: 42f.). Preparing oneself to become a performer therefore includes observing, practicing, imitating, correcting and repeating (Schechner 1985: 5).

A further possibility is the concept of ‘stimulation’, which describes the process between representation and reproduction, when the role is taken over by the body (Schechner 1985: 133). In contrast to simple imitation or enactment, stimulation describes the perfect replication of oneself as another. From pretending and acting, through stimulating the performance becomes ‘real life’ and a difference is difficult to recognize; stimulation allows a role to become a kind of ‘second life’ (ibid: 134f.). A good example for stimulation are restored villages with actors who ‘live’ their mostly historical ‘roles’ (ibid: 141).

Another form of trained, acquired self-performance is what Schechner defines as ‘codified acting’. It describes a highly formalized genre of performance, which needs long years of training and passing-down of knowledge, until perfectly coordinated semiotic movements and gestures are learned by the actor like a language. The audience similarly has to know the vocabulary to understand the codes (Schechner 2013: 183 ff.). This form of acting may appear in rituals.

Rituals are an own category related to performance and theatre, accompanied by broad discussions in anthropology. In this thesis I want to focus on the shape of enacted and everyday life performances, without focusing on the judging whether an action is a traditional ritual or enacted artifice. Ritualized movements play nevertheless an important role and therefore I will have a short look on rituals as part of performance. Schechner defines ritual as follows:

“Rituals are collective memories encoded into actions. Rituals also help people (and animals) deal with difficult transitions, ambivalent relationships, hierarchies, and desires that trouble, exceed, or violate the norms of daily life (Schechner 2013: 52).”

Rituals embody religious ideas and patterns of behaviour, and give shape to the sacred, although they are not bound to the religious sector, since there are also found in the ordinary and the political (Schechner 2013: 52f.). Rituals can be considered as part of an evolutionary development, as a structure with formal qualities, as a performance process, as an experience and as operations of human and religious life (Turner 1987: 10).

Performing rituals is not acting, and often does not involve the making of a role or the focus on the virtuosity of a single actor. Rituals can be codified or improvised (Schechner 2013: 190). In possession trance the participants are said to be possessed by non-human beings or

things who take them over and lead them. They are induced by strong rhythms, drumming, chanting, and dancing and sometimes with the help of certain substances. The objective is to lose control of the body and not to stage an action rehearsed for a long time; the performer is often in communication with supernatural forces and may also involve the audience. It is difficult to judge how 'staged' or 'real', for example, shamans 'perform' (Schechner 2013: 137).

In real life, the performance can be causal or follow a strict script of rules, and may be amplified by specific costumes or props. An individual performs for the audience as well as for himself (Schechner 2013: 215). Whereas in theatre the audience normally knows that the actor is performing a specific role, in real life it is much harder to discover how much the performer 'pretends' and how many roles he might play (ibid: 206ff.). Multiple and ambivalent identities are further created by the roles that an individual plays. (Schechner 1985: 5).

For Schechner, performances are always 'restored' and 'twice-behaved behaviour', there are no new performances, since they are always prepared, rehearsed, re-taken or based on a previous one, even though this may not always seem so (Schechner 2013: 34f.). Strips of behaviour that exist independently from the performance itself, are the bases to develop manners and behaviours in the rehearsal process (Schechner 1985: 36). Including every-day life behaviour, every performance is the result of long training and embodiment and adapted to personal and social circumstances and requirements. It is further every time adapted and shaped for each specific occasion (Schechner 2013: 36). A routine by contrast is described as 'pre-established pattern of action' (Goffman 1959: 27) and internalized into the performer's body.

There is a constant possibility of choice, about how to adapt bits of the performance, to rely on a part of the self, and to restore a verifiable or an invented past – in the last case the future constructs the past history, the reason why history is in constant re-invention (Schechner 1985: 37ff.). Performances are intangible and disappear as fast as they are produced, they are never reproduced in the same way. No performance is equal, because the bodies of the performers, the context and the reception by the audience will always change it (ibid: 50). At the same time, each performance relies on a pre-existing set of 'twice-behaved behaviour' (ibid: 36). Performance is in a constant process of transformation, but never free from contextual circumstances and personal embodied behaviour, learned since childhood (ibid: 43f.).

5.3.4. Embodying Performance

In performance, movements and gestures are embodied until they become ritualized practice. According to Schechner (2013) a good performance is possible, when a role has been successfully incorporated by the individual. Especially in the concept of ‘stimulation’ the body has so much adopted the learned role, that it almost becomes ‘natural’. For the socialization and development of children the embodiment of social behaviour and cultural patterns is further essential (Lewis 2013: 92), since each person moves through society and relates to others with a specific ‘habitus’.

Acting is based on processes of embodiment: “*Performances involve the creation of complex semiotic patterns: cultural practices, which specific persons can embody* (Lewis 2013: 145).” People embody their habits, conform to them but always have the power to re-create performances (ibid: 145). Bourdieu shaped the theory of ‘praxis’ and ‘habitus’, whereas basic structures of society are embodied by people in order to facilitate a collectively adequate behaviour (Bourdieu 1982: 730). The ‘habitus’ is a product of history, which produces individual and collective practices made visible in the bodily behaviour defined as ‘hexis’ (Bourdieu 1977: 88).

Bourdieu (1982), analysed in the ‘theory of practice’ how social structures and ways of thinking are incorporated and express themselves through the ‘habitus’ and the way the body moves in society. Habitus expresses the incorporation of the fundamental structures of a society relying on a common understanding of cultural patterns (Bourdieu 1982: 730). Four forms of capital are embodied by a person; apart from cultural, social and economic, the symbolic capital characterizes social credit and prestige (ibid: 286). The habitus produces classifiable forms of practice, therefore cohesive groups have a similarity in their physical manners and behaviours (ibid: 277, 282).

While ‘habitus’ describes incorporated habits, attitudes or lifestyles, ‘hexis’ is defined as the sum of physical and observable body postures and behaviours that are directly linked to a series of techniques and which are similarly loaded with cultural meanings (Bourdieu 1977: 87). Movements and gestures are learned by observing close people in one’s own society, practising and repeating them until they consciously and unconsciously become motoric custom and a kind of ‘second nature’ (Lewis 2013: 120). Practice is constructed by patterns of repeatable actions and building on Schechner’s notion of ‘twice-behaved behaviour’, habits con-

struct themselves on a series of repeated practices (ibid: 119). People perform actions and incorporate behaviours until the practice becomes part of their personal habitual repertoires (ibid: 20). ‘Habitus’ and ‘hexis’ are therefore clearly acquired and not a natural schema of behaviours and dispositions; practice is not a mechanical reaction but a product of history, turned into naturalized behaviour (Bourdieu 1977: 73ff.).

To be able to move in society, the individual has to dispose of practical knowledge about mental structures, symbolic behaviour and classification systems (Bourdieu 1982: 730). The individual incorporates understandings of social classes, including specific tastes, appearances and behaviours; through this process, the body becomes information source for history and society (ibid: 279ff.). The ‘habitus’ is structured by practice and its environment, but further structures practice (Bourdieu 1982: 279; Bourdieu 1977: 72). Each agent therefore becomes a producer and reproducer of objective meaning, bringing to every interaction with others, a set of dispositions and embodied structures in the form of ‘habitus’ (ibid: 79ff.). Consequently, the habitus is a product of history that produces individual and collective practices (ibid: 82).

The body and the social context are inevitably connected to and influenced by each other; the individual structures his social environment in the present and is at the same time a product of the environment and history (Bourdieu 1982: 279f.). Bourdieu speaks of a “*dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality, or, more simply, of incorporation and objectification* (Bourdieu 1977: 72).”. Following Bourdieu (1977), Zhu further defines: “*Habitus is the mechanism by which the objective external world, expressed as a field, becomes incorporated within the subjective and internal experience* (Zhu, 2012: 1499f.).“ The field is here described as objective and habitus as subjective (ibid: 5000).

The concept of habitus is strongly connected to a notion of history, being structured by the past and then incorporated. According to Diane Taylor (2003), embodied performance is very relevant for the production, storage and transmission of knowledge, memory and identity (ibid: xviff.). Performance is here seen as a process and not a practice and especially as a system of learning, storing and transmitting knowledge (ibid: 15f): “*we learn and transmit knowledge through embodied action, through cultural agency, and by making choices* (Taylor, 2003: xvi).“ She contrast the embodied knowledge and heritage transmitted through performance to the written text as preservation of memory: “*Performances function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, a sense of identity through reiterated, or*

what Schechner has called *'twice-behaved behaviour'* (ibid: 2f.).“ She relies on Schechner for the notion of long time stored behaviour which is constantly re-enacted (ibid: 3).

A shift from the occupation with written documents to the analysis of embodied culture is taking place in academia, comparable to the development of museology from material to performed heritage (Taylor 2003: 16). Performed culture includes dance, ritual, cooking etc. and can only be transmitted through body performance (ibid: 18ff.). Taylor defines the conservation of enduring materials such as written document as 'archive' and the preservation of intangible performances such as language and rituals, gestures and behaviours as 'repertoire' (ibid: 19).

The archive and the written word are more subjected to control than the repertoire and there is a clear separation between the author and the conserved source, but it is easier to select and classify. The repertoire never remains the same and is constantly subdued to change, although it is often perceived by the performers as if practices have never changed – the meaning remains the same, although the embodiment of movements changes (Taylor 2003: 20). This allows scholars to trace the developments and travels of embodied performances (ibid: 20). Live performances cannot possibly be accurately transmitted through archive because they are so varied and multiple – both archive and repertoire have therefore their limitations and benefits, the reason why they should be used alongside in academia and conservation practices (Taylor 2003: 21, 32).

The habitus is incorporated through the repetition of patterns until culture becomes naturalized (Lewis 2013: 15). But habitus is also subdued to change - a constant selection takes place to adapt to specific situations. The habitus is not a mechanical process, but a constant creation. There can be experimentation with skills and patterns, although habits are seen as embodied structures, difficult to change (ibid: 95). Taylor (2003) in this context proposes to consider the analysis of cultural knowledge through the observation of embodied performances.

5.3.5. Play and Performance

One important element of performance as well as of tourism, is the aspect of play. For Lewis (2013) play is one of the most important activities of children, more than for adults - learning social organization in everyday life and developing their 'habitus' by experimenting with role plays. It is somehow comparable to the rehearsal phase of performance. Play is for Schechner

(2013) 'as' if performance, but all participants have to agree on being part of the process, explicitly marked and contrasted to everyday life. Play is a relevant part of performance - Schechner (2013) even sees ritual and play as the two constitutive factors of performance.

It is difficult to define 'play' - Schechner (2013) proposes a mood, activity or spontaneous eruption. Play has a lot to do with 'fantasy' and exploring the borders of 'reality', playing is being free and experimental, but also involves learning and risks as well as emotional and physical dangers. Playing further follows specific rules and is sometimes dependent from outside influences such as luck; it has to be explicitly marked as such but is not bound to any place or circumstance (Schechner 2013: 90f.). Play is defined as self-chosen and self-directed, intrinsically motivated, structured by mental rules, imaginative and produced in an active, alert, but unstressed frame of mind (Gray 2009: 480).

Caillois developed four categories of playing. 'Competition' or 'agon' describes a game of which the aim is to obtain winners and losers, which are influenced by skills and strengths and which is often coped with violence and struggle (Schechner 2013: 95; Lewis 2013: 25ff.). 'Chance' or 'alea' is when fate or luck decide the winner. In 'mimicry', 'simulation', 'imitation' or 'acting' the players act within an imaginary world in which make-believe determines the game and this kind of play is the closest type to performance (Schechner 2013: 95). In 'disorientation' specific moods from rush to euphoria are experienced during play (Lewis 2013: 26).

Play is a relevant part of performance, because it heavily includes the aspect of playing an 'as' if role (Schechner 2013: 90). Play 'is' and 'as' performance, and similarly as in theatre, play has to be marked specifically and all actors have to agree for a specific place and time for playing, even if it can be more or less formal (ibid: 121ff.). Play is an experience, which often individually differs between the singular individuals (ibid: 97). Similar to ritual it has the ability to lead people into a second reality different from ordinary life, and may transport or even transform the participants (ibid: 93).

Play is not always bound to children and is in another form relevant for adults too, especially in sports or as a method in arts (Schechner 2013: 94f.). Play and ritual are most important in the formation of 'special events' and play is at least in Euro-American thinking often contrasted to 'work' (Lewis 2013: 37). 'Play' has to happen in a designated freetime, when espe-

cially adults are not working and special associations to play are ascribed to artists or to people in other ‘cultures’ (Schechner 2013: 112ff.). Professional actors are sometimes accused to be paid for ‘playing’ since a part of their work consists of plays, experiments and improvisation (Lewis 2013: 40).

‘Hunters and gatherers’ societies are in stereotyped images described as if they made less distinction between work and play (Lewis 2013: 38). Gray (2009) even publicized an article about “Play as a Foundation for Hunter Gatherer Social Existence” claiming that play and humor are at the core of ‘hunters and gatherers’ social structures, especially among the San (ibid: 476). In Western adult minds, play is contrasted to hard work and implies negative connotations, whereas in indigenous societies although hard life is present, the approach to it is claimed to happen in a more cheerful and playful manner (ibid: 479).

Play reinforces social normativity and contests it (Lewis, 2013: 26f.). The aspect of learning through play (as well as learning through performance) and the transmission of heritage and cultural knowledge to the young generation is a central part of it. Play is a ground for humanity since children always play, as long as adults do not set rules and tasks to differentiate between play and non-play (ibid: 25). Schechner compares child-playing to the phase of training for performance in which social and technical skills are practiced, and when physical movements are learned and embodied through practice and not through formalized verbal teaching (Schechner 2013: 228).

Children’s learning processes are often embedded in systems that are not necessarily organized for explicit learning. Therefore children often take an active part in developing strategies to pursue their own education process, especially following relatives and members of society through their daily life (Lancy/ Bock/ Gaskin 2010: 3ff.). The most simple, universal and sometimes the primary strategy for learning is observing, without explicit verbal instruction necessary (Gaskin/ Paradise 2010: 85f.). After observation, the children will one day try out the actions for themselves and copy the activities, practicing them. Additionally to technical skills for everyday life and work, a growing child must also absorb culturally structured rules about behaviours and roles, which are sometimes only understood by observing and practising and without explanation (ibid: 109f.).

A child imitates people's actions and learns from practicing – where a scholarly institution is absent the whole society works as knowledge transmitting network (Bourdieu 1977: 87). Through repetitions practice is incorporated and becomes part of personal habitual behaviours (Lewis 2013: 20). The 'hexis' as pattern of postures linked to a series of bodily techniques can, according to Bourdieu, be transmitted to children by the adults of society through observation and repeated imitation of gestures, postures, expressions, ways of walking and talking (Bourdieu 1977: 87f.).

Margaret Mead recognized the centrality of role play for children's socialization and learning process (Lewis 2013: 19). There is a global tendency of children doing re-enact- and pretend-play. Children practice and interpret in play what they observe and imitate in ordinary life - an important occasion to embody culturally relevant behaviours and actions (Gaskin/ Paradise 2010: 91, 106). Role-play is seen as a key practice for children's development and playing with identities is essential and precedes the formation of self-identity (Lewis 2013: 99): "(..) *therefore roles precede organized social selves or subjects, and any self has available a variety of roles as models or templates for embodied social relationships* (ibid: 98)."

Play has been recognized as a controversial but essential part of socialization, inherent in different sectors of society. The performative approach of play is especially relevant when it comes to children's learning, the formation of culturally acceptable behaviours and the embodiment of 'habitus'. Children learn through observation, imitation and practice until a series of structured patterns is incorporated and can be applied in the varied performances of each individual.

5.4. Costumes for Performance

The processes of selling 'culture', performing for tourists, re-vitalizing 'traditional' aspects of life and using ancestral heritage as a tool for (economic) survival are crucially connected with the visual aspect. As soon as visitors announce themselves in the San villages of North-Eastern Namibia, the people look for their costumes and get themselves dressed. 'Heritage performance' has many synonyms, but one of them is 'costumed interpretation' (Jackson/ Kidd 2011: 27), illustrating that costumes are one of the qualities of 'staged' and 'performance'. Schechner (1985) sees costumes and masks as relevant constitutors for performances on stage as well as in everyday life, helping to shape a person pretending to be someone else.

In the context of cultural performances objects are often regarded as observable testimonies from the past. They are therefore often included in the touristic acts to impress the audience that seeks ‘authenticity’, resulting in a combination of tangible and specific items with living and intangible interpretation (Kidd 2011: 29). Material culture is often claimed to be observably ‘real’:

“[R]espondents were keen to demonstrate an awareness of discourse around authenticity and the necessity, as they perceived it, of ‘accuracy’ in presentation. It was often in terms of costume, language, and the authority of the material presentation that authenticity was initially and explicitly addressed (Kidd 2011: 26).”

An important time of material culture used for performances are the costumes. Eicher and Roach-Higgins define dress as all kinds of modifications of the human body that result in the changing of the outside appearance (1992: 16). Arthur describes it the following: „*The term "dress" is used in the most global sense to refer to all of the ways the body is used in the expression of identity* (Arthur 1999: 1).” Dress and body adornment include clothes, fabrics wrapped around the body, jewellery, body painting and all forms of body decoration that serve to express one’s identity.

Dress and body adornment have been used to change the appearance of the body in all societies over the history and the globe. The advantages of covering and protecting the body because of morality codes, shame, the environment and climate are relevant, but not the determining factors of body decoration, since adornment and body decoration are chosen by all societies around the world, whereas clothes that only aim to protect and cover the body are not (Eicher/ Roach-Higgins 1979: 7). A subordinate function of clothes is to beautify the wearer who longs for aesthetics - clothes, jewellery, painting and modifications serve to decorate the naked human body by adding colours, shapes and structures. The standards of beauty and ideals of body proportions vary accordingly to the cultural and social context (ibid: 8).

The study of dress is a relevant tool to detect cultural connections and embodied behaviour (Schwarz 1979: 23). The choice of clothing is connected to the position of an individual in his environment and his interaction with other players and nature and further, humans profit from the materials of nature. Schwarz even sees clothing as a result of the connection between sociocultural and natural environment and the human body (ibid: 29ff.). This connection is evi-

dent in the Ju/'hoan traditional clothing, adapted to the requirements of the bush and the materials directly provided from nature.

Clothes, jewellery and body painting have a strong social meaning, describing and defining the wearer and his/ her social position in society, connecting him/ her to gender, age, class, religion, power relations, personal and cultural identity (Arthur 1999: 1f.). Dress is a relevant marker of identity and a form of non-verbal communication; before individuals exchange information through verbal and physical transmission, the first impression is generated by the visible aspect of a person (Eicher/ Roach-Higgins 1992: 17). The codes and bits of information passed on through dress, are learned in society and adapted to the own necessities with the aim to differentiate oneself from the others and/or to mark membership to a group (ibid: 7, 10).

When the body is subdued to social constructions, the visual appearance has the important function to assign specific attributes to the individual (Taylor 2003: 29). Eicher describes how traditional dress can be manipulated for touristic purposes and is used to construct a new ethnicity: “[A]rticles of dresses become selected, characterized, incorporated and transformed by a group that has had contact with others (Eicher 1995: 3).” Ethnic dress helps positioning individuals in time and space, preserving traditional heritage and at the same time incorporating changes and new elements (ibid: 4f.). Ethnic and traditional dress can further be used strategically in the course of political or economic pursuits to strengthen or weaken common stereotypes and images (Conklin 1997: 711).

Considering paid cultural activities of the Ju/'hoansi as their official job, the traditional costumes in the tourism context may serve as working uniforms and are an essential tool to construct a ‘traditional’ or ‘authentic’ experience for visitors. Bunten (2008) states that the uniform, worn by the tourist guides in the course of the construction of a commodified persona in tourism, are attached with symbolic markers and adapted to tourism expectations to clearly differentiate them from the travellers (ibid: 386f.). On the one hand the Ju/'hoansi aim to please what they think the tourists’ expectations are and on the other hand they claim themselves that some ‘traditional’ activities require ‘traditional’ clothes. Taking the touristic activities as performances, the used traditional clothes can be regarded as costumes, consciously used by the actors to create a specific mood and situation for the audience (Eicher/ Roach-Higgins, 1979: 9).

The bodily behaviour is reinforced or shaped through costumes and this plays a great role especially in dance performances (Keali’Inohomoku 1979: 83). The costumes affect the dance movements and since physical behaviour embodies cultural values, one could say that costumes influence cultural behaviour (ibid: 77). Keali’Inohomoku (1979) analysed dress and the use of the body in performance and how material culture is used to form body habits. The shape of clothes, jewellery, shoes and props affect the physical movements and fit to the dance steps, often presenting a requirement to be able to perform specific movements. The clothes worn, become an extended part of the performer and shape the physical body (ibid: 77ff.); dance costumes are therefore a relevant aspect of cultural performances (ibid: 80). Clothes do have an influence on the behaviour during ‘traditional’ activities, which is connected to the embodied behaviour that Bourdieu defined as ‘hexis’ (Bourdieu 1982: 283).

The dress, body decoration and jewellery used by the indigenous in the course of touristic performances are part of a material culture, which is often used to complete intangible cultural activities and foster what is claimed to be ‘authentic’ by an insider’s and an outsider’s view. Clothing is used to define an individual’s and a group’s identity in the course of human interaction and can be strategically shaped for specific purposes. Changing costumes is an essential aspect of staged ‘traditional’ performances of the Ju’hoansi and has several symbolic and physical implications for the performers as well as for the audience – these aspects I will analyse in the empirical chapter.

5.5. Visitors and the Audience

It is the tourists’ demands for cultural activities that create the concepts and it is the audience (including anthropologists in the village) who influences (inter-)actions. I have in previous chapters analysed Urry’s ‘touristic gaze’ and MacCannel’s analysis of the tourists’ search for ‘authenticity’ and how the touristic point of view, their wishes and experiences influence the tourism industry. Cultural performances would not take place without the visitors directly or indirectly demanding for it and the Ju’hoansi wanting to comply with their wishes. It is therefore relevant to include their role in cultural performance, since their imagination and behaviours are crucial for the situation: “*Audiences are increasingly sophisticated and cosmopolitan. Changes in the audience lead to changes in the performances* (Schechner 1985: 16).”

A relevant aspect to keep in mind during the experience and the analysis of the situation is that a performance always constitutes itself through the interaction between audience and per-

formers (Korom 2013: 2). Acting happens through the communication between actors on stage and the observers (Goffman 1959: 9), the same as the production of culture is systematically constituted through the interaction of producers and consumers (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 25). According to Comaroff and Comaroff there should not be a distinction between the role of a producer or a consumer of a product, since the producers of culture are also its consumers and consumers also become producers (ibid: 26).

The audience will considerably shape the outcome of a performance (Schechner 2013: 29). Performances happen mostly in front of and for an audience, the latter having the responsibility to directly or indirectly interact with the performers, which automatically makes of the spectators co-performers (Korom 2013: 3). According to Goffman, the audience considerably contributes to the maintenance of the performance, drawing on techniques of which performers, spectators and outsiders have the skills for, namely saving the show and being tactful when misfortunes happen (Goffman 1959: 232). No performance is possible without the interaction and collaboration between audience and performance, and the performers feeling the spectators' energy (Schechner 1985: 12).

The extent of inclusion of the audience differs considerably between types of performances and can reach from distant observation to full involvement and participation of the spectators, literally becoming performers themselves (Schechner 1985: 12). The audience can further choose whether to believe the performance or not (Schechner 2013: 42f.). Sometimes specific codes are needed to understand the play, but in realistic acting for example, the audience can rely on its own knowledge to comprehend the interpreted roles (ibid: 176ff.).

The audience is not included in all phases of a performance in Schechner's theory. In the preparation phases, the audience is usually not present or as Goffman states, the backstage is strictly forbidden for the visitors to enter (1959). In the 'staged' performance itself, the audience is present and included in a range of different ways. In the phase of cooldown and aftermath, the audience is affected by the performance and follows its own processes, mostly separated from the performers and usually not stepping into the backstage area. Memories and impressions are shared and exchanged, and the performance is judged and evaluated (Schechner 1985: 16ff.).

In heritage presentations there has been a considerable shift from the material to the immaterial and performative. Richards (2011) proposes a creative tourism, in which the skills of performance are practised and 'experience' services are commodified and offered to tourists. This gives the visitors the possibility to participate actively and creatively in the discovery of activities and learning 'traditional' techniques and consequently to become 'co-performers' (ibid: 1227-1237).

In museum theatre, new communication technologies have been used since the 1990's, developing more interactive and visitor-friendly offers (Rees Leahy 2001: 27). Theatre has entered the museum areas and a new focus is given to the audience and their role (ibid: 27). The performative serves to give weight to narratives and voices of the sometimes marginalized protagonists of history; Jackson takes the example of actors and guides who actively play the roles of African slaves in US-museums and although one can not exactly know what people would have told, visitors can get the feeling of getting to talk to the historical figures (Jackson 2011: 21f.).

This approach, relying on actors in museums area who perform heritage, responds to the visitors in special ways and requires different performance than in formal theatre. The visitors become audience during the museum-theatre-acts, deciding themselves which role to take. The audience moves around freely, comes and leaves the performance and decides whether to stand or sit and how close to come to the actors. A museum visitor can experience spaces and shifts one would not expect from a visit to a museum, which normally has prescribed and routinized behaviours about how to move between the objects and how to gaze at paintings. The performance approach gives new perspectives on the museum's contents (Rees-Leahy 2011: 29).

The performances can be hardly noticed by the museum visitors or be clearly marked with a separate stage area; they can choose how far to get involved with; the relationships between performers and visitors are therefore permeable (Jackson 2011: 13f.). The visitor can dispose of various roles from which he can choose and which he can change during one single performance – ranging between 'visitor', 'audience', 'participant' and 'learner' in the museum area (Jackson 2011: 12). The spectators, visitors or tourists themselves become actors at the same time.

Considering performance as performativity of everyday life and not as single and detached event, Edensor (2000) used performance studies to analyse tours at tourism sites, focusing on the visitors. He comes to the conclusion that the performance of tourists has to be considered accordingly to the transformations they undergo in contrast to ordinary life performances. A single tourist may himself perform a series of different roles during a same journey. Tourism performances change over time, but also from person to person, according to a series of factors such as class, gender, ethnicity etc. (Edensor 2000: 341).

Body postures and physical movements are shaped by social identities and tourists have their own moving bodies travelling through different spaces. It changes if a person is trekking on a mountain, moving in a theme park or strolling through a museum (Edensor 2000: 339). Tourist groups are coordinated by the tour guide who serves as director, suggesting places to gaze upon and leading the groups through specific stages. The tourism sets are cleaned and managed by several instances connected to tourism, and the specific disposal and organization of space and of other visitors regulate the rhythm and paths of a choreographed performance of the tourists (Edensor 2000: 339). Touristic enclaves are designed for gazing and to stimulate desires (ibid: 330). According to Edensor, a series of expected and appropriate actions have to be considered by the traveller, routines and practices are prescribed – such as duties of buying souvenirs, dressing in a specific way or taking specific pictures (ibid: 328, 334). According to the type of tourism, more or less improvisation for behaviour, choreography and specific paths is allowed (ibid: 336ff.).

The level of engagement in a performance varies from person to person, some get fully involved into the story, some may not even fully approach the scene - constantly challenging oneself whether to engage with the actors and if to participate (Jackson 2011: 14f.). Some museum theatre scenes can evoke strong emotions or feelings in the audience, cause surprise effects, stimulate critical thoughts and question or challenge beliefs and assumptions. Museum performances can further be embarrassing or confusing, without the possibility to escape (ibid: 18ff.). The option to co-engage in a performance at touristic museum sites, gives the possibility to actively decide whether and how to engage in an act and which role and behaviour to choose.

5.6. The Performance of Cultural Heritage

Living Museums are constituted rather by performance and intangible cultural heritage than by material culture. This shifts the focus to the experience and leads to a questioning of the concept of ‘authenticity’. Heritage and memory are by some authors (Taylor (2003), Smith (2011); Jackson/ Kidd (2011); Kidd (2011)) even seen as embodied performance themselves and the display of it, as well as the transmission of its knowledge is closely connected to theatre.

Heritage was for a long time related to the inheritance of material culture from the past and because of its intrinsic value has been subjected to forms of presentation and preservation (Kidd 2011: 24). The concept of heritage has in the last years been more and more related to stories around the objects (ibid: 24) and can further be seen as a process (Jackson/ Kidd 2011: 2), as well as a dynamic development of creative re-appropriation of the past (Alivizatou 2011: 85). The analysis about the use of material culture for remembering and for marking cultural and social experiences as ‘authentic’ is more interesting, it is not only about framing the past, but more relevantly, about its involvement and positioning in the present (Smith 2011: 69). Smith criticizes the connection of ‘heritage’ to a ‘thing’ and proposes a more creative and complex approach:

“[H]eritage is a cultural performance that occurs at, and with, heritage sites or museum exhibitions. It is a process of remembering and forgetting, and while particular ‘things’ or spaces may be used as tools in that remembering, it is not the things or places that are themselves ‘heritage’, it is the uses that these things are put to that make them ‘heritage’. Heritage is a process or a performance, in which certain cultural and social meanings and values are identified, reaffirmed or rejected and should not be, though it often is, conflated with sites or places (2011: 69).”

As I have illustrated, the style of exposition in museums shifted from the showing of static objects – long-time considered as observable things from the past (Kidd 2011: 29) – to a place of experience, encounters and events (Jackson/ Kidd 2011: 1). Alivizatou (2011) describes the museum as an “*ever-changing theatre scene* (ibid: 82).” Through digital technologies and interactive media, it may move towards active and immaterial performances (ibid: 82).

Many activities enter the category of ‘museum theatre’ and ‘live interpretation’ (Kidd 2011: 22), a field clearly under-researched (Jackson/ Kidd 2011: 4). This discipline can be defined as “*the use of theatre and theatrical techniques as a means of mediating knowledge and understanding in the context of museum education* (ibid: 4).” Jackson and Kidd use the term ‘performance’ instead of ‘theatre’ in this context, as a more general and more-embracing term. It refers not only to staged acts, but to the general atmosphere of performance inherent in a museum’s visit and the performative notion of a heritage site itself, considering the scenographic arrangement and design (2011: 1f.). ‘Living Museums’ are historical and or touristic sites, where a specific historical period is recreated in architectural, behavioral, and physical detail (Schechner 2013: 293f.).

Museum performances are presented by interpreters or professional actors at important museum or heritage sites, including first or third person live interpretation, often in costumes. They might range from short plays and scripted monologues to participatory events with role plays up to large-scale history events (Jackson/ Kidd 2011: 4; Kidd 2011: 22). It can involve the creation of on purpose-built attractions, such as Cultural Villages which may be sold as ‘authentic’ - a marketing strategy to attract tourists (Von Stauss 2012: 86). Museum theatre is addressed to visiting school groups, family or independent visitors to facilitate an exchange between sites, visitors and the understanding of heritage on an educational basis (Jackson/ Kidd 2011: 4; Kidd 2011: 22).

The concept of performance used here relies directly on Schechner’s performance theories differentiating between ‘is’ and ‘as’ performance. This differentiation is highly relevant in the Living Museum interpretations, since a tour guide’s performance is ‘as’ performance, but is more seldom recognized as ‘is’ performance in the classically staged sense (Kidd 2011: 24). The difference to theatre shows in Living Museums, is that there is no applause at the end of an act and no word-by-word script (Schechner 1982: 97). The acting is meant to look as if the actors were not acting (Kidd 2011: 24). There are however also ‘is’ performances in heritage sites that are clearly marked as such and completed with the use of specific stages, props and costumes and using incorporated choreographies.

The dichotomy about ‘is’ and ‘as’ performance is also found at the intersection of touristic cultural commodification and performance – the term ‘staged authenticity’ by MacCannel (1973) is well known and often quoted. In performance activities, to take up MacCannels di-

vision of front and stage, critical visitors may try to ask about the making and the agents of the script of a performance. Participatory performance explicitly helps to break up this dichotomy, actively including the audience into the creation of a performance (Kidd 2011: 28).

According to MacCannell's theory, the front stage is used for the perfectly staged performances for tourists, whereas in the back stage, a spectacle is produced and kept hidden from the audience. The showing of the 'real' backstage in Goffman's term is avoided, since 'dirty' secrets could ruin the façade. In the museum context, historical and cultural knowledge has to be acquired and speech, movements are trained before presenting a show to the visitors. In Schechner's term, specific phases precede the actual 'performance' and in this process of preparation, among others, the stage and the objects involved in the performance are prepared. Costumes are often a visual key characteristic for historical or 'traditional' re-enactments and materiality is an important claimer for the historical affirmation of a show and support the actors in their performance.

The tour guide, who is one of the agents involved in performing heritage, does not always act out a specifically marked scene, is though equally constructing his own performing character, as Bunten (2008) analysed in the theory of the 'commodified persona'. Like in Goffman's 'Presentation of the Self' (1959), the tour guide constructs his performance in order to impress the audience. He studies the required appearance and behaviour including language and gestures as well as the spoken text and this is practiced and repeated until it gets integrated and 'normal'. A person plays a social role the best, when he believes his role himself (Schechner 2013: 215).

In Canadian restored villages – an example used by Schechner (1982) -, tour guides the same as actors have to impersonate their historical roles, that happens through workshops on historical events, by learning and replicating attitudes, behaviours and language dialects and is completed with accurately tailored costumes (ibid: 97). The explicitly acting tour guides have to improvise dialogues with the visitors, so usually little rehearsal can be made (Schechner 2013: 292ff.). Actors speak in the first person, telling another story as their own, making the people feel to plunge into another context (Schechner 1982: 88f.).

Schechner follows the theory of restored behaviour, meaning that every performance is 'twice behaved', constructed on behaviour that exist independently from the performance and is rear-

ranged and reconstructed in the course of the process (Schechner 1982: 36). The actors have the choice to develop the performance, but according to Schechner, devices to guarantee a correct performance with few changes during generations exist, sometimes relying on the past – that as I have discussed can also be constructed through the present (1982: 39ff.). The interesting production process is to be explored during the rehearsal phase (ibid: 19f.).

Actors and the audience know about the ‘show’ and the ‘make-believe’, which at the same time is inherent in every human action, if one follows Goffman’s arguments. What is relevant in the context of costumed interpretations in museum areas is the concept of ‘stimulation’ (Schechner 2013: 141) that means a replication and not an imitation of actions, when through acting, the performed behaviours merge into the body and the performers do not pretend anymore but become what they act. Through repetition cultural patterns get incorporated, Schechner has however not considered the difference between the unconscious or rather intentional processes of embodiment (Lewis 2013: 119). There are no identical repetitions of a performance, cultural practices will therefore vary and change from each show to show (ibid: 119).

A sophisticated example for ‘stimulation’ are restored villages, where actors actually become the role they are playing with costumes, tools and activities (Schechner 2013: 141). They are at the same time reconstruction, popular entertainments, living histories and commercial ventures in an endless variety (ibid: 292f.). Tourist shows preserve, distort and display ‘traditional’ performances as well as ordinary life activities packaged for staging (ibid: 264). Tourism performances are adapted to the tourists taste, for example reducing the length of an extended ritual, using morally more appropriate clothing or taking more ‘attractive’ actors to be filmed by the tourists (Schechner 1982: 75f.).

Performances disappear the moment they are made. When a performance genre is exported or presented to tourists, changes happen as in every performance. It is hard to find data to rely on, for ‘correcting’ performances that should not to depart too much from the original - according to Schechner, the original might be “*the totality of previous performances, on which performance is based, and incorporated in oral tradition* (Schechner 1982: 49).”. There is no fixed ‘true’ performance, only the incorporated interpretation of it, even its documentation is a changed interpretation (ibid: 49f.).

While theatre is explicitly marked as ‘make-believe’ performance, restored villages try to act as ‘realistic’ and ‘authentic’ as possible, trying to hide their artificiality (Schechner 1982: 96). The connotation of ‘staged’ arises fears among experts and tourists about the ‘alienation’ of ‘traditional’ activities. Cultural performances in the museum context further raise unwanted connections to ‘Völkerschauen’ and raise questions about the purpose of cultural performances (Alivizatou 2001: 86). Heritage performance is always a contested and controversial negotiation between communities (ibid: 70).

Heritage performance is less about the correct recreation and remembrance of the past, it is about a collective rethinking of it and at the same time a situation creating memories and common identities. Through a collective negotiation of old memories, new ones are constructed and loaded with meaning (Smith 2011: 78ff.). At the same time, the performing bodies of actors and spectators are carriers of history and memory, they serve to preserve and transport cultural knowledge (Taylor 2003). Stored as movements and behaviours in cultural performances as dances, languages, songs or technical skills, the past can therefore be transmitted consciously or unconsciously (ibid).

In Comaroff’s (2009) terms, cultural commodification, as it happens in museum areas, does not automatically lead to a negatively interpreted loss of ‘culture’ but instead to a creative challenging of what is understood as ‘tradition’ and the ‘past’. The ‘cultural’ or eventually ‘indigenous’ knowledge is a source for empowerment and pride – stored in the bodies unconsciously and at disposal for the finding of alternative ways to be taught, presented and transmitted.

Relating to discussions about ‘authenticity’, heritage performances help to understand, that measuring and judging the extent of this concept is less important than the feelings, emotions, and experiences it evokes in the audiences and the reflections it awakens on how memories are constructed and re-lived (Smith 2011: 75f.). Museum performances are a constant reconsideration of meaning, as hybrid and creative approaches to the quested term of ‘authenticity’ (Alivizatou 2011: 92).

Performance is a strategy for the creation, maintenance and transmission of cultural patterns (Lewis 2013: 116). In special events, which are in Lewis dichotomy contrasted to ordinary life, cultural signs are high-lightened and patterns are often intensified or exaggerated for out-

siders to be better recognized. I claim that tourism events can be described as ‘special events’ for the actors as well as the spectators. Through participation, one can best learn and identify with the performers: “*Through participation, one can feel a cultural unity with others who perform as part of the group process, recognizing one’s being through forms of shared experience and appreciation* (Lewis 2013: 116).”.

The visitors are likewise engaged in a situation of creating a situation and exploring different roles, interacting with the sites and negotiating notions of memory and heritage (Jackson/ Kidd 2011: 1; Smith 2011: 70). There is little research about the educational effect of ‘museum theatre’, Jackson and Kidd state, that it less about the aspect of learning but more about the aspect of engaging, creating, and the challenge of participation (Jackson/ Kidd 2011: 5). Through the use of more theatricality and performance in museums, a shift towards ‘Edutainment’ becomes evident (Jackson/ Kidd 2011: 1), where the concept of performance as ‘play’ is interesting to explore. Play can be understood as experimenting, crossing the borders of the ‘real world’ and learning through experience and imitation.

According to Kidd, many participants and audiences felt a deeper sense of feeling how ‘the past’ might have looked like, through performances on heritage sites. Especially from an educational point of view, experiencing the ‘past’ gives a completely new perspective on it than reading about in books or through objects, even if there is no illusion that it is a mere reproduction of a re-invented past (Kidd 2011: 27). Heritage performances have the ability to relocate the audience following a ‘desire for displacement’ and engaging with another ‘reality’ (ibid: 27-31).

This fits to Schechner’s analysis of transportation in the course of performances - for the actors as well as for the audience. During the performance, the spectator is taken to another level, to experience the content of the show, either by observing or by participating physically, until he is released afterwards. Of course the emotions during the experience have to be reflected, exchanged and discussed in the phase of ‘aftermath’.

In *Living Museums and Cultural Villages*, a creative and performative approach to heritage, the past, traditions and ‘authenticity’ is used. On a collaborative basis between actors and the audience, an own situation is created, which relies on re-interpretations of the terms mentioned. Instead of mourning the loss of ‘authentically’ replied cultural activities, considering

the outcomes of performance studies, one can understand that there is never an exact replication of a former performance but rather flexible re-interpretations of it. The past and the heritage are embodied by actors and spectators and passed and changed through actual intangible performances. The aim is to transport the actors and the audience into an imagined and re-created situation which at the same time has the scope to transmit cultural knowledge to the spectators. The internal education of the younger generations is a topic relevant in touristic heritage museums, which I have not found discussed in literature, but which I will focus upon in my empirical analysis.

6. Empirical Analysis: The Performances of Cultural Heritage

6.1. Preparing the Performance

„So hello guys, I'm Henry, this is my colleague, he is a guy and his name is Stean. So guys, welcome to the Living Museum, you are free to take as more pictures as you like and you are free to ask any question, so that you can learn more about our culture. To start we will go to the traditional huts where we will meet the actors and they will show us everything (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek).”

These were the words of Henry, manager and main guide of the Living Museum Grashoek, welcoming us on our first day for a full activity programme. In this last part of the thesis, I will analyse my empirical data combining it with the theories I have worked upon above. I will demonstrate my arguments through many direct quotations, using the Ju/'hoansi's own words to illuminate the different motivations, interests and opinions of the performers and the people involved. I have divided this part accordingly to Schechner's phases, analysing the stages before, during and after the cultural performances of the Ju/'hoansi.

6.1.1. To Participate in Touristic Performances

I would like to have a look at the motivations the Ju/'hoansi have for performing in tourism – the basis for working in Cultural Villages and Living Museums. But first I would like include, why the Ju/'hoansi think that tourists travel from far away to come to visit them, wanting to experience their unique tradition and history:

“Cultures are actually different and some people lost their cultures. [...] You guys have heard about us, maybe have read newspapers about us or watched television about us and now you have decided, let me see them with my own eyes so that I can have the idea. I think that this is the reason why you come here (Smallboy, interview on 15.01.2014, Tsumkwe).”

Tsemkgao !L/ae, also called ‘Smallboy’ further tells us, that the healer !Kunta Boo of Doupos is one pull factor for tourists, as he is quite known up to Europe through pictures and videos. Indeed, when looking for ‘Ju/’hoansi in Namibia’ in the internet, immediately a series of pictures and Youtube videos showing the healer and his people comes up.

“Lots of them. He is actually famous here. Yeah. Lots of them. And I use to take them to !Kunta Boo. Because he is the best healer. He is the best healer. As we all know him. And some of the tourists they also know him, as they come here, they show me the photo: do you know this man, I say yes, I know him – I want to see him now! [...] I think, you know, tourists are here, they take a photo of you, they take your name, they see what you have performed for them. And they go back and write it in maybe in newspapers, something like that and that helps to be famous! And the others will hear about you and so they also want to go and see this guy. He is maybe an important guy. And then, they might come and want to see you. That’s how it works (Smallboy, interview on 15.01.2014, Tsumkwe).“

The San working in cultural institutions are aware of the interest and proud to show their cultural heritage to visitors and travellers: *“I choose to take you as my family, to teach you my language, to teach you my skills, how we are living (!amace N!aici, interview on 16.01.2014, Xa//oba).”* The projects of the LMs and CVs are the basis for an exchange between the parties leading to a win-win situation - according to the words of Kajece N!ani, guide and translator from Tsumkwe (interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos):

“I like the Living Museum very much because there I can tell people about my traditions. I keep on demonstrating how to make a bow so I cannot forget my traditions. And I am happy to meet people from Europe coming here and visiting us, so I can teach them how we were living in the past. They also help me because of the income so I can buy things.”

The performances of cultural heritage permit reciprocal exchange, says Kxore Erna /ui about an elder woman living in Grashoek (interview on 15.01.2014, Grashoek):

“The old lady says that she is very happy with the museum because every time she can meet different people from different places, like Australia and other countries. She is very happy about that. She likes to communicate with them and to teach them, and to learn from them. Sometimes they teach her their languages, like how to say ‘ciao’ and ‘Auf Wiedersehen’ and so on.”

The main motivations for participating in cultural performances were, according to interviews given to us by the San, on the one hand the financial benefit in times of big financial struggle and on the other hand, the possibility to keep their ‘traditional’ culture alive and especially teaching it to their children. This view fits to Comaroff and Comaroff’s view, asserting that there is not necessarily a contradiction between ‘culture’ and economy (2009).

“Some of the money which we get from the tourists we sometimes spent it for clothes. Mostly we spent it for food, as well for clothes. (...) So we don't know what our chief is trying to do. He must not stop tourists to come because it is the only income we are getting from the tourists (Dabe //ao, interview on 14.01.2014, Doupos).”

As I have shown before, tourism is not the main source of income in the Tsumkwe area but for the San, direct and visible income is generated mainly by the visits of travellers. Further, material goods such as clothes - a much desired item - are given to the villagers by the visitors. Whereas some of the 18 year olds gave up performing to take up regular jobs at the conservancy, others wished to learn more about the performances, because they would allow them to stay in the village and have a more or less regular income. One of these youngsters, who is around 18 was performing during my first visit to Doupos and gave us an Interview. The next time in August, he was working for the Conservancy and living in Tsumkwe from Monday to Friday. Dabe Cwi was dressed like a ‘city man’ with nice and fashionable clothes and supported his young family with the money earned in the town. But still, he claimed that tourism was the main source of income for Doupos:

“The source of income they are getting is only out of the tourism. When tourists take photographs of them, those income they may save it. They save it until they are big rich, to buy some cattle and also to buy some clothes. (Dabe //ao, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos).”

This perspective on the younger generation – actually the future of cultural performances - is interesting. An often mentioned positive effect of cultural tourism is less the teaching to outsiders, but rather the preservation and transmission of cultural heritage to the next generation. According to the LCFN and MAN, seen on a meta-level, the aim of their projects should include the transmission of culture not only to outsiders, but also to internal school groups of Namibia. On a micro level it is very important to pass on traditional knowledge to their own children. The Living Museums give the children the possibility to remember their roots and at the same time allow other children within the nation state to get to know the San culture:

“And I think that this project is the best project. Because now we are teaching our young children how our old life was. Because now we are not hunting anymore. Yeah sometimes we collect our bushfoods. We go out in the bush and collect bushfood. But our young children they did not see anything about hunting and do nothing. And I think this project is the best project to help our children that they must remember where they come from. And also this project is like school. Like some children from far places like Grootfontain or Ottawi or Windhoek, they come to see this life. And we are also teaching them our skills and all this kind (Khau Morris //oce, interview on 17.01.2014, Grasshoek).“

The children of the Ju/'hoansi, who do not grow up in the context of cultural tourism, are more likely to forget about their ancestral traditions, and moreover the knowledge acquired in the context of cultural performances are a precious complement to formal schooling:

“I think, it is a good thing. In order for our children not to forget our culture. I have been visiting many places and most of the people there forget their culture, so I think it's a good idea to have the culture alive like here... It is also a part of education. Most of the people here don't know anymore how their parents were living. I think they know, but they forget because they don't practice. The idea of this project is to show how our parents were living in the past. The children have to go to school now but if the school goes out, they still have the chance to go to the Living Museum to learn something (Khau Morris //oce, interview on 17.01.2014, Grashoek).”

In most Interviews the Ju/'hoansi performing, talked about the pride showing their 'traditional' culture and indeed, looking back at a history of marginalization and discrimination, being teachers for visitors coming from far away is a huge step towards cultural self-confidence. It

becomes visible for example, when the San change into traditional attire, which had for a long time been a source of embarrassment in front of other groups (Komtsa Daqm, interview on 15.01.2014, //Xa/oba). The guide of the Little Hunter's Museum Komtsa Daqm for example speaks of shame, explaining how at the beginning he was shy wearing a pair of *tjona*²³, but the more the museum project advanced, the more he was proud of wearing those, as a visible marker of being Ju/'hoansi (interview on 16.01.2014). Some people – especially women, as regularly claimed by the San - were too shy to perform and only slowly start participating. In the following quotation the two young ladies Xoan//a and !uu in Doupos, describe their feelings when performing for tourist groups:

“It's not that I cannot do it, I could do it, but how should I say? I am not ashamed, but shy. If it is not a big group, I can do it. Some of us are a bit afraid, but the rest of the group, they just do it. Wherever you go, to each village, you will see the cultural performances. There are a lot of them. [...] It has been a long time since we did not see visitors like you. We were also a bit scared to show the healing things to you, but when we are not scared we enjoy it (Xoan//a and !uu Cgaesje, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos).”

Not only are people coming to the Ju/'hoansi, the San I have met especially in Grashoek and Doupos, have become requested experts of their heritage and of the strategies for touristic presentations and travel to far away countries to teach 'traditional' techniques to other San communities or to exchange about tourism models in industrialized nations. The Ju/'hoansi of the Living Museum Grashoek for example travelled to the Damara, helping them recovering their own traditions in the course of the construction of new Living Museums. The healer and informal headmen of Doupos is almost known like a 'superstar' through magazines, Youtube and several documentary movies. With his wife and daughter he regularly travels to San communities living in South Africa to teach 'traditional' techniques. The main guide and manager of the Living Museum of Grashoek, travelled to France and South Korea to exchange about concepts of heritage in museums.

I therefore carefully conclude, that through the 'traditional' tourism performances, the San gained self-confidence over the traditional knowledge they still have or they have reconstructed explicitly. Their traditions and their heritage has been recognized as a – cultural, symbolic and economic - capital and as a valuable resource that wants to be transmitted to the younger

²³ 'Tjona' is the traditional leather trouser of the Ju/'hoansi worn by men.

generation for future use. Their heritage becomes an intangible capital, of which they have taken control over, making of the Ju/'hoansi involved in tourism popular experts of their culture. Having always been very popular in science and popular media, the San in the Living Museums and Cultural Villages today speak for themselves and make their own decisions and although they are still influenced by outside requests and institutional rules, they are not merely passively written about.

6.1.2. 'Life in a 'Living Museum''²⁴

My initial approach to the field was determined by the title and research question of the field practice guided by Manuela Zips-Mairitsch and Werner Zips. The aim was to explore how 'living' in the ordinary sense works in a field, where one's own history and culture is performed on a regular basis for fixed prices. The question that tormented us during the first research practice was to 'discover' how people really 'lived', how the Ju/'hoansi performing their culture coped with that fact, and how 'real' the performances were. The performances are physically and symbolically set aside from daily life and this contrast leads to a dichotomy. Therefore the question about the inclusion and position of tourism performances in their everyday life came up.

This dichotomy can be connected to the theories of Goffman (1959) and MacCannell (1973) who divided the scene into a front and a back stage area, further to performance studies which differentiate between 'is' and 'as' performance (Schechner 1982, 2013) and between 'special events' and 'ordinary life' (Lewis 2013). Through my own approach, this symbolical and also physical separation became evident and important and is therefore worth reflecting on.

Observing the connections between everyday life performativity and special performances set in the tourism context, leads to MacCannell's concept of 'staged authenticity' (1973), which is based on Goffman's theatre metaphor of front and back stage in everyday life performance (1959). Although this separation does not necessarily have to be physical, Living Museums and Cultural Villages have separated 'modern villages', where the Ju/'hoansi live and the 'traditional villages', where the activities take place.

²⁴ The title is taken from the field practice: "240190 PR Feldpraktikum: Life in a "Living Museum" (P1) - The Cultural Marketing of San Communities in Northern Namibia".
For more information: <http://online.univie.ac.at/vlvz?kapitel=2403&semester=W2013>

My first approach to the San had been almost exclusively through paying activities and I therefore wrongly assumed, that the work with tourists represented quite a central part of their lives and a main source of income. I was therefore somehow convinced that the people would sit around all day, only waiting for tourists to come to the villages and ask for a specific programme. When denied the access to touristic performances, I got the impression that other things, although always connected to the conservancy programmes were more central, time taking and economically efficient. This contrast led to a critical reflection about how my own subjectivity influenced by the approaches I had to the field, determined my point of view.

During the second research in August 2014, bound to the so called – ‘backstage’ - I got a feeling for the every-day life performances. The people in Doupos spent a lot of time doing house work like cleaning, washing, cooking or playing with small children. Craft making is a central element in the everyday life activities of the Ju/’hoansi, not only for aesthetic scopes, but also as a significant source of income in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy²⁵. It is a performance practiced every day and all day long in contrast to the isolated and accentuated tourism performances, which Lewis (2013) would describe as ‘special events’.

When tourists arrived, the news would immediately spread through the village and make everyone drop their daily activities, jump into traditional attire and sometimes walk, sometimes run, into the ‘traditional village’ and space of performance. The arrival of the tourists, was a complete break through everyday life routines and led everyone to run around and prepare even if strong wind made it difficult or tasks were going on. The following extract from my field diary describes this event:

“I was sitting in Xoan//a’s court on a blanket making beaded jewellery, when Dixao came over from her house with determined steps and a knotted blanket over her shoulders, which contained jewellery making tools and traditional leather garment. She said something about ‘tourists’ – the only word I was able to understand in between her Ju/hoansi shouting and that caused hectic running around and packing in the whole village. The bracelets I was knotting were torn from my hands and put in bags, the blanket on which I was sitting equally and Josef and I were sent to the backmost court in such a determined way, that we did not dare to make objections. Mama Xoan//a commanded to stay there until she came back from work, we should not worry, she would come back soon. Everyone was running into the bush half in

²⁵ Pic.12. shows the women of Doupos making crafts.

modern clothes mixed with traditional weapons and jewellery and carrying filled blankets over their shoulders. Apparently the tourists would only get to see the traditional village.[...] Almost everyone has left. What is happening? What do they do 'there'? How do they prepare themselves 'there'? Why aren't we allowed to go with them? (Field diary, 18 August 2014)."

These isolated events present a common, although not so predictable activity, because the people are often informed in the last minute. Connecting to Lewis' (2013) 'special events' or what Schechner (2013) would define as marked and displayed 'is' performance, the arrival of tourists and the clearly marked cultural acts are a clear separation from daily life, but of which the preparations such as cloth making and tool carving are included in the daily activities. Elements of 'traditional' knowledge are moreover clearly present in the 'modern village' – 'traditional' songs are constantly chanted during everyday-life tasks, 'traditional' dance steps applied to contemporary music from Southern Africa played in the courts by the young people, and 'traditional' jewellery is re-interpreted with new materials.

As soon as tourists were present and cultural performances going on, the daily life area transformed in what I literally felt as a backstage area. I was instructed to wait in the actual village until the performers came back. What accentuated this perceived separation, is that the 'things' done 'there' were almost never mentioned in the 'modern village', apart from people occasionally singing a song they had just performed for the visitors (Field notes, August 2014). The museum area was so physically and imaginatively quite separated from the living area, as I would like to describe on the basis of my field diary:

"Josef and I are relaxingly drinking our morning coffee, when we see hunters and gatherers going into the bush with bows and arrows. Slowly everyone is leaving the village. The San are preparing for hunt. Tourist hunt. Today even the two youngsters Kha//ha and Xoan//a are going in the direction of the ,traditional village'. To remain are only the children, the dogs, the anthropologists. And silent ≠ Oma, young Cwi and N//ami with the strange teeth. N//ami passes by running with a 'tjona' and gives it to two boys who should quickly bring it to the stage, apparently someone forgot his costume. He explains us that today he wasn't feeling to perform. The village is empty and abandoned. The atmosphere is special. A strong wind is blowing, the children had gone into the bush to play, and their voices are carried from far away. The laundry flatters. Dry leaves and sand are thrown up. I decide to write. After a

while, the singing of the performers is blown over to our ears. Now and then a performer with traditional costumes comes to the village, eats something, takes a break?

[...]

The tired performers come back around half past five, half in modern, half in traditional dress, the arrows over their shoulders. We ask them how it went, no one is really enthusiastic about giving us detailed explanations and we soon understand we should go back to our tent and let them rest (Field diary, 23.08.2014)."

Tourists can arrive anytime, especially in the Living museums. In the Grashoek Living Museum, where the phone has no reception, or when a visit is not well organized, the San are often surprised by the tourists in their private village. In Doupos Smallboy follows specific time tables and programmes for the activities and informs mostly //ao – !Kunta Boo's son in law - or ≠ Oma - his youngest son - per text message around an hour before he starts a tour with a group. Once a week, a representative picks up the money earned from the cultural presentations by Smallboy at the Tsumkwe Country Lodge. In Doupos, the communication has improved in the last years:

"The time before, when we did not have any mobile phones, we usually did not know if tourists are going to come. They just arrived and we met and they told us what they are here for and then we started showing them our activities. But nowadays we are having mobile phones. If the tourists are planning to come, some people at the Lodge are informing us, that this day or that day tourists will be arriving at the village and that we must be ready and we have to wait at the cultural village to welcome them and then we will see what we are going to do (Kaqece Xoara, interview on 16.01.2014, Doupos).

The San involved in tourism are more or less on constant alert that visitors might come to the villages:

"Sometimes we get prepared. Because when the tourists want to come, some people in front say this day or this day tourist will come. That days we are prepare, but if we did not hear that tourists are coming we stay in this village and just hear a car coming. Some tourists, when the car comes, want to see us in modern clothes; some tourists prefer to see us in traditional clothes (N!ae //ao, interview on 16.01.2014, Doupos)."

The experienced Ju/'hoansi guide employed by the Tsumkwe Country Lodge, Smallboy, explained in an interview the process of a tour activity from the tourists' point of view:

Smallboy: *“Yeah, the people should be in the traditional way and waiting for the tourists if I'm taking the people to those specific villages and when they arrive there, they gonna take photos of the huts where they stay and how do I prepare food to eat and how do I sleep and you also explain them about the San people. They normally move from place to place, they settle at one place and then the bushmen people take the tourists for a walk and then the bushmen people are going to explain them the trees they use for food, the trees they use for medicine, the roots that they are digging out from the ground, which is also food they are eating. And the big root that is called water root. In dry seasons when they go for hunting, they will never find water wholes, they dig it out from the ground and then they get water out from it and the same root is also food and how they make fire with the fire sticks and the more experience they have in the bush, they explain it. And after you guys are done with the bush, you still come back at the village and then they have to perform the activities, singing and dancing, about the Healing Dance and also the other activities. The women are actually dancing those dancing activities. They have to perform for the tourists to see their culture. And then we take them back to the lodge.*”

Salomé: *“But do they know that they have another village, where they stay during the day, have western dresses, do you explain this?”*

Smallboy: *“Yeah, that's important you have to explain the people. Because they have to know the life of the San people, the life of previous times and nowadays. They have to know about that. For instance, if you don't explain to them and you are only going to the bush and maybe they have seen the cultures that the people have now. And now they start wondering, you have to ask the people, they are still in their previous life. As you know the bushmen people they don't farm with the cattle, where is this cattle coming from? And the important thing is, if you are lying to the people, then you are not a good guide. They will write a report out of you, so you must be honest with the people. The way the people are living is the why you explain to the costumers.*”

Salome: *“And are there also tours to the 'modern village'?”*

Smallboy: *“Ah, we don’t do tours to the ‘modern village’, at least that you explain to them and they are interested to see the ‘modern villag’e. Is when you can take them to the modern village. But if they are not interested to go there, then you take them back to the lodge (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Tsumkwe).”*

Tourists mostly desire ‘authentic’ and intimate experiences. This can mean that they want to see back stage, to experience the ‘real thing’. Since the cultural managers, meaning the ethnic populations performing, know about the tourists’ wishes they sometimes produce an artificial ‘behind the scenes’, which MacCannell (1973: 589-597) calls ‘staged authenticity’. In the Cultural Village of Doupos the back stage, meaning the ‘modern village’ and ‘modern’ clothes, were not explicitly hidden from the tourists; the untold unwillingness to show the village where people lived, rather grew out of the fact that people wanted to protect their private sphere.

Both concepts of touristic villages with its physically separated spaces of performance were constructed to protect the Ju/’hoansi from visitors randomly intruding into their private spheres and to avoid non-regulated exploitation or embarrassment (Sebastian Dürrschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek). According to Wang (1999) and Urry (2002), ‘staged authenticity’ is partly constructed to avoid an intrusive eye and helps to protect the community from being disturbed. While the most spectatorial concepts - very commercialized short cultural acts - may be the least bothersome approach, anthropologists living with the people for a long time and wanting to experience the ‘real’ ‘daily life’ might be the most disturbing (Urry 2002: 151).

Visitors would always be allowed to visit the village in which people actually live, and where they sit around calmly without trying to explain or to hide anything. They can, however, also pay for a guided tour to the ‘modern villages’, offered on the ‘menus’ of the LMs, which are not very detailed or instructive. Werner Pfeifer explained that the people in the Living Museums are not enthusiastic about tourists walking into their back stage or private sphere, but thinking of the economic benefit, they have allowed to add this tour to the programme (Werner Pfeifer, interview on 22.01.2014, Windhoek). In my opinion this activity is not staged or performed - it rather shows, that the Ju/’hoansi do not hide how they live today. They try instead keep the ‘traditional’ activities in the ‘traditional village’ ‘authentic’ in their definition.

According to Werner Pfeifer the ‘culture’ of the San is not lived anymore, although the knowledge is still very present, but only used in the museum context. Because of serious poverty problems, to make recourse to traditional food-gathering techniques might be a necessity, but for the rest, the San want to live ‘modern lives’ and possess ‘modern’ objects (Werner Pfeifer, interview on 22.01.2014, Windhoek). This is contradicted by the words of the San, claiming that they still perform ‘traditional’ activities on a regular basis. Probably most of the interviewed actors wanted to demonstrate the ‘authenticity’ of their activities, claiming that there was no difference if performed with or without visitors.

A majority of San - especially in the Cultural Village Doupos - described in interviews, that there was no difference between certain activities with or without the presence of visitors, although the attendance of people from a different background automatically brings changes. When tourists come they can ‘order’ a dance and the performers do not choose the moment to do it, while I suppose that a ‘real’ Healing Dance is done when required or decided from within. In informal talks we were told that a Healing Dance for them could last for the whole night, whereas for us, the visitors, it was always much shorter. Moreover, in the Living Museums they were interrupting the dance with short explanations, which clearly shows, that they adapted the activity to the audience. Several interview partners in Doupos, Grashoek and the Little Hunter’s Museum further told us, that it does not make a difference for the Healing Dances, if visitors watch or if they do not (Komtsa Daqm, Perpetwa Hausiku, !amace N!aici, interviews on 16.01.2014, Grashoek and //Xa/oba). Even !Kunta Boo, the traditional healer of Doupos does not see a difference:

“It is the same, whether you perform for a tourist or you heal. It is the same, because people are still singing and you are still dancing. (...) My experience is that it is still the same. The performance of the tourist or to heal people is the same (interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos).”

From the point of view of his nephew Dabe //ao, the performance of his grandfather remains the same eventhough tourists are watching:

“It seems to me like when my grandfather performs in front of the tourists. It is the same when he heals. Even though when he performs in front of the tourists the healer gets also serious and he does the same as when he is healing. So for me there is no difference, even though he

performs he heals. It's like he performs, but he is healing (interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos).”

The dichotomy between cultural performances and everyday life, is constantly challenged by the presence of the children. They spent most part of the day playing in the village and the nearby bush, no one actively looking for them or asking where they were. From their own initiative, they decided what to do next or if to make us a visit. With us, the children spontaneously and regularly decided to stage specific ‘special events’ (Lewis 2013) and performances, practicing the staged acts they regularly observed and attended with their parents. During the three weeks Josef Wukovits and I spent in Doupos, the children never went to the ‘traditional’ performance area with the adults, apparently preferring to spend their time with us in the backstage and staging ‘as if’ (Schechner 2013) performances. Since we were not allowed to go the ‘traditional village’ with the parents, which confirmed that the two places were literally separated, the children regularly accompanied us there, as the adequate staging for their imitation of the tourism performances.

An interesting event which took place without the tourists’ presence, was the Christmas celebration in Doupos that shows a symbolic connection between the front and the back stage. The villagers told us that they had put on the traditional clothes and went to live in the ‘traditional village’ for three days, where it was calmer, they entertained themselves with ‘traditional’ dances and games and the pastor came to visit them from Tsumkwe (Xoan//a !Kunta, interview on 14.01.2013, Doupos):

“We chose this cultural village to come together, to feast Christmas, because we think that the cultural village, it is ours and we must gather together there and play and sing. Because if we are in the village itself there we can hear noises of the chicken crowing, there is always a noise of cows, donkeys they eat, they step maybe there. And also this music, kids are playing music and so on. That is what we did not want. We want to feast Christmas our way and think about our lifes. So that is why we gathered here and feast our Christmas here. I think this is, this last Christmas is the third Christmas we celebrated here in the Cultural Village.”

The concept of a separation between a ‘real’ back stage and a performed front stage is much more complex and multifaceted as seen by Goffman and MacCannell. The back stage is where the ‘modern’ life takes place and is not necessarily hidden by the villagers but also not

explicitly shown. In the front stage, a 'traditional' stage is performed, which, according to Werner Pfeifer, does not exist like that anymore, but is still claimed to be part of their everyday life by the interviewed people of Doupos.

In my opinion, the Ju/'hoansi's wish to hide 'modern' elements or the 'modern village' does not specifically derive from the effort to create exact 'authenticity', but rather from the need to keep separate the two areas of their lives for their own protection and understanding. The performances, as much as the San enjoy doing 'traditional' activities and independently if they also do them in their daily lives, consider them as a job and work, and the Living Museum as an enterprise, as a strategy for making money and a plausible alternative for young people to the work in the cities (Werner Pfeifer, interview on 22.01.2014, Windhoek).

6.1.3. Rehearsal, Knowledge and Choreography

Analysing a performance does not start with the staging in front of an audience, but as I have demonstrated, with the preparations before. Schechner insists on the inclusion of specific stages that precede the 'is' or 'as' performance - namely proto-performance, training, workshops and warming-up.

The proto-performance of cultural performances in Living Museums and Cultural Villages includes a complex of broad ideas and historical developments and constellations, which I have discussed throughout the paper. The intangible cultural heritage and the ongoing traditions of the Ju/'hoansi, together with sustainable development programmes such as the conservancy and the Living Museums have led to their formation. It grows on a historical perspective of marginalized indigenous people, who together decided to take the commodification of culture inside a tourism context, as a starting point for the creation of specific activities that can be packaged and sold to visitors.

In the case of Grashoek everything started with Werner Pfeifer's idea of building a Living Museum, which at the same time derives from the inspiration of his own performance as a stone-age man in Northern Germany. His experience of showing a preserved or in this case rather historically re-constructed heritage to an audience led to the creation of specific acts by the Ju/'hoansi, based on traditional knowledge. The acts of the Cultural Villages, which are quite similar to the former, rather grew out of the common knowledge about intangible heritage which wants to be presented for economic purpose.

The training phase includes the learning of specific technical, symbolical and practical skills needed for the performance (Schechner 2013). In ordinary life performances as well as in the indigenous context, it includes the transmission and constant learning of unconsciously embodied knowledge (ibid). In the case of the Ju/'hoansi the training includes life-long learning to obtain knowledge about plants, roots and hunting techniques as well as the embodiment of songs and dances.

I have already claimed before, that a very important motivation and positive aspect of the Living Museums and Cultural Villages from the perspective of the Ju/'hoansi is the transmission of knowledge to a younger generation. The children observe and participate in the touristic activities and so automatically learn the songs, listen to explanations and embody the 'traditional' dances. Movements, gestures and behaviours are incorporated through observation and repetition (Bourdieu 1982).

“Yes, when she is dancing with the men, she used to always tell the kids 'you see, you must always go with the men if they are singing and dancing. You also have to dance. Don't just sing.’” explains N!ae Komtsa from the Little Hunter's Museum (interview on 17.01.2014). During the official activities the youngest often build their own dance circle next to the adults Healing Dance or follow their parents some meters apart during the Bushwalks. The learning of the dances and songs needed for the show happens mostly in an experiential way, following the experienced adults in their dancing and not explicitly practicing specific postures and movements (Katz 1982: 118). Dances are part of the everyday-life and constantly experienced, children participate and imitate them, even simulating the falling in trance of Healing Dances (ibid: 118).

When we stayed at the 'modern village' of Doupos, the children used us to actively exercise the things learned at the performances, being themselves the driving force of Bushwalks, Hunting Trips and singing evenings they organized for us. Playing in the village or using Josef and me as 'tourists-for-practice', they imitated the activities laughing, experimenting but at the same time with a professional attitude. This shows the learning and re-interpretation of 'traditional' activities by the younger generation, having embodied some acts and continuing to develop the performance of preserved and at the same time transformed 'culture'.

In the course of an interview we asked Tsemkgao Daqm about the participation and learning during a performance and he explains that not only children have to learn, but rather all adults equally. Indeed during the dancing activities for tourists, I could recognize that the quality of the movements differed considerably between the dancers. Everyone participated joyfully, but some actors were observably more professional.

“Me I am not a dancer...[laughs]...and also the other ones they are just learning...that is why they dancing. [...] Yea just learn from the other one and that one who are dancing the elephant dance don't know how to dance the giraffe dance that is why you see only the young boys, young men they are the ones who are dancing the giraffe and as they are singing the elephant song the head man he comes to dance because he knows that the other ones that the young men they don't know very well how to dance the elephant dance (Tsemkgao Daqm, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba).”

The same could be observed in the ‘traditional’ activities such as Bushwalks and Hunting Trips:

“It's good to go hunt and to learn. Because when they are just living in the village they will never learn that. So we want to teach them. When the other men, who are hunting very well, we choose this one will go with this one and teach him. And like, when we will see who knows the places when he is going, he will come back home, because in the bush sometimes you go and you don't know. You go and you change the directions when you're in the bush and you don't know where to go. So we choose people, who know the places and then the others will learn, who started very new to hunting, so for example the young boys who don't know. (Daqm Boo, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba).”

The cultural knowledge is the result of a lifelong learning and is embodied by the experienced elders. Even though ‘traditional’ activities are not anymore practised for survival and on a daily basis, they persist in ordinary life and are regularly re-practised for touristic purpose. They have been learned by their parents and grandparents and were incorporated. The body serves according to Diane Taylor (2003) as storage of memory and history, from which it can easily be transmitted to other bodies in forms of performance – as passing on of intangible cultural heritage.

A binary process took and still takes place in Cultural Villages and Living Museums – traditional knowledge was and is unconsciously incorporated during each (touristic) performance- and is combined with active research among the elders, who verbally transmit information about their heritage. Since the old generation is slowly passing away, the actual generation is keen to practice the ‘traditional’ dances and songs. Some physical performances were only passed on verbally and not physically, which is a clear loss for the actors of today, as Tsemkgao Daqm explained to us (interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba):

“I think there are a lot of things missing. Some older people know everything well and they passed away. So, there are a couple of things missing now. [...] There were some older people who could tell the things in stories but they could not show or dramatize it. That is why we really don't know. We know by their stories that in the past things like this, like this and this. But, we did not see how they were doing it.”

Knowledge about one’s own traditions is a condition for working as a performer in tourism activities. To become an actor in cultural performances, the people performing have to know their cultural heritage: *“The person himself, he decide to say that ‘I will be the actor because I know about my culture and I know what to do and I’m the actor’ (Komtsa Daqm, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba).“*

Apart from the explicit practising of the children, I could not recognize specific rehearsals of the adults. The songs have specific titles but no fixed texts and are learned in the course of childhood and adolescence. They are created spontaneously and in the moment, the mainly vocal sounds and rhythmic clapping grow and emphasize according to the singer’s mood and motivation; therefore the songs are constantly re-invented (Katz 1982: 125f.). The dances are similarly not choreographed, but rather adapted in the moment - they are created as a result of the combination between the context, the rhythm and the situation.

The embodied cultural knowledge is in a further step packaged and put in an always reproducible form for paying visitors. For this process I borrow Schechner’s definition of ‘workshop’ that defines an active de- and re-construction of skills based on historical sources but experimenting with new knowledge and techniques (2013: 103). The LCFN offered the Ju’hoansi training specifically about dealing with tourists:

“I haven’t had an idea in former times of the museum here. And I also did not know the tourists - we just saw the tourists passing by and taking pictures. We told them not to take any pictures, because we were scared of them. We were afraid that they take pictures and write bad things about us. Later on, when Werner came he gave us guidance how the tourists are and how we should perform for the tourists. Now we know that the tourists are good people, they learn from us and we can also learn from them (Tsemkgao Daqm, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba).”

Together with Sebastian Dürschmidt and Werner Pfeifer from the LCFN, the San developed specific programme points to put on the ‘menus’ from which tourist can choose their activities. Sebastian Dürschmidt explains that they offered some training to adapt certain ‘traditional’ ceremonies to the taste of Western tourists with limited time at their disposal (interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek). We experienced that the healing ceremony was shortened to a ‘bearable’ duration for tourists, who would possibly be bored during a longer performance. So the performance of the ‘traditional’ is again adapted to the taste of the visitors, to make it more entertaining and easier to understand. The trainers of the LCFN followed the San on their gathering activities, giving them hints about what would be interesting to tell and proposing some exciting bits like showing how to build a trap. A tour should not only be informative for the spectators, but also entertaining and exciting (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek). Hunting Trips have for example been adapted and simplified for a better understanding:

“Today it was just to show you guys how to hunt. But in our time, our own time, when we hunt outside of here, of our village, we go far. [...] It makes me happy if I'm wearing my things and going to the bush and with you people and go. Then I'll be very happy. We do this to show you our tradition. For you to understand (Dabe //ao, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos).“

Sebastian Dürschmidt Co-Founder of the LCFN will explain in his words, how he develops the programmes showed in the Living Museums. He does it in cooperation with the actors, asking them what in their opinion is interesting to show and combines it with the LCFN’s experience about what tourists like to see (interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek):

„Yes, well, we develop it, of course we don’t say you do it like this and that, but we develop it somehow together, because normally, a project starts when someone is interested in his own,

*'traditional' culture. [...] And then we say, ok, you have to start gathering together and do some research on your own: what is your traditional culture about? What kind of activities are there and what, well how can you present it in a museum? Namely not with drawer in which you put artefacts, but as activities. Well and then you have, practically you go through the whole daily routine. And then you do it. The programmes are practically developed with the people. And we say you could do this and that. [...] And so different activities from the tradition are presented to us and then we say: 'Ok, this could be interesting for the visitors.' We actually want an all-round and complete programme.'*²⁶

When a Living Museum is ready and the programme with the core activities is decided, a rehearsal with the first few visitors is done. After that, the marketing starts with the pictures taken from this first presentation (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek).

The future tour guides get specific trainings, to help them choosing the right words for explaining the activities (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek). Photography training explicitly held by Werner Pfeifer and his team, is further part of the workshops the Ju/'hoansi go through in their preparation phase, in order to become professional actors in the Living Museums:

"We gave them photography classes for example, simply to know about how to sit to get a good picture, because they are not aware, that good pictures are good marketing and this brings more guests and so on. And that's the point where we help a bit. They learned that people like to take incredibly many pictures, but I have observed they often pose in a way that

²⁶ Original quotation: „Ja, das ehm entwickeln wir, wir sagen natürlich nicht ihr macht jetzt das und das, sondern das wird irgendwie zusammen entwickelt, normalerweise ist das so, dass ehm, na ja so ein Projekt, entsteht ja erstmal, wenn jemand Interesse an der eigenen, traditionellen Kultur hat. [...] Und dann sagen wir ok ihr braucht euch erstmal zusammenfinden und ihr müsst jetzt erstmal selber bissl forschen: was ist denn eure traditionelle Kultur überhaupt? Was sind da für Aktivitäten und was, ist es ehm , ja und wie kann man, macht euch einfach ein Bild, wie kann man sowas in nem Museum darstellen? Und zwar nicht mit Schubladen, wo man Artefakte hinsetzt, sondern als Aktivität. Na ja und ehm, dann hat man halt, da gehst du im Grunde durch diesen ganzen Tagesablauf. Und dann wird das gemacht. Und es werden die Programmeme sozusagen zusammen mit den Leuten entwickelt. Und wir, die sagen macht mal das und das. [...] Und so sind verschiedene Aktivitäten, aus der Tradition, die uns vorgestellt werden, und wir sagen dann: ‚Ok, das ist für Besucher unter Anderem interessant‘. Es ist aber halt eigentlich so, dass wir schon wollen, dass da so ein ziemlich allumfassendes Programm ist.“

*pictures get bad. So I showed them, we made a short class about how photography works and so on (Werner, Pfeifer, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek)."*²⁷

The people from Doupos have not obtained professional training from the LCFN, but the experienced tour guides employed by the Tsumkwe Country Lodge, gave the performers similar advices:

"Like us, if we are performing – most of you guys, you use cameras, to capture pictures. So, they don't want to see which particular person is taking pictures. And most of the tour guides, they used to tell us, that to take picture it's better not to look into the camera (Xoan//a and !uu Cgaesje, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos)."

As in theatre, the Ju/'hoansi prepare and warm up to perform for arriving visitors. This happens firstly through the adaptation of the visual appearance, putting on what is defined by the San themselves as 'traditional' clothing and secondly through the physical preparation of the stage. The actors start their warming up with clapping, singing and stamping; last accessories are adjusted on the people's body. The sandy ground of the performing area - reserved for dancing and singing - is stamped and fireplaces are installed - making use of 'modern' accessories stored in the straw huts if necessary -. The fire places are lightened and the healer and his wife sometimes use to smoke a pipe before starting the dance.

Through the constant reproduction of 'traditional' activities for tourists and as I claim, through the regular giving interviews to interested tourists, journalists and anthropologists – the latter being regular visitors since the 1960's - the San have constructed and incorporated a specific persona of themselves, which professionally informs about their life. Schechner (2013) claims that a good performance is only possible, when a role has become completely incorporated and 'natural' and Goffman claims that the aim of a good performance is a good representation of oneself. In tourism putting oneself in a 'good light' is a necessary marketing strategy and so tourism workers construct their own commodified persona consisting of vari-

²⁷ Original quotation: „Wir haben denen Fotografietermine gegeben zum Beispiel, einfach zu wissen wie sitzt man damit ein gutes Bild kommt, denn ihnen ist bewusst, dass gute Bilder gutes Marketing ist, also bringt dann mehr Gäste wieder und so weiter. Und das ist da wo wir dann ein bisschen mithelfen. Und sie haben halt gelernt, dass mit Bildern, dass die Leute unglaublich viele gerne Bilder machen und ich hab aber oft gesehen, dass sie sich so setzen, dass Bilder schlecht werden. Und dann hab ich ihnen mal gezeigt, wir haben einen kleinen Kurs gemacht: wie funktioniert Fotografie und so.“

ous roles, which are used according to the situation and constructed on the basis of experiences made with tourists (Bunten 2008).

I remained especially impressed in the Grashoek Living Museum – the most professionalized of all – when the English speaking guide Henry picked us up on the campsite, with a very polite smile and very hospitable manners, inviting us to follow him to the ‘cultural adventure’. Bunten (2008) adequately describes this situation of guides in tourism performances as ‘Hospitality Inc’.

An interesting outcome comparing oral statements from the Interviews with the Ju/’hoansi, and observations I made especially during my second stay, was a contradiction between the way the San represented themselves to us in the context of identification with their heritage in front of a recorder or camera and the way I saw them during a longer stay without explicit touristic cultural performances. While explanations given during interviews, show a strong identification with the ‘traditions’ performed, during daily life people rarely went into the bush for gathering, hunting or for medicinal plants (Field notes, August 2014). I will connect this point to Bunten’s (2008) concept of the commodified persona in tourism, whereas a person involved in the presentation of its culture constructs his own functioning ‘ethnic’ appearance of himself, although in this case, the anthropologists form an own particular audience for the narrative performances of the San.

Xoan//a !Kunta, an important female figure in Doupos showed herself in different spheres and made it visible through her visual appearance. She wore traditional costumes for cultural performances in front of tourists, traditional jewellery and accessories for cultural activities in a more intimate sphere, t-shirt and skirt for everyday work and black suit and a wig with artificial hair for an official meeting on the institutional scale of the NNC. These differing appearances, constructed by the individuals for different situations, show the multiple roles that can be part of one’s personality.

The description of a performance of a Healing Dance at the ‘traditional village’ of Doupos made further clear, how professionally the Ju/’hoansi were able to jump between the incorporated roles:

“We arrived at the ‘traditional village’ of Doupos, after having crossed several water puddles, rocks and spiny bushes. About 200 metres and one lake separated the ‘modern’ from the ‘traditional’ village, where the cultural performances take place. The Ju/’hoansi, were waiting in everyday clothes between the nine ‘traditional’ straw huts on a sandy place in the middle of a very wide green bush and welcomed us very warmly, almost exuberantly with big smiles. The first staging was performed by us, a group of seven novice and two experienced anthropologists. One tent, two tables, several chairs, backpacks, luggage and much more, came out of our two adventure-cars with roof tents. We installed ourselves, built up our sleeping places, the dining table, sprayed each other with mosquito-protection, applied sun screen against the intense ultraviolet rays, put on heavy shoes, big hats, took our bags, our water bottles and, of course, our cameras. The villagers of Doupos were standing and sitting on their stage, some meters apart from the camping site, observing and commenting our actions. When we were ready, we joined them and negotiated the price and the time for a traditional Healing Dance. They went to the ‘modern village’, where they actually lived, and after 45 minutes they came back in traditional attire, wearing animal skins and jewellery, walking barefoot through the bush. Suddenly they ignored us completely, we stood around observing them, filming, taking pictures, commenting as they installed their stage making fire, positioning themselves in a circle, putting on foot rattles and warmed up their voices and rehearsed their clapping. Slowly, the performance of the Ju/’hoansi began.”

6.1.4. Managing the Stage – Authenticity Rules and Quality Control

The San of Northern Namibia involved in tourism, developed specific strategies to construct their performances and further, the images they want to transport. Every performance has to follow specific rules and standards that control its creation and outcome.

It is striking to see from my empirical data, how the San deal with matters of ‘authenticity’ without explicitly naming it as such, and being partly or strongly influenced by outside implications and demands. At the Living Museums of the Ju/’hoansi – not to forget that they were constructed by a white German Namibian – a series of strict rules guarantee the use and performance of ‘pre-colonial’ elements, forbidding ‘modern’ tools. This also inspired the main guide of the tourism Lodge in Tsumkwe leading to the Cultural Villages of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, to introduce more historically correct elements and stricter rules too (Smallboy, interview on 09.01.2014, Tsumkwe).

As I have made clear in previous chapters, for the LCFN ‘authenticity’ and the presentation of ‘historically correct’ props and activities are a premise. For Sebastian Dürschmidt and Werner Pfeifer – coordinators of the Foundation - the performances and objects used, have to correspond to the time before colonization. It is important for them that everything used has to be built by themselves and only out of natural resources, relying on traditional techniques and without including western influences (Werner Pfeifer, interview on 22.01.2014 and Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 06.01.2014, Windhoek).

According to them, the ‘traditional’ culture of the San, does not exist anymore, although the elder people especially, still possess an impressive knowledge. In contrast to the Living Museum of the Damara and the Kavango, the San did not have to rely on books and old biased photographs from western travellers, but could reconstruct and re-learn traditions with the aid of their elders. Sebastian Dürschmidt and Werner Pfeifer believe that to rely on the knowledge of the 70 to 80 years old, was confirmation enough for the ‘authenticity’ of the traditions, although it is of course not the same culture as in times before colonialism (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 06.01.2014, Windhoek).

Tools, costumes and hunting equipment were reconstructed following the memory of elders, although especially in poor rural communities, a lot of traditional hunting and gathering knowledge is still present. Interestingly, the Damara Living Museum consulted the knowledge of the Ju/’hoansi Living Museums in course of a workshop, for reconstructing their own tools and traditions, which were almost lost because of historical developments (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek).

To guarantee ‘authenticity’ a ‘control group’ with managers for each group of actors, control that no ‘modern’ elements are taken into the museum area by the Ju/’hoansi. Each performing group of the museum has a group leader, who is responsible for quality control. They have wide knowledge about traditional objects and behavioral patterns and apart from avoiding fights and rudeness in the group, the abuse of alcohol or begging among the visitors, they also control the ‘authenticity’ of the costumes and props, so that every performer carries with him the required traditional tools and does not bring any unfitting, ‘modern’ accessories into the museum area (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek; Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek).

The performers have to change before going to the ‘traditional village’: *“You can see us with this clothes, but at the museum you have to dress traditional (Tsemkgao Daqm, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba).”* There is further the prohibition of using plastic bags and radios, and further food and water cannot be taken to ‘traditional’ activities, as Tsemkgao Daqm explained to us:

“No drinking at the museum area, also no water. When the tourists come and even go out for hunting, you don’t have to carry any food, only the tourists have to carry food. You can show the tourists only bush food, how you did it in the past (Tsemkgao Daqm, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba).”

In the less institutionally organized Cultural Villages, the rules are less strict and the perception of ‘traditional’ more loose. During the activities ‘modern’ props could be seen under and on traditional costumes, for example a neon green string thong under a worn animal skin skirt and a plastic bottle carried inside the traditional gatherer leather bag. But Smallboy, guide of the Tsumkwe Country Lodge to Cultural Villages wants to introduce stricter rules too:

“So you have to stay with what you were born with, what you grew up with, that is what you have to survive with. So I think that is what the living museum people they still want to be in the life of in the past. They don’t want the tourists to see that they are in modern life. That’s why you don’t see that they have the beads. They can have it at the modern village, but when they are at the hunter’s museum, they never want to have it. That’s the same thing I also start encouraging the Doupos people and Mountain Pos. You can have what is modern, you can have it at the modern village. But when you go to the traditional village, I think you should have what you was born with, like ostrich eggshells. I want that. Yeah. Because we are not like we are cheating the tourists. You guys are doing really culture of yours. You are still in it. Because most of the people they start complaining they have lost their culture, experience and so on. (...) So that is I want us to stull keeping up our culture (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Windhoek).”

The Living Museums show the culture of the Ju/’hoansi at the time before colonization, as the founder Werner Pfeiffer explains (interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek), whereas the Cultural Villages chose a more variable approach as I could observe with the jewellery worn locally, using coloured glass and plastic beads. I could observe that only the people in the Cultural

Village Doupos used colourful bead decoration, whereas the actors in the Living Museums only used jewellery made of products from the bush, as ostrich eggshells and seeds. Tsemkgao Daqm from the Little Hunter's Museum as well as Tsemkgao !L/ae or Smallboy, touristic guide for Doupos criticize that the colourful beads of Doupos are not part of the traditional body adornment of the Ju/'hoansi and should not be allowed in the 'traditional village' (Interviews on 16.01.2014 and 01.09.2014).

In Grashoek, a Living Museum - where hunting is not allowed anymore - the Living Culture Foundation Namibia provides goatskins for the actors to make their clothes. A guide of the Little Hunter's Museum explained that they get ostrich eggs from the conservancy to produce crafts if they do not find enough eggs themselves (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek). This shows the connection between traditional hunting and gathering and new possibilities of production through (inter-) national networks of tourism.

What is shown here, is a contrasting point of view concerning the perception of what really is 'traditional' relating to historical periods, again differing between the Living Museums and Cultural Villages. 'Authenticity' is much related to the past and ancestral heritage, because of its nostalgic and sentimental connotation (MacCannell 1999: 82). The San themselves have related their 'traditional' culture to activities from the past and this concept is a strong premise of the concept of Living Museums. At the same time the concept of performing one's past implies the activity of 'staging', which contradicts standards of 'authenticity' per se, although restored villages, try to hide their artifice behind the premise of 'tradition'. As I have shown in the theoretical analysis, the cultural performances should however not aim a categorisation of 'authenticity' but rather be an 'edu-taining' experience.

6.2. Creating the Scenography

The survival of some ethnic minority groups depends on the success of the commodification of culture; the image presented has to please the tourists' expectations and often consists of a primitive and 'exotic', homogenised construction (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 26ff.). A performance is constituted, apart from the acting, by the setting and the visual aspect. Both become very relevant in the context of tourism activities and are strongly connected to the perception of 'authenticity' The scenery embraces a larger context in which the tourism performances are embedded, including the specific stage framing the show, as well as specific props, objects and costumes used to support the presented acts.

6.2.1. The Stage and the Environment

According to Goffman (1959) ‘all the world is a stage’²⁸ and a stage is constituted by the performers. Schechner (2013) clearly differentiates aesthetic or ‘staged’ drama from ordinary life, implying that the ‘stage’ as bounded space for specific acts of performance defines ‘is’ performance. MacCannell (1973) uses the term ‘stage’ more than often in his argumentations, implying that ‘stage’ means something artificial, built on purpose – complemented by Urry who claims that tourism per se has a longing for spectacle and especially the romantic gaze wishes a magnificent scenery (2002: 78). The postmodern era is characterized by breaking boundaries and bordered definitions - the ‘stage’ therefore loses its value and importance (Schechner 2013).

The larger context of a performance is endlessly broad and hard to pin down, it may however be essential for the understanding of the performance (Schechner 2013: 244). The physical context of the cultural performances of the San in the Tsumkwe District is decisively the natural environment, characterized by a never-ending ‘bush’ and often a difficult journey of arrival. The closeness of indigenous societies to nature and as ‘eco-angels’ is part of a general touristic imagery and the connected ‘outback adventure’ is often a traveling motivation (Waite 1999: 143).

Reading through my own travelling diaries the environment and the adventurous travelling with a 4x4 car were an essential part of the touristic ‘experience’, which as I have analysed, is a relevant part of cultural tourism. I was fascinated by the dry and endlessly wide semi desert landscape, a red and sandy floor, dark green bushes and an infinite blue sky – I was expecting to see a giraffe, an elephant or at least an ostrich every moment. The wideness gave the impression that one could never orient oneself in such an environment.

Driving through the bush was quite adventurous, the paths were covered with large holes and small rocks, spiny bushes scratched the car windows and regularly the hoops got stuck in the uneven floor. During rainy season, we had to cross large water puddles under the excited screaming of us students. Moving around in the landscape without the car was a multisensorial experience. The hot sun shining down, a gentle wind blowing up sand and dried leaves, an incredible silence and at the same time the noises of frogs, birds, insects. The colours seemed

²⁸ This quotation derives originally from Shakespeare’s play “As You Like It” (URL 12).

so much more intense than 'at home' and the sunset was an incredible event every evening. The nights were characterized by a cool wind, a lot of mosquitos and an impressive and endless starry sky. Wild animals and poisonous snakes that could wait unseen in the darkness finally turned every ordinary activity into an adventure.

The long journeys are part of the performative experience of the tourists, creating a feeling for the remote space of living of the San, which as I have illustrated, underlines the characteristic images of 'hunters and gatherers' societies. Although the remote location of the Ju/'hoansi communities is a possible attraction in the tourism context, the visitors, the performers themselves and the tools and materials, locate the San in a clearly global field.

Sometimes however, it is the San themselves who travel or are transported into faraway places to offer tourists with restricted time the possibility to experience the 'traditional' acts in a space which would remind of the 'natural' environment of the performers. At the N/a'an ku sê Lodge the San offer cultural performances far away from their 'original' habitat. They use the environment to explain in course of Bushwalks how different natural resources are used, although the vegetation is quite different from the one they are normally used to.

In Doupos the area for the Bushwalks - limited to a certain space, near to the camping spot and the 'traditional village' - is prepared, burying bush food in advance to be then systematically found with the tourists. This became clear, when !Kunta Boo, and his daughter Xoan//a !Kunta - the leaders of the cultural performances - spent the whole day looking for water roots in faraway areas to bury them into the new ground, where they usually do not grow (Field notes, August 2014).

The 'traditional village' or internally also called 'lodge for culture' or 'tourist area' (Field diary, August 2014) is in all visited villages located around 300 metres apart from the living area and consists of two cleared sandy areas. One is reserved for camping, with shadow offering large trees and the other is the 'traditional village' for the performances. In the Living Museums this area further contains a 'reception area', a 'souvenir shop' and simple but nicely decorated toilet and shower facilities, without running water or electricity. In Cultural Villages no facilities are available.

The stage for dancing and singing is practically the ‘traditional village’ –straw huts used almost only for touristic purposes stand on a clean area and construct the performance stage near to the camping site. Around five to nine traditionally built huts stand in a half circle on the sand ground and the middle is reserved for a big fire. Around is the green bush – an idyllic scene. In Doupos each hut belongs to one of the most important actors and is used to store various objects inside. When I went there with the children and without the adults’ presence, I sneaked inside and found wool blankets, sugar packages and plastic bottles – all ‘modern’ objects which are not supposed to be seen by the tourists.

The daily life performances happen in the ‘modern villages’, an interesting and enriching mixture of elements from local and global, ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’ elements, with a less strict structure than in the huts area. In Doupos loose fences separate specific areas in which several huts belonging to smaller family groups are placed. The houses are a mixture of traditional straw huts, camping tents which were evidently left behind by tourists, better built brick houses like the one of Pastor Gerrie which also stored a kind of small village shop maintained by the latter, and some houses that were constructed out of mud, wood, straw, corrugated iron, plastic pieces and torn fabric. The soil is sandy, partly covered by leaves, cow dung belonging to the village cows and garbage like old clothing pieces and chips packages (Field diary, August 2014). Next to every hut is a fire place, where daily activities like washing, eating, drinking tea, chatting and making craft happen. Children play, chickens and thin dogs stray around without receiving too much attention from the people and Damara music from old and improvised speakers connected to the one phone that has battery in that moment fills the village. The near bush is the area for garbage and necessities and the rest of it is playground for the children and place for gathering of the adults.

The performances of the Ju/’hoansi are very connected to the stage and the environment and include interaction with nature and the use of props taken from the ‘bush’. Children already grow up in that context and automatically get to know the rules, benefits and dangers of the place. Whereas the ‘traditional village’ is perfectly staged and arranged, the living space reflects the everyday life activities and the multifaceted interests and contexts in which the Ju/’hoansi live.

6.2.2. Costumes for Performance

This visual aspect has a central relevance in the process of cultural commodification, creating the image of an ‘authentic’ performance for the touristic audience. Material culture seems to serve as a ‘proof’ for ‘authenticity’ on heritage sites, probably connected to the still inherent notion of museums as areas for tangible objects (Kidd 2011). It is an almost ‘automatic’ reaction among many of the Ju/’hoansi working in the tourism business, that as soon as tourists arrive, people change into ‘traditional’ attire. The visual appearance appears to be one of the most important markers for touristic performances, but there are examples that show that visual construction is not a condition for doing tourism performances.

Clothes are relevant markers for ethnicity, identity and social participation and are essential for the identification with performed roles in front of tourists. The analysis and observation of body decoration is therefore relevant for the study of cultural and social connections in societies, as they influence individual and collective identities and embodied behaviours. Among the Ju/’hoansi, body adornment is interconnected with the production processes, hunting and gathering activities and gender relations.

I will shortly describe the ‘traditional’ body adornment of the Ju/’hoansi. The clothes of the people visited are mostly made of treated animal skins. The men traditionally wear a very short and wrapped pant, with the shape of a ‘string thong’. It covers only the genital part and a thin string of leather goes up the bottom with two bigger pieces hanging from it, pulled apart to sit on them on the sandy ground when necessary. The women do not cover their upper body and their leather pieces are larger, hanging down to the knees like skirts but moving around when walking or dancing. The children wear either nothing or a very short leather apron out of leather.

The pants of the men are called ‘*tjona*’ and are made out of springbok skin; women use the same skin for the back part of their skirts, duiker for the side parts and steenbok for the front; for covering the whole body or to wrap around for sleeping, the San use blankets made of the leather of larger animals like kudu or red hartebeests (Cwi Quinten Gerrie, interview on 13.01.2014; Tilxo Dabe, interview on 14.01.2014, Doupos). The treated leather pieces seem crumbly and are softened and dyed red with a special liquid from a tree (Dabe //ao; Cwi //ao, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos). They also wear leather bags to carry collected plants or fire sticks.

All visited Ju/'hoansi have remarkable jewellery – necklaces and headbands. For the cultural performances in the Living Museums they are made in a traditional way out of ostrich-eggshells in different shapes and colours, seeds or carved wood, whereas in the Cultural Villages the performers wear a mixture of traditional and colourful glass beaded pieces. In the daily life all Ju/'hoansi wear self-made glass beaded jewellery according to the individual's taste and creativity. In some of the villages, the traditional leather pieces are further decorated with eggshells or coloured beads in the shapes of small geometrical figures.

The traditional beads are made of ostrich eggshells which are broken into small pieces, then cut into a small and almost round shape with the aid of a nail clipper and then a hole is drilled into the piece with a specific tool. These not yet round beads are threaded on a string which is traditionally made of plied Aloe Vera fibres or today of rice bag strings and is then sharpened on a stone, to obtain a regular and round shape. The beads can be burnt into three colour tones by roasting them on a fire with some oil. Small wood pieces are carved into the shape of long and thin beads and are decorated through burning with a thin metal tool that helps to make specific designs inside. Together with small seeds from nature, all materials can be combined and worked into beautiful pieces of jewellery.

The production of body adornment is useful for the analysis of the organization and allocation of tasks in gender and age relations. The production and creative process of producing jewellery is a constant aspect of daily routine and also serves as recreation after working tasks such as cooking and washing. The making of craft is a frequent activity among the women of all ages, who often sit together on blankets around a fire and produce jewellery, chatting together, occasionally interrupted by smaller children who need care. The men are busy with the production of carved and wooden objects and souvenirs and support the women with the creation of wooden beads. The making of craft and jewellery is of essential economic necessity, and moreover, the women always wear a lot of jewellery themselves.

The traditional clothing of the Ju/'hoansi has a strong connection to the natural environment and habitat; it is adapted to the requirements of the bush and the materials are traditionally directly provided from nature. Originally the craft making activity was connected to gathering, since the materials derived only from the bush. The original possession of traditional clothes further depended to a great extent from the activity of hunting. Until today, the young hunters of Doupos accentuate the importance of being hunters and the importance of hunting

to provide traditional clothing (Tsemkgao Daqm, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba; Cwi Quinten Gerrie, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos):

“In our traditional clothes – when you are not hunting, you will not have the skins to make your traditional clothes and most of all – to have traditional clothes you have to hunt. If you are not hunting, maybe – even if you are big - you will just stay like a small kid and don’t make anything (Dabe //ao; Cwi //ao, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos).”

They have to hunt the animals themselves, otherwise they will not possess the same value (Dabe //ao, Cwi //ao, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos). Even Cwi Quinten Gerrie who grew up in Tsumkwe and does not possess traditional attire says: *“If I want it, I can buy it. But I want to make it myself (Quinten Gerrie, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos).”* Being a hunter was in the past further a better guarantee to find a woman (Dabe //ao, Cwi //ao; Kagece N!ani, interviews on 13.01.2014, Doupos) and if a person was not a hunter himself or married to a hunter, he or she had to hope for the help of the family. Today, as hunting is either not allowed or not as easy as it was before, many people told us that their clothes were inherited from their grandparents (Kxore Erna /ui, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek; !amace N!aici; Tsemkgao Daqm, interviews on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba). Further they get goat skins from the LCFN (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek).

The production process is connected to gender relations. Men are responsible for hunting and for the removal of the hair, the softening and dying of the skin and so it is up to them whether their wives get a new piece of clothing. The women’s role is *“making it very nice (Xoan//a !Kunta, interview on 14.01.2014, Doupos)”*, decorating the skin with eggshell-decorations and beadwork or sewing together small bags (ibid).

Clothing shapes, functions and materials influence the bodily behaviour and accomplish specific tasks connected to the activities of the Ju/’hoansi. The clothes possess special meaning for hunting and gathering; on the one hand the colour helps the hunters to merge with nature, so that the wearer remains undiscovered by animals (Tilxo Dabe, interview on 14.01.2014, Doupos) and on the other hand they *“prefer the traditional clothes, because it is very light and makes no noise (!amace N!aici, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba)”* and their lightness facilitates running faster (Kxore Erna /ui, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek). The clothes of the Ju/’hoansi are adjusted, for example when sitting on the sand by pulling aside the pieces

of the back. The quotation below shows the close connection between the wearer and his clothes - !Kunta ≠oma treats his animal skin until it feels like his own skin.

“Yeah, to make it like this. Like you watch it. Not softi, just salt. We use it to wash it, like wash it and after then put it so that it must become straight. Any side. No, some side to become hard. Ah ah, any side must become straight. Yeah. And then from there I feel it and touch it and it must become like a skin also. I must feel it like it’s my skin. Then I know that it’s finish. And when I don’t feel it like my skin – ah ah, it’s not finish (!Kunta ≠oma, interview on 04.09.2014, Doupos).“

Clothing becomes part of the person or its extension and can even change the shape and mobility of the people (Keali’Inohomoku 1979: 80). Dance costumes influence the dancing movements but are at the same time regulated by the movements the performers do (ibid: 78). The dance floor and the footwear are especially important, as specific rhythms may be given by the percussive effect of the shoes or leg decorations (ibid: 79). For dancing the Ju’hoansi put on foot rattles made out of seeds and filled with ostrich eggshell pieces to regulate the rhythm of their movements and the melodies.

The leather clothing of the San, as I have showed, has an important meaning for several cultural tasks and social relations and is especially relevant for ‘traditional’ activities such as hunting, gathering and dancing. It reinforces specific roles and gives the wearer a certain attitude, the reason why it is a relevant tool in the course of cultural performances.

6.2.3. Changing for Touristic Performances

Costumes are used to transform the actor into the role he is playing; changing costumes here serves to put on a temporary identity, to create an adequate mood for the audience (Eicher/Roach-Higgins 1979: 9, 11). The Ju’hoansi change into ‘traditional’ attire for the touristic audience, to construct an ‘authentic’ and ‘traditional’ setting for the visitors’ experience. Not only do tourists as a consequence of their gaze, expect specific costumes as claimers for ‘authenticity’, the state of Namibia itself uses clothing as a basis for determining a ‘real’ San as ‘hunter and gatherer’:

“Some people in Namibia define hunter-gatherers on the basis of the kind of technology that is used. If people employ bows and arrows, digging sticks and carrying bags made of skins,

they are considered to be hunter-gatherers. Ministry of Environment and Tourism officials told Hitchcock that they use the criterion of whether or not individuals wear leather clothing (especially breech-cloths, in the case of adult males) as the basis for determining if a person is a 'traditional hunter-gatherer'. A person wearing modern clothing who was seen hunting outside Nyae nyae area would likely be stopped by a game scout, questioned, and, in all likelihood, arrested for contravening wildlife laws (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 47)."

Conklin, who analysed the connection of 'traditional' attire, political assertiveness and ethnicity among native Amazonians, traced the trend of the latter, dressing again in 'traditional attire' to position themselves politically (Conklin 1997: 711). Western visual codes and notions of 'authenticity' concerning the 'exotic' body have influenced the natives own notion about 'authentic' attire (ibid: 711). In the last ten years a new trend came up, using 'traditional' clothes as a method for the interaction with outsiders, using stereotyped symbols to gain rights and claims through strategic exoticism (ibid: 716ff.). The native Brazilians similar as the Ju/'hoansi, use the essentialist stereotypes constructed through the Western world, to position and upgrade themselves politically and economically: *"The irony of this pro-Indian politics is that, by insisting that native Amazonian activists must embody 'authenticity', it may force them to act 'inauthentically' (ibid: 729)."*

The people of the villages feel obliged to wear 'traditional' clothes in the 'traditional' village; the wearing of 'traditional' clothes is in the eyes of the Ju/'hoansi essential for the tourists expectations. This is explained by the simple fact, that traditional dress is always used when a tourist group officially books a 'traditional' activity, regulated by strict rules as I have described already. The wearing of traditional clothes is a crucial element for the 'traditional appearance' used in the front stage and complements the constructed images for tourists:

"It is very important for them to wear the traditional clothes, because the tourists would really like to see it, so tourists don't want to see the clothes they are making, because the clothes are coming from them. So, they want to see something different and also want to see the San Ju/'hoan people wearing their own clothes. That is why it is important for them to wear it in front of the tourists (Tilxo Dabe, interview on 14.01.2013, Doupos)."

The Ju/'hoansi described their behaviour waiting for tourists, who could arrive anytime and the actors who have to get ready very quickly to welcome them: *"When the tourists come, we*

have to dress up quickly because sometimes there is no time”, does Komtsa Daqm (interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba) - the guide of the Little Hunter’s Museum - describe the sometimes stressful process, of adapting the visual appearance for the tourists. If they are surprised by visitors, they would greet them in their everyday, meaning ‘modern’ clothes; they also recognize that not all tourists’ necessarily have to see them in their traditional adornment, but most of them actually would prefer to (N!ae //ao, interview on 16.012014, Doupos).

I had the impression that it is not strictly forbidden for them to present themselves in ‘modern’ clothes in front of tourists, but for formal activities, traditional clothes are required. Often, when the Ju/’hoansi heard that we wanted to make pictures, they would automatically change into traditional clothing. When we asked the actors for interviews, they immediately asked if they should change into traditional clothes. If they knew that they were going to be filmed or photographed, they only appeared in traditional attire (Field notes, January 2014). This might derive from an embodied practice; connecting their appearance in front of tourists with traditional clothes, for them the both are inseparably connected. In the perspective of the actors, there is a strong separation between the attire for performance and clothes worn when tourists are not present:

“We do have a difference between the both. When we are dressed like this, we don’t perform. We just wear our own clothes for each day. But when it’s for culture, we have to use the ones for culture (Xoan//a Cgaesje; !uu Cgaesje, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos).“

This situation shows how the back stage is used to store all the costumes and props and used to put on ‘authentic’ attire, when tourists are coming or when they book an activity. When visitors arrive at the back stage - the ‘modern village’ - they have to accept to see the Ju/’hoansi in their everyday clothes in front of their houses, using objects of ‘modern’ life, but when they perform an activity in the bush or the ‘traditional village’, the package includes the actors in their required costumes, ready to be photographed. Tilxo Dabe, inhabitant of the Cultural Village of Doupos explained to me, that she does not have a problem to show herself in ‘modern’ clothes and to be photographed in those, but it was not allowed by the head man !Kunta Boo to wear them in the huts area (Tilxo Dabe, interview on 14.01.2014, Doupos).

An exception to this more or less strict separation between ‘traditional’ and everyday activities in Living Museums and Cultural Villages, was the village of Djokhoe, that did not have a

museum area and where the people did not possess traditional costumes, but at our arrival found an old 'menu' in one of the houses. Here, the Healing Dance was performed after being booked for a fee, but not in a 'traditional village' and with a mixture of 'modern' clothes and traditional jewellery; only the female healer wore traditional attire. In this case the stage, the props and the costumes were missing, but the dance was only performed after us asking and paying for it. The people explained that the dance was practiced by them every fortnight, also without tourists (Field notes, Djokhoe, January 2014). This form of cultural showing allowed a dynamic perception of culture, it was a 'traditional' Healing Dance, but performed with a mixture of clothes and creating new aesthetics in the 'traditionally' performed activities.

In Grashoek, //Xa/oba and Doupos, the possession of traditional clothes or the knowledge about their production is a necessity for the participation in the touristic activities, as performers explained to us (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek; !amace N!aici, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba; Tilxo Dabe, !uu Cgaesje, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos):

“All of us we can do it. But we wonder about the clothes - so if you don't have the clothes, better you leave to give others the chance, the ones who have it. That's why you only find a few there yesterday. And the rest of them, they also remember it. Because they don't have the clothes of the culture. Because one has to be nice, that's why they use traditional, because that is their culture (!uu Kaqece & Tilxo Dabe, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos).“

The possession of traditional clothes, mostly treated skins, especially in the past depended to a great extent on the activity of hunting. A problem is the fragility of the clothes or in this case the costumes, so essential for performance and consequently for economic benefit. Listening to these words, one could realize what importance and value the traditional clothes still have for the individual; the skins break easily when they are old, especially through water drops in the rainy season or when dogs rip them up:

“Yes, if it's broken, it is a big problem. For example now, when you guys are coming, you must hide from yourself, you are scared of your friends, you have to help yourself. That's why we must care for those skins, it is a very big problem. Even the dogs, they can eat those skins and afterwards when you find it and people know, you will start suffering (Dabe //ao; Cwi //ao, interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos).“

In Grashoek - where hunting is not allowed anymore - the Living Culture Foundation Namibia therefore provides goatskins for the actors to make their clothes (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek) and a guide of the Little Hunter's Museum explained that they get ostrich eggs from the conservancy to produce crafts if they do not find enough eggs themselves (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 09.01.2014, Windhoek).

Another reason for not participating in the cultural performances is that some are ashamed of wearing the traditional clothes in front of tourists (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek). The Ju/'hoansi police officer Willem Gaiseb speaks of the embarrassment of the younger generation wearing traditional clothes. Since the San have been oppressed throughout history by other ethnic groups, he speaks of children being ashamed, saying: 'I'm a San' and who feel uncomfortable to walk around in skins today, when members of other groups are present (Willelm Gaiseb, interview on 14.01.2014, Tsumkwe). The healer's wife N!ae //ao in Doupos explains that people are proud wearing their traditional clothes in front of tourists today, but would not wear them in front of other ethnic groups, because they somehow feel uncovered, dressed only with pieces of skin (N!ae //ao, interview on 16.01.2014, Doupos):

"I want only to say, that most of the Johansi people don't feel good, wearing the skins for the day. Because too many ethnic groups stay with us and we are not feeling good to say without clothes. We want only to show that to the tourists. We don't want to wear that in town."

The guide of the Little Hunter's Museum Komtsa Daqm similarly speaks of shame, explaining how at the beginning he was shy about wearing a pair of *tjona*, but the more the museum project advanced, the more he became proud of his traditional costume which marked him as a Ju/'hoansi (Komtsa Daqm, Interview on 17.01.2014, //Xa/oba). This motivation is mentioned often. People in the Cultural Villages or Living Museums are proud of their ethnic identity and demonstrate it by wearing historical clothes. This quotation shows a new attitude that children and young adults developed towards the 'old' clothes:

"At the first times, learners they don't want to dress the old clothes, cause they did not know that clothes before and in nowadays they see how their parents living in the past years. Now some of the children are very interested to dress that clothes they want that, they also ask their parents to make that clothes for them, so that they can dressed clothes and perform (Tsemkgao Daqm, interview on 17.01.2014, //Xa/oba)."

It could be an effect of the commodification of culture, giving the San a new pride and consciousness of their own culture, as Comaroff and Comaroff demonstrate in their essay (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009: 9). Tilxo Dabe says it is important to show one's origins and to wear traditional clothes (Tilxo Dabe, interview on 14.01.2014, Doupos). Other define their costumes as markers of being Ju/'hoan, differentiating them from other groups who do not wear traditional clothes anymore (Xoan//a Cgaesje; !uu Cgaesje; Cwi Quinten Gerrie, interviews on 13. and 14.01.2014, Doupos; !amace N!aici, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba).

As soon as the Ju/'hoansi were wearing their traditional clothes, they behaved as professional performers, constructing a perfect image for tourists. In the interviews, contradictory answers were given - most of the people claimed traditional clothes to be very important and essential for traditional hunting and gathering activities, others referred to them only important on special occasions and some relied on the comfortable and practical aspects of either one or the other clothing style.

It is further interesting to examine if traditional clothes are also worn in the 'modern village', when performing 'traditional' activities without tourists, to discover if traditional clothes are necessary for certain 'traditional' activities and what importance they still have in the everyday life of the Ju/'hoansi. Here the opinions differ considerably from each other and there does not seem to be a concrete direction or argument to describe the use of traditional clothes in everyday life. Some of the interviewees told us that they still wear them if they just feel like it or if they wake up especially 'happy' one morning (Tilxo Dabe; Dabe //ao; Cwi //ao; Xoan//a Cgaesje; !uu Cgaesje, interviews on 13 and 14.01.2014, Doupos). According to Werner Pfeifer, the traditional clothes are never worn in the 'modern' area, because people prefer 'modern' clothes and because its production is much elaborated and work-intensive (Werner Pfeifer, interview on 22.01.2014, Windhoek).

Concerning 'traditional' activities like Healing Dances, hunting and gathering - which they still perform in the absence of visitors - people's statements were multiple; maybe some of them wanted to convince us that even without our visit, their tradition required animal skins. Some told us with conviction that it is only possible to perform those activities in traditional clothes (Dabe //ao; Cwi //ao, 2014, Doupos; Kxore Erna /ui, 2014, Grashoek), whereas others said that today they also dance and hunt in 'modern' clothes (!uu Cgaesje; Tilxo Dabe; Cwi Quinten Gerrie, interviews on 13. and 14.01.2014, Doupos). Most of the people however

claimed that this depended from the prevailing mood and it did not matter which clothes they wear for which occasion (Xoan//a Cgaesje; !uu Cgaesje; Tilxo Dabe, interviews on 13. and 14.01.2014, Doupos; Kxore Erna /ui, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek; Tsemkgao Daqm, interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba). Some people chose a mixture of styles, taking the best items from ‘modern’ or ‘traditional’ clothing. !Kunta, a young boy of Doupos for example did not participate in tourism performances, and when once he dressed traditionally for a unofficially organized hunting trip with us, he kept his coloured underpants underneath, because he felt ashamed of only wearing the *tjona*.

Komtsa Daqm claims to prefer modern T-shirts in order to be better protected from the sun (Komtsa Daqm, interview on 18.01.2014, //Xa/oba). Observing the backstage area of the performers, people seemed to enjoy ‘modern’ clothes more. I never observed one dressing traditionally without the tourist’s presence, and they mostly changed in the last second, on the way to the performance area. Only the elder’s wore some traditional accessories with the ‘modern’ outfits. Xoan//a !Kunta prefers ‘modern’ clothes, but still asks her husband to bring her new skins, when they break (Xoan//a !Kunta, interview on 14.01.2014, Doupos) and Erna in Grashoek said:

“I like more the modern. I like now to wear normal clothes. If I go to towns to buy something, I have to have normal clothes. But the traditional dress, I like to wear it if I have a special day, a ceremony, to show the visitors... I like to wear it (Kxore Erna /ui, interview on 13.01.2014, Grashoek).“

The Ju/’hoansi get ‘modern’ clothes from shops in Tsumkwe and Grootfontein – two cities nearby, or from visiting tourists, but it is a problem to have sufficient money and find transport to go and buy them (Tilxo Dabe; Xoan//a Cgaesje; !uu Cgaesje, 2014, Doupos; Henry /ui Nyani, interviews on 13. and 14.01.2014, Grashoek). ‘Modern’ clothes are the most wanted items San wish in general from the visitors and they regularly begged for our clothes.

Dress can mark the differentiation between everyday life and rituals such as weddings, funerals, and ‘traditional dances’; Eicher and Roach-Higgins describe the process of ‘putting on a mood’, since certain costumes are associated with certain music or activities (Eicher/ Roach-Higgins 1992: 9, 18). Clothes can also be chosen strategically to fool strangers or put on a mask (ibid: 11). The touristic activities can be regarded as ‘special events’ for which the

Ju/'hoansi have specific costumes, their production is though integral part of constant everyday life activities. For specific festivities specific clothes are worn, for example, when the people of Doupos interestingly celebrated Christmas in the 'traditional village' – the museum area - all wearing traditional clothes, fitting the setting and the ceremony, which does actually not derive from a San tradition (Xoan//a !Kunta; Dabe //ao, Cwi //ao, interviews on 13. and 14.01.2014, Doupos). The visual appearance of a person is therefore an important factor for the representation of a person and of a group and can place him/ her into the right setting for specific performances.

6.3. The Performances

The use of theatre and performance in heritage sites and museums, has the aim to bring history and culture nearer to the spectators (Jackson/ Kidd 2011). The spectators have the opportunity to make 'experiences' in the context of 'edutainment' and approach intangible cultural heritage through a collective re-interpretation between the audience and the performers (Kidd 2011; Schechner 2013). With this approach the judgement of 'authenticity' is ought to become obsolete, but the touristic gaze (Urry 2002) still influences the contents of performances. Moreover, the term of 'Living' before 'Museum' and the aftertaste of specifically staged cultural acts, relates the performances at heritage sites to the connotation of being sensational, want to 'make-believe' (Schechner 2013) and 'stage authenticity' (MacCannell 1973).

The performances we have experienced were very diversified – from commercialized acts for time-limited tourists with restricted time accompanied by electric guitar to shorter or longer choreographed performances in traditional clothes in the 'natural' environment of the San with the aim to show their 'authentic' lifestyle, partly animating tourists to participate. We experienced performances that were staged in the touristic lodge of Tsumkwe and Ju/'hoansi of the NNC that were moved 800 kilometres downwards to perform activities for paying tourists near Windhoek airport in the context of a development project.

The various acts were different in the extent they seemed to be choreographed: some fitted into exact time slots of ten minutes and to off-text explanations of the English-speaking guides and some extended themselves over 2 or 3 hours being created in the moment. The 'Action Day' gave the possibility to immerse oneself in a series of 'traditional' activities and combine them together, in order to get an overall impression of the cultural diversity of the Ju/'hoansi.

6.3.1. Bushwalk, Inc.

Bushwalks are an adventurous activity with a focus on self-experience and partially involving the audience. They consist of going on a guided and multi-sensorial tour through the bush, permitting a direct exchange with the tour guides and experienced hunters, but with staged talks and performances and a the audience physically set apart.

The Bushwalks normally started in the ‘traditional villages’ and were led by English speaking tour guides from the village or from a tourism institution and further by expert hunters who explained, showed and demonstrated specific plants and roots as well as hunting techniques such as making fire, building a bird trap and stretching an arrow. The walks were all very similar to each other and explanations on similar plants were included. There were considerable differences in the quality of the Bushwalks according to the place of performance.

The tourists learned about the bush on which the beetles who produce the poison to put on the arrows for hunting animals live on, the guides further dug out waterroots (which as I have shown might have been buried there on purpose) and let the spectators taste them²⁹. Sometimes the spectators were asked to help digging out roots with a digging stick. There were plants for every sickness or pain and colours to dye the leather clothing. At a certain point a break was included, where a fire was made, weapons were prepared and a bird trap was constructed.

An essential part of Bushwalks are the explicit explanations of the tour guides and the spectators standing like an audience slightly distanced from the speakers, listening and sometimes asking questions. The tour guides, especially in the most professionally organized Living Museum of Grashoek, spoke loud and distinctly and presented themselves to the tourists through specific kinds of speaking, gesturing and costumes. According to Celeste Bunten (2008) native tour guides shape their sense of humor, work on a friendly appearance, train hospitable manners and prepare good stories to tell the spectators (ibid: 381). She speaks of tourism as a commercialization of hospitality – a way to make visitors feel safe and comfortable. I can absolutely compare this point with the Ju/’hoansi, whose tour guides were highly professional, friendly, calm and open to answer every question.

²⁹ Pic.4. shows a visitor tasting ‘bushfood’ and an expert hunter performing for the audience, while Pic.5. depicts the healer !Kunta Boo giving explanations during a walk.

In the course of a commodified persona, guides tend to use words of the ‘other’, meaning the native language (Bunten 2008: 387) – a trick that worked perfectly among the San, who constantly animated us to say: “*Kaja!*”. This little word stands for everything a person needs in the course of positive interaction, ranging from ‘yes’, ‘ok’, ‘good’, ‘cool’, ‘great’. Until today, this expression is stuck inside my colleagues’ and my head.

The guides explain the plants and their effects and applications relatively neutrally. When the guide is from outside he functions as a translator, even if he already might know the information, he waits for the experts to explain in the native language. The English speaking guides were either the Ju/’hoansi from the Living Museums, dressed traditionally as the others, or as it is the case in Cultural Villages, they were San who came from outside. In Doupos we had booked a translator from Tsumkwe who was dressed in ‘modern’ clothes and when Smallboy translates for the tourists he is often dressed in an official safari uniform. When a tour guide is not directly from the community, he convinces less through a ‘traditional’ or ‘exotic’ appearance, but more as a confidential partner for both sides. He seems to occupy an position between the tourists and the performers; not really corresponding to any of the groups, he is at the same time the only one who can fluently communicate with both parties.

There were also more specific acts of playing. The explanations during the Bushwalks in Grashoek, Doupos and the Little Hunter’s Museum represented for me an intended acting, showing situations of ‘traditional’ hunting and gathering. The hunting experts, who often did not speak English themselves, performed with big gestures and mimic in a very exaggerated, humoristic and yet understandable way. They made routine breaks to let the English speaking guides translate their words. Sometimes the English guides, when coming from the same village, explained to the audience what was happening in that moment, while the actors were doing their activities and talking among themselves. The guides detached from the scene and described it, reminding of an off-text-comment in a movie.

The actors in Grashoek who accompanied us on a Bushwalk - the English guide Henry and a young hunter with the name !Kunta - were especially funny and entertaining in their presentations. Crying, jumping and exaggerating their gestures they imitated dangerous lions, scared San hunters, gatherers with stomach ache, the healing effect of some plants as well as the deadly effect of getting the poison on a body part. They showed how to knock on trees to chase away snakes, how to drink with grass blades, how to wash oneself with water roots and

how to hide in tree holes. They dug out roots that were far inside the earth with full body involvement, almost melting with the soil.

Especially one performance was impressive in the course of the explanations, namely the 'bird falling into the trap' - act, performed in Doupos. When the trap was built, between relaxed chatting, English explanations and Ju/'hoan talking, a young actor started without specific introduction to jump around like a little, curious bird and whistling bird noises. Making always smaller circles around the construction, after around one minute he discovered the bush potato placed inside the trap and got inside with his beak, which was represented by his hand formed like a bird's head. He fell to the earth and started struggling, moving and screaming around, while Ju/'hoan performers and we tourists were laughing and clapping, until !Kunta Boo freed him and simulated to put him inside his bag.

The things explained and the techniques showed, differed from village to village. Whereas in Grashoek the actors really performed humorous scenes, that made surviving in the bush quite evident, the experts in Doupos focused more on their vast knowledge about plants and roots. The tour was more relaxed and took more time, for example when the healer !Kunta Boo during our break really peeled the Aloe Vera leaves he had collected, took all the time he needed to turn a perfect rope out of the fibres with the help of his legs, while Kagece (who only had one arm, because he had to cut off the other, when he accidentally got the poison from his arrow into it) skillfully broke small wood sticks to construct a perfectly round trap and knotted Boo's strings together. In the Little Hunter's Museum, the Ju/'hoansi who led us through the bush had less routine and often things such as making a rope did not work; they would then think of another part from the Bushwalk schedule and show us something different. I have to admit, that in that case the more experienced performers were out on a Hunting Trip with some of our colleagues.

In the N/a'an ku sê Lodge, the Bushwalk was definitely shorter than in all other places and although the content and form of the activity resembled all the others we had seen before, the vegetation was different and it led on the side of a gravel road. The speaker was Cwi !Kunta, the son of !Kunta Boo who was remarkable because of his abundant body shapes – an appearance I had not seen among any other San dressed traditionally. The humoristic short acts and interpretations were missing and the translator was a San employee of the touristic Lodge dressed in Safari uniform – this changed the atmosphere of the walk.

The number of performers varies from two to ten, and normally only one guide translates into English. In Doupos, the actors spoke more between each other, they partly seemed to contradict or complement each other's explanations, while walking around and looking for the right plants, while in Grashoek and the Little Hunter's Museum, all actors seemed to have more routine in walking and stopping in front of specific plants. Children often followed curiously and playfully or on the backs of their mothers, without contributing verbally to the Bushwalk.

The gender distribution is clearly different in tourism performances from the 'real' activities, since women are traditionally responsible for gathering and men for hunting activities: "*A woman has a best friend, that best friend is the digging stick. And a man is having a best friend, that best friend is bow and arrow*" (Xoan//a, Doupos, interview on 14.01.2014, Doupos). In the touristic Bushwalks however often men gave explanations and dug things out with the digging stick (Field notes, January 2014). It was interesting to observe that the speakers were always men, even if they explained 'female' gathering knowledge. Women always accompanied the walks and often distanced themselves from the group, actually gathering plants and roots and filling their leather bags. Sometimes they would approach and help us digging. Especially in Doupos, where Xoan//a, the daughter of healer !Kunta Boo has an important position in the village, she helped her father and husband to explain things. I did not meet a fluently English speaking woman, except from Erna /ui in Grashoek – the only female English speaking tour guide.

Not only does the audience contribute to the outcome of a performance (Schechner 2013), but our performance during tourism activities was actively observed by the Ju/'hoansi. After a few seconds of the walk we already seemed completely confused in the bush and had the feeling to have lost the orientation. Jokingly, in Doupos the old hunter //ao - famous for having killed a lion with only a knife and therefore carrying the scars on his chest with pride - asked my colleague Eva Erhart and me to lead the group back to the 'traditional village'. The Ju/'hoansi performers further always curiously laughed when we tasted bitter fruits from the bush and performances like the bird-trap or chasing of an imaginary animal should inspire the audience to laugh. The use of humor is evidently an important aspect of Bushwalks, and joking plays a central part in the lives of Ju/'hoansi ever since, according to Lee's observations (2014: 78).

On our fourth day in Doupos - when Josef and I came to Xoan//a's court as every morning, greeting "X!aisi!" and joining them for coffee - without precise incitement from any part, the people started laughing, commenting and joking with us- they asked us to imitate their dancing and suddenly started to dress us in their traditional garments which they collected from different households. I did not understand anything, but I figured out that something was going to happen. Between a lot of chatting and some photo-sessions, we recognized that the two young men, Kha//ha and !Kunta =Oma, who usually did not participate in the touristic activities, would take my colleague and me on a Bushwalk. The elders did not come with us and instructed the young guys that I should also take my shoes with me because of the dangerous bush soil. The boys were dressed traditionally, although !Kunta kept his neon coloured green-orange underpants that were visible underneath his *tjona*³⁰.

Parodying the explanations given during the commodified tours, making a lot of jokes and with explicitly 'make-believe'-plays, for two and a half hours the teenagers led us through the bush. It was a very relaxed trip, joking and chatting and even after we asked them a couple of times, they did not accept money. Sometimes they only talked Ju/'hoansi with us, waiting for an answer and hoping to accelerate our attempts to learn the language.

Josef and I had to adopt 'traditional' gender roles, playing a stereotyped San man or San woman with specific tasks. Josef was the expert hunter - he had to lead the two young boys on their hunt for a duiker, although the boys had to show him explicitly how to move, because Josef did not have the right embodied hunting postures, like crawling on the earth without making noise and running quickly when an animal was sighted. Of course there was not even the shadow of an animal, but Josef was jokingly blamed, if he let go of the chase.

I played the role of a young San woman and gatherer who should learn her tasks to be able to marry a good hunter. I was told to dig out a waterroot, which actually was not a real waterroot, because the true ones did not grow in that zone. I was not very elegant and successful in doing that, but it was visible, that the two young men were not that routinized either. When they finally had dug out the waterroot - which in contrast to the experienced hunters in the Grashoek Living Museum they did with much less body effort, not completely immersing themselves into the red earth, !Kunta showed us - like the adults normally did - how to drink

³⁰ The situation of getting changed and the group ready for a Bushwalk are showed on Pic.6. and 7.

the water pressed out of the root. He did however not drink it for real, instead he let the liquid flow aside his mouth.

During our break I was told to make fire, to be qualified for marriage, and even though I tried hard, I showed no result. So Kha//ha and !Kunta tried too, but they were no more successful. When clever and naughty !Kunta realized that Josef – now in his role of a tourist – was filming, he thought of a solution and picked out some matchsticks he found in his ‘traditional’ bag and with a quick gesture, while I was turning the fire stick, he put fire on the dry grass (Field notes, August 2014).

After failing to make a good bird trap, with a greenish and irregular rope, knotted around some unevenly disposed sticks, !Kunta performed the known ‘bird trap act’ - which he had evidently embodied perfectly and which he performed without mistakes. I was summoned as gatherer lady, to free the bird and put him into the bag, so I became part of the ‘is’ performance remaining in my officially assigned though not rehearsed role (Field notes, August 2014).

On our second morning, while I was in the village making crafts, Josef went out running in the bush, when a group of around ten children excitedly followed him. What he experienced was a shortened ‘Action Day’ containing a Bushwalk and ‘traditional’ singing acts. The children formed a row, attentively caring for Josef not to get stuck in bushes or stumble upon rocks and explained him many plants in a language he was not capable to understand. Differently than the adults, the young boys climbed up on the trees, to pick some fruits to let Josef taste. Alone with an adult visitor, the children seriously imitated the guided tours of their parents, discussing between each other and giving long explanations in Ju/’hoansi.

Except from a missing routine and some technical skills not yet embodied, the knowledge about roots and plants was definitely existing, the two teenagers gave us information about the effects and the children largely were able to explain all kinds of roots and plants. These observations on the one hand give shape to a new style of performance – the parody, performed by the potential ‘actors-to-be’. On the other hand it shows the learning and re-interpretation of ‘traditional’ activities by the younger generation, having embodied some acts and continuing to develop the performances of ‘culture’.

6.3.2. Craft Making, Inc.

The craft making activity is equally an 'is' performance as well as comparable to the phase of 'workshops' described by Schechner (2013). In both cases, the actors and the audience build a performance together. Each spectator is assigned to a singular or a group of actors making crafts. Sitting on the ground, objects are produced in cooperation, mainly jewellery with the women and bow and arrows with the men. The material is often prepared and the objects partly pre-existing, in order to be able to obtain a result in a short time.

The audience is fully included and actively participates in the result, although a division between the sides is recognizable – the San being the experts and actual crafters, whereas the tourists more symbolically contribute to the result of the objects. After the workshop, the spectator holds a concrete product in his hands, an evidence for his/ her participation and a remaining memory of his/ her experience. In this activity the audience creatively learns actual technical skills, which he/ her can apply later during his / her stay.

The close connection to the actors is an incredible experience per se and gives the opportunity for face to face interaction. The communication happens on a creative level, the San women especially, seldom speak English. Crafting techniques are transmitted in a playful manner, similar as in children's education learning through observation and imitation (Lancy/ Bock/ Gaskin 2010) until the techniques are practiced and absorbed (Bourdieu 1977) although in the short period of time they are not perfectly embodied.

I experienced a craft making activity in the course of an Action Day in the Living Museum Grashoek, where we were led through a perfectly structured course of activities. When we were picked up after our lunch break, we were led into the 'traditional village', where all the actors were seated in rows, everyone expecting a tourist to teach. The time span of craft making was perfectly planned and relatively short, followed by a phase of practice and interaction with the crafted objects and immediately succeeded by a dancing performance. The created objects were so used for for a new performance. The jewellery was put on, pictures were made and the tourists were styled by the actors. With the bows and arrows the tourists made competitions and role games were given the possibility to 'go-native' for a short time, without the long-term phase of getting into it as a 'normal' anthropologist would do.

The craft making activity in the Little Hunter's Museum followed directly after a Bushwalk, which served to collect the material needed to make jewellery and hunting weapons such as seeds, Aloe Vera leaves and fire sticks. This helped to embed the crafting activity into a larger context and understand the connections to the natural environment and its resources. The choreography based on perfectly embodied technical skills was less routinized than in Grashoek, where every step was professionally performed and the visitors were assigned only perfectly studied stages inside the entire production process. In Xa//oba, some steps did not work and we were left to experiment without really being able to reach a result.

In Doupos, craft making was a constant activity embedded in ordinary life and for me the easiest way to get in touch with the people. The craft produced was done for its selling in the craft shops as well as with colourful beads for own purposes. I was not especially introduced into the techniques, but let to observe, imitate and experiment and similarly to the others, I was then styled by the Doupos women.

In all cases, the practical approach to craft making activities and the active involvement of the audience serves to strengthen personal ties to the Ju/'hoansi, feel and actively practice the 'culture' of the San. The approach through a concrete object leaves the visitors with a material and lasting memory. Actually doing and involving one's own body into the performance and choreography of an already pre-structured context could prevent the insecurity of not knowing how to behave in an unknown and new context, where the body of the tourist cannot rely on a set of known embodied behaviours.

6.3.3. Healing Dance, Inc.

The Healing Dances of the Ju/'hoansi derive from a long tradition, as one can see from the prehistoric rock paintings showing groups of people dancing in a similar formations as today (Kat/ Biesele/ et. al. 1997: 52). I could recognize two approaches of presenting them to the spectators. On the one hand, more commercialized sites such as the Lodges or the Living Museums offer shortened and simplified presentations of various traditional dances. On the other hand, official and unofficial Cultural Villages show extended and intensive traditional Healing Dances to selected and interested people.

Going into the detailed description of the exact meaning and function of a Healing Dance per se, goes beyond the research question of this master thesis and I would like to refer to the

master thesis of my colleague Josef Wukovits³¹. For a short description of the Healing Dance, I would nevertheless like to quote the expert tourist guide Smallboy who gives an extensive and understandable definition about the function and working of this important ritual:

“The Healing Dance is mostly very important to the San people if the village is actually very far from town. In the previous times, there were also no clinics, so that was the only way people were surviving. Because there is also you know, our parents that died a long time, we call them ancestors. You know the ancestors sickness is very different from a normal sickness like Malaria or another sickness that you can get, which can be treated to get you healthy; which is very different there. Because it might happen that ancestors start visiting you, you as the family and that makes you sick. So that illness even you come to the clinic, and they will give you medicine. That will not help. Unless you go back to the village and the healer is going to dance and when he is in trance, he starts communicating with the ancestors and he is stopped, not to come to you again and stay away from you. It’s when you are going to be healthy. That is how the healing is working [...] Well you know, ancestors’ sickness is like you can feel that you are dreaming of your parent that had passed away – it’s when the ancestors are coming to you. And then in that case, you feel like you are dreaming and in the next morning you start to become sick. So when you become sick, you can feel the pain on your body, you can feel like you have headache or you feel like you have stomach problem or you feel like having any sickness. So that will not help, even if you come to clinic. That will not help. At least the healer falls in trance and communicating with the ancestors and stopping them to visit you, its when you become healthy. (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Tsumkwe).”

As Smallboy explained in his interpretation of the Healing Dance, both Western and traditional healing work together, but for different scopes. The ‘normal’ illnesses like Malaria and others can nowadays possibly be cured with ‘western’ medicine, while the sicknesses provoked by ancestors threatening the living people, must be healed by a traditional healer taking contact with them. According to Katz in the 1980’s, both kinds of healing were integrated and combined, hoping for a better result (1982: 56). Moreover, the San apply medicinal herbs and salves for minor injuries (Katz/ Biesele/ et. al. 1997: 18), although Josef and I experienced a child who burned himself and we were immediately asked to bring him to the clinic in Tsumkwe without being treated by the traditional healer before (Field notes, August, 2014).

³¹ Wukovits, Josef. 2016: Ritual, Inc. Der Einfluss touristischer Konzepte auf das traditionelle Heilritual bei Ju’hoansi in der Nyae Nyae in Namibia. Masterarbeit an der Universität Wien.

The Healing Dance has much more importance for the Ju/'hoansi than the mere curing in a medical sense. It seeks to establish health on a physical, psychological, social and spiritual level and to protect the whole village from misfortune (Katz 1982: 34ff.). It extensively serves to establish social solidarity and is a central opportunity for the people from the village to connect, since they spend many hours with close physical contact together and have time for news exchange (ibid: 35, 206). The dance is open for everyone and is a central aspect of the everyday life, with the same importance as other activities. It usually happens four times a month, although in some cases, the dances are more likely to happen – namely if a community member is ill or if special visitors announce themselves (ibid: 34ff)

The performed dances and games included in the programme of the LMs are a very short excerpt of the 'traditional' ones and last around ten minutes each. They are presented on a stage, built by the physical frontier between 'us' and 'them' and are explained through short explanations in English, specifically designed for the visitors³². The audience is allowed to participate in a regulated way in some dances or games, with a pre-structured choreography given by the traditionally transmitted order.

Even Healing Dances like the *elephant dance* were included in this potpourri of presentations, where the healer fell in trance after only ten minutes. In this kind of dance, women and men stand in a half circle around the healer who trembles with his legs, until at one point he falls to the ground shivering. In these kind of short cuttings of dancing, the dance steps were practiced as a choreographed movement, a performing healer being able to tremble and fall into trance almost at the touch of a button. In the Little Hunter's Museum short parts of 'traditional' Hunting and Healing Dances were shown, where the performers imitated specific animals with body language.

I was able to observe that in Grashoek, where the performance group was accustomed to and well organized for visiting tourists, the dance performances resembled a routinized show, with integrated explanations and shortened, responding to the spectators' attention span. In the Little Hunter's Museum, where visitors are less frequent, the dancers were discussing the various steps of a performance, animating each other to participate in the dance and negotiating about the 'right' explanations for the tourists, before the translator could transmit it to the spectators. It was moreover recognizable – from a subjective perspective - that the level of

³² Pic.8. shows a short dancing performance at the LM of Grashoek.

dance quality varied between the actors according to their experience, a case confirmed by Tsemkgao Daqm in a former chapter (interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba)³³. In Doupos and Djokhoe, where the Healing Dance lasted around two hours, the routine aspect was not so visible, since at least in the first village the sick person really suffered from pains in the foot. People were talking among themselves, the gestures and movements seemed to be generated in the moment instead of ‘automatically’ performed.

When Josef and I during the second research term, remained in the Tsumkwe Country Lodge for sleeping, we assisted a commercialized and very structured dance performance by San people we did not know. They were driven to the place of performance by a kind of ‘tour bus’ and changed into their costumes behind it. A large group of Spanish tourists was sitting on wooden benches and the stage was a large sand area surrounded by placed stones on which a band with saxophone, electric guitar and loudspeakers was warming up with relaxing lounge music. An employee of the lodge lightened the fire until the music and the dancers were ready.

The San entered in a regulated queue and immediately fell into dancing, without that slower warming up phase that I had observed in Doupos. The San dressed in colourful beaded traditional costumes and performed much shortened dances, which were in the breaks explained by a non-San Namibian and put into Spanish by an official translator. The band played some songs in between and at the end, the San danced to the contemporary music. The quality of the performance lay here more in their dancing and singing qualities than in the expert knowledge which they were not asked to explain and I could not trace where the speaker had his information from.

In more extended versions of the Healing Dance, like the one we experienced as a group of students in Doupos, after an extended warming up phase, the actors slowly one after the other sat in the circle. Xoan//a – !Kunta Boo’s daughter - started singing and clapping and one woman after the other joined in. The women were sitting in a circle around the fire, singing and clapping while men were walking or jumping rhythmically around them. The children built their own circle of dancing in a more joyful manner, slightly apart from the adults. The healer !Kunta Boo went from one person to another, trembling when holding the person, shouting out loud and partly sucking the women’s necks, for spitting out the evil. A Healing

³³ For the quotation, have a look at p.145.

Dance contains calmer phases representing initial stages or breaks in between and more immersed and intense phases. The Healing Dances shown are claimed to be ‘authentic’ - meaning ‘real’ - by the actors themselves; although they told us, that a ‘real’ Healing Dance would last around twelve hours instead of the two hours presentation for us, the visitors (Field notes, January 2014).

We were completely ignored during the performance and an invisible line prohibited us to enter the stage. We stood awkwardly around, not really knowing how to behave until the music absorbed us and we gently started moving with the music. When darkness chased away the sunset, the spotlights of Werner and Manuela Zips which they needed for filming, artificially illuminated the scenery, but the San remained professional and continued - as it seemed to us - not considering our actions. As soon as the lights went off, the dancers remained in almost complete darkness³⁴.

Wanting to experience a ‘more authentic’ dance we followed our professors to Djokhoe, where no official frame is given for tourism activities; they neither possess ‘traditional’ garment nor a ‘traditional village’. We therefore surprised them in their daily life, and Werner Zips asked for a Healing Dance. To this question a guy ran into his house and found an old menu with listed activities and made a proposal for a price. This Healing Dance was different from the others because of two things - first, the healer was a woman and second, because no one changed attire or stage. Missing strict authenticity rules and especially designated tourists spaces, this village was freer to show a Healing Dance more close to how they would do it without the tourists’ presence.

This Healing Dance was different from the others, because of its female healer. Traditionally men and women have similar opportunities and abilities to become healers and to get *num* – the energy needed for healing and given to some people by their gods (Katz 1982: 41). The more common Healing Dances are classified as *giraffe dances* – as described before, in this case a circle of women sits around a fire and produces music through clapping and singing, while mainly men dance around them and a male healer goes to each person to heal him. The *drum dance* by contrast is danced by women and the latter stand clapping and singing in a half-circle around a fire, while a female healer dances in the middle, feeling the *num* (Katz/Biesele/ et. al. 1997: 115). The songs are accompanied by a man who rhythmically beats on a

³⁴ For a picture of the Healing Dance in Doupos, see Pic.9.

drum made of Mongongo wood (ibid: 115) or – as it was the case in Djokhoe, mixing ‘traditional’ and contemporary elements - an empty plastic water container. This dance, given the element of the drum, is a newer development of Healing Dances, influenced by the music of the black majority population of Namibia (Katz 1982: 161)³⁵.

The children enthusiastically danced all evening long, not being disturbed by the adults who regularly chased them away. This perhaps confirms, that ‘traditional culture’ persists also where no regular demand for it helps to preserve it. People told us, that the Healing Dance was performed for themselves every week. The healer was partly dressed in traditional clothes and incredibly absorbed. She did not enter the circle from the beginning and then regularly took breaks from the exhausting and intense trance dance. At the end, she sat apart to cool-down from the performance.

Living in Doupos, my colleague Josef and I were part of what I would call an absolutely privileged situation. During the day my ‘grandmother’ Xoan//a announced, that in the evening there would be singing and dancing in the village. It was an activity, as I think, dedicated to us, but not in the course of commodified actions, since we did not ‘order’ it and only indirectly asked for a fee.

In the evening we walked into !Kunta Boo’s yard in the ‘modern village’, where a large group of people was sitting in a circle around the fire and chatting. Slowly all people of Doupos living there at the moment, except teenage boy !Kunta, joined the group - I counted around 30 people. Everyone was dressed in ‘modern’ clothes, with pullovers and blankets, because of the cold wind, only old N!ae wore a traditional beaded headband and three men put on the required traditional foot rassels.

Slowly, Xoan//a started with a melodious vocal and all the women gradually joined in. Together they created a song, based on the chanting of the different women. Every woman additionally clapped, one after the other, until all together the rhythm it sounded highly complex. When I was invited to contribute to the music and I tried to join in, I realized that the clapping of each woman was quite simple and did not change in the course of a song; the older the women, the faster and more complicated the rhythm became. I was sitting in the women’s circle, whereas Josef was pulled out of that and invited to rhythmically jump around the circle

³⁵ The Healing Dance experienced in Djokhoe is depicted on Pic.10.

together with the three other men. They regularly changed the direction of the circle and did not sing or clap with the women.

After ten to fifteen minutes, when the sound was at its maximum, in a moment not recognizable to me, all together stopped singing and clapping and gave themselves into relaxed chatting until Xoan//a started again to create a beautiful song. After four songs !Kunta Boo picked up his frond and stood up, he went to every person in the round, gently putting his hands on their shoulders or belly and saying some words, shaking with the whole body. He made the circle twice, Josef and me included.

Katz extensively describes the process of a Healing Dance among the !Kung living in the Kalahari before the 1980's in the book "Boiling Energy" (1982). Since he has experienced the dances the San people were doing for themselves and without touristic presence, the activities lasted from sunset to dawn, but the process seems very similar to the ones I have experienced. The evening started with the lighting of a fire at sunset and women informally and gradually coming together to sit in a circle. This can be described as the phase of warming-up, as Schechner (2013) would have described it. The women slowly started singing and clapping and people of both sexes dancing. The ones who did not contribute with singing or dancing sat aside, joking and talking. The mood in this first phase was jovial and casual; it was also a stage in which adolescents could try out their steps, experimenting and showing off. Without perceptible signs, the mood changed and became more spiritual and intense. The serious dancers substituted the young generation and the healer began his round (Katz 1982:40). In the commodified performances I have seen, the children were allowed to remain for the whole dance, although they mostly built their own circle which only sometimes grew together with the one of the adults. In Katz's case, towards the morning some fell asleep, the situation became calmer; then it grew and intensified one last time until it suddenly and collectively ended (ibid: 41).

The *num* is the energy the healers get from their gods. Not everyone can get it, but it is painful and therefore rather feared than wanted. When the *num* is activated, *kia* begins, which can be described as an enhancement of consciousness and allows the healer to cure the people, although he/ she is not able to feel it every time he/ she tries (Katz 1982: 34). The healer or the healers then go to every person that contributes to the dance and put one hand on the chest,

one on the back to pull out the sickness of the person, by getting in contact with the ancestors or gods and arguing with them, to spare the living from illnesses (ibid: 40).

The songs used during the Healing Dance have specific titles, but no text, they consist mainly of vocals or some key words which are put together as a creation of the moment. The songs are therefore never the same, even if they are repeated in one same night (Katz 1982: 125). Sometimes the healer asks for a specific song he/ she needs for the healing or otherwise a strong singer starts it, until everyone gradually joins in. After a while the main singer stops it with some louder or stronger vocals and it abruptly ends (ibid: 126). In Doupos Xoan//a was clearly the central singer, she always gave the inputs for starting or finishing the songs. The women's clapping and singing are essential for the healer: *"They give power, motivate Bo to heal, each woman adds her voice, not fixed, never repeated. The doctor to become hot, they always add more (!Kunta David Boo, interview on 02.09.2014, Doupos)."*

Comparing Katz's (1982) and Katz/ Biesele/ St. Denis (1997) as well as John Marshall's film "N/um Tchai: The Ceremonial Dance of the !Kung Bushmen" (1973), the processes as well as the songs differ little from the extended Healing Dances shown to visitors in exchange for fees. Although !Kunta Boo (interview on 13.01.2014, Doupos) claims that there is no difference if performing for visitors or for oneself, the distinction lays in the time span given for the performances, where the time for healing is very short (!Kunta David Boo, interview on 26.08.2014, Doupos). Reduced to two hours instead of twelve, the healer has to reach the state of *kia* in a shorter and established time, but according to his own words, that does not make a difference to the content and the healing. Based on the words of healer !Kunta Boo, I want to let him describe his experiences during a traditional Healing Dance³⁶:

"You must dance according to the song ladies are singing and you must also dance according to the handclaps [...] You are feeling it inside you, it feels like it is under your ribs and also inside your back. You feel it is inside. That is the time when you become a healer. [...] That is that you are healing a person and that sickness of a person moves slowly out from the person to yourself, the healer himself. And that sound which he did is how he get it out, the sickness get out of from the person healed, and the healer is taking the sickness out. That is why he makes the sound [...] If you are getting to that stadium or if you are getting to that level, then you feel differently. Like you are also seeing those people who long ago passed away. You see

³⁶ Because translator Kaqece N!ano translated !Kunta Boo's words, he sometimes uses 'he', instead of 'I'.

them. And it is maybe those people who let ... , who is the one causing that sickness of the sick person. So you may talk to those people as well. But you will still know the ordinary people, you will know the people you are together with but you are not in that mood. But you feel very differently, than if you are normal. [...] When you are in that rhythm you can talk to the ancestors. You can talk to them. Through that strength you can talk to them. (!Kunta Boo, Doupos, 13.01.2014).”.

For the San participants, the Healing Dances are situations of excitement, power and happiness (Katz 1982: 34) and although the sacred background of the ritual, Marshall (1973: movie) did not feel the atmosphere solemn or awe. For myself by contrast the experience was truly magic, being inside this incredible sound my hands started clapping by their own. The women and children around were happy, joyful, made me feel part of the round. The fire was giving warmth and illuminated parts of laughing faces and sleeping children - apart from that, deep darkness.

Interestingly, this magic and almost sacred atmosphere was regularly interrupted by people discussing and laughing among themselves, the children giggling while Boo was absorbed in the healing. Between the songs which last between three and ten minutes, there are phases of talking and relaxing with almost the same time span (Katz 1982: 126). According to Katz (ibid: 34f.) the jokes made during the sacral Healing Dances can be quite provocative, as if to undermine the spiritual moment and create a direct connection to ordinary life, as this rite is directly integrated in their lives, where humor plays an important role.

From a touristic perspective, considering my field diary entries in January 2014, in the Healing Dance an intense and sacred atmosphere prevailed in contrast to the often joking approach of the Ju/'hoansi in other performed activities. The audience was not directly involved, but observing an intense ritual with its performers self-absorbed, which gives a different light on the situation as when the spectators are directly involved. To watch a Healing Dance also enters the category of 'experience' which is in this case not constructed by the active participation of the audience, but by the 'special' atmosphere of the scenery – complete darkness, the sky filled with stars and a clear moon, strong a capella voices and clapping filling the landscape, the faces illuminated only by the light of the fire.

Two times the children were themselves the protagonists of dances performed exclusively for us. On our very first evening in Doupos, when Josef and I asked ourselves what to do and how to get in touch with the people, since everyone seemed quite shy, a bunch of children came into our yard and started chatting with us. They spontaneously lightened a fire and we all sat down in a circle-like formation. First Josef and I started singing some known European songs which they perfectly imitated – loudly, enthusiastically and phonetically pronouncing German and English sentences. More and more the children took over and then sung mainly church songs, loud, laughing, beautifully. No adult came near himself, although they all must have heard³⁷.

Later in the evening, some young girls joined the round and the ‘traditional’ part began, singing Ju/’hoan songs and starting to dance – in a circle like formation the bigger children sang and clapped their hands, while one by one entered the circle to dance. The smaller children either sat and watched or were chased away by the elders if they wanted to join the circle with their yet uncoordinated movements. Josef and I were more and more left out of the growing round until we became passive observers of the scene.

Another day on one of our playing rounds with the children, they led us to the ‘traditional village’, where they pulled out a drum from a hut and started to play, sing and dance - to our eyes it seemed incredibly professional and fluent. The children sang with loud voices and danced complicated moves. Their dance rhythm was much faster and more agitated and playful than the songs we had heard by adult performers.

According to Daniel, dance performances need a certain extent of improvisation and creativity to ‘stay alive’ – being too routinized and limited because of restrictive tourists time table, they lose dynamics and vivacity. She speaks here of notions of ‘authenticity’, which are in this case defined through the ‘magic moment’ and the experience (Daniel 1996: 790). Tourism performances are at the one hand claimed to routinize and commercialize ‘traditional’ dances but at the same time they give new possibilities of creation, having to fit into specific frames and so giving the possibility for developing new variations (ibid: 794).

According to Katz (1982) two developments already took place in the Healing Dances of the Kalahari !Kung, namely on the one hand a professionalization of the healers and on the other

³⁷ I tried to catch the atmosphere of the children’s singing and dancing activity in Pic.11.

hand developments and changes of the Healing Dances themselves (ibid: 254). As the healing was once a ‘service’ offered on the basis of sharing and reciprocity that prevailed in San communities, no healer would ever have expected a reward. With growing contact to other people, healers started professionalizing and offering healing services to other communities in exchange for fees. This led money to become a measuring tool for the strength of a healer’s *num* and the importance of status grew (ibid: 256).

In the context of tourism activities these developments become both relevant and are put into a new light. Not only is the power of the healer rewarded, but the whole community becomes important in the creation of a saleable performance. The Healing Dance is changed, adapted and made understandable for visitors from outside, although the healers themselves do not feel a difference in the healing activity per se. The children and adolescents have always been involved in the dances and trained to learn and embody their cultural heritage – this might not be a new development but through the possibility of economic benefit by being a performing participant of a Healing Dance - not only as a healer - the motivation to learn the songs and dances grows.

6.3.4. The Audience’s Performance

We as visitors – acting and being considered as anthropologists and/ or tourists - played an important role, because with our mere presence we defined the moment and kind of performance as well as the acting. The tourists’ gaze, its desire for visual ‘authenticity’ and the Ju/’hoansi’s effort to please this desires are significantly connected. We were constantly looking for an appropriate way to behave when observing the ‘is’ and ‘as’ performances. But we as tourists performed as well, with our own costumes, props, scripts and behaviours, which was at the same time observed and reflected by the Ju/’hoansi.

In our first encounter with the Ju/’hoansi in the Living Museum of Grashoek the visual contrast between us, a group of Western students, and the actors was especially strong. We were standing in a half circle in front of them, equipped with big cameras, long trousers, long sleeved shirts, big hats, sunglasses, heavy shoes and big bags, protecting ourselves from the sun, the mosquitoes, the sand flies, the bush stings and some other unknown dangers of the bush.

The San in traditional costumes were bare-breasted and wore only little pieces of skin in front of their intimate parts, some jewellery and weapons, including bows and arrows, a knife, an axe, fire sticks and maybe a little bag. We observed them sitting in their seemingly idyllic environment; everything was so new and fascinating that we wanted to register everything with our cameras, but at the same time we felt strangely uncomfortable standing around, watching them over their shoulders and looking at them through the lens instead of in the eyes³⁸.

We felt insecure about how we should behave, feeling visually and behaviourally different and although the San are routinized hosts for tourists and elegantly led us through the situation, we felt uneasy. After these first moments that always developed when we entered a new village, a well-structured activity started in which we were involved – sometime directly participating, sometimes as observers standing apart.

I realized that the more we had seen and the more performances we had experienced, the more our behaviour became natural and we slowly found a way to communicate. We developed the habitus of a ‘routinized’ audience, already knowing some information and behaviours about the activities and getting used to the sight of the situations. I got aware of the multiple roles I had as an audience – jumping between anthropologist and researcher, playful tourist, or a girl wanting to learn craft making techniques. I further realized that I felt different when I was alone with one of the performers or when we as a group were given instruction about how to fit into a specific activity.

Jackson describes the transition that takes place, when the museum ‘visitors’ become ‘audience’, but who can also step into the role of ‘learners’ or ‘participants’ (2011). A constant negotiation between actors and audience as well as in the inside of individuals takes place, changing the immersion in a situation (ibid). Influenced by the types of performances and packages ordered, the extent of involvement of the audience changes. It can reach from distant observer to directly involved participant (Schechner 1985: 12).

Sometimes the tourists are directly invited to dance and sing with the people, practice to shoot with bow and arrow and to make crafts – which is the case in workshop-like approaches. In dance presentations the audience sits or stands, watching and observing the dances and breaks

³⁸ See Pic.2 in the appendix for a better illustration.

are made, where the actors directly address their explanations to the visitors. When the audience is asked to participate, it follows choreographed movements and songs that are given by traditional heritage routines, the audience quickly learns the steps and songs to be integrated in a playful manner and directly feels the experience of 'tradition'. In craft making, the active participation of the tourists is part of the performance and the concrete outcome is an object that a tourist builds himself and that he/ she can take home as a visual proof of his/ her participation. The aspect of actively participating is the best way for the audience, to learn, practice and understand the hosts (Lewis 2013: 116).

In Bushwalks and Hunting Trips the visitors walk around with the guides, listen to explanations and may ask questions. They influence the situation, but are in a more passive role of following and listening. Through the sensorial experience of walking, being invited to touch the leaves and taste the roots, the visitor feels included and the feeling of adventure grows.

In the Healing Dances that lasted for a couple of hours, the audience – we – were completely ignored for the entire performance, our camera-lights, giggles and steps were not considered, which created embarrassment from our side, being allowed to move around and inside the performance, but not wanting to disturb it. According to my field diary entries, I felt less embarrassed observing the dances, when I had been able to create a kind of personal relation to the actors before it started. In this situation however our presence was clearly not deniable - even if they ignored us, we had chosen the moment for the dance, we illuminated them with our spot lights to obtain better filming material and we certainly influenced the dance in a way or another. But in my opinion, through this indirect participation, the cultural dances and other activities remain vital and are constantly adapted and renewed; the notions of 'authenticity' are not the most important parameters for valuating or experiencing this kind of dances.

The following quotation taken from a video made by a spectator in the Living Museum of Grashoek, describes how the observer experienced the cultural dance performances. The borders and relations to the performers are special in heritage performances, since the stage is mostly not physically separated and the actors sometimes directly interact with the audience. Sometimes nevertheless they switch to professional actors immersed in the dancing:

“Impressive for me is the professionalism of the actors. We move freely among them, but are consciously ignored. You feel like a non-involved spectator as in a theatre, but so close to the action (URL 5).“³⁹

For my colleague Josef Wukovits the experience of a Healing Dance during his first field experience was a very emotional and fascinating occasion:

„That was the second highlight of my travel, it is though hard to describe. It starts with rhythmical movements, a rhythmic dance and after a while, I don't know, around 30 minutes you are so involved, you are so fascinated and you have the feeling that the energy spills over. I was actually sitting for two hours and observed, but the interesting thing about it was, that as a spectator you can understand every step. (...) That was emotionally a very strong evening for me (interview on 16.01.2014, //Xa/oba)“⁴⁰

In the Healing Dance that was held inside the ‘modern village’, when Josef and I were directly invited to sit, sing and dance along with the San, the feeling of experience burst to emotional levels. The atmosphere, the impression of being included and even touched by the healer !Kunta Boo and actively contributing to the sound was incredible, although my mind was constantly switching between stepping out and analysing the scene as a researcher and at the same time enjoying this mystical experience.

I have already illustrated that the strongest aspect of ‘authenticity’ is the experience of being transported. This approach, concentrating on the personal making of an ‘authentic’ self-experience, in contrast to the judging if an observed object or performance is ‘authentic’ or not, makes more sense to me, especially in a context, where tradition is built for and through the performance with tourists, as it is the case in the Living Museums and Cultural Villages. The whole scenery, from the romantic landscape, the dark green bush, a dramatic sunset, the

³⁹ Original quotation: *„Für mich verblüffend ist die Professionalität der Akteure. Wir bewegen uns frei unter Ihnen, werden aber bewusst nicht wahrgenommen. Man fühlt sich als unbeteiligter Zuschauer wie in einem Theater, aber eben hautnah.“*

⁴⁰ Original quotation: *„Das war der zweite Höhepunkt meiner Reise bisher, es ist schwierig zu beschreiben. Es beginnt mit rhythmischen Bewegungen, einem rhythmischen Tanz und nach einiger Zeit, ich weiss nicht, nach so ca. 30 Minuten ist man so drinnen, man wird so fasziniert und man hat das Gefühl, man bekommt die Energie übergeschwappt. Ich bin eigentlich zwei Stunden gesessen und habe zugeschaut aber das interessante daran war, dass man als Zuschauer nahezu jeden Schritt nachvollziehen konnte. (...). Das war für mich emotionell ein sehr starker Abend.“*

silhouettes of the dancing San in their leather clothes and natural jewellery, the sweet kids and the noises of donkeys, mosquitoes and frogs contributed to a unique experience in an impressive setting.

The experience of observing a Healing Dance not being directly involved seems to be the most emotional of all activities although ironically it is the activity the audience is least active. The spectator is being transported meaning that he is taken to another level (Schechner 2013) – emotionally and symbolically. Maybe this form of being transported is connected to the feeling of getting to see a more ‘real’ event than when the audience is asked to participate and directly contributes to the show, ‘spoiling’ it. The latter case, apart from learning actual techniques and being able to experience the cultural activities on one’s own body, is often connected to a playful and joking approach, imitating and experimenting the situations. The Ju/’hoansi amicably include the audience but it may lead to laughing from both sides – the visitors do unusual things they have not embodied and therefore make mistakes or feel embarrassed.

Each performance is filled with codes that are easier or more difficult to understand according to the type of acting (Schechner 2013: 183 ff.). In his quotation, Josef Wukovits claims to somehow understand the different steps in a dance, although it might be his own interpretation of the movements. This is where communications and explanations come in, where the Ju/’hoansi bring their cultural codes and meanings closer to an audience mostly coming from the outside. However, apart from an educational aspect, heritage performance include mainly the aspects of creativity, experience and participation (Jackson/ Kidd 2011: 5). Every situation includes the creation of new memories and performances, and the correct re-creation of the past or of traditions loses its importance (Smith 2011: 78ff.).

The audience can choose by itself which role to take and how to participate in staged heritage performances. Strict rules of behaviours and unspoken instructions coming from the side of the cultural entrepreneurs of the CV’S and LM’S nevertheless dictate the extent of involvement of the audience. The main aim for the audience is the sense of ‘experience’ – that can happen on many levels, from emotional transportation, to learning about culture and history through direct participation in workshop-like approaches, which actually give the visitors the possibility to practice techniques, up to a playful and amicable involvement of the spectators being jokingly included in the performances.

6.4. Implications of the Performance

6.4.1. Leaving the Performance

After the cultural performances the Ju/'hoansi slowly dissolve the activities and physically go backstage, which at the same time is their place of daily life and everyday life activities. The phases of cool-down and aftermath are relevant for performers and spectators equally, both taking their places in 'normal' life again and rethinking their experiences.

Towards the end of Bushwalks, it was recognizable that getting to know each other, the formal distance between performers and spectators slowly dissolved. After the official end, the performers visually left their strict roles and functions of the 'traditional' performances and let the audience get in touch with them. The visitors and the Ju/'hoansi joked around and there was often the possibility to take pictures or share common experiences and memories from the performance. The staged situation was often followed by a relaxed phase of cool-down, when everyone found him- / herself again in daily life. In most performances we left in a relaxed and happy way.

This phase was often important, to observe how the Ju/'hoansi left their embodied and well-studied performers' role and stepped into their daily one. The borders between actors and spectators dissolved, chatting and laughing. It was often only in this phase that we discovered that some young people actually spoke English. During the first field practice, this phase was often used to exchange names and make interview appointments for the next day. After having come near through cultural performances, when San were in strictly marked roles of 'traditional' participants of a cultural activity and tourists concentratively focussed on learning, observing, taking pictures and being led through the activity, the cool-down phase put both parties on a common and more relaxed level of communication. We visitors finally found again our usual way of moving and behaving, leaving the sometimes embarrassed and not-embodied attitudes behind, which we had had during the tourism activities.

We visitors were left with the feeling of having experienced something special and we all needed a small moment to digest the impressions afterwards. Especially after the Healing Dances, when silence chased away the night filled with sound and clapping and we were left alone with the star-covered sky, the feeling of emptiness but at the same time of a fulfilled

experience took over. Schechner (2013) accentuates the importance of this phase, coming back from transportation and slowly re-entering ordinary life situations.

When Josef and I waited for the people in the ‘backstage’ area, we could observe the actors who came back home; we often saw them tired, in need of a cooling-down or to eat something. They often made clear that they did not want longer chatting with us in that phase. The things happening on the other side, were seldom talked about with us or commented – as far as we could perceive not understanding Ju/’hoansi. Sometimes they came home singing a song they had just performed, especially the children. The actors quickly changed back into their daily clothes – often already in the stage area - and slowly went back to daily tasks.

We visitors excitedly discussed the activities in our own backstage area – the camping place - eating together lunch or dinner, reflecting, interpreting, and remembering. The performances persisted in most cases in registered media – records, films, photos, written texts. Through their watching one could almost have the feeling of going back and reanimating the same atmosphere, although an exact replication is never possible (Schechner 2013: 246ff.).

6.4.2. A New Generation of Cultural Performers

I could observe during the first field research, that the children and young people always followed their parents on ‘traditional’ activities and participated in singing and dancing activities. From small babies bound on the backs of their mothers, to small children playfully imitating the dance circles, up to teenagers assuming more important tasks during the performances. In the second experience remaining in the backstage area, we happened to be ‘tourists-for-practice’ to the younger generation training their cultural knowledge. Based on the observations they constantly gather among their parents, they practiced and imitated Bushwalks and dancing activities with and for us.

Observing their parents and growing up in this special context, the children seemed to unconsciously incorporate dance movements and specific songs in a very playful manner. The young adults or almost grown-up teenagers, did not in their daily life participate in the ‘traditional’ activities for tourists but loved to parody what they saw their parents do, for us – anthropologists and visitors. Not being only observers and followers in the cultural activities of the parents, but actively trying to apply what they have seen and learned, the smaller children showed the interest of the youngest generation, to actually deal with their cultural heritage,

probably in an unconscious and playful way. San children learn especially through observing and following, as Bruce Parcher - teacher adviser of the 'San Education Project'⁴¹ in Tsumkwe - has recognized:

“That is, yeah it's oral, but it's also through trial and error, through play, through observation. San kinds learn most through observation, just watching and following their parents around. And then playing and doing (interview on 13.01.2014, Tsumkwe).”

Playing is a fundamental aspect of learning, in which techniques are learned, exercised and embodied, that might later serve for survival in society (Schechner 2013: 228). Observation is at the core of unofficial learning strategies, following their parents doing activities, maybe practicing and imitating (Lancy/ Bock/ Gaskin 2010: 3ff.). Re-creating the observations in role-plays serves the formation of children growing to adults (Lewis 2013: 99).

Education in general is at the basis of human living and helps to pass down skills, knowledge and ideas (Gray 2009: 505). According to Gray who studied 'hunters and gatherers' societies, parents do not have specific strategies to educate their children but rely on playful and experimental approaches to train and rehearse the skills and ideas of their culture (ibid: 505). San children constantly follow and observe their parents, they practice in play, until it gradually grows into 'real' activity (ibid: 510). Play is the main and favourite activity of children universally and stands in contrast to formalized education, where an authority in a hierarchical system transmits specific knowledge to its pupils (ibid: 505ff.).

Education and schooling is a big problem in the Nyae Nyae, since the schooling system is not compatible with San children's situation (Katz/ Biesele/ et. al. 1997: 76f.). A high drop-out rate is prevalent in San school children because they fear school, are often treated badly by the majority population teachers and pupils and are often mobbed because of their poor clothing.

But this again leads to poor job opportunities and a marginal position in society (Biesele/ Hitchcock 2011: 233f.). Only one of five children attends school and only 1% of San are able to continue to senior secondary education level (Suzman 2011: 123). The further away the schools are from the traditional communities, the more difficult it is for the San children to

⁴¹ For more information: <http://www.namibiaforeningen.no/san-education-project.4612912-138547.html>, 13.05.2016, 10.00

reach the school - as Bruce Parcher explained: *“Some tried and the dropout rate is exceedingly high for the kids in this area 95-100%. Most of them drop out when they have to come to Tsumkwe (interview on 13.01.2014, Tsumkwe).“*

The schooling in cultural heritage and the education of formalized knowledge stand in a controversial relation to another. For Memory Simasiku, teacher at Grashoek primary school, these are two different areas in which parents and schools have to work together, to educate the children in both sectors (interview on 16.01.2014, Grashoek). Bruce Parcher confirms, that the parent’s contribution is essential for his school projects, in which he tries to involve cultural knowledge and mother tongue language into the school programme (interview on 13.01.2014, Tsumkwe).

“It is definitely education. It’s the kind of thing that we as teacher would not be able to teach them. Let me say it’s another part of education in a child’s life. As a pre-primary teacher, we are thought to teach the child in a whole, not just in one subject, but the whole child entirely. When they teach the children how to do something at home, us, the teachers are working on a child’s mind. Also the parents are working on a child’s mind at home, preparing them for the future for instance. You know, most of the people here drop out of the school, and what they are thought at home is what keeps them going, keeps them further. For instance, if the child drops out of school for a reason, any reason, they still have what they learned at home (Memory Simasiku, interview on 16.01.2014, Grashoek).“

In the eyes of another primary school teacher in Grashoek, a Kavango woman called Perpetwa Hausiku, the Living Museums are an extremely good project for the children, providing a cultural school for children, where they get curious about their heritage simply because they are surrounded by it and start observing and asking questions: *“Yeah, the kids love it. They love practicing their culture. A lot. You’ll find that some, most of the kids don’t even know it (Perpetwa Hausiku, interview on 16.01.2014, Grashoek).“*

Schooling may sometimes come into the way of children’s’ occupation with ‘traditional’ heritage. I observed in Doupos, that there were few children aged seven to sixteen, because most of them were living with their relatives in Tsumkwe and were busy at school. It kept them very occupied and even for children who lived in Doupos or came back for holidays, there

was little time to show interest for the ‘traditional’ activities or to follow their parents. As a school teacher, Perpetwa Hausiku has a good insight into such processes:

“The parents felt that the kids are kept most of the time in school and after the school, let me put it his way, most of the parents are out practicing or performing and dancing at the campsite, so they don’t have enough time to teach their kids some of their practices (Perpetwa Hausiku, interview on 16.01.2014, Grashoek).”

Koba a beautiful and smart young lady aged eight living in Doupos, is a great singer and dancer, but when I chatted with her about going with her parents to the museum area, she said she could not because of school, she only went there to play in her free time. I further met Cwi, who was always perfectly dressed in impeccable ‘modern’ clothes and his clothes always perfectly clean in contrast to mine. He spoke perfect English, was very ambitious and the only teenager I met who enthusiastically went to school and was about to finish. He wanted to become a pilot and go to school in Grootfontein or Windhoek and laughingly told me with a glimpse of superiority, that the cultural activities did not interest him, he had no time for that.

The other way round, ‘traditional’ activities may also come into conflict with school attendance, closing the children’s dilemmas to a vicious circle. Although parents absolutely motivate their children to get education, Ju’hoansi children are raised very independently and free to make their own decisions (Bruce Parcher, interview on 13.01.2014, Tsumkwe). Since the San children’s situation in public schools is very bad and cultural activities are a realistic alternative for the future, some children and teenagers prefer staying at home, as Bruce critically commented:

“Because of the drop out rates, and the choice that kids make and in the San the culture the kids can choose to go to school or not. The choice the kids make to stay and live a traditional life in the village and not go to school. But the parents, I’ve never heard a single parent say they don’t support education they all want their kids to go to school, they just don’t want it to be like it is now. [...] One of the interesting things, those kids are very in touch with culture, very proud to be Ju’hoansi and that makes it harder for them to come here. So they all dropped out last year. They really...because of this, the village is quite successful because of the Living Museum and the parents attitudes to education is very strong they want their kids

to go school. So there's a lot of push from both sides (Bruce Parcher, interview on 13.01.2014, Tsumkwe)."

The LMs and CVs are optimal job opportunities in the future, observed Memory Simasiku:

"The Living Museum is an important source of income here. It is the only source of income. So inevitably they teach their children about their culture, even though they might teach them in the sense 'It's going to be your job. It's going to be your future job' (interview on 16.01.2014, Grashoek)."

For the generation of young adults and teenagers, the occupation with 'traditional' heritage becomes interesting. Whereas Dabe and Cwi //ao, 18 and 22 years old, gave up performing as well as schooling to take up regular jobs at the conservancy, others wished to learn more about the performances, which would allow them to stay in the village and have a more or less regular income. Although in the case of young !Kunta the interest in learning was more little, but instead the wish of showing off in front of us seemed to be more relevant, K//akha and Xoan//a showed a deeper motivation in following their parents. It gives them the opportunity for income, while staying in their village, which most young people seemed quite attached to.

"Yeah, I want them to learn as the same as I learned, because when I went to school I did not know how my parents are lived, then after I just grew up until 19 years and then I started to learn about gathering and hunting. And in nowadays while they are still young I want them to learn these things already before they go to school and as they are at school they know already how to hunt and gather bush food, how to making arrows, clothes and so on. Because I want them, even if they finish school and have jobs, they have to think back and, the modern things, they must bring them back into the village, stay in the village, not that they decide to go away and not come back into the village. [...] It is a good idea to having this museum and to show people how our parents were living and also our youngest can learn a lot of it (Tsemkgao Daqm, interview on 17.01.2014, //Xa/oba)."

Tsumkwe, was a frequent place of visit for people of all generations, as a place where things could be bought and access to money and alcohol existed. At the same time many people, especially young ones, complained about the noise in Tsumkwe and the bad atmosphere and

Kha//ha and !Kunta regularly accentuated their wish to live in Doupos in the future. From my very subjective perspective, some people in Tsumkwe and in other villages seemed worse off than in Grashoek or Doupos, where at least an income was guaranteed, a fact that Bruce Parcher can confirm: “*Competition and jealousy and the tourists are channeled by the conservancy to certain villages, so then there is a tension between the villages which are excluded, the conservancy and the villages that are* (interview on 13.01.2014, Tsumkwe).”.

The future developments of these touristic concepts lay in the hands of the new generation. The children, growing up with the regular enactment of tradition, found creative and experimenting ways of learning, parodying and developing the performance of preserved and at the same time transformed ‘culture’. They were important gatekeepers and teachers for us as visitors, surrounding and following us from the first minutes.

7. Conclusions and Prospects

The San have a long history of fame in the Western world, being labeled with many stereotypes in science and popular media since the 18th century and attracting visitors until today, through their imagery applied in touristic channels. After a long history of discrimination, violence and marginalization by neighbouring communities, colonialists and scientists, in the latter years the Ju/'hoansi of North-Eastern Namibia have taken and re-interpreted their culture and tradition as resources in the context of cultural tourism. This development has been a starting point for the construction of an image as empowered individuals, using cultural heritage not as a basis for stereotypes but as a statement for their own expertise.

I was interested to find out, how their intangible cultural heritage and traditional knowledge are used to create and organize touristic cultural performances. I was intrigued to explore strategies and actions the Ju/'hoansi may apply, to produce cultural activities for tourists through embodied and interpreted traditional knowledge, by analysing the motivations of the participants, the construction of a performance, the rules that regulate the acts and the involvement of the audience as part of the performance, as well as possible future developments.

The research question is placed within the processes of the commodification of cultural heritage in indigenous tourism. It starts with intangible heritage being preserved and exposed for interested tourists, therefore packaged into a museum area and staged for visitors. The tourists pay to see the cultural activities and in this case, they take place in spaces built on purpose, which makes of the 'traditional' activities, staged performances. A general accusation to this kind of activities is that of being 'unauthentic' and leading to cultural flattening. Theorizing the cultural performances of the Ju/'hoansi is at the theoretical intersection of the anthropology of tourism, the analysis of cultural commodification, discussions on authenticity and performance studies.

I empirically approached the topic through a collective field practice with the University in January 2014 and later with my colleague Josef Wukovits in August 2014. The main research methods were participant observation, narrative and expert interviews as well as informal talks. I used an inductive approach and integrated many direct quotations from the Ju/'hoansi, to let the people themselves describe some opinions and situations.

In the first approach, the student group I was part of experienced different cultural activities in a similar way tourists do, which gave me the possibility to critically analyse my own impressions in that role. Due to certain circumstances in the second field research, Josef and I were not granted to cross the spheres and participate in tourism activities, which opened my eyes to what happens when cultural performances went on and we remained in the 'backstage'. My methodological conclusion is therefore a confirmation of the anthropological subjectivity during fieldwork; the approach, perspectives and methods used considerably influence the topic and results of a research.

The Ju/'hoansi of the Tsumkwe District became involved in cultural tourism with the aid of the Living Culture Foundation Namibia (LCFN) and the Nyae Nyae Conservancy (NNC). Using the cultural heritage which had still been transmitted to the younger people, they re-interpreted the 'traditional' activities to make them fit to the visitors' interests and time frames and organised them on 'menus', where they could be booked in exchange for fees. The Ju/'hoansi have become proud teacher of their cultural knowledge and are pleased to have an equal exchange with the (mostly Western) visitors.

Tourism has become one of the most fruitful economic sectors worldwide and its implications therefore have to be considered by anthropologists as well as by others. Alternative forms of tourism involvement may allow indigenous people to profit economically and at the same time influence the images that are transported in the course of the marketing process. Through Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), local people are actively involved in the tourism businesses, profit from them and further care for the conservation of wildlife.

Although tourism is statistically seen not the main part of income – which is by contrast given by the state and the conservancy – for the Ju/'hoansi involved, it is considered as an important factor of financial security. The three main motivations to participate in tourism activities are on the one hand the financial benefit, and on the other hand keeping traditions alive as well as transmitting them to their children. Learning about one's cultural heritage permits the younger generations to remain in their village but at the same time have a more or less regular income.

The knowledge about traditional activities is a relevant premise to be able to participate in cultural performances and is acquired in a life-long process. It is partly learned through the observation and practice of participating in 'traditional' activities - with or without tourists. Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is stored in the bodies and carried out in the course of performances (Taylor 2003). Some adults nevertheless had to re-learn the movements of some activities following stories of the elders and it in general it takes time to incorporate the movements as natural practice.

Working in cultural tourism does not only imply the understanding and embodiment of traditional knowledge, but also includes more specific behaviours and expertise needed for the explicit interaction with visitors. The Ju/'hoansi have, with the help of the LCFN or the NNC, constructed specific programmes adapted to the touristic interests. Strict authenticity rules guarantee a historically correct representation of heritage, the shortening of activities and picking out special and exciting bits made them more interesting for tourists. The Ju/'hoansi were further instructed in photography making and especially the guides must have profound knowledge of the English language, specific attitudes and behaviours, humor and hospitable manners to make the visitors feel comfortable. This is described as the construction of a commodified persona by Bunten (2008).

The Ju/'hoansi occupy two separated areas, one for living and one for working. In the 'modern' and lived village the Ju/'hoansi perform daily activities which are constant and long-lasting but which include among others, the preparations of the cultural performances. The back stage may be seen and visited as an activity, but is not performed or adapted when visitors come. The back stage was initially created to protect the private sphere of the performers, avoiding to have visitors randomly intruding their living space, and not for hiding it from the outside.

An interesting outcome I had, when I compared my own observations during the two different experiences in the Cultural Villages, was about the inclusion and position of touristic performances in their everyday life. Lewis (2013) - relying on Schechner (1985) who built parts of his theory on the distinction of 'is' and 'as' performance - theorizes the division between special events and ordinary life, a focus that is very observable in my approach. Since my access to the Ju/'hoansi San had been almost exclusively through paying activities in my first research, I wrongly assumed, that the work with tourists represented a central part of their lives and a main source of income. When denied the access to tourism performances I got the impression that other things, still always connected to the conservancy programme, were more central, time taking and economically efficient. Nevertheless, the arrival of the tourists was a complete break through everyday life routines and led everyone to run around and prepare.

Observations showed that 'traditional' activities and the performances done in the museum area, are seldom taken into the living area and - from my subjective point of view - are rarely talked about. 'Traditional' activities still happen in their daily lives but not on such a regular basis as people explained to us in interviews that were connected to a constructed persona. The children and young adults transgress the two spheres more easily, playing and parodying with the performance spaces, switching between staged and non-staged, played and performed and going to 'traditional' staged without performing paid activities.

The performances are in several cases seen as a job, therefore the change of physical space marks the separation between different activities in life. It is however important to know about the real circumstances in which the Ju/'hoansi live, to avoid stereotyped images claiming a pristine and 'traditional' lifestyle - although I fear that most of the tourists visiting the San do not know or want to know about the real circumstances and keep in mind the represen-

tation of a 'traditional' past. Smallboy – the main tourist guide in Tsumkwe East - therefore underlines the importance to tell the tourists about the real living conditions and in the Living Museums visitors can officially book and pay a tour to the 'modern village' if they are interested. As described by some of the actors, western visitors often prefer to see them traditionally and therefore the Ju/'hoansi mostly change into traditional attire, to accomplish the visitors longing for 'authenticity'.

The notion of 'authenticity' is often connected to the past and responds to a nostalgic touristic gaze (MacCannell 1999; Urry 2002). Specific and strict rules were decided in the Living Museums, by the German-Namibian organizers. The knowledge was gathered by the eldest and supposed to correspond to a pre-colonial period. Exceptions were made for metal tools, which were exchanged with Europeans, although glass beads are not allowed in the traditional costumes used for performance (Sebastian Dürschmidt, interview on 13.08.2014, Windhoek). The rules for the re-constructed 'authentic' culture are less strict in the Cultural Villages, although the San tour guide wants to introduce stricter guidelines to maintain a correct representation of the Ju/'hoansi culture (Smallboy, interview on 01.09.2014, Tsumkwe).

An important activity that takes place in the back stage is the changing of appearance through costumes, jewellery and props. As soon as tourists arrive, people change into 'traditional' attire - from the touristic perspective clothes seem to be a guarantee for an 'authentic' experience, since costumes are used to transform the actor into the role he is playing and to create an adequate mood for the audience (Eicher/ Roach-Higgins 1979: 9, 11). Dress and jewellery are part of material culture, which is used in addition to intangible cultural activities and foster what is claimed to be 'authentic' by an insider and an outsider view (Kidd 2011).

Clothes are relevant markers for ethnicity, identity and social participation and are interconnected with hunting activities, family and gender relations among the Ju/'hoansi. In their actually lived village, traditional clothes did not seem to be worn, and 'modern' clothes are the most wanted items San wish from the visitors in general. Traditional clothes nevertheless have a relevance for the performance of 'traditional' activities, since they were developed for specific movements and circumstances. The possession of traditional clothes is further a premise for being able to participate in tourism activities and because of their fragility, they are treated with respect.

The stage is similarly prepared – eight straw huts used almost only for touristic purposes stand on a clean area and construct the performance stage. The performances of the Ju/'hoansi are very connected to the environment and include interaction with nature and the use of props taken from the 'bush'. Children grow up in that context and automatically get to know the rules, benefits and dangers of the place.

A performance is divided into phases of preparation, practice and rehearsal, the show itself and in phases of cool-down and aftermath (Schechner 2013). The stages before the performance include (unconscious) life-long practice and the embodiment of intangible cultural heritage among children and adults. It further includes the conscious creation of 'traditional' activities adapted to the touristic requirements as well as specific training. Another important part is the production of clothes and the stage for a successful show in front of the visitors. The performance itself is varied according to the type of programme chosen and happens in interaction with the audience. In the phase of cool-down, the actors as well as the spectators re-consider the situation and slowly re-enter ordinary-life, normalizing the professional role applied before, and relaxing.

Different kinds of cultural activities were adapted for touristic presentations and are offered on the menus. The Bushwalks and Hunting Trips are multisensory guided tours through the natural environment of the San with the audience following and listening, but also posing questions and being animated to taste fruits, feel the plants, dig out roots and actively follow tracks. They consist of informational explanations, humoristic acts that imitate different situations of a 'traditional' Ju/'hoansi life and interactive parts with the audience.

Craft Making activities are performed as well as constructed in a workshop-manner that animate the people to learn techniques and produce an object. Through creativity, playing and practicing, the visitors can experience Ju/'hoansi culture very close. Short staged dances are performed and in between explained by an English-speaking guide. The tourists watch standing apart and are sometimes asked to joyfully participate in the choreographies. The Healing Dances by contrast, are only performed for an observing audience, which is almost completely ignored during the performance. For the passive audience this experience feels is very intensive and almost sacral. Instead, when I have been actively involved in a Healing Dance I realized that humor and playfulness are also important for this activity.

A relevant aspect to keep in mind during the experience and the analysis of the situation is that a performance always constitutes itself through the interaction between audience and performers (Korom 2013: 2). There were different levels of involvement of the visitors depending on the spectators, the actors and the packages offered. The audience is always relevant and influences the outcome of a performance.

Finding oneself in a new cultural context and in a new situation of not-so-staged theatre but also not-so-natural-interaction, I experienced that tourists may feel uncomfortable or embarrassed not knowing how to behave and which role to take in the course of the performances (cf. Jackson/ Kidd 2011). They may choose which role to take between being observers, learners or participants, but are dictated by unspoken rules or direct instructions given by the frame of Living Museums and Cultural Villages. The spectators are sometimes asked to actively contribute to the performance, imitating the movements of the hosts, which often leads to playful joking from both sides. In the cool-down-phase, the frontiers between hosts and guests may be suspended and a more natural form of interaction can take place, exchanging about the common memories of the experienced situation.

The strongest aspect for the tourists is the ‘experience’ they live, being transported and absorbed by all kinds of activities – either observing or actively practicing. Not judging levels of ‘authenticity’, but actually making a self-experience is crucial during tourism performances (Zhu 2012). No performance can ever be repeated, although it is always based on previous patterns (Schechner 2013). It is therefore obsolete to look for a ‘real’ replication of ‘traditional’ activities but rather more interesting to focus on how a new situation is created collectively between performers and the audience; it allows to feel the cultural past and at the same time create a new memory (Jackson/ Kidd 2011).

The comparison of various activity situations in different tourism related contexts, gives an overview over the constructed and embodied roles and behaviours the Ju/’hoansi can rely on. Having embodied intangible cultural heritage and therefore carrying traditional knowledge inside as Taylor (2003) claims, the San are still treasurers of their own rituals and heritage. Through constantly being surrounded by ‘traditional’ activities, an experimental approach recreates the activities which have to be transformed to fit into the touristic programmes. Humor and playfulness are important elements in the daily life of the San as well as in special events and have further been repackaged as strategies in the context of tourism activities.

The approach to traditional learning among the Ju/'hoansi is playful, children observing, imitating and then practicing the knowledge until it can be performed in front of visitors. Reinterpreting, rehearsing and parodying the performances of the professional actors, the young generation loved to show us - the anthropologists - the same activities they had observed among the adults in their free time. The 'habitus' is by children incorporated through observation, imitation and practice until a series of structured patterns are embodied and can consequently be applied in the varied performances of each individual (Bourdieu 1982). The latter growing up with regular cultural presentations, combine learning with playing, experimenting, embodying 'traditional' activities and at the same time creating new forms.

Not only are children experimenting with traditional knowledge and tourism activities, also the Ju/'hoansi have created specific packages how to best present their cultural performances, and the quality, content and routine varies from village to village. The San rely on a set of different roles from professional tourism workers to experts of traditional knowledge to joking interactions with spectators up to interested persons and reciprocal learning partners in the course of the presentations.

I did not focus explicitly on the analysis of the implications on gender roles through the involvement in tourism business. It was partly observable that men took over the traditionally female activity of gathering in the course of tourism representations. It was also noticeable that most of the English speaking guides and translators were men and therefore led the activities. I could however experience in Doupos, that internally Xoan//a - the daughter of !Kunta Boo - had a very important position, being responsible for the food in the village and playing an important role in the cultural activities. The communication with visitors and information from the Tsumkwe Country Lodge however happened through her father, brother or husband. An important task of the women in general is craft making, whereas the carving of wooden figures and knives by the men play a minor role. The income gathered through craft is considerable in the overall income of the Ju/'hoansi in the Tsumkwe area (Suzman 2001).

The cultural heritage of the San packed in performances attracts people from all over the world, who cross kilometres to experience their stories. At the same time, it is the San who travel far to transmit their cultural knowledge. Craft and jewellery are material goods exported nationally and internationally and made out of imported materials – such as eggshells nowadays imported from South Africa and the 'traditional' Kudu skins that are partly made of

goats provided by the LCFN, not to forget – founded by a German-Namibian. Although the remote location of the Ju/'hoansi communities is an attraction in the imaginery of touristic marketing, the visitors, the performers themselves and the tools and materials, place the San in a clearly large and global field.

I have illustrated in the course of the last pages, that the San have through the use and exhibition of their cultural heritage obtained a new self-esteem and pride over their identity, which had been deprived because of historical developments pushing the San into a marginal position in society. Not only have the cultural tourism projects in the area allowed knowledge transfer to the new generation, but they further gave self-confidence to the people and facilitated land claims.

People driving from far away to learn about the San culture and the Ju/'hoansi speaking as teachers and managing their own institutions, leads to a new position of the San in the Namibian society, realizing that they are experts on their heritage (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek). For the Ju/'hoansi the encounters with visitors from all over the world are part of a reciprocal learning and exchange process. In my eyes, the most fruitful benefit of cultural tourism in the Tsumkwe area is the new position of the Ju/'hoansi as experts of their culture and mediators of their knowledge.

Not only, several examples have shown, that the Ju/'hoansi have travelled to neighbouring communities, countries and even to Europe to present their heritage as well as their immerging knowledge as cultural entrepreneurs. Their new position extends their work outside the border of their nations and opens for a more global exchange. This brings me to the conclusion, that the Ju/'hoansi have through the cultural management and tourism activities become prominent experts of their 'heritage' as well as the use of it, as the two following quotations show:

“And the most important thing besides what we are showing in the Living Museum, we are also showing it to other places. Like, me, I was flying to South Korea, I was flying to France and I was also flying to South Africa which we were representing the San cultural groups in Namibia (Henry /ui Nyani, interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek).”

“And like me I’m /Gao so I’m also the actor but I’m also a teacher which I also train others and also going to other places like go to Germany, I go to Italiy, go also to show the people about our culture and I know about all the lifestyle in the resources here around us. So I was also to South Africa where I was also teaching some of the Khomani San people and also some people like us but they are not speaking our language they are only speaking Afrikaans. I also learn them how to use their culture, and how to do things so that they can survive with the guest. So my father learned me how to make a bow than I also teach others how to make the bow that’s why you can see in our craft shop we have a lot of bows which every person could make by himself. And for the women the women teach also other women how to make necklaces (/Gao N!aice, interview on 11.01.2014, Grashoek).”

I could therefore imagine, that a possible future for the cultural performances might be a professionalization and more intense commercialization of their cultural resources. This leads to a creative re-interpretation and packaging of ‘traditional’ activities which are re-constructed in order to transmit knowledge to visitors. There were rumors about a big and professional craft shop in Doupos, built with the aid of a German man:

“These people here, they must stay, because in other places they want money, but here sometimes people say: ah stay here, and when they go back, no pay. Because here I know a lot, they come from outside. One he is coming back in the beginning of October, Kim, he is from Germany. He wants to start here a big project, he wants to help us, he was asking a big place and he wants also a shop for craft, here, he wants to build one here, in the village. And the guy said he will help us from his site, but we also have to try ourselves (Gerrie Cigae Cwi, interview on 22.08.2014, Doupos).”

Traditional education stands in contrast to formal scholar instruction and so often the new generations feel they have to choose between both. Rarely are these two areas connected and in some cases, the possibility to gain income through learning ‘traditional’ heritage, keeps them away from schooling, which is anyway very difficult for San people for several reasons. For successful tourism operation, specific training would however be relevant and could be a new approach to integrate Ju/’hoansi communities. Tsemkgao !L/ae – Smallboy - is a good example for the ambitions of professionalizing and educating people to become experts in the tourism industry. He wants to study languages and do further education on tour guiding (interview on 04.09.2014, Tsumkwe).

Education and training are an essential aspect for successful tourism operations, since the actors can actively deal with it and are not passively carried along (Butler/ Hinch 2007b: 324). Tourism among indigenous communities is tendentially going into the direction of becoming business corporations (Comaroff/ Comaroff 2009). Tourism could be a chance for the youngest generations, to combine education and formal instruction with 'traditional' heritage, using the knowledge to become more professional tourism workers and to gather better income. Recognizing the possibilities of cultural tourism could motivate to focus on sustainable education for the youngest generations, to profit best from the situation.

To sum it up, the motivations to participate in touristic cultural performances are the prospect of financial benefit, an occupation and pride with their own cultural heritage and the wish to keep it alive and transmit it to their children. There is a certain awareness that visitors from around the world take an interest in their culture and want to learn about it. While the objective financial benefit differs between statistics and the actual perception of the San, the cultural knowledge is indeed consciously used and revitalized in order to profit from it. The children are further constantly surrounded by 'traditional' activities taking place and the interest to learn and apply their intangible cultural heritage grows.

Intangible Heritage is embodied and transmitted through performances, the young generations learn it mainly through observing, imitating and practicing – although some 'traditional' activities might be told and described by the elders. The children grow up with 'traditional' activities in a playful manner, although the young adults might have a clearer motivation for learning - the knowledge is the basis for a job and financial security, but allowing them to remain in their familiar environment, which seems to be a matter to many young people.

The tourism performances are part of the life of the Ju/'hoansi and can happen at every time, they usually interrupt the ordinary routines and take place in a separate area. Elements of the performances, such as preparations, songs and dances are present throughout daily life although the tourism activities are clearly apart and not much talked about. The performances are seen as their jobs and to protect themselves they clearly separate the spaces, relying on different roles to apply according to the situations.

The performances were adapted to assumed touristic expectations, being trained by local and German organizations, judging the 'traditional' activities and putting them into a pleasurable and exciting style for the visitors. Specific authenticity rules regulate the acts, traditional costumes and environment are a premise for the performances and the performers were trained for the interaction with tourists. Through creative and experimenting re-interpretations of old traditions, the cultural performances are each time re-created and experienced through the interaction with the audience. The children again, creatively and playfully re-interpret the traditions and are eager to practice them in front of visitors.

The knowledge about their culture is a basis for contributing in the tourism business and has heightened the self-esteem of many participants, not wanting to hide anymore because of their heritage but instead feeling pride to teach it to outsiders. The Ju/'hoansi in the Living Museums and Cultural Villages of North-Eastern Namibia have actually become professional in handling their culture and are requested experts animated to travel, to share their traditional knowledge and their emerging entrepreneurial skills.

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8.3. Movie

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8.4. Empirical Sources

8.4.1. Interviews

Bruce Parcher on 13.01.2014 in Tsumkwe, Namibia. Interviewers: Elina Vestere, Julia Koch, Naa-Ansah Kofi, Petra Kainz.

Cwi Quinten Gerrie on 13.01.2014 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewer: Salomé Ritterband.

Dabe //ao and Cwi //ao on 13.01.2013 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewer: Salomé Ritterband, Silja Strasser.

Dabe //ao and Cwi //ao on 14.01.2014 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewer: Jaqueline Eybel.

Daqm Boo on 16.01.2014 in //Xa/oba, Namibia. Interviewer: Veronika Grandy.

Gerrie Cwi Cigae on 22.08.2014 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewers: Josef Wukovits, Salomé Ritterband.

Henry /ui Nyani on 11.01.2014 in Grashoek, Namibia. Interviewers: Manuela Zips-Mairitsch, Werner Zips.

Henry /ui Nyani on 12.01.2014 in Grashoek, Namibia. Interviewers: Petra Kainz.

Henry /ui Nyani on 13.01.2014 in Grashoek, Namibia. Interviewer: Veronika Grandy.

Henry /ui Nyani and /Gao N´aice on 11.01.2014 in Grashoek, Namibia. Interviewers: Anna-Sophie Tomancok, Silja Strasser.

Jeremy Silvester on 12.08.2014 in Windhoek, Namibia. Interviewers: Josef Wukovits, Salomé Ritterband.

Josef Wukovits on 16.01.2014 in //Xa/oba, Namibia. Interviewers: Manuela Zips-Mairitsch, Werner Zips.

Kaqece N!ani on 13.01.2014 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewer: Anna-Sophie Tomancok.

Kaqece Xoara on 16.01.2014 in Doupos. Interviewers: Astric Lehner, Julia Pucher.

Komtsa Daqm on 15.01.2014 in //Xa/oba, Namibia. Interviewer: Jaqueline Eybel, Elina Vestere.

Komtsa Daqm on 16.01.2014 in //Xa/oba, Namibia. Interviewers: Werner Zips, Manuela Zips-Mairitsch.

Komtsa Daqm on 17.01.2014 in //Xa/oba, Namibia. Interviewers: Dora Kemelklyte, Julia Pucher, Valentina Arienti.

Komtsa Daqm on 18.01.2014 in //Xa/oba, Namibia. Interviewer: Anna Spitaler.

Kxore Erna /ui on 13.01.2014 in Grashoek, Namibia. Interviewer: Alicja Katchikian.
Translator: !Amace n!aici.

Memory Simasiku on 16.01.2014 In Grashoek, Namibia. Interviewer: Alicja Katchikian.

Michael Uusiku Akuupa on 13.08.2014 in Katutura, Namibia. Interviewers: Josef Wukovits, Salomé Ritterband.

Morris //oce Khau on 17.01.2014 in Grashoek, Namibia. Interviewer: Goda Palekaite.

N!ae Komtsa on 17.01.2014 in //Xa/oba, Namibia. Interviewers: Anna-Sophie Tomancok, Silja Strasser.

N!ae //ao on 16.01.2014 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewers: Anna Spitaler, Dora Kemelklyte, Valentina Arienti. Translator: Kaqece N!ani.

Paulina Tsauses on 04.09.2014 in Tsumkwe, Namibia. Interviewer: Salomé Ritterband.

Perpetwa Hausiku on 16.01.2014 in Grashoek, Namibia. Interviewer: Alicja Katchikian.

Salomé Ritterband on 16.01.2014 in //Xa/oba, Namibia. Interviewers: Manuela Zips-Mairitsch, Werner Zips.

Sebastian Dürschmidt on 06.01.2014 in Windhoek, Namibia. Interviewers: Anna-Sophie Tomancok, Silja Strasser.

Sebastian Dürschmidt on 09.01.2014 in Windhoek, Namibia. Interviewers: Valentina Grillo, Veronika Grandy.

Sebastian Dürschmidt on 13.08.2014 in Windhoek, Namibia. Interviewers: Josef Wukovits, Salomé Ritterband.

Tilxo Dabe on 14.01.2013 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewer: Salomé Ritterband. Translator: Kagece N!ani.

Tsemkgao !L/ae - Smallboy on 15.01.2014 in Tsumkwe, Namibia. Interviewers: Anna Spitaler, Valentina Arienti.

Tsemkgao !L/ae - Smallboy on 01.09.2014 in Tsumkwe, Namibia. Interviewers: Josef Wukovits, Salomé Ritterband,.

Tsemkgao !L/ae - Smallboy on 04.09.2014 in Tsumkwe, Namibia. Interviewers: Josef Wukovits, Salomé Ritterband.

Tsemkgao Daqm on 16.01.2014 in //Xa/oba, Namibia. Interviewers: Eva Erhart; Salomé Ritterband.

Tsemkgao Daqm on 17.01.2014 in //Xa/oba, Namibia. Interviewer: Elina Vestere.

Werner Pfeifer on 09.01.2014 in Windhoek, Namibia. Interviewers: Manuela Zips-Mairitsch, Werner Zips.

Werner Pfeifer on 22.01.2014 in Windhoek, Namibia. Interviewers: Anna-Sophie Tomancok, Elina Vestere, Goda Palekaite, Silja Strasser, Veronika Grandy.

Willelm Gaiseb on 14.01.2014 in Tsumkwe, Namibia. Interviewer: Julia Koch.

Xoan//a Cgaesje and !uu Cgaesje on 13.01.2014 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewer: Salomé Ritterband. Translator: Coma Samora Cgaesje.

Xoan//a !Kunta on 14.01.2013 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewers: Manuela Zips-Mairitsch, Werner Zips. Translator: Kagece N!ani.

/Gao N!aice on 11.01.2014 in Grashoek. Interviewers: Werner Zips, Manuela Zips-Mairitsch.

/Gao N!aice on 12.01.2014 in Grashoek. Interviewer: Goda Palekaite.

!amace N!aici on 16.01.2014 in //Xa/oba, Namibia. Interviewers: Salomé Ritterband, Eva Erhart.

!Kunta David Boo on 13.01.2014 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewers: Manuela Zips-Mairitsch, Werner Zips. Translator: Kagece N!ani.

!Kunta David Boo on 26.08.2014 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewer: Josef Wukovits. Translator: !Kunta ≠oma.

!Kunta David Boo on 02.09.2014 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewers: Salomé Ritterband, Josef Wukovits. Translator: !Kunta ≠oma.

!Kunta !Amace on 17.01.2014 in Grashoek, Namibia. Interviewer: Goda Palekaite. Translator: !L/ae Johannes.

!Kunta ≠oma on 04.09.2014 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewers: Salomé Ritterband, Josef Wukovits.

!uu Cgaesje and Tilxo Dabe on 13.01.2014 in Doupos, Namibia. Interviewers: Anna-Sophie Tomancok, Silja Strasser. Translator: Coma Samora Cgaesje.

8.4.2. Written and Unpublished Records

Salomé Ritterband. *Written Informal Talks.* With several people from Grashoek, //Xa/oba, Doupos, Djokhoe, Tsumkwe, Windhoek, Namibia. 9.-24. January 2014 and 5. August - 10. September 2014

Salomé Ritterband. *Field Notes (a).* Grashoek, //Xa/oba, Doupos, Djokhoe, Tsumkwe, Windhoek, Namibia. 9.-24. January 2014.

Salomé Ritterband. *Field Notes (b).* Doupos, Tsumkwe, Windhoek. 5. August - 10. September 2014.

Salomé Ritterband. *Field Diary (a).* Grashoek, //Xa/oba, Doupos, Djokhoe, Tsumkwe, Windhoek, Namibia. 9.-24. January 2014.

Salomé Ritterband. *Field Diary (b).* Doupos, Tsumkwe, Windhoek. 5. August - 10. September 2014.

Sebastian Dürschmidt. *Private Lecture and Introduction at LCFN.* Windhoek, 09.01.2014.

9. Appendix

9.1. Pronunciation of the ‘Click’ Sounds

/ or C	Dental click: similar to a sound expressing ‘pity’ [tsk]
!	Palatal click: Similar to a cork pulled from a bottle
≠	Alveolar-palatal click: similar to snapping a finger
//	Lateral click: similar to get a horse moving

Sources: LeRoux/ White, 2004: ix; Field Diary, August 2014.

Other sounds:

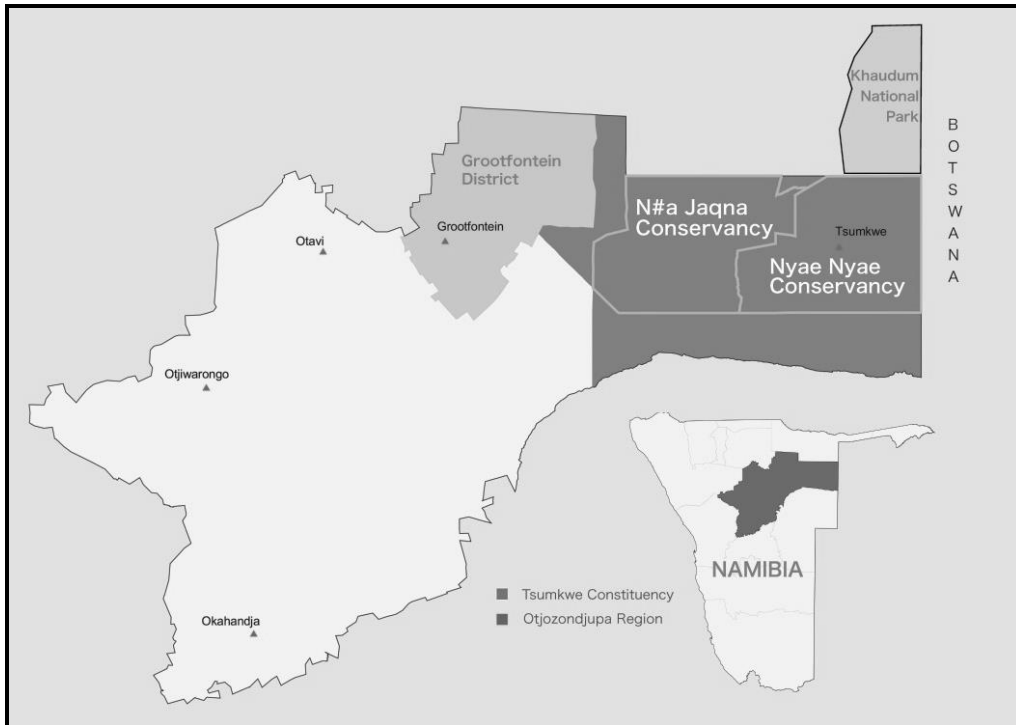
X	Pronounced like ‘h’, but more similar to a german ‘ch’
Qece	Pronounced like ‘she’

9.2. List of Abbreviations

CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CV	Cultural Village
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
JBDF	Ju/Wa Bushman Development Foundation
JFU	Ju/Wa Farmers Union
LCF	Living Culture Foundation
LCFN	Living Culture Foundation Namibia
LIFE	Living in a Finite Environment
LM	Living Museum
MAN	Museum Association Namibia
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
NNC	Nyae Nyae Conservancy
NNDFN	Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia
NNFC	Nyae Nyae Development Farmers Cooperative
SADF	South African Defence Force
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in South Africa
WTO	World Tourism Organization

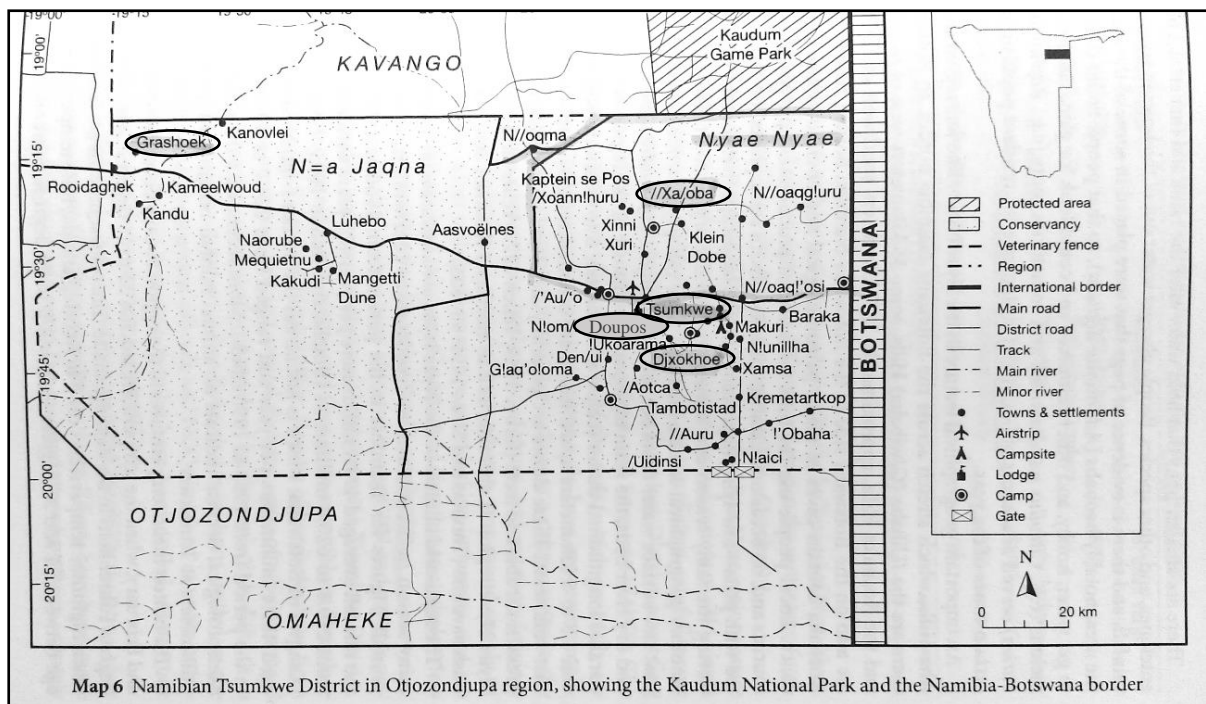
9.3. List of Places and Maps

Djokhoe	Cultural Village placed in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy but not officially integrated in the tourism program.
Doupos	Cultural Village located in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and home of the healer !Kunta Boo.
Grashoek	First and biggest Living Museum of the LCFN, located in the N=a Jaqna Conservancy in Tsumkwe West.
Nyae Nyae Conservancy	Established in 1998, the first built on communal land in Namibia, combines human development and wildlife conservation.
N/a'an ku sê Lodge	Touristic luxury destination working on sustainability and empowering indigenous communities, located near Windhoek.
N=a Jaqna Conservancy	Established in 2003 after the example of the NNC.
Otjzondjupa District	One of the poorest of the 13 regions of Namibia, located at the North-Eastern border to Botswana and home of most Ju/'hoansi.
Tsumkwe	The most important town for the Ju/'hoansi living in the Tsumkwe District.
Tsumkwe Country Lodge	Place for eating, sleeping, camping and booking guided tours to the villages, located in Tsumkwe.
Tsumkwe District	Located in the the North-Eastern part of the Otjzondjupa District at the border to Botswana (former 'Bushmanland').
Windhoek	Capital city of Namibia.
//Xa/oba or Little Hunter's Museum	Living Museum located in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy in Tsumkwe District East, where hunting is allowed.



The map shows the position of the Nyae Nyae and the N#a Jaqna Conservancies in the Tsumkwe Area, located in the Otjozondjupa District.

Source: http://www.jdfund.org/Ju_hoansi.html (14.06.2016, 10.30)



Map 6 Namibian Tsumkwe District in Otjozondjupa region, showing the Kaudum National Park and the Namibia-Botswana border

The map shows the position of Grashoek, //Xa/oba, Tsumkwe and Djokhoe in the Tsumkwe District. Source: Biesele/ Hitchcock, 2011: 40.

I added the position of Doupos mysef with the aid of another map. Source:

https://openi.nlm.nih.gov/detailedresult.php?img=PMC4625037_pone.0140269.g001&req=4
(14.06. 2014, 10:30)

9.4. List of Cultural Activities attended

Grashoek	<i>Booked Dances and Games</i>	11. January 2014
Doupos, 'traditional village'	<i>Booked Healing Dance</i>	12. Januar 2014
//Xa/oba	<i>Booked Dances and Games</i>	15. January 2014
Djokhoe	<i>Booked Healing Dance</i>	17. January 2014
Tsumkwe Country Lodge	<i>Booked Dances and Games</i>	15. August 2014
Doupos, 'modern village'	<i>Children's Songs and Dances</i>	16. August 2014
Doupos, 'modern village'	<i>Private Healing Dance</i>	27. August 2014
Doupos, 'traditional village'	<i>Children's Songs and Dances</i>	02. September 2014
Grashoek	<i>Booked Bushwalk</i>	11. January 2014
Doupos	<i>Booked Bushwalk</i>	13. January 2014
//Xa/oba	<i>Booked Bushwalk</i>	16. January 2014
N/a'an ku sê Lodge	<i>Booked Bushwalk</i>	11. August 2014
Doupos	<i>Bushwalk Children</i>	17. August 2014
Doupos	<i>Bushwalk Teenagers</i>	20. August 2014
Grashoek	<i>Booked Craft Making</i>	11. January 2014
//Xa/oba	<i>Booked Craft Making</i>	16. January 2014
Doupos, 'modern village'	<i>Private Craft Making</i>	16. -31. August 2014

Dates of activities, not physically attended, Doupos, August 2014

16.08.2014; 15.30-18.00
 18.08.2014; 14.30-17.30
 19.08.2014; 14.00-17.00
 20.08.2014: 15.00-18.00
 23.08.2014; 9.00-15.15
 24.08.2014; 16.00-18.00
 25.08.2014; 15.00-17.30
 29.08.2014; 8.00-17.00
 31.08.2014; 7.30-16.30

9.5. List of the Most Relevant People from the Field

Doupos

Dabe and Cwi //ao	Sons of Xoan//a !Kunta and //ao.
Koba Kagece	Great-grandaughter of !Kunta Boo.
N!ae //ao	Wife of the healer !Kunta David Boo.
Xoan//a !Kunta	Daughter of !Kunta David Boo and important role keeper for the traditional activities of the village.
Xoan//a and !uu Cgaesje	Two young ladies of around 18 years, living in Doupos.
!Kunta David Boo	Traditional healer and informal headman of Doupos.
!Kunta #oma	Young boy and nephew of !Kunta Boo, was especially talkative and enterprising with us.

Grashoek

Henry /ui Nyani	Manager and main English speaking guide of the Living Museum Grashoek.
Igao N!aice	English speaking guide of the Living Museum Grashoek.
Kxore Erna /ui	Only female English speaking guide at the Living Museum of Grashoek.

//Xa/oba

Komtsa Daqm	English speaking guide of the Little Hunter's Museum.
Tsemkgao Daqm	English speaking guide of the Little Hunter's Museum.

Tsumkwe

Gerrie Cigae Cwi	Pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in Tsumkwe, treasurer in the organizing committee of the NNC and headman of Doupos.
Kagece N!ani	English translator for touristic tours, lives in Tsumkwe.
Paulina Tsauses	Craft coordinator and shop manager at G!hunku Crafts – San Handmade in Tsumkwe.
Quinten Gerrie	Son of Gerrie Cigae Cwi, keeps the craft shop of his father in Tsumkwe.
Tsemkgao !L/ae / Smallboy	Official English speaking guide of the NNC, employed by the Tsumkwe Country Lodge.

Windhoek

Sebastian Dürschmidt	Co-founder and chairman of the LCFN.
Werner Pfeifer	Founder of the LCF.

9.6. Portraits and Family Trees from Doupos



!Kunta David
Doupos
25/8/14

!Kunta David Boo, traditional healer



!Nae Maria Xoo
Doupos
25/8/14

!Nae Maria, his wife



!Xoan Xoo

Xoan//a !Kunta, daughter of !Kunta Boo



!Kula //ao

//ao, husband of Xoan//a !Kunta



*Dixao //ao, daughter of Xoan//a !Kunta and //ao
and granddaughter of !Kunta Boo*



*Dabe //ao, son of Xoan//a !Kunta and //ao
and grandson of !Kunta Boo*



*!Kunta #oma, son of #oma !Kunta
and grandson of !Kunta Boo*



*Koba, daughter of Dixao and
and great-granddaughter of !Kunta Boo*

9.7. Pictures



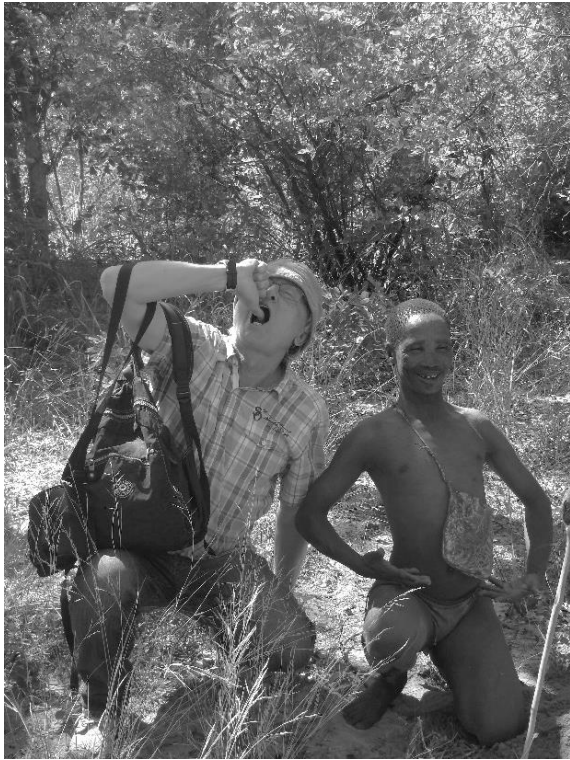
Pic.1: Reception, Parking and Craft Shop at the Little Hunter's Museum, with two English speaking guides.



Pic.2: The Ju/'hoansi present traditional tools for hunting and gathering before a Bushwalk at the Living Museum Grashoek, while the audience stands around, watches and films.



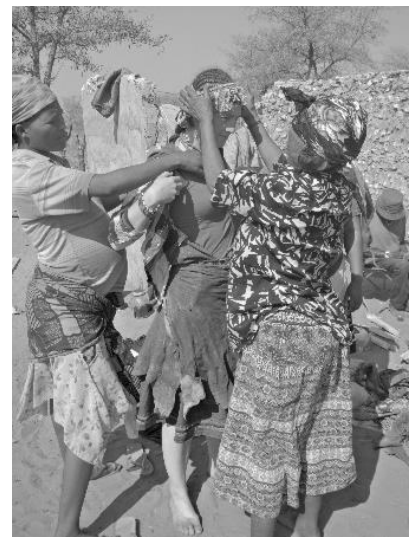
Pic.3: Interview situation with Xoan//a and !uu Cgaesje at the 'modern village' of Doupos.



Pic.4: Visitor Josef Wukovits is tasting the liquid of a waterroot while the expert hunter !Kunta performs its positive effects during a Bushwalk at the Living Museum of Grashoek.



Pic.5: !Kunta Boo and Kagece explaining plants during a Bushwalk in the Cultural Village Doupos.



Pic.6 and 7: Josef and me getting ready for a Bushwalk in Doupos with traditional costumes.



Pic.8: Dance and games at the Living Museum of Grashoek.



Pic.9: A Healing Dance at the Cultural Village Doupos.



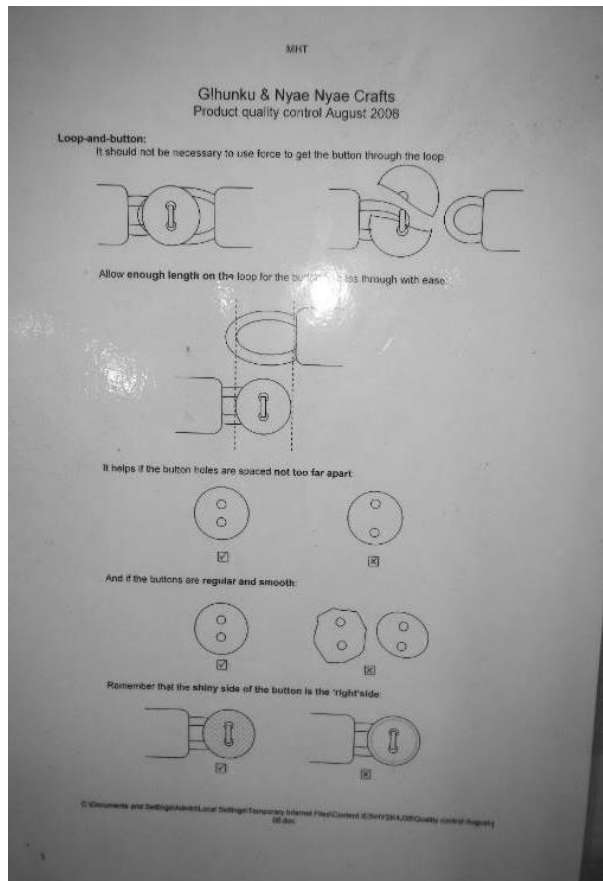
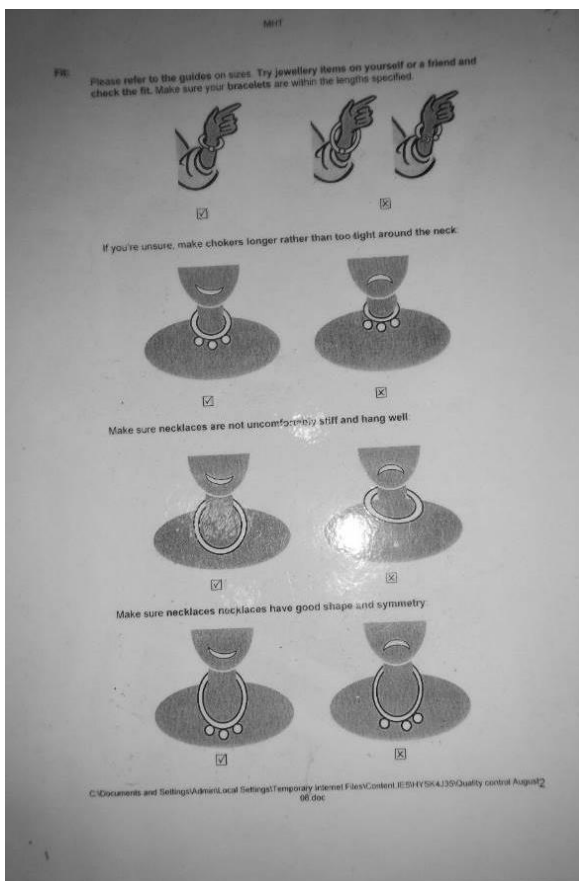
Pic.10: A Healing Dance at the Cultural Village Djokhoe.



Pic.11: Children from Doupos singing and dancing in the 'modern village'.



Pic.12: Daily craft making activities with Xoan//a !Kunta and young Xoan//a at the 'modern village' of Doupos.



Pic.13 and 14: Quality standards for the crafted jewellery sold at the 'G!hunku Crafts – San Handmade' Craftshop in Tsumkwe

© Salomé Ritterband, January and August 2014.

9.8. Abstract in English

After centuries of discrimination and marginalisation the Ju/'hoansi San of North-Eastern Namibia have, in the context of 'Living Museums' and 'Cultural Villages', taken control over their cultural heritage by applying and re-interpreting it in the course of touristic cultural performances for paying visitors. Since tourism is such a fast growing economy it is unavoidable to consider its implications. I was therefore intrigued to explore the strategies and actions the Ju/'hoansi may apply to produce cultural activities for tourists. I analysed the motivations of the participants; the re-interpretation of embodied traditional knowledge; the rules that regulate the acts; the role(s) of the audience; as well as possible future developments.

My research is based on two empirical fieldworks undertaken in 2014, applying the methods of participant observation, narrative interviews as well as expert interviews and informal talks. The two field experiences differed considerably in their approaches and perspectives, a fact that influenced my research topic and results. Cultural Villages and Living Museums exist mainly through the use and enactment of intangible cultural heritage - the visitors and tourists pay to see 'traditional' activities in the form of staged cultural performances, giving the situation the connotation of being 'unauthentic'. The research question is therefore at the theoretical intersection between the anthropology of (cultural) tourism, the analysis of cultural commodification, discussions on 'authenticity' and performance studies.

Being constantly concerned with their own cultural heritage as a basis for living, the Ju/'hoansi experimentally re-interpret it for the creation of specific staged touristic performances. For that purpose they put on traditional attire and adapt the stage and the 'traditional' activities to the supposed requirements of visitors. The cultural activities performed are constantly changing and are the result of a clear interaction between the audience and the actors. The children growing up with the regular enactment of traditional culture, playfully practice and re-enact it themselves. Through the conscious use of their own intangible cultural heritage, the San have nowadays become proud teachers and much in demand experts for their traditional knowledge as well as for their emerging entrepreneurial experience.

9.9. Abstract in German

Nach jahrzehntelanger Diskriminierung und Marginalisierung, beziehen sich die Ju/'hoansi San im Nordosten Namibias heute auf kreative Weise auf ihr kulturelles Erbe, um es im Kontext von ‚Lebenden Museen‘ und ‚Kulturellen Dörfern‘ vor zahlenden Touristen zu ‚performen‘. Aufgrund des rasanten Anstiegs des touristischen Sektors, ist es wesentlich sich mit seinen Konsequenzen zu befassen. Meine Forschungsfrage beinhaltet daher die Analyse von Strategien und Aktionen, die während der Erschaffung kultureller Aktivitäten für Touristen entwickelt werden. Dafür fokussierte ich auf die Motivationen der indigenen Akteure; die Interpretationen von inkorporiertem traditionellem Wissen für die Konstruktion einer ‚Performance‘; die Regeln die solche Vorführungen beeinflussen; die Rolle(n) des Publikums; sowie mögliche Zukunftsentwicklungen.

Meine Recherche basiert auf zwei im Jahr 2014 abgehaltene Feldforschungen mit der Anwendung folgender empirischer Methoden: teilnehmenden Beobachtung, narratives Interview, Experteninterviews, sowie informelle Gespräche. Die zwei Feldaufenthalte unterschieden sich aufgrund der Zugänge und Perspektiven stark voneinander, was meine Forschung erheblich beeinflusste. ‚Lebenden Museen‘ und ‚Kulturelle Dörfer‘ existieren hauptsächlich durch die ‚Performance‘ von immateriellem Kulturerbe – die Besucher und Touristen zahlen, um ‚traditionelle‘ Aktivitäten als inszenierte Darstellungen zu sehen, was der Situation den Beigeschmack von ‚Inauthnetizität‘ verleiht. Die theoretische Einbettung des Themas ist demnach zwischen Tourismusanthropologie, der Analyse kultureller Kommodifizierung und ‚Authentizität‘ sowie ‚Performance Studies‘ angesiedelt.

Durch die regelmäßige Befassung mit dem eigenen kulturellen Erbe als Grundlage für ökonomisches Überleben, interpretieren es die Ju/'hoansi auf experimentelle Weise neu, um spezifische touristische Inszenierungen zu erschaffen. Für diesen Zweck ziehen sie traditionelle Kleidung an und passen den Schauplatz und die ‚traditionellen‘ Aktivitäten den angenommenen Wunschvorstellungen der besuchenden Touristen an. Die kulturellen ‚Performances‘ werden ständig verändert und resultieren aus der Interaktion zwischen Zuschauern und Darstellern. Die Kinder wachsen mit der regelmäßigen Inszenierung ‚traditioneller‘ Kultur auf und üben und imitieren die Darstellungen auf ihre eigene spielerische Weise. Durch die bewusste Auseinandersetzung mit ihrem immateriellen Erbe sind die San mittlerweile zu stolzen Lehrern und gefragten Experten ihres traditionellen Wissens, sowie ihrer wachsenden unternehmerischen Erfahrung geworden.