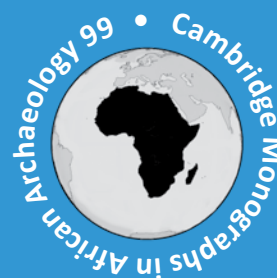


# Living with Heritage

## The Case of Tsodilo World Heritage Site and Neighbouring Localities

Stella Basinyi



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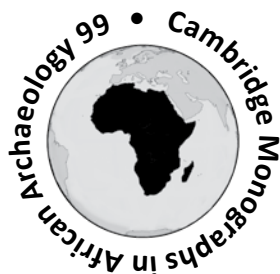
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*I dedicate this work to my parents; Tebatso and Rosinah Basinyi and my grandparents; Galefele and Gabofole Masire, Basinyi and Mosepele Moseki.*



# Contents

List of Figures.....	vi
Acknowledgements .....	viii
Acronyms .....	x
Foreign Words.....	xi
Foreign Words in This Dissertation .....	xi
Writing systems for names and words with click sound used in the study and Bantu system orthography ....	xii
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction and Conceptualisation.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Presentation of the Study.....	1
1.1.1 Main Objective .....	3
1.2 Structure of Study and Chapter Outline .....	3
1.3 Contextualisation.....	5
1.3.1 Heritage .....	5
1.3.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage .....	7
1.3.3 Culture .....	7
1.3.4 Community .....	7
1.3.5 The Role of Local and Host Community and Knowledge in the Research .....	8
1.3.6 History of heritage studies.....	9
1.3.7 Critical Heritage Approach (CHA) .....	10
1.3.8 Heritage Management in Southern Africa .....	11
1.3.9 Research Justification.....	11
<b>Chapter 2 Approaching Inhabited Heritage Spaces: Grounded Theory and Community Heritage Research .....</b>	<b>13</b>
2.0 Introduction.....	13
2.1 Research Question and Selection of the Topic .....	13
2.1.1 Qualitative Research Framework .....	13
2.2 Grounded Theory (GT) .....	14
2.2.1 Strategy for Enquiry .....	14
2.2.2 Origins of GT.....	14
2.2.3 Nature of GT Research .....	15
2.2.4 Relevance of the GT Methodology in the Research Study .....	15
2.2.5 Versions of GT .....	16
Glaserian GT .....	16
Strauss and Corbin.....	16
Charmaz's Constructivists Grounded Theory (CGT) .....	17
2.2.6 Essentials of Grounded Theory Methodology .....	17
Coding and Categorization of Data .....	17
Theoretical Coding or Focused Coding.....	17
Concurrent Data Generation and Analysis .....	17
Writing Memos .....	18
Theoretical Sampling .....	18
Constant Comparative Analysis.....	18

Theoretical Sensitivity .....	18
Reflexivity .....	18
Philosophical Leaning of the Research.....	19
2.3 GT Procedure and Essential in the Research Process .....	19
2.3.1 Literature Reviewing and GT.....	19
2.3.2 Delay of Literature .....	21
2.3.3 Steps Taken To Gain Entry into the Field and Ethical Consideration .....	21
2.3.4 Researcher's Position.....	22
2.3.5 Choice of Fieldwork Area .....	23
2.3.6 Research Participants .....	23
2.3.7 Entering the Field.....	24
2.3.8 Research Team and Language .....	24
2.3.9 Settling in the Tsodilo Community Residence .....	26
2.3.10 Population Dynamics in Tsodilo and Theoretical Sampling .....	26
2.3.11 Rapport Building and Gatekeepers.....	27
2.3.12 Field Research Stages.....	28
2.3.13 First Stage Fieldwork Methods and Practice .....	28
2.3.14 Research Break .....	28
2.3.15 Second Stage Field Work .....	29
2.4 Data Collection Procedure.....	29
2.4.1 Data Collection Methods .....	30
2.4.2 Multi-Sited Approaches.....	31
2.4.3 Interviews .....	31
2.4.4 Event Observation .....	32
2.4.5 Participant Observation .....	33
2.4.6 Data Recording .....	34
Photovoice .....	34
2.4.7 Theoretical Sampling .....	34
2.4.8 Research Participants .....	35
2.4.9 Limitations of Research.....	35
2.5 Data Analysis.....	37
2.5.1 Interpretation, Translation and Transcription of Data .....	37
2.5.2 Coding and Constant Comparative Analysis.....	38
2.5.3 Open or Initial Coding Data .....	38
2.5.4 Focused Coding .....	40
2.5.5 Memoing .....	40
2.5.6 Theoretical Coding.....	40
2.5.7 Point Of Saturation .....	41
2.5.8 Reflexivity.....	42
2.5.9 Summary of the Analysis Procedure .....	42

## Research Findings

<b>Chapter 3 Relevance and Competition for Recognition and Entitlement of Communities in Inhabited Heritage Areas.....</b>	<b>45</b>
3.0 Background Overview of the Landscape .....	45
3.1 Overview of the Landscape and the Local People .....	45
3.1.1 Overview of the Tsodilo World Heritage Site and the Inscription of Tsodilo on World Heritage List (WHL), the Narrative for the Official Management of the Site .....	46



3.2 Introduction.....	47
3.2.1 Deconstructing Community .....	51
3.2.2 Kinship Relations and Obligations in the Wider Tsodilo Areas .....	54
3.2.3 The Officially Recognized Community .....	54
3.2.4 The Neighbouring Community .....	55
3.3 Culture and Heritage .....	55
3.3.1 Defining Culture .....	56
Culture as an Identifier of Difference .....	56
3.3.2 Defining Heritage .....	57
Authorship, Craftsmanship and Ownership .....	58
Perception of Heritage as Linked with the Museum Authority .....	60
The Nature of Heritage Management and Relevance from the Point Of View of Global Approach and Institutions.....	62
Fences and Authority .....	62
The Dynamics and Use of the Kgotla .....	63
Sources of Income and Competition for the Market.....	63
3.4 Establishing Relevance .....	65
3.4.1 Divide and Manage .....	65
3.4.2 Relevance and Competing For Recognition and Entitlement .....	66
3.4.3 Access to the Site .....	67
3.4.4 Relevance, Proximity and Responsibility.....	68
3.4.5 Proximity and the Exclusion of the Herero .....	69
3.4.6 Descendants of the First People and Indigenouness Validating Rights to Heritage Resources	69
3.4.7 Recent Arrivals and Lack of Knowledge of Site and Authorship .....	70
3.4.8 The Exclusion and Grouping Dynamics .....	71
3.4.9 Crafts and Ethnic Boundaries .....	71
3.4.10 Mobility, Authority and Restriction.....	72
3.4.11 Development and Heritage .....	72
3.4.12 Relevance of the Host Community .....	73
3.5 Summary of the Chapter .....	73
3.6 Conclusion .....	75
<b>Chapter 4 Heritage Community Value Dimensions and Impact on Host Communities .....</b>	<b>76</b>
4.0 Introduction .....	76
4.1 Identifying Values and Cultural Significance .....	78
4.1.1 The Value of 'Tsodilo' .....	79
4.1.2 Valorisation and (De) Valorisation of Heritage .....	79
4.2 Value Based Contexts .....	80
4.2.1 Value Categories Emerging From the Tsodilo Context .....	81
4.2.2. Global Approach and Institutions (Category) and Tourism-Based Context .....	81
4.2.3 The Main Objective of the Official Management .....	82
4.2.4. The Language and Interpretation of Heritage Values.....	82
4.2.5 The Value and Bottom-up Approach .....	83
4.2.6 The Role and Responsibility of the Host Community .....	84
4.2.7 Appreciation of the Values of the Site .....	86
4.2.8 Heritage Values as Something to Be Taught to Communities .....	87
4.3 Replacement of Traditional Authority by Formal Positions.....	88
4.4 Spiritual and Beliefs Systems Context .....	89
4.4.1 The Spiritual Attribute Of the Site and the Rock Art Paintings with the Work of God .....	89

4.4.2 Traditional Curator with the Ability to Communicate With the Spirit of the Hills .....	91
4.5 Conflicting Values .....	93
4.5.1 Religious Diversity and Tolerance between Faith-Based Groups .....	94
4.5.2 Developments and Cultural Values .....	96
4.6 Conclusion .....	98
<b>Chapter 5 Heritage Community Interactions: Hosts and Visitors.....</b>	<b>100</b>
5.0 Introduction .....	100
5.1 Contact and Interactions .....	100
5.1.1 Contact with the Supernatural and the Development .....	100
5.1.2 Interactions with the Faith-Based Community .....	102
5.2 The Diversity of Visitors .....	103
5.2.1 Interactivity with the Visitors and Acquaintances.....	103
5.3 Nature of Interactions.....	103
5.2.2 Interaction within the Host Communities .....	103
Competition for Entitlements.....	104
Effortless Interaction among Locals .....	105
Dependency Reciprocity and Sharing .....	<b>107</b>
Conflict for Limited Resources and Maintaining Control .....	107
5.2.3 Interactions with the Outsider.....	108
Language and Cultural Knowledge during Participation and Projects .....	108
Language and Exclusion .....	109
The Kgotla System and Dialogue with the Local Communities .....	110
Kinship and Commoditization of Culture and Imbrications of Science .....	110
Language and Interpretation of Rock Art .....	111
5.3.4 Interacting With the Tourist .....	112
The Negative Interaction Outcome . .....	113
Feeling of Anger or Resentment .....	114
Arm's Length Contact and Relationships in Resident Area .....	114
5.3.5 Non-Governmental Organization and Fostering Shared Prosperity of Rural Communities .....	116
The Host Community and Culture of Sharing Resources .....	117
5.3.6 The Establishment of Borders and Boundaries of Interactions as a Response to the Heritage-Making Process .....	118
Conceptual Community Borders .....	118
Crafts, Gender and Ethnic Border Relations .....	118
Crafts for Selling To Tourist and Gender Roles .....	119
Photos of the Host Community.....	119
5.4 Conclusion.....	120
<b>Chapter 6 Discussion and Concluding Remarks .....</b>	<b>121</b>
6.0 Introduction .....	121
6.1 Revisiting the Research Question.....	121
6.2 Concepts Employed in the Study.....	123
6.2.1 The Concept of Relevance .....	123
6.2.2 Imbrications of Science and One-Way Information Flow .....	125
6.2.3 The Grouping and Exclusions.....	126
6.2.4 Diversity .....	127
6.2.5 Reflexivity, Archaeology and Heritage Management .....	127
Reflexivity and Understanding Spiritual Values .....	128
6.3 Heritage Management and Conservation .....	128

6.3.1 Bottom-Up and grassroots Approach .....	129
6.3.2 Conservation vs. Commoditization of Heritage Site.....	129
6.3.3 Reciprocity and Entitlement .....	129
6.3.4 Knowledge Sharing .....	130
6.4 Establishing Borders .....	130
6.4.1 Kinship Obligation and Alliances .....	130
6.5 Heritage Studies .....	131
6.5.1 Culture in the Heritage Site .....	131
6.5.2 Cultural Shrinking Spaces .....	131
6.5.3 The Heritage Management Plan of Tsodilo Hills .....	131
6.6 Conclusion .....	133
6.7 Recommendations of the Study .....	135
<b>References .....</b>	<b>137</b>
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>147</b>
Appendix 1 .....	147
Appendix 2 .....	147
Interview guide .....	147
Appendix 3 .....	149
Appendix 4 .....	154
Appendix 5 .....	156
Appendix 6 .....	157
Appendix 7 .....	158
Research Findings .....	44
Appendix 8 .....	160
Example Interview analysis .....	160

## List of Figures

Figure 1 Map of Botswana showing the location of Tsodilo World Heritage (WHS) Site .....	2
Figure 2 Perception of Authorship of the Rock Paintings .....	58
Figure 3 Income in BWP (Botswana Pula) From Crafts Sales (Aug-Sep 2013) Tourism Development Plan .....	64
Figure 4. The Relationship between Heritage Management and Community Relevance Markers .....	74
Figure 5 Contexts in Which the Host Interacts With the Visitors and the Core of Heritage Management Strategies.....	81
Figure 6 Weld fire approaching the Tsodilo Village in the winter of 2014. Picture by S. Basinyi (2014).....	84
Figure 7 The Abandoned Church Structure at the Mosheshe Old settlement. Picture by S. Basinyi (2015) ....	94
Figure 8 Onsite access road passes through old Ju/hoansi settlement. Picture by S. Basinyi (2015) .....	97
Figure 9 Fading Rock Art Panel in Tsodilo hills Picture by S. Basinyi (2016).....	97
Figure 10 Factors Influencing the Nature of Heritage Management and Recognition of the Local Community.....	99
Figure 11 summarizes the emergent categories of factors that contribute and constitute the nature of contact between the stakeholders on site and in community spaces. These are discussed in detail in the chapter. ....	104
Figure 12 Film viewing at the J/hoansi Residence Photo by S. Basinyi (2016).....	111
Figure 13 Number of Registered Visitors (June - October 2013) Source; Tsodilo Tourism Development Plan (2013) .....	112
Figure 14 Ju/hoansi Evening around Fire Dance Performance and Filmmaking Photo by S. Basinyi (2015).....	115
Figure 15 Factors Influencing Interaction and Heritage Management in Tsodilo WHS.....	122

## List of Tables

Table 1 Summary of Interview Data Sources .....	32
Table 2 Range Of Participants Selected For Study .....	36
Table 3 Translated Text and Codes (Coding).....	39
Table 4 Emerging Patterns of the Data .....	41
Table 5 Emerging Concepts and Example of Tentative Categories from Focused Coding Process .....	48
Table 6 Theoretical Coding of the Established Borders .....	49
Table 7 Codes Supporting the Responsibility of the Host community .....	68
Table 8 Values Related Codes Supporting the Global Approaches in Tsodilo Heritage Management .....	82
Table 9 Codes Supporting Spirituality and Kinship Values .....	88
Table 10 codes supporting conflicting value category.....	93
Table 11 Codes Supporting Manner of Interaction between Host and Visitor .....	101
Table 12 Codes Supporting the Effortless Interactions.....	105
Table 13 Negative Outcome of the Interaction with the Visitor .....	113
Table 14 Profile of the research team .....	147
Table 15 Example of Focused codes and interview excerpts .....	149
Table 16 Example of the coding process.....	154
Table 17 Example of Focused codes.....	156
Table 18 Example of codes on Community and visitor interactions .....	157
Table 19 Participant outline .....	158

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## Acronyms

AHD	Authorized Heritage Discourse
AHM	Archaeological Heritage Management
CHM	Cultural Heritage Management
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
CRM	Cultural Resources Management
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
WHC	World Heritage Convention
AWHF	African World Heritage Fund
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BWP	Botswana Pula (currency)
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CHA	Controlled Hunting Area
CKGR	Central Kalahari Game Reserve
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
KFO	Kuru Family of Organizations
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
BNMM	Botswana National Museum and Monuments
ODMP	Okavango Delta Management Plan
RAD	Remote Area Dweller
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TCDT	Tsodilo Community Development Trust
TMA	Tsodilo Management Authority
TOCaDI	Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VDC	Village Development Committee
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa
WMA	Wildlife Management Area
ZCC	Zion Christian Church
WHL	World Heritage List



## Foreign Words

Bushmen or San or Basarwa are names commonly used to refer to the hunter-gatherer community and their descendants in Southern Africa. For the purpose of this study, I use Ju/hoansi or Basarwa to refer to the San group of people living in the Tsodilo proximity as they refer to themselves. It was rare that the participants referred to themselves as San, they did so only when speaking in English or when (as was the case with the Basarwa field assistant) translating into the English language. !Kung is used to refer to the language they speak.

This dissertation incorporates transcriptions and translations of words from different language: Setswana, !Kung, Sembukushu and Seherero into the English language. The participants also use the term Sesarwa to refer to the San language spoken in Tsodilo.

### Foreign Words in This Dissertation

<i>Baeng</i> (Setswana)	= Visitors
<i>Bajanala</i> (Setswana)	= Tourist
<i>Bojanala</i> (Setswana)	= Tourism
<i>Badumedi</i> (Setswana)	= Spiritualists and Traditionalists
<i>Bogologolo</i> (Setswana)	= History/Past
<i>Boswa</i> (Setswana)	= Inheritance
<i>Ditso</i> (Setswana)	= Tradition
<i>Ngwao</i> (Setswana)	= Culture
<i>Kgosi</i> (Setswana)	= Chief
<i>Kgotla</i> (Setswana)	= Public Meeting Place/Public Meeting
<i>Mafisa</i> (Setswana)	= Cattle lent out by the Wealthy to the poor
<i>Matlotlo</i> (Setswana)	= Tangible Heritage
<i>Moraka</i> (Setswana)	= Cattle Camps or Posts
<i>Moropa</i> (Setswana)	= Large Musical Drum
<i>Merafe</i> (Pl) / <i>Morafe</i> (Sl) (Setswana)	= Ethnicity / Ethnic Group
<i>Nxoresi/ Nxore</i> (!Kung)	= Hereditary Foraging and Ancestral Territory
<i>Ngwao-Boswa</i> (Setswana)	= Cultural Heritage
<i>Pula</i> (Setswana)	= Botswana's National Currency; also refers to rain
<i>Pina Ya Sesarwa</i> (Setswana)	= San Traditional Song and Dance
<i>Pina Ya Sembukushu</i> (Setswana)	= Hambukushu Traditional Song and Dance
<i>Ditsa Tholego</i> (Setswana)	= Natural Heritage
<i>Motse</i> (Setswana)	= Village, a Home or a Homestead
<i>Kgaolo</i> (Setswana)	= District/Area

**Writing systems for names and words with click sound used in the study and Bantu system orthography**

Phonetic	Bantu System	Khoisan System Or Ju/Hoansi System
Dental Click	/	c
Alveolar Click	≠	(tc) can be used
Lateral Click	//	x
Palatal Click	!	q

(Barnard 2007: 9)

## Chapter 1

# Introduction and Conceptualisation

### 1.0 Introduction

This opening chapter of the study is divided into three parts. The first part introduces the study by presenting the primary research concern, motivations that led to the research proposal and the research questions. The second part of the chapter presents the outline of each chapter of the study. The third part is the contextualization of the study.

### 1.1 Presentation of the Study

This Study contextualizes the research both in the author's academic course as well as in processes of social and cultural transformation going on in Botswana, and more generally in Southern Africa. The motivation for commencing this study began as the reflection of a scientist and a traditionally raised individual. I previously worked in the research context of archaeological research amongst the traditional communities settled in the areas with archaeological and cultural heritage sites. The main issue was that, before my education as an archaeologist, I held a specific traditional perspective imparted within my traditionalist parental family. My belief was that hill sites are sacred and protected by a Spirit<sup>1</sup> that is powerful and active in the sacred area. The sites are protected by people's fear of the power of the ancestral Spirits on the hill sites. These views transformed as I became a scientific convert interested mainly in the material culture and in search for the truth. Apart from the change of how I initially approached sacred sites, my interest in the heritage context was sparked by the meticulous handling of scientific research methods and the local perceptions which were silent on the transformation of the local voices. The voices that adapt to the scientific data during research, participation in modern management and heritage tourism amongst traditional societies. Although the popularity and economic benefit of local rural communities in this venture cannot be ignored among the Batswana, many scholars have completely ignored its impact on the traditional values and cultures of the local communities. Various factors account for this ignorance or neglect, factors such as intrusive scientific methods that cut deep into the soul of the local belief system and bring to light new and distant knowledge from the point of view of the traditional local communities, conflict of interests and values, dialogue between outsiders and insiders dominated by the outsiders, heritage narratives, global agendas and their insatiable appetite for bigger and better things feeding on the so-called insignificant and lesser things.

I grew up in a traditional Tswana village in the central eastern part of Botswana, the Tswapong region. The area is made up of two series of hills stretching to over 100km each. The foot of the hills is settled villages of the Batswapong ethnic group. The Batswapong initially settled on the foot of the Tswapong hills as a military strategy during the time of unrest in southern Africa in the 1800s.

My paternal family is traditionalist. My grandfather was a firm believer in the power of the ancestral Spirits that settled in the hills bordering our villages. He carried out traditional rituals on behalf of the family whenever there were ailments within the family. Some rituals were performed annually to appease our ancestors. Growing up in this context, nurturing my Christian faith was sometimes conflicted, particularly when the elder and head of the family was a traditionalist at heart. His belief system led the family, he imparted these beliefs to family members while several members

---

<sup>1</sup> As a sign of reverence I write names such as God, Spirit, *Modimo*, *Badimo*, with Capital letters



Figure 1 Map of Botswana showing the location of Tsodilo World Heritage Site (WHS)

ancestors. The material culture on the hills was protected by the belief in the sacredness of the site. The locals did not normally go up the hill but did so when they had to pray, give offering and sacrifices.

In their attempt to benefit from the research work carried out within the settlement area, local people were intensively engaged as assistants and hosts to the archaeological research team, earning income in the process. The young adults and male participants sieved through the trench soils looking for archaeological finds: beads, ornaments, iron slag, potsherds, bones and stone tools while the elderly women washed and cleaned finds for easy recording, documentation and analysis.

The work was uncomplicated. The locals had been engaged in the project since 2002. They could earn income and be engaged in the (re)search of their own histories. On the other hand, one cannot emphasize enough the impact of received wisdom from the scientific knowledge acquired through the research on their traditional/spiritual landscapes had on their beliefs, mine as well, because this was my very first ever intensive archaeological excavation experience. From the hill that was rarely and only climbed for contact with the supernatural to a hill climbed with trowels and tapes to the dig of an archaeological enquiry.

Initially, the interaction between the research team and the local people was limited to the hilltop. A few days into the excavation work and interacting with the locals, they commenced gifting the research team with milk, meat and occasionally beer for the men. At this point, they were slowly breaking the barrier of the personal space and insider-outsider binary. On our day off, we visited their homes. Some visited the research team's campsite. At the end of the research in Bosutswe, we proceeded to the next site with some of the young adults to Kaitshaa as part of the research team.

later rejected them, opting to follow different paths.

In light of these beliefs, I remember my experience during my first intensive archaeological research and excavation at the Bosutswe hills in 2008. The Bosutswe hills, like the Tswapong and Tsodilo hills, are places that local people believe are settled by ancestral Spirits and Gods. The excavations took place on the hilltop of the Bosutswe hill. On the peripheries are local settlements inhabited by Bangwato and San people who believe in the sacredness and Spirituality of the hill site based on the material remains found on the hilltop suggesting an ancient settlement ranging in age from CE 700 to 1700 (Denbow *et al.* 2008). The local people believed their ancestors had settled the hills. When they prayed on the hills they called and recited upon these same

During the course of the excavation period in the Bosutswe hills, Mpho discovered some human remains. This was my first experience of the excavation of human remains. My emotions were conflicted and torn between excitement and fear. I thought to myself, 'Now I have graduated, I can call myself an archaeologist.' This was the scientist in me talking. The part of me that had learnt so much from my deceased grandfather was not at ease, it was terrified, thinking of the wrath of the ancestors. 'Let the dead rest in peace,' I thought to myself in my grandfather's voice. I thought of how my grandfather would react to this experience and the local people in Bosutswe seemed as conflicted as I was. While cleaning the finds the women jokingly suggested that they needed to perform a cleansing ritual after this experience. My grandmother suggested the same ritual was necessary for me too when I excitedly told her about this experience, not realizing that she could not easily understand the research process. She could not understand how I could be excited, suggesting that the ancestors could not possibly be happy about such an intrusive kind of research process.

Later on, in the evening of the day of our major research find (human remains), I had conversations with Mpho who was also raised within the Tswapong context. He said he felt conflicted as well. He was excited to be the discoverer of what seemed at that point of the research process to be an important find that would shed light on the crucial objectives of the research project. At night, there was a swift wind which led to some shrubs brushing against our tents. At first, we thought the Spirit of the hills had come in the form of a swift wind. We were confronted by fear but then started making jokes and laughing the fear away. The following days, it was work, as usual; no fear just the exciting revelations of archaeological discoveries. After the research in Bosutswe, we proceed to start research in the Khubu la Dintsa and Kaitshaa hills. Both hills are as revered as the Tswapong, Bosutswe and Tsodilo hills; but also make great researchers out of us and the locals. Mpho is currently an archaeological consultant.

It is through this experience that the objective of this research work is tailored, focusing on the local perspectives and unintended changes in heritage sites. The study considers the local perception and depicts a very differentiated and at the same time clear political recommendation, conveying the unintended consequences of the World Heritage program, heritage resource management and development of tourism among the host and local community in the Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site.

The current study is concerned with the localised perception of heritage from the point of view of local communities settled within and near World Heritage Sites. The research adds to the existing empirical studies exploring heritage phenomena in Africa. The need for this research is essential to give voice to local rural communities in respect to the heritage discussion particularly because the state of Botswana has been opening local spaces for tourism and diversification of the state economy.

### **1.1.1 Main Objective**

The general objective of this study is to explore the epistemological crisis and transformations that 'heritage' and 'culture' concepts construct while affecting the environment of the inhabitants in and around heritage sites and the general forms of giving meaning to rural and remote heritage spaces. This paper further explores the co-existence of the global, trans-local and local patterns and concepts tangible in one specific location of heritage management. Specifically, the study attempts to answer the question: What are the experiences and responses of the host communities in inhabited heritage sites and what are the local interpretations of heritage?

## **1.2 Structure of Study and Chapter Outline**

This book is based on the data collected during a period of 7 months in the Tsodilo World Heritage Cultural site. It is designed to highlight the voices of participants (host Tsodilo community and the

neighbouring localities surrounding the heritage site and Cultural landscape) with the aim of exploring, in detail, their perceptions, views and experiences within the study context of a World Heritage Site and the heritage phenomena. This is reflected in the methodological approach that speaks to the reflection of local perceptions and the overall presentation of the study including the sequence of chapters that is structured following the research procedures and emergent data to highlight the trajectories and experiences of local and host communities in inhabited Archaeological heritage sites. The study begins with an introduction in chapters 1 and 2 which contextualize and elaborate on the concept of living with heritage as expressed in this research, the problem statement ( UNESCO's World Heritage Program, which identifies local sites of global cultural significance, impacts on people's everyday lives who live with that heritage, how does the people in these sites experience and response to the global influences of local culture) and the Grounded theory methodological approach leading to the empirical results.

Chapter 1 starts out with a reflection on the impact of the scientific objectification of culture as heritage as a process of coerced social, cultural and economic transformation that communities 'living with heritage' (as the title says) cannot easily control. It focuses on the problematic concept of 'heritage' 'cultural heritage' and 'community' in heritage studies and discusses diverse approaches to conceptualizing heritage for the purpose of this research. Chapter 2 focuses specifically on the methodological approach employed in the study which match chapter 1 needs as it lays forward tools used to conceptualise the local perceptions of the World heritage. It provides detailed information on relevant methodological concerns relating to the inter disciplinary study drawing from Archaeology, heritage and Cultural studies leading to an result-oriented, and at the same time ethically reflective, approach to research. This includes a discussion of the choice of research methodology – grounded theory – the features of this methodology, and the implications of this choice for the overall research, including the structure of the study. It also explains the process of data collection and analysis and discusses a number of additional methodological issues.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 present the research findings of the current study, documenting a moment in a process where world cultural heritage attributions and local people's perceptions about their environment, as being newly labelled 'cultural heritage', encounter one another in conflicting ways. Chapter 3 provides a detailed review of the empirical data exploring perceptions of the term heritage, community and cultural diversity. Then I discuss the relationship between the local people and heritage as an object of development and as a phenomenon through the concept of 'relevance'. It highlights recent changes in perceptions of the heritage resources with a focus on the contribution of heritage context and status plus the establishment of the relevance of the community. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the trajectories that alter the local perceptions and result in cultural transformation, revealing important existing knowledge and stakeholders.

Chapter 4 focuses on the level of intercultural contact taking place amongst local people and the visitors, specifically through a discussion of the concepts of 'values'. The chapter focuses on the context-based valorisation of heritage. Firstly, the chapter discusses value categories in Tsodilo as a heritage site of universal value, secondly, as a home of the Hambukushu and Ju/hoansi and, thirdly, as a sacred spiritual site.

In Chapter 5, I look at the intercultural acquaintance and experiences between the hosts and the visitors and identify a complex set of factors which, from the perspective of the participants, collectively influence the likelihood of interaction with visitors identified as culturally different (in the case of European visitors) or culturally comparable (in the case of African, national and San visitors).

In Chapters 6, I discuss the research findings from an abstract perspective and reflect on the overall research project. Furthermore, the chapter identifies and engages in-depth with existing theoretical

concepts which relate to the current research findings. The chapter further reviews the study, evaluates the research findings, and discusses the contribution this study can make to today's scientific knowledge, identifies areas for further study, and draws some final conclusions and recommendations.

### **1.3 Contextualisation**

Culture and heritage are concepts that have become very common and popular. They are used by people and scholars to describe and recognize the legacy of the past generations, how it is valorised and utilized in the present for the benefit of the present and future generations. In fact, the use of the phrase 'cultural heritage' and the endeavour by the UNESCO to declare World Heritage Sites in different parts of the world has confused many as they look for differences and similarities between tradition, culture and heritage. Some scholars of heritage and cultural studies define these terms either as different concepts, connected concepts or contradicting concepts. The context of archaeology, contemporary communities, local cultures and heritage resource management show a variety of definitions and descriptions relating people and material culture or people and places.

#### **1.3.1 Heritage**

Heritage is a heterogeneous term with a broad range of meanings in circulation within the contemporary global society and expresses a large degree of ambiguity (Harrison 2013). There are diverse approaches and definitions of heritage.

The Convention For The Safeguarding Of Intangible Heritage (2003) address the temporal factor of the value of material while bringing together the protection of both tangible and intangible heritage through an umbrella term: Cultural Resources (CR), defined in the convention as material (tangible) and non-material (intangible) remains of societies' past activities on the environment, which comprise archaeological remains, monuments and sites, cultural landscapes superimposed on the natural environment, local indigenous knowledge systems, folk-life and folklore, and traditional practices and rituals attached to the biophysical environment. Skeates (2000: 9–10) elaborates on the idea of heritage as a process of heritage as a phenomena, in which cultural resources are transformed to cultural heritage when the material culture of past societies is re-evaluated and re-used in the present by current societies. Therefore, cultural heritage resources (CHR) are cultural resources that are constantly appropriated, re-constructed and re-used by living communities to suit present needs, e.g. used for tourism, national identity, ritual, traditional practices. Hence, the field of cultural heritage resource management is responsible for conservation and management of cultural heritage resources.

According to the UNESCO 2008 info kit, heritage is referred to as our legacy from the past, what we live with today and what we will pass on to future generations. This definition seems to view the past as a fixed entity (tangible). Its preservation excludes the sustainability of the intangible aspect of tangible heritage, which is a changing and evolving aspect of the heritage process. Heritage is then approached as an object not only belonging to local or national communities but to the rest of humanity. The custodians are extended to global players and shareholders whose objective is to preserve and conserve the resources for future generation. This means resources need to be stabilized and not modified nor disturbed, that would otherwise injure the 'authenticity' of heritage (Jokilehto 2006; Harrison 2013; Wang 1999).

Other scholars refer to heritage as 'presently made attitudes and relationships that people have with places, objects and practices which connect the present with the past. Heritage has geographical and chronological variations' (Harrison 2013:16), its interpretation and the attachment to it differ across the globe. Harrison (2013) discusses heritage as an on-going localized process of changing ideologies

and perceptions differing from the host and local. His definition recognizes change in heritage as a process of transformation. This perception opposes the idea that heritage is a stagnant commodity incapable of change.

Harrison (2013) proposes two sets of heritage: the official and unofficial. He further describes official heritage as a set of professional practices that are authorized by the state and motivated by some forms of legislation or written character. This infers the part of the heritage that is reserved for conservation for its authentic, historic, scientific and social recreational value. This kind of heritage is set to communicate and relate with the large diverse community at international, national, regional and local levels.

He defines unofficial heritage as a broad range of practices that are represented using the language of heritage, but which are not recognized by official forms of legislation. These have meaning to individuals and local groups. Their value is in the association with social practices, beliefs and perceptions that exist around the resource. Kept in this cognitive manner the heritage retains great importance and value to the community. Its preservation is guaranteed for an extended period in the minds of the people and in its physical form.

Brett (1996) defines heritage as part of a process of self-definition through historicised self-perception and carries with it the signs of contention even when those signs have been hidden, ignored or noticed. He further denotes that heritage can be treated as popular history, the story we are constantly telling ourselves to explain to ourselves just how we come to be where we think we are, including the selection and hierarchy of material (1996:11). Furthermore, he asserts that the knowledge of this material is not fixed but actively evolving. The more we engage in the research of these places and this material, the more we construct a truer historical knowledge. Additionally, Smith's (2006) deconstruction and approach of heritage as a cultural process infuses this research. This is because, throughout time, we have obtained and categorized knowledge about environments, objects and places, selectively choosing and placing value on them. The vast majority of this knowledge was passed verbally from generation to generation through songs, practices, rituals, etc. The entirety of this knowledge can't be grasped as it keeps evolving, accumulating, changing and transforming. Individuals and groups in traditional cultural contexts know a great deal about the environment, as they live and experience it every day, sharing and passing on this knowledge. The information obtained over generations is subject to cognitive interpretation and filtration in the mind of the interpreter. Therefore, the way a culture views things is an integral part of any information system and must be taken into consideration in any analysis (Sutton and Anderson 2010: 102).

The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), contributes to a change in heritage paradigms, which turn out to be centred on a broad, more flexible and socially active concept of heritage, ensuring the acknowledgement of the intangible aspect of heritage. The Convention has contributed to focusing the process of heritage in a particular way, compelling us to recognize cultural heritage as the result of a process that ensures the social valorisation of a collective's cultural diversity within the territory. This can be accomplished through the collective's participation and attain the objective of the long-lasting safeguarding of heritage in the context of local development (Sancho Querol 2011b). Through this convention, we see a process of attributing valued roles to the previously otherwise devalued persons and groups, valorising and recognizing the roles they already had, or crafting new valued roles for them. In this way, there is a great potential to facilitate the valuing of such a group of people or community and, as a result, to ensure a sustained degree of heritage management longevity. However, this process requires not only for the community to be culturally valued but also well-researched and well-validated as an integral part of heritage management.



### 1.3.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage

Intangible cultural heritage has also become a social phenomenon whose core lies in the participation of the previously devalued people and the cultural roles among communities in and around heritage sites. These communities had already encountered the increased risk of deterioration in the intangible cultural heritage they possess. This phase of devaluing communities also produced shifts of interest among the local groups due to the type of conservation that took place and the tangible heritage uses, creating alienation between local people and the heritage sites (Peacock-Rizzo 2008).

Through the World Heritage enlisting process communities in and around the heritage sites went through encounters of role-degrading behaviour and alienation that became injurious to their cultural being, interactions with the sites as well as relations with the heritage sites. Ndoro's research on *your monuments our shrines* (2001) explores traditional heritage management, which has given a fundamental contribution to the technical preservation of archaeological heritage in Southern Africa, and the failure to fully conceptualize the significance of local communities. The influence of the international operational guidelines for the preservation of natural and cultural heritage has developed, however, on-ground implementation and adaptations of the progressive framework are rather slow due to institutions that take too long to change. Ndoro (2001) emphasizes that, despite the attainment of independence, heritage management in Southern Africa assumes that local communities are irrelevant to a 'scientific' approach to managing their own heritage. Giraudo's (2011) investigation of the relationship between heritage conservation and tourism development in the Tsodilo hills supports this statement.

### 1.3.3 Culture

UNESCO's definition of culture adopted by national policymakers across the world is quite exhaustive of what the term means. It refers to culture as a 'set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or a social group that includes art, literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs (Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003). For the purpose of this study, local culture is a preferred term that has an emphasis on the rich context brought to life by an association of community and the living culture. The local is used to refer not only to territoriality but also as a social qualification term rooted in the values, customs and practices of identifiable localized people. It is a term that links individuals together through symbolic expressions and representations while acknowledging the diversity of roles, interests and constructed identities. Local culture is a concept that embodies a range of uses. It can be a collection of expressions or ideas considered worth transmitting to the future through the interests of people who set priorities in a specified location. It is part of a group's symbolic expressions influenced by values, norms, beliefs, knowledge, experience and practices that the group holds (Shuma 1993). The sustainable management of cultural heritage in southern Africa has therefore been less effective as this aspect (local culture) of a community is often disregarded, given very little attention or viewed as a challenge in the conservation of heritage sites (Ndlovu 2011; Chirikure 2010). Local culture is essential as it embodies the potential of the local people's commitment and dedication to maintain cultural pride through practice, it favours conservation of sites if made culturally relevant.

### 1.3.4 Community

Across the world, the successful implementation of national heritage management policies and guidelines deriving from the UNESCO's heritage conventions is hampered by a misguided understanding of the term 'community' used in the documents. The term is generally understood to mean a group of people who have shared histories, shared experiences, shared practices, shared knowledge, shared values and shared aesthetics (Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

2003). This definition implies that communities in and around heritage sites are homogeneous groups of people bound by common interests and geography. The problem is that in the context of managing cultural heritage such a definition of community obscures the differences within the group(s). Thus, the heterogeneity of local communities and diverse cultural values are occasionally not appreciated. This definition poses a challenge for heritage managers as individuals and cultural groups which strive to maintain the heterogeneity of the group, sustaining diversity in symbolic expressive cultural elements that embody diverse identities, values, practices, skills and competencies.

The term community in these management documents is suggestive of a supportive and harmonious group. Viewed in this manner, the term community, firstly, becomes undemocratic and oppressive as it leads to failure to recognize cultural diversity. The term defines who belongs and who does not, who is entitled and who is not. It ignores the dynamics of the group which changes with the in and out movements of people in a location. Secondly, it disregards change and variety of interests in multi-cultural and multi-ethnic groups living in a common geographic area. With a focus on the interface of heritage and community, this research adds to the pool of scholarly writing that seeks to explore and redefine conceptualisation of grouping and community meanings in diverse contexts (Smith and Waterton 2009; Watson and Waterton 2011; Anderson 2006; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). These scholars have attempted to define community, but the flexibility associated with its form often gives rise to difficulties for the resource managers and the heritage managers. According to Harrison *et al.* (2008:180) 'community' is never simply the recognition of cultural similarity or social contiguity but a categorical identity that is premised on various forms of exclusion and construction of others. This term illustrates the notion of insiders and outsiders in which local people are the insiders and everyone else is an outsider.

Within a community, elements of culture are initially established and kept within one group and can be passed on to others upon contact. This is a context that provides a sense of togetherness among members through a common understanding of the meanings of places and objects (Brennan *et al.* 2008). Therefore, cultures and communities are not fixed and static, they transform as the group responds to new conditions and challenges. However, often in heritage sites there are attempts for communities to fix and maintain cultural identities and resist change by holding on to traditions appropriated and fixated to the idea of the site narrative. This consideration is derived from the local understanding of heritage and the value that the community associates it with. This is what bears the seed of conservation for values of material but also the lifestyle that a certain culture maintains.

In 2002 the UNESCO Budapest Declaration invited state support of the World Heritage conservation through the 4Cs: conservation, capacity building, communication and credibility, as keys to sustainable management of heritage. It was until 2007 that UNESCO added 'community' as the fifth C recognizing communities as the integral part of the heritage sites before that heritage sites were inscribed, based only on the value of the material heritage resources. Recognizing host communities and the great role of local people in achieving the heritage management objectives is essential for the safeguarding of intangible heritage. In the past, the local communities were not included in the management plan for heritage sites (1994 and 2006 Tsodilo management plan). This has changed with the revision of the management plans and heritage management policies (Tsodilo management plan 2010-2015). The concerning question remains on the implementations and pragmatics of these developments.

### **1.3.5 The Role of Local and Host Community and Knowledge in the Research**

In Woto's (1999) report on indigenous knowledge systems, he defines indigenous knowledge as familiarity, understanding and awareness of information acquired through experience, study or observation which originates in a particular place. Further elaborating that time and spaces are the guiding variables in

the value of local knowledge. One mechanism of this is that they observe and associate items and derive meaning from the relationship. Thus, in this study, long-term relationships between local people, the environment and the heritage site place value on the interpretation of the site value and valorisation of cultural resources.

### ***1.3.6 History of heritage studies***

As Aroaz (2011) rightfully states, during the 19th and most of the 20th century, the heritage conservation community developed under the assumption that all values attributed to places rested on the material evidence of the place. Even though significance was universally assumed to reside in the material form, the variation of values attributed to the materials in a given place was always a divisive issue. The government in Botswana for instance does not actively support multiculturalism amongst the multiple ethnic groups in its territory (Giraud 2016) while ratifying UN declarations, such as the World Heritage Convention (1998) and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), and the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage in early 2010.

Harrison (2013: 95) remarks on the development of critical heritage studies from the 1960s particularly, after the 1972 World Heritage Convention when the UNESCO facilitated the promotion of a new philosophy amongst its member states, many of whom had a different relationship with traditions and the past. This philosophy meant some cultural and natural places had a universal value, the protection of which was of international interest. He further adds that at this period, countries and communities with continuous grassroots-based traditions felt alienated by this set of cultural values around heritage which emphasized the material, the monuments and the ancient.

There has been fundamental crisis for heritage which continues to have significant impact on the way in which heritage is defined, perceived and managed in the contemporary global community. The birth of which has to do with early perception and notions that has do with the 1970 World heritage committee, 1972 WHC and the shift to economic focus through tourism (Harrison 2013). The 1970 WHC suggest that heritage is primarily not about the past but relationship the present has with the future and a focus on the Tangible heritage.

In the 1972 World Heritage (WH) convention, (Tangible) buildings with architectural merits and age value gain privilege of the Universal value. In this view, heritage is official and authorised by legislation and technical standards for conservation and protection of heritage.

Laurajane Smith argues that this conventional notion of heritage is the result of, what she calls, the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD). The AHD appears as a lens to 'view' heritage. In her notion of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), she argues that AHD naturalizes the heritage practice of selecting what ought to be preserved and promotes a certain sets of Eurocentric 'western elite cultural values as being universally applicable'; at the same time, it undermines alternative and subaltern ideas about heritage'. She argues that AHD approach of the 'Universal value' and heritage for 'all humanity' relies heavily on the expert knowledge, expertise, aesthetic judgement of heritage and Archaeological value. Therefore the archaeology, architect and history experts become legitimated as spokespersons for the past and of heritage overriding the layman and local communities.

As AHD naturalizes the heritage practice of selecting what ought to be preserved, it consequently naturalises the practices of selecting places, monuments, artefact to be passed on to the future generation in so doing promotes certain set of western elite cultural values as being of universal value. As a result, validate a set of practices, performances and values which recognises popular and expert constructions of heritage and undermine local perspectives and subaltern ideas about heritage (Smith 2006 :11)

AHD according to Smith (2006), can be characterised as a hegemonic Discourse that relies heavily on the power and knowledge of technical and aesthetic experts and institutionalised in state cultural agencies, department and societies. It privileges monumentality, architecture, age, scientific, aesthetic expert judgement and nation building. In addition to this account, from the 1970s onwards heritage studies were dominated by Western experts in archaeology, history, architecture and art history. These contributed to the sustained idea of what heritage is understood to be, guided by the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD). The AHD developed as a response to three main events:

- a) Increasing public, national and international policy interests in the post-war era by saving what was increasingly perceived as the fragile, finite resources of human creation.
- b) Increased development of what was seen as an uncontrolled economic exportation of heritage with increased interest in the tourism sector.
- c) The shift to the political right occurring at both political and social levels in many Western countries and the increasing use of ideas of heritage and patrimony in underpinning conservative social and cultural policies (Smith 2012: 536).

Smith emphasizes that the AHD is a set of self-referential narrative with a particular set of consequence. Through her research, she demonstrates the inability of the general public to recount their heritage experience outside the AHD discourse as a result of the AHD approach to heritage management.

### **1.3.7 Critical Heritage Approach (CHA)**

The AHD evoked dissatisfaction in the way heritage is understood in a non-European context where heritage is more than just tangible material culture. Its value is also drawn from intangible heritage and local views. From this context, AHD was accused of being a Eurocentric discourse which led to the establishment and growth of the CHA. Smith (2012: 536) considers the CHA as a movement against the AHD, which is in stark contrast to international characters, conventions, and treaties that tend to transmit and reinforce the Eurocentric understanding, uses and ideas of heritage. Its potent position is that heritage should be examined as a cultural and social phenomenon, calling for an engagement with heritage that extends beyond the technical approach and requires critical commitment to the concept of heritage. CHA-based studies require, among other things, a bottom-up approach with the incorporation of the non-expert knowledge into the development of academic and policy understanding of heritage, its values and uses. CHA is characterized by:

‘The integration of heritage and museum studies with studies of memory, public history, community, tourism, planning and development, democratizing heritage by consciously rejecting elite cultural narratives and embracing the heritage insights of the people, community and cultures that have traditionally been marginalized in formulating heritage policy’ (Harrison 2013:110).

Critical Heritage Approach (CHA) is a provocative approach seeking to question the received knowledge of what heritage is and advance heritage studies by drawing on wider intellectual sources. It strongly questions the conservative cultural and economic power relation that outdated understandings of heritage support and invites the active participation of the people and community who, to date; have been marginalized in the creation and management of heritage (Smith 2012: 534).

While much has been discussed and written about heritage from disciplines of archaeology museum studies, architecture and history, heritage discourse with an interdisciplinary approach took a critical turn around the 1990 in relation to the globalisation and universality of heritage values. During this period, writing about heritage became inspired and dominated by the writing of Wright’s *On Living in*

*an Old Country* (1985); Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985); Hewison's *The Heritage Industry* (1987). These writings neither focused on the officially recognised heritage nor authorised by legislation. It operationalized Non-Western notion of heritage based on the living cultural tradition, practices and intangible attachment between people and things. These writing informed what Harrison (2013) terms 'Critical heritage Approach'. It questions 'who owns the past' and the right to control its representation, engages in the question of expert knowledge power over local sources and critics the idea of 'Universal' values. The Critical heritage approach privileges the heritage of the minority over heritage of the elites.

Through the discussion of the heritage of the minority and the living cultures UNESCO adopted the 2003 convention for the safeguarding of intangible heritage and later in 2007 adopted the community as the 5th pillar guiding the management of WH sites.

### **1.3.8 Heritage Management in Southern Africa**

Cultural Heritage Management in most parts of Africa has been concerned and focused on conservation and preservation of cultural and natural heritage and the development of sites for tourism and economic boost of states income. In this venture, the tangible heritage such as monuments and landscapes become the focus and of primary significance. Therefore, efforts of heritage management fail to grasp the significance and relevance of cultural heritage to the local communities and the existing traditional and cultural attachment to heritage sites (Jopela 2010) beyond the economic gain. Of late, operational guidelines of the WH Conventions and the heritage discourse have targeted the engagement of communities in the management of their local heritage and shaping visitor experiences. The major challenge is the implementation of these developments and restoration of cultural pride in local communities. The communities' interest in heritage areas has been overshadowed by the perceived idea of economic gain and the global agenda for preservation of monuments for future generation driven by archaeologists as the foremost important benefit in heritage over cultural rights and entitlement to heritage sites and traditional use.

In 2008 several heritage sites in Botswana were opened for tourism in addition to the Tsodilo World Heritage Site. Furthermore, on June 2014 the Okavango Delta covering a vast range of land occupied by cultural communities was also inscribed on the World Heritage List, becoming the second World Heritage Site in Botswana. However, insufficient research and analysis has been undertaken to understand how local communities and local cultures respond to these ventures.

In Africa, nomadic and complex views of the concept of heritage and its meanings have been the centre of attention for the last two decades. Since the Tsodilo hills were inscribed in the World Heritage List in 2001, there have been commendable developments and grounded challenges in the implementation of international legislation, guidelines and policies for managing, preserving and conserving heritage on site. The Tsodilo hills were enlisted in the World Heritage List because of its unique religious and spiritual significance to local peoples, the concentration of rock art and unique record of human settlement over many millennia. The enlisting was based on the first management plan drawn up in 1994 which has been critiqued as limited in community engagement and duly revised. In 2003, the UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage convention was adopted. However, Botswana only ratified the convention in 2008. This delay affected the country's appreciation of the value of the intangible heritage of the site and community engagement in Archaeological Heritage Management (AHM).

### **1.3.9 Research Justification**

This study attempts to demonstrate a superimposition of cultural perceptions of local communities catalysed by the globalisation of the term 'heritage' and the growing tourism industry. The research

area used to be hardly accessible in the remote area. Currently, it is gaining recognition and drawing interest from people all over the world. To formulate a substantial study in Archaeological Heritage studies, placing meaning and value to archaeological sites in my view requires a moment to reflect on what has already been done in the disciplines. Archaeology and heritage studies respectively have made impressive methodological developments in the understanding the value of cultural objects. However, they have also had an impact on the relationship between local communities and cultural resources.

The state of affairs in the African context in regard to archaeological and heritage sites has prompted this view. The local community becomes distanced or distance themselves from the Archaeological Heritage (AH) sites. The individuals on a given heritage site form part of the character of the site and this should not be taken lightly, otherwise the site is vulnerable to plainness. Fundamental for the success of this study is an interdisciplinary, flexible and reflexive critical approach to examine the perception of heritage of the host community and community involvement.

## Chapter 2

# Approaching Inhabited Heritage Spaces: Grounded Theory and Community Heritage Research

### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the general methodological approach of the study. The chapter is divided into 4 parts each discussing a certain methodology issue. At the beginning, I state and discuss the research question and methodological framework, elaborating on the decision to adopt a qualitative research (Bernard 2011; 2006) and Grounded theory (GT) as a strategy of enquiry. I then proceed with a discussion of the applicability of the mentioned framework in regard to the research question. In Sub-section 1 I discuss the Grounded theory methodology as the main strategy of enquiry for the study. I start by defining and discussing the Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) and the essentials of this approach. Then I narrow down my discussion to my choice of the constructivist GTM version among the varied GTM approaches developed through time. In section 2, I outline the research procedures taken in the preparation and duration of the research process. Section 3 outlines the data collection techniques. Section 4 describes the data analysis process; allowing the reader to understand the processes that led to the discussed findings in the following chapter.

### 2.1 Research Question and Selection of the Topic

The objective of this study as noted in chapter 1, was to investigate the experiences and responses of the host communities in inhabited Archaeological heritage sites and the local interpretation of heritage while assessing the interactivity between local communities and heritage agents looking at how these interactions shape the local life world and culture.

The leading questions for the research focusing on local participants are;

1. How is the communities' experience constituted when confronted with different local, trans-local and global impacts?
2. How does community reshape or maintain the heritage image and status of the area?
3. What changes occur in the expressive attachment of the local people on the globalized cultural heritage sites and what effects occur on these resources?
4. What are the advances and losses within the local culture and community emerging from this superimposition and juxtapositions of ideas of heritage? Do the gains compromise the loss?
5. What are the effects of globalization of heritage on the local culture?
6. What is the overarching understanding guiding the archiving of culture and resources in this specific heritage site?

#### 2.1.1 Qualitative Research Framework

To answer the above stated research questions, I adopted a qualitative research framework, an approach that is explorative of a concept or a phenomenon (Creswell 2003: 74; Strauss and Corbin 1990). This is

primarily because; this approach can also be used to gain new perspectives or in-depth information about topics that have not been widely studied. According to Creswell (2003: 18), in qualitative research, the inquirer takes a constructivist perspective and participatory perspective through the research methods. Creswell's checklist of questions for designing of qualitative research procedure aligns with various elements of this study and influenced my rationale behind choosing a qualitative research framework for this study. This qualitative research framework is also valuable for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem or as an enquiry that employs different philosophical assumptions, strategies of enquiry; and methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation (Creswell 2003: 180-181). The strategies of enquiry chosen in qualitative research for this study focuses on the procedural guideline provided in Corbin and Strauss (1990) and Charmaz (2014) to study the heritage phenomena among Tsodilo community.

## **2.2 Grounded Theory (GT)**

### **2.2.1 Strategy for Enquiry**

Creswell (2003) proposes that researchers in Qualitative studies adopt certain research strategies for the inquiry within the frame of qualitative research. There is a variety of inquiry strategies guided by the aim of the research and the research question; Creswell (2003) highlighted 5 alternative key strategies in qualitative research that characterize the research design; ethnography, case study, phenomenology, narrative research and grounded theory research. For this study, the research questions are addressed through an inductive and interpretive approach based on the grounded theory approach.

Grounded Theory Methodology is a qualitative approach that seeks to develop a theory grounded in systematically collected and analysed data. It consists of systematic yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct a theory from empirical data (Charmaz 2014: 1; Charmaz and Mitchell 1996). Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss first introduced the method in 1967 in their first publication of 'the discovery of Grounded theory; strategies for qualitative research'. They developed this research approach while studying the interaction with terminally ill patients in a hospital setting (Glaser and Strauss 1965). In their study, they formulated a system of simultaneous data collection and analysis that enables the construction of a theory grounded in the collected qualitative data (Birks and Mills 2011; Bryant and Charmaz 2007; Glaser and Strauss 1967). The GT methodological approach aims to construct theory rather than to test pre-conceived ideas or hypothesis in qualitative research.

GT is a qualitative approach that since its founding is used in many disciplines. It started with nursing and spread into Social science and diverse disciplines of inquiry (Annells 1996; Birks and Mills 2006; Charmaz 2000). According to its founders, grounded theory constitutes an innovative methodology, facilitating 'The discovery of theory from empirical data, providing relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 1). This entails that the researcher enters the field without prior knowledge of the research situation nor have theoretical frameworks or hypothesis to test.

### **2.2.2 Origins of GT**

Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss pioneered grounded theory in the 1960s (Glaser and Strauss 1965; 1968, 1978 and 1992). The method emerged as a collaboration of Glaser; Colombian sociologists trained in the Lazarsfeld-Merton tradition of quantitatively oriented 'middle-range' theory and Strauss; a student of Herbert Blumer (Charmaz 2014). In his version, Strauss brought an underpinning of pragmatism and symbolic interaction, emphasizing that social life is organized through processes involving conditions, interactions, emotions, and consequences Corbin and Strauss, 1998). It evolved as a movement against



the dominance of a quantitative ideology (Charmaz 2006; Denzin and Lincoln 2005) and Positivism (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

Grounded theory is fixed on the symbolic interaction approach (Charmaz 2014; Glaser 2002) originating from the work of George Herbert Mead (1934) in Blumer 1969 and 1954) (discussed later on the chapter). This approach underpinning became the foundation of GT brought by Strauss. Symbolic interactions are defined by Charmaz (2014: 262) as 'a theoretical perspective that views human actions as constructions of self, situation and society' its adoption in GT methodologies lead the researcher to raise theoretical questions from the empirical data. It has its focus on the human behaviour and the approach to study human conduct and group behaviour, thus instrumental in the study local perceptions of the World heritage process.

### **2.2.3 Nature of GT Research**

Glaser and Strauss designed a number of distinct methodological techniques unique to GT that sets GT apart from the other qualitative research methods. They specified that, data collection and analysis should occur simultaneously and be conducted through; theoretical sampling, coding, constant comparison, saturation and memo writing (Fourie and Kenny 2014; Glaser and Strauss 1967).

GT is inductive, giving voice to data (Charmaz 2003) in the sense that the researcher starts with a topic of interest then collects data that defines the scope of the study by allowing the ideas to develop through emerging issues. This method requires the researcher to be very open-minded in their approach to the field data, to ensure that data analysis is not focused to support preconceived hypothesis (McGhee, Marland and Atkinson 2007).

The GT methodological process adopted in the research is iterative or cyclic in nature; the researcher always looks for something new or salient material and acknowledges dynamics in the development of categories. What is unique for is that unlike most approaches of inquiry, GT is embedded in practice; demanding that data collection and analysis occur concurrently, rather than in a linear sequence (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 3). Data was gathered through interviews, photovoice and observation concurrently, taking an inductive approach leading to emerging tentative theories from the data with data analysis and conceptual theorization taking place parallel from the beginning of the field research resulting in theory development (McGhee, Marland and Atkinson 2007). In GT research is data as long as it is rich data, meaning that data in GT methodology can be drawn from a variety of methods and sources using varied tools of data collection (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

### **2.2.4 Relevance of the GT Methodology in the Research Study**

Amongst numerous advantages of GT inquiry in this study, the flexible nature of GT permitted a critical enquiry and exploration of the complexity of meaning reproduction, cultural transformations, participant experiences and relations in heritage sites. The inductive approach in this research approach supported the study in revealing the conceptualizations of the varied individuals in the local communities' experiences, understandings and ways of interacting with site resources and visitors. The results of these interactions transpired the local voices and communities understanding of the heritage meaning and interpretation through diverse compasses, interactivities and actors.

GT approach is recommended by some researchers in heritage studies. At the end of the research process, I was also convinced of the value on GT in heritage studies. Common in this research and their study, Hirschman and Thompson (1997) state that grounded theory is appropriate when the purpose of the research is to explore consumer-based constructs and theories, as was the case in their study investigating consumers' relationships and mass media vehicles. Uriely (2005) and Daengbuppa *et al.* (2006) suggested the use of grounded theory in heritage studies on the basis of the relationships

between objects and the subject that constitutes the experiences in heritage sites. Therefore this research adopted the Grounded theory (GT) method for developing the theory that is grounded in the data systematically gathered and analysed (Strauss and Corbin 1990; Charmaz 2000, 2001, Clarke 2005). I find this method useful, through GT, I had the benefit of acknowledging the cultural contexts in the analysis of my data, maintaining that culture and heritage are dynamic constructs that can be influenced by and during interactions.

GT is often used in others studies as a form of the comparative case-oriented explanation-building method related to ethnography (Daengbuppha *et al.* 2006), rooted in the theoretical interpretation of data. The basis of the GT in this study is focused essentially in contributing to knowledge in anthropology and heritage studies on the emphasis of a comparative case study based approach on local community experiences in heritage sites. The GT allow for the acknowledgement of the diverse parallel stories told through the expressions of the diverse local people and their experiences. Through this method I took into account conceptual developments in the broader community experience as characterized by subjectivity and multiplicity of experiences and constructs. This was relevant for the realities of the local community where there is an insufficiency in the documentation of the local people's experiences and transformations of the local culture in the heritage context.

### **2.2.5 Versions of GT**

Early on in its development Glaser and Strauss separated due to disagreements on some of the essentials and applications of GT. The separations lead to two opposing fabrications of GT (Glaser 1992; Strauss and Corbin 1990). There became two schools of GT; Straussian (systematic) and Glaserian (Classic) GT. The difference is the core influence of research procedure. I consider that 'Glaser centres his version of GT on the principle that theory should emerge, while Strauss uses structured questions to lead a more influenced emergence of theory' (Jones and Alloy 2011). Glaser also has a strong stand on the traditional GT and theoretical sensitivity against Strauss and Corbin's emphasis on the symbolic interactivity (Strauss and Corbin 1994; 1990, Glaser 1978) leading to;

#### *Glaserian GT*

Subsequent to the publication of the original GT book, Glaser and Strauss had disagreements on some of the essentials and application of the grounded theory methodology. This led to a split, leading to the Glaserian or traditional approach that puts emphasis on theoretical sensitivity and later developed a constant comparative method. Glaser's version of GT is rooted in the idea of the theory that purely emerges from the data (Glaser 1992).

#### *Strauss and Corbin*

Interactionist Grounded Theory advanced and challenged some of the tenets of the original grounded theory particularly challenging the traditional GT stance on the engagement with the literature (Kenny and Fourie 2014 Strauss and Corbin 1990). They centre their version on pragmatism and symbolic interactionism as the philosophies that methodologically underpin Strauss's iteration of grounded theory methods (Charmaz 2014). They oppose the idea of pre-existing reality and propose that truth is enacted (Strauss and Corbin 1994).

Following Glaser and Strauss's invitation to their readers to use the GT approach in their own way; the new generations of GT emerged (Charmaz 2006: 9). Their invitation to the flexibility and freedom for generating theory from qualitative data rendered emergence of new strategies and styles of qualitative analysis with salient rules. Some are yet to be discovered while bringing out the richness in qualitative data through a focus on verification (Glaser and Straus 1967: 186). Glaser and Strauss advise the researchers

of GT to always be clear about what version of the approach that they are using and what properties are revised. Consequently, GTM developed with an ideological split of the founding fathers, following that was a diversion and evolution of different GTM approaches with specific focus or emphasis on certain aspects of the development of the GT. Adele Clarke's situational analysis and Kathy Charmaz leaning on the constructivist approach to GTM and emphasis on the flexibility of GT Approaches.

#### *Charmaz's Constructivists Grounded Theory (CGT)*

For the purpose of this research, I adopted this constructivist GT. It presents Charmaz's response to Glaser and Strauss (1967) 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory' invitation to employ GT flexibly in the researcher's own fashion (Charmaz 2006: 9). Her version of GT comprises of the original essentials of GT and emphasises on the role of the researcher on the emerging theory. What sets Constructivists Grounded Theory (CGT) apart is the emphasis on researchers' need to be immersed in the data in a way that assists in understanding the narratives of the participants in the final research outcome (Charmaz 2006). She proposed that '*neither the data nor the theories are discovered*' and insists that '*we construct our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives and research practices*' (Kenny and Fourie 2014: 6). Constructivists also focus on specific cultural settings in which people live and work to understand the participants' cultural settings and life worlds (Dunne 2011). Therefore the constructivist approach supports this research in addressing the questions of interactions among individuals and diverse individuals experience and researcher's role in generating data.

#### **2.2.6 Essentials of Grounded Theory Methodology**

For beginning researchers, grounded theory methods can be complicated due to the above discussed characteristic of the approach; of differences in versions of the methodology emerging from the divergence of key tenets of the GT. The adoption of a particular divergent approach of GT methodology and decision to align with a certain paradigm vary per researcher. However, literature demonstrates a shared agreement on several fundamental aspects of GT strategy of inquiry. The following constitutes the essentials of Grounded theory research methods, setting apart GT from the other qualitative methods of inquiry; they are discussed in detail through the chapter.

#### *Coding and Categorization of Data*

This is the initial and essential step of data analysis. Coding entails approaching data with an open mind, identifying actions, words and groups that show what is happening in the data and labelling them into categories. Through this process I stuck close to the data and remained open to exploring whatever theoretical possibilities emerge from the data. Coding refined and grouped data so that could I compare emerging parts of data against each other (Charmaz 2014: 116). The data analysis process started with initial or open coding and Memoing that lead to focused coding.

#### *Theoretical Coding or Focused Coding*

Theoretical coding entailed the use of most significant and or frequently occurring earlier codes to sieve through and analyse data. It is the stage of coding that involves the establishment of links between categories and their properties (Charmaz 2014: 138). During this stage, the relationships between categories were established.

#### *Concurrent Data Generation and Analysis*

This is very important part of the Grounded theory research; it entails the simultaneous carrying out of data generating process and analysis.

### *Writing Memos*

Memo writing was done throughout the field work and data analysis. It involves writing down thoughts, feelings, or questions that arise from the analytic process. These notes became further data to be analysed and they are a key element of the analytic process (Charmaz 2014; 2006, Glaser 1978; Strauss and Corbin 1990). Memos encourage the researcher to analyse data and codes, suggesting analytic codes early in the research. They capture data dynamics comparisons, links and directions for the researcher to track.

### *Theoretical Sampling*

This included sampling based on the variations, dynamics and dimensions, settings and cases within which the heritage phenomenon occurs. The researcher recorded the typical and salient occurrences that frame the data generated. Then I looked into what fits and doesn't and how to deal with them. As the researcher, I then sought to develop patterns in the data, seek new information that closes gaps in the data or elaborates on the emergent categories.

### *Constant Comparative Analysis*

This is a two or more part process of data collection and analysis that looks at data to data or category to category or incident to incident throughout the research process. A variance of data and methods were used to develop links, diversions within the data.

### *Theoretical Sensitivity*

This is a process of constant reflection into the process of research (Glaser 1978). It is a multidimensional concept that includes the researchers' level of insight into the research area, how adjusted the researcher is to the salient topics, unfitting categories, complexity of the participant's behaviours, attitudes, practices, words and actions, their ability to reconstruct meaning from the data generated with the participant, and a capacity to „separate the pertinent from that which isn't' (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 44).

### *Reflexivity*

This is essential in this research. It is a key element in ensuring the spiral development of a theory in constructivist GTM. McGhee *et al.* (2007) discuss in detail the issue of reflexivity in GT, emphasizing that the researcher need to be aware of their own background and identity as influential to the research process. Charmaz (2000) supports a view that the impact of the researcher in the research process needs acknowledging as part of the research. In a constructivist GTM, reflexivity does not aim to eliminate the researcher's subjectivity from the resulting theory but to allow the data to be prioritized over the researcher's pre-suppositions, assumptions and previously acquired knowledge, including any reviewed literature. Reflexivity suggests that the researcher's background and previous learning should be openly shared with the readers and reflex on the self (Strauss and Glaser 1967).

In constructivist grounded theory research, the researcher's presence in the research product is acknowledged. From the topic selection to the research preparation, data collection, analysis, and the final rendering of the research result, the author is a key element of the process (Mruck and Breuer 2003). The researcher's voice in the resulting theory should not be excluded, avoided, or hidden as highlighted in the first chapter of this study.

*Philosophical Leaning of the Research*

This research embraces Charmaz's constructivist design of research, considering that realities are multiple and continuously constructed that research process emerges from diverse interactions between researcher and participants and the data. I also assume a position that researcher's perspective is rooted in symbolic interactions and the emergent GT is influenced by ethno-methodology (Garfinkel 1967, Hodder 1982) in which people use understanding and produce the social order in which they live. Unlike in the case of objectivists, GT research does not assume that data is self-evident and speaks for itself (Charmaz 2008). This research takes a position that assumes that the researcher's position and philosophical affiliation matters greatly in the outcome of the research results thus, acknowledges the researcher as part of data generating process rather than an expert observer.

In the broader frame, this perspective is drawn from Thomas's famous theorem that suggests that 'if men define situations to be real, they are real in their consequence' (Thomas and Thomas 1928: 572 in Merton 1995). Implying that knowledge production and meaning construct is an active process. In other words, when people perceive the cultural resource as a significant object and attach greater value to it, the resource becomes significant and valuable to them. This label makes it factual. The attitudes towards the object do not depend on an objective interpretation of the situation but on the subjective interpretation of reality. Interpretation and presentation dictate the response towards an object. The principle idea is that an individual's interpretation of the situation is the means people use to determine what is expected of them in various situations. People go through life deciding the meaning of situations, and those meanings determine how they behave in the situation, regardless of whether or not their interpretation is accurate Blumer (1969).

## **2.3 GT Procedure and Essential in the Research Process**

### **2.3.1 Literature Reviewing and GT**

My experience as a researcher new to the use of GT in research is that the issue of literature review in the GTM research can be confusing for researchers new to GT. In the First publication of Glaser and Strauss (1967: 179-183), the prominence is on the disadvantages of consulting substantial topic related literature prior to entering the field. However, some scholars have addressed this issue (Strauss and Corbin 1994: 283, Dunne 2011 and McGhee, Marland and Atkinson 2007) putting forward counter-arguments and alternative manners in which the research could engage with the literature and existing debates surrounding the topic without compromising the credibility of the research results.

When Glaser and Strauss first introduced GTM, they explicitly advised 'literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated' (1967: 45). The justification was that refraining from a literature review would allow the theory to emerge from the data, rather than being imposed to it from the existing literature. Glaser stands strongly on this premise which influenced the decision (Glaser 1992) to avoid his perspective in this study. When the researcher can view literature in GT research is one of the ultimate issues in GT that even Glaser and Strauss strongly disagreed on (Strauss and Corbin 1990, Glaser 1992). However, they both agree on the idea of avoiding 'contamination' of the resulting theory as much as possible.

Glaser and Corbin advocated for a review of literature for the reasons that it stimulates theoretical sensitivity and questioning, directs theoretical sampling and provides secondary data sources. Glaser (1992 quoted in Dunne 2011 and 1998: 67) maintains the original argument in Strauss and Glaser (1967), that explicitly stands against consulting literature in the substantive area and topic of research, but can be examined only after codes and categories have emerged (McGhee, Marland and Atkinson 2007, Dunne 2011: 213).

Glaser (1992) and his followers are not flexible on this issue, arguing that literature put the researcher in a compromising position of easily drawing on the preconceived notions and overlooking the important emerging issues in the data. He says the researcher's view may be influenced by acquired literature knowledge on the topic. Contrarily some researchers argue that 'prior to the research process, literature enables the readers (researcher) to identify their ground and provide justifications for launching the GT study (Antle May 1986 in McGhee 2007, Dunne 2008). These scholars suggest that, to know that there is not enough literature on the topic is a reason for adopting the GT approach. Therefore the researcher needs to have read through existing literature.

Charmaz (2006) proposes that the researcher delays the literature review in order to avoid contamination with the preconceived ideas and forcing data into the developing theory. However, Strauss and Corbin 1998 place a great confidence in the capacity of the GT scholars and researchers to generate knowledge and GT without the greater influence of the imported literature data. In the midst of all these arguments and scholarly debates, as a PhD scholar I had a responsibility to be practical in my view and decision to engage with the literature. In the PhD and funded research work, I had the responsibility to consult literature that would justify the importance of this research study. Therefore, I decided to assume the 'intermediate ground'. I found benefit in browsing through literature on the substantive area of research. It would have been a pity for that to determine that I refrain from this immensely advantageous method for this study. In the research process, literature was used proactively to inform the research about the context within which participants operate. During the initial stages of the research, I consulted the management plans of the Tsodilo World Heritage Site and the governmental and Non-governmental institutions that exist in Tsodilo as well as approaches in heritage studies. The literature was also useful in exploring the macro conditions that affect or influence (Corbin and Strauss 1998) the community and the landscape change and development.

Often proponents of GT claim that the methodology is an effective research strategy for topics which has not been widely and intensively researched (Strauss and Corbin 1992; Strauss and Glaser 1967, Charmaz 2000, 2014) therefore, in a more practical viewpoint 'how can this paucity of knowledge be ascertained unless an initial review of literature is undertaken?' (Dunne 2011). The most pragmatic reason is that, as a trained Archaeologist, I was introduced to the core of GT methodology during the course of my first semester into the doctoral programme in the department of Social Sciences and Cultural Studies. During this period, I was reading widely around the research topic and alternative research essentials i.e. approaches, theories, research context. As I prepared for the research fieldwork early within the graduate programme, I attended a workshop and summer school at the National University of Ireland Maynooth (NUIM). We discussed and explored GT in great length. That is where the realization of the potential withheld by GT methodology in my own research emerged. I had consulted a few professional works in relation to the research topic before choosing to engage with GTM upon the realization that I did not know much about the research topic. I also realized during this period that there has been a paucity of knowledge in relation to heritage studies of local communities in rural remote areas and inhabited Archaeological World Heritage Sites.

My greatest advantage is that the scope of research has not well been researched in the study context particularly in Botswana's rural and remote areas inhabited by non-Tswana speakers. Secondly, the State has a unique standpoint on the equality of all ethnicities while there is a prevailing national Tswana hegemony over minority non-Tswana cultures (Giraud 2011) which play a role in the local cultures and intercultural interaction of the minority ethnics and the Tswana. The context shows a rather colonizing system, we find an influence of the Tswana culture in these places, exploiting and exploring them. Consulting the literature provided this research with a justification for a specific research approach for the study and an assurance that this was not a repetition of a study that has already been conducted.

Before entering the research field, literature was used to conduct a desktop study mainly to familiarize with the basic official research requirements in the study area. It has become very important as an official procedure that in order to adhere to the national and local research ethics, I had to go through a process to acquiring research permit and consulting before entering the field. This is a requirement that is not common for all states and or local communities. The state of Botswana in its awareness of the various forms of exploitation of local communities by academic and non-academic organization requires that every anthropological and archaeological researcher starts with an application for research permit from Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism and relevant departments or relevant Ministries for the research question. For this research, the department of National Museum and Monuments issued a research permit. At the beginning of the research, the local traditional authorities and national museum representative in Tsodilo were consulted and requested to see this document.

The second reason is that browsing through the existing research works in this study area helped me to formulate a working research question at the initial stage of the research project. This literature data provided useful justifications in the research proposal for the study which was then assessed by the Graduate Centre committee for admission in the programme.

### ***2.3.2 Delay of Literature***

As a student of archaeology I had limited professional experience in regard to the local people's experiences and trajectories in and around the heritage sites but well aware of the archaeology of the area and the excavations carried out in this area. For this reason, the topic of this research emerged out of curiosity into the anthropology of the area, which had not been the focus of research in Tsodilo Hills since its inscription into the World Heritage list. The research questions of the study are results of some responses to the beginning stages of fieldwork. I entered the research field with an Archaeological background and delayed literature review into the anthropology of the area to after field work stages and formulation of the final research questions.

### ***2.3.3 Steps Taken To Gain Entry into the Field and Ethical Consideration***

At the beginning of the research, before entering the field, I explored the legal procedure for conducting scientific research in Botswana and the research guidelines. The search led me into an application procedure for approval of the research process from the National gatekeepers. Research in Botswana is guided by the Anthropological Act to monitor social-science research on indigenous communities and the monument and relics act for the protection of archaeological features and encourage conducting archaeological impact assessments before development and any disturbing activities negatively impacting any cultural material and environments.

Section 1 of Botswana Anthropological Research Act 1967 refers to anthropological research and investigation or research of a; physical anthropological, social anthropological, cultural anthropological, sociological, physiological, group psychological, linguistic, ethnological, ethnographical, or ethno historical nature and includes research into the human geography and human ecology of any area. Research in Archaeological heritage sites is monitored through Botswana Monuments and relic's act 2001, implemented through the Department of Botswana National Museum and monument governing scientific research in heritage sites. section 17 subsection 1 and 3 of the act states that (1) No person shall, without the written permission of the Minister, given after consultation with the Commissioner, conduct any archaeological research (3) The permission of the Minister in terms of subsection (1), shall not be deemed to Authorize the entry of any person upon any land, other than State land, without the permission of the owner or lawful occupier thereof secure permission to study the informants (Botswana Monument and relics act 2001). For this

reason, I further consulted with the local authorities and traditional leaderships prior to conducting research. It is also essential for the research, to gain local approval from the community leaders and individuals during research. The local leadership approvals practically influence the participation of the community in a research; therefore, their approval is important. Study participation consent in the form of verbal recorded consent was obtained from all participants during interviews and before attending private events and going into conceptual community space spaces. The participants were informed of the aim, scope, possible effects of the study.

The research permit for research in Tsodilo for the period of 2014-2016 was issued through the Ministry of Environment; wildlife and tourism. Though Botswana adapts an open research policy, Botswana government is protective of the rights of communities, guarding against exploitation of ethnic minorities. Preparation for entering the fieldwork in Tsodilo involved a 6 weeks long process of application of research permit through the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism. The proposal went through evaluation by relevant government departments before authorization of research process was granted through the Botswana Department of National Museum and Monuments that manages and governs Heritage sites on behalf of the state in Botswana.

### **2.3.4 Researcher's Position**

Qualitative constructivist research inquiry through grounded theory approach is intrusive in the sense that it introduces the researcher and participants to ethical and personal issues throughout the fieldwork process. Charmaz (2014) and Creswell (2003) emphasize that the researchers need to clearly identify their values, interest and motivations in regard to the research process and topic. These elements play a role in access to the research field, participants and ethical issues arising. The anthropological researcher is not scientific observers who can dismiss scrutiny of own values by claiming neutrality and authority (Charmaz 2014: 27). Factors such as the background of the researcher, the relations between researchers and participants, cultural background of the researcher and research assistants are hinted through the chapter. This reflection is meant to create a detailed picture of the field and highlight my awareness of the researcher's influence on the generated data and the analysis processes. Considering the researcher subjectivity and potential data bias, incompleteness or compromise, it is necessary to state that the research utilised multiple strategies of inquiry and extensive participant population.

Mills and Birks (2006) proposed that, researchers choose research paradigms that correspond with their belief about nature and reality so as to develop a strong research design. Thus, is essential that I mention here that this research lean towards the constructivist emphasis of the subjective interrelationship between the researcher and participant, and the co-construction of meaning in the research as opposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), and Glaser ( 1978, 1992) that incorporates positivist perspective emphasizing objectivity in the development of theory. Glaser believes that theory should be allowed to emerge purely from data. The Charmaz constructivist Grounded theory challenges this stance in detail in her publication *Constructivism and Grounded theory*, (Charmaz 1998). She characterized constructivist GT with the following assumption;

- Reality is multiple, processual and constructed but constructed under particular conditions
- The research process emerges from the interaction
- It takes into account the researcher's positionality, as well as that of the research participants
- The researcher and researched co-construct the data, data is a product of the research process, not simply observed objects of it.



I presented myself in a way that I believed was suitable for the scene, (Charmaz 2014: 23) distancing from the idea of an expert or educated researcher to that of a young adult seeking to learn from the community, the culture and heritage label as understood by the participants. This is because the data we receive in a research setting is determined by how the participants identify and know us and about us as researchers (Charmaz 2014: 23) and the working topic of the research at the time of writing is a revised version after the first field work and data following local input.

### **2.3.5 Choice of Fieldwork Area**

I selected the study area based on its location. It is in a remote, not easily accessible, and rural settlement, far from the city and development. The location does not suggest random, meaningless interactions between actors. This variable is essential for the study case; it narrows down the interaction of the participants to specific determined interested groups that access the space with specified interests on the heritage site. The location of the site is also selective of the study participants configuration and conceptualizations of the context. Being located in a rural remote area, the participants are mostly uneducated in the formal sense and rely on the cultural indigenous knowledge and cultural modes of survival that the environment provides hence limited to the site features and provisions of the heritage context and the tourism industry.

Secondly, it was essential that the case study context possessed cultural significance embedded in the intangible heritage of the site and an attachment by local people. The site area is a national cultural symbol that attracts tourism and international interest. Therefore, the result of the research data indicates patterns of interaction between, local, national and international meaning construction and experiences.

I chose the Tsodilo hills because, at the time of drawing of the research proposal, the Tsodilo hills were the only World Heritage Site within Botswana Borders. The site is a representation of the culturally rooted communities in remote and not easily accessible location with resources labelled as 'World heritage' material.

As the first World Heritage Site in the country, Tsodilo WHS's importance to the government's diversification of economy cannot be ignored. The site has an economic interest from the national authority. In this light, I seek to unravel the logic behind the role of local community and interests on the site in the midst of national and global interests.

People of ethnic diversity and cultural affiliations inhabit the Tsodilo hills landscape. This context presents conceptual diversity and complexity. This characteristic is interesting for the exploration of experiences and meaning attached to a resource assumed to be of a universal value. In this case, meanings construct and interpretations of the situation become specific to participant and group.

The prehistoric and archaeological significance of the tangible resources represented in the site and the conservation measures put to place play a significant role in understanding processes of conceptual alterations of the local perceptions. The local community become the centre of global, national and local processes that co- constitutes the Archaeological World Heritage context that is primarily academic and expert knowledge constructs.

### **2.3.6 Research Participants**

For the purpose of this study, the local community refers to the communities within the hill proximity. This community extends to 60km radius around the hills in all directions. This is because the area is inhabited by geographically scattered agriculturalist, pastoralists and former hunter

gathers related families. These form communities that were previously not restricted to a single settlement before establishing a sedentary lifestyle in respective resident places. Tsodilo landscape consists of the dispersed distribution of extended families members of different ethnic identities around the hill area. Therefore, Tsodilo community refers to the host population that lives near the hills officially referred to as the Tsodilo resident area near the hills. In Tsodilo there are 3 generations of two geographically separate ethnic groups living in two wards of extended families of Basarwa/Ju/hoansi and the Hambukushu. The majority of residents are blood relatives affiliated to Ju/hoansi and Hambukushu kinships.

### ***2.3.7 Entering the Field***

The fundamental building blocks of grounded theory orbits around the idea that the researcher needs to avoid presumption in developing a grounded theory Glaser (1998). The researcher needs to avoid literature in the immediate area so as not to prejudice or influence the perceptions of the research Goulding (1998, 2002). This means setting aside what the researcher already knows about the area and being open-minded (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Critical to this belief is, the researcher does not enter the field with a theory in mind, which could influence the development of the GT discovery through bias in the field (Glaser 1978; Glaser and Strauss 1967). Grounded Theory has become both a widely contested method across different versions and a more carefully defined set of procedures concerning the treatment of literature. However, this research aligns closely with Charmaz (2014) and (2006) claims that the literature is able to provide examples of similar phenomena that can ‘stimulate our thinking about properties or dimensions that we can then use to examine the data in front of us’ (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 45). The initial planning and drawing of research proposal required the researcher to consult the literature on the studied context, however; this was not very helpful because there is very limited literature on the studied phenomena.

As Golding (1992) notes, upon entering the field, I was aware that individuals are purposive in their actions and act and react to environmental cues, objects and others, according to the meaning these holds for them. These meanings evolve from various forms of communication and interactions such as language, gestures and the significance of objects. From this point, I aimed to understand the participants and their social reality. In order to acquire an overview of the research context, I initially physically distanced from the community and observed the community and local institutions from an outsider view. I settled inside the core zone of Tsodilo hills, separate from the residential area. From this point, I was in a position to observe the diverse local community members and the management interactions within the World Heritage Site setting before observing the everyday village life. This position gave the research a form of spectator view contrary to the participant observer position that I later assumed when settling within the community resident area. During this introductory stage of research, I conducted spontaneous informal conversations with a wide range of participants visiting or working at the World Heritage Site. These conversations were open and flexible for gradual familiarization with the research context. From this point, I gained information on how the site management functions and observed community interaction with the hill site and the cosmopolitan heritage tourism community.

### ***2.3.8 Research Team and Language***

Botswana is a multi-cultural nation. There are over 20 languages spoken within the national borders. The majority of the population speaks Tswana (Chebanne 2002; Nyathi Ramahobo 2008). Tswana is also taught at school as the common mode of communications among citizens. The majority of the Tswana speakers and Tswana dialects speakers live on the south, south-east and central districts while the minorities who speak the rest of the wide range of the languages are scattered around the northern and north-west regions covering the Kalahari Desert and the Okavango region. The context of this research

is more centred within a region of the multi-lingual population in north-west Botswana. The majority of the mainstream Tswana speakers do not speak more than 2 languages i.e. Tswana and English. On the other hand, the people of the minority are more multi-lingual (Mooko 2006).

Symbolic Interactionist understands the world by interpreting human interaction, which occurs with symbols, such as language Blumer (1969). Tsodilo World Heritage Site and the local community are ethnically diverse, most participants speak Tswana (but not fluently) and the local languages while a number of the older generation do not speak Tswana nor English languages. I conducted the data collection process in four different languages preferred by the research participants. I conducted interviews in Tswana, Hambukushu, !Kung and English languages with the help of translators and my knowledge of Tswana. All data was then translated to the English language for presentation and data analysis.

The process of research extended to understanding meanings in these diverse languages and culturally diverse community. GTM particularly suited the disentangling of complex data analysis in the study. The adapted strategy of Grounded Theory allowed the interpretation of meaning in social interaction and study of 'the interrelationship between meaning in the perception of the subjects and their action' Glaser (1992) through multiple research methods. The time spent in the field was insufficient to acquire the basic knowledge of the local languages; therefore, the research language was predominantly Tswana then translated into English. I realized the usefulness of this approach through interactions that were characterized by constant language code-switching by participants. In my presence, the participants used both Tswana and their mother tongue languages and I observed the choice of topics and behaviours that surround the use of both languages. The constant translations from the research assistant during interactions helped develop categories of topics that were effortlessly translated and topics and terms that participants perceived as challenging to translate to the common language due to limited vocabulary on both English and Tswana languages. The language challenges opened a nagging question of how consultation and agreement between local people and other stakeholders could be perceived as mutual in the case that local people are confronted I languages that they fail to interact in?

My research assistant and I are both from the mainstream Tswana groups in Botswana however; I had another supplementary assistant from within the community who speaks all languages in the village i.e. !Kung, Herero, Hambukushu and Tswana (fluently). The language barrier set a distance between the study group and research team at the initial stages of research. I do not speak the languages spoken in this village except for the official Tswana language and English. The majority of the members of the community speak at least two to three languages which include !Kung (Ju/hoansi language) Hambukushu (spoken by both Basarwa/Ju/hoansi and Hambukushu) Herero (spoken by few Basarwa and Herero) Tswana, spoken by most members but also not fluently by the majority and lastly English. English fluency is very low, most participants prefer to use their mother tongue languages. The more interactions with the participants the more openly and frequently they spoke and participated in the Tswana language. The use of Tswana depended on effort, comfort and trust. The community used the Tswana language to invite and exclude in their daily conversations. It took some time to develop trust and comfort around the research and be willing to communicate in a language that was understood by both parties. The more the participants established a relationship with the researcher and the research question the more the communication language gradually changed to Tswana.

The responses and the views of the participants on the heritage discourse could also be understood through the interactivity between the community members and the heritage site visitors and management. The terms they used to describe this phenomena and behaviours associated with this topic was taken into consideration during informal and unguided discussions and recorded in the memos.

### ***2.3.9 Settling in the Tsodilo Community Residence***

Building a trusting and welcoming relationship between a researcher and participants was a thought-provoking process. In general, this was the most important yet challenging part of the research. When successful it allows participants to act naturally towards the researcher and research process with minimal suspicion, pretence or mis-presentation. However, it challenges the researcher to establish their role and position within the community in an inviting manner as opposed to forced. How much data one is able to get out of the field was dependent on this fact. This is because the Basarwa and Hambukushu families are very close and had a tight relationship with their respective members but different and unreceptive towards the other groups of Tswana origin. These communities view themselves as 'minority' and non-Tswana.

It became clear through the research process that at the beginning the community viewed me more as a researcher (outsider) than as part of the community (insider). These perceptions changed over time spent in the field and relation built with the participants.

### ***2.3.10 Population Dynamics in Tsodilo and Theoretical Sampling***

Of relevance, the time of research spent in the village allowed me to observe the community at diverse waves of population configurations. I observed the community at times when the pastoralists and agriculturalists were confined to the field while the majority of the community in the village was the Ju/hoansi San. During this period, this particular group attended the majority of community meetings. During the next wave after harvest period, the majority of the population was the Hambukushu who make up the majority of Tsodilo community. During this time, the pastoralists and farmers were back in the village. According to the participants, normally the pastoralists are not in the village during cultivation and harvesting season in order to keep the livestock from the fields. After this period they come back to the community with their livestock. This community dynamics surfaced issues of dominance and power of the majority in the community.

The other wave is when the schoolchildren were in the village during school vacation and when they were in the in schools in the nearby villages. During the period when the schooling children were back in the village there was a visible dynamic between the daily routine of the villagers and the population configuration. The rhythm of the Village transformed from a tranquil and quite space to a more energetic and active one. The children changed even the mood in the village. It's a relatively large population of school children making approximately 60% of the general population (Population from 2010-2015 management plan). During the time when the kids were in the village I had the opportunity to observe the interaction between generations; the older and younger generations. There are no schools, health posts and supermarkets in Tsodilo village. The community depends on their relations with the nearby villages to benefit from these basic services.

The other wave was around the peak of tourism between May and June with the average of 6 visitors per day and a period of less tourism which is February to march with an average of 2 visitors per day. During these periods, I observed the interactions between the community and diverse visitors the majority being the international tourists and school groups. Other visitors were researchers (e.g. the rock art monitoring project organized by the Botswana national museum and the rock art specialists from Zimbabwe and South Africa), filmmakers, and entrepreneurs offering empowerment and funding opportunities to the local community, international traditional and religious users of the hills. As I observed, this in and out movement of people in Tsodilo highlighted issues of interactions with the other, local economy, culture dynamics, heritage user group diversity, cultural proximities, traditional ritual events and cultural performances, exchange of ideas, presentations of the site, government poverty alleviation measures. Through interactions, there

emerged a prevailing theme/category of conceptual (in) community space and non-community spaces of interaction.

The general accounts illustrated by the community show elements of tension between Tsodilo communities and the neighbouring settlements and villages and within the community. The manner in which heritage authorities and policies constructs heritage narratives betrays some community narratives, configurations, experiences, culture and attachment to the heritage sites, leaving out some part of the community's 'cultural heritage and kinship members as outsiders in their own homes. The general community accounts surfaces prevailing feelings of discomfort, alienation and negative nostalgia and dissatisfaction while others appreciate that some part of their livelihood became easier than before.

### **2.3.11 Rapport Building and Gatekeepers**

The rapport building phase of research began through building an open and trust based relationship with the local community Traditional leadership. These persons have influential role in the community and they can control access to the community in formal and informal contexts. Tsodilo community had adopted a Tswana traditional system, one can gain better and respectful relation of the community through the guidance of the traditional authority. These people are recommended entry points to the in-community space. The traditional leaders in the rural settings are important in establishing and maintaining good relations within the village. They are often found in the traditional village court known as the 'Kgotle'. The community traditional leader can also influence the research process. This was demonstrated through continuing assistance and request by the leader or village Chief introducing the research and requesting community members to participate and assist in the research, during 'Kgotle' meetings. In one instance the Tsodilo village Chief recommended that we speak with his uncle who recites in Chukumuchu. The Chief sent us with one of his nephews to Chukumuchu village to conduct the interview. During the interview with the Chief's uncle who is also an advisor to the Chief, he said:

*'You see, if you just came here without my children, I would not have participated, thinking you are a thief. When I saw these two come with you I knew you come with good intention. Slowly People steal our hills. We have lost so much; they come and take our hill. When they get to their places they claim that Tsodilo is theirs using what we tell them. They ask us questions about the hills then claim the knowledge we give them as theirs. We were cheated; they steal Botswana when they steal the hills. We have to protect it and the knowledge, I fear to just give people information about the hills because then I will be accountable when we lose it' (interview April 2015).*

This assertion showed the influence of traditional leaders in this context as gate keepers who also ease the suspicious conduct of some participants. A good relation between the researcher and the village Chief suggest to the community that the researcher can be trusted. Therefore initial step as in the Tswana culture which has influence in the study population was to introduce the research and project to the leadership as key people. The leaders then introduce the research and researcher to the community. This laid a good foundation for discussions throughout the field research. The trust and acceptance by leadership and elders is advantageous also because it aided when I needed (as part of the research process) to be involved in community events and activities that may otherwise be inaccessible. Through these people, I was presented as the outsider seeking insider knowledge of the community. I often assumed the position of the outsider-inside the community. In the quest to be included in the daily lives of the participants in a much-normalized manner, I participated in a number of community events and discussions in always playing the role of the researcher and the visitor. These events include community official gatherings with the leadership, youth sports events, evening and around fire daily gatherings.

In this community of multiple ethnics and two separate settlements, it was challenging to find a neutral settling area without being misunderstood as choosing sides among the two. Initially, I worked closely

with the community through the Tsodilo community trust and the site museum. From this point, there was equal access opportunity to most members of the community. Initially settling at the site museum gave me an outsider view of the community, formal site conservation and observe a broader authoritative relationship between the formal institutions and community participants. It was a very helpful approach that gave an understanding of the community relations. Sensitive issues between community and visitors were often raised in this non-community space. Therefore when later on moving into the in-community residential space I was aware of the social relations, possible challenges and also how to interact with the participants. This also helped in setting my position as a researcher clear of the diverse community potential influence on the research process.

### ***2.3.12 Field Research Stages***

The research was carried out over a period of 6 months in two phases. The selected fieldwork time periods was based the end of summer to the beginning of winter time in Botswana. This is proven to be a favourable time for research in the previous field work experiences in the country. During this time, it is less rainy and most community members are not too busy or scattered in the fields or at the cattle posts. It is the time towards the end of harvesting season; most subsistence farmers are back in the village to wait for the next rains. Furthermore, during this period many do not travel too far to earn a living; there is still food and water in the area. There is even a higher possibility of travelled community members returning home for the harvest and receiving visitors from neighbouring localities. Access to a larger and diverse group during this time is highly probable which was important in order to generate rich fieldwork data (Bryant and Charmaz 2010). Towards the mid of the research period in this time frame, there is two weeks school break. The younger generations return home from neighbouring villages where they attend school. This period allowed access to data from a large and complex scope of research participants and immediate transformation of the community population configuration of generational representations.

### ***2.3.13 First Stage Fieldwork Methods and Practice***

The first phase of fieldwork focused on conducting interviews, observation and later; participant observation for the purpose of establishing initial codes and themes. The aim of this stage was to conduct an exploratory study of the field. The interviews were not formulated based on any theoretical focus (Charmaz 2014) but on exploring the field and the participants' perception of the landscape and the heritage process. In principle, the participants were allowed the opportunity to lead the discussion and take control of themes they want to talk about however in cases where the participants were reluctant, interview guide was used based on the responses and occurring themes in previous interviews. The interview guides were formulated onsite based on the data from the other interviews and the researcher's surfacing insight on the topics that emerge. Part of these start-off interviews were intensive interviews and life stories. They were in the form of conversations, the researcher expressed interest on a topic and the interviewee led the discussion into his or her understanding, perspective on the topic (Charmaz 2014: 68). I occasionally asked provoking questions while giving the interviewee's the freedom to answer or not while opening up more discussions and salient topics. The interviewees tended to elaborate while answering questions that they found to be most interesting to them. The discussions were opened by open question such as; tell me about your experiences in Tsodilo? Tell me about your work?

### ***2.3.14 Research Break***

Fieldwork process included a short week long break to reflect on the collected data and what has already transpired in the data. This period was essentially for organizing material and setting focus points based on things that are important in the setting (Charmaz 2008). This time was utilized to have self-reflections and outsider view on the general findings, emerging themes and tendencies in the field. Secondly field

work and spending a long time in a new environment can be overwhelming, stressful, exhausting, and lonely or even have a general culture shock. Therefore, it was essential to take a break to reflect on the underlying research question in relation to the emerging forms of data (Clarke 2005). The second and longer fieldwork pause was taken to 'distance' from the field and carry out data interpretation of the first stage data collection which included, field notes, memos, interviews and photos. The research breaks were also a strategic way of ensuring that data analysis was a continuous process from the beginning of data collection process. The search for meanings and categories commenced from the initial time of field research (Strauss and Corbin 1990; Strauss and Glaser 1967, Charmaz 2000, 2008). Additionally the pause was essential for the planning and the setting of a more focused second stage fieldwork that would be based on the data analysis of first phase fieldwork. The second stage fieldwork had focus group targets and was theoretically driven based on the emerged themes and categories.

### **2.3.15 Second Stage Field Work**

The second phase of research process was a continuations and follow-up phase for the first stage and data analysis. It was a follow up of the first phase of research which was also carried out in the enlightened assessment of the first phase process and methods. In this part of field research I adopted ethnographic methods to dig deeper into the surfaced research focus, themes and research questions subsequent to the exploratory field experience (Palmer 2001). This means carrying out of in-depth interviews, memos, participant observation and gathering archive records. The research involved a detailed observation of the community interactions and the trajectory of the heritage process through their description and interpretations as well as emerging subsequent conceptualizations. During this second stage field work, the scope was narrowed with a particular focus on Tsodilo hills community and a closer look in experiences of the host Ju/hoansi San group and Hambukushu.

## **2.4 Data Collection Procedure**

The position of the researcher is fundamental in constructivists GT research (Charmaz 2006) and the perceptions that the participants formulate around her as an individual, social being and as a professional is key. The researcher-participant relations and the ethical issues surrounding the context influence the research methods and tools used in the research and gathering data. The relationship is guided by the supposition that culture is objectively observed and subjectively expressed, and there is a popular belief in the neutrality, transparency and objectivity of research methods. Their subjective demonstration is openly a debatable matter. While on the field, field-notes record show that, it would appear naïve for the researcher not to consider that during qualitative research, participants also become attentive in understanding the research study as well as the researcher. Their general conception of the researcher is occasionally evident in the data and the time occupied to share their stories and experiences. It is my belief that if this research was to be conducted by a European older male without prior cultural knowledge of the general Tswana context, the interactions and responses to the same research questions would have been different. The participant's relationship and interaction with the researchers cut deeper than the mere physical researcher-participant presence. This relationship influences the data generated with rudiments of the perceived intents and interests of the participants through the social and cultural values and circumstantial background of the researcher. Take note in the interview with an elderly participant who directly said to the researcher;

*'these developments are yours, when you tell me; "Tsheko this is how you will do things", I have my own ways too, so I will say "my child this is how I do things..." it is up to you to get what I have to share with you but what you share with me, I will just take because you are taking me from the past and bringing me to these current times and how you do things now... they come here and say "Tsheko this is how we do things now". How can I refuse that...?' (Mokate Maseko).*

In this interview, the participant was aware of the age and background of the research. Throughout the interview, he addressed the researcher as *ngawnaka*, a Tswana term for my child. This also suggests that the participants saw the researcher as one of them. The participants seem to draw on these elements the kind of data, amount of data they open up to the researcher. In a number of occasions especially after spending a few days interacting with the participants, I realized that being young, female, Motswana doing research in Tsodilo, where not many people especially the mainstream Tswana groups reach, attracted a lot of sympathy and admiration from elderly participants and leaders. This was evident in their occasional regard of my well-being and comfort and safety in the remote areas.

In the interview data and social interactions, I often noticed that most elders referred to me as *ngwanaka* meaning my child. This kind of perceived relationship between the participants and the researcher is based on their perceived view of the researcher as part of the community. This view later became an opening in the community's inner-community conceptual zones. This references to the dynamics in which the locals perceive their localized position, norms and values in association to the researcher's position highlight the fluidity of insider outsider relations. In a number of scenarios, I got the impression that several elderly participants took the researcher's position as that of their own child with interest in what they believe to be an eroding culture which needs preserving.

In this case, it is very difficult to ignore the position of the observer. Truth and accuracy in the research findings in this research are contextual, situational, relative and historical. Therefore the researcher's standpoint needs to be taken into account because of the view that it could also shape what is observed and how it is interpreted. Therefore, academic background, cultural background and philosophical bias are essential to understanding the derived theory. The researcher's perspective in understanding the data and context is self-reflective of their values, acknowledging that there are possible multiple views to the discussed research question. However, the aim remains; to understand the perspectives of the participants as much as possible.

During my research stay, I was asked many questions about my research work, not during interviews or formal settings but in spontaneous daily interactions. As much as I was trying to understand their worldviews, they also tried to understand mine. They saw commonalities between our backgrounds and became comfortable with my presence with them. It is the honesty in the interactions and the genuine transparency in my work that in most cases allowed ingenuous research interactions with the participant.

#### **2.4.1 Data Collection Methods**

In the light of the adopted research approach and goals of the research, various methods of data assemblage were used in the exploratory phase of research, refer to **Table 1**. This was basic in examining and exploring the uniqueness of individuals or collectiveness of participant's perspectives and attitude to the object of study based on the heterogeneity of the study population. I simultaneously engaged with multiple sources of data throughout the research for comparative analysis of the data (Goulding 2002; Strauss and Corbin 1998, Charmaz 2006, Charmaz and Bryant 2010). These include the use of interviews, guided interviews, participant observations, observations, Memoing, focus groups, life stories, mapping, and photovoice. Due to the multiplicity of sources, I was not strict with the methods of data collection. The decision to use a particular data collection method was influenced by what transpired in the research process and the emerging topics. For instance, during the interviews, it became apparent that the use and meanings of the concepts of heritage, tradition and culture by the participants were not clear through verbal communications with the participants. This was a very important aspect of the research process therefore, I decided to use photovoice to clarify scenarios, events, practices and objects that participants associate with the concept and which applies to all



or either two of the concepts. Photos were produced through photovoice, a participatory research method in which participants as active partners in the data generating process and owning the collection and interpretation of the research data, (Photos) produce photos (Wang and Burris 1997). The participants were entrusted with disposable cameras to record. They took the photos and used them as boundary objects to provide explanations, share insights and their perspectives. The photos were then interpreted and given codes.

#### **2.4.2 Multi-Sited Approaches**

This study used a multi-sited approach inspired by the principles of Charmaz (2006), Glaser and Strauss (1968), and Clarke (2003), to develop an intimate understanding of the study context. Tsodilo World Heritage Site (WHS) and the local community was the centre of research in assessing the role of heritage status on landscapes and resources in small rural communities in the remote areas. As a heritage site, Tsodilo rests in an area surrounded by communities (cattle-posts, agricultural fields, and villages) with almost similar population and social configuration set apart by its heritage status. There is interest in understanding how local culture may have transformed in the neighbouring communities as compared to the Tsodilo proximal community. It was also interesting to understand how the geographical proximity of the communities could influence the attachment with the cultural heritage resources based on the near or far from the site. In this light, Tsodilo as the focal point of analysis is supplemented with data from five neighbouring communities Xabatsha 1 and 2, Xaree, Xaudome settlements and Chukumuchu Village.

#### **2.4.3 Interviews**

I conducted interviews among diverse groups; individuals, groups, pairs in diverse institutions; traditional, community development institutions and governmental institutions. The focus group was continuously established subsequent to gathered and analysed exploratory interview data. For every interview, tape recorders were used except in situations where participants were not comfortable with the use of tape recorders and requested otherwise. For anonymity, I took no photos but depended on interview notes and memos. However, for most interviews I relied less on note taking than on tape recording and photos. I used notes as supplementary sources of information during interview meetings.

Supplementary interviews were conducted in the surrounding localities to establish a clear understanding of the wider range of the area and the communities' perceptions. This wide range of interviews gave a clearer view of individual perceptions about the hill area, which relates to the geographical proximity of participants around the heritage site and space relations between local and host community and the heritage site.

Most intensive interviews conducted in the study were in the form of conversations; the researcher expressed interest in a topic and the interviewee led the discussion. I avoided using structured interviews; instead, I used guided interviews because structured interviews cause confusion, incoherence and results in lots of meaningless data (Goulding 1998) for GT discovery. Leading questions for this exercise include questions and opening statements such as;

Tell me about yourself.

Tell me about the relocation process.

Tell me about the diverse groups in Tsodilo.

Tell me about your experience in Tsodilo since the site was inscribed.

The most commonly used follow up questions were;

What do you mean by... or what did you mean by... Are you referring to...?

Semi-guided interviews with open-ended questions were used to support and direct the research to the research questions and objectives during second stage of field work. The interview guide was flexible and open to allow the participant to lead the discussion but still remain on the broader topic. The follow-up questions that I used were dependent on the direction that the participant takes the discussion. The main questions of the interview circulated around the idea of establishing whether the concept of heritage is conceptualized the same way, if differently where to these understandings meet or reconcile. These also helped in understanding the empirical terms in the local setting and how the community uses them. This was done also through the continuous interactions and informal talks in both formal and informal settings. The interviews of local groups and institutional representatives focused on gathering information on the collective perceptions to the term and interest on the heritage site. While the expert interviews generated knowledge and experience regarding the general understanding of the relationship between local people and the cultural landscape.

The Ethnic affiliations presented in **Table 1** are based on the information given by the participants. However, some participants have immediate family relations with more than one ethnic group e.g. Ju/hoansi with a mother from the identified ethnic group and father from the Hambukushu side. Most participants affiliated with the group they lived within than assume patriarchal association. The ‘other’ refers to the participants from other ethnic groups that are not included in the study. These are the participants who came to Tsodilo for employment.

#### 2.4.4 Event Observation

This was one of the essential data generation methods because what people say may not be what they do, have done or would do. As Charmaz (2014) argues, interviews are sometimes, performances that

*Table 1 Summary of Interview Data Sources*

Participants		Intensive interview	Life histories	Key informant	Pair interview	Group discussion	Guided interview Tape	Recorded conversations
Youth in Tsodilo	Hambukushu	2	1	1				
	Ju/hoansi		1	2		2	4	
	Other	1					4	
Neighbouring localities	Hambukushu	1	2	1			2	
	Herero		3	2		1	1	
	Ju/hoansi		3					
Traditional leadership	Hambukushu				1			
	Ju/hoansi		1					
Community elders	Hambukushu	1	2					
	Ju/hoansi	3					2	
Site museum authority		1		1				
Visitor								1
Tsodilo community trust executive							2	
Total 34		9	13	7	1	3	15	1

research participants give for a particular purpose. Observation and event observation in the field surfaced some of the issues that could otherwise not be captured in the interviews. Therefore, event observations and interviews were conducted simultaneously to clarify salient concepts that emerge during the research process. Often I observed that the community in Tsodilo is very complex made up of individuals with inconsistent interests. While the community strives to develop with the benefits of modern life, they also find themselves trapped in dichotomies of past and present, tradition-modernity, outsider-insider. For instance, I was allowed to take part in some ritual practices in the caves at night but specifically told to exclude this from my research because it is a private and sacred practice that the participant did not want to share or present publicly. During observations of the use of spaces and people relationships, I have noticed that occasionally the tourist and natives physically occupy same spaces. The two do move into one another's personal spaces, therefore, breaking through the boundaries within spatialised 'community boundary' established through the reconstruction of this locality.

At the beginning of the research, I observed an interesting encounter between the tourist and the local San community living together. Some tourists and filmmakers interested in the San (hunter-gatherer) way of life came to the village with a plan to stay for 6 days. The two men of European origin initially stayed at the campsites reconstructed for visitors outside of the community resident area. The men complained about the high accommodation fee and requested to camp in one of the residential plot in the village with villagers. The boundaries between tourists and local physical spaces vanished. They came into the host's intra-community space and saw into the differences in the conceptual community's displays for tourists in the non-community space.

The difference being, the conceptual community in the everyday life is differently represented in the non-community space where the heritage industry motivates the community to represent cultural 'purity' and diversity between San and Bantu, contrary to the harmonized cultural diffusions of the San, Hambukushu, Tswana cultures and modern lifestyles. One of the pairs voiced his disappointed saying the San traditional way of life in Tsodilo is a 'myth'. A few days after this incident, there were talks among the San group concerning those who are 'ashamed' of their culture and those who are 'proud' of it. There was mockery and pride around the topic from the partisan group. I must add that I was refused to join the show with the filmmakers unless I was ready to pay for my own show. A week later, the community was ready to take part in a proposed project to have a cultural village on site as part of the tourism package in Tsodilo in reference to this past incident. The proposed project includes a cultural village where there would be evening dances around the fire, building traditional San houses, storytelling and language short lessons for tourists. This method provided insights on the interactions between the community and heritage objects, conduct and attitudes during interactions.

#### **2.4.5 Participant Observation**

This method was used in conjunction with interviews. I lived within the community for the period of six months. The stay included participant observations and recordings of events and behaviour during the daily lives of the participants. I was involved in most of the community interactions to record the behaviours and interactions. During participant observations, I was able to put myself in the position of the participants to form association and discrepancies between what participants said and done and the attitudes towards topics of discussion relating to the object of study. Within this period, I made an effort to be an active part of the community. In some scenarios, it became unclear where one can draw a line between being a researcher or part of the community especially when expected to take part in roles that were outside the research scope. In a remote area with very limited services, the community tends to rely on every person with a valuable resource like a car to be willing to contribute whenever there is a need. Participant observation was a useful ethical approach to the relationship of researcher-

participant-field. I became a part of the community with a social responsibility that emerged through established close relations and interactions with the community.

In a way, there was a reciprocal relation, it was almost as the community needed me as I needed their participation in the research. This mutual need opened up paths where the participants voluntarily invited me to some events, rituals practices and into their homes as a way to create a relation where they could be able to ask for my assistance when they need it. It was a challenge to set limits on social involvement and focus on the research objective.

#### **2.4.6 Data Recording**

During this data collection method, the recording was continuously undertaken, consisting of videos, photos memos and field notes. Sometimes voice records were captured during events observations and performances. Field notes were daily records and weekly summaries of participant's activities, discussions and attitudes towards research-related topics of informal discussion in majority of cases the field notes were recorded immediately as the observation of the event. In general, the field notes provide congruence and disparities between what the communities say and so in official settings compared to the private unofficial setting.

##### *Photovoice*

During the second phase of fieldwork, I used disposable cameras as an elaborate method of data collection. I selected 8 participants with whom I conducted interviews, to take photos of important aspects of their culture and what they view as heritage or valuable. As a form of analysis, the participants then explained, interpreted, and described the photos and the meanings behind each photo.

This discussion and photos were then coded. The photography and the images captured informed the research about the events that took place in her absence and the participants' own selectivity of what is culturally important to them and why. For instance data generation continued during field work break through photovoice. Participants were left with the disposable cameras during short research breaks and collected at the end of the fieldwork period. The photos depicted diversity in the desired or valued objects and places around the Tsodilo Landscape area that participants visit and engage with as well as the type of interactions they encounter. The photos materialized the idea of scale lenses through which local participants view heritage and cultural resources value (Pink 2006).

The idea behind this method came subsequent to the realizations that emerged during the first phase of fieldwork that most participants appreciated receiving gifts of photos of themselves during the research period. In some incidents, the participants often asked me to take pictures of them in certain areas to keep as souvenirs. I used printed copies of these photos as tokens of appreciation during the first phase of fieldwork. On the follow-up stage, I developed this as a fieldwork method. Most participants did not have cameras; therefore this method presented interesting data. However, it was also very challenging, as some participants kept, lost and misplaced the cameras.

#### **2.4.7 Theoretical Sampling**

The open sampling strategy was carried out at the initial stages of research, then I proceeded with the theoretical sampling following emerging categories from initial coded data. Theoretical sampling is an almost opportunistic sampling of interview participants through an iterative process of data collection and analysis. While following the data the researcher refines sampling strategy focused on emergent categories of data. The general aim in theoretical sampling is achieving theoretical saturation (Charmaz 2006). The realization is that not all participants speak with the same voice; therefore, the formed

theory need be specific to the multiplicity of stories and the set differentiations of the participants. I should admit that most participants at the initial stages of fieldwork were obvious people to include in the research process mainly because they were also gatekeepers in the research process. These include the community traditional leadership and Tsodilo heritage tour guides. The commencement of the interview process with these participants encouraged the later participation of the rest of the community.

After the initial interview data, I had a few questions which informed the theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling encouraged re-visitation and retracing of the field and participants for clarity on the emerging tentative categories or seek new methods and participant pool to further develop the developing categories to reach saturation of properties with relevant and related data (Charmaz 2014). I also saturated the categories with memos data written during the fieldwork.

#### **2.4.8 Research Participants**

The studied research group poses complexities of defining a community in this context, due to the composition of a wide range of people with different backgrounds, histories, languages and interests. For the purpose of this work, the term local is a qualifier of social inclusion, it refers to the group of people that are bounded by their common norms and values that they view themselves as being related to and resides close to a heritage site. The people that make up the 'local community' have a special cultural and physical connection to a heritage place as such effect and/or are affected by the way that property is being managed. The neighbouring community form part of the local, referring to the groups of people who claim common ancestry and kinship with the host community of Tsodilo. The neighbouring community also includes people whose geographic proximity to the heritage site questions the community appropriations around heritage sites. The 'host' communities, emerging mainly from a practice of isolation, distinction and separation, are not identical with the 'local' communities, encompassing a multiplicity of interethnic and trans-local ties.

#### **2.4.9 Limitations of Research**

The main limitations of the study as noted by previous works are that the Tsodilo research site has been extensively visited and studied. Several participants were reluctant to respond to the questions to avoid repetitions because they believed they had told researchers all that they know. This reluctance and avoidance of repetition may affect the outcomes of the research.

The language barrier was a challenge and limiting factor in the selection of participants. A native translator was used but data may have been lost in translation. The Tsodilo community is a mixed settlement of the !Kung (San speakers) and the Hambukushu. The majority of the inhabitants speak little Tswana and English.

As a young spinster researcher, I was aware of some challenges in establishing relations and taking part in men's discussions and following their everyday lives. Basically, the local culture segregates women from men even in terms of roles. This was more challenging than it was with female participants during interviews and in formal discussions at the Kgotla. The gender segregation is a common dictator of how a young female researcher can manoeuvre into the men's world. Therefore it was ideal that I had male field assistant who had access to this part of the community.

Typically, anthropologists are adults and this detail tends to make it easier for them to gain relationship with people their age than with young people (Miller, Birch, Mauthner and Jessop 2012). As a young researcher, it was advantageous to occasionally assume the position of a curious young person and researcher simultaneously while interacting with the older generation participants. The elderly in most

Table 2 Range Of Participants Selected For Study

Research participants	Unit representation	Methods of data collection	Objectives. To understand:
Tsodilo community traditional leadership	Institutional/ individual	Exploratory interviews, observation	-To understand the institutional interest in the heritage sites - work how they articulate the meanings - interpretation of the heritage -interest and uses of the site and heritage resources
Tsodilo community development trust staff	Institutional	Exploratory interviews, observation	The history and projects of the institution and how they work with the general community, exchanges with the other institutions. -interest and uses of the site and heritage resources
Tsodilo community settlers (Hambukushu and Basarwa, most social units represented, age gender, marital status, education, occupation, language proficiencies,	Individuals/ group	Observations, participant observation and interviews	To learn the realities of the community and individuals. The general idea of the group interactions and individual experiences, interpretations and meaning generations of the general site area and local culture -interest and uses of the site and heritage resources
Tsodilo site museum management	Institutional	Exploratory interviews, observation	Institutional interactions with the community and conservation and preservation measures and interests. The logic behind archiving culture -interest and uses of the site and heritage resources
Tsodilo tour guides and village youth.	Individual / group	Exploratory interviews, participant observation, observation	-Meaning generating processes -personal and professional congruence of interest in the heritage attraction entities -interest and uses of the site and heritage resources
Chukumuchu village traditional leader	Institutional/ Individual	Observation and Exploratory interviews	Geographical proximity and relations to Tsodilo community and heritage site -interest and uses of the site and heritage resources
Chukumuchu village settlers	Individual	Exploratory interviews, Observation.	Geographical proximity and relations to Tsodilo community and heritage site -interest and uses of the site and heritage resources
Divitama cattle-post settlers	Individual	Exploratory interviews	Geographical proximity and relations to Tsodilo community and heritage site -interest and uses of the site and heritage resources
Xaudome cattle post settlers	Individuals	Exploratory interviews	Geographical proximity and relations to Tsodilo community and heritage site -interest and uses of the site and heritage resources
Xabatsha 1 cattlepost settlers		Exploratory interviews.	Geographical proximity and relations to Tsodilo community and heritage site -interest and uses of the site and heritage resources
Xabatsha 2 cattle post settlers	Individuals	Exploratory interviews.	Geographical proximity and relations to Tsodilo community and heritage site -interest and uses of the site and heritage resources

traditional contexts are eager to share their experiences (mainly positive stories) with young people. Sharing experiences with the younger generation is fundamental for them as a cultural norm. It keeps the culture sustainable. Young people, on the other hand, were easily approachable when confronted by a younger or same age researcher with whom they acted naturally around.

The other limitation in Tsodilo is that most community member's subsistence is based on the economic advantage they get from tourism, therefore, they tend to tell stories that they believe would be interesting and leave out most of the crucial negative data for fear of losing advantage with the tourists. This problem was identified in previous personal conversation with the late Alec Campbell. However, this also presents an interesting view of the influence of the heritage object and status on the general cultural transformation of the community.

## **2.5 Data Analysis**

This part of the chapter discusses the process of data analysis in the study. The sequential arrangement of this overall chapter in a linear form should not be understood as the order that the research process undertook. In grounded theory research, theory develops from simultaneously collected and analysed data. I carried out data collection and analysis following the guideline set by Glaser and Strauss and agreed upon as essential for the development of GT (Glaser and Corbin 1998; Glaser and Strauss 1967), through the constructivist perspective defined in Charmaz (2014) and Glaser (2002). Data analysis was a continuous process since the beginning of data collection process where the search for meaning and categories commenced from the initial time of field research (Strauss and Corbin 1990; Strauss and Glaser 1967, Charmaz 2000 and 2008). In this manner, the grounded theory approach principle of consistent and open coding was addressed through a systematic data coding process. The data ordering process started with a translation of the recorded interviews from the Tswana and community languages to English. This is because the language of data collection was Tswana while the language of data analysis is English.

### ***2.5.1 Interpretation, Translation and Transcription of Data***

Universalization of heritage value is a global phenomenon connecting people of diverse cultures and languages to heritage objects. Interactions and research studies in these contexts have to manage the complexity of communication and data in more than one language. However, there is limited literature in the discussions of carrying out Multi-lingua research in Grounded theory research (Charmaz 2014) and qualitative research (Halai 2006 and 2007). The possible reason is that researchers often fail to acknowledge language as a challenge in the research process (Squires 2009). As discussed before in subsection 2.7, language was a methodologically challenging element in this study, Charmaz (2014) also acknowledges this challenge in carrying out a grounded theory research because 'there is no such thing as the objective representation of data in the multi-lingual research' (Duff and Roberts 1997) interpretation and translation in research are essential but affects the research results.

The interpreter providing translation services during interactions and interviews was a member of the community, a trained Tsodilo tour guide, young, educated in the formal sense and speaks all local languages including Tswana (lingua-franca of Botswana) and English (official language). Apart from his language skills, he was active in the management and presentations of Tsodilo heritage site. His daily work included constant contact and use of the discussed heritage and culture concepts. However, to maintain the trustworthiness of the data, I should mention that translations were a constant limitation of the research process. Squires (2009) propose researchers develop a system that best represent the interactions they have recorded and managing the tension between accuracy and readability that emerge from the language barrier.

In my experience, after the translation of the first stage field work data, I realized that through the translation process some meanings were lost. Translating Tswana into English was a challenge because many Tswana words and expressions lost meaning when translated into the English language. As a speaker of both English and Setswana, I had to rely on the use of the Setswana-English-Setswana dictionary. Through this experience, I reflected my experience on the participant who uses Setswana as a 3rd language. I realized then that when returning to the field, a lot of words and expressions needed to be defined based on the local context. Some words and expressions still lost meaning because the context within which this research is conducted is occupied by minority ethnics who use Tswana as a second, third or fourth language. Language in Botswana is context specific some Tswana and English words are given different meanings in different parts of the country from the native Tswana, known as *Batswana ba sekei*. For instance, Tswana terms such as *ngwao* (culture), *setso* (tradition), *matlotlo* (heritage) were often used inter-changeably to mean the same thing when the participants referred to ‘something of the past’.

‘Poorly translated concepts and or phrases will change the themes emerging from the data analysis and may not reflect what the participants actually said’ threatening the credibility of the study (Squires 2009). In the following field work stage, I looked for an understanding of true meanings of words used in the research context as understood by participants upon realizing that the translation process greatly affected the initial research results of the study. To minimize the effect of translation in the data, I coded some interview data and parts of some interviews in the Tswana language from the subsequent field work interviews in Tswana language then translated the themes. However most the initial codes of the data are written in English so that I can easily see the emerging directions the data is taking. While data is both in Tswana and English languages; I carried on data analysis in the English language. However, interview excerpts included in the body of the study is translated into English.

### **2.5.2 Coding and Constant Comparative Analysis**

Coding is a fundamental data analysis tool for grounded theory research where the discovery of theory begins, ‘it generates the bones of the data analysis’ Charmaz (2014). After conducting interviews, I translated, read and coded the data throughout the fieldwork period and constantly referred back to participants for clarity.

### **2.5.3 Open or Initial Coding Data**

This is the first coding practice for data analysis including the breaking down of translated and transcribed data to units that suggested meanings (Goulding 1998 and Charmaz 2008). From the transcribed and translated texts, I often referred to the research question to deduce phrases and sentences that suggested a certain perspective of the participants to the experiences and understanding of the heritage process within the Tsodilo World Heritage Site (TWHS) context. I used *Gerunds* (Charmaz 2014: 120) and *in vivo codes* (2014: 134) to deduce useful analytic points of departure for building up of theory and staying close to the data (Charmaz 2014). Charmaz (2014) recommends the use of action words ‘gerunds’ to describe codes so that one can understand and see what is happening in the data (see **Table 3**). I also used some parts of the interview data ‘in vivo codes’ to capture direct words and expressions that participants used. These codes helped understand the processes taking place in the setting while sticking closely to the data (Charmaz 2014).

This process started with the first interview data and continued with every conducted interview. Individual data units from the texts were then grouped into categories that represented an example of the subtopic, theme or idea emerging from the raw data in relation to the research questions and general research objective. In order to keep close to the data as Charmaz (2014) proposes, I frequently



went back and forth between the original interview and the translation while trying to understand the words, expressions as used by participants and incidents referred to. I coded the interview transcripts line by line and came up with hundreds of codes. I focused the coding on expressions and action words describing the studied phenomena and grouped them into tentative categories. These words and expressions were then clustered to get a pattern of their frequent occurrence through the participant perspectives. The same ordering and clustering are done for translated informal conversation and field notes.

Coding of the large size of data was a very time-consuming process. At the beginning of the coding process, it was often difficult to come up with codes for all data segments. This may be because am not a native English speaker and English is my 3rd language. I often depended on the help of colleagues working with the GT methodology in the Graduate Centre for the Study of Culture programme. After some practice with interviews, codes began to come easily.

The process of coding, in general, was a challenge, due to lack of experiences on the use of GTM and because I had decided to carry out the data analysis process manually so that I actively engage and keep as close to the data as possible. It took time and extensive reading to get the grip of the whole process in practice. Secondly, translating and coding a large amount of interview data can become boring and strenuous. I was often careful and conscious of not forcing data. However, linking large amount of codes is time consuming and requires patience. Sometimes I took a break from the data so that I refresh and return with an open mind (Boychuk and Morgan 2004).

During the initial coding, I created code files based on the accumulating codes to keep track of how the codes fit together or contradict. The memos came in handy while categorizing these codes e.g. there are codes such as 'Replacing taboos with rules' 'changing even our understanding of the landscape', after going through a fair amount of interviews I realized that these codes fit into a large theme of 'cultural change'. As I continued with more interview data more codes emerged building on this category while some codes formed a contra category. Such codes as 'concerned about losing the Spirit of the hills' 'continuing traditional practices' produced a category of 'cultural fixation'. At this point, I compared these ideas and the participant's configuration to demonstrate the complexities of perspectives in the data analysis.

Table 3 Translated Text and Codes (Coding)

Translated text	Initial codes
<i>'Our taboos are replaced with rules and regulations by the museum'.</i>	Replacing taboos with rules
<i>'The site is not managed as we used to manage it'.</i>	Change in managing the site
<i>'For example when a visitor came, they would see first the elder and the elder would call on someone to take the visitors to the hills'.</i>	Consulting elders before entering the hill site
<i>'We realized later that what affected this tradition was agreeing for the museum office to be placed right on the foot of the hill'.</i>	Realizing effects of museum office positioning on the local traditions/ being unhappy with the decision to allow museum office to be built where they are.
<i>'If we had foresight we would have said they should be placed in the community so that this tradition does not disappear and keep the sight governed by our traditional taboos, so that when a visitor goes in the site through the fence, they already have been orientated on the tradition and taboos of the hills'.</i>	Attributing the disappearance of the traditions with lack of governing taboos.  Expressing the need for the visitors to be orientated on the tradition and taboos.
<i>'This is hindered by the offices because we agreed for them to be by the hill, now visitors just go straight there. The office should be out the site'.</i>	Hindering visitor education by local people

#### **2.5.4 Focused Coding**

After initial coding of the first stage fieldwork data, I commenced focused coding; identifying tentative categories emerging from the initial codes. However, the initial coding of interviews data did not stop when focused coding began. I carried on the initial coding of the new interview as well. The focused codes were developed categories where the initial codes could fit. Often it was a challenge to fit codes in one category creating an overlap in categories or linking categories. In focused coding, I used the most significant codes relating to the research question and the frequent initial codes to sort, organize, synthesize and integrate large amounts of data (Charmaz 2014). While the initial coding opened the directions of theoretical development, focused coding continued to explore them through purposeful participant selection and theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling means that data collection methods and participant selection were used to explore the emerging topics and sort to understand frequently used expression and words.

As it was with initial coding the process of categorizing a large amount of data was challenging, some codes ended up not being used in the forming of categorizing of data. These are codes that I believed were closely related to codes already included in the categories. Codes that existed but not recurrent in the data were also left out.

#### **2.5.5 Memoing**

Memoing is a critical methodological tool linking the data from diverse used methodological tools during data collection with the analysis process of creating codes and categories. I wrote notes about emerging codes, categories, and their relationships reflecting from what transpired in the field setting and the interview data. In the memos, I included my initial thoughts on the accumulating data patterns and potential interpretations of the data (Charmaz 2014).

I included analytic ideas that came to mind during the interviews, events observations and participant observation. I noted these ideas for further explorations later. Memos and notes taken during fieldwork and during interviews are included in the coded data. These are notes of the conditions around the interview setting and the general impressions of the situations, events and observations.

The memos are different from the daily field notes I took during observations and participant observations. These are notes taken as a reminder of the interview situation that could influence the participant's views and answers. An example is the description of the location of the interview setting such as whether the participant was alone during the interview, if there were other people around the interview setting, the kind of people around and what the results of the context setting are or could be. These notes are very important because it became clear that when interviewing elders with the children around about topics that they wish to share with them, the interview became an address not only to the researcher but also to the audience, which could encourage the elaborations and details in the response. The audience could be an encouraging factor in the interview, on the other hand, could be intimidating for the participants such as when the participant does not share the same sentiments or views with the audience about a topic. Memos also include some analytic ideas that surface during the fieldwork process.

#### **2.5.6 Theoretical Coding**

Through theoretical coding, the aim is to identify the concepts that form the centrality of the participant perspectives, experience and understanding of the studied phenomena (see example on **Table 4** below). The concepts are important for theoretical sampling and coding. They show the relationships,

connections or divergence of broader premises in individual and group interactions and experiences in heritage-related settings. The concepts were drawn from the connections of categories that shed light on the development of an argument in relation to the research question. Therefore, the concepts become the core categories within the study.

### 2.5.7 Point Of Saturation

In the study, the point of saturation was reached through a lengthy stay in the research field and the continued data analysis through the data collection process. The research period allowed a number of breaks to allow for data analysis and reflections on the data and the research process. During the field breaks, I was able to critically look at the data, question it and return to the field with an idea of how to proceed to reach saturation. This process led me to a large amount of data and condensed categories. The decision to leave the field was also inspired by the realization of the absence of new evidence emerging from the collected data (Goulding 1999). This resulted in the total of 34 interviews conducted within Tsodilo and neighbouring communities.

Table 4 Emerging Patterns of the Data

Linking tentative Categories	Processes taking place (Linking categories )	Consequence	Making sense of the site and remaining relevant for the cultural value of the site torn between tradition and modernity	Intercultural experiences in heritage site
No more hunting and gathering Depending on craft and guided tours Pastoralist challenged by conservation	Changing daily traditional and cultural practices	Intercultural adaptation Creation of borders Conflict and opposition		
-Communication and Language barrier -Cultural configuration - changing Traditional belief	Changing relations Gender relations			
-implementing Management plans - Sponsors for development projects -Daily life influenced by the Non-Governmental and governmental organization - Relating speaking English and Tswana language with intelligence	Development of the rural remote cultural landscape			
-International visitors visiting the site -Tourism growth -learning from the experts (Organized Workshops) Archaeology and expert dominance	Interactions between cultures	Cultural dynamics and change		
	Changing worldview			
-Developing social Hierarchies -Relating settlement positioning with social and political hierarchies -Relating space and proximity to the hills with power and attachment -Relating resettlement of part of the population with social injustice	Growing inequalities Socio-cultural change Demographic configuration changes and Cultural dilution			
-Demographic growth -Gazetting of Tsodilo from settlement to officially recognised the village -establishing structures: Tsodilo community trusts - Construction Tsodilo site museum - Tsodilo village development committee -Growing opportunities for funding -Growing opportunity for development of the Landscape		-Development of Tsodilo -Intervention for community management -Increasing Job creation -Equal opportunity	Perceived dis /advantages and affordances of the heritage site	

### 2.5.8 Reflexivity

Reflexivity in grounded theory research has gained careful consideration, considering that Charmaz (2014) clearly defines and highlights the concept in the glossary as ‘the researcher’s scrutiny of the research process, experiences, decisions and interpretations in ways that bring him or her into the process. In conducting the constructivist GT, the researcher needs to examine how their position, philosophies, background and interactions influenced the research. Through reflexivity, I need to account for the various influences on the methodological decisions, participant interactions and data collection and analysis, to increase transparency and trustworthiness of the research report (Gentles *et al.* 2014).

I used a few reflexive strategies to ensure the groundedness of the study. The constant comparison has been used as an analytic tool that encouraged the constant reflections on the research process and methods (Dunne 2011). I engaged with constant comparison while comparing data, codes, and categories amongst themselves (Charmaz 2006; Glaser and Strauss 1967, Strauss and Corbin 1990) but also reflecting on my own experiences.

Memos kept track of thoughts, feelings and questions emerging from the data collection and analysis process from the beginning of the research to the writing stage. Keeping and continuously re-visiting memos encourages reflective thinking (Charmaz 2006, McGhee, Marland and Atkinson 2007; Glaser, 1978). They guided the analysis process, helping to continuously engage with a theoretical dialogue with the data while keeping track of decisions I made through research stages (Birks and Mills 2011).

The language barrier during the research process also encouraged me to frequently reflect on my own knowledge of the Tswana culture and language in comparison to the emerging data. Dialogue and conversations with the participants often pushed me to pay attention to my own assumptions and cultural interpretation’s impacts on the research data. The Multi-cultural setting of the research site was an eye-opener, highlighting the cultural presumptions I had as a Tswana researcher in a community that officially identify as Batswana based on citizenry but culturally reject the Tswana cultural identity.

Apart from these research tools, several scholars (Gentles, Jack, Nicholas and McKibbin 2014) makes mention of the researcher’s experiences, not used as data but to help see ways in which the conceptual phenomenon in question can vary. I was required as a PhD student to send fieldwork reports during and after fieldwork, engage with the data during supervision meetings, research presentations during doctoral colloquiums, research area meetings and working groups. These interactions, presentations and reports encouraged a continuous reflective thinking throughout the study period. Researcher-supervisor and peer interactions in intercultural contexts at the Graduate Centre and my research setting enlightened me into the issues of researcher-positionality and the influence of power relationships in research settings.

### 2.5.9 Summary of the Analysis Procedure

As mentioned before, the analysis process was carried out in all levels of research since entry on the field site. It involved listening to the interview tapes during the research process; transcribing 34 interviews which comprised of exploratory interviews, in-depth interviews, group and pair interviews and follow-up interviews. I translated most interviews which were interpreted into the Tswana language from the community languages and those conducted in the Tswana language

into English. I then read the transcripts a number of times in different periods of time. I then analysed coded raw and translated data; linking codes, deducing themes and categories; comparing them, deducing concepts and finally drawing patterns in the data which resulted in the themes and contents of the following empirical chapters.

## **Research Findings**

## Chapter 3

# Relevance and Competition for Recognition and Entitlement of Communities in Inhabited Heritage Areas

### 3.0 Background Overview of the Landscape

#### 3.1 Overview of the Landscape and the Local People

The Northwest Botswana is divided into two main districts, the Chobe and Ngamiland sub-districts. The Tsodilo hills are located in the Ngamiland district. The main geological features in Ngamiland District are the Kalahari Desert, the Chobe River and the Okavango Delta. This is also Botswana's most touristic region. There is variety of cultural, historical and economic background among the groups hosted by this region. The area is a Tswana state that hosts the majority of the previously highly mobile non-native Tswana speaking communities of Hambukushu, Herero, Yei, Subiya and the San. The Tsodilo hills are situated in western Ngami-land, where they are surrounded by the Hambukushu, Herero and various San/ Basarwa groups. These groups are scattered in Beetsha, Etsha 1-13 (13 groups of communities stretching about twenty kilometres along the west side of the Okavango Delta), Gani, Samochima, Xaudome, Xaree, Gonutsuga, Gumare, Ikoga, Kauxwhi, Mohembo East, Mohembo West, Mokgacha, Ngarange, Nokaneng, Nxamasere, Nxaunxau, Qangwa, Sepopa, Seronga, Shakawe, Tubu, Xakao, Xaxa, Xhauga, Chukumuchu villages and cattle posts. The bigger villages which assume the role of towns are Shakawe and Gumare. As recently as after the nation's independence in 1966 these communities became sedentary in the areas that they currently live in. However, they are less autochthonous to these areas, extending their origins into the neighbouring nations where they have kinship ties. By origin, the Hambukushu trace their ancestry to Angola, the Yei in Zambia, the Herero in Namibia and the San in both Botswana and Namibia. Some of these communities found refuge in the Ngamiland and the Kalahari Desert fleeing the inter-tribal wars and colonial struggles in the neighbouring countries; some followed the pastures for agriculture and livestock across borders. A small area of the Ngamiland is suitable for agriculture and pastoralism. Therefore, communities live in small scattered, related families around the area while most of the area is covered by Kalahari Desert sand (Wilmsen 1989; 1997, Larson 1970, 2001, Bieseke, Hitchcock and Lee 1998).

Except for the San, the Ngamiland ethnic groups have been familiar with the idea of Chieftainship in the modern sense and organized themselves into classes of power. The Ngamiland hosts the most unincorporated ethnicities into the Tswana Dominance and rule. Multi-culturalism and diversity is intensively celebrated. The region hosts former nomadic communities; hunter gatherers, pastoralists and mixed farmers whose subsistence depended on kinship and inter-ethnic relations and reciprocity (Wiessner 2002; Wilmsen 1997, McGahey 2011, Mmotlana 2003, Bollig and Schwiieger 2014). The common feature for most of the groups settled in northern Botswana and the San communities is that they are undergoing substantial changes due to the tourism industry, globalization, mixed economy, adaptation to government initiatives to bring people together under one authority and access to basic health and education services and resources. With access to resources becoming scarce, the competition for the region's resources is intensified. The communities that depended on hunting, gathering, fishing and herding are facing threats to their survival, cultural identity and indigenous knowledge. These are threatened by climate change, modern resource management and conservation strategies in protected areas such as in Controlled Hunting Areas (CHA) and Wildlife Management Areas (WMA). In Botswana an example of such areas is the Central Kalahari game reserve (CKGR). The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) defines a protected area as a clearly defined geographical space,

recognized, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values. These areas host diverse communities but they are designated by national and international authorities as scientific reserves with limited public access. They are protected and managed mainly for sustainable use. The World Heritage Sites in Botswana form part of this category i.e. the Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site cultural landscape and the Okavango Delta wetland which is also protected under the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance of 1971.

### ***3.1.1 Overview of the Tsodilo World Heritage Site and the Inscription of Tsodilo on World Heritage List (WHL), the Narrative for the Official Management of the Site***

Tsodilo was first declared a national monument and protected area and Wildlife Management Area under the colonial Bushman Relics Act in 1927. The World Heritage criteria i, iii and vi, for which Tsodilo Hills was listed, adequately highlight the core values of the significance of the sites. In terms of criteria iii and iv, the site is distinguished for its cultural and spiritual significance to the communities living in proximity to the site and the long prehistoric continuous settlements represented by the archaeological record. The settlements in the Tsodilo hills have been dated back to 100,000 years (Denbow and Wilmsen 2010: 80, 190). The site is currently occupied by the local people who claim long-time settlements and spiritual and cultural uses on the sites. The site also exhibits importance to the people in the neighbouring localities and villages who claim kinship ties with the community living in immediate proximity of the hills.

Tsodilo World Heritage Site is located in a rural and hostile environment in north-western Botswana in the Kalahari Desert. The landscape consists of four hills, the largest being Tsodilo, which the site is named after. It is more popularly known as the 'Male hill' to the visitors, being the biggest and highest hill. The remaining three, in order of size, are referred to as the 'Female hill', a widely sprawling hill with diverse features, the 'Child hill', a smaller hill, and 'Grand-child hill', the smallest. This attribution is based on a local legend (Campbell 2010: 21). The two main local community groups who inhabit the area around the hills, the Hambukushu (Bantu) and the Ju/hoansi (San), have local names for each hill in their local languages. The Hambukushu, renowned as great rain-makers in Southern Africa (Larson 2001; 1978), have numerous sacred places within the Tsodilo hills (Taylor 2010: 119; Wilmsen 2014: 401) and also associate the hills with great spiritual power. The Tsodilo Hills also have special significance to the Ju/hoansi (San) who claim to have been living in the area for thousands of years, passing ownership of the territory down from generation to generation. They refer to the place as *Nxore!* (Written as heard) meaning an ancestral territory. They believe the hills are a resting place for the Spirits of their ancestors (*Badimo*) and a powerful Spirit (*Sedimo*).

The scientific and educational significance of the Tsodilo hills landscape lies in the fact that it contains one of the highest concentrations of rock paintings in the world with over 4,500 paintings preserved in an area of only 10 sq. km within the Kalahari Desert. The hills also host evidence of early human settlement dating back to the first millennium AD (Wilmsen 2014; Denbow 2011, Denbow and Wilmsen 1986 cited in Turner 1987: 7). For this reason, Tsodilo is sometimes called the "Louvre of the Desert" (Millar 2006: 42). The inscription of Tsodilo Hills on the World Heritage List in 2001 after an assessment procedure based on the pre-defined principles of the 1972 WH Convention. The report of the 25th session of the World Heritage Committee describes how Tsodilo fitted criteria (i), (iii) and (vi) of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 2001), namely: (i) that for many thousands of years the rocky outcrops of Tsodilo in the harsh landscape of the Kalahari Desert have been visited and settled by humans, who have left rich traces of their presence in the form of outstanding rock paintings, (iii) Tsodilo is a site that has witnessed visits and settlement by successive human communities for many millennia and (iv) the Tsodilo outcrops have immense symbolic, traditional and religious significance for the human



communities who continue to live and survive in this hostile environment (Tsodilo management plan 1994; 2005, 2010-2015). Currently, the Tsodilo World Heritage Site is visited by increasing numbers of tourists from all parts of the world attracted by the great concentration of rock paintings and the prevailing settlement of the host Ju/hoansi San group living near the core site area.

Prior to the inscription of the Tsodilo Hills as a heritage site of 'universal value', the Ju/hoansi were regarded as the entitled 'owners' of this area in the region. Their neighbours recognized this entitlement because the Ju/hoansi had lived in this territory longer than the Hambukushu and the Herero living on its peripheries (Hitchcock 2002). The latter had come to the area around the 1860s replacing the former inhabitants, the Nxaekhwe (San) who then moved closer to the Okavango Delta (Campbell and Robbins 2009). They maintain that the hills have been a very important part of their livelihood, in terms of cultural identity, practices and survival. They were a source of food and water, as well as a place that brought them close to the Spirit and the ancestors during times of hardship. For the Ju/hoansi, the intangible heritage of the hills centres on this spiritual relationship with the hills and its diverse features. They lived at the foot of the hills, where they had the power of proximity and free access over the other ethnic groups until they were displaced to make way for the conservation of the site.

Through this research, implication of a new appropriation of a settlement to an inhabited World Heritage Site was studied in Tsodilo Hills. In this rural, remote area, the country hosts Botswana's first World Heritage Site inhabited by families of the Hambukushu and the Ju/hoansi who also refer to themselves as !Kung, San or Basarwa. Family in this study refers to a group of people linked by marriage and kinship. Tsodilo is one of the few inhabited World Heritage Sites endowed with a diverse and rich heritage material ranging from the cultural, natural and intangible heritage relevant to the community. Since 1927, when Tsodilo was declared a protected site under the colonial Bushman Relics Act and later in 2001 when it was declared a World Heritage Site under the 1972 World Heritage Convention due to its archaeological significance, the site has been one of the most important rock art sites in southern Africa. The project site is also important as it falls within the larger Okavango Delta Ramsar Site ecological system.

The hills are fascinating due to their hostile geography and environment where over 4000 rock paintings in an area of 10 km<sup>2</sup> reveal a continuous settlement represented by the archaeological record of Tsodilo going back 100 000 years, through the Middle Stone Age, late Stone Age and more recent historical and current occupation throughout the ages. Twenty mines and the remains of two villages (Divuyu and Ngoma) dating back to 800 CE, have been unearthed at this site (Robbins *et al.* 1993 and 1998). In order to maintain the ecological and archaeological integrity of the site, the Tsodilo Integrated Management Plan 2005 and the Core Area Management plan 2010-2015 were developed so as to guide all the developments and to ensure that they do not negatively impact the area and haven't done so since 1994 when the first management plan was drawn. The 1994 management plan has been revised over the years based on the global development of the perceptions and debates over the meaning and characteristics of heritage and the guiding policies.

Through coding, memoing, theoretical sampling of the interview and field notes data, the above list of concept and tentative categories emerged. These concepts became dominant and essential during the analysis process and informing the general concepts adopted in this research. As they emerged, purposive sampling techniques were adopted to reach saturation and theoretical sensitivity.

### 3.2 Introduction

In the first and second chapters, a general research question was posed, namely, what are the experiences and responses of the host communities in inhabited heritage sites and the local interpretation of

*Table 5 Emerging Concepts and Example of Tentative Categories from Focused Coding Process*

<b>Tentative List of Categories that emerged from the codes</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Semi autochthons	4
Heritage values	2
Diversity of heritage	5
Relevance of the community	1
Establishing difference and relevance	3
Knowledge and relevance (relevance to a course)	3
Kinship obligation and alliance	4
Values and communication (language)	3
Relevance of people and dividing borders	3
The international visitors and the host com interactions	2
Land rights and entitled ownership	4
Physical borders and zoning	3
Place accumulating something of the past residents	2
Relevance of people and change of the context	3
Interactions and effort	5
Interaction and conflict	3
Change of the landscape	2
Tourism based context	3
Interaction and displacement	7
Proximity and effort	3
Conceptual borders of cultural difference	4
Makers of cultural difference	4
Global approaches and institution	2
Interaction and ethnic borders	3
Kinship ties	1
Relationship with the Site Museum external employees	3
Commoditising culture	3
Changing livelihood strategies	3

the Authorised heritage Discourse. Heritage is Official and authorised by legislation and technical standards for conservation and protection of heritage which is further suggested by the zoning of the area into core, sensitive and buffer zones; while the local community reside on the buffer zone.

The heritage process has led to the establishment of a fenced core heritage site from which all settlements have become evacuated, and instead a museum in close proximity to that core zone has been established. The museum and the changed territoriality and zoning of the environment is seen as problematic by the local population for a variety of reasons. First, the World Heritage process has singled out 'host communities' in charge of receiving tourists whose members and relatives have free access to the site - but not others, to whom members of the local population still relate in important ways, sometimes transnational.

heritage? To understand the factors that influence and shape the experiences and responses of the host communities in a heritage site, I begin by focusing on the initial responses of the participants to the research question.

**Table 6** introduces the reader to the data categories suggesting constructs of difference and boundaries. This category was dominant within the data indicating the local and host community response and contribution in the making of constituents of a World Heritage place. The Table elaborates on the response of the community to the national and global process of valuation of a heritage site that is indirectly theirs.

The approach adopted by Tsodilo heritage authority for the management of the site as a World Heritage Site of Universal value, has motivated the research process to interrogate the ontology of the heritage concept, and how we have come to consider what is valuable for being passed on to the future generation. The research finding tends to suggest that heritage and ways of understanding is closely framed by the 1972 UNESCO World heritage Convention and

Table 6 Theoretical Coding of the Established Borders

Interaction on the inner-conceptual community and non-community spaces	Flexible borderlines	<p>Inviting tourists to private housing instead of campsites being a problem (2)</p> <p>Visiting each other in other settlements (3)</p> <p>Recently coming to settle in Tsodilo from neighbouring settlements (12)</p> <p>The Nxaekhwé being the occupants of the hills before being defeated by the Ju/hoansi (2)</p> <p>Allowing visitors in the residence area for longer periods (3)</p> <p>Unauthorised entries by visitors 6</p> <p>Living in one of the caves by San ancestors (3)</p> <p>Attending the sporting events in the neighbouring village (4)</p> <p>Ju/hoansi relations in Namibia influencing good interaction with Namibian San visitors (2)</p>
	Restructuring	<p>Moving livestock to make way for tourism (3)</p> <p>Planning the move of the museum from within the site (2)</p> <p>Moving away from the Spirit of the hill (4)</p> <p>Displacing the Ju/hoansi from within the site's core area to Mosheshe (27)</p> <p>Moving from Mosheshe (8)</p> <p>Desiring the site museum structures be moved from within the core site (2)</p> <p>Coming from the neighbouring localities to settle in Tsodilo (12)</p>
	Physical borders	<p>Feeling of being outsiders in the village Kgotla (3)</p> <p>Deciding to live in the neighbouring cattle post to be self-governing (5)</p> <p>Regretting agreeing to relocate to the Mosheshe settlement from the foot of the hill (6)</p> <p>Expressing interest in reversing the decision to move back into the old settlement (3)</p> <p>Associating cattle post with places with water borehole(3)</p> <p>Perceiving development as hindrances against maintaining culture (2)</p> <p>Visitors breaking traditional rules for entry to the site (4)</p> <p>Resettling in Mosheshe to give way for tourism (2)</p> <p>Site area zoning based on use (2)</p> <p>Large area reserved for conservation of wildlife (4)</p> <p>Settling from Mosheshe to the current Ju/hoansi village within Tsodilo village (3)</p>
	Land uses	<p>Taking care of the livestock at the cattle post (2)</p> <p>Wealth kept at the cattle post through livestock (2)</p> <p>Harvesting of fruits and wood freely done at the cattle post but not in the village (3)</p> <p>Ritual practiced at the sacred water whole (4)</p> <p>Sacred places in the hills being used for healing rituals (2)</p> <p>The Kgotla being important for community assembly (2)</p> <p>Identifying the hills as a place of spiritual use (4)</p> <p>Using caves for worship in sacred places (2)</p>
	Interactions and exchange	<p>Interactions between community and visitors being mainly at the Kgotla, museum and reception gate (2)</p> <p>Livestock and borehole compensation for the Ju/hoansi relocation not being satisfactory (2)</p>
	Appropriating places and uses	<p>Pastoralist not good for Tsodilo heritage tourism visitors and the core site (3)</p> <p>Basarwa feeling as outsiders in the village Kgotla (3)</p> <p>Established physical borders hindering access (2)</p> <p>Livestock not allowed in the site and village area (6)</p> <p>Campsite as common ground for equality for the Hambukushu and Basarwa rather than the Kgotla (2)</p> <p>Water hole in the hills being sacred (3)</p> <p>Site destruction and protection being minimised by fencing (2)</p> <p>Changing and division in the dwelling of the Spirit within the hills (5)</p>

Interaction on the inner-conceptual community and non-community spaces	Authority and space	The Kgotla being located on Hambukushu side being problematic for the Ju/hoansi (4) Museum and the WCF being responsible for the conservation of core site area (5)
	Exclusion	Participating in the trust is only for the host community (4) Fencing of site estranges community from using it for rituals (3) Unauthorised entries by visitors (6) Lack of support from Chukumuchu neighbours for official declaration of Tsodilo as a village (2) Neighbouring communities being excluded in the assigning of responsibilities (2) Herero being excluded in Tsodilo after moving further into the desert (2) Livestock kept at the cattle post to make way for tourism (5) Establishing physical borders as a form of exclusion and control for livestock against disease (5)
	Access and proximity	Visitors pay for entrance into the hills while locals do not (2) Access to the site not being easy (3) Fencing hinders relationship with the Spirit of hills (2) Identifying the Kgotla as Hambukushu Kgotla because of its location (4) Coming from neighbouring localities to settle in Tsodilo (12)

The first indicator of responses is the establishment of operational borders of in-community and non-community based interaction contexts. The intricate link between Tsodilo heritage and the relevance of the host community in this context is based on the observation of the link between the host community and the management authorities. Evidently, cultural heritage is no longer the preserve of western sciences and tourism alone; through appropriations the heritage site attracts multiple motivations, identity issues and claims of land ownership and economic benefit by the local community. The establishment of a place as a World Heritage Site compelled the people of Tsodilo to establish a sense of relevance within the heritage context. Given the complexity of the term, the diversity of the stakeholders and the experience of the people through the heritage phenomena, it later became clear that the local people took this research process to demonstrate a position of relevance and significance supported by the data in **Table 6** which summarizes the theoretical coding of the Established Borders. Within these Borders, the community establish superiority to support entitlement and relevance claims. For instance, I was often confronted with ideas of modifying the focus of the research to suit the representation of the voices of the participants, what is important to them and their experiences as the host community. The community utilises and increases their honour in the heritage context through the establishment of relevance and superiority.

Tshepo's statement highlighted this when he said:

*'... I am happy that you are doing this kind of research, but I will advise you not to take this kind of research too focused on outsider views. I want you to try and relate this research with the culture and tradition of this place and the people who live here, what we know and what we have experienced in Tsodilo. Try to understand this place and its people because if you take it too scientifically, focused on the material culture, your research will lose the value that I see in it, go to the people in Xabatsha settlement, they will tell you about Tsodilo too'.*

His words echo a concern about the number of studies conducted in the area that excludes the views, perceptions and concerns of the contemporary community and focus on the material in the core protected site area. These comments influenced the scope of the research.

Other comments that influenced the research focus were based on the realization that, according to the host community and the neighbouring settlement, life in Tsodilo has gotten better at the expense of the relationships, culture and traditions of the local people and the extended kinship on

the peripheries. The relatives of the Tsodilo locals living in other settlements in the surrounding neighbourhoods from as far as Nxauxau, Xaree etc. visit Tsodilo and sometimes stay even longer. However, during the interviews in the neighbourhoods the participants confirm that they notice the fading of the local culture in the Tsodilo hill proximity compared to some of the neighbouring areas and erosion of the relations.

*'Do a comparative work between Tsodilo and the neighbouring San communities that do not have the privilege of a World Heritage Site close to their settlements. It would help us realize how fortunate the Tsodilo community is, and how good the opportunities that are presented to them are. I came to Tsodilo as a visitor to my cousin Xontae but decided to stay because I realized the life here is much better than in Xabatsha where the rest of my family lives. In Xabatsha there is not enough food to have every day and clean water is hard to get. In Tsodilo water is not even a problem, there is food because even the Ju/hoansi cultivate fields and keep livestock if that is not enough, they have crafts to sell to tourists, work at the museum or as guides [...] In other localities, people still practice their traditional lifestyle not because they want to, but because that is the only option they have as compared to Tsodilo residents. The elders in these settlements would be interesting to talk to in regard to Tsodilo Hills, they also have ties with the site area; they have been here and have relatives amongst the Tsodilo villagers'* said Xauwe.

Following these comments, I extended the scope of the pool of participants and formed a general objective of the research. Xauwe made it clear that the Tsodilo community extends beyond the host community. However, only a fraction of the community has direct benefit from the affordances of the site as a heritage site and through tourism.

### **3.2.1 Deconstructing Community**

The heterogeneity of local communities and diverse cultural values are normally acknowledged and appreciated in the heritage industry. However, the definition of community creates complexity as individuals and cultural groups strive to maintain the heterogeneity of the group, continuing to value, practice, nurture and transmit the skills and expressive culture that embody their differing identities. However, the term community in the management documents is suggestive of a supportive, harmonious homogeneous group. Viewed in this manner, the term community becomes undemocratic and oppressive as it leads to a failure to recognize cultural diversity among the people. The term defines who belongs and does not, who is entitled and who is not, although it also refers to a dynamic entity which changes with movements of people in and out of a location, interests change and vary as manifested in multi-cultural and multi-ethnic groups in a common geographic area.

For the purpose of this research, I use the term 'local community' as a qualifying term to refer to the community within the Tsodilo territory that is within the proximity of the hill and the neighbouring localities as a whole. The term 'host community' refers only to the combined group of the Hambukushu and the Ju/hoansi living within the immediate hill proximity in the Tsodilo village. I also use the term 'local' Ju/hoansi and 'host' Ju/hoansi or Hambukushu to demonstrate the distinction between the inclusions and exclusions of the local and host community. This differentiation follows the data patterns that can be explained by the excerpt below:

*'I am sometimes labelled an outsider in the community. The problem is that ethnicity became a form of exclusion. Certain people, who have come to Tsodilo through the same channels that I have, see me as an outsider. In their national identity card, they are registered in Sepopa (referring to the Hambukushu), not Tsodilo, however, the one registered in Tsodilo (host Ju/hoansi) is relocated in the peripheries of Tsodilo. The one who comes from Nxamasere believes they are insiders. I believe the Tsodilo people are Basarwa, the Bantu speakers being the Hambukushu are the second arrivals,'* said Onkgopotse.

Onkgopotse is a Wayei Site Museum staff employee who has lived and worked in the Tsodilo for 6 years at the time of the research period. In her comment she points out a few identifiers of difference between the community and non-community grouping being ethnicity, place of birth, kinship ties across ethnics and being first.

I must mention that the cultural relevance of the Hambukushu and Ju/hoansi is in competition mainly because both groups are termed as recent arrivals within the Tsodilo area. Another participant uttered that;

*'We are a community of different ethnic groups but the majority is the Hambukushu, and there are these other 'white' ones, the desert San<sup>2</sup>. When we came they were not here, they just came here from different places and settled here, attracted by the animals and wild foods like us. They would come and go as it was with us. Later we saw that the white men came in growing numbers asking to see them, so we went to call them back from the nearby cattle post,' said Mokate, the Hambukushu elder.*

What makes the Ju/hoansi claims worth picking out is the positive cognitive effect and contextual assumption of representation of the hunter gather community as the first people in southern Africa and entitled owners of the land. During a personal communication with Alec Campbell (2012) he supported this, saying

*'One thing we know for certain, the San currently living at Tsodilo, Juc'hoansi, are recent arrivals. They came from Angola in the early 19th century and found Nxaekhwe living at the Hills, the latter subsequently leaving, but their descendants are still around, some living west of Shakawe and others somewhere not far from Gumare. The Hambukushu are also recent arrivals coming from the Caprivi at about the same time as the Juc'hoansi. Both groups deny authorship of the paintings. The Juc'hoansi say the Nxaekhwe told them that their ancestors had made the paintings. The Hambukushu deny all knowledge of the white paintings except for the men riding horses in White Paintings Shelter. I talked to both groups over a period of 40 years and I believe what they say is true.'*

The Ju/hoansi and the Hambukushu still maintain no knowledge of the rock painting which distance them from the scientific enquiries focused on the authorship of the art. However, the groups maintain that they have experienced dependence on the spiritual power of the hill.

The relocation of the host Ju/hoansi community from the hills in 1994 was followed by the abolishment of hunting and gathering in the area reserved for conservation and preservation of the site core area, and for sustainable use of the environment. The Ju/hoansi of Tsodilo who lived by hunting and gathering have been forced into the life of mixed farming, a practice which even today they fail to sustain saying it's not their culture but that of the Hambukushu. The majority work in the tourism industry entertaining tourists, selling handcrafts, working as tour guides in the hills, clearing and cleaning the site area and walking trails. However, some became squatters in nearby cattle posts as herdsmen for the Herero and sometimes work on the Hambukushu farms.

The role degradations have negatively affected even their current attitudes hence, they act in ways that confirm the role of degraded identity, characterized by conflict, resistance and reluctance in regard to the protection of heritage. The processes that the heritage phenomena took in these areas left behind a group of local people with nostalgic feelings of the life they had before the decisions that changed the ways they view cultural resources within their proximity. As a result, local people developed cultural roles with the nostalgic construction of the past. They developed new ways of relating to sites.

<sup>2</sup> The participants make distinction between the desert San (light in complexion) and the river San (darker). The Bukhakhwe who live near the Okavango river are referred to as the river San while the Ju/hoansi are generally referred to as the desert San

The perception of the relocation and the promises made by the state to the host community is associated with something in line with giving the land to the state. The expected result being that the host community gave the state part of their Nxore, a position in which a form of reciprocity is expected, based on the promises of a better life following the inscription of the site as a World Heritage Site. In this view the state is in the position of the debtor and the relocated part of the host community as the creditors who stand to benefit from the relocation and the takeover of the land from local hands into the hand of the state. However, there are views that the Hambukushu also gave up their homes to add value to the heritage making process. Mareka defended this view:

*As Tsodilo became popular, it was strenuous for Samotjao to bring the visitors to the hills, he then decided to move his cattle post to the hills, co-inhabiting with the Ju/hoansi. This is when the Hambukushu settlement in the hill proximity began to grow. Samotjao's family and relatives from nearby villages and settlements visited him while passing through to other cattle posts or farmlands and often stayed longer or permanently. As the settlement population grew, Samotjao became the Kgosi (traditional leader or Chief in the Tswana language) for the whole Tsodilo community. His brother Maseko established his territory further west into the Kalahari desert area in Chukumuchu village, extending the family ties in the area'.*

Some participants report that Samotjao was often asked about the whereabouts of the San in this territory, suggesting a great interest of the visitors in the San over the Hambukushu and other ethnic groups in the area. Due to these, re-constituting the community the Tsodilo area is a mélange of diverse groups with some similar and different cultural, economic and historical backgrounds. The junior site manager confirmed this group diversity below:

*'We have different actors in this community. If such projects come and it requires community participation, I do not form part of that group. Socially, I am part of the community but when there are projects for the community like building a house or fencing, I cannot be part of that project. The Host Community will come first. To them, it is clear who they mean when they say 'community' projects. The trust membership election are also only for the said community and here I mean the true community members. Sometimes I feel the need to do some things with them just because I live here with them. I cannot always be a stranger. I do not feel like part of the community because the people here are discriminative, they take pleasure in saying people are outsiders,'* said Darkie, a Herero site manager who had lived in Tsodilo for over 10 years.

According to Darkie's assertion above, there is a conceptual community that is referenced in the development projects that is exclusive of the other part of the so-called community. There are also specific tasks and roles designated to the conceptual community. However, it is interesting to note that these are low pay roles. In clear terms, in regard to the differentiation of who forms part of the community in regard to participation in heritage and development projects, the project manager mentioned the exclusion of a fraction of the local community living in the neighbouring localities, he said:

*'The management plan and constitution refer to the Tsodilo community as the beneficiaries in the projects that we set in place. In regard to benefiting from the site, we cannot include them because the constitution is very specific about who the Tsodilo community refers to. That person should be living in Tsodilo for at the least 5 years'* said Morris, the Tsodilo development project manager.

Affordances of the heritage status are only entitled to the small fraction which lives in the proximity of the hill site and are Ju/hoansi or Hambukushu descendants thereof. This is because they bear the responsibility of protecting and actively participating in the conservation of the site and contributing to the Tsodilo heritage narrative. The community in the peripheries is limited by distance to claim these roles:

*‘The Tsodilo you see today was once occupied by the Herero during early 1900. Many of them fleeing from the Germans in Namibia. See, our forefathers did not know borders; they saw available land and as pastoralists lived there but later moved on. They occasionally went back to the sacred hills. That area was once a home to many Herero who now settled in the close villages around Tsodilo. When your history books about Tsodilo were written the Herero were excluded from the Hambukushu and San. That is an error you need be correct.... Tsodilo was discovered when the Herero had already left the area in search for pastoral pastures. Our proof that the Herero settled Tsodilo for a long time is that borehole. We do not dig a well in a place unless we settled the area for a long time’* said Tjiripi, the Herero currently living in the Chukumuchu village.

Tjiripi’s argument points to the paucity of data and dependence on subjective disciplines and historic traveller accounts to form impactful narratives. Apart from the minimal anthropological research information about the site, the history books are based on travellers’ and traders’ one sided accounts which according to Tjiripi are not accurate and subjective, they moved around just as the local communities. The case of the Herero demonstrates a conflict and exclusion while approaching the past through history and heritage disciplines. As Lowenthal (1996) argues, the historical account forms a representation of the past that has a direct bearing of accumulation of something of the settler communities and legitimisation of the present while heritage selectively chose the politically legitimate.

### **3.2.2 Kinship Relations and Obligations in the Wider Tsodilo Areas**

The community in the Tsodilo management plans refers to a small localized group of the Ju/hoansi and the Hambukushu settled in the proximity of the hills and largely ignores the fact that the area is organized in interconnected kinships of Basarwa, Hambukushu and Herero that operates on a larger social and geographical scale, even across state borders. There is mobility between Tsodilo and neighbouring communities following better living conditions throughout the year. When there are low tourists numbers coming to the site and the fields are empty, the students are at boarding schools, there is a low population in the hills. The locals spend time in the cattle posts or in town selling crafts, while the young ones go to boarding schools in the nearer bigger villages and towns. During the better season of high tourism and harvesting on the Hambukushu fields, relatives from the neighbouring localities visit the site to profit from the visitors and eat from the fields. While some stay longer, some return during low yield periods. This mobility is the key strategy to coping with hardships in the area. As discussed above, the population dynamics and the extended family ties across the area do not make a clear distinction between the local or host community and the neighbouring community. This distinction is not clear even for the population living within the proximity of the hills as there are different perceptions of what constitutes ‘community’. The term became contested while participants were articulating values, interests and family backgrounds.

### **3.2.3 The Officially Recognized Community**

The tourism management plan of Tsodilo (2013) and the Botswana Central Statistics Office (2012) indicates that the population census of the Tsodilo hills in 2011 was 204, including the Hambukushu and the Ju/hoansi host community. However, the research has found a continued movement of people of Tsodilo within the area and a few community members whose identity cards rather suggest they are from other villages. The Tsodilo local Ju/hoansi considers the Tsodilo area at large – including the neighbouring localities stretching towards the Namibian border – a San land inheritance (*Nxoresi*). These claims were supported by the San in neighbouring settlements in Xaree and Xabatsha. Furthermore, there is literature supporting the idea of the area where the Tsodilo hills are located, is Ju/hoansi *Nxoresi* meaning *Ethnic territory*, hunting ground, ancestral land, a home territory including everything within. Therefore, the right of possession and access to this land is based on membership in a legitimately



constituted social group recognized to have a hereditary association with that land, meaning the Ju/hoansi (Wilmsen 1989: 78; Bieseke and Hitchcock 2013).

The new management plan and policies of heritage management restrict access and fixate group boundaries between local and the neighbouring localities. It also limits the local Tsodilo community from a number of social incentives in other areas. For instance, in a conversation with the Chief in Chukumuchu, he pointed out that the people in Tsodilo and Chukumuchu are an extended family of the same people. However, in the past, when the locals in Chukumuchu wanted their settlement to be officially recognized as a village at the time, they needed more people to be counted as settlers in Chukumuchu. The Tsodilo community, as he said, was at the time fixated in the area near the hills and not willing to stand with them. This was an indicator that the Tsodilo host community does not cooperate with them, he said. Chukumuchu successfully qualified as a village with the assistance of settlers from the neighbouring cattle post with exclusion of those settled in Tsodilo. Chukumuchu currently has a primary school and a health clinic that serves everyone in the area. Due to this past, there is tension in Chukumuchu when part of the kinship in the Tsodilo proximity sends their children to Chukumuchu primary school or uses the Chukumuchu health clinic. When I questioned the site manager about these claims he said:

*'We are aware of complaints from the people in the neighbouring communities in regard to their exclusion by the management plan and during consultation about matters of the site. The challenge is that we try to consult with them but they often do not come to meetings because of lack of transport. In regard to benefiting from the site, we cannot include them because the constitution says that persons should be living in Tsodilo for at least 5 years'* Said Tapela, the principal site manager at the time of the research.

### **3.2.4 The Neighbouring Community**

The neighbouring localities in the peripheries west of Tsodilo are mainly small settlements or cattle posts around a water body or borehole and inhabited mostly by families of the Herero, Basarwa and Hambukushu, each with no more than 50 people. They live as scattered groups adapting to the affordances the environment offers except in Chukumuchu. The Hambukushu, Basarwa and Herero in this remote area live a pastoralist way of life. The pastoralists in these areas own boreholes from which the other families ask to drink in exchange for labour. In this environment, having no water is equal to having no settlement; water availability keeps people in a location for a longer period of time. Many individuals in the peripheries still believe in the power of the Spirit of the Tsodilo Hills. However, they find discomfort in visiting the hills due to the modern management measures governing the Hills around them.

### **3.3 Culture and Heritage**

Following the discussions with participants on the definitions of culture and heritage, looking and reflecting on Tsodilo World Heritage Site (TWHS), everything about the site and the community becomes part of heritage and culture. The question is how does the community make the distinction between these concepts? Within this one village, there are constructs of borders to create spaces for cultural freedom and group autonomy challenging the mainstream national governing system focused on the conservation and preservation of heritage resources. During the fieldwork and interviews, I realized that the participants were using the terms 'cultural heritage', 'culture' and 'tradition' interchangeably. I then carried out a photovoice exercise with selected participants to take pictures of what they would refer to as heritage, culture or tradition. The participants described and interpreted the photos in these terms. The data is also supplemented with responses to direct questions about heritage, culture and community.

### 3.3.1 Defining Culture

On exploring concept of culture in Tsodilo, the terms which came up included the following, *ditso* (tradition), *ngwao* (culture), *ngwao boswa* also meaning culture. The terms which were identified, were also considered in Parsons (2006). In an interview with one of the Ju/hoansi female tour guides, she made the distinction between culture and heritage clear.

*Stella: What do you mean by San culture?*

*Tsetsana; 'I mean a culture that needs to be respected and protected; we should not lose it because it is part of who we are. We are taught about our culture so that we know who we are. For instance, we are taught about making these beads and ornaments like necklaces. They are different kinds, there are these ones that we make to sell to tourists, but there are also these more permanently worn ones, they are durable, you can only find on elderly women because they are still holding on to that part of our culture. These ones are special, for cultural reasons, like for individual protection and healing. It is because of these changes that you do not find them in the youth, we are losing that culture. When the visitors say they want to see this culture, we change these clothes and wear the traditional clothes and dance for them.'*

This comment is full of the meaning of culture that dominates the data on the category of culture in Tsodilo. First, there is an allusion to the privileged visitors demonstrating a character of irresponsibility and carelessness from whom the local community need to protect culture objects. There is also reference to culture as belonging to the community and needing protecting by the community from the outsider. Tsetsana's statement also referred to difference between the use of and the kind of cultural objects and heritage tourism objects. She mentioned that they make objects specifically for touristic purposes and traditional purposes.

#### *Culture as an Identifier of Difference*

Culture has been identified as something that can be lost and which must be respected to escape the loss. It is also a differentiation term that shows group affiliations to ethnicity, the outsider and insider. Participants also matched the culture with certain crafts whose making and production are shared within a group. Furthermore, there is a reference to the differentiation of exchange of differing cultural products with visitors and locals. There is also reference to generational differences in cultural preservation that is observed more by the elderly compared to the younger generation. In the statement 'these ones that we make to sell to tourists' the participant highlights the overarching idea of modified culture as an object of trade. The cultural objects can be exchanged between locals and outsiders in the form of dance. There is symbolism in the idea that participants need to change clothes and wear traditional clothing for the so-called cultural performances for the tourists. It is as if the performers switch from one culture to the other. I should mention that the tourist in this context is a paying customer. Their visits are very important because they directly boost the hosts' livelihood. They are different from other visitors as elaborated in chapter 5. Culture in a broad sense is inclusive of the everyday lives of the community, performances, practices and ideologies which can be commoditized and sold.

It is learning about the culture that helps a member of the society to survive, as he knows how to behave and interact with others in the society. It is the cultural identity that makes people living in one part of the world unique and distinct from other people. It is the shared traditions and customs that develop a feeling of belonging and togetherness among the members of a society.

*Tsetsana further added, 'Apart from this I learnt about our (Ngwao) culture and (ditso tsa Basarwa) San traditions. This helps me so much at the heritage site because I earn better through the guided tours*

*with this knowledge. The visitors do not buy so much of our crafts and ornaments so if they prefer to take me as their guide because of this knowledge, it is an advantage. As a resident in Tsodilo, learning about the culture was very important to me. Through the elders, I learnt about the environment and the gathering of wild fruits. They also taught me about ditsa tholego (natural heritage) in the hills and the rock art.'*

She links culture with tradition as components that add to her participation competency in the heritage context and as an advantage to be selected for tours compared to other tour guides.

The differentiation between culture, heritage and tradition in this comment is important for several reasons. Firstly, it presents culture and tradition as something that is learned within a community as mentioned by Barnett and Lee (2003: 266), stating that 'culture is a socially shared activity, and therefore, a property of a group rather than an individual'. While heritage is something to be taught about, an object found within a physical space.

### 3.3.2 Defining Heritage

The Tswana Language narrowed down terms used to refer to components of heritage to a few local terms: (boswa) inheritance, (Ditso) tradition, (ngwao) culture, (matlotlo) tangible heritage, (Ditsa tholego) natural heritage. *Ethnic/Polity* with reference to land ownership (Nxoresi/Nxore) in !Kung is a term denoting a spiritual bond between the people and the land.

There are a number of perspectives of the host community and the participants in the neighbouring localities to understand the meaning and importance of heritage-making processes and the heritage resources. However, there is dominance in the data of the perception of heritage as a product due to the presence of a museum authority (refer to **Table 8**) and heritage as an asset left for the local communities by the past generations and belonging to the supernatural being on site i.e. the Spirit of the hills (refer to **Figure 2** below).

Heritage is perceived as the gifts of the past which the predecessors or ancestors left in the form of ancient archaeological settlement remains, rock art, the hills and the caves, which attract visitors and developments spearheaded and driven by the Botswana National Museum and Monuments through the Tsodilo Site Museum. Kontshae explained natural heritage and included rock art as thus. In his comment he associated the rock art with the work of God drawing from the local creation legend.

*Stella: 'What do you mean by (Ditsa tholego) natural heritage?'*

*Kontshae said: 'I mean the hills, the caves, the rock art, matlotla (in the Tswana language meaning the ancient/old, no longer inhabited settlement), the plants and the animals. The archaeologists told us about how it all began; they told us about the past communities that settled in the ancient settlement. We do not know so much about the art but we are told it was painted by the San. Our forefathers found it on the hills when they moved into the hills but they said it was painted by God when He brought the first man down the hill (referring to local myth of creation).*

*.... we used to be taught at home then led into the wild to be shown these plants and animals. It was easier because Tsodilo had a large variety of plants and animals to be shown to the young ones. While we lived by the male hill, we were taught about the features of the hills. Most of those who are resting (dead) used to encourage us to learn about these hills and the resources of cultural importance. They taught us that these are remnants of the work of our people in these hills.'* Said Xontae, an elderly Ju/hoansi and tour guide at the site.

This is an exemplary comment supporting the prevailing ideas of heritage reference to the tangible material culture within the core zoned and fenced site area for protection by the State. Heritage is characterized with received expert knowledge obscuring and superimposing on the local accounts. Heritage is something that can be learnt about and taught by experts. It is a lens into the past that also comes with affordances when one has the knowledge. However, heritage can be cultural i.e. cultural heritage that is taught within the family and utilized to survive. It also is a symbolic material with a link between the living and the dead.

*'Look how many plants there are around you, I have to learn about them because the visitors do not only ask me about the rock art, they also ask me about the plants and the animals,' said Sekora, working as tour guide.*

This excerpt, *'we do not know so much about the art but we are told it was painted by the San. Our forefathers found it here when they moved to the hills but they said it was painted by God when He brought the first man down the hill,'* shows the changes in perception following received knowledge from the experts, flow of information and distancing from the site. The same views alluded to the question of who the authors of the Tsodilo rock art are. Participants pointed to an ancient San community and God as the authors, while recent archaeological data points to the Bantu and San groups. The graph below indicates the local perceptions responding to the question of Tsodilo rock art authorship. The majority associate the art with the San and a supernatural being.

#### *Authorship, Craftsmanship and Ownership*

**Figure 2**, demonstrates and supports the dominant perception of heritage material as a gift from the past and God. By saying *'they taught us that these are also remnants of the work of our people in these hills and*

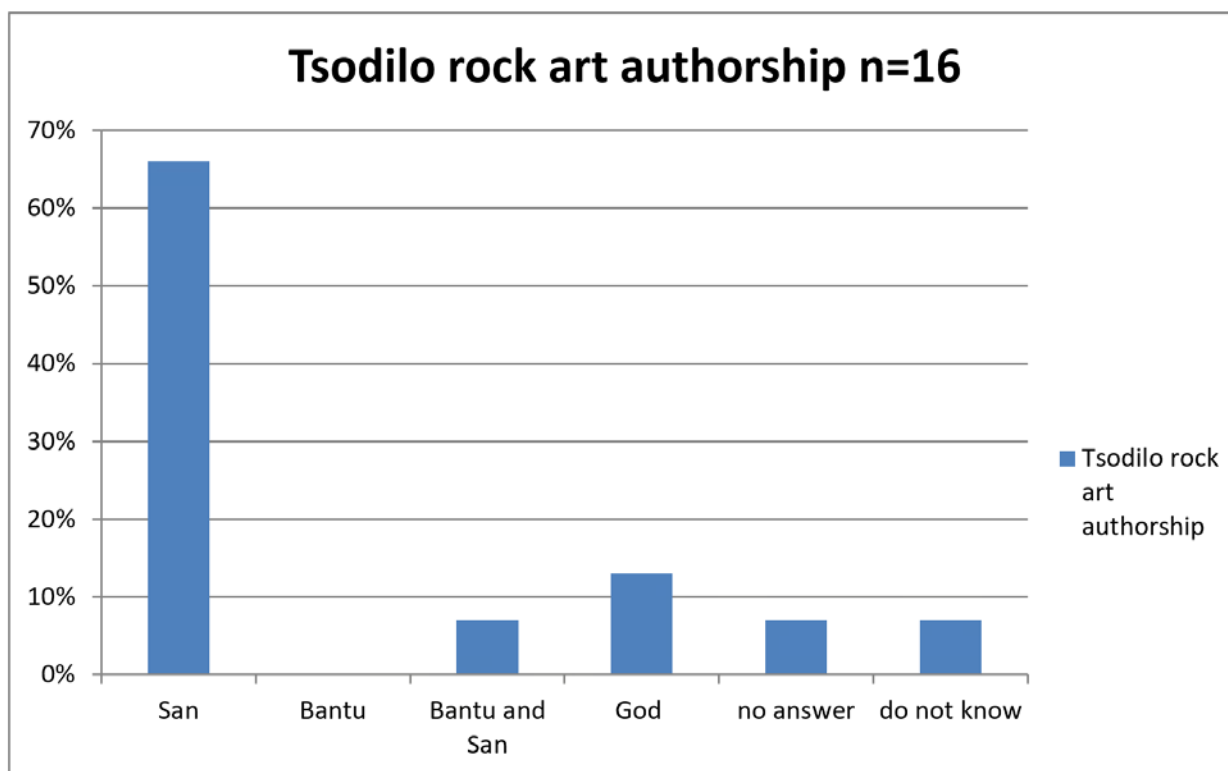


Figure 2 Perception of Authorship of the Rock Paintings

*we have to protect them'* shows that the kinship claims to the heritage resources and the sacredness of the site are linked by a responsibility to protect (also refer to **Table 7**).

Xontae supported this view he said:

*'There is a place within the hills where my father used to pray at, it is called the Dama. It is a small rock and not many of the tour guides know where it is. Before our ancestors went hunting, they first went there to ask for a successful hunt. They also went there to ask for healing. From where the museum office is, behind that site museum, there is also a mountain of rocks where he used to go to pray and give thanks. He said, they prayed there, then climbed the hill to the other side. If they started from the other side of the hill, there is another mountain of rocks where they prayed first before going uphill to the sacred waterhole.'*

The comments about the supernatural express a ritualized, sacred and divine relation between the supernatural and humans, and ancestors and humans. Before gaining access, the visitor, asked for something from the 'owner' (the Spirit) and after having had access, they gave thanks. The human needs to do something to get something from the supernatural being and when they realize that they have acquired something through the favour of the supernatural; they are expected to return with giving thanks. Some comments also showed that the Spirit has a character which guides, refuses and accepts.

However, it is not clear what law is in place to reprimand and punish the visitors who vandalize the monuments but the community is clear on how the locals can be punished for vandalizing the monuments. In the past, the Spirit was believed to punish the wrongdoers and reward the good. Social ills in the community were believed to be caused and resolved by the Spirit. The management plan is silent on these issues.

Xontae's comment demonstrates a few important points. The first point is what the exchange between the giver and the receiver is. Before access and getting something from the hills the people asked and acknowledged the supernatural ownership of the territory and everything in it.

The Hambukushu interim Chief also supported this: *'Yes, if they went hunting, they did the same; they went to pray first at the hills... But this tradition has been changed; now it is modernized. We also turned from it,'* said Mokate.

Mokate brings in the idea of modernization and change within the context of heritage and spiritual values (Brett 1996). This will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. Change is one of the driving concepts in the Tsodilo context. However, it is often associated with the authority of the state while being counteracted by claims of the role of the host community in preserving what is left of the culture. Following discussion on the observed change Kabo said:

*'Some practices are no longer performed due to many reasons; the influence of the state and changes brought into the landscape to accommodate the tourists and lack of interest from the community. Those who had the traditional indigenous knowledge did not pass it to the younger generation before passing away. As a community, we need to seriously ask ourselves what is the difference between now and our recent past, what can we salvage. We have lost most of our culture but we still have so much within us to protect. Even though the youth follow the modern lifestyles, we cannot forget about where we come from, that is who we are. I still have hope on the youth, though I see reluctance from our parents in sharing their knowledge and experiences'.*

Culture and cultural change in this field appear as products of a conscious mind influenced by external factors. Traditions on the other hand refer to a more individualized and closed part of the community; it

is kept sacred and not easily shared. Local tradition is the part of the community that cannot be traded nor commoditized. However, through the new authority changes took place that selected a few people with certain competencies as participants in the heritage context while the majority was excluded.

Thebe elaborated on this understanding and said:

*'From 1993 the museum started to establish itself here. They looked for the few who could understand a bit of the English language. This was around 2001. They selected a few young people who could interpret and talk with the western visitors. This was when Tsodilo started to be recognized as a World Heritage Site in the country'*

Tapela, the Tsodilo principal site manager at the time, said;

*'The work of the museum in Tsodilo is to offer advice to the community and show them how they can benefit from this site. The museum's main role is principally to conserve and preserve the cultural material within the site. Our core focus is on the paintings, Archaeological material the animals and plants. We are also a public institution; we educate and help to empower the community. We are a consulting centre between government and the local community. We teach the community about what is expected of them.'*

The Tsodilo Site Museum employees are an extension office of officers from the Botswana Department of National Museum and Monuments (BNMM) contracted to oversee the management of the site. At the organizational level, the Tsodilo hills are managed by two main bodies; the BNMM through the Tsodilo Site Museum and the Tsodilo Community Trust (TCT). However, there is currently an ongoing development project funded by Diamond Botswana, carried out initially by the Letloa trust, the lead organization of the Kuru Family of Organisations (KFO) that aims to build the capacity of members and to provide technical, institutional and financial management, and fundraising support to the member organisations that make up the KFO. The projects were then passed on Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives TOCaDI on behalf of Tsodilo Community Trust (TCT).

It is comprehensible that the way in which the management of the heritage site and the financial benefit is being handled is causing antagonism, not only between the community and the neighbourhoods but apparently also between managing institutions. Furthermore, the reluctance of some members of the management committees to attend community meetings should be regarded as a point of great concern as it is an indication of the degree of interest or lack thereof by locals to either be involved at the grassroots level or excluded from decision making.

#### *Perception of Heritage as Linked with the Museum Authority*

Through the concept of heritage and heritage phenomena, there are positive and negative changes that local community appreciates and struggles with as a result of the state authority.

*'There are good developments that concur with the lives of people. At the moment, we have the good roads and this Kgotla so that those who make offenses are easily punished and reprimanded. We can also discuss matters there. According to the agreements we made with the government, Tsodilo is officially accepted as a village which means we will have a school very soon. But these do not hinder the practices of our culture because they are for the good of the people and the culture should also still be there,'* said Kelebetse, the interim Chief.

The quotation above suggests the idea of heritage as a development programme. This quote links the development as used to gain legitimacy from the people and the rural transformation through the

heritage programme. Though the population statistic of Tsodilo is low, the site was established as a village due to the presence of the WHS status. However, said Thebe,

*'The enlisting of the site as a heritage site raises mixed feelings. Lives were affected in different ways. Some people were more affected than others. Some people had to be moved from the hills site while others were not moved from where they settled. They agreed to move from their home because they were promised a better life. Let me say, some were moved, some not. Let's say I was moved with the understanding that in the future I may benefit from the move then realize later that the benefit does not compensate the loss as I had hoped. The move may seem to have paid off for some more than for others, so it's a complicated situation'.*

In this statement Thebe remarks on the heritage enlisting in association with the referral of resource control and authority from the hands of the host Ju/hoansi communities into the hands of the state. The power of authority over the heritage site became a resource that was exchanged from the local community to the state. This is exchanging the comfort of the territorial position of authority and entitlement and giving it away to the state authority. The main result of this form of exchange, distribution and access operates on the principle of maximization of economies where the host expected to see tangible direct gain. When they were relocated the Ju/hoansi were promised water and compensated with livestock. The borehole was of great value in the region at the time, a group that controlled the water source had the most power. It was also an object of exchange between communities. The building of boreholes by the state after the relocation is often perceived as a form of reciprocity. However, things have changed, there has been a malfunction and a short life of the state dug borehole which poses a feeling of need to revisit the reciprocated gesture.

The Mosheshe settlement where they were relocated to was far from the hills, the main road and it was too sandy and the visitors who bought crafts and paid for performances could not easily reach or find them. Mosheshe was meant to be a permanent place where they could start a sedentary life better than the life they had had before while not being in the way hampering tourism and developments. However, the Ju/hoansi claims that they had been sedentary in the Tsodilo area for a long time but in a larger area stretching to the border between Namibia and Botswana. Upon the move, they were compensated with livestock of which they claim most died because of the poor environment and failed adaptation to the desert environment and disease. They moved from Mosheshe to their current Ju/hoansi village which is a few kilometres nearer to the hills and the main road but still far from their main source of income and place of cultural importance. They feel excluded from the site and placed behind the Hambukushu settlement in their own Nxoresi. The site's core area is linked to the people, culture and land.

From 1994 the Tsodilo settlement was characterized by government decisions regarding conservation of the site and development of the tourism sector. This decision included the zoning of the site area and management of land use. These decisions had both positive and negative implications on the residents the culture and the physical environment.

*'When the museum project started here in 1994, there was a dialogue between the community and the government to move the Basarwa who lived by the hills. Some said they should be removed while some said they should be left to live on their land. The argument was that if they were left where they formerly lived, they will be part of the display, or show for the heritage tourist. So then they were moved and had this now long distance between their new settlement and the hills, the same as the Hambukushu. The distance was so long that they were not able to perform some of the evening practices while by the hills. Going there was strenuous at night. This includes events such as praying for the hunt or during funerals; even for initiation ceremonies and so these are not performed anymore. Like I said, some of these practices will disappear completely,' said Kabo*

The heritage phenomena in Tsodilo have brought pressures that cause the local people of Tsodilo to change the traditional leadership in the management of the site. The external community in the form of BNMM and the department of tourism have gained momentum in the authority and management of Tsodilo on behalf of the state. The Museum initiated the establishment of the Tsodilo Community Trust and the coming together of the Ju/hoansi and the Hambukushu settlement. The local people had to revise the way they manage the settlement. They adapted the Tswana system of Dikgosi and Kgotla system; a Chieftaincy system in which Chiefs are viewed as the custodians of the culture of the people (Nyathi-Ramahobo, 2008). The Hambukushu elder adopted the role of the Chief (*Kgosi*) and managed both settlements.

Nonetheless, this system has not been fully embraced by the Ju/hoansi with open arms. It suggests an authority of the Hambukushu over the Ju/hoansi. The Ju/hoansi host community prefer a system based on common consensus decision making and 50/50 representation in leadership roles. The 50/50 system has been adopted within the Tsodilo Community Trust executive board, Village Development Committee (VDC). It has its benefits and disadvantages. The representatives are elected to complete the numbers but not always based on the competencies.

### *The Nature of Heritage Management and Relevance from the Point Of View of Global Approach and Institutions*

Management of sites in Botswana is centred on four main groups: archaeologists, government staff through the national museum and related departments, department of tourism and the local people living in and near heritage sites. When the national museum initially became interested in the Tsodilo area and prepared the site for enlisting, the Ju/hoansi host community was relocated from within the Tsodilo core area. The site museum specifically stated in the 1994 management plan that '*Tsodilo is first and foremost a heritage site and secondly a settlement.*' This governance perspective means that the Tsodilo heritage was at the time important without the living culture. At the time, the local people were not marginalized; however, they lacked recognition of power and potential in heritage management. The museum overtly intended to make the locals believe that the site is very important. However, it seems appropriate to assume that Tsodilo heritage means the site excluding the local people, while to the local people the site value is inclusive of the people in its proximity and their relatives in the peripheries. Here, heritage is taken to mean what it does to the locals as a whole.

### *Fences and Authority*

Ownership and stewardship of cultural resources have been extended to regional, national as well as international cosmopolitan communities with different interests and motivations, decreasing the role and attachment of local communities to the cultural resources. The fences embody and symbolise separation, they are the archetype of division (Peters 1994: 1). The divisions within the landscape are symbolic of the power relation and dominating institutions within an area. The participants express that the leader's placement in the village suggests his authority over the people while the placement of the museum structure by the hills symbolizes authority over the hills and everything that takes place within the fenced core area of the site. The elder's Kgotla is placed very close to the site's gatehouse from where he can see every visitor coming in and going out of the village.

He was also believed to have the ability to communicate with the Spirit of the hills. He became the key person and custodian of the site mainly because the Hambukushu has a clear political system that could allow for the management of the site and the community in comparison to the Basarwa egalitarian system.

In a traditional Tswana settlement or village, the people have a Chief living in the centre of the village with the Kgotla followed by his families around him, then followed by the general villagers. The dominating



ethnic usually leads and assimilates the minority groups, the Hambukushu have adopted these customs and culture. Due to the general leadership of the Hambukushu over the whole community including the San, the village structure conforms to the traditional Tswana village structure. There is a concern from the San that they have lost their land to the Hambukushu due to the transfer of traditional leadership. In this setting, the two groups often refer to these sub-sections of the single village as 'motse' (in Tswana language). The village is under the administration of a single 'Kgosi' traditional leader. His administrative work is done in the village *Kgotla*. The *Kgotla* is a Tswana form of public meeting, community council or traditional law court in centre of a village. The *Kgosi* in a Tswana village performs the administrative duties with the help of a headman. While the *Kgotla* is situated in the Hambukushu part of the village, it also addresses matters in the Ju/hoansi village. The *Kgosi* makes an effort to bring the two parties together as a single village and discourage the overly partisan nature of the general context.

#### *The Dynamics and Use of the Kgotla*

On the afternoon of March 6th 2015, the Tsodilo community hosted a team of German researchers and Ju/hoansi from Tsumkwe in Namibia. The team was also joined by the head of the archaeology department from the BNMM. The visit started with a conference to introduce the visitors and their plan in the village to the villagers. The team wanted to share with the Tsodilo community the film they had produced in collaboration with the Ju/hoansi in Tsumkwe. The film shows the value of traditional knowledge and necessity to preserve it through the collaboration of archaeologists and San tracker skills, as utilized in the study of the prehistoric cave footprints from the ice age in France with the assistance of three capable Ju/hoansi trackers from Namibia. The project was initially shown in German and French television and the crew extended the viewing to the San communities in Botswana and Namibia.

Evidently, the visit was motivated by the presence of the Ju/hoansi community in the Tsodilo hills. Therefore, before the viewing, there was a heated discussion among the villagers and the visitors in terms of where the viewing should take place. The traditional leadership of the village assumed the movie would be viewed in the evening at the village *Kgotla* where all villagers have access and are welcome. The Ju/hoansi immediately voiced a concern, pointing out that the village *Kgotla* is for the Hambukushu. Besides, the movie had nothing to do with the Hambukushu but everything to do with the San, so it had to be viewed in the Ju/hoansi part of the village in the residence of their elder Xontae. Other community members suggested the viewing should be at the campsite where the visitors were residing. This was also rejected by the Ju/hoansi adamantly pointing out that the visitors came to Tsodilo for them and so the event would be and should be at their place of residence. This discussion carried back and forth on until the crew decided the documentary would be viewed in both locations: the Ju/hoansi residence and the village *Kgotla*.

Certainly, the Ju/hoansi rejection of the use of the *Kgotla* for the viewing of the documentary symbolized the divisions and associations of places negotiated within the community in terms of contexts of the relevance of different stakeholders. In the demonstrated discussion, the site museum staff had no say in the decision of the community, the Ju/hoansi were more vocal within this discussion compared to the usual discussion in the *Kgotla*, which is characterized by less participation and low attendance.

#### *Sources of Income and Competition for the Market*

Mixed farming is the main source of livelihood. The Hambukushu are the main cultivators, while the Ju/hoansi mainly keep livestock and make crafts. On the other hand, crafts make most of the local income (see **Figure 3**).

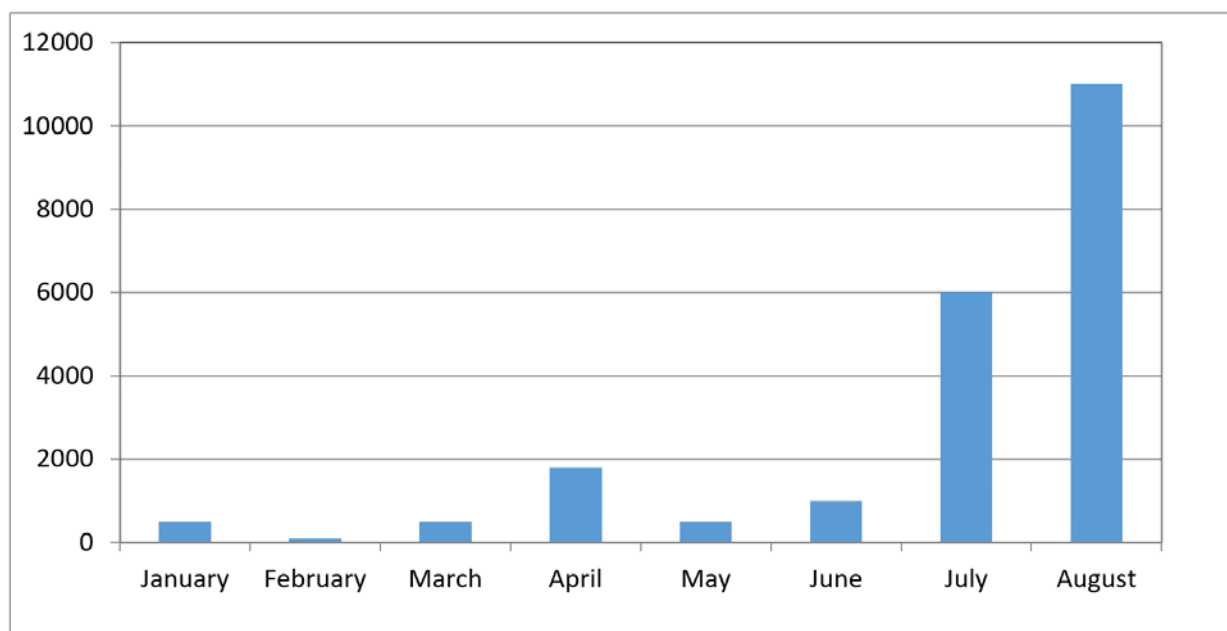


Figure 3 Income in BWP (Botswana Pula) From Crafts Sales (Aug-Sep 2013) Tourism Development Plan

Among the structures built in the area, there is a curio shop and a craft shop that supports the making and selling of crafts. The other part of the community income is gained through work as volunteer tour guides who get their share from every guided tour fee per guide. There are 14 registered male and female Hambukushu and Ju/hoansi heritage tour guides. The other part of the local income is gained from the entrance ticket fee and the camping fee. This money goes directly into the Tsodilo Community Trust account. Access to these resources is based on whether or not the individual is classified as a Tsodilo local resident.

The community also struggles to find the market for their crafts except for the few people coming to the hill site. They depend on word of mouth to advertise their work:

*'As you go on with your studies, spreads the word, let people know that we are not living well. This curio shop is not helping us gain so much to be able to earn a living, we are not encouraged to go on with the craft work...I forgot to let you know that I also make traditional wooden chairs. I learnt this skill from the training sponsored by the RAD (Remote Area Dwellers) council. I have the knowledge but I do not have money to buy the material to make most of the crafts. I made a few, they were bought by some people in the village and museum staff employees,' said Xontae.*

Craft making is limited by lack of resources and the community is expected to apply for Natural Resource Harvesting Permits. Nevertheless, within the Tsodilo hills, the rock art, cultural dance known as *pina ya sesarwa* and the traditional crafts i.e. bead ornaments and baskets made by the women, the bow and arrow and *mokolwane key holder* made by men constitute the local culture. They conform to the history and local forms of ownership. The Hambukushu have their own crafts and *pina ya sembukushu* while the San have their crafts and *pina ya sesarwa*, demonstrating the cultural diversity and identities within the host community. The crafts are used as emblems of ethnic and gender differences. The culture is an objectified part of the community and an expressive symbol of identity.

According to the participants the cultural practices like the dance are derived from the ritual dances for the ancestors. They form an important part of the cultural identity and practising them is a show of respect for the culture. For this reason, it is offensive to the Ju/hoansi when a Hambukushu without

links to the San kinship become part of the dance performances. The host Ju/hoansi community utilizes these cultural differences to form claims of cultural superiority and to improve their status and wealth.

The observable duties of the programme workers include clearing trails, building a mobile clinic stop house. I have observed that capacity building amongst host communities is not satisfactorily prioritized: the majority of jobs held by the host community are low-class jobs rather than skilled employment. The conservation and heritage management strategies are disabling the host community and producing a form of a servant class (Brett 1996: 127). tourism as by-product of the World Heritage tag, while providing for a certain improvement of income and livelihoods conditions, has also had the side effect of transforming parts of the population into a 'service class' without much say in the administration and management of the site. Capacity building or empowerment liberate and give power, which become a resource to say 'no' with. Empowerment and capacity building is lacking because we want these communities to behave and lack a voice with which to question the intervention that works against them but for the state interest.

The nomadic lifestyle has been abandoned for a sedentary one. However, the views concerning this transformation are diverse. Some uttered that they are happy with the change which is associated with certainty in terms of satisfying basic needs: daily meals, clean water and shelter, the living conditions not being as harsh as they used to be. However, some say they long for a life that was challenging but they were content that it was their surviving culture. It is evident that there are ways in which cultural heritage can function to moderate the shocks of modern discriminations of minorities within this community.

### **3.4 Establishing Relevance**

The zoning exercise and the unequal distribution of locally available resources associated with the proximity to, or distance from, the core site has encouraged various groups dwelling in the area (Jo/hoansi, Hambukushu, Herero) to lay territorial claims to the Tsodilo Hills in a competition for recognition and resource entitlement. The general perception of the heritage phenomena and the local people in this context is closely tied with consciousness in constructing a prevailing form of validation and relevance either by the national authorities or by the local people so that the community can enjoy the limited affordances of the heritage status.

The participants adopted this research to include the views that are often suppressed in the practice of heritage management and the setting of site museums and developments. The local people demand that their diverse historical pasts be represented and taken into consideration. These comments were further supported by the persisting suggestion of including the neighbouring communities in the research process which led to the decision to expand the scope of the research to the neighbouring localities and village.

#### **3.4.1 Divide and Manage**

The resultant of the heritage narrative and global agenda for heritage protection and preservation in Tsodilo is received with responsiveness in maintaining relevance of the community and recognition. In so doing the local people construct physical and conceptual borders to protect their interests. The development of borders includes the restructuring of the general area. The main marker of the physical zone is a fence. The communities are places outside the core area while the museum structure is closely placed near the hill with the core fenced area. The close relation of the physical planning of the site places an authority on the zone. The museum management rests within the core site while the community authority is in the buffer zone.

The setup of the general landscape and the connection and barriers between them is arranged in a way that it suggests a relationship between what is within the zoned areas. The majority of the interviewees regarded the core area fences as belonging not to the government but to the 'museum'. The museum structure inside the core area close to the hills is regarded as an indicator of the takeover and control which the locals regret. They perceive the conservation fence as an indicator of exclusion and being devalued as rightful owners of the site.

The Ju/hoansi claim entitlement to the site by right of conquest from the Nxaekhwe who? Currently live near the delta. Xontae explains:

*'Uphill where there is panel 7<sup>3</sup> of the old settlement is where the Nxaekhwe settled. Conflict emerged as we also wanted to settle in the hills. My great-grandparent and the Nxaekhwe fought for this area until the Nxaekhwe fled to the riverside. We had a better fighting poison which aided our defeat of the Nxaekhwe. The !Kung used spears with strong poison and the Nxaekhwe used non-poisonous spears. The Bukhakhwe San that live now near the river, those are the same group of the Nxaekhwe. They only used bones as points for their spears while we used points with poison.'*

The locals desire to revise the decision for the takeover of the management of the site area by the 'museum'. On the other hand, the museum seems to be taking care of the site, not only on behalf of the nation and the global community but in the interest of the local people.

### **3.4.2 Relevance and Competing For Recognition and Entitlement**

The Tsodilo San identify as !Kung or Ju/hoansi. According to Bieseles and Hitchcock (2013), !Kung is a language that is closely related to the Ju/hoan language while Ju/hoan means 'people'. Based on the local accounts and research data, it is not clear how the Tsodilo Ju/hoan are related to the !Kung. It is estimated that between Botswana and Namibia there are approximately 11,000 Ju/hoansi San (Bieseles 2013: 05). The Ju/hoansi territory stretches across the Botswana and Namibian borders from the Tsumkwe region to the west into Botswana to areas including Tsodilo, Gumare, Tsau, and Sehithwa near the Okavango Delta. The Ju/hoansi community in Tsodilo trace their residence through generations to areas around Tsodilo as far as Nxauxau and the territory of Nyaenyae in Namibia. The majority reside in the Kalahari Desert region in northwestern Botswana. According to Xontae this was a strategic location to avoid the rule of the Batawana and remain autonomous, independent and able to practice the culture of hunting and gathering. Due to the cultural differences and ideas of land ownership among the Ju/hoansi, Hambukushu, Tswana and state laws, locals perceive the government take-over as a rip-off rather than assistance.

The Ju/hoansi traces their ancestry to other San groups around the Nxauxau and Qangwa regions. A few trace their origins to Gani, where their family ties are still strong (refer to participant outline **Table 20**). However, the Ju/hoansi maintain that the San rarely live in their territory so their ancestors have lived successively in this same territory frequently coming back to Tsodilo during dry periods. They refer to this area as 'Nxore' meaning 'home' and 'ancestral land'. The Tsodilo hills site territory is claimed by the Ju/hoansi by virtue of a victory over the Nxaekhwe, who lived in the area before them. The Nxaekhwe moved further north upon defeat. Other participants claim that the co-settling of the Nxaekhwe and the Ju/hoansi was rather because of a form of social cooperation. The Ju/hoansi allowed the Nxaekhwe residence in their Nxore. The Ju/hoansi says they lived within the hills and at the foot of the Female hill for a long time. But they frequently left to go to other parts within their Nxoresi. This is when the Nxaekhwe came and later left, when the owners (Ju/hoansi) returned. Remnants of their previous settlement are still visible within the core site area.

<sup>3</sup> The site features are organised in numbered panels and named trails for easy referencing.

*'The Hambukushu came to Tsodilo when I was still a young boy. At the time we lived in the place near panel 7. The researchers found a lot of evidence of our past settlements there such as bones, ostrich eggshells. When they did their research, we had moved and were settling near the Male hill,' said Xontae*

While Tsodilo started as cattle-post for the Hambukushu, it was always home, deeply rooted in their sense of belonging and authority of the Ju/hoansi.

The Ju/hoansi is an indigenous group across the Southern African borders. They demonstrate familiarity and closeness with the Ju/hoansi from Tsumkwe. During the fieldwork period, I observed how they welcomed the Namibian Ju/hoansi into their conceptual (in) community spaces as their own. During a visit by a group that included among others three Ju/hoansi men from Tsumkwe, Namibia, the local Ju/hoansi and the Namibia Ju/hoansi spoke a common language and articulated that they are the same community that is only separated by the border after breaking apart due to limited resources.

According to the Namibians, the Tsodilo Ju/hoansi broke away from the Namibian group but they could not put a year or period on that. One of the Namibians even said he is at home when he is in the Ju/hoansi residence. Biesele and Hitchcock (2013: 57) support the claims that the Ju/hoansi Nxoresi have no defined borders, the borders are known to the owners and their neighbours. However, it was not a problem to share the resources within an Nxoresi as long as groups acknowledged the owners. *'There was flexibility in the use of other groups' Nxoresi, (singular)'* said Xontae (elderly Host Ju/hoansi man).

The Ju/hoansi claim of the general territory and co-occupation of the area are what allowed co-settlement of the area with the Nxaekhwe, who later moved north leaving the Ju/hoansi in their ancestral territory. Xontae maintains that the move of the Nxaekhwe was due to their entitlement as owners of the territory. Nxore (plural) system resources management among the Ju/hoansi was based on the social order of Nxore and reciprocity between groups/ band /families where leadership was traditionally tied to stewards of the resources of each Nxore (Biesele Hitchcock 2013: 54). This system is also described in the discussions of the cohabitation of the area with the Hambukushu and the Herero.

The Hambukushu and the Ju/hoansi compete for recognition on the site. This competition becomes evident in their interpretations and relations with the site and each other. This competition for entitlement is part of the driving force for the dynamics in the intangible heritage. Furthermore, during the course of the fieldwork, I was often approached by participants advising on aspects of their experience and responses that I included or focus on, which led to the totality of this research work. In some aspects, the communities seem to come together as one community. This is in regard to sharing of the government provisions and services. However, in cultural representations and appropriations, these two stand firmly apart creating conceptual cultural boundaries. The establishment of borders is to make clear and known when one gives part of themselves to the other within the host community relationships and become stronger when acts of generosity are clear so that the receiver is aware of them and can reciprocate the gesture.

### **3.4.3 Access to the Site**

Through the changes in the management of Tsodilo Hills and the growing interest of visitors, Tsodilo Hills has gained centre stage. The newly formed museum management of the site restructured the site in anticipation of tourism and visitor growth that posed a threat to the site's natural resources.

There were management plans consecutively set to guide the behaviour of the community members and non-members on site. Access to the site is now regulated through community free access and non-community limited access. For instance;

*‘The members of the neighbouring community have to ask to enter into trading in Tsodilo from the host community. However, access is made easier when the person seeking access had family ties within the host community’* said Darkie.

Kinship ties play a role in gaining free access to the site and the trading. This means the other local community members without kinship ties among the Ju/hoansi or Hambukushu host community remain excluded.

### 3.4.4 Relevance, Proximity and Responsibility

Community competency in heritage management and availability at all times is linked to the relevance in the heritage context. **Table 7** summarises the challenges that the local community faces in maintaining a place in heritage management of heritage that is not only theirs.

The three concepts in 3.4.4 are linked as Maseko described below:

*‘Most important has always been the old settlement in the hills and the rock paintings. However, all this combined is important to us: when Samotjao came and resettled here, he had seen that the paintings were being destroyed; people picked up things from here. The whites were also touching and writing on the paintings. Therefore, he came to live close to the paintings to safeguard them, realizing that they were important and needed protecting,’*

What makes the local community more relevant and worthy in the heritage context is their availability at all times when there are visitors. This characteristic of the Tsodilo community in the proximity of the hills favours their claims of relevance and entitlement over the relatives in the peripheries of the site. This characteristic raises concern for the Ju/hoansi settling behind the Hambukushu village. The Site Museum employees have settled far away from the village but close to the foot of the hills. The prevailing idea among the Ju/hoansi is that when a visitor approaches the site, they are received within the Hambukushu village and then led into the site core area where they meet the site museum staff and tour guides. The sight of the Ju/hoansi settlement is nowhere within this immediate visit, thus not letting the visitor come to a worthwhile conclusion of the site community as inclusive and

Table 7 Codes Supporting the Responsibility of the Host community

Codes supporting responsibilities of the host community	Category
Consulting the leadership before entering the site (4)* Forming the community trust to enforce community right to manage the site. ( 7) Expressing complexity of within community relations due to lacking cooperation and job opportunities (6) Feeling the responsibility to the community as a tour guide (3) Feeling content about the job (5) Earning little as a guide (7) Guiding job limited to a few community members (6) Community involved in minor projects with the museum (2)	Community responsibilities and challenges

\* The bracketed numbers refer to the frequency of the code in the Data.

inhabited by the Ju/hoansi unless the visitor enquires about them. The immediate acknowledgement of the relevance of the Ju/hoansi as an input characteristic of the culture of the site requires effort on the side of the visitor.

#### **3.4.5 Proximity and the Exclusion of the Herero**

The Herero in the peripheries of the hill site claim that they are entitled to recognition as they have a history in Tsodilo. They lament exclusion from the site and the general use and cultural attachment.

The Baherero, who currently dwell in the peripheries of Tsodilo, have claims over the hills saying that they had a long history of occupation and relation with the site and its Spirits before they were relocated. This is evidenced by the old well, known as the Baherero well. They claim never to dig a well in a place unless they plan on a long stay and frequent returns. Since their relocation, they now face exclusion from the site. The claim is credible, the local people and the neighbourhoods of Tsodilo are relatively close. The distance between these groups is not large and all the now settled groups led a nomadic way of life in the past. The question that remains for further investigation is: How far in historical terms do the local people base their conceptions of entitlement? In their history, communities in the Kalahari did not occupy specific areas of land. They wandered all over the area and had no specific area of land with which they were specifically identified, and therefore the concept of land rights – so often talked about today – bears little to no relation to the true historical situation (Wilmsen 1989).

Implications of the rebuilding and restructuring of this landscape following the heritage status developed forms of segregation, based on how far and close the residents' area is/ was. Furthermore, it appears that the host community is aware of this phenomenon and uses it to its advantage against their neighbours. Discussions with the Herero and neighbouring localities proved fruitful in determining this fact. In Chukumuchu, the Herero elder claims that though Tsodilo heritage seems to be restricted to the representation of the Hambukushu and San groups that dwell in the proximity of the hills, the heritage and general community that had close links to Tsodilo extends further to villages near the site and peripheries such as the Nxaekhwé. The settlers of Chukumuchu also have family in Tsodilo and had lived in the hills and worshipped in the hills for years before it was listed as a heritage site. Conversely, since the listing of the site and the establishment of the Tsodilo Community Trust, they have been pushed aside and the site does not benefit them as their rights to the site are currently limited but they are not compensated for it. Engagement with the hills by the population living in the neighbouring localities has changed; some are viewed as visitors. This makes them unsatisfied with the general management of the site and the Tsodilo community.

#### **3.4.6 Descendants of the First People and Indigenousness Validating Rights to Heritage Resources**

The local communities favour the idea of the landscape as the home territory popularly referred by the Ju/hoansi as their *Nxore*. This idea suggests a form of entitlement and ownership in the favour of the Ju/hoansi San. The idea that the San were the first occupants followed by Bantu groups superimposes the possible simultaneous long-term occupation of the area by more than one group that would enforce the arguments of the excluded and marginalization of part of the local community.

The participants acknowledge the San as entitled to the site as 'the first' among communities currently living in the Tsodilo landscape to settle the hill site.

*'The site and the Ju/hoansi are linked because, when the visitors came and wanted to see the hills, they also wanted to see the people living here,' said Kelebetse.*

Supported below by Thebe:

*'In the past, when we were told about the San//Basarwa ancient settlements, we understood that to mean the Basarwa who lived there during that time. We did not know of the necessity for excavations and research to ascribe those settlements to any other groups. We presumed that the objects we found there to be for Basarwa and their predecessors because they lived in that location for a long time, we didn't know that they could be appropriated with any other group'*

Apart from the local community, the global community and visitors appropriated the San as part of the site. Nxau contributed to this view saying:

*'They wanted the Ju/hoansi to tell them about their culture and how they used to live. They were wanted for performances; our song and dance attracted them. They take pictures while we show them how our predecessors hunted and gathered food in this area. This is what keeps bringing them to Tsodilo. We started to depend on them and the money they bring. The government then helped us to go to school and cease the dependence on the hunting and gathering lifestyle.'*

In this sense, heritage become an object, a commodity or a gift when one thinks of it primarily as something one could acquire in exchange for something else (better life) or that one would be willing to give up in order to get something one desires more (better life) (3).

### **3.4.7 Recent Arrivals and Lack of Knowledge of Site and Authorship**

The cultural relevance of the Hambukushu and Ju/hoansi is in competition mainly because both groups are termed as recent arrivals within the Tsodilo area (Campbell 2010) and the site management plan (1994; 2010-2015).

Ben Smith and Ed Eastwood (2005) and Eastwood, Blundell, and Smith, (2010) have ascribed the white paintings like the ones in Tsodilo hills to Bantu-speakers however, Alec Campbell, email communication (2012) added;

*'The only Bantu-speakers who have occupied the hills during the last three centuries have, from the pottery they left behind, been ancestors of Hambukushu. I believe Samtjao when he says his ancestors did not paint the white paintings. He showed me sacred places including their rain-making site and secrets, fearing they would be lost when he died. The Bachewa, who still painted in Malawi during the early years of the last century, have also explained their rock art although the meanings were originally kept secret. I have no doubt Samtjao was telling the truth. You may have more success in questioning them than I did, but be careful that young Juc'hoansi doesn't tell you stories they have made up to tell the tourists.'*

The historical claims of the current communities contradict the 'heritage value' because the latter stems from prehistory. The historical community perceptions and views of the heritage value seem to compete with the scientific interpretations of the material culture in the Tsodilo hills. Therefore, the historical accounts of the community that goes as far as memory goes against the prehistoric and archaeological data of the site become discordant with the global model of the site as a World Heritage Site with outstanding universal value interpreted from the point of view of science. However, efforts are in place to combine the intangible and tangible heritage which enriches the value of the sites. It is impossible to keep intangible heritage preserved like the monuments because it is easily vulnerable to change with increased contact with the global community.

Judging from the perception of the Ju/hoansi by the visitor groups, what makes their claims worth picking out is the positive cognitive effect and contextual assumption of representation of the hunter-gatherer community as the first people in Southern Africa and entitled owners of the land.



### 3.4.8 The Exclusion and Grouping Dynamics

Since Tsodilo assumes local, national and international importance, access for religious functions remains difficult. The Botswana National Monuments and Relics Act (2001) is silent on the use of national heritage sites to hold traditional and religious functions and practices. This has resulted in many religious visits being conducted at these sites, secretly or with people coming to the site late at night. Traces of such activities are often left behind as candle wax and wool of differing colours, ashes and gathered firewood within the site. The traditional healers and religious visitors claim that they have the constitutional right to make use of heritage sites for their spiritual enhancement, cultural sustainability and traditional cultural pride. This is also because they view such spaces as their own places of cultural, traditional and religious use.

Apart from the common groups of the Herero, Hambukushu and the Ju/hoansi, there is a growing group of spiritual visitors, worshipers who demonstrate claims of entitlement in the management of the Tsodilo hills. Local communities have maintained a relationship with their ancestors by performing a number of rituals and ceremonies at cultural heritage sites. However, it has become evident that not only the local community but the national and global visitors visit the site for its spirituality. Often, it is assumed that spiritual users of the site are locals and African with the exclusion of the white and African visitors. These are usually grouped into the tourists and researchers. During the fieldwork, I came across the group of a white spiritualist. Since the regulation of the religious use of World Heritage Sites by government authorities in Botswana, much has changed.

### 3.4.9 Crafts and Ethnic Boundaries

The tourist visitors seem to have little interest in the Hambukushu culture and products, unlike the Basarwa culture and products. In this context, the Basarwa are protective and fully aware of sharing an aspect of their culture. They have great expectations of gaining from it because they consider their culture as more valuable.

*'They should be making baskets not necklaces, they are making our cultural products but we are not making theirs. It is unfair. When we are taken to events for promoting the youth cultural business, they do not want to take part in interviews because they are making products that they know nothing about. They wouldn't know what to say,'* said Tsetsana.

The community has formed a fixation on ideas of cultural diversity on the non-community space to fit into the heritage narrative and global agenda of heritage preservation but remain harmonized in conceptual community space. In the conceptual community space, it appears there is cooperation in cultural practices, there is exchange between the groups and continuing intercultural diffusion, socio-economic harmony. However, from the perspective of the outsider, there are two cultural groups which suggest that in the non-community space, there are boundaries of cultural representation such as gender roles, ethnic dress code, crafts that enforces the distinctions and differences for presentation to the outsider.

The case of Tsodilo and neighbouring localities suggests that a deeper appreciation of the way traditions and conceptual positions of communities in relation to the way their resources play a role in community transformations is necessary. Local subjects, as Appadurai (1996) refers to these actors, become frozen on a geographical space that is shaped and ruled by heritage policies and laws, but their corporeal intellectual entities are flexible, transforming bodies that gradually mould the local culture and community where traditional culture associated with the site has to be understood in a modern context for the international community. In some instances, internationally influenced ideas tend to

undermine the local or community ownership to cultural past which impacts on the cultural value of some archaeological and cultural sites.

Consequently, the community is conscious of which and whose culture they show. Competence and skill only matter when making the crafts but the selling of it matters in terms of ethnic representation to the outsider. For instance, I noticed the Hambukushu make bead necklaces and give them to the young San at the gate to sell for them. The presentation of culture matter most in the non-community space but bear the seed of conflict in the conceptual community space:

*'The Hambukushu would also make their baskets and allow us to do our beadwork. They do not do their basket, they have lost their culture and now they are showing ours. When tourists come, they cannot tell which beadwork was made by the Hambukushu and which was made by the Basarwa,' said Tsetsana.*

Adaptations of the transformation and the shifting borders of perceptions of the local culture and traditions emanate new ways within which the community reads material culture through different lenses. Looking at the material culture through the lenses of the visitor, the conservator and the contemporary progressive people, the host community transforms itself. This is done to claim control of their own lives, and to retain their traditional cultural identities despite living under circumstances that encourage joining the conventional stream of progression and modernity. As Maseko noted:

*'Now we are all just Batswana, we are not divided. We all have identity cards saying we are Batswana. We do not say we are Herero or Hambukushu, we are Tswana first,' said Maseko.*

These comments show the case of ethnic borders fading and the community gradually becoming harmonized in their differences and similarities.

#### **3.4.10 Mobility, Authority and Restriction**

The landscape at Tsodilo World Heritage Site created classes within the community when preparations for enlisting began. Decisions made for the preparations of enlisting included: change of authority into the hands of the government, the avocation of a sedentary lifestyle, Ju/hoansi relocation, settling of the Hambukushu leadership and Kgotla, construction of museum offices and housing close to the hills. The spatial organization of the communities around the site is important to the occupants and the distance from residential areas to the hills is frequently mentioned in talks about authority and their use:

*'We realized later that what affected this tradition was agreeing for the museum office to be placed right on the foot of the hill within the fenced core area. If we had foreseen this, we would have said the museum buildings should be built within the community area so that this tradition does not disappear and keep the Site and the Museum governed and guided by our traditional taboos, so that when a visitor goes into the core site area, they already have been orientated on the tradition and taboos of the hills' said Kelebetse.*

The local people express that the leader and his placement in the village suggest his authority over the people, while the placement of the museum structure by the hills symbolizes authority over the hills and everything that takes place within the fenced core area of the site.

#### **3.4.11 Development and Heritage**

Following the enlisting of the Tsodilo hills, the area gained infrastructural development. These included: the fencing of the site, building of a gatehouse, site museum near the hill site, the village Kgotla premises, and the Tsodilo Community Trust housing and campsite and water boreholes. Following these

developments, the local people associate the heritage phenomena with modernity and developments and the protected area which differs and is exclusive to culture and tradition. The visitors pay for the guided tours and entrance to the site. The dependence on the wild foods and game has declined by the opportunity to work as museum junior and support staff or at the Community Trust as volunteers, the keeping of livestock and farming area, government drought relief programme.

#### ***3.4.12 Relevance of the Host Community***

The heritage status has the conceptual implication of the local community management plan, the most important cognitive effect achieved by the view of the local people in the Tsodilo heritage context can be inferred in the criteria (iii) of the enlisting of the site as a World Heritage Site settled for millennia up to the present. Therefore, the presence of the local people is perceived to strengthen the assumptions of the site as a cultural heritage site that fits these criteria. When visiting the site, the host community has observed how visitors seek the presence of a local person as their tour guide to gain a feel for the local culture during the rock art tour. In this case, the input of the local people is relevant to the visitor when processing the positive cognitive effects of the site and their experiences. The role of local culture and local communities in the sustainability of heritage management schemes has not received much scholarly attention. However, the understanding of local culture and complexities within a community plays a fundamental role in shaping community responses to heritage management strategies that are implemented by relevant national authorities and international agencies. Certainly, the relationship between local people and heritage sites go through a transformation after the inscription of the places on national or world heritage lists. Although often viewed as leading to the development and economic beneficiation through cultural tourism, the enlisting of cultural places as national and world cultural heritage is not always viewed as such by the local communities. An approach that is sensitive to the local culture and cultural trajectories of local communities, and that considers these as integral to heritage management, creates a platform for shared interests in sustainable heritage management. By appreciating the heterogeneity and uniqueness of local cultures, official heritage management would be ensuring that there is guaranteed commitment and involvement of communities in the heritage management process.

#### **3.5 Summary of the Chapter**

This chapter highlights the interactions between different understandings of the local meaning of culture and heritage and the reconfiguration of social bonds triggered by the World Heritage process. Tsodilo heritage management, conservation and the affordances the status brings, has been at the expense of the culture and traditions and relationships among the local peoples. The participants experience the heritage phenomena primarily through constantly re-defining community relevance within the heritage context. Communication of this relevance is, therefore, intercultural represented when participants identify themselves and their interlocutors as representing different cultural groups. The official multicultural appeal of Tsodilo Hills boasted by the authorities thus, in actuality, presents itself as a segmentation into ethnically defined social groups competing for recognition. While sharing the Tsodilo heritage with the rest of the global community, the Baherero, Hambukushu and the Ju/hoansi of the Tsodilo landscape and the spiritual and religious visitors to the site have distinct practices and traditions in the site.

These practices reflect the diversity and cultural plurality and heterogeneity of the people and the site. Some practices have foreign influences fused together with the local traditions. This is inevitably transforming the local culture through forms of adaptations to the new and changing environment. However, there are several visible norms and forms of cultural expressions that are particular to the diverse groups and have survived through the generations. In this locality, there is often a tendency

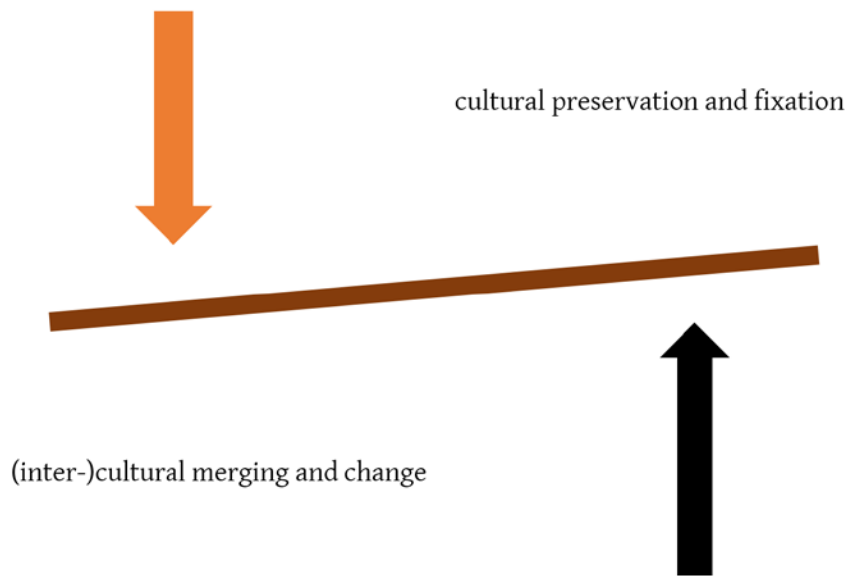


Figure 4. *The Relationship between Heritage Management and Community Relevance Markers*

to keep secret some of the practices and limit what can be accessed for public enjoyment. The groups use this practice to maintain the balance between cultural diversity and preservation and cultural assimilation and change.

The process of ‘culture’ seems to move in as an idiom that is encouraged by the Heritage authorities as a cognitive frame to present ways of life as authentic and diverse. This differentiation of a ‘whole way of life’ into different segments, which increasingly tend to follow their own logics of presentation, display, or conversely withholding and shielding, comes along with a differentiation of social ties, which tends to dissolve the “local community” that is, practices of living together on the basis of using the same territorial space - into a stratified set of communities formed top-down by the ‘host community’s’ ulterior access to the resources granted by the World Heritage process and its institutions.

The museum overtly intended to educate the local community of the universal importance of the site. On the other hand, it seems appropriate to assume that Tsodilo Heritage Site is exclusive of the local people but not the cultural representation while viewed through the local lens. The site value is inclusive of the people in its proximity and their relatives in the peripheries. Heritage is taken to mean what it is to the locals as a whole. Due to these changes, the participants often refer to the heritage concept in relation to changes in the culture and tradition, the introduction of developments, conservation, and preservation works of the ‘museum’ (state).

The implications of the data in regard to constructed meanings of heritage sites allude to an idea of continuous reconstruction of heritage space and conflicting interests. Therefore, heritage in this context is more than an object of the past but an ongoing process of shifting values and conceptions. It manifests in a comprehensive manner, in which the present redefines itself to make the past meaningful and comprehensive for the future. Therefore, the present forms and re-constructs part of the totality of the heritage idea.

### 3.6 Conclusion

Local communities have been custodians and users of cultural resources within their geographical proximity. In this process, they assimilate these resources and incorporate them into their culture which forms part of their identity and creates non-materialistic forms such as myths, rituals and beliefs around the resource. They also establish levels of understanding and indigenous knowledge systems around them, based on experiences and observations over time. Certain communities also use these resources to identify themselves with certain landscapes, monuments, sites or objects. This community role enhances the value of cultural resources.

Furthermore, there are different groups' strategies to claim their own relevance: the Jo/hoansi seem to have adopted a territorialist and proprietary view on the Tsodilo Hills region in that they claim cultural inheritance to the rock art panels; the Hambukushu refer to remnants of former settlements and material relics in the hills to claim stewardship for the place; while the Herero point out their current marginalization in spite of a historical argument that members of their ethnic group have lived in the area some decades ago. Notwithstanding these different strategies to attain 'relevance' they all bear the mark of fostering distinctions and cleavages in terms of ethnicity - a process that undermines the multicultural and diverse conviviality of different social groups that, at least in memory, seems to be specific about Tsodilo Hills. According to participants accounts, this is a direct consequence of the World Heritage process, which imposes cultural valuations that ignore present-day valuations while at the same time forcing social groups into a competition for recognition and entitlement that is increasingly fought out in terms of ethnically defined 'culture', translating the language of World Heritage for themselves through laying exclusive claims to 'tangible' heritage.

## Chapter 4

# Heritage Community Value Dimensions and Impact on Host Communities

*‘Tsodilo is foremost a heritage area and only secondly a settlement. Thus, maintenance of the heritage area must always take precedence over the development of the settlement.’  
(Campbell Tsodilo management plan 1994: 03)*

### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter is an exploration of the different forms and reference objects of valuation to be encountered in the analysed material of heritage resource. The core finding is that the World Heritage process, dominated as it is by archaeological perspectives and forms of valuation, tends to see the cultural significance of a given site solely in its (prehistoric) past, not in its present or recent history.

In the introductory and methodology chapters of the study, I have put forward the objective of this study. The study explores community experiences and responses to the universalized heritage values of the Tsodilo cultural landscape. In the previous chapter, I discussed the local community in Tsodilo and how they perceive and situate their relevance, belonging and contribution to the heritage management of the site. This chapter follows up on the research questions, highlighting the interplay of values in a context of continuous interactions between local, national and global entities within the context of protection, conservation and safeguarding of natural and cultural/archaeological heritage. The following chapter will follow up on the theme of interactions and interactivities between stakeholders.

Tsodilo hills cultural landscape is one of the few inhabited World Heritage Sites endowed with rich and diverse tangible and intangible heritage. The manifestation of the significance of these materials is embedded in the beliefs, values and practices of healing, worship and celebration of rites of passage. This is embodied in the general culture of the living community on the site. Therefore, the heritage of Tsodilo is brought to life by the continuing link between the local culture and the heritage materials. This is where the material derives its meaning and value to the locals. The intangible heritage of this landscape is thus found in the living culture of the Tsodilo community set in their interactions, knowledge of the landscape, traditions, practices and beliefs. It is enshrined in their experiences, cultural trajectories and the histories told about its dynamic fragile nature.

Cultural heritage, to be specific intangible and tangible heritage, per definition co-exists in a rather conflicting manner where different stakeholders are concerned. Intangible heritage; the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage transmitted from generation to generation (The 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Article 2, paragraph 1), per definition is not fixable, but exists as dynamic assets that rest on the evolving memories of the local people. Tangible heritage, in this research, referring to monuments, groups of buildings and sites, delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty (article 1, and 2, 1972 convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage UNESCO), are fixed and can be managed in situ. However, tangible heritage’s cultural and traditional values rest on the thoughts which are infused by the intangible through people’s narratives and

prevailing relationships with the site or tangible material within the site. The significance of these two parts of heritage becomes strengthened by local communities as they are brought together through roles and duties like curatorship and stewardship.

Hence, due to these two premises questions arose from the research data; 1. Can intangible heritage be safeguarded by means of making it tangible, fixed, and representing it in a site? Making the intangible tangible in a site means to transform it in order to make it graspable and, as we know as cultural sociologists, every fixation follows the certain logic of valorisation. This then certainly opens up a realm of conflict between the groups and their perspectives of what determines the cultural value of a site. This leads to the second question: What is the underlying logic of valorisation, how are they in conflict with each other and what ways of communicating are in place between these different perspectives and ways of valorisation are in place?

The question of values has been the basis of ascribing the heritage status to cultural resources. In this chapter, I explore the values that guide the practices and appreciation of the Tsodilo heritage site landscape as a settlement and as an archaeological and cultural heritage site. Values have been discussed from the writings of Alois Riegl (1903) to the policies of the 1964 Venice Charter and the Burra Charter of 1999 (ICOMOS 2000) and ordered into categories such as historical, symbolic, aesthetic, political, economic, and cultural that represent a reductionist approach to examining the complex issue of what constitutes cultural heritage (Munjeri 2004). The immense variety of value categories offered in academic and non-academic writings in the heritage field illustrate the complexities and challenges in standardizing value categories in diverse contexts. Value categories have been widely discussed by scholars (Riegl 1903, Lipe 1984: 3, Darvill 2005, Mason and Avrami 2002, Throsby 2010). The diversity in all the categories in these scholarly writings is evident enough to suggest that value categories are solely grounded and specific to the context from which they are reconstructed and that they change over time.

In 1964, the Venice Charter established that only two types of values were accepted for heritage designation: historic and aesthetic. Today, values attributed to heritage have expanded more widely. During the 19th and most of the 20th century, the heritage conservation community developed under the assumption that values attributed to places rested on the material evidence of the place (Aroaz 2011). The significance of sites was universally assumed to reside on the material form. However, the variation of values attributed to the same materials in a given place was always a divisive issue (Aroaz 2011). This led to the adoption of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage and the 2005 UNESCO Convention of the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. These international conventions link and emphasize the significance of the intangible and tangible heritage as well as the past, present and future of heritage sites with local communities as vessels and keepers of the values of the material.

The International Council on Monuments and Sites, The Burra Charter moves away from defining sites and monuments in objectivist terms and towards the description of cultural landscapes as understood and perceived by indigenous peoples (Australia ICOMOS 1981). Only a few states adopted this charter: Australia, New Zealand and Canada. As a tool for heritage professionals, the Burra Charter's main strength is in the acknowledgement of change of heritage which proves important for the Tsodilo case study. The Burra Charter advocates a cautious approach to change: it states 'do as much as necessary to care for the place and to make it useable, but otherwise change it as little as possible so that the cultural significance is retained', thus further stating that cultural significance may change as a result of the continuing history of the place. Understanding of cultural significance may change as a result of new information. It is recognized within the Charter that all places and their components change over time at varying rates and continue to do so.

#### 4.1 Identifying Values and Cultural Significance

During the field work, the participants were asked about the significance and the importance of the Tsodilo hills. Initially, it appeared that different participants had a differing understanding of the value of Tsodilo as an archaeological site or settlement or the hill. This is because 'Tsodilo' is a term that depends on the context, refers to local people (*morafhe wa Tsodilo*) the village (*Motse wa Tsodilo*) and the Male hill. It is popularly believed the village derives its name from the hill. Tsodilo also refers to the general landscape (Ju/hoansi territory) extending to the nearby settlements, the core heritage site area and surroundings. While asking about the significance of Tsodilo, one had to be clear on the question. Therefore, the participants were given disposable cameras to visually capture the significance of Tsodilo as they understand it and its value. The photos taken were inclusive of various features of the landscape, i.e. old tree logs where people carry out birth rituals, the village *Kgotla*, livestock, the rock art, wild fruits, the museum offices, the sacred well, the tourists, the hills, the performances, the crafts and the agricultural fields. In interpreting this diversity of the site participants said:

*'For me, the most valuable part of Tsodilo is on these hills. They have always been a source of water and food for us; we did not have boreholes so we depended on the natural springs and natural waterholes within the hills. Our cattle also drank from the water holes in the hills. This is why some people were not willing to move from within the hill site, they did not have to be searching for water. Tsodilo used to be a place where the people could survive in because it provided them with almost anything they needed; water, wild fruits and shelters' said Onkabetse, a Tsodilo tour guide.*

The comment gives an indication that the core value of the site is based on what the host community could benefit from the site. The life of the community and the culture is embedded in the site as a source of life even before the dependence on tourism. Another participant identified the division of the landscape to areas of importance and sensitivity or less sensitivity and importance through fencing as an identifier of the valuable or less valuable area of the landscape:

*'We now have that big fence that marks the high sensitive tourism area. Tsodilo Community Trust plans to develop it for the tourists and already we have campsites. We plan on having lodges to accommodate our visitors. That means all livestock must be moved from there. The high tourism sensitive area includes the core site area. We have built the gatehouse, the 2 ablution blocks and established that people pay to enter the site. It is not much money but if it was up to me, we could have done so much with the money we were given to develop the site.'*

This comment references the measure of protecting what is viewed as important and the maximization of the affordances of the site and what the host community had to compromise to get this maximized benefit.

*'I believe the most important feature is the rock paintings because they attract tourists. If they were not there, we would not have Tsodilo as a heritage site. However, for the local people, Tsodilo is the hills. Said Kesentseng, a Tour Guide and pastoralist living in Tsodilo and Nxamasere.*

In the comments, there are references to the hierarchy of the features of the site based on the potential to the growth of tourism. The Tsodilo management plan of 1994 emphasized that Tsodilo is '*first and foremost a heritage area and secondly a settlement*'. This statement takes away the community ability and voice to say 'No' and result in the rethinking of heritage development. The greatest power of the community is the ability to say 'NO' to any intervention they do not agree with. No forces rethinking and revising. They need to be equipped to come up with alternatives that work for them instead of keeping silent to maintain peace on the surface while feeling inner turmoil.



The exclusionary statement of the local people and settlement from the heritage site has also impacted greatly on the traditional and local culture which depended on the practices and beliefs of the everyday life within the hill site. Priority is given to the maintenance of the archaeological and tangible heritage of Tsodilo over the living culture and communities. The Tsodilo hills, administered by Botswana National Museum and Monuments (BNMM) Department, are not only archaeological sites belonging to the remote past; they are a harbour of traditional, cultural and spiritual practices, which local communities have endeared for a long time and where they have established relations within the sites. Contestations over traditional custodianship reflect the emotional historical relationship with the site.

During the photography exercise, the participants were asked to explain the importance of each photo and what significance of the site it represents. The emerging categories from the description suggest that the value of the site can be translated through the site properties that represent the connections of the associations, attachments that exist between people and a place. The local community in the Tsodilo hills are said to be the so-called 'recent arrivals', who claim no authorship to the rock art or the production of the archaeological record within the site. Through contact with the site and its material remains, the people of Tsodilo have established a connection with the site that bears the associations with values of the site as a place of worship, a Nxoresi as the Ju/hoansi claim or a pastoral land for the Hambukushu (a home). Since its enlisting as a World Heritage Site (WHS), Tsodilo also bears significance beyond the national borders. One can say that the values of Tsodilo can be drawn from the site as a heritage and tourist destination, a faith-based site and a settlement for the contemporary Hambukushu and Ju/hoansi residents.

#### **4.1.1 The Value of 'Tsodilo'**

The term value is utilized, firstly, to refer to morals, principles or ethics and ideas that serve as guides to action. Secondly, value refers to the characteristic of things or objects. It is the qualities of places, sites, buildings, artefacts, and landscapes that we refer to as heritage (Mason and Avrami 2002: 15). For this study, the local perception orbits around the idea of values as the attributes of the landscape while the significance is demonstrated by the attachment, connection and associations of the core site area with the diverse stakeholders. From this definition, we can induce the ideas of the heritage of 'outstanding universal value' as a characteristic of the resource. The significance of it is the expression of values in heritage qualities or even more broadly, the significance is 'the term that the conservation community has used to encapsulate the multiple values ascribed' (Avrami and Mason 2000: 7) to cultural heritage expressions. 'Significance' can also be used interchangeably with 'values' as in the Burra Charter: 'Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present and future generations' (The Burra Charter 1999). Within existing empirical studies, value means different things to different people, but in this chapter, based on the local perceptions, values are addressed as 'sets of broadly-constituted, socially-determined assumptions, beliefs and knowledge-sets which characterize the Tsodilo landscape. Values in this sense represent socially conditioned, unevenly distributed, and differentially ranked standards, ideals and understandings by which individuals and communities select courses of action...' (Darvill 1994: 52; Mason and Avrami 2002: 15). In other writings, values are defined as morals, principles or ethics – ideas that serve as guides to action or can also be thought of as the worth, to an individual or a group (Lowenthal 2000: 21) or a thing, a service, an activity or an experience, with an implied possibility of a ranking of value (better to worse, or higher to lower value) according to given criteria (Throsby 2010: 17).

#### **4.1.2 Valorisation and (De) Valorisation of Heritage**

The process of placing value on an object, site, monument or landscape is multi-dimensional and dependent on who is assigning the value and the motivation behind, in formal and informal settings

where they can be recognized or ignored. The process of valorising or placing value begins when individuals, institutions or communities placing a heritage status on an object or place. This suggests, it is worth preserving more than others, that it represents something worth remembering or something about the present and the past that should be transmitted to future generation. However, in this process, some material, practices or cultural expressions can lose or gain value. The rock art of Tsodilo and the interpretation of the ancient settlements provide an example of the dynamics of ascribing value to the site among other site features such as the *sediba sa Baherero* mentioned in the previous chapter.

Tsodilo was initially preserved by the traditional belief system in which local people ascribed the authorship of the rock art as the work of God. This is supported in Southern Africa by the presence of the rock art in spiritually valued areas. The general belief was that such material could not be humanly authored. As research was conducted in Tsodilo, local people received the latest knowledge that ascribed the authorship of the art and the ancient settlements to the work of the San and the Bantu locals (Campbell, Robbins, and Workman 2010; Campbell, Robbins, and Murphy 1994, Campbell, Hitchcock, and Bryan 1980). Interpretation of the rock art also shifted from the idea of ‘God, the painter’ to ‘the San, the painters’. Currently, there are rumours of ‘white men’ as the painters of the Tsodilo White Paintings. Consequently, there is a gradual fading of the belief in the supernatural rock art production in the local perspectives and general power of the supernatural. In an interview with Kabo Kelebetse, the young man from the Hambukushu ward and son to the interim Chief (*kgosi*), he illustrated that the local people are aware of the changes and loss of some cultural spiritual values on the site through the received knowledge through modern schooling and academia playing a role in the valorisation of Tsodilo heritage resources. He said:

*‘The difference is that in the past, our parents conserved the site through their beliefs. We knew that it was dangerous to touch the paintings because they were protected by the Spirit but when the government came into the picture, it took all responsibility of conserving the site upon itself. There is also so much knowledge we receive from school and from the researchers, which contributed to this difference in perception and how we associate value to the site. We see this change but we are not happy about it. The fact is that we are being disconnected from the site. The young generation will end up with nothing to show as the relationship between our culture and the site area in the future, part of our culture is slowly leaving us. For example, there were rituals that we performed in some areas to recognize the Spirit of the hill before entering and using the site. These areas still exist and still need to operate as that. People need to get permission from the elders and the Spirit to go to this areas but they do not do that. That affects the presence of the Spirit.’*

This explains that there are various ways that heritage gains or losses value in Tsodilo World Heritage Site (WHS). It is mainly driven by various ideas, ethics and meanings ascribed to or replaced by others and the logic guiding the responsible authority. On this one site, different value contexts and different values can be discerned from the site that corresponds to different stakeholders, experts, or visitors. This multivalence is an important point to note for the better management of the hills with all stakeholders and interest groups included (Mason and Avrami 2002: 100).

#### 4.2 Value Based Contexts

There are usually many deferent values that one can ascribe to a heritage site. These values can all be linked or conflicting, depending on the various stakeholders. As heritage conservers, it is, however, challenging to take all values into consideration. Often, there is a set of dominating context bound values. By contrast, conserving the same site to maximize economic value might lead to a conservation approach that favours revenue generation and tourism over educational or spiritual and other traditional cultural values. Thus, parts of the property might be developed for parking, gift shops, and

other visitor support functions. The overall conservation strategy might be driven by creating a popular (marketable) experience, as opposed to creating a sacred or secretive space for spiritual use.

The shifting of heritage as part of community development has also brought changes to the way that traditional heritage places are perceived, valued and treated. By becoming integrated into the development process, heritage has been subsumed into a process that is inherently dynamic by responding directly and constantly to the evolving needs of society at any given time. In other words, the values of a traditional heritage no longer reside exclusively in its physical fabric and form, but on intangible concepts that, by their very nature, are unstable. In addition, the range of values that are now attributed to heritage includes many that played no role in the conservation of material culture in the past.

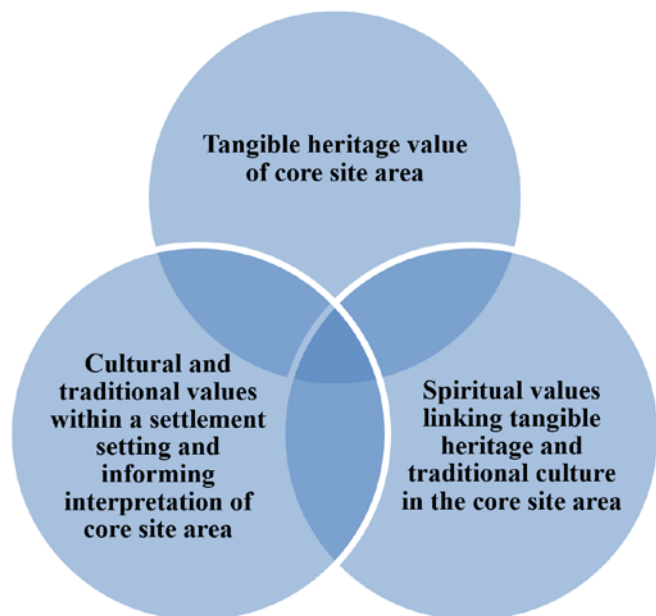
#### **4.2.1 Value Categories Emerging From the Tsodilo Context**

The Tsodilo landscape has a number of values ascribed to it (management plan). It is multivalent, borrowing from the characterization from Mason (2002). The variety of values in the Tsodilo landscape is not a unique phenomenon. However, it does not make the management of the site any easier. For every stakeholder and interest group, there is a primary heritage value dominant within their perspective of the significance of the site. In the process, some values are obscured by the others and are consequently eroding. For instance, in the quote above, Kabo describes an erosion of the cultural values embedded in local initial perception before the introduction of the scientifically drawn knowledge. He also further attributes this process as alienation between people and places. The same can be said for when a sacred site is mainly utilized for economic benefit, part of its sacredness is obscured by the dominating approaches to ensure maximum possible benefit.

**Figure 5**, demonstrates the connectedness and diverse context in which Tsodilo draws its value categories that emerged from the coding process. Tsodilo has various areas of the site of significance to various people depending on where they draw interest on the general landscape; its archaeology, aesthetics view, ecological, spirituality or local cultural and traditional logic. Various places of the site have different dominating values; some places also possess a different set of values than the rest. The host community operates in a context that is structured around three primary value contexts. Within the data, the participants perceive this landscape in 3 main categories, as a home for them, as a heritage site of universal value and a spiritual site. Within these main categories, there are comparable and contrasting behaviours and interests.

#### **4.2.2. Global Approach and Institutions (Category) and Tourism-Based Context**

We learn from the previous chapter that following the received knowledge of the meanings of heritage, local people maintain the differentiation of heritage from culture and tradition. The referencing of heritage as the material remains of the past referring



*Figure 5 Contexts in Which the Host Interacts With the Visitors and the Core of Heritage Management Strategies*

Table 8 Values Related Codes Supporting the Global Approaches in Tsodilo Heritage Management

The Global heritage context	<p>The bad roads being a problem for tourists (2)</p> <p>World heritage listing developing the landscape to be visitor friendly (3)</p> <p>Managing and protecting site being the responsibility of museum and site manager (13)</p> <p>Interactions with heritage visitor in private dwellings (2)</p> <p>Displacing and compensating the Ju/hoansi for conservation and tourism (8)</p> <p>Labelling Tsodilo as home and ancestral land for the locals (3)</p> <p>Connected Spirits of ancestors influencing people relations in the site (2)</p> <p>Living far from the site making business difficult (5)</p> <p>Ju/hoansi village being too far from the hills and the tourists (7)</p>
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to the archaeological heritage dominates the local perceptions. Heritage is often referred to as the tangible material remains of the archaeological significance while culture and tradition are embedded in what the 2003 convention refers to as the intangible heritage. In this manner a site rendered the status of heritage become divided into the archaeological heritage and the settlement bearing the living culture and tradition of the general landscape.

#### 4.2.3 The Main Objective of the Official Management

Scientific views that measure the significance of the site are based on the archaeological research and provide the foundation of site interpretation designed to educate the public about the past of the site and its people. This value also attracts international tourists. The educational value also extends to the economic value potential of the site.

*‘We moved from the hills in 1994, we are forced out because they said they wanted to protect the hills and the paintings. They did not want people to just come and just go into the hills. They also wanted to have laws to govern people who go into the hills’.*

Preservation of cultural heritage is often carried out by voluntary workers in local communities, especially when the objects are not of major national interest, not listed, and not preserved by heritage authorities. Management and predefined criteria appear to meet limited resonance in local communities.

#### 4.2.4. The Language and Interpretation of Heritage Values

The research has found that a language is an important tool in communicating the true value of heritage but also as an exclusion tool. For Instance, Thebe contributed that;

*‘From when the museum started to establish itself here, they looked for the few who could understand a bit of English language. This was around the year 2001; they selected a few young people who could interpret and talk with the western visitors and tell them about Tsodilo’.*

The language and interpretations challenge in Tsodilo was also noted by Keitumetse, Matlapeng and Monamo (2007) adding to that the problem has been that the language in which the planning and recommendations have been conducted has been very specialized, technical, scientific and unapproachable to all but experts. For instance, the hills ‘description as ‘inselbergs’ is scientifically accurate, but is hardly a word that captures the Spirit of the place as interpreted and described in legends by the Hambukushu and San communities living in the Tsodilo landscape or the characterization of the rich rock art property as the ‘Louvre of the Desert’ only few can relate with this value assigning process on the site. In many cases, the local communities are marginalized in ascribing value to heritage sites. They are often disempowered by the strong scientific and foreign language while exploited by

globalizing colonizing interests that seek to place them in a graspable position for the benefit of the cosmopolitan world heritage community. The ways the community remember the site through their languages are also overshadowed by simplifications that can better be understood and consumed by the tourism industry. Mareka noted this deficit in appreciating the site through local language, he said;

*'The hills are usually said to be only 3, but when I recite the Spirit of the hills and ancestors, I call all the outcrops by their name. The outcrop near the museum is Guviku, and then there is Chuokum facing the river, this is the same river running to Chukumuchu. The river is named after this outcrop. Further, from Chuokum, there is Samochuo, it's a small hill crop. In the middle near the well where we only use hands to scoop water, that outcrop is called Akweba. The outcrop sprouting behind Guviku is called Samboko as the Tswana call it but we say it is Sewesamboko, it is facing Nxamasere River and the white visitors do not usually go there. It is said to have great spiritual power. There is Beenxwa and also the one in the centre called Mukuchi; the big one is called the Male hill or Tsodilo. There is also Makena outcrop which is the one harbouring the big cave called the Makena Cave. Makena is the name of my great-grandmother who used that cave for healing rituals. When she died, she was buried by the hill near the cave. These names are a mix of the Hambukushu and Sesarwa languages,' said Samotjao's brother Maseko, in Chukumuchu.*

The 'Makena' extracted from the comment reminds us of the role of the female in ritual practices and the importance of places. However, the Tsodilo hills and the true meanings and importance of the site features communicated through local languages become lost as the site becomes popularly known to the visitors as 'mosadi' (female), 'monna' (male), 'ngwana' (child) and 'ngwana-wa-ngwana' (grandchild) based on a legend that has been passed through generations and which has become graspable to the global community. The local people say that even though the hills are only viewed as three or four by most visitors, they have local (Hambukushu and Ju/hoan) names for all the 7 hill outcrops which tell the story and history of the site using the local names described in Mareka's comment. The history of attachment to the site seems to pose a conflict for heritage management strategies. The host community and faith based groups seek close attachment to the divine and Spirit of the Hills in the site through use of site and entitlement which seem to be against the conservation of the site as a WH site of universal value:

*'We have a problem in Tsodilo, the community is poor and there are already limited resources. They earn a living from using the natural resources within the site core area and beyond. That means holding on to the ecological values of conservation, we post another limitation on the already limited access to resources. So, we often organize educational sessions at the Kgotla to teach the locals that, of course, this area may belong to them but if they do not use the resources wisely, we will not have it in this good form much longer. It is a constant struggle, the government have started to say most of the workers have to be from within the community so that they can learn to appreciate conservation issues and directly appreciate how it works, as well as be the eye of the government beyond the fence and teach each other about the value of this site.'*

The dependence on the natural environment is perceived as cultural which can be utilized to gain income. The challenge is in protecting the site and seems to be top down while the core of the problem is in a lack of integrating scientific and traditional views of the past to yield a creative and meaningful interpretative system (Creamer 1990) and management of the site.

#### **4.2.5 The Value and Bottom-up Approach**

I observed the Ju/hoansi contact with two filmmakers interested in filming hunter-gatherer communities in southern Africa. The filming began in Namibia. The duo planned a 6-day visit to film while residing at the campsite. The plan was to film the Ju/hoansi hunting and gathering spree and *pina ya sesarwa* (dance performance). During this early research period, I was only a week-long within the field site. I

was building rapport and trust with participants. A group of elderly Ju/hoansi women and young men got together at Xontae's sister's residence. Before the arrival of the filmmakers, they changed into traditional leather attire. The ladies got ready to search the wild for food while the young men got ready with bows and arrows to demonstrate a hunting scene in the nearby bushes. My request to observe the events as a silent non-participating part of the team was denied. The participants utterly voiced that the event was purely for profit and I could only join if I paid. I waited at the household to hear about the experience after the filming. In a conversation with the duo, they remarked and said they were disappointed that, during the filming, the exact words uttered were 'the hunter-gatherer lifestyle does not exist in Tsodilo.' These words reached the ears of some of the hosts. The duo left after three days. The community began to engage in a conversation about separating their residence with commoditized performances by constructing a cultural village and include tracking in the tourist package. The demonstration of a bottom-up approach shows that the community embraces the commoditization of culture.

#### ***4.2.6 The Role and Responsibility of the Host Community***

Fires are a common occurrence in the region during the dry season (refer to **Figure 6**) and pose a threat to both the community property and the hill site area and rock art. In April 2014, interim Chief Kelebetse called the community to the village Kgotla for a general meeting to discuss the upcoming project by the Department of Forestry to build a fire break around the Tsodilo Hills. Present at the meeting was the Chief and his uncle (Chief's advisor), many elders from the Hambukushu part of the village, Tsodilo site museum employees, the Tsodilo community trust board members, the village development committee members and a few village members from the Ju/hoansi part of the village. The key speakers were the two representatives from the Department of Forestry in Shakawe.



*Figure 6 Weld fire approaching the Tsodilo Village in the winter of 2014. Picture by S. Basinyi (2014)*



The meeting began with a complaint from one of the attendees about the low attendance from the Ju/hoansi village. Tsetsana said the Kgotla is very far from the Ju/hoansi village and directly in the Hambukushu part so attendance is also based on the fact that the older Ju/hoansi cannot walk the long distance often. She further mentioned that sometimes the information about the meeting reach the Ju/hoansi village late; therefore, reacting spontaneously is not always possible as it could be for the Hambukushu residing close to the *Kgotla*. Another respondent pointed out that even if they come, the Ju/hoansi are not very vocal during the *Kgotla* meetings. This accusation was followed by Tsetsana's comment that they preferred meetings that directly require their attendance to be held at the Ju/hoansi side of the village too. Her comments support the idea that within the *Kgotla* setting the Ju/hoansi are out of their comfort zone which hinders their full participation and articulation of their opinions.

During the meeting, the issue at hand was that the region has experienced frequent rainfall, the grass has grown tall, therefore, the villagers need to prepare for wildfires in the winter when the grass is dry and protect the WHS in advance. The department of forestry was preparing to carry out a project to make fire breaks around the hills and needed volunteers within the village. The speakers referenced to the undifferentiated community as *morafe* a term used to refer to a group of people with a common interest. Furthermore, when trying to convince the locals to volunteer in the projects they often said *matlotlo a ke a lona* (this is your heritage) elaborating on the fact that harm to the site is harm to their livelihood. The government workers were operationalising the pragmatic issue of direct material benefit to encourage participation. After this presentation, the questions followed that was more concerned with the protection of personal property rather than the site per se. The villagers asked if the project could be extended to include their homes, fields and their livestock instead of just the fenced core site area and the hills. The speakers said there are not enough funds within the project, the priority is the Tsodilo site core area, the Nxauxau salt pan and the Qwihaba caves; heritage areas. Mr Xontae said this is not encouraging because as a village their concern is mainly their personal property and if they assist as volunteers the state should also assist by protecting their personal property.

As non-participating listener during this meeting, it became apparent to me that the concern of the villagers and the state were different at this point. The villagers were first and foremost concerned about their properties and livestock while the state was concerned about the site and depending on the kindness of the villagers to volunteer in the protection of the site. These positions showed a non-homogeneous group where interests in conservation and tourism differed. It is clear that the way in which the management of heritage site and the financial benefit is handled is causing antagonism, not only between the community and the neighbourhoods but apparently also between local community and managing institutions. Furthermore, the reluctance of some members of the management committees to attend community meetings should be regarded as a point of great concern as it is an indication of the degree of interest or lack thereof by locals to become involved at the grassroots level.

As the meeting progressed more issues aroused from the villagers, Mr Kelebetse asked about the issue of the safety of the local volunteers and if there will be any compensation in the event of accidents during the making of the firebreak and the fire fighting period. The speaker regretfully mentioned that this is a very concerning issue because as the volunteers are not government employees on duty during this project there is no policy that covers such incidents at the moment. He further added that this issue has affected local volunteerism in the event of fire breaks, however, stressed that the local people should realize that what is at stake and needs to be protected is, in fact, the heritage site. The contact with the state employee demonstrated the community cooperation and context based values, stakeholder interest and the use of the host community's space of autonomy the *Kgotla* as government platforms.

#### 4.2.7 Appreciation of the Values of the Site

The understanding of heritage is strongly guided by archaeology as a leading discipline which is greatly grounded and not accommodative to the non-tangible heritage, community perceptions and memories which are historical testimonies of human-environment interactions. Archaeological work has so far placed great interest on the material culture and what experts can read out of it and pays little attention to local people's opinions of heritage and the impact of the data on the local perceptions. The complex interpretations of Tsodilo cultural heritage has greatly been influenced by expert and archaeological work and very little from local community whose memory has been taken for granted because it is historical while archaeology dates the site to pre-historical times. In a way what has been of interest in this site has been its prehistory associated with the rock paintings, ancient settlement and the specularite mines.

However according to Xontae, as local people, they are aware of the value of the site however they also have an even wider appreciation of the landscape that includes the village and their properties. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the local community in the Tsodilo hills claims no authorship of rock paintings nor the direct link to the archaeological material found in the site. However, these communities give their own meanings and interpretations to this site. When these communities began to settle in Tsodilo, they drew this site into their own cultural practices and customs. They established a relationship with it and established their own interpretation of the rock paintings and the cultural material within the site. They placed cultural value on the rock paintings through their own interpretation.

*Xontae; 'Tsodilo Hills is part of the Ju/hoansi Nxoresi that we inherited from the past Ju/hoansi community'.*

The relationship between local people and cultural resources and the meanings they have attached to them over time changes due to the globalization of heritage. As cultural resources are continuously globalised, local people experience alienation from use and cultural attachment from resources. Though vulnerable to change, the local people's interpretation of the rock art is as important, especially because they are the closest link to the past. The relation they have with the monuments sheds light on the motives and interpretations of the rock art.

Scientific value has the potential to alienate or bring local communities closer to the site by association. The sensitivity of the research, archaeological scientific value of the tangible heritage of Tsodilo (i.e. rock art, hills, historic mines, ancient settlement) contributed to the estrangement of the Ju/hoansi from the core site area. However, the fact that archaeological research places Bantu speakers and hunter-gathers into the site affords a sense of relevance for both groups. The Hambukushu and the Herero find claims of long generational attachment to the site. The Hambukushu and the San that are said to be recent arrivals find comfort in associations with the Tsodilo host families and the site and the successively settling communities on the site. The Ju/hoansi claim close relations with the general site by virtue of the first occupants and the relations with the rock art often referred to in South Africa as the Bushman rock art. The Hambukushu on the other hand claim close relations to the site, specifically linking to the remnants of farming communities and pot making traditions on the site. The specularite mines and the ancient settlement of the Divuyu and Ngoma site have been identified and researched by archaeologists. In a way, the partisan community became united by the representations providing new value to the community. Before these excavations, little was known about the site except accounts of travellers and historical accounts of the local people. These associations contributed to the local appreciations of the scientific value of the site.

The management team of the site occasionally invite scholars and heritage professionals to have workshops, meetings to exchange ideas with the local team of tour guides, the community and the general authority. The workshops function as training exercises on ways to address visitors,



present and advertise the site and organisation of information. As I conducted interviews to generate knowledge on the topic of rock art interpretation by local tour guides to tourists, the general trend is that they often start their response with 'they say' not referring to local accounts of the art but to archaeologists who worked on the site. Not much has been gathered on the local perceptions of the site in general and most of the understanding of the site is drawn from the 'assumptions' of the archaeologists.

#### 4.2.8 Heritage Values as Something to Be Taught to Communities

Views that measure the significance of the site are based on the archaeological research and provide the foundation of site interpretation designed to educate the public about the past of the site and its people. The principal site manager speaks about this value logics;

*'It is very difficult to manage the site with the community because, to be honest a lot of people out there know about Tsodilo and its value as a World Heritage Site. I have talked to people in Tsodilo, there are many who do not know the value of the site, they do not know where the rock art paintings are located. The older generation lived here for many years but do not really know the value of this site either. I think we really need in-depth education for the community, teach them about how important this site is beyond their own understanding. Some of the younger people in the community have never been to the site museum in a very long time just to see what is happening here. They see the site from a distance. There is very little interest but it is better for us when everyone in this area and surrounding villages appreciate the value of the site as a World Heritage Site of universal value not only the home village This value also attracts tourist adding to the economic value potential of the site'.*

This emphasizes the value categories that speak more to the heritage managers than to the host and local community and the fact that the host community vaguely appreciate the Tsodilo heritage value as a World Heritage Site or understand what it means for the site to be of universal value. Some participants confirmed that indeed they have never been to the hills to appreciate the rock art or the site museum exhibitions.

Returning to the manager's statement, one wonders on which value category context or logic the manager is basing his conclusions and what is the reason behind the lack of interest? From the research data, it is with no doubt that the majority of participants appreciate the value of the place and admits that it has deserved veneration. However, it could be because of the frequented idea of the management team and documents that 'Tsodilo is first and foremost a heritage site than a settlement' While it is to the host community first a settlement and only secondly a heritage site. The Tsodilo tour guides also confirmed that 'local people do not appreciate the universal value of the site'. This is a fundamental characteristic of alienation between people and places.

The understanding of heritage is guided by archaeology based on the tangible elements of heritage and not accommodative to the non-tangible heritage and community perceptions and memories which are historical testimonies of human-environment interactions. People and experts working on the site in Tsodilo also have views on the primary values of the site. During an interview with the late Alec Campbell in 2012, who worked on Tsodilo rock art for around 40 years, had this to say:

*'My belief is that rock art at Tsodilo was made by a number of different peoples. We have no dates and fading and super-imposition are not useful when trying to determine age. But knowing approximately when the paintings were made is important in ascribing them to particular peoples.'*

Archaeology places great interest on the material culture and what experts can read out of it and pays little attention to local people's opinions of heritage. The complex interpretations of Tsodilo cultural

heritage and the forming values has greatly been influenced by expert and archaeological work and very little from the local community whose memory has been taken for granted because it is historical while archaeology dates the site to pre-historical times. In a way, what has been of interest in this site has been its prehistory associated with the rock paintings and ancient settlements and specularite mines.

### 4.3 Replacement of Traditional Authority by Formal Positions

**Table 9** highlights that the local cultural preservation and protection of heritage is not primarily to preserve cultural heritage objects for the future generations but to establish and maintain common social institutions in the community, institutions of vital importance to the local identity, culture and traditions as well as honor the past generations. Before it gained major recognition as national and world heritage, Tsodilo had been for years under the custody of the local people, their direct use of the site embodied in their culture and traditional beliefs. This enriched the value and total aura of the site, bringing the atmosphere of complete human and environment relationship and emotional attachment to the sites. In emphasizing the role of the communities in retaining the value of heritage Harrison (2008: 180) note that heritage is defined by social actions that selectively commodify and emphasizes places as important. It exists through the reading which it is given by communities and human societies in the present. The use and value given to cultural resources by local communities form part of its importance and this refers to the meanings and value attached to it by the locals.

Tradition, culture and religion are interlinked as fundamental in rural societies; they influence the lives and practices of the people and relations with the environment and nature. It is therefore very difficult to understand the traditional lifestyle and culture without the spiritual system. The participants believe in the existence of Almighty God and the Spirit of their ancestors, which some participants believe is the painter of the Tsodilo rock paintings. Sometimes they use 'God' or 'Modimo' to refer to the Spirit that is believed to live in the hills. However, they believe that this Spirit leaves in the beings and animals found in the hills in specific areas such as caves, rock shelters and quite infrequently visited parts of the 10 square kilometre heritage site. Amongst the local community, there is a belief that in the host community there would be a mediator between the people and the Spirit. From this idea also developed the idea of deities as intermediaries. When the mediators die they join the Spirit at the hills and become the ancestral Spirits (*Badimo*) that intervene for them to God (*Modimo*). It is learnt that the

Table 9 Codes Supporting Spirituality and Kinship Values

The relevance of the values and context	Spirituality and places of spiritual use	Disturbances to the Spirit of the hills leading to its relocation (3)* Spiritual restricted areas visited by few people (4) Concerned about noise too close and effecting on the spirituality of the site (3) Sleeping in the caves sometimes to connect to the Spirit of the hills (2) Connected Spirits of ancestors influencing people relations (2) Guarded waterhole by the snake Spirit (4) Cleansing of the Sick and unfortunate at the sacred well (5) Labelling Tsodilo as home and ancestral land (3) access to protected area and places for spiritual uses being difficult (4)
	The home and kinship	Being open to receiving tourists at their homes as their own visitors (3) Ju/hoansi village being too far from the hills and the tourists (7) Labelling Tsodilo as home and ancestral land (3) importance of ownership of the land and graveyards to local culture and people (2) Tsodilo was once a farming land for Chukumuchu families (2)

\* Number of related codes

late Chief Samotjao was a gatekeeper and mediator between people and the supernatural. Sekora, the Hambukushu tour guide and TCT member of committee elaborated below;

*In the recent past, before a visitor entered the hills, they were obliged to see the village leader first. This was Hambukushu elder; the group is known as the great rainmakers in southern Africa. In the site, consulting the elder was a ritual practice that was believed to be a traditional reception for visitors where they would first be introduced to the Spirit of the hills by the traditional cultural leader. The local people and the visitors had great veneration for the abilities of this leader and obeyed the tradition. They placed a great value on the leader's cultural and traditional role he withheld in the site. Upon the death of this leader in 2012, he had passed this role to his nephew who became less active because he lacked recognition from the community and the authorities'.*

Currently, this role is assumed by the young lady at the gatehouse office working as the receptionist. The role is still held by a member of the community but the degree of importance in this role is reduced from an authoritative culturally valued role. The receptionist records the visitor numbers and collects the entrance fee that is later transferred to the Tsodilo community trust treasurer.

In the comment above Sekora suggest that the veneration and respect of the local traditional leadership and the Spirit was not the preserve of the local community only, the visitors appreciated and acknowledge the reception ritual. Onkabetse added that;

*'The local people and the African and national visitors had great respect for the abilities of this leader and obliged to follow the tradition of visiting the Chief before going into the site. It was also a way of knowing who comes into our home into (mo motseng). They placed a great value on the leader's cultural and traditional role he held in the site.'*

In the setup of Tsodilo as a (*motse was Tsodilo*) traditional village, there is no place for professional heritage managers, while the local people are organized with traditional leaders (Chiefs) assisted by elders and his uncles. While interviewing Kelebetse (the interim Chief) and his uncle, they said that there have been talks of choosing an elder from the Ju/hoansi village to be the Chief's Assistant when the Chieftaincy dispute is settled.

#### **4.4 Spiritual and Beliefs Systems Context**

The overall Tsodilo landscape has a profound meaning to the community since rock art is also believed to have been specially located at spiritually significant sites in southern Africa (Ouzman 1998). The general configuration of the community orbits around the belief in the Supreme Being, the Spirit of the Gods and ancestors. Worship of the supernatural is embedded in local practices, rituals and constant consultation before a task and giving thanks after success and completion of the task. The Spirit within the hills is described as something that can be lost or strengthened by being revered or not. The participants talk of the moving away of the Spirit due to lack of reverence by most visitors.

##### **4.4.1 The Spiritual Attribute Of the Site and the Rock Art Paintings with the Work of God**

For the San, the rock paintings are the work of Gaoxa, the supreme God whose Spirit hovers over the hills. The Hambukushu also maintain that God rests in Tsodilo as they often retell the story of Laurens Van der Post, who first described the paintings in his 1958 book 'The Lost World of the Kalahari' as spiritual, following the trajectory of his crew after disobeying the advice of Samotjao, the spiritual leader, which had upset the Spirit of the hill leading to the malfunction of their cameras while attempting to take photos (Laurens Van der post 1958).

The participants identify spirituality, sacredness, mystic and the divine in Tsodilo as faith based on harmony with nature and ancestors, respect of nature and forbiddance of killing and disturbing of any being within the hill site. The religion partly practised at Tsodilo World Heritage Site is diverse; one thing that cuts across the line is that spiritual visitors and the locals revered the Creator, God (*Modimo*), through their ancestors (*Badimo*) at the site area. The presence of the Spirit of the creator and ancestors (*Sedimo*) is believed to dwell in the hill site. However, recently Christians are also now coming for prayers at the hill site, creating tension between the Christians and traditionalists. Heritage managers are currently faced with the dilemma of how to manage friction between the Christians and the traditional use of the site.

This site is well known for its large number of rock art sites, spiritual importance, unique beauty and vegetation. Its selection as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO was based on the Criterion (VI): The Tsodilo outcrops have immense symbolic and religious significance for the human communities who continue to survive in this hostile environment.

Most elderly people have some knowledge of medicinal plants that they use for healing. However, there are also traditional doctors known as (*Dingaka*) within the local community. They utilize the hill site for spiritual purposes. These are specialists in healing and magic and they are believed to have the ability to talk with the Spirit and the ancestors. The speciality of communicating with the Spirit used to be associated with the late Chief Samotjao who received visitors and introduced them to the Spirit of the hills before they entered the site or visited the sacred area. He collected no money for his services but accepted gifts. Since the passing of Samotjao, the locals say the ritual practice ceased. However, there are a few participants who claim that they have this power and continue to use the hills for rituals in private when they have clients.

The Spirit that the hills host has character and chooses a person from within the community who becomes the voice between the spiritual realm and the people in the physical realm. This person becomes the consultant when new visitors approach the hills. He performs a ritual that introduces the visitors to the Spirit of the hill so that no harm comes to them while in the hill area. He was the representative of the Spirit whose purpose was not to show power but to protect the visitors and maintain the relationship between people and the Spirit. The contact between Samotjao and Van der Post (1958: 196);

*'Yes! Master it is as I thought, the Spirits of the hills are very angry with you, so angry that if they had not known your intentions in coming here was pure they would long since killed you. They are angry because you are here with blood on your hands. They are angry because you have not behaved like a leader of your men. You allowed men who are less than you to come into their presence before you did. You allowed men to trample all over the hills and drink of the water they provide for men and beasts without first saying their prayers and asking permission to do so. You should have come with me and as a leader paid your respects to them. We should have first asked for their permission and have made a sacrifice of food and said our prayers before taking off their waters[...] The Spirit of the hills is not what they were, master. They are losing their power. 10 years ago they would have killed you for coming to them in that manner.'* (Van der Post-1958: 196-7)

In the excerpt, Van Der Post quoted Somotjao, highlighting many issues that also feature in the research data. The anger of the Spirit due to the insubordination by the visitor, killing of beings on site, the Spirit losing its power, change in the responses of the Spirit. This scenario compliments the one Xontae described:

*'My father told me that the people who lived here were not worshipers but they asked from the Gods. They came to the foot of the hills and asked from the Gods. The eldest led the communication. They*

*usually asked just before the hunt so that they have a successful hunt. They put their tools down as they kneel and ask from the Gods, then head for the hunt. As they walk after this ritual, they do not look back; they face only forward until after a long distance from the hill. Then they could look around and back.'*

These statements put into the picture that, the people must obtain the right to carry out changes and do some actions in the site area from the Spirit. The Spirit of the site at the time was in control of what was done and what was the property of the Gods.

Within the category of conflict between the visitor, the locals and the Spirit of the hills Kamanga added':

*'I still perform some healing rituals at the hills. When I see that I am with a very sick person, sometimes I go with them to the hills. I go there at night because daytime is not a good time for such rituals. We have a specific time and people should not see us when we do these rituals. The ancestors would be gathered at night, which is why we go at night. There are also special places to perform the ritual; we do not choose where to do it. We are led by the Spirit. The ZCC people have their specific prayer areas. There is also another traditional doctor from Chukumuchu who basically lives in the hills. He comes often to pray. He prays alone and he also uses the area at the back. The ZCC have their own way of praying, the Apostolic Church pastors also have their own way of praying, I am just a Sangoma. I pray alone. I cannot pray in one place with people who dance or use drums. I pray alone in my silence. Many people know about me and that I offer spiritual help. People know me for my service.'*

Kamanga is a traditional doctor, who lives in Chukumuchu. In his comment he highlights a few issues that spark conflict between the spiritual visitors and the management team. The times they visit the hill is outside the operating time of the museum's government employees working 7am to 4:30pm on weekdays. He also highlighted conflicts in the simultaneous use of the site by differing stakeholders.

#### **4.4.2 Traditional Curator with the Ability to Communicate With the Spirit of the Hills**

The traditional curator used to be a powerful, respected elderly person. He had the ability to communicate with the ancestral Spirit of the hill on behalf of the people. This elderly person was a Hambukushu descendant, known for their rain-making expertise in the Okavango Delta and popularly known as 'The Rain-Maker of Okavango'. The death of the last traditional curator in 2013 was followed by a cessation of traditional curatorship at the site and a prevailing dispute over the traditional leadership. The traditional curator of the Tsodilo hills has lost the power of control over the hill site to the government and the Tsodilo site museum officials who lack the appreciation of sacred traditional uses of the site and its ancestral Spirits. At present, there is a young lady working as a secretary at the gate in the place of the elderly curator who used to welcome visitors and introduce them to the Spirit of the hill. The site museum officials in Tsodilo, who are also archaeologists, have taken over the conservation of the tangible heritage of Tsodilo:

*'The taking over by the government was not necessary, they have robbed us of our land, our 'Nxore' and they chased us away to suffer. The whole agreement they made with our elders was unfair, our chickens died, goats died during the move.'*

The heritage management approach currently guiding the heritage process brings limits in the use of resources and modifications in the link between communities and the cultural resources. Over time, it results in the gradual alienation of communities from their resources.

The heritage phenomena in Tsodilo have brought pressures that cause the local people of Tsodilo to change their traditional leadership with the external community gaining much momentum

in the authority and management of Tsodilo and the coming together of the Ju/hoansi and the Hambukushu settlement. The local people had to revise the way they manage the settlement. They initially adapted the Tswana system of the Kgotla system. The Hambukushu elder adopted the role of the Chief (*Kgosi*) and managed both settlements. However, this system was not received with open arms by the Ju/hoansi. It suggests an authority of the Hambukushu over the Ju/hoansi. The Ju/hoansi prefer a system based on common consensus decision making and 50/50 representation. This system has been adopted by the Tsodilo Community Trust executive board. It has its benefits and disadvantages.

*'They have taken our land because we did not have a Chief and a Kgotla.'*

According to the participants, only the Ju/hoansi understand this loss because 'Nxore' to them is a place they would always come back to during times of need, an escape during hard times, currently, they cannot do that anymore.

Tsodilo is 'Nxore' of the Ju/hoansi (the home of the Ju/hoansi). In a discussion about the concept of place and home in relation to heritage and cultural material, the Ju/hoansi Host say the hills are their 'Nxoresi,' their home and ancestral land. A 'Nxore' is attributed by objects and structures that signify a place as a home for the culturally nomadic Ju/hoansi. They used to frequent or settle the hills for longer times for their richness in resources. The move from the hills to the peripheries after the listing of the site as a World Heritage area is characterized as a loss of place or home. They say only the Ju/hoansi understand this loss. A 'Nxore' to them is a place they would always come back to during times of need and escape during hard times. The waters, plants and animals of Tsodilo were this place of escape, while the rock art and the ancient settlements brought them closer to the mercy of their ancestors. Since the move, separated from the hills by a protective fence and the modern conservation strategies their relationship with the site has since weakened.

*'The waters, plants and animals of Tsodilo was the escape place while the rock art and the ancient settlements brought them closer to the favour of their ancestors,' as participant 21 clarified.'*

Cultural values are best protected not only as monuments and sites but also within the social processes that generated them. Only local communities attached to these places can see authentically beyond these material relics and can reach the emotional and spiritual satisfaction of utilizing monuments and sites. It should be borne in mind that intangible values are the wider frame within which societies function (Munjeri 1995). The management of legends, myths and intangible cultural values requires the manager to understand, believe and practise. This is a role best assumed by local communities. Management authority staff from different cultures, assuming different value systems guided by academia and cosmopolitan views of the global community and the West poses threat to these community assets. In addition to communities being active 'storages' of intangible heritage, hence relevant for the conservation of the tangible heritage, they are recognized within the 1992 Rio Declaration as follows: Indigenous people and their communities and other local communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognize and duly support their identity, culture and interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development (Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, Principle 22; Robinson 1995: 8–13)

*'[...] for the local people, Tsodilo is most important because of the hills. This is because it has always been a source of water and food for them. They did not have boreholes so they depended on the natural springs and natural waterholes. Their cattle drank from the water holes in the hills. This is why we even had an experience where some people were not willing to move from within the hill site, they did not*

*have to search for water. Tsodilo used to be a place where the poor could survive in because it provided them with almost anything they needed: water, wild fruits and shelters.'*

Heritage values are best protected not only at monuments and sites but also within the community processes that generated them. Only local communities attached to these places can see authentically beyond these material relics and can reach the emotional and spiritual satisfaction of utilizing monuments and sites. It should be borne in mind that intangible values are the wider frame within which societies function (Munjeri 1995). The Hambukushu, on the other hand, have based their lives on livestock and farming. The income they earn from working within the heritage sector, as guides and selling crafts, is only supplementary to the traditional lifestyle.

*'Life here is mostly circulating around the livestock. It is different from the wild animals, it needs good grazing land and this area also has good wild products for gathering. This stretches all the way to the river this is what brought us to Tsodilo until now. When we bring all this together with the paintings and the old settlements that is what the culture of the area is.'*

*'My father was a spiritual person. He could call all the hills by their names when saying his requests; he knew them all by name. He was also a traditional healer using our sesarwa song. He was very powerful. He was also a shaman; he could talk to the hills, not so much the paintings. He was just like a religious pastor, so if you are a follower, we could not pray as he could'.*

#### 4.5 Conflicting Values

There are a number of codes in this category, concerning the friction between users, host community and the heritage management team. Refer to the **Table 10** below:

Table 10 codes supporting conflicting value category

Codes supporting conflicting values	Frequency
Tourists complaining about the bushes	2
Spiritual visitors entering site unauthorised	3
Concern about the taking pictures without reciprocating	2
Fading of the art being because of not adhere to taboos	2
Accessing the tourists being difficult	3
Cattle being destructive in the campsites	4
Cattle disturbing tourists	2
Hunting not allowed to the conservation of site being against cultural lifestyle	5
Identifying promises made but unfulfilled	3
Identify the displacement from within hill site as forced	2
Regretting agreeing to the displacement	6
Regretting allowing construction of site museum near hills saying it disturbs the ancestral Spirit	2
Building fences around for protection	5
Negative relation within the host community	4
Taking without giving being negatively felt	5
Permitting access without consultation being unfair	6
Complaining about the exposure that does not seem to directly benefit the host community	13
Partly allowing the taking of a picture but unhappy with it	2

#### 4.5.1 Religious Diversity and Tolerance between Faith-Based Groups

Data analysis demonstrates that while local people maintain that Tsodilo is a spiritual site attracting the local national and international spiritual visitors, there are differences in the beliefs that are traditional and religious. Furthermore, a link and conflict between the two have been demonstrated through the category of spiritual practices. Faith is a complex category that requires further study and analysis through the local perspectives because it required time and patience for one to understand how this concept constitute stakeholder differences ascribed within the group and also uncover its constitutes properties. There is a need to understand this category from the point of view of the participants and relevant visitors. Engagement with the participants and the data suggests that there is a negative perception of the traditional religious practices of certain religious groups as compared to the Christian based faith within the Tsodilo Hills. This is commonly demonstrated by the association of the traditional based faith with backwardness while Christian faith is associated with modernity.

The religious group that was and continues to be practised mainly at Tsodilo Heritage Site is that of the Zion Christian church and apostolic sects that worshipped the Creator, God through ancestors. However, the tension between the Christians, traditionalists and Tsodilo heritage management authority is gradually growing. The heritage managers through the delegation of Tsodilo site museum and local community have to make a decision on whether to stop the churches and traditionalists from using Tsodilo as they are said to be ‘contaminating’ the site.

Christian values have also found entry into the Tsodilo cultural landscape, for example in the peripheries of the current Ju/hoansi settlement. There is an abandoned church structure (see picture below) that was erected during the relocation phase of the group from near the hill settlement. Though the structure is abandoned, there is evidence of the influence of Christianity in the local interpretations of some paintings, reflecting on the interactions with the religious groups in the site.

*‘With the spread of Christianity, the value of traditional spiritual beliefs has been challenged’ Kabo*

The religious beliefs are also blended with the traditional beliefs forming the entirety of the belief systems found within the Tsodilo local culture.

Christianity is another religion that is growing in Tsodilo and adapted into the local culture and tradition. It is not easy to differentiate the Christian followers and the traditional spiritualist followers. Often you can find individuals practising both Christianity and the indigenous traditional faith practices. Most spiritualists and worshipers in Tsodilo do so secretly and privately in secluded parts of the hills and mostly during the night. This is problematic for the managers of the site whose duty is to keep an eye on every visitor and practices that could otherwise affect the site ‘good image’. It is recorded that influence of Christianity amongst the locals affects the presentation of the local culture and traditions during performances. It is difficult to determine Christian and traditional spiritual faith followers.



Figure 7 The Abandoned Church Structure at the Mosheshe Old settlement. Picture by S. Basinyi (2015)



The introduction of Christianity and modern conservation measures which play a role in the general interpretation of the site is a recent occurrence. The impact of the two creates cultural ruptures and impacts on the traditional cultural practices. In this process, the community has learnt to use the power of exclusion of conceptual (in) community space and creation of public areas so as to maintain traditional uses and meaning. To be specific, there are a number of practices of religious groups that includes sacred and secretive traditions; *mophaso* cleansing ritual or *go phekola*, *go dupa* including burning of candles and use of differently coloured wool strings or any objects used were banned by the government management authority but continue privately or illegally. Occasionally the Tsodilo Site Museum employees find remnants of these practices on the site. These practices are the closest link between the society and its traditional past. They are meant to nurture the traditional being of the people and maintain the expressions of the cultural self where the most critical aspects are performed during sickness, death, social problems when the people needed the intervention of the ancestral Spirit. In essence, Tsodilo is a functional sacred place, its significance to the locals is embedded in their intangible heritage and practices. Darkie recommended;

*I think we should allow some things to be like in the past, allow the spiritualist to use the site but in a dignified manner. This may be something that may have not been pleasing the Spirit when not venerated. It is not revered and appeased as before. There are many people who come with many different ways of worship. Some use candles, so we find the candle remains everywhere; they take cleansing baths everywhere and live their things there. This kind of worshipping is new to the area, the beliefs differ and the worshippers are also diverse now’.*

Thebe added

*‘The hills have attracted a lot of different people and we need to manage them all before we lose the Spirit forever. In the past we knew that if we wanted to go somewhere in the hills and there were strange winds, it meant the Spirit does not approve of the path, our visitors do not know all these things. We have churches that come here and the members may just want to use the cave while in that same place we have tourists who just want to admire the beauty of the cave. It’s a very complex situation that we have but we understand that they all should use the hills’.*

Darkie was the junior site manager at the time of the research. In the comment he highlighted the management challenges in working with spiritual visitors. His concerns touched on the manner in which the spiritual users of the site leave the site after use which causes concern for management. Tshepo, a spiritual visitor from Xaxa explained;

*‘In short, as the people who pray in the hills and the traditional doctors, the candles are very important to be lit there, because as we light the candles this light is meant to ask for the light to the problems we come with and we go with the light. It is important for us also to preserve the area so we can burn the candle but make sure it doesn’t remain on the rock surfaces’.*

The comments highlight the need for dialogue between the spiritual users and the management team. As it appears there are ways that both can come up with ways for use of the site with minimum friction.

Local and external spiritual people have been known to come unlawfully into the core and protected parts of the site and climbing the hills without knowledge of the authority. In the past, a group of worshipers who ascribe to apostolic Christian churches and the Zion Christian Church have visited and entered the site claiming that it was their spiritual and sacred place (Tsodilo Management plan 2008, 2010-2015). The government official interpreted this use of the site as a challenge for the conservation of the site features and their natural and aesthetic characteristics, and a hindrance to the production of a tourist-friendly environment.

Tradition and spirituality in Tsodilo is one of the most misunderstood and ignored part of the area's cultural intangible heritage. While the spirituality of the past in the area is labelled with a positive connotation, the current spiritual and indigenous faith system in the area tend to be wrongly labelled as contamination of the site in the eyes of the heritage managers and tourism sector. During a conversation with the Site management team, Mr Mathe said some tourists had been complaining about the leftover material left by the spiritualist on site.

It is alarming how heritage managers have come to accept the intolerant views of African indigenous spiritualities, believing that such practices in the area are a hindrance rather than an enforcement of the cultural values of the site. We ignore the influences that these systems have had and continue to have on the way Africans worship and conduct their everyday lives. Rather than viewing them as the complex systems they are, they are degraded to nothing but a series of sacrifices.

African indigenous faith systems became '*primitive*', uncivilized, a necessary evil that had to be dealt with, and an inferior system that had to be done away with. It was not enough to insist that every form of worship in Africa was of the devil, this was tied to African cultures as a way to reinforce the notion that Africans and African civilizations were lesser when compared to that of Europeans.

#### **4.5.2 Developments and Cultural Values**

The general perception about the developments in Tsodilo is a mixed one. While some claim developments are very positive improvements for the area and their livelihood, but also leading to a certain level of cultural destruction for villagers. The increased visitor-ship in the form of tourists, state officials and nongovernmental organizations is a clear means to better standards of living. This has already manifested, there is a mobile clinic station built, improved campsites, Tsodilo development trust operating within the village, good market for the crafts and also better and improved access roads.

The access road from the gatehouse to the hills passes through the remnant of the old Ju/hoansi settlement near the male hill. However, there is worry that the area also attracts developments and visitors who do not understand and respect the aura of the site, the existing cultures of the different people and the Spirit of the hills. The most talked about development in this regard is the museum office placed directly below the hills. The concern is that this area operates by electricity from a very loud generator which is not compatible for a quite spiritual character of the hill. Respondents say they would prefer if the museum was moved from the core area into the village or by the gates.

Village Chief Mr Kelebetse Mareka lamented about this issue saying it is because the site managers are focused on the protection of the tangible heritage of the site, therefore, the villagers also lose themselves following the trend believing their beliefs customs and practices are irrelevant for this temporal space. According to him before visitors go into this sacred place they need to be orientated about the whole area, the people, their values and most importantly the Spirit of the hill. Instead, visitors go straight to the hills and meet a tour guide then carry on with their business on the site. The Chief says he personally is not satisfied with the guidance which is mostly about the rock paintings as the main key feature of the site and the specularite mines, 'prehistoric' settlements on the hilltop, caves and water points.

A respondent from Chukumuchu village added that in his village people still have so much respect and fear of the hills. He said they still believe in the power of the Spirit of the hills. He said it comes naturally to him that when he drives pass the hills he turns off the car radio and reduces the speed. This to him emphasise the respect he has for the hills and reverence of the Spirit. However, some villagers are concerned that the Spirit of the hills has left the area and is angry not responding to any requests. Some say the Spirit is still alive and happy with all in Tsodilo, this is why projects run well.



*Figure 8 Onsite access road passes through old Ju/hoansi settlement. Picture by S. Basinyi (2015)*



*Figure 9 Fading Rock Art Panel in Tsodilo hills Picture by S. Basinyi (2016)*

it appears that part of the community associate development with a loss of cultural sentiment fencing, rules of entry, payment for access, museum structures and noisy generator, all contribute to the state of tranquil peace and spiritual aura of the cultural landscape.

On a guided tour with Xontae around the rock art site, we came across a faded rock art panel. I asked him if he has recognized any other painting being faded like this one. His answer was that the paintings had survived so many conditions in so many years because they are protected by the Spirit of the hills. However, recently they are fading which can be associated with the displeasure of the Spirit of the hill. I made a follow up on this question when conversing with Xabanga a traditional doctor in Chukumuchu he said;

*Stella; I walked around the hills and noticed that some of the paintings seem to be fading. Does that mean anything to you when you pray there?*

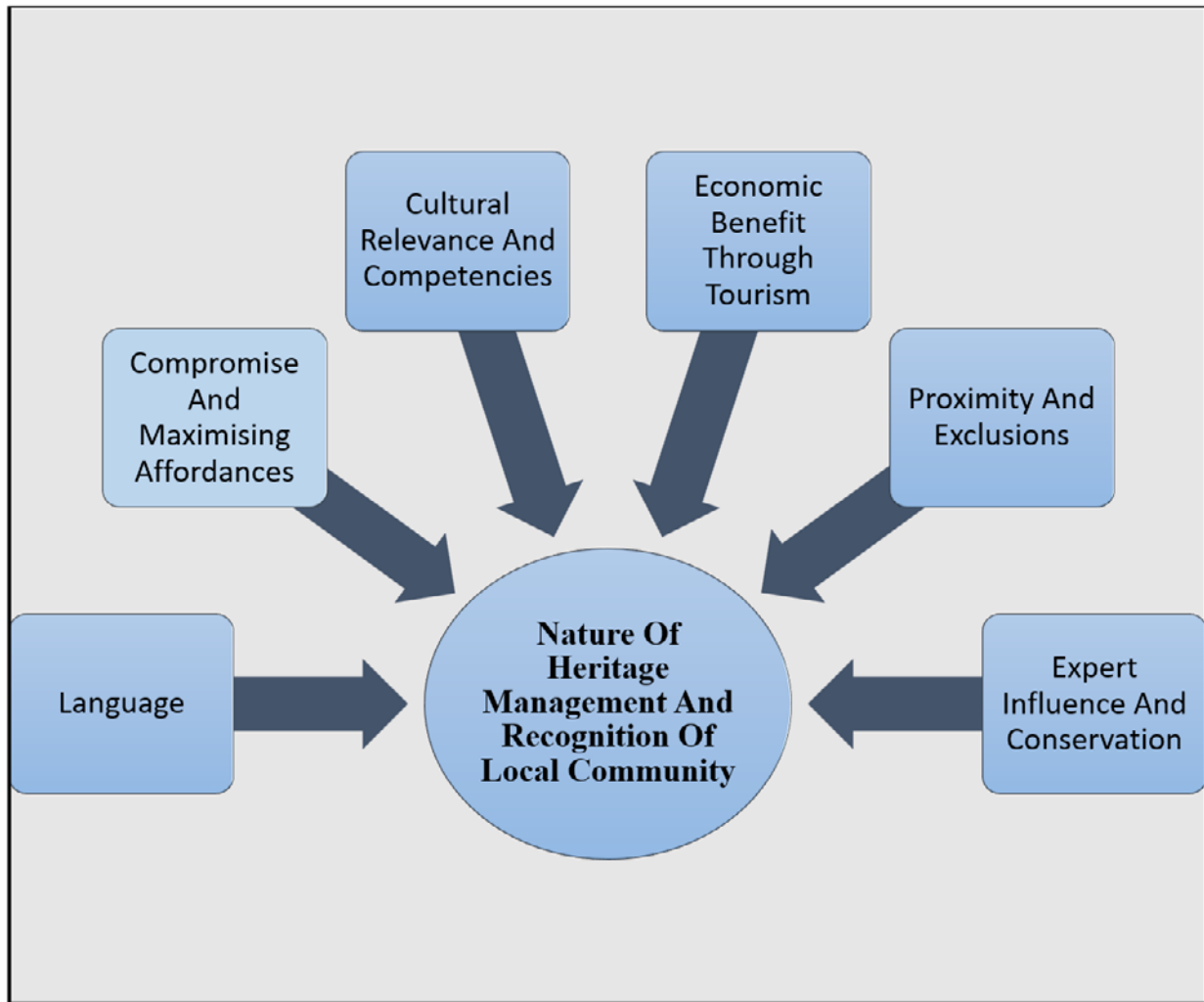
*Xabanga; There are many changes in Tsodilo, the Spirit may not be happy, there are many people coming to the site and making noise. The museum also makes so much noise with that generator. I have realized that the Spirit of the hills has moved from the female hill, I feel it when I am on the north side of the hills. People need to be taught about these things, for instance when I drive through the village, I know I have to reduce the speed of the car to show the respect.*

Following the idea of the site management team's comment on teaching the villagers about the value of the site, the indigenous comments about teaching the visitors about the spiritual value of site and show of respect to the spirit suggest a need for dialogue. It is evident that the learning processes in the Tsodilo hills need to be two way approach. This dialogue is hindered by interlocutors claiming dominant knowledge over the other. The resultant of the nature of heritage management is guided by elements suggested in **Figure 10**.

#### 4.6 Conclusion

Tsodilo heritage site value contexts portray a perfect quintessence of what Harrison terms the official and unofficial heritage. The official set represents a rock art site, archaeological material and the physical environment, which are evidently well protected by the state department regulated by the World Heritage Conventions, Botswana National Monuments and Relics act 2001 with a fixation on the prehistoric past over the recent history and contemporary culture. This fixation on the distant past tends to lead to a bifurcation in valuation practices: while the authorities and the official heritage related institutions will see in the local population rather a risk for the preservation of a given site, that population will see itself alienated and disenfranchised from values connected to the use (especially, the spiritual and religious use) of the site. Even more generally, the dilemma in the Universalist approach of the World Heritage process, for which any particular claim value laid to the heritage represents a deviation from its own norm of valuation, and thus cannot be tolerated. Therefore, unofficial part of this site become rested in the rather fading memories of the local community, the folklore, local perception and understanding of the site, local cultural attachment to the site and art. Continuous visits of the cosmopolitan world family have greatly catalysed the gradual loss and superimposition of this intangible heritage embedded in their culture. Great value has been drawn from the tangible material value.

Where there are differences in user groups and ways of understanding, interpreting and appreciating heritage based on the group-specific logic of valorisation, safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is a challenge. The prevailing fact presented here is that cultural, aesthetic, symbolic, spiritual, historical and economic values co-exist at World Heritage Sites in southern Africa. However, what matters here is to outline that the capability of safeguarding ICH and sustaining the cultural value



*Figure 10 Factors Influencing the Nature of Heritage Management and Recognition of the Local Community*

of sites is dependent on policies to meet heritage users' demands. This depends on the knowledge in the decision-making process as World Heritage Sites have attracted diverse uses, a case that calls for effective measures for the safeguarding of ICH associated with such places of international importance. Drawing from the past and present interaction of local communities, Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Sites explores the complexity of safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) at cultural spaces associated with outstanding universal values. This is because World Heritage Sites in southern Africa and elsewhere have attracted multiple user groups with varied beliefs and practices. Efforts to safeguard intangible heritage prove to materialize through sustainable cultural preservation that place emphasis on the cultural roles and use of local communities and traditional user groups. Intangible heritage has become a tangible product of continuous construction in heritage sites that attempt to make it graspable to the wider heritage audience. However, this form of fixation consequently follows the certain logic of valorisation, which then opens up a realm of divergence between the stakeholders, user groups and their perspectives of what determines the sustainability of cultural value and the safeguarding of ICH on site.



## Chapter 5

### Heritage Community Interactions: Hosts and Visitors

*'It was a cry straight from his heart and the final utterance of an experience which seemed to me to be an example of the injury the coming of the European had done to the being and Spirit of Africa. Samutchoso's Gods were dying from a contagion brought by us and against which he and his kind had not our inborn immunities. Nor to whom and to what could he turn? For even he, illiterate and unimpressive in the rags and tatters of our civilization, knew that without his God life would lose its meaning and inevitably lead towards disaster.'* Van der Post 1958

#### 5.0 Introduction

Having focused on the multiple factors which impact upon host community experience and response through the heritage processes, this chapter of research finding is concerned with the aspect of interactions and exchange between acquaintances in the research context. The chapter explores the host community's experiences of heritage-related and social community contact. Moreover, I discuss the factors that shape these experiences and the implication this may have for heritage management, community involvement and participation in the present and future.

In the past two empirical chapters, I discussed two key issues in relation to the local experiences and the responses to the heritage phenomenon and changes in the context. Chapter three highlighted status of competition for relevance and entitlement, the previous chapter highlighted the value dynamics and transformations. This current chapter focuses on the resultant display of community relevance and values during interactions with the visitors. The following chapter elaborates on how cultural difference and perceived relevance play a role during interactions with the external heritage and tourism visitors. The chapter elaborates on barriers during interactions and aspects that influence easier interactions and the results. Cultural differences such as language, practices and identities emerge as barriers to intercultural interactions but also encourage participation in intangible cultural heritage management. As it appears, a common national language does not mean common values and culture.

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first section explores the issues which emerge from host community discussions of their experiences of intra-community interactions. It considers how these issues may relate to each other and what implications they may have for heritage management. These are categories such as language, kinship ties, cultural commonalities, conceptual borders of adaptation to change and gestures of reciprocity and exchange amongst locals. The second section explores issues relating to host community interactions with the outsider with regard to community experiences of interaction and exchange. The category is discussed in detail in this section before making some concluding comments based on their collective implications.

The codes in Table 11 show examples of codes supporting the nature of interactions within local communities and between the community and the visitor. It summarizes data discussed in this chapter.

#### 5.1 Contact and Interactions

##### 5.1.1 Contact with the Supernatural and the Development

In the past, economic rituals were performed between the Spirit of the hills and the hunter before venturing into a hunting journey. The hunter consulted the Spirit of the hills and asked for a successful hunt and by

Table 11 Codes Supporting Manner of Interaction between Host and Visitor

<b>Codes supporting manner of interaction between host and visitors</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Tourists being interested in <i>pina ya sesarwa</i> not <i>pina ya Sembukuhsu</i>	3
Explaining different things to the visitors and their interests	6
Identifying the difference between traditional ornaments and ornaments sold to tourists as cultural ornaments	3
Tourists complaining about the bushes	2
Spiritual visitors entering the site unauthorized	2
Concern about taking pictures without reciprocating	3
Fading of the art being because of not adhering to taboos	4
Accessing the tourists being difficult	2
Cattle being destructive in the campsites	5
Cattle disturbing tourists	3
Hunting not allowed and the conservation of site being cultural lifestyle	2
Identifying promises made but remaining unfulfilled	6
Identifying the displacement from within the hill site as forced	2
Regretting agreeing to the displacement	5
Regretting allowing construction of site museum near hills as it disturbs the ancestral Spirit	4
Building fences around for protection	5
Negative relation within the host community	6
Taking without giving being negatively felt	4
Permitting access without consultation being unfair	2
Complaining about the exposure that does not seem to directly benefit the community	2
Partly allowing the taking of a picture but unhappy with it	3
Feeling unease during contact	3
Concern about the impacts on the spiritual value of the site	4
Language and self-esteem	3
Language and making each other uncomfortable to speak during meetings	4
Compromising cultural identities	3
Reciprocating gestures	6
Kinship contact	7
Imbrications of science data on local perceptions	6

way of reciprocating the gesture, they shared the hunt with the rest of the families. This contract was not only between the hunter and the Spirit but also the community, demonstrating the link between people and the Spirit of the hill. Even now in the Ju/hoansi community, there is continued sharing when one member has more than the other. As a guide, Xontae says his work allows him to share the income with the family because the work is given to him to share. Xashee further expressed that:

*'At the time when we lived closely with our ancestral Spirit in the hills, when we went for hunting or just gathering food, our parents grouped us, sat us down and then asked from the ancestors first ... They told us about the taboos associated with the hills, the Spirit and the area, we respected them. Going for a hunt or into the deep wild, sometimes we would have a great kill or have an easy kill or find an already wounded animal. We would know it was because we had asked of the ancestors.'*

There is also a dominating category that informs about the contact with the supernatural, the host community and heritage site structural development. This is explained in the quote below:

*'We are not against developments but we are wary of the change that comes with them. For instance, now we are consulted but in the past, a lot of changes took place without so much consultation. We were told, not asked. There were standards to what they wanted to bring to the site. For example, when the museum offices were built near the hills, it was a decision made against the wishes of some of the villagers when this area became a World Cultural Heritage. They later realized that it was a mistake to build them there. So if they had taken our wishes seriously, this would not have happened. The offices are now going against what Tsodilo stands for, as a sacred site. At this time, we even worry about the disturbance of the Spirit of the hills. So this development is now bringing a negative impact to the spiritual aura of the hills. People used to go into the hills to pray but that practice is slowly fading. If there was a problem with a child, he or she was taken to the hills for prayers. These things do not happen anymore.'* Kelebetse the interim Chief.

The comment elaborated on the importance of local voices in maintaining the value of the site. Other participants noted visitor behaviours and attitudes characterised by a lack of respect of the site rules and taboos inconsistent with the site conservation and lacking respect for the spiritual value of the site.

### **5.1.2 Interactions with the Faith-Based Community**

Since Tsodilo assumes local, national and international importance, access for religious functions was and remains difficult. The Botswana National Monuments and Relics Act 2001 is silent on the use of national heritage sites to hold traditional and religious functions and practices. This has resulted in many religious visits being conducted at these sites, secretly or by unauthorised people coming to the site late at night. Traces of such activities are often left behind as candle wax and wool of differing colours, ashes and gathered firewood within the site. The traditional healers and religious visitors in Tsodilo claim that they have the constitutional right to make use of heritage sites for their spiritual enhancement, cultural sustainability and traditional cultural pride. This is also because they view such spaces as their own places of cultural, traditional and religious use.

Research informants revealed that Christian groups frequenting Tsodilo are particularly from apostolic sects and the Zion Christian Church. They make use of both the Christian Holy Spirit and the ancestral Spirits to enhance their spiritual powers to heal, foretell future events, and increase membership among other spiritual endeavours. Their religious practices are not dissimilar to those of African traditional religions. Regardless of the shared doctrines, it became obligatory for BNMM (Botswana National Museum and Monuments) to come up with an official position on the use of Tsodilo by religious, traditional and spiritual groups. It is such a decision that requires the organization to consult and involve a wide array of relevant stakeholders. On the other hand, the host communities view the safeguarding of the spiritual 'purity' of heritage sites as their responsibility as such, would want to recommend appropriate behaviour with the monument and its vicinity. Thus, the use of Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site (THWHS) by some Christian churches from the local communities is ushering in a new set of problems to the management of intangible cultural heritage associated with the site. The site manager said:

*'[...] if we allow them to freely go through the hills, with this freedom they could be a threat to the preservation of the site. They also come in groups, so it is challenging because we can never be sure of the safety of the site. Some of these worshipers desire to take things from the site like small stones that they then use for their spiritual work. This is a challenge because we understand these practices too, but they are just against our preservation and conservation practices in the site. I have to refer to our management plan and make them realize that if every visitor takes a stone from the site, at the end we*



*will be left with nothing. There will be no more Tsodilo to talk about because it will be scattered all over the world in small pieces [...].'*

## 5.2 The Diversity of Visitors

### 5.2.1 Interactivity with the Visitors and Acquaintances

The vast majority of visitors come to Tsodilo for more diverse reasons than demonstrated by the previous chapters: aesthetic heritage values of a spiritual site, while for the local people this is a dwelling place of traditional everyday life and socio-cultural practices. The local community now formulates ways to claim back curatorship and entitlement to the hill site during these interactions. The local and Host communities, who are permanent residents of the hill site, are now in constant confrontation with the inevitable cultural transformation through interactions and dialogue with the heritage conservers and tourism actors. In this sphere of continuous change and development alienating them from the past and traditional or cultural capital, they seek attachments for fixations into their most familiar traditional lifestyle, land use and entitlements. However, as Sekora articulated, there are often challenges:

*'It is challenging as a tour guide to guide people with varying interests. We normally just abide by the interests of the visitor. We offer and show them what we can but we also need to protect the site. Most of our visitors come here with clear ideas of what they want to gain from the site and we tell them what we can and cannot. We tell them about our trails, what they could expect to find and the challenges they could face because some of our trails are difficult to walk through. The visitor then makes the decision based on what they want from the hills knowing the challenges. There are very dangerous areas that we avoid to take visitors to, these are mainly the less visited places where vegetation has overgrown and snakes cohabit. We also let our visitors know about these things. We do not want to be responsible for unnecessary misfortunes. If our visitors need the spiritual water, we tell them that there are several water points. However, most of them do not want to compromise this one, even as we always tell them that there is a big snake that lives in the special 'tsuokum' water hole. Those who want water go there, we allow them to collect. We do not allow anyone to take anything else. However, we do not allow them to throw anything inside the water hole. That does not please the Spirit; it may even provoke the Spirit to dry out the water'.*

As highlighted in the previous chapter and the comment above, there are diverse visitors that come to Tsodilo for different reasons. The participants used diverse terminologies in the Tswana language, showing this diversity. Terms such as *baeti* meaning temporary visitors in Tsodilo are of different kinds *baeng* (the social visitors), *bajanala* (the tourists), and *Barapedi* (the spiritual visitors)

*Baeti* is a term that the locals use to refer to all visitors in both the private residential places such as kinship members and non-community members. The *baeti* are the people whose temporary visit does not involve paying for the services and the experiences, e.g. scientists, researchers, government staff, NGOs and relatives. However, *bajanala* is a term used for paying customers, i.e. tourists (local and international). This group excludes local spiritual visitors.

## 5.3 Nature of Interactions

### 5.2.2 Interaction within the Host Communities

Marcel Mauss (1964) quoted in Peebles (2000), asserts that the give and take or exchange within the society contributes to the building of hierarchies, dominance and solidarity within a group. We see this in the interaction of the community members within the village in the light of building dependable cultural groups of the so-called hunter-gatherers and farmers as part of the heritage package. This is

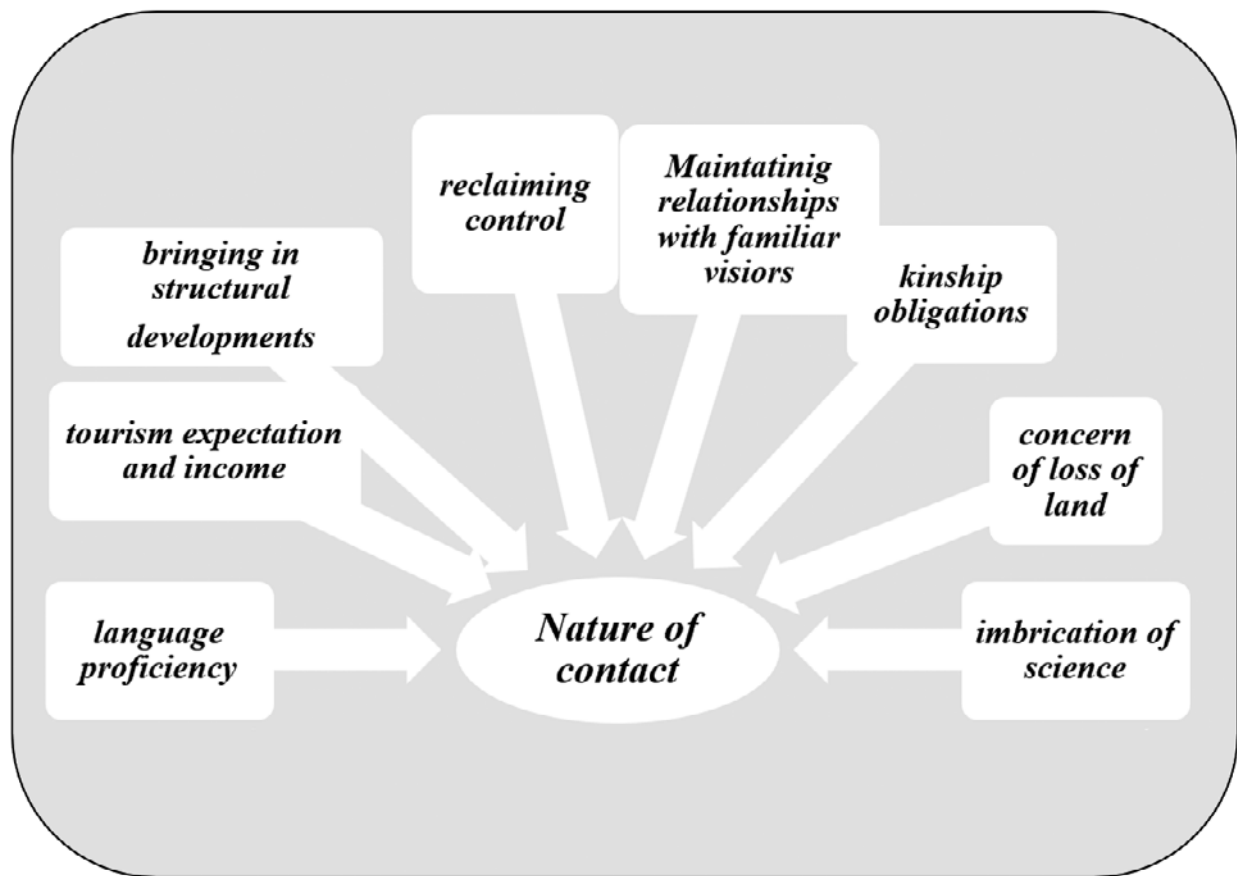


Figure 11 summarizes the emergent categories of factors that contribute and constitute the nature of contact between the stakeholders on site and in community spaces. These are discussed in detail in the chapter.

because Tsodilo is a very old site and different groups have inhabited this area over time leaving behind cultural traces. It represents depictions of both pastoralist and San or the hunter-gather way of life.

Tsodilo community is a *mélange* of ethnic groups with diverse belief systems, ideologies and values that have continuous interactions with the external community through tourism, international and national heritage conservation, development projects and research. These factors pose an accelerated vulnerability to cultural dynamics and transformation while the heritage value of the site is influenced and enhanced by the perceptions of the local people towards the site. The holistic boosting of the value of the site also rests upon the preserved cultural way of life of the local people in their conceptual community space as demonstrated by the occasionally occupying same spaces with the external visitors.

#### *Competition for Entitlements*

The Host community sometimes promotes 'sharing of resources' and forming a common voice:

*'When we started the trust, we had realised that there were many challenges as this area became a tourism area. The question was what are we going to do as a community in this area? Lucky enough, even the government also realised that the community in this area needed to benefit from the status of the area as a heritage area. They realised that those who had the responsibility of protecting and conserving the heritage area also had to benefit somehow. In 2002, we started to form the Tsodilo Community Trust. TOCCADI helped us draw the constitution. In 2005, it was officially registered as a community trust. With me as the founder, it was registered,' said Kabo Kelebetse.*

*Effortless Interaction among Locals*

This category includes codes and quotations from the participants that suggest effortless interactions that encourage sharing, exchange, cooperation and participation among stakeholders and the local people or effortless interactions within the Host community and its neighbourhoods. On the other hand, including codes of difficulties and barriers, this category is very important and dominant in the data in respect to how sets of values

interplay within the heritage context. It is clear from the data that through and within the established borders of difference, there is a dominant value in every part of the landscape carried by specific stakeholders and transmitted to the other during interactions. The institutional authority of the site museum has made it clear for the management, as mentioned in the previous chapter, that Tsodilo is first and foremost a heritage site, not a settlement and it is the mandate of the museum to preserve and conserve the Tsodilo World Heritage values of the site.

There are a number of codes that characterize the effortless interactions noted in the memos, listed in **Table 12**.

In this part, I focus on the data pertaining to the interaction on the Tsodilo settlement and landscape.

In the course of field research, the host community demonstrated volunteerism and effortless interactions towards the research. This character was also observed during contacts with familiar visitors. The codes in Table 12 highlight the gestures that characterized the effortless interaction category in the data induced from the field notes and memos. For instance, during the research period interlocutors often visited the research team at random times at the Tsodilo Community Trust housing where the TCT committee are offered a place to stay. This was out of concern from the elders, as to whether the camping tent would keep us safe due to the elephant migrations in the area. On other occasions, the host community often shared food (meat) with the research team and I would help whenever there was desperate need for a car as a form of giving back. The most common occurrences were when the community needed a vehicle to take a sick family member to the hospital and going grocery shopping. I was also invited to be a participant in the Tsodilo community netball team which made assisting with transporting part the team to the competition venue village at a low fee, a noble gesture.

In other instances, such as invitations to secret and ritual practices, I was often asked to keep the details of the visit out of the scope of the research as a form of respect towards the ritual. However, there are other rituals in which access was made open for the study. These rituals include the child-naming ceremonies and funerals. The research was also given access to the village Kgotla meetings as a participating or non-participating attendee.

The host community also gave gifts to strengthen and keep relationships. On the last day of the research, the host Ju/hoansi invited the research team to Xontae's residence for a San dance evening while the interim Chief, Kelebetse, said if the research team comes back to Tsodilo they will be gifted with a goat.

*Table 12 Codes Supporting the Effortless Interactions*

<b>Codes effortless interactions noted in the memos</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Seeking to be respected in being different	2
Invitations to in community spaces	2
Invitation to secret spaces	1
Invitations to sacred rituals	1
Random visits to the researcher's dwelling	3
Gift giving in the form of performances, beads, food and livestock	3
Initiating dialogue	2
Volunteering information for the study	2
Sharing of meals	2
Reverence of the spirit of the hills	6

The Tsodilo area is characterized by effortless interactions through seasonal mobility of the local people. This factor poses a weakness in the claims of entitlement based on proximity to the site of the contemporary host community. Social relationships within the area stemming from mobility demonstrate the results of kinship relation. During the times of low yields in the arable lands and low tourist visitors, the Tsodilo village has increased mobility of people to cattle-post and neighbouring villages and settlements. During the high tourist peak season, the participants report an influx of relatives from neighbouring localities into Tsodilo.

Xauwe said:

*'I came to Tsodilo as a visitor to my cousin Xontae but decided to stay because I realised the life here is much better than in Xabatsha where the rest of my family lives. In Xabatsha there is not enough food to have every day and clean water is hard to get. In Tsodilo, water is not even a problem, there is much food because even the Ju/hoansi cultivate fields and keep livestock in our cattle post. If that is not enough, they have crafts to sell to tourists, jobs in the site museum or work as guides. Most other people from around, who came for a visit and decided to stay, is mainly because they have found greener pastures in Tsodilo but often visit their homes. In other localities, people still practice their traditional lifestyle not by choice but by circumstance as compared to Tsodilo residents.'*

A Hambukushu who came as a visitor and later resided in Tsodilo said:

*'I was born in Thamatsha. I came to Tsodilo as a visitor many years ago. At the time of locusts (1972-76), I used to work at the mine in Johannesburg and in Orapa mines. When my work there ended, I came to Tsodilo for a better life than the one I had in Thamatsha. I came here living with Basarwa then later the government gave me 5 cattle to sustain myself. I live here alone but I came with my aunt who then went back. I wanted a better life, this is not possible in Thamatsha. I live by livestock and farming.'*

A Ju/hoansi who came as a visitor and resided in Tsodilo said:

*'I was born in Gani but lived my whole life in Tsodilo. I am not sure about the year when I moved here because I was very young. I started school while living here in Tsodilo in 1991. One of my parents lived in Tsodilo so I came here, the other was in Gani.'*

A Tsodilo Hambukushu former resident who came to Chukumuchu village said:

*'The Chief at Tsodilo is my brother, my mother and father's child, I am the last born, he allocated me this land as a cattle post, so it just came to me that I can establish a permanent settlement here. This Chukumuchu village became my home but it started as a cattle post with my borehole which still supplies the village with water. I came here from Tsodilo to this place because it was where I kept my cattle away from the agricultural fields. Chief Samotjao then said to me 'Take all our cattle and keep them there with you because here they are causing damage in our fields'. I then decided to turn the cattle post into a permanent home, more people came to keep their cattle here and we got together and established a permanent village. So people in Tsodilo and Chukumuchu are the same people.'*

Relations within an ethnic community and kinship interactions in the Tsodilo hills show a non-adherence to formalized practices and to rules of excluding outsiders. There is a prevailing form of generosity reserved for kinship members. This also shows a certain expression of the Tsodilo heritage site as an economic good within the context of interactions with people of the same culture and distant kinship ties (refer to **Table 19**, appendices). There is flexible access to the site resources and village residence controlled by the traditional and cultural ties or common ancestry to the host community.

Access to the site resources and craft selling business is ensured through the complex ties of a double descent system among the Hambukushu and Ju/hoansi, where access rights are guaranteed to all those related to the said 'owners of the land' or tied to them through previous forms of exchange. In the last two decades, the Hambukushu and Ju/hoansi in the hill proximity have established themselves in the region and established an access system that guaranteed rights of use in a region to the relatives in the neighbouring localities even further beyond the state borders as could be deduced for the case between the Ju/hoansi in Tsodilo and the Ju/hoansi in Tsumkwe, Namibia.

#### *Dependency Reciprocity and Sharing*

Reciprocity is a strong motive for allowing access to outsiders (refer to **Table 11, 12 and 9**). Since the livestock (cattle) in Tsodilo is destructive to the tourists, some of the host community members keep their livestock within the kraals (livestock enclosure) of their relatives in the neighbouring settlements and villages. This system is relative to the known *mafisa* system. Since the livestock moves on its own, it becomes important to inform people that you are doing a good deed for them in the form of access to residence in Tsodilo so that they can actively reciprocate by returning livestock if it wanders into their area. In most cases, people will recognize the owners of livestock and return it.

Reciprocal obligations implicated in kinship relations also present an important normality. During a crisis, such ties establish a community much larger than the water point association and that process expands the bundle of natural resources and entitlements available to users. For instance, there are cattle post zones formed to control livestock diseases within the District. Within these zones, the community allow flexible access for fellow pastoralist with the expectation of kindness in the future. Other forms of this cooperation were described by Mareka demonstrating inter-ethnic cooperation:

*'We gave the Herero that place to dig a well; it was the way we worked together as the people of this area. We gave them that land to dig and then later we also came to drink from there with them. Later on, the old man was weak from some sickness and gave the land and the borehole back to us. We did not drink from it for too long after he left because we drank from the wells in the hills. He gave it back and went to join his other people in Thaudome. When the borehole was built, we were still frequently coming to Tsodilo from Thamatsa. The elderly man was called Tchobirere; I do not know any other Herero who came to the hills before him.'*

Local actors are intensely linked by a number of social transfers: marriages, child fostering, mutual borrowing and lending of cattle. In critical times, the boundaries nicely fixed in the management plan documents are disregarded and people act as members of a larger social and economic group. Pastoralists know that they live in a common environment that distributes rain and resources unevenly and unpredictably. Both factors create a sense of belonging and shared dependency that forms a social group on the larger scale.

#### *Conflict for Limited Resources and Maintaining Control*

I have observed that the conflicts in this area are occasionally present on the part of the older generation while the young generation is very open to sharing and new experiences. Though not officially performed, there are intermarriages within ethnic groups and cooperation on projects done by the younger generation of Tsodilo.

Access for the Herero from the peripheries (without any kinship links) in Tsodilo, is very difficult. I met Tjiripi, a Herero elder who resides in Chukumuchu village. His account of the accumulations of the Tsodilo hills heritage includes something of the Herero, partly corroborates Mareka's assertion of the previous cooperation between the Herero and the Hambukushu. He said during the early 1900s

his forefathers did not know borders; they saw available land for their livestock around the hills and lived with the San and later moved. He said they occasionally went back to the hills. Thus, the area was once home to many Herero who have now settled in the close villages around Tsodilo. His accounts contradict Bollig and Schwieger (2014) who noted that when people move for social, economic or ecological reasons, it is often with the intent to start a new settlement and not with the idea to return after conditions have improved. He lamented that the lack of current kinship ties within the host community makes access very difficult. The host community uses this boundary to limit access to limited resources within the site.

Apart from the Herero, the Hambukushu in Chukumuchu lament the loss of recognition as part of the Tsodilo host community. *'We have been pushed away,'* said an elder from Chukumuchu who did not want his name to be mentioned in this research. He further noted that they, as settlers of Chukumuchu, have family in Tsodilo and have lived in the hills and worshipped in the hills years before it was listed a World heritage site. Conversely, since the listing of the site and the establishment of the Tsodilo Community Trust, they have been pushed aside and the site does not benefit them through their rights to the site which are now limited but which they are not compensated for. He says being treated like a visitor who comes to the site, not as someone who comes home, makes them unsatisfied with the general management of the site and the Tsodilo host community. He added that this situation forces them to refuse people living by the hills any assistance and use of their services, such as clinics and schools. Note that Tsodilo had been regarded as a settlement and was declared by the Botswana Land Board Department as a village in 2013. Therefore, basic social government developments have not reached the area yet; they have depended on the nearby villages for such services.

The relationships within the local community, extending out to villages and settlements in the not so close vicinity, which she characterizes as being by large unproblematic and cooperative, are increasingly shot through with tensions emanating from the mode of the distribution of tourism related resources and income streams.

### **5.2.3 Interactions with the Outsider**

The actors who directly benefit from displaying their 'culture' to tourists and identifying it as important in a World Heritage context have an interest to delineate themselves and their 'culture' from other cultural manifestations. The relationship with the tourists is not always unproblematic: Finding themselves in an asymmetrical exchange of cultural services for monetary gain, the performers have to adapt to the tourists' expectations regarding 'cultural authenticity', which not only contributes to a culturalization of the local relationships but also colonizes the everyday lives of people near the site. Yet on the other hand, and far from rushing to simplified conclusions, I maintain that the Global Heritage site provides leverage for voicing claims other minority groups in the country do not have at their disposal.

#### *Language and Cultural Knowledge during Participation and Projects*

Data clearly indicates that language, culture and knowledge are important factors during interaction and gaining an advantage over others. Language and culture are some of the factors that suggest low self-esteem amongst the host communities. During interviews, women shied away from discussion about the tangible heritage of Tsodilo and its past but confidently talked about their crafts. Except for the female local tour guides who confidently participated in the discussion about the rock art, the ancient settlements and the management issues in Tsodilo. The female participants generally volunteered information about crafts than the latter. They use crafts to mark conceptual cultural territories for generating income. Tsetsana elaborated;

*Tsetsana (lowers her voice): 'We do not make their baskets, why are they making our bead ornaments? Sometimes we are called for cultural events, where we promote our cultures, we often go with our crafts but they hide away from sending their crafts because they know it is not their culture. They should not be making these necklaces. If you ask them about the culture they will not tell you anything because it is not their culture to represent [...] What can they possibly say?'*

By lowering her voice, one can say it is sometimes easier to be silent about issues that would make their situation worse if they were to otherwise point them out, however Tsetsana chooses to voice her concerns.

On language and participation Betty said:

*'They looked for the few who could understand a bit of English language. They selected a few young people who could interpret and talk with the western visitors. They needed tour guides to do the job.'*

#### *Language and Exclusion*

It was initially hard to take part in conversations within the community because of the language barrier. However, over time, as the community became more open to the research, some participants translated between conversations for us. After a few weeks, some youth (between ages of 16-30 who have either quit school or finished their basic education, none made it to tertiary education) started to speak Tswana when we are around to include the research team in the conversations. Their fluency in the Tswana language is very low, therefore uncomfortable for most. The elders followed suit speaking Tswana but only when they directly talked to me.

During these interactions, I realized how difficult it must be to take part in official meetings because, during observations, almost all official meetings I attended in the village were conducted in the Tswana language without translators into the !Kung or Hambukushu or Herero languages. These are the languages that the local community uses fluently.

A follow-up investigation into the community meetings with official visitors revealed that the community is often overpowered, due to lacking consensus and attendance. Given that the local traditional authority Chieftainship is Hambukushu and the location of the traditional assembly is within the Hambukushu ward, the official languages used are Tswana and English, the Ju/hoansi attend meetings in low numbers and have low representation. Their reason is that the mere fact that the assembly is in the Hambukushu ward intimidate them when they want to voice their opinions and they are not confident to express views in the two languages (Tswana and English). Concern was repeatedly expressed at meetings about the poor attendance of the Ju/hoansi. Further investigation revealed that the language barrier also plays a role in the participation of the Ju/hoansi at the public meetings. The contact language at the meetings is always Tswana. The majority of the Hambukushu are more confident in voicing their views in the Tswana language than the Ju/hoansi. The absence from meetings should be ascribed to the absentees seeing no use attending the meetings because they are either of no benefit to them or simply because their opinions matter less as the minority. Xashee articulated:

*'Before moving, these hills were part of us and we lived with them, our lives were dependant on them. The Tswana and English culture were not part of our lives here. We lived as Basarwa.'*

Furthermore, there is a need for avocation of mutual dialogue and exchange between the locals and the visitors:

*'These developments are yours when you tell me; Tshenko, this is how you will do things, I have my own ways too, so I will say my child this is how I do things[...] It is unto you to get what I have to share with*

*you but what you share with me, I will just take because you are taking me from the past and bringing me to these current times and how you do things now[...] They come here and say, Tsheko, this is how we do things now. How can I refuse that[...]?’*

The comment supports the category of suppressed expressions, it elaborates on the deficit of mutual exchange during interactions. I would be the first to argue that scientists should listen to and engage with local communities that are directly affected by and involved in archaeological sites. In many cases, the local communities are historically marginalized and need to have support. They are often disempowered and neglected. While trying to portray and preserve the feeling of the past in this place, the heritage managers forget the present characteristics of the place are also as important, which include the people’s current cultural attachment to the site. This also raises questions on how this heritage needs to be managed and what is being disposed of from the site and what has remained from the past due to official attempts to conserve and preserve its heritage.

*‘We believed that God made them when the rocks were still wet a very long time ago [...] We heard they were painted by the San at the time when God made the hills. It is said that, because these were spiritual people, they were like angels, they only communicated with God and they were San. Later they came the human San community, they were people like us but before them, there were only spiritual San[...]’ said Nxi*

The comment above further supports the category of imbrications of science and academia into the constitution of ‘culture’ at such sites which follow up on the discussion from chapter 4.

#### *The Kgotla System and Dialogue with the Local Communities*

The Kgotla is utilized as a ‘common ground’ for the local communities where issues concerning the management of the heritage site are discussed and for brainstorming on strategies for upcoming projects. When I arrived in the field, the communities met at the village Kgotla to discuss issues of preparing for wildfires and protecting the site and also the issue of how to get their cattle away from the tourists and have a water supply for them at the cattle posts. These discussions were organized by the departmental of forestry representatives of government authorities. The Kgotla was supposedly common ground for both local communities, discussing issues as one group and cooperating in strategies towards overcoming the challenge.

However, divisions surfaced when the film crew arrived and wanted all villagers to gather in one place to watch the film that was mainly about the Ju/hoansi indigenous tracking skills which aided the archaeologists in tracking and interpreting footprints in a cave in southern France. The Tsodilo Ju/hoansi complained that since the film was about the Ju/hoansi the film had to be shown at their area of residency, separate from the Hambukushu resident area. The principal argument was that they were the attraction for the movie to be shown in Tsodilo. These differences can sometimes be overplayed when one group sees an advantage over the other. The connection between the local traditions, culture and the development of tourism with the packaging of the local differences and the complicity of the host community is in line with Brett’s (1996: 28) assertion that the hosts turns themselves into a spectacle space.

#### *Kinship and Commoditization of Culture and Imbrications of Science*

Commoditization of culture is occasionally initiated and promoted by the community through the Tsodilo Community Trust. The local people receive the commoditization of culture as an opportunity to practice the culture and make a living at the same time. During the fieldwork period, a film crew visited the site to show the villagers a film rich with a great exchange of knowledge between the Namibian San trackers and scientists. The film was appreciated with great enthusiasm within the host community.





*Figure 12 Film viewing at the J/hoansi Residence Photo by S. Basinyi (2016)*

Amongst the crew, there was the Ju/hoansi of Tsumkwe in Namibia who speak the same language as the Ju/hoansi of Tsodilo. They were involved in a project with some archaeologists. In the project, the team of Ju/hoansi and scientists interpreted and tracked footprints in a cave in southern France. Namibian trackers presented great encouragement for the Ju/hoansi to preserve and safeguard their traditional skills, practices, ancestral land and work with pride. They left them with the desire for progress with cultural pride and conservation of the fading culture of the San. The boundaries between the private and non-community, commoditized and traditional practices in Tsodilo were easily shifted during this interaction. After the crew left, the community immediately started conversations about including tracking skills on the heritage site as part of the tourism package.

A week later, the community was ready to take part in a proposed project to have a cultural village on site as part of the tourism package in Tsodilo. The project is spearheaded by a young man called Xinxwala from Xangwa. He lives in Tsodilo, is of San origin and dating a Hambukushu girl. Xinxwala has a closer relation with the San group than the Hambukushu. The proposed project includes evening dances around the fire, building traditional San houses, storytelling and short language lessons for tourists.

#### *Language and Interpretation of Rock Art*

In the quest to create harmony in the interpretation of art, there is a tendency of standardizing the interpretation of this complex material culture across the diverse cultural groups residing in the area. The tour guides go through capacity building workshops for the standard interpretation of the art for visitors in the English language using scientific terms. The diversity of the rock art in Tsodilo and its evident diverse unofficial interpretations through local lenses is a clear example of diverse values based on the different knowledge systems and cultural heterogeneity in the vicinity of the hills. These interpretations of the art shape the general conceptual range of values associated with this heritage site and the social relations within the community. The Hambukushu often look at the art with a pastoralist's eye while the San look at the art with the eye of a hunter, seeing these representations within the art depictions.

### 5.3.4 Interacting With the Tourist

Money is a form of reciprocity in the modern society. It makes things complicated because then the kindness attached to the exchanged asset is lost. The ‘tourists’ are perceived as the ‘elites’ of the area because they bring income. They are economically able to make a change in the livelihoods of the community. They also give the local people an opportunity to continue cultural practices as performances and make cultural crafts which the tourists can buy. The public performances within the Tsodilo area are only for entertainment purposes for the tourists. Special performances like the performances of *pina ya sesarwa* in non-community spaces are shows only for the enjoyment of tourist visitors. However, on special occasions, the host community organize a song and dance evening as a form of appreciation and good relations with the visitors. On an evening before my research break, a group of young people organized an unpaid dance evening for me and my research assistant. Day before that event, I had an offer to buy a goat from one of the village Ju/hoansi elders who needed the cash to attend the funeral of a relative in Nxauxau. The meat was too much. I shared it with families on both the Ju/hoansi and the Hambukushu sides. Following this moment, the young people at the Ju/hoansi side invited me over for the dance evening.

*‘I have also realised that the tourists are mainly interested in the paintings, so we do not take them to our sacred places. There are that Van Der Post panel paintings with elands and giraffes which are also found advertised on Botswana television. That is one of their favourites; they are beautiful, clear, located up on the hills where you can see them from a distance. It is not like it is fading like other paintings on other panels. Some tourists are also interested in pina ya sesarwa (the traditional San song and dance). This is usually not only for tourists; some visitors come here only interested on ngwao ya sesarwa (the San culture) in Tsodilo. It is not many who ask for it, but some visitors come specifically to learn ngwao ya sesarwa. So they ask that we organise a long evening for them,’ said one of the tour guides.*

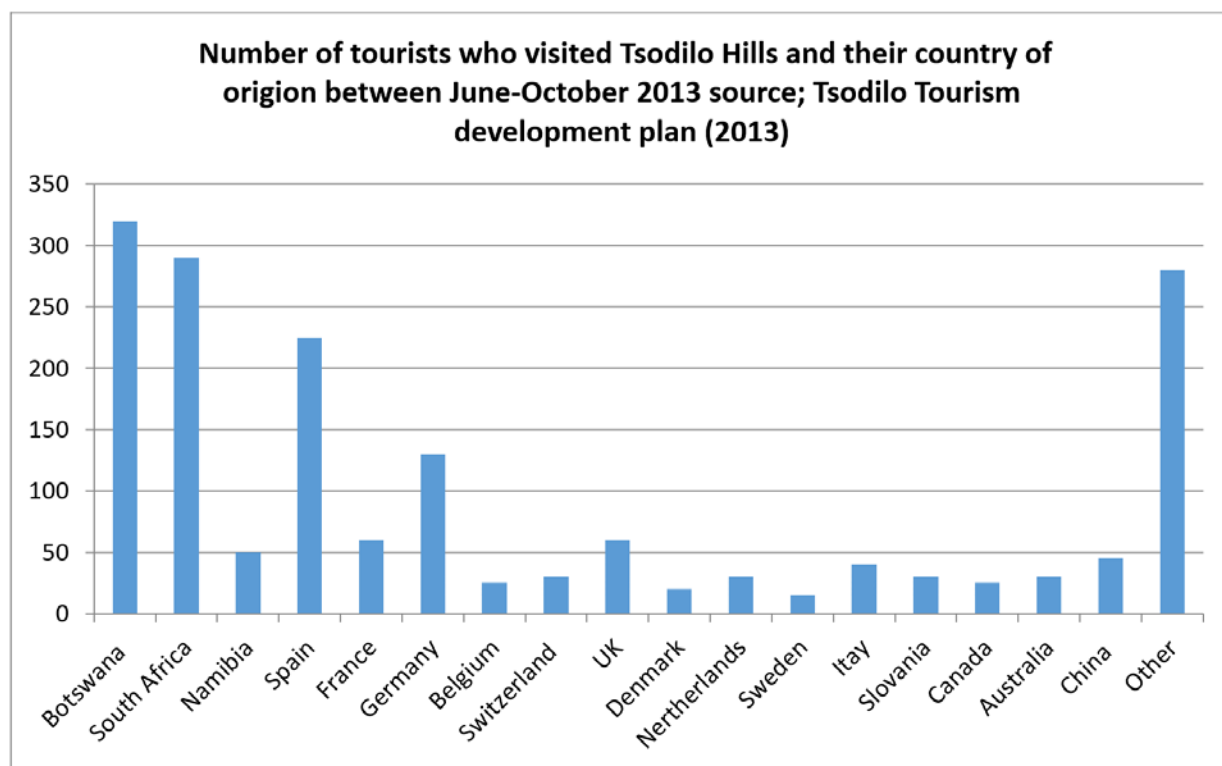


Figure 13 Number of Registered Visitors (June - October 2013) Source; Tsodilo Tourism Development Plan (2013)

### *Role of the Host Community during Interactions with the Tourists*

The host community volunteer guides selected by the Tsodilo Community Trust have the responsibility to protect the site on behalf of the community:

*'As a guide in Tsodilo, my work is to make sure the site is protected and the visitors do not destroy it. I also have the responsibility of showing them around the site. While going around, it is also my responsibility that when I spot something that is bad for the image of the site, the safety of the visitors or disturbing, I report to the site museum employees. I have to do this job because when I go back to the community and something went wrong on the site, it is never the museum that they blame. It's the guides that they blame. We are more like the representatives of the community in the management of the site because we are the most active part of the community. No one goes into the hills without the tour guide to avoid people destroying the site.'*

They learn from the visitors to meet their expectations:

*'This is a very challenging work but I learn a lot from people as well. Not only do we learn from people, we also learn them. For instance, it happens so many times that I realise we as people are not the same, where people come from many parts of the world, places where there are things like what we find in Tsodilo and many who have never seen anything like Tsodilo heritage. They come here for much different reasons; some come here to destroy the site. I can go into the hills with someone, while I tell them about the site, they simply do not listen or get attracted by something else. The next thing they do is exactly what you say they should not do on the site like touch the paintings. This is a very important job but very challenging, even though I do not earn so much. I pride myself by the fact that since the time I worked here to now, this site would not have been in such a good condition as it is today. We need to be appreciated more because otherwise, the paintings would have even disappeared.'*

In the comment above, the participant describes the challenges in contact with visitors as an aspect of heritage that facilitates the locating of oneself, residing within the heritage and thereby creating knowledge of both, the self and the other. There are different approaches to the host community engagement with the past which include: adaptation of expert knowledge, the establishment of a reliable relevant community on site.

### *The Negative Interaction Outcome*

While there are many instances of host community interactions that support the idea of effortless interactions to promote intercultural and insider-outsider relations, the discussion becomes more complex as some of the host community voice opposition to maintaining outsider relations that are characterized by negative feelings. The codes showing the negative interactions are summarized in **Table 13**.

*Table 13 Negative Outcome of the Interaction with the Visitor*

<b>Codes</b>	<b>Frequency within the data</b>
Feeling cheated out of the land	2
Being forced out of the home	8
Feeling excluded	12
Feeling ignored	3
Feeling the management misunderstand the culture	12
Feeling the Spirit is disturbed by the generator noise	4
Feeling uncomfortable speaking at the Kgotla	2
Feeling the growing number of day visitors disturb the Spirit	3

### *Distrust and Concern of Loss*

The data shows a prevalence of uneasiness during interactions for fear of loss. Mareka articulated this fear on the quote below:

*'If you just came here, without my children, I would not have participated in this interview, thinking you are a thief like those who come to us only to take. When I saw these two (referring to his grandson and Tjiripi) come with you, I knew you come with good intention. People steal our hills slowly. We have lost so much; they come and take our hill. When they get to their places, they claim that Tsodilo is theirs, using what we tell them. They ask us questions about the hills then claim the knowledge we give them as theirs. We have been cheated; they steal Botswana when they steal the hills. We have to protect it and the knowledge we have, I fear to just give people information about the hills because then I will be accountable when we lose it.'*

Like money, knowledge is kept as a resource for power and authority. It is kept as insurance and not carelessly provided for fear of losing the only resource that guarantees legitimate claims on the site. Therefore, assisting researchers in documenting the knowledge about the site is sometimes attributed with a loss or giving away the authority and primary role in the management of the site and loss of land. During the interview, Maseko voiced his distrust of the outsiders requesting information about the site and wanted interview data records to be sent back to him. Some participants even refused to be recorded during interviews while some also asked photos and recordings to be sent back to them at the end of the research.

Recently, researchers have identified creation of inventories as a solution to the challenge of cultural loss. However, in agreement with Keitumetse (2009), these seem to devalue cultural memories and belittle the necessity of keeping intangible heritage in the memories of local people where it should be. Instead, documentation of part of this intangible heritage does not present a comprehensive overview of the current situation since a relatively small degree of this culture can be captured in inventories. This implies that well-defined comprehensive studies have to be conducted to provide adequate information for future generations.

### *Feeling of Anger or Resentment*

The Ju/hoansi report a persisting regret to agree to the move from the old settlement to Mosheshe. The authorities believed that the relocation was important in order for the San not to be exploited by the tourism industry. Nevertheless, the Ju/hoansi currently claim that the hill proximity was, for them, a home that they had chosen because it gave them everything that they needed: water, food, protection, authority and a greater relationship with the Spirit of the hills.

*'We have lost most of these traditions and practices; we do not even pray to the hills. Our fathers have passed away it's just us. Actually, the loss is also because we were angry because of the changes that took place. We were taken out of the hills and we are angry and irritated. Our fathers agreed on these changes because we had placed our trust in them and they agreed not knowing what it will be like.'*

There are management challenges in Tsodilo. The main problem is the ethnic division and animosity between the groups due to the past injustice to the Ju/hoansi. They have taken this to the executive board of the Tsodilo Community Trust, showing that cooperation is lacking. More has to be done on the post-contact history of Tsodilo for what has been omitted is as important as what is already included.

### *Arm's Length Contact and Relationships in Resident Area*

I have noticed that occasionally in Tsodilo the tourists and natives physically occupy the same spaces. The two do move into one another's personal spaces, therefore breaking through the boundaries

between non-community space and conceptual (in) community spaces. At the beginning of our research, I observed an interesting encounter between the tourists and the local San community living together. Some tourists and filmmakers interested in the San (hunter-gatherer) way of life came to the village with a plan to stay for 6 days. The two gentlemen of European origin initially stayed at the campsites at a fee of BWP120 an equivalent of 10 Euro per night (exchange rate subject to change). The accommodation fee for the campsite in Tsodilo goes to the Tsodilo Community Development Trust (TCTD) account. It is meant to benefit the whole village. The men complained that the fee was too high for a long stay and so requested to put up camp in one of the resident plots in the Ju/hoansi village. The boundaries between tourists and local physical spaces vanished. They became too close to the community and saw in their daily lives the 'traditional act' the community displays for tourists. In a conversation with one of the pair, he said he was very disappointed and said the traditional San way of life in Tsodilo was a myth. He further presented his view to the organizers of the performances. The duo consequently stayed in Tsodilo for only three days.

Shortly after that, there were a lot of talks among the San group concerning those who are ashamed of their culture and those who are proud of it. There was a lot of mockery and pride around the topic from the partisan group. While some said their cultural practices were rich and were the only way to earn a living, some said these practices were backward. I realized then that borders assist in maintaining relations within and between people while the exchange is about creating a relationship. Xatshe said he is a Christian and going half-dressed and praying to the ancestors is against his beliefs. After this experience, the community engaged in talks about establishing a cultural village separate from their residential area.



Figure 14 Ju/hoansi Evening around Fire Dance Performance and Filmmaking Photo by S. Basinyi (2015)

I must add that I was refused to join the show with the filmmakers unless I was ready to pay for my own performance that day. The performers in the show were elderly Ju/hoansi women and they argued that the show was for business, not research so they perform only for money. The incident caused a deference of opinions in the settlement against the women's response to my requests. The relationship between the host community and the visitor is based upon 'uneven exchange.' The visitor comes to an area where the local is economically and politically subordinate; the local then takes on with greater or lesser degree of complicity aspects of the role assigned to him or her in order to profit from the visitor (Brett 1996: 39).

The community is aware of the discrepancy between their own lifestyle and the tourist image, therefore, they manipulate the situation, but there are many complexities. Doing it for money, they perform for the tourists to be watched and photographed. However, there is occasionally some dissatisfaction voiced by the visitors. They come with expectations that are not always met and when they communicate their dissatisfaction, the community tries to improve to meet these expectations. It is important to note the dialogue between the community and the visitors because this plays a role in the cultural fixations and transformations within this area. This dialogue forms the ways in which the community shift their conceptions and practices to accommodate the visitor expectations.

As observed, the local population will be more or less open to beginning to see the site as an instrumental resource for income generation, namely, through the touristic performance of one's traditions, framed as 'culture', as being part and parcel of the site. This process is ambivalent: On the one hand it might be deplored as a commoditisation of the site and its spiritual aura, in which case one would need to demonstrate of how such multiple use of a site as spiritual and something else is fundamentally different from prior multiple uses, for instance, by pastoralists or hunter-gatherers.

On the other hand, tourism is an effective means for the local community to publicly valorise their present use of the site as being part and parcel of the heritage site, thus staking a claim vis--vis the official emphasis on the distant past and the archaeological remains. I mentioned earlier the conversation in a personal communication with Dr Alec Campbell, who warned of young Ju/hoansi men who might be providing to the research information that they think will be interesting for the tourists instead of their true perceptions and views.

### **5.3.5 Non-Governmental Organization and Fostering Shared Prosperity of Rural Communities**

The non-government organizations and the number of tourists in this area increase the wall between the local community, which has already been separated from their cultural background, practices and traditions. This is because one group seems to be favoured more than the other. The San community, regarded as the indigenous people on the site and general area of southern Africa, gain much recognition and favours on the writings and representation associated with the site while the Hambukushu fight their own battle in positioning their claim to the site.

There are a number of NGOs that assist the local communities in the Ngamiland district in promoting culture and benefiting from their cultural heritage. There are different NGOs whose mandate and interests are either the San or the Bantu groups.

*'LETLOA is an organization that has its main objective in promoting the San culture. They coordinate the research and events that promote the San culture, TOCaDI as well. They normally say they are focusing on cultures in deeply inaccessible places but they only mean the San. Most of their projects have to do with the Basarwa, most of the people benefiting from their projects are Basarwa people compared to other communities that live in these areas where we also find the Basarwa.'*



Kabo suggested:

*'I think we have to document a lot about Tsodilo. We may have lost a lot but we can still have a lot to preserve. We may have acquired so much of other cultures through education, travels, even from the people we meet here but we are part of the mbuguwoa themane society that holds the Hambukushu and Basarwa culture. It's an organization that encourages the practising of the cultures around the Okavango. Through that organization we can. It depends on individuals and how proud they are of their culture. Looking into other societies, it may take time but it is possible. Look at the Bakgatla today, they are a modern society but they hold their culture. When you enter their villages, their traditional leaders have power over the people, they still have the influence of their culture. It's a value you place in your culture that matters, knowing where you come from, how we came to be in Tsodilo, for what reason we are still here. The government knows their place when they look at the Bakgatla culture, practices and traditions. If we had that working authority and know exactly what we want in Tsodilo, the government would not have so much influence on our lives and our culture. We need to really work on that. We have to appreciate our value here as the people of Tsodilo and seek to know who we are.'*

When speaking about the establishment of the Tsodilo Community Trust, he added at length that:

*'The objectives we had in forming this community trust had been to improve the lives of the people in Tsodilo, seeing that this was a tourist area attracting people. We then started drawing the management plan that was also expanding from the 1994 Tsodilo management plan that focused on the core area, the hill site that is managed by the museum. The one we developed in 2004 focused on the buffer-zone and the core zone. The core-zone is 4,800 hectares buffer-zone is 70,400 hectares. So the 2004 management plan focused on the buffer-zone which was then divided into zones. We have the core zone, the high sensitive tourism area, the low sensitive tourism area, agricultural zone and the wildlife and corridor area. These 5 zones each had relevant development to take place. We had to decide where the agricultural zone is and what needs to be done there like the digging of the borehole, where we need roads, where we need developments for tourism.'*

The concept of heritage in this locality gives the minority groups a privileged position of negotiating these power relations that do not exist in most of the other localities occupied by these groups. Therefore, within this one village, there are constructs of borders to create spaces for cultural freedom and group autonomy challenging the mainstream national governing system. The Basarwa attempted to remain a politically self-governing egalitarian group, but this was quashed when the politically organized Hambukushu joined them in the hills in the 1960s. They were then governed through the idea of conserving and protecting the site. The Basarwa are still resisting this power movement which poses a challenge to their cultural values and traditions. Most of them do not believe they need to be governed by any leader of the other group. Their cooperation in village projects is sometimes characterized by friction with the Hambukushu. Their representation in village projects and on the Tsodilo Community Management Trust is currently not based on the idea of having an equal number of representatives as the other groups. The executive board members aim first and foremost to maintain a 50/50 representation of the groups.

#### *The Host Community and Culture of Sharing Resources*

The Tsodilo landscape is one that is characterized by consecutive occupations of nomadic cultural groups from prehistoric times to the contemporary period. Sedentary settling of the area started recently as a response to the reconstruction of the landscape for easier management of the site. The local community provides local expertise on the local culture and the local knowledge of the environment. However, compared to the general Tswana villages, the contribution of the local community in preserving the Tsodilo heritage is considerably characterized by the influence of major external factors.

The population dynamics and the extended family ties across the area do not make a clear distinction between the local community and the neighbouring community. Within the heritage context, participants and claims of entitlement are often placed on the local people and the local community. This distinction is not clear, even for the population living within the proximity of the hills. There are different perceptions of what constitutes 'community'. The term became contested while participants were articulating values and interests and family backgrounds.

### **5.3.6 The Establishment of Borders and Boundaries of Interactions as a Response to the Heritage-Making Process**

#### *Conceptual Community Borders*

The general perception of the heritage phenomena and the local people in this context is closely tied with consciousness in seeking to construct a prevailing form of validation and relevance by maintaining differences in the non-community space. In doing so, the local people construct physical and conceptual borders to protect their interests. In the conversation below, Tsetsana make these views clear:

*Stella: 'What do you think can be done better in linking the community, the management of the site and your cultures?'*

*Tsetsana: 'My desire is that on the east along the main road before the Hambukushu village, a few of our traditional houses could be built there and fenced around the area with a big board indicating that this is where you find ba setso sa Basarwa (people of the San culture). This would be where we make our money, do our performances, sell our crafts and share our culture with visitors. It should be made clear that it is a place for the Ju/hoansi San, no Hambukushu allowed. The Hambukushu also can have their own where they make their baskets and their own crafts not like the ones we make.'*

This idea links with the idea of constructing borders and attempting to maximize the advantages of a group over the other during interactions with the visitors. The Ju/hoansi tend to view the advantage over the Hambukushu in the tourism industry and heritage management as a reciprocating factor over the relocation, and the loss of land and authority over the site. The tourist visitors to Tsodilo seem to have as little interest in the Hambukushu culture and products as they do in the Basarwa culture and products. In this context, the Basarwa are protective and fully aware of sharing an aspect of their culture. They have great expectations of gaining something from it because they consider their culture to be more valuable.

#### *Crafts, Gender and Ethnic Border Relations*

The host community utilizes crafts as a form of differentiating between crafts in the non-community and crafts in the private domain specific to the host:

*Participant: 'In Gani people do not know so much about the Tsodilo heritage, not because they are different but because there are things we do in Tsodilo that is different from Gani. Life here is better, things like making the bead ornaments are things we learn and do in Sesarwa culture but we make them differently for tourists in Tsodilo. The beads like this one you see on this young boy (pointing on small coloured glass beads and white shell beads around the waist and neck of a sleeping 3-year-old) are for cultural reasons. In Gani, they make those traditional bead ornaments. If I was to sell in Gani these ones that we make, no one will buy them. It is not easy to find the material to make these traditional bead ornaments but the ones we make for tourists are easy to find and we can make many of them.'*

Cultural objects are utilized as commodities and goods that offer the ability to negotiate power, favour and foster relations.



*Crafts for Selling To Tourist and Gender Roles*

The gender roles in respect to the hills and cultural performances are clearly defined in the non-community. The men have their crafts to make and the women have their beauty products. This is an interesting sight because Ndeki (a young Ju/hoansi woman who makes necklaces) laughed when I asked if she can make bow and arrows (*kampane*). She asked, 'Who would buy a *kampane* made by a woman?' but did not deny nor agree that she could make them.

A related scenario arose as she told me about the relations between tourists and guides. She said the tourist prefer to be given tour guides by the Ju/hoansi men than the Hambukushu men and women. It is their expectation that the Ju/hoansi men give tour guides around the hills and assume that they know much about the total landscape environment and paintings.

The reconstruction of competencies and practices in the process of becoming part of the tourist package is very interesting, not least because it shows that this commoditization is not only imposed 'from above' but promoted 'from below' with great enthusiasm.

*Photos of the Host Community*

The host community complain about being on the photos and the lack of reciprocity taking place after the taking of picture. Visitors come to Tsodilo to see the Ju/hoansi and the rock art. They call the site office and make arrangements to be taken to the Ju/hoansi residence. When they get there, the Ju/hoansi hosts perform songs and dances and have photos taken. There is a fee for the performance but not for the photos. In other scenarios, such as the case of the researchers and filmmakers, there is no direct payment or reciprocity for the videos and pictures taken. Tsetsana raised concerns about this issue:

*Tsetsana: 'This museum also does the same. All they do is take free pictures of us put us in their displays and we get nothing. Our children's pictures are all over the world but we do not get anything out of that. This taking of our pictures is also discouraging. It is like they are selling us out there, but I do not see anything coming back to us. How do we benefit? If you take a picture, it is only fair that you give something in return so that we also do not feel like we lost something of ourselves without gaining anything when we see these pictures.'*

*Stella: 'Is it the museum which only takes pictures?'*

*Participant: 'People who come here come because of the museum. They say they have permission from the museum. Everywhere I go, people show me pictures of people in Tsodilo, and they ask me 'do you know this person?' Our children are suffering but look nice on pictures. Even this old woman (pointing at her stepmother), she is all over the papers. Even in the boards, you see us.'*

*Stella: 'Would you prefer that I do not take pictures of yourselves and your family?'*

*Participants: 'What differences will it make, we are already there. The only problem is that I am not clean enough for a picture. Come later or tomorrow for the picture.'*

*These quotes raised the same issue supporting the idea of photos spreading on public platforms.*

*'My photos are all over, even as far as America. Many people have interviewed me and taken them. I do not mind being taken in pictures. Even if you put them in the papers, I do not mind. The Botswana television took so many pictures of me while I was chairman of Tsodilo Community Trust. I am used to that now.'*

*Other participants said:*

*'My photos are everywhere this day. Tourists, schools, researchers, you should send me mine by post. I have so many photos of me all over the world. Some students come here and they tell us that they saw us in the office at their schools. Take me one just for me, not for your work and send them, please. I do not have pictures. Take my son a photo too and sent it back to me as well.'*

The participants' views are conflicted about whether this is good or bad. However, some believed if they got something tangible out of it, will make the situation better. Two of the participants asked to have the recording of their interviews back after the research. This shows the host wants to maximize what he can acquire out of the interactions and the exchanges.

### 5.4 Conclusion

The empirical chapters introduce the reader to an 'applied' perspective on the research, laying the ground for an evaluation of concrete heritage related measures and consequences. Thereby, reflecting on my training as an archaeologist which I turn into a resource of reflexivity, pointing out the domineering role of archaeology's emphasis on material remains and the distant past in the social construction of heritage and its consequences.

This chapter focused on the interactivities with the local community and between the community and the visitor. The research findings show that the external community has immersed itself in the local space, physically and conceptually. Consequently, the host community forms the borders of non-community space and conceptual community spaces of interaction as a response. However, the influence and the impact cannot be resisted in the conceptual community space. The local community as permanent residents of the hill site is now in constant confrontation with the inevitable cultural transformation through interactions and dialogue with the heritage conservers and tourism actors. They are torn between the status quo and change in this sphere of continuous change and development alienating the past and traditional or cultural capital. They continuously seek attachments to the site and recognition.

The common challenge observed in this chapter as in most cultural sites is that community participation approaches are commonly associated with a western ideology of democracy attributed to earlier sociological philosophies by, for example, Weber and Marx. The underlying framework of community participation is that the poor and oppressed should be mobilized by agents external from governments and encouraged to participate in decision-making for social developments at the local level (Keitumetse 2009). Due to these approaches, local perceptions can be influenced instead of promoted to be kept as part of the whole of the managed resource. As a minority, they begin to adopt new perceptions, believing that the original is no longer important.

## Chapter 6

### Discussion and Concluding Remarks

#### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the research results, and brings them into a shape that makes them accessible for stakeholders in heritage site practices. In the preceding chapters, I have presented the empirical data grounded in the experiences and the voices of the host community in the Tsodilo hills supplemented by the neighbouring local communities. The findings show a complexity in the host experiences of the heritage process informed and influenced by multiple interrelated factors and ambiguity in declaring places as heritage sites. The aim of this chapter is to draw on this idea and the core concepts discussed in the empirical chapters relating them to the main research question.

#### 6.1 Revisiting the Research Question

At the beginning of the study, I stated that the objective of this study is to investigate the experiences and responses of the host communities in inhabited heritage sites and the local interpretation of heritage while assessing the interactivity between local communities and heritage agents. I looked at how these interactions shape the everyday local lives and culture.

To study this, the leading questions for this research, focusing on local participants, are as stated:

- What factors influence the communities' experiences in the heritage sites, how do these factors influence the meaning and interpretation of the site?
- How does community reshape or maintain the heritage image and status of the area?
- What changes occur in the expressive attachment of the local people on the globalized cultural heritage sites and what effects occur on these resources?
- What are the advances and losses within the local culture and community emerging from this superimposition and juxtaposition of ideas of heritage? Do the gains compromise the losses?
- What are the effects of globalization of heritage on the local culture?
- What is the logic behind archiving culture and resources on this specific heritage site?

The illustration in Figure 15 summarizes the findings of the research questions as discussed in this study. As a response to the heritage process, the host community have formed two-main contexts of value interplay, interactions and community relevance: the conceptual community context of the everyday life and the non-community space influenced by the outsider and cosmopolitan heritage community. However, elements of the two contexts often find ways into the other, suggesting flexibility of borders of interaction. Furthermore, official heritage management administration forms most of the non-community space and local perceptions of the heritage value.

The Tsodilo case shows a schematic picture of an interdependent spatial unit that is fragmented into separate entities. The resultant is a reduction in the scale over which complex interactions in the landscape and heritage management interventions occur.

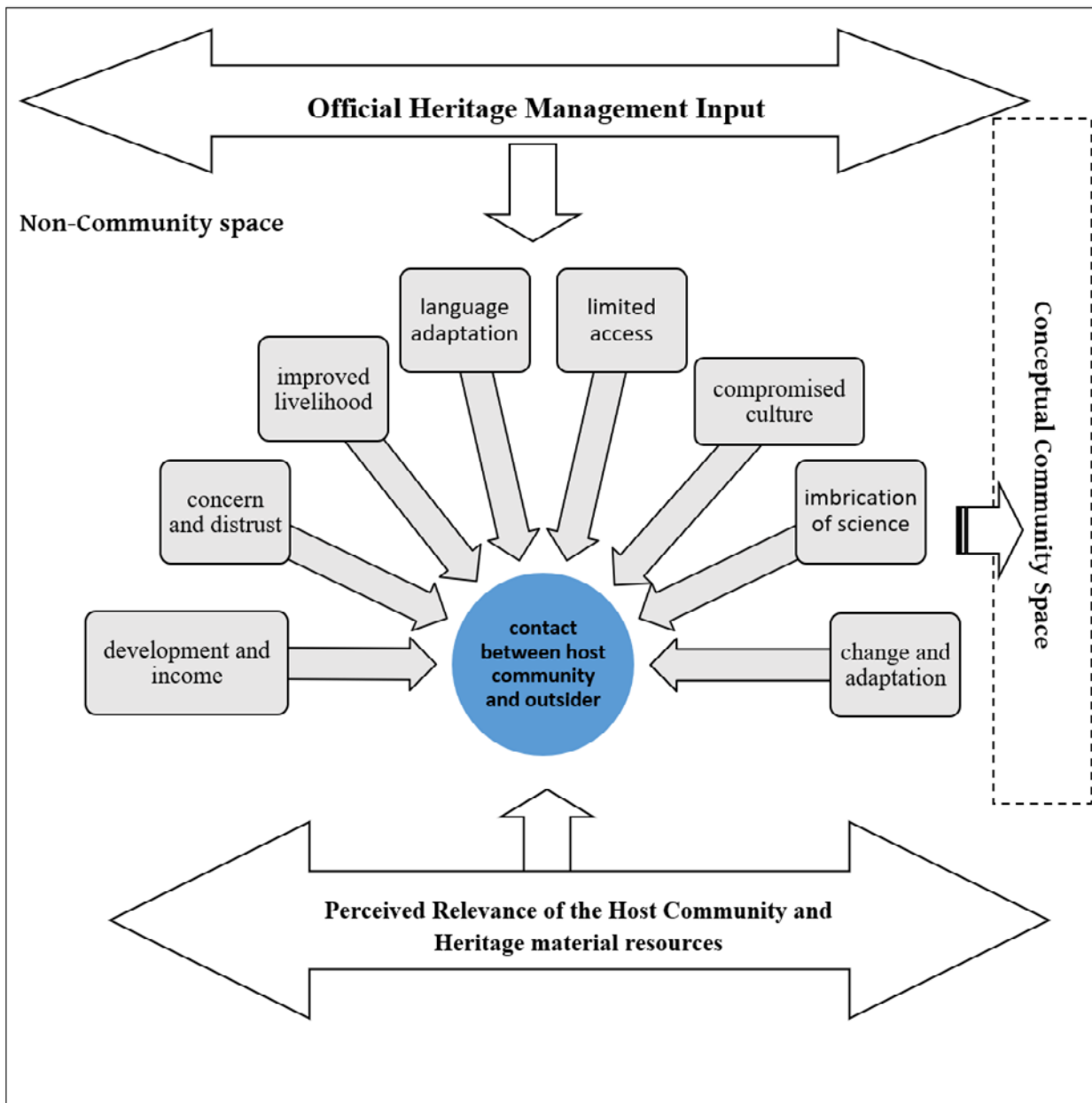


Figure 15 Factors Influencing Interaction and Heritage Management in Tsodilo WHS

The declaration of the site as a WHS and developmental changes in the general environment as well as modification for the comfort of the external visitors, shape the host perspectives and adaptations to the material in their proximity that is most valuable to the state and global community. This assertion of the greater value of a landscape was followed by consultations between the state and the host community. Changes were made such as relocations and construction of structures in anticipation of the growth of tourism. Promises were made to improve the local livelihoods and compensate the losses and inconveniences the host community incurred.

The next step was to transfer the site authority and stewardship from the host community to the state and the subsequent relocation of the Ju/hoansi. This was perceived as a form of exchange between the state and the host, expected to be followed by forms of reciprocity to compensate the loss of land and control. The host is currently confronted with the struggle with competition to establish community

relevance, superiority and entitlement to form legitimate claims of reciprocity directly from the state and the international community that enjoy access to the site. Chapter 3 highlighted this struggle for the establishment of the relevance of the host community, chapter 4 focused on the value of the material while chapter 5 discussed the forms of interactions amongst the host (Ju/hoansi and Hambukushu), between host and general local community and lastly between the host and external visitor. These interactions demonstrated a system of exchange hidden within the community discussed in Mauss (1954) that is based on transactions with the unfamiliar visitor and giving of gifts of the same material to the familiar visitors with whom relationships have been established. These kinds of contact relay a morality and organization that operates amongst host and visitors. To form the basis for claims of reciprocity, the host community sets of by engaging with the question of relevance and entitlement within the heritage and Non community context.

## 6.2 Concepts Employed in the Study

### 6.2.1 *The Concept of Relevance*

The concept of relevance as adopted in this study reflects on the conservation of places, the engagement and participation of communities and how they are affected by the decision to inscribe site into the World Heritage List and gain the status of Universal value. In the study I focused on the community recognition, multi-value context and interactions.

The local community have different ways of seeking recognition of values they hold for the place and maintaining them through the intangible cultural heritage of the area during interactions with the visitor. Furthermore, the participants demonstrated ways of expressing community relevance and the need for recognition. Through question of relevance, questions emerged; why does the heritage community care about the role of local communities and how do local communities perceive their engagement in this venture? World Heritage interventions assumes that heritage preservation and conservation is of public interest (Rivet 2000) and communities become grouped into exclusions that fit the heritage narrative and global agenda however through question of relevance this study interrogates how local communities perceive their relevance in this context.

Relevance theory is based on a definition of relevance and two principles of relevance: a Cognitive Principle that human cognition is geared to the maximization of relevance and a Communicative Principle that utterances create expectations of optimal relevance (Allot 2013; Wilson and Sperber 2002, 1986, Woodham 2014). I drew references from the motivation for these principles and their application to pragmatic challenges within the Tsodilo heritage context. I also consider the implications of this relevance-theoretical approach for the construction of the local perceptions (mind) (Wilson and Sperber 2002) on the heritage phenomenon and local experiences.

The central claim of relevance theory is that the expectations of relevance raised by an utterance are precise enough, and predictable enough, to guide the hearer towards the speaker's meaning (Wilson and Sperber 2002). The discussions around the future and sustainability of cultural heritage and places of heritage in the 21st century more often than not raise the issue of 'relevance' (Rivet 2013; Keitumetse 2007). In southern Africa, the term evokes concerns of sustaining and increasing heritage tourism and developing a way to keep visitors' experiences interesting and worthwhile. This concern has not escaped the Tsodilo community whose subsistence has transformed and evolved to depend on the benefits and advantages they have through the heritage site compared to the neighbouring communities with limited access to the site.

The concept of relevance in the heritage context seeks to open debates concerning our understanding of 'relevance' and the role of local people and their engagement in the discussion of the future of

cultural resources. Through this concept, I consider some of the details of the concept of engaging local communities to be authors of their own destinies from the perspectives of communication theory, logic and pragmatics. Chapter 3 explores the relevance of cultural local communities in heritage management and the future of sites through local accounts. Often, the concept of relevance is used regarding the museum and heritage sites becoming more relevant to the visitors and the local communities (Rivet 2013; Viscardi 2011). In Tsodilo, the local people engage with this concept by way of assuming roles as stewards and entitled benefactors. This implies that relevance is necessary in order for a social contribution to be successful. This evokes the question, once work has been done to understand the needs of visitors and the site museum's responsiveness to these needs has increased, how will the local communities know if they are actually relevant enough as an independent voice in heritage sites?

The dictionary meaning of 'relevance' refers to 'the quality or state of being closely connected or appropriate.' Something that is relevant is something that matters and is important. The question is, when we think about local people inhabiting heritage sites and the neighbourhoods, do we recognize them as relevant? Do definitions capture the sense of what is valuable through the local lenses? Do the locals find themselves to be relevant in the heritage context? Why? And how do they reflect this quality? In answering these questions, the definition of 'relevance' would then allude to: 'Bearing on or connected with the site and closely relating and being appropriate and one with the site.' In relation to the meaning of 'relevant,' we can also see connections here, particularly the use of the term: a sense that, by becoming relevant, local people can 'assist,' 'help' and offer 'relief' in the presentation and management of heritage (Rivet 2013).

Dan Sperber and Deidre Wilson (see 1986; 1987) define relevance as a useful theoretical concept, a basic feature of human cognition, relating to how we infer meaning from each other's communications. For Sperber and Wilson, 'relevance' is concerned with the idea that essential characteristics of our verbal and non-verbal communications with one another are the 'expression and recognition of intentions' (Wilson and Sperber 2002: 250). Sperber and Wilson's research does not relate to the idea of the relevance and connectedness of local people and heritage. However, using this approach reduces the processing effort required to make sense of an expression for the receiver of the communication (Wilson and Sperber 2002). It is not farfetched to say this is also true of the way local people communicate with their visitors. If a disproportionate amount of effort is required by a visitor to process the intended meaning of a communication, verbal or non-verbal, it seems logical that the relevance of local community for that visitor may decrease.

Gorayska and Lindsay (1993) explore the various characteristics of 'relevance' with a broader everyday usage. They consider that relevance is relational. There are further presuppositions to be aware of; the relevance of something depends on what a person is trying to achieve, in other words, their end goal. If something has a function in helping to achieve a goal, then it becomes relevant. A goal also implies that a plan or strategy exists to achieve this goal (Woodham 2014). The main challenge in the World Heritage Site like Tsodilo with diverse features, values and many stakeholders is that what is relevant to one visitor or one section of the host groups may not be relevant to another. For instance, for a visitor interested in the archaeology of the site and the tangible heritage of the site, the accounts of the local people from a historical point of view may not be relevant while for a visitor interested in the living traditions of the site the traditional performances, local crafts will be of relevance. The conservation manager with the traditional background similar to that of the local people may see the relevance in the engagement and representations of the cultural diversity on site, while a conservation manager interested only in the tangible heritage of the site may exclude the locals. It all depends on the definitions that one associates with what the Tsodilo heritage is.

### 6.2.2 *Imbrications of Science and One-Way Information Flow*

When and after a site acquires the heritage status, the local perspectives, values and uses of sites are not visible anymore. They become obscured by universal values and expert knowledge that informs tourist expectations. In sites where communities depend on the affordances of the tourism industry, the local values become modified to accommodate the expectations of the visitors. This form of adaptation becomes the leading influencer of change where local values and culture become founded in the socio-economic gains and the intangible benefits that come with building relationships with the visitor while expecting future reciprocities (Mauss 1964).

The understanding of the Tsodilo heritage and its universal values is strongly guided by archaeological research on site (Campbell 1994; Denbow 2011, 1980, Denbow and Wilmsen 1986, Robbins 2010). This work is greatly based on the tangible elements of heritage and not accommodative to the non-tangible heritage and community perceptions and memories which are historical testimonies of human-environment interactions. Archaeology places great interest on the material culture and distant past what experts can read out of it. It paid little attention to local people's opinions of heritage. As a science, archaeology has the obligation to disseminate this information to the public (Nzewunwa 1990: 198). For this reason, reflexivity within the scientist is essential (Hodder 2003). To archaeologists, research mainly answers questions about time, how long the site was occupied, who occupied it first, when the art was painted and who painted it, which art was produced earlier than the other etc. Therefore local perceptions have also adapted to this line of enquiry, producing perceptions of heritage and approaches of heritage linked to the archaeological data.

The archaeological questions asked in this context are related to the historical approaches to the past. David Lowenthal (1998:128) gives a clear definition of the difference between history and heritage as approaches to the past. He notes that history and heritage transmit different things to different audiences. History tells everyone who will listen what has happened and how things came to be as they are. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose. History is for all, a heritage for us alone (Lowenthal 1998: 128–29). Lowenthal discusses and differentiates the understanding of the past from the point of view of heritage or history or archaeology. We all strive to hold onto the past because it gives us a sense of continuity and belonging, connecting us with our ancestors and fellow citizens. The past, in other words, provides us with invaluable resources for our cultural identity, be it on individual or collective level (Assmann 2006: 267). Both history and heritage address our relationship with the past and its meaning for the present.

In the context of the archaeological heritage site, Lowenthal (1996: 176) articulates that 'being ancient makes things precious by their proximity to the dawn of time to the earliest beginnings, the more ancient a lineage, the more highly venerated.' Group prestige and privilege based on the archaeological records is operationalized by all the groups in Tsodilo Hills and their peripheries to make claims of entitlement and ownership. The rock art of Tsodilo Hills is associated with the work of the San people; however, the local Ju/hoansi claims no knowledge of rock art authorship. The archaeological research associates the rock art in Tsodilo with the art commonly known in South Africa as Bushman rock paintings which are estimated to date around 650 AD (Denbow and Wilmsen 2010). The authors posit that there is no credible data to ascribe the paintings to a particular group or date. However, depictions with cattle suggest dates around 600–1200 AD following introduction of cattle to Tsodilo. The local Ju/hoansi claim entitlement to the site and the Tsodilo Nxoresi based on this data and reference to them as the closest link between the painters, the art and contemporary society. This means the site is part of a Ju/hoansi 'Nxoresi' as research participants refer to it. This means it is a place from which they draw cultural identity and a connection with the ancestors, the Spirit of the hills and the past. It links them with a past that is characterized with feelings of self-rule, refuge, content and fulfilment (interview material), the opposite being a life of dependence on government aid and unreliable tourism with low tourist visitation season.

### 6.2.3 *The Grouping and Exclusions*

Archaeologists subjectively interpret the material based on the physical evidence. This research has added immensely to the understanding of the history and prehistory of Tsodilo Hills. Divuyu settlement is quintessential of the ancient pastoral settlements which took place during the sixth and seventh century. It is an Early Iron Age site rich in ceramics, iron, copper tools, ornaments and ivory (Wilmsen 1989: 70). Iron slag suggests it was smelted onsite but there is also evidence of sheep and goats (1989: 71). Wilmsen makes the association of the Divuyu site ceramics with those found in contemporary sites in Central Angola, Congo Brazzaville and the Congo River. According to Denbow and Wilmsen (2011), the occupational period of the Tsodilo hills extends back 10 000-50 000 years. The site has been settled by successive communities ever since. The evidence of the Iron Age site of the Divuyu is associated with the permanent residency of cattle keepers and pottery makers dating back to AD 1200. This archaeological record of the area gives a chronological account of human activities and environmental changes over at least 100 000 years and 20 pre-historic mines for specularite (Campbell and Robbins 2009). There is also evidence of Bantu settlers in the Divuyu and the Ngoma settlements located on the top of the hills which have been dated to around 650 AD. The settlements which were excavated at the top of the Female hill and comprise remnants of a general pattern of public housing and living spaces, burial areas, suggesting similarities with the spatial patterning of the villages of central Africa (Wilmsen and Denbow 2010: 74). The only Bantu group in the proximity of the Tsodilo hills with kinship ties in the Angola area is the Hambukushu. This hypothesis and assertion of Hambukushu claims on the entitlement is based on the material culture of the ancient settlements, pottery and remnants of agriculturalist and pastoralist communities. During the interview with the late Chief Samotjao in 2012, he showed with pride the big pot he had handmade. He associates the skill of pot making with the pottery remnants in the ancient settlements (Basinyi 2013, unpublished master's thesis).

There is a further hypothesis of the Bantu expansion based on languages formed in the lower Congo Valley about 3.000 years ago and from the Herero languages cluster that moved into the Kunene Okavango region (Heine, Hoff and Vossen 1977: 65 in Wilmsen 1989: 71). This hypothesis places the Herero nomads into the northwest of Botswana. However, there have been no claims of entitlement from the Herero based on this hypothesis in the course of this research period. As indicated in the study, there are the Herero pastoralists on the peripheries west of the hills. The Herero claim that Tsodilo heritage bears something of the Herero because at some point in history they lived within the proximity of the hill. There is a well close to the hills popularly known as '*Sediba sa Baherero*' translated as 'the Herero's well.' The Herero say that in their history of settlement they never have a well in a place and not live there for several years.

The claims of the Herero show a perception that the site encompasses an accumulation of things from the previous settlers. Even until today, the chain of users has left something of themselves which has formed the value of the site to the contemporary local and global community. The Herero accounts demonstrate the conflict between heritage and history. This comparative characterization of relevance or the distortion of data in the representation of histories of diverse groups suggests how local views of the past could be included or excluded in the interpretation of cultural sites. The competing interpretations of the past in TWHs emerge in diverse points of view: scientific, educational and cultural. From each premise, groups assess the value of the site and reduce its significance.

For this reason, the Herero in the peripheries of the hill site claim that they also want recognition. They lament exclusion from the site and the general use and cultural attachment. The well that the elder talks of is known within the community among the elders and only a few tour guides. The Herero claim is credible, the local people and the neighbourhoods of Tsodilo are relatively close, the distance



between these groups is not large and all the groups that have now settled led a nomadic way of life in the past. The question that rests for the further investigator is: how far in historical terms do the local people base their conceptions of entitlement? The Herero testimony in the Ju/hoansi territory was recorded in (Marshall 1976: 60) establishing a cattle post and digging boreholes for their livestock. Some of the Ju/hoansi even worked in the Herero cattle post to gain access to the meat and milk (Bieseke and Hitchcock 2013). The Ju/hoansi maintain that they have always been residing near the hills and that their territory extended beyond the Botswana and Namibia border. This account was corroborated the Ju/hoansi in Xabatcha, Xaree and Divitama.

Archaeological and anthropological findings emphasise that the pre-contact past distracts from the integrity of modern local culture and takes lightly the importance of cultural change (Creamer 1990: 133). The common image of first contact is one of a virgin land with few inhabitants, who primarily depend on the wild and lead a nomadic lifestyle in remote areas without land ownership or use except by the Bantu pastoralists. Such views have been operationalized to legitimize the invasion of the San territories and taking over by other groups and the government. These views are not dominant but often came up during interviews with the elderly participants. The claims of the first occupants were at times responded to with answers suggesting they were first occupants of the hills before the Host Ju/hoansi community.

#### **6.2.4 Diversity**

The most interesting thing about the Tsodilo local community and culture is the ability to maintain cultural diversity and multiple perceptions of the site within the same landscape. The ethnic groups that live close to the site, that is the Hambukushu, Herero and the Ju/hoansi San, represent the status quo that exists in the minds of the Tsodilo local people in regard to who is entitled to the site resources. This conception is based on the received archaeological knowledge of the prehistory of the site (Denbow 1980; Robbins *et al.* 2000, Murphy, Robbins, and Campbell 2001, Denbow and Wilmsen 2010) and is influenced by the idea of rock art diversity and interpretation. The rock art of Tsodilo is diverse in motif, detail, location and depictions. According to scientists, this suggests that the painters were also diverse groups and individuals who settled in the area. The local residents also draw pride from this diversity of representation in what is perceived as the most valuable material of the site which attracts the global community.

#### **6.2.5 Reflexivity, Archaeology and Heritage Management**

Reflexivity, as noted in the methodology chapter, refers to recognition of ‘positionality’ as a researcher, that one’s position or standpoint affects one’s perspective (Rosaldo 2000) and thus reflexivity involves recognizing the value of multiple positions and perspectives. It also involves a critique of one’s own presumed assumptions, not as an egocentric display, but as an enquiry into the foundations of one’s claims to knowledge.

As demonstrated in this study, the knowledge of the scientists has produced an informed relation between people and places in heritage sites. I have established that scientists play a role in forming heritage narratives but what the case study has also demonstrated is a one-way information flow from the field of science to the local people. The question remains of how the non-scientists can be actively and meaningfully involved in constructing heritage narrative? A good example can be drawn from the ‘bottom up’ approach and the discussion between the Tsumkwe Ju/hoansi project with archaeologist and the subsequent response of the host community and the active brainstorming of possible cultural tourism packages.

*Reflexivity and Understanding Spiritual Values*

Archaeological heritage, cultural heritage and World Heritage Sites are terms that attract a wide range of visitors with different interests. While some are interested in the archaeological material, some –like the filmmakers and the spiritual visitors in this research – were interested in the kind of narrative that is being constructed about the site and the host community. There have been community reflexive responses to accommodating visitor expectations. Host communities have been active in scientific research in their areas (Denbow, Mosothwane and Nbobochani 2008). The question remains in how far the scientists and tourist visitors are reflexive of the data produced and the perspectives and the effect on the community perspectives of sacred sites? There are a few examples in Botswana of experts and visitors practising access rituals in a heritage site. The Moremi Gorge and the Ntswa le Moriti village are the few places where visitors still abide by local rituals but these rituals have ceased at the Tsodilo World Heritage Site. This is because in areas without the World Heritage Status local institution still have the power and authority to guide the visitors, while in WHS such as Tsodilo there are bigger and static institutions in positions of authority that do not allow quick responses to visitor misconduct. When the visitor does not oblige by the set rituals, there is a lack of responsive authority to take immediate action and so such rituals fade.

**6.3 Heritage Management and Conservation**

While the guidelines of international conservation agencies specify the importance of local participation and stakeholder involvement, there is rarely a full account of how to evaluate and involve different forms of ‘local’ interests and how to reach a thorough understanding of long-term effects of heritage management. In my view, this is partly because there has been insufficient involvement of ethnographic studies of the inhabited heritage site. In the past, conservation strategies set aside protected areas for nature, excluding people as residents and preventing consumer use of the resources and minimizing other forms of human impact (Adams and Hulme 1998). This caused considerable frustration, suspicion, resentment and conflict between the local communities and the protected area management authorities. This approach cannot by itself achieve sustainable protected area management and active and sustainable community participation and cooperation. There is no way of acknowledging change in knowledge and values, value dynamics, and alienation of the local.

The structural order in the Tsodilo hills is also symbolic of how science is divorced from the community. The site museum staff housing structures have been placed within the fenced core area site while the general host community resides on the buffer. It is almost impossible for the official management and visitors to integrate the traditional values and traditional knowledge into the management and heritage projects. The separation of the area has meant a lack of contact and a lack of contestation about what it is that constitutes ‘the local’ perspectives. If archaeologists are to be reflexive and involve the local voice, they need to work more closely with ethnographers and others, in order to find out who exactly ‘the locals’ are, how fluid, local and global they are, and what type of relationship with archaeology and heritage would best serve their interests.

While there is evidently a close link between the local community and the value of the heritage site, heritage studies and archaeological studies need to form reflexive methodologies and approaches such as personal positioning and dialogue as they work with and amongst local communities. Archaeology needs more studies as in Hodder (2003) who has worked on understanding local community knowledge about the site and on the social, cultural and economic impact of the project on the nearby villages and towns.

The modern concept of heritage management has sought to involve host communities through the formation of independent community trusts, an institution formed from a selection of community representatives to voice local interests. However, the misunderstanding of the community

configurations has contributed to frictions within the external part of the community. This is because an important aspect of community is the recognition of those they self-define and engagement with such communities may be difficult (Smith and Waterton 2010).

### **6.3.1 Bottom-Up and grassroots Approach**

Community development activities centred on the heritage resources should be initiated. Heritage sites are often symbolic to local communities because they draw a link to the historical, traditional, customary, spiritual and political. The Tsodilo case portrays a strong potential that has not yet been explored, for the safeguarding of intangible heritage through community-based cultural tourism, and cultural diversity involving the diverse local communities in the protection and management of cultural objects, which would boost the universal values at the grass-roots level, in turn leading to improved sustainable management of the cultural sites. This potential has been hindered by a lack of recognition of the community, labelled 'recent arrival,' while the 'settled community' is based on the 'proximity' to the hills, ignoring the years of attachment to the site through generations as mobile groups within the Tsodilo area, as extensively discussed through the works of Wilmsen (1989) and Larson (2001; 1978).

Valuable tradition and culture related roles of the local communities provide useful places to sustain culture and safeguard ICH. There is a need to ensure that, while seeking to conserve the past, the new developments in cultural dynamism are also appreciated rather than placed as devalued entities in heritage sites. These would attract the interest of the youth rather than entirely depending on the elders. The tour guide role has presented these few with access to cultural goods and the participation in the defining, managing and taking part in the contemporary uses of the site. The enhancement of the social environment by means of recognizing local knowledge and increasing inclusion and cultural cohesion also promote and revitalize socio-cultural knowledge and lost cultural pride and interest

### **6.3.2 Conservation vs. Commoditization of Heritage Site**

There is pressure on the heritage site management to be able to conserve the site and keep it from even minimal destruction to maintain the values of the site. On the other hand, in rural heritage sites inhabited by communities with limited resources, heritage management and conservation strategies are expected to generate income and improve local livelihoods (Swanson 1992).

### **6.3.3 Reciprocity and Entitlement**

In discussing the concept of reciprocity and entitlement, I reflect on the idea that World Heritage decision-making processes for the enlisting of places on the World heritage list on the basis of the 1972 Convention have transformed the inscription of sites into exchange values that mobilise secondary effects in other domains driven by economic and political imperatives. Meskell (2015) further argues that World Heritage Committee debates over specific cultural and natural properties, the inscription on the World Heritage List, the protection or even destruction, are becoming largely irrelevant in substance, yet highly valued in state-to-state negotiations and exchanges of social capital. The category of reciprocity and entitlements deduced from this research adds to the idea of heritage context as being transactional in the sense that affected parties tend to view the decisions taken as form of exchange of commodities and services and includes reciprocal influences and gifting (Mauss 1964). The concept of gifting and reciprocity is not foreign among research participants. It is widely discussed in the writing founded on the traditional institutions for sustainable resource management and Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM). There is Wiessner's (2000) discussion of the hxaro exchange among the Ju/hoansi, Bollig and Schwieger (2014) on the Natural Resource Governance of the Herero and Cashdan (1985) on reciprocity among the San of Northern Botswana.

### **6.3.4 Knowledge Sharing**

The research has found that the major interest has been on the expert work in understanding the site. This has been perceived as reliable data according to the worldview because it relates heritage to the international family and interests for tourists, while suspending the local people's understanding and perception of the meanings attached to the paintings. In the quest to preserve the memory, the site management team has leaned towards the archives and collections previously undertaken by anthropologists and archaeological data. This belief alienates and devalues the contemporary host community perceptions and the need to keep their cultural memory as active practice. This approach provides room for the superimposition of thought with new worldviews shared through contact with the general shareholders in the world and national heritage.

Furthermore, the older generation has ceased to share their past and perceptions with the young generation whose interest is what can provide them with economic gain through tourism. A certain part of the intangible heritage like folklores, meanings attached to objects and monuments, are ultimately lost or forgotten because remembering is an active exercise requiring continuous practice.

## **6.4 Establishing Borders**

The physical fences have both positive and negative results. They have the potential to alienate even the host and local communities from accessing the sites (Peters 1994). It is common in the heritage area and protected conservation areas to control tourism and human use of such areas by zoning areas and creating boundaries. The most common type of protection in southern Africa is the use of conservation fences to monitor entry and to protect sites. Access to these areas is granted to the recognized communities while the visitors pay a small fee, an increased amount for the external visitors. In the Tsodilo hills and most of the protected areas in Botswana, there is a different fee for local, national, regional and international visitors. The international visitors pay more than the rest. These fees contribute to the perception of the international visitors as elites. The tourists take a position of privilege in the heritage site and the residential area.

In anthropology, culture is not only viewed as a product of advancement but also a means of human adaptation to changing conditions. When people of different cultures come together in a location, elements of their cultures diffuse from one group to another and each group tries to adapt to the new conditions. The groups form a complex culture *mélange* of sub-cultures. Discussed by Brennan and Cooper (2008) are cases where one culture rules and a homogenous cultural environment emerges. In homogenous settings, one local rendition of culture is traditionally viewed as being more legitimate than others. As a result, local elites, power structures and other forces contribute to the emergence of a homogenous structure that is propagated in many settings. However, in the case of Tsodilo, there is a strong tendency to strive to maintain the cultural diversity where possible or at least create borders for cultural representation, transparent enough for the outsider or heritage visitor to notice while coating the harmonized cultural unity.

### **6.4.1 Kinship Obligation and Alliances**

Access to the site resources and benefits through tourism and the selling of crafts by the village residents is a form of giving part of the host community resources and fulfilling expectations to be reciprocated. The observed different types of gifts exchanged within kinship include but are not limited to livestock, traditional beads, pottery, and invitations to traditional ceremonies and access to the home and water sources at the time of lack and stress. Territorial integrity claimed through the Nxore system is also operationalized in the local perceptions of entitlement and relevance.

## 6.5 Heritage Studies

Following the discussion on the heritage concept over time, it has proven not to be a static concept; it has been dynamic and promptly expanding over time. Hence, implementation catches up rather slowly because it is hindered by stagnant institutions that are slow to embrace change. It has also become a product of the decision-making process. The early decisions of *what* to conserve and *how* to conserve, effected by the presence of specialized interests in heritage protection, have set a complex platform for the safeguarding of intangible heritage. The earlier stages of the process of heritage management had a tendency to obscure the links between cultural heritage sites and local communities, thus remaining negligent of the roles, experiences, perspectives and relations that individuals and groups carried with them in their engagement with heritage. The early heritage management decisions were taken based on expert bias of specific disciplines involved in the decision-making process. In the southern African region, the influential experts in this venture were archaeologists, with little interest in the contemporary local communities around heritage sites. Therefore, prior to the 21st century, concern with heritage management issues focused on tangible heritage.

Harrison (2013) defines heritage as a set of attitudes and relationships with respect to the past. This renders that, for an object or place to be valued as heritage, there should be some relationship attached to its past with the community. Therefore, the question in this context is in which community and what kind of relationship? In general, the heritage concept acknowledges the relationship between people and material culture. Moreover, the intensity of the perceptive relationship differs from local, regional, national, and international settings because geographical proximity, though taken lightly in conceptualizing heritage, matters significantly in the way people associate themselves with certain cultural resources through intangible heritage. The community's locations also play a major role in their attachment to these cultural products.

### 6.5.1 Culture in the Heritage Site

In a broader sense, culture is also inclusive of the everyday lives of the community, performances, practices and ideologies which can be commoditized and sold. This part of the community's identity can be shared with the public, reproduced, reconstructed and also influence the outsider. Culture and cultural change in this sphere appear as products of a conscious mind influenced by the external factors. Traditions, on the other hand, refer to a more individualized and closed part of the community; it is kept sacred and not easily shared. Local tradition is the part of the community that cannot be traded nor commoditized. Brett (1996: 15) proposed that the preoccupation with the past is created out of the experiences of continual change in which the social dwelling context is being replaced by another.

### 6.5.2 Cultural Shrinking Spaces

Chapter 4 demonstrated the shrinking spaces of the home and spiritual areas around the site and the marginalized spaces. There is a need for progressive messages of the rights of the communities in heritage sites that respect the independence of communities from exploitative systems. The question remains of how we can prepare local people for the pressures of the tourism industry which takes place far from the government but close to the local people. Otherwise, we may look back and be haunted by the idea that we have done more bad than good to these culture groups, who deserve the respect of their privacy and independence from the pressures of the heritage tourism industry.

### 6.5.3 The Heritage Management Plan of Tsodilo Hills

Amongst the three main site significances, as named in the 2010-2015 Tsodilo World Heritage Cultural Landscape Core Area Management, are the living traditions. Tsodilo is a scared cultural landscape of

which the Hambukushu and San communities have strong traditional beliefs that involve respect for the Tsodilo hills as a place of worship and ancestral Spirits. There are many legends told by the communities to explain the supernatural origin of many features around the hills. One prominent feature, which is a manifestation of their beliefs, is the waterhole on the Female hill where large Snakes live. Some churches, e.g. the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), believe that the water found there can cleanse away bad Spirits and solve witchcraft problems. Even traditional doctors travel to Tsodilo to collect this water for spiritual use and meditation. For this reason, Botswana became a signatory of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage in 2008.

The 2005 Tsodilo Integrated Management Plan is commendable for its breakthrough in ensuring the community participation in the management of the site and decision-making process. This is because consultation does not always mean accord. In an interview conducted during the research for this paper, some participants lamented the results of the processes of managing the site through the recommendations of the 1994 Tsodilo Monument Plan, on the relocation of the local community from the site and the building of the site museum in the core area. Their reason being, this marked the total control and taking of their place of residence by the government while ignoring their voices. Through the establishment of the Tsodilo Community Trust, local people are not only consulted on what happens in their village but also have the opportunity to agree or disagree on projects that affect their socio-economic lifestyle.

The community engagement in the heritage management has been debated extensively and intensively by professionals for two decades now and still fails to conceptualize the magnitude of the community involvement in heritage management. This is because of generalizations and treatment of specific case studies as representations of the community as homogeneous groups. The studies in Tsodilo as a specific and unique case study in understanding the role of the community in heritage management, cultural sustainability and eco-tourism. The misconception emerges from lacking conceptualizations of the various inner community complexities that develop within heritage sites. The heritage context is continuously transforming as communities interact with the outside world and gain new insights about the resources and how they can protect their interests while contributing to the management and preservation of the resource.

The role of local culture in the sustainability of heritage management schemes has not received much scholarly attention. This study claims that understanding local culture and cultural values play a fundamental role in shaping community responses to heritage management strategies that are implemented by relevant national authorities and international agencies. Certainly, the relationship that local people have with their heritage sites go through a transformation after the inscription of the places on national or world heritage lists. Although often viewed as leading to the development and economic beneficiation through cultural tourism, the enlisting of cultural places as national and world cultural heritage is not always viewed as such by the local communities. An approach that is sensitive to the local culture and cultural trajectories of local communities, and that considers these as integral to heritage management, creates a platform for shared interests in sustainable heritage management. By appreciating the heterogeneity and uniqueness of local cultures, official heritage management would be ensuring that there is guaranteed commitment and involvement of communities in the heritage management process.

The unique cultural context of Tsodilo is one that embodies cultural diversity. In the management of such a site there is often a link between the World Heritage Site and culture and nationalism which abstract the cultural exceptionality of the resident groups. Botswana government policy tends to assimilate minority and historically immigrant groups into the mainstream Tswana culture rather than appreciate the multiculturalism around the heritage area (Giraud, 2011). In rural settlements, the

governing Tswana political system is effortlessly adopted by the Hambukushu and imposed on the Ju/hoansi. Consequently, there is a form of resistance of these power structures by the latter, who during the fieldwork, expressed a preferred and desired return to an egalitarian system.

## 6.6 Conclusion

This study concludes that international and multilateral organisations and institutions have global vision of the contemporary global community while national institutions also have national agendas that do not always compatible with the ideas and perceptions of the local and host communities. In Africa, most countries have gone through substantial continuities in the spaces of cultural preservation that have been interrupted by internationally influenced global agendas that are in the state of fluctuation. In the venture, states and local communities become drawn into constant adaptations into the perceived relationship within the global community perspectives. However the relationship that impacted stakeholders within state borders and the world vary depending on the interests and motivations. These vary depending on the participant; host community, local and neighbouring community, state employee, researcher, tourist, traditional doctor, businessman/women conserver etc in the World Heritage Sites contexts.

Secondly, at times we as experts unintentionally contribute to this marginalization of the people and interest groups by way of forming narratives and a global agenda of heritage management formed by disciplines that can support our relevance as experts or institutions. The general heritage phenomena in Tsodilo is characterized by change as local people, local institutions and ideologies are modified to fit the narrative and the set standards of the heritage industry. In the case study, there is a system of constant change as the local and host community continuously self-modifies to fit in the narrative.

To some degree, the World Heritage programme has adopted a colonizing system based on the forming of groups that conform and support the heritage narratives and global heritage management agenda, resulting in selectivity and exclusion. The programme has also brought limited practice and reduced personal attachment of local communities to cultural resources. In small communities, access to cultural resources is reduced in favour of conservation. This means practices associated with some cultural resources are also omitted or altered. This influence of heritage status and tourism on local communities has not been critically and intensively analysed in heritage, cultural and archaeological studies. The increasing growth rate in the discipline of heritage and tourism slowly plays a role in the transformation of local communities and their everyday lives. Ownership and stewardship of cultural resources have been extended to regional and national as well as international cosmopolitan communities with different interests and motivations. This decreases the roles and attachment of local communities to some heritage resources.

To this point, the study transpired the uniqueness and diversity of the local people's trajectories through the heritage phenomena and constant change of the landscape. In the quest to preserve the memories of the site and its relationship with the local community, the community responds to the WH status by the construction of long-term relevance, entitlement and attachment to the landscape. The main strategy adopted is a reflex regarding the general management plan based on the setting of borders, both physical and conceptual. Within the border lines, there are constructs of community and non-community spaces that determine forms of interaction and value interplay due to ranging diversity of agential interests. Within the 'non-community' heritage spaces, the local people have very little influence but the associated value of the site depends on the cultural representation of the past of the Ju/hoansi (San/indigenous hunter-gatherer) and the Hambukushu (traditionalists and renowned rainmakers) while witnessing diverse and sometimes contrasting modern development interventions and social values.

The research has found that the World Heritage status brings new and multiple dimensions in effect to the local communities. There are value dynamics between people and places which are influenced by the interactivities between global, national and local actors. The complexity of management in this context emerges from the interplay of valorisation of cultural resources based on group-specific understandings of the value of the site. The local people recognized the cultural landscape as a World Heritage Site of universal value, a spiritual place and a private home territory (village) for local community families in the proximity of the hills and their kinship ties in the neighbouring settlements and villages. Furthermore, the overall landscape has diverse features that draw a diversity of interests to varied individuals and groups based on spiritual, aesthetic, scientific (mainly archaeological and research potential), historical, traditions, and ecological values. Therefore, the site exists as a platform for interactions between different groups and their ways of understanding, interpreting and valuing the heritage.

The user groups and local communities valorise heritage based on the idea of home, sacred, and traditional logic, while governmental agents focus on political, public, and national logic. Site general management practitioners not only manage the site's tangible resources but also the communities that live and work in or near the site. Often these values contrast with the interests of the locals. Due to these reasons, the question arises how 'living' cultural heritage can be safeguarded? By making it tangible and representing a site means transforming it in order to make it graspable to a wider audience and heritage community. According to cultural sociologists, every fixation inevitably follows the certain logic of valorisation. This then certainly opens up a realm of conflict between impacted groups and their perspectives of what determines the cultural value of a heritage resource. The second question is what the underlying logic of valorisation is and in how far it is in conflict with itself and what the possible ways are to communicate with these different perspectives and ways of valorisation? This second question leads to the findings of the study emphasizing the local perspectives of the interactions with the global, national, and trans-local while the host people construct their position of continued relevance and role within the site.

The general analysis reports the positive and negative effects of the process of the heritage programme and the relevance and significance of heritage through local lenses. The results of the research demonstrate the key factors that influence community adaptation and illustrate the experiences and community involvement through the heritage phenomena. In general, the current status of the Tsodilo world cultural heritage is satisfactory. Tourists, diverse heritage users, visitors and experts are actively involved in the heritage management and conservation activities. The local community is gradually positioning their interests. However, capacity building and empowerment is vital to secure major roles for the management of the site and developing the Tsodilo landscape in the future in order to promote tourism and the value of the local community. WHS status of the site seems to have enhanced local identity, increased local people's pride in the culture and place of residence, and prompted a revitalization of local culture and cultural harmonies within the multi-cultural context.

However, it is unfortunate to notice that cultural heritage tourism has negative impacts which appear in intra-community conflicts regarding limited opportunities even with an increase in the number of visitors since the UNESCO inscription of the site in 2001. A few issues need to be improved which derive mainly from a lack of understanding of WHS status or conflicts between heritage management/tourism and spiritual sacred practices and the perspective on the change of authority as the loss of a home and sacredness of the area. Currently, local communities and their competencies at Tsodilo World Heritage Sites are treated as marginal in so far as the safeguarding of ICH is concerned. But the same societies are the 'traditional connoisseurs' that can safeguard the ICH associated with World Heritage properties.



A more all-inclusive case specific approach, consisting of a meaningful dialogue amongst all stakeholders, would be useful for further success in Tsodilo as a home for the local people, a sacred, religious site for spiritual and religious groups and a tourist destination for the mass. However, this is dependent on the knowledge of the decision-makers. Defined studies need to be conducted to provide adequate information for the future generation and analysis of the outcomes of heritage status and tourism on local and host communities.

### 6.7 Recommendations of the Study

This text serves to question the received knowledge of what cultural heritage is and work on enlightening the academia population interested in heritage and cultural studies in the role of active participation from local people and communities who have been marginalized or excluded in the creation and management of the heritage site. Therefore, the Tsodilo case study and the critical heritage approach have highlighted the following:

a) The fact that heritage is given meaning and value by local communities through their physical and cognitive attachment keeps the site alive. Hence, it is rather easy to lose the spiritual aura of the place if this is not seriously considered. As is the case in Tsodilo, the local community's gradual detachment and the change in meaning and value of the site through local lenses is worrisome in that, in the future, the site may remain a naked site or a totally transformed site with second-hand perception brought in by outsiders. Furthermore, it is important that local communities keep their view of the site, which might be historical compared to the prehistory of the site. This aspect makes a difference and acknowledges the diversity of perception of heritage material. It is a large part of the site, keeping it alive and drawing interest from the community.

b) This paper also challenges the established conventions of disciplinary dominance in the interpretation of complex material culture. The researcher suggests the integration and engagement of multi-disciplinary approaches in research, management and conservation of heritage sites. It is evident that a conservator of the heritage site who is also an ensuring authority for the maximum benefit of heritage advance endangers the future of heritage sites.

c) The researcher recommends democratization and embracing heritage insights of people, community and cultural narrations that have been marginalized in formulating heritage policies. In my understanding, heritage status has become a cultural and social phenomenon which comprises active community participation, sustained cultural values of the local community and their closest relation with the cultural and natural resources around them. This concept goes beyond technical conceptualization of terms concerning modern-day conservation and preservation efforts which exclude the community's emotional and cultural attachment to monuments.

d) Culture-centred management and preservation for the sustainable development of the community is recommended for heritage managers. It is a way which would enhance community values, beliefs and perceptions and place great value on heritage resources. Nevertheless, already, as in Tsodilo (WHS), local perceptions and meanings accorded to the assets are gradually being lost to shared worldviews. The locals lose the level of attachment they had with their cultural assets and replace it with economic and political values and gains. This approach would enrich the heritage concept even in the mind of the local people and render it relevant and appreciated from the local level to the international level without compromising cultural knowledge.

e) Lastly research results makes a powerful point about archaeology as dominant discourse in heritage processes, having a propensity to downplay cultural stakes of present populations to the advantage of

a universalist discourse about the importance of prehistoric material artefacts and Landscapes thus the research recommends reflexivity on the discipline of Archaeology as a dominate discourse influencing local cultures and communities. As it appears, through tourism coming along with the World Heritage label, local populations are drawn into an adaptation of their own valuations of the site to expectations carried by conservationists, tourists an heritage management team but preordained by the universalist archaeological discourse.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1

Table 14 Profile of the research team

Research team	Gender	Age	Origin ethnic group
Assistant researcher 1	Female	29	Mokwena
Research assistant 2	Female	36	Tswapong
Research assistant and translator	Male	29	!Kung

## Appendix 2

### Interview guide

This interview guide was established with the Tsodilo community, neighbouring settlements and village's resident participants. These questions were established as follow up on the initial codes of first phase research interviews. This was the time after the first research break during the first stage field work.

What is Tsodilo cultural and natural heritage to you?

Participant information

Which ethnic group do you belong to?  
How old are you?  
Where is your place of birth?  
How long have you lived in Tsodilo?  
What is your main source of income?  
How are you related to the Chief?

Probing question

What is Tsodilo heritage to you mean?  
Which are Tsodilo local ethnic groups?  
How are the relations between the groups?

Theme 1; Perception of the Tsodilo heritage

Which ethnic groups do you associate with the heritage?  
How did Tsodilo become a World Heritage Site?  
What can be done to develop Tsodilo?  
What do you like or dislike in Tsodilo?

Theme 2; leadership roles and gender roles

How to the leadership manage to diverse group

Theme 3; effects of heritage label on the local people

What were your expectations at the beginning of the heritage listing process?  
Do you notice any change in the culture of the people?  
What can be done to develop Tsodilo?  
Do you see heritage label as a negative or positive?  
What are the past projects carried out in the heritage area of Tsodilo?

Theme 4; neighbouring community

Do you have relatives in Tsodilo?  
How often do you visit?  
For which reasons do you visit  
Do you believe in the Spirit of Tsodilo?  
What do you understand as Tsodilo Heritage?  
Do you think Tsodilo Spirits still exist?

Theme 5; Crafts and gender

How do you earn your living?  
How important are the crafts in your culture?  
Would it be a bad thing if men made bead necklaces/ women made  
How would you react if a Hambukushu made San Crafts?

Theme 6; the stakeholders and community cooperation

The site museum and staff;

Which ethnic group did you say you from again?  
What is your educational background?  
What do you know about the background of the museum?  
What do you know about the process Tsodilo went through to end up in the listing of the of the UNESCO World Heritage Site?  
Role of the museum and site museum in Tsodilo?  
Do you have partners in this mission?  
Apart from government departments do you have any other non-governmental partners?  
What are your thoughts about where is the community interest in all this heritage phenomena?  
Are there projects even in the future that are considered?

Theme 7 Tsodilo community trust and its role in the community

When was it established? And why?  
What is its role?  
Who are the members?  
What are the projects they carry out?  
Who are the supporting partners if any?

Sub-Theme; neighbourhoods, community relation and creation of borders

What are the relationships like within Tsodilo community?  
Is the relationship with Tsodilo community different from that you have with people in your settlement here?  
What are your thoughts on Tsodilo heritage?

## Theme 8; Past experience and cultural interactions and fixation

How did you and family end up in Tsodilo?

Do you have contact with heritage visitors and tourists at your residence house?

What is your thought about Tsodilo as a World Heritage Site?

## Sub-Theme; Community diversity?

Who are the local inhabitants of Tsodilo?

How different are the cultures of the ethnic groups in this village?

How do the cultures influence each other?

## Theme 9; development and cultural change

What is your thought about developments in Tsodilo and the visitors?

Do you see the spiritual character of the site affected by visitors and developments around the site?

## Theme 10; the relation between tradition, religion, culture and heritage

What is your thought about the Spirit of Tsodilo and the whole heritage phenomena?

How does religion tradition and paintings relate?

**Appendix 3**

*Table 15 Example of Focused codes and interview excerpts*

'Our grandfather, the father to Samotjao used to visit this area frequently looking for good pasture for his livestock. Samotjao was with him so he knew this place very well, when he grew older he started to come here alone also, for hunting. Later he realised he liked this area, he went back to take his livestock and came to settle here with his animals. That was in 1958 in 1959 he went back and brought the rest of his household to Tsodilo'.	The historical origin of Tsodilo
'They are all Samotjao's family. It's his sons and daughters and that of his siblings and their families'.	Family relations in Tsodilo
'There were sufficient rains every day. There was no time for drought in this area, the rain came every year'.	Difficulties and changes in the environment
'he knew about the hills from his forefathers and we knew about them from him. So when we came we knew there were settlements of our great-grandparents in this area'.	Knowing about the hills and sharing knowledge
'Life here is mostly circulating around livestock. It is different from the wild animals, it needs good grazing land, and this area also has good wild products. It stretches all the way to the river this is what brought us to Tsodilo until now. When we bring all this together with the paintings and the old settlements that is what is the culture of the area'	The livelihood strategies, challenges of pastoralist, advantages of the area, borders lies, value and defining Culture.
'Our taboos are replaced with rules and regulations of the museum. The site is not managed as we did. For example, when a visitor came they first saw the elder and he called on someone to take the visitors to the hills. We realised later that what affected this tradition was agreeing for the museum office to be placed right on the foot of the hill. If we had anticipated this, we would have said they should be placed within the resident area so that this tradition does not disappear and we keep the site governed by our traditional taboos, so that when a visitor goes into the site fence they already have been orientated on the tradition and taboos of the hills. This is hindered by the offices because we agreed for them to be by the hill. The office should be out of the site fence too'.	Changing from traditional management to regulation and rules by the museum authority Changing roles of the host community

<p>'Somethings were not supposed to be done in the site, the Sangomas throw money inside the well, the religious people also just go inside the hill without being introduced or permitted. When they see the Snake in the well, they fight it and so on. These things are not good for the site. The water dry up and it is difficult to collect, it's deep and only those with guts go inside the well and collect the sacred waters. Those offices have made the taboos and traditions to disappear so now there are consequences'.</p>	Effects of development on the traditional and local culture, Multiple site uses
<p>'The religious people come to this place with their misfortunes, bad lucks and problems to seek healing and they throw money in the water. When they see this snake, they say it is the devil and fight it and this has affected the Spirit of the hills. This does not comply with the traditions of the hill. They do this because they do not know; the information does not reach them. The presence of the Spirit of the hills is greatly affected'</p>	Differing beliefs and perceptions
<p>'we formed the Tsodilo community trust, to deal with issues like this, so that anyone who goes to the hills should first see the traditional leadership and be introduced to the taboos and Spirit of the hills before they proceed to the hills, so that before the government people and their laws welcome them, they already have been introduced to the Spirit of the hill and the taboos'.</p> <p>'we try to keep the livestock away from the site, if we had the means and the money, the site museum offices would have been moved out from the hills, the visitors would not enter that gate before they enter the Kgotla and be told about the traditions, taboos of the hills then the regulations, accommodation and trails of the hills. Our aim is that even as the offices are still there, we will move out our livestock and visitors will still have to pass by the Kgotla for this vital information about the taboos. They need to know the culture of the people and beliefs the first'.</p>	Responses to external influenced change
<p>'There are good developments that concur with the lives of people at the moment like the roads and the Kgotla so that those who offend others are easily punished. The clinic gives those with weaknesses and health problems to be assisted quickly. Even the school, because according to the agreements we made with the government, Tsodilo is officially accepted as a village which means, we will have the school very soon. But these do not hinder our cultural practices because they are for the good of the people but the culture should also still be there'</p>	Heritage and Developments
<p>'From there the museum started to establish itself here. They looked for the few who could understand English language. This was around 2001, they selected a few young people who could interpret and talk with the western visitors. This was when Tsodilo started to be recognised as a World Heritage Site in the country'.</p>	Determining participation and interaction through Language proficiency of English
<p>'Starting from 2007 to today (2016)I have been a tour guide. It's a very long time of doing this job. Since longer than I could remember we always had local people as guides in Tsodilo. There was an old man called Phoraki and the old Chief Samotjao who did this tour guiding job and received visitors. We now call them guides but they were not guides they were community elders who received visitors and showed them around if they had interests'.</p>	Guiding visitors in Tsodilo
<p>'Our cattle were there so we lived there as well, I moved to Maun then I came to live in Tsodilo... Tsodilo was on a pathway to the waterhole from where we drank, so we occasionally came pass here... drank the water here on our way to Mbondela' settlement</p>	Lifestyle and importance of cattle
<p>'We knew that we were all a family but scattered in different cattle posts for our livestock to survive'</p> <p>'Basarwa who lived here, was Xontae's family. We knew that within the hills lived these desert San people and in the peripheries were the Hambukushu'.</p>	Kinship ties
<p>'They mostly had use of the sacred water because they worshipped and prayed on the hills'</p>	The utility value of the hills and its features



<p>‘We did not know of the need for excavations to ascribe those settlements to any other groups. We understood that the objects we found there were from the Basarwa and their ancestors because they lived in that location, we didn’t know that they could be appropriated to any other group. Later after the excavation, that changed our understanding of the landscape. The excavations revealed that this area is a remnant of what used to be a big paleo-lake, we didn’t know this much, we only knew of the hills and the Basarwa. Most of what we know now is also what came out of the archaeological excavations. Before this work, we only understood the site as a place for the Basarwa, their paintings and old settlements where their ancestors used to live. We didn’t even know so much about the meanings for the paintings or their importance or the possibilities of other groups have settled in the old settlement area’.</p> <p>‘After the research work and excavations we began to be educated about the value of the paintings and how fragile they are. They taught us that these things could fade away and that we can help protect it. We understood the paintings to be the work of God so we didn’t think it could fade or disappear’</p>	<p>Imbrications of science and impact on the local perceptions</p> <p>Responsibility of the host community</p>
<p>‘These things have changed with new developments that have been introduced. The Spirit may have moved due to the disturbances. As you may have realised now we have that loud noises of the generators, a lot of people come here and sometimes in big groups, the road also has many cars passing by’.</p>	<p>Clashes between the local and international site management</p>
<p>‘Spirit may have decided to move to quiet places because we do not feel their presence that much anymore’</p>	<p>Changes in the spiritual aura of site</p>
<p>‘if we knew this would happen we would have limited the changes in this area or maybe just avoided making so much change near the hills like the buildings we have here now, the Spirit may still be felt here’</p>	<p>Regrets</p>
<p>‘In the past, we knew that if we wanted to go somewhere in the hills and there were strange winds, it meant the Spirit does not approve of the path, our visitors do not know all these things. We have some churches that come here and the members may just want to use the cave while in that same place we have tourists who just want to admire the beauty of the cave. It’s a very complex situation that we have but we understand that they all should use the hills’</p> <p>‘I can go into the hills with someone, while I tell them about the site, they simply do not listen or get attracted by something else. The next thing they do is exactly what I said they should not do on the site like touch the paintings. This is a very important job but very challenging even though I do not earn so much’</p>	<p>Stakeholder value clashes and reverence of the Spirit</p> <p>reciprocity</p>
<p>‘The enlisting of the site as a heritage site raises mixed feelings; lives were affected in different ways among the local people. Some people are more affected than the others. Some people had to be moved from the hills site while others were not moved from where they settled’.</p>	<p>Expressing the result of the enlisting process as mixed feelings.</p> <p>Lives affected by the enlisting of the site</p>
<p>‘if we all came together and made a combined group, we would benefit better from the site and what it may bring in future’</p>	<p>Community reform and collectives</p>
<p>‘I think the one who had been moved should have been helped more instead of putting them in the same place and status because the other one was dependant on the hills’</p> <p>‘I do not see what we have shared as a single community being fair and beneficial to them after what they had to go through for this to be possible’</p>	<p>Perception on the relocation</p>
<p>‘We have different actors in this body we call community, when there is a project and it requires community participation, I do not form part of that group. This is why I said that socially I am part of the community but when there are projects for the community like building a house or fencing, I cannot be part of that project. The community will come first, to them it’s clear who they mean when they say community projects. The trust membership elections are also only for the community and I mean the true community member. I feel the need to do some things with them just because I live here with them but I cannot always be a stranger. Sometimes I do not feel like part of the community because the people here are discriminative, they enjoy saying people are outsiders’.</p>	<p>Definition of community and outsider</p>

<p>'We are not supposed to burn candles in the caves, it is better for preserving the site... we want it to stay as it is'.</p> <p>'... as the people who pray here and the traditional doctors, the candles are very importantly to be lit there, we light the candles and this light is meant to ask for the light to the problems we come with. It is important for us also to preserve the area so we can burn the candle but make sure it doesn't remain on the rocks'.</p> <p>'The problem is that the people who are in authority make too many laws... we can have a minister of environment who does not have an understanding of how we do things here, how a prophet in Tsodilo relate and use the site, how the people relate and use the hills. These are the people who communicate with the Spirit of this place'.</p>	The clash between use and conservation
<p>'I met a Mosarwa in South Africa who said this whole area used to be called Nxauxau. So I came looking for hills in this area, these are the hills in Nxauxau so I came here because I heard this whole area used to be called Nxauxau'.</p>	What is Tsodilo
<p>'I am not from here, I come from South Africa but the Spirit works in mysterious ways, as I travelled, I was called by the Spirit and I have realised a couple of things about this place...'</p>	Diversity of visitors
<p>I advice you not to take this kind of research too academic with all these books you have read. Relate this research with the culture and tradition of this place and the people. Try to understand really this place because if it becomes too focused on the contemporary perspectives it will lose the value that I see in it.</p>	Direct contributions to the focus of the research
<p>'My work here is related to the rock paintings. There are painting near the big cave on the rhino trail, it's like a flower sprouting out of the water. That showed me that this place used to have a lot of water. We cannot understand this painting all the same because sometimes as a Spiritual person the Spirit informs us what they want through these paintings. They can show us a painting and convey their message through the painting. As people we will interpret these paintings differently; we receive messages through them. When I am in Tsodilo, I do not just receive messages through dreams, the paintings are also a mode of communication with the Spirit of this place. These paintings were painted by people who had a lot of knowledge of this area and they continue speaking to us as the Spirit of this place'.</p>	Rock art and traditional believes and use
<p>'I want to connect with the Spirit of the place so I should walk around the hills. I have been sleeping in one of the caves as I connect. If I can connect with the Spirit, there may be something positive that can happen or I may see some visions'.</p> <p>'There are many Spirits; the Spirit of water, caves, hills, dams. These Spirits show themselves to us in many different ways. They can communicate with us depending on our spiritual gifts. Some people may not communicate with them all some can communicate with a few or just one. Our gifts to communicate with the different Spirits are limited'.</p> <p>'The Spirit does not what so much noise'.</p>	Connecting with the spirit of the hills
<p>'I would not call myself a Christian, but I believe in God. I believe that God is alive. I cannot say I am a Christian because there is so much difference in the belief system that I have and that of some Christians. I believe in praying on the hills, the Spirit of water. There are practices we do to please the Spirits of the hill and the water... there are offerings we give in these places. The Christians do not believe in that. There are some similarities in our beliefs though like with the Zion Christian Church followers. When you follow their history, they are a church that was formed out of a desire to preserve African culture within the Christian faith. A lot of them come to these hills to pray not only for the traditional African cultural practices but also as Christians. This is why so many people in the rural communities are also followers of the church'.</p>	Differentiating between Traditional belief and religious beliefs

<p>'There is a lot of confusion between people here and their beliefs. Our belief is also fading because it is very closely linked to nature and places where one can connect with nature like the water and sea. I pray here even though there are many people and tourists. I have to choose times when it is very quiet. I have to pick a spot and time knowing that the ancestors have their times for when we pray. This is around 12 am, 12 pm, 3 am. This is the times of the ancestral Spirit, we obey them. That is why we have certain times of coming to Tsodilo the same with the other worshippers. As growing up we were told that at those times, we should drop everything and let the ancestors work'.</p>	The clash between tourist and traditional visitors
<p>'When we came here we were a larger group. It is just that many of us died here and were buried in the hills. Some died on that side where there is a sacred well guarded by big snakes and were buried there. My father told me that my grandfather was buried there as well. He is buried downhill but near the well. We have for many years drunk from that well. Many died of diseases and old age. In panel 7 some died and were buried there. We found an old settlement and re-settled In it, when the Hambukushu came we were already settled in panel 7'</p>	Group dynamics
<p>'Before moving, these hills were part of us and we lived with them, our lives were dependant on them. The Tswana and English culture were not part of our lives. We lived as Basarwa. See, at that time we lived closely with our elders and when we went hunting or just gathering food as children, our parents would group us and seat us down then ask from the ancestors. They told us about the taboos associated with the hills and the area and we respected them and the area. Going for a hunt or into the deep wild, sometimes we would have a great kill or have an easy kill, or find an already wounded animal'.</p>	The utility value of the site
<p>We moved from the hills in 1993, we are forced out because they said they wanted to protect the hills and the paintings. They did not want people to just come and just go into the hills. They also wanted to have laws to govern people who go into the hills.</p> <p>'We have lost most of these traditions and practices we do not even pray at the hills. Our forefathers have passed away; the loss is also because we were angry because of the changes that took place. We were taken out of the hills and we are angry and bitter. Our fathers agreed on these changes because we had placed our trust in them and they agreed not knowing what it will be like'</p>	Relocation and management
<p>'My father was a spiritual person, he could call all the hills by their names when saying his prayer, he knew them all by name'</p>	Description and character of the hills

## Appendix 4

Table 16 Example of the coding process

INTERVIEW	CODES	FOCUSED CODE CATEGORY	CONCEPTS
<p>‘Tsodilo has just recently been gazetted as an official village, So we are hopeful that developments will follow’.</p> <p>‘We have built the gatehouse, the 2 ablution blocks, we have established that people pay to enter the site’</p> <p>‘Most of the project fund has been used on the constructions of these structures as we see Tsodilo now what is left is the building of the wells away from the village so that we keep cattle away from the heritage site’</p> <p>‘It used to be good business until the museum came. Before the museum came here, we made a lot of crafts and helicopters came with the white people’.</p>	<p>-Gazetting of Tsodilo from settlement to officially recognized village (4)</p> <p>Building structures; site museum, campsite and boreholes (9)</p> <p>Using funding money to constructions of wells o that community move cattle away from the site (6)</p> <p>Coming of museum authority on the site (11)</p>	Development of Tsodilo landscape by external actors Perceived dis /advantages and affordances of the heritage site and value dynamics cause and consequence	The relevance of the host community Values interplay in the landscape The interaction between host and visitor
<p>‘...we have to hand over the water wells to the community but water utilities want to take over but since the wells were constructed through the community funds there are still negotiations going on’.</p> <p>‘They bought a lot of our products while we lived by the hills until museum came and stopped these helicopters’.</p>	<p>Changing authorities for water supply management (4)</p> <p>Museum authority stopping some activities and affect the life of the community (12)</p>		
<p>Kgosi Samotjao became our Chief... we want Basarwa to also have a representative</p>	<p>Being led by Hambukushu Chief (3)</p>	Local authority and Management of the site	
<p>‘The Tsodilo community trust if I remember well, was established by people like Xontae’</p> <p>‘It was formed by the community. They elect the board member and whatever we construct we hand over to them, we just do the supervision. Whatever we do the community take the lead’</p>	<p>Establishing the Tsodilo community trusts (8)</p>		

<p>'When we moved from the hill, life became hard, so the government tried to help us with the cattle and goats'</p>	<p>Compensating Basarwa after relocating them (6)</p>	<p>Relocation and compensation of Basarwa/ Ju/hoansi settlement</p>	<p>The relevance of the host community Values interplay in the landscape The interaction between host and visitor</p>
<p>'we want to keep cattle away from the heritage site'</p>	<p>-Moving the cattle kraals from the site to cattle post(7)</p>		
<p>'We came in 1958 but when we came this area started as a cattle post for us'</p>	<p>Starting as a cattle post (9)</p>		
<p>'The Botswana council dug a borehole for us '.</p> <p>'We lived for some time until we started to face some difficulty with that water borehole; it was not stable, we had to ask for an engine from the council to make getting water easier. When we got the engine, we started to fight over the borehole with the Hambukushu because they said the borehole is theirs too'.</p> <p>'That caused a lot of quarrels and fights between us and them. For some reason, that borehole dried out'.</p> <p>'We were still using it but frequently we quarrelled over water, they were accusing us of misusing the water'.</p> <p>'The difference is that in the past like I said is that due to the influence of the government there has been a lot of changes now, the consultations were part of the way our parents conserved the site but when the government came into the picture, it took all responsibility of conserving the site upon itself'.</p>	<p>Being compensated for relocation by building a borehole (5)</p> <p>Facing the water problem at the borehole (3)</p> <p>Fighting with Hambukushu over the borehole (4)</p> <p>Continuing conflict within the community</p>		

## Appendix 5

Table 17 Example of Focused codes

Focused codes	Concepts and chapters
<p>conflicting norms and values</p> <p>epistemological crisis</p> <p>Co-existence of global and local patterns</p> <p>paradoxical nature of heritage</p> <p>Bringing Tangible and intangible heritage together</p> <p>Diverging value systems</p> <p>Difference between religion, tradition and modern conservation</p> <p>reported behaviours, attitudes and engagement with the outsider</p> <p>Concern that the authority in charge do not appreciate the traditional and cultural aura of the site</p> <p>Concern over conservation laws</p> <p>Concern that fencing divide people from the site</p> <p>Concern about the lawmakers 'ignorance of the traditions and spirituality of the site</p> <p>The diversity of Rock art interpretations</p>	<p>Value dynamics</p> <p>Cause and consequence</p> <p>Contradictions and harmonies and</p>
<p>dynamics in the context and the diversity of cultures</p> <p>contaminating the site by spiritual practices contra maintain the spirituality of the site</p>	
<p>giving meaning to a place</p> <p>altering the meaning of space</p> <p>Managing interactions</p> <p>Inter-ethnic relations</p> <p>Insider-outsider relations</p> <p>Local people and management relations</p>	<p>Securing long-term community relevance</p>
<p>Advice on the participants</p> <p>Advice on the focus of the research</p> <p>Pleased with young people taking interest in research in Tsodilo</p> <p>Fixations on past culture, items, believes, etc</p>	
<p>Co-existence of global and local patterns Diverging value systems</p> <p>reported behaviours, attitudes,</p> <p>-Zoning of Tsodilo landscape into the core, high sensitivity zone, residential -zone and agro-pastoral zones</p> <p>-Visitor population increase and interference on the local lifestyle</p> <p>-Spiritual restricted area</p> <p>-Attachment dependent on proximity</p>	<p>Heritage perceptions and space relations</p>
<p>Flexibility of borders</p> <p>Relocation and attachment to the site</p> <p>Conforming to pre-set boundaries</p>	

## Appendix 6

Table 18 Example of codes on Community and visitor interactions

Text	Codes	Category
<p>'in the past, there were visitors coming in but they were not as many as nowadays. The conditions were not very accommodating of the visitors'</p> <p>'other visitors like our white visitors mainly come to see the rock paintings, that is the most attractive feature of the hills'</p> <p>'Most of our visitors come with clear ideas of what they want to gain from the site visit and we tell them what we can and cannot offer'</p> <p>'The people who invited tourists to their houses are community trust board members. What should have happened was to refer the visitors to the campsites because now they are more like private visitors than tourists'.</p> <p>'the visitors who enter the private dwellings and live with the community as tourists is a very challenging issue'</p> <p>'We have arrangements and agreements on how we do things around here regarding visitors and sharing resources'.</p> <p>'We now call them guides but around the 1980s they were not guides they were community elders who received visitors and showed them around if they had interests. Today we call them guides'.</p> <p>'It meant that the Spirit does not approve of the path, our visitors do not know all these things'.</p> <p>'If our visitors need the sacred water, we tell them that there are several water points around. However most of them do not compromising on going to the sacred waterhole even as we always tell them that there is a big snake that lives in the special 'tsuokum' water hole, they still want to go there'</p> <p>'look around see how many plant species there are, it's embarrassing to say you do not know when the visitors ask you about them'</p> <p>'We make a lot of different products to sell but we only make them for tourists because we do not use them anymore'</p>	<p>Growing visitor numbers and improved conditions.</p> <p>Knowing what various visitors come to see in the hills (3)</p> <p>Coming with clear ideas of what they want as visitors (5)</p> <p>Flexible boundaries between the locals and the visitors (3)</p> <p>Crossing boundaries by visitors (2)</p> <p>Setting boundaries for visitors (3)</p> <p>Changing vocabulary over time (6)</p> <p>Extensively Informing the visitors of their various options for their own protection.</p> <p>Feeling embarrassed by not knowing so much (3)</p> <p>Providing for the need of the tourist (6)</p>	Community visitor relations

## Appendix 7

Table 19 Participant outline

Participants	Gender	Age/ Birth Year	Place Of Birth	Ethnic Group	Resident Settlements	Occupation And Subsistence
Mokate	Male	1941	Sepopa- Thamatsha	Hambukushu	Tsodilo	Pastoralists, Chief's Adviser
Kelebetse	Male	1961	Thamatsha- Sepopa	Hambukushu	Tsodilo	Interim Chief, Community Development Trust Member / Tsodilo Community Development Trust - Secretary
Darkie	Male	-	Sehithwa	Herero	Tsodilo Museum Housing	Assistant Site Manager
Kabo	Male	38	Kajaja	Hambukushu	Tsodilo	Museum Assistant Tsodilo World Heritage Site, BNM
Maseko	Male	Unknown	Thamacha	Hambukushu	Chukumuchu	Farmer
Thebe	Male	37	Nxamasere	Hambukushu	Tsodilo	Tour Guide
Morris	Male	35	Dikara	Naro San	Tsodilo Trust Housing	Project Manager
Tapela	Male	-	-	Kalanga	Tsodilo Site Museum Housing	Site Manager
Ndeki	Female	24	Tsodilo	!Kung Ju/Hoansi		Tour Guide
Tjiripi	Male		Xaudome	Herero	Chukumuchu	Pastoralist
Gakenathuso	Female	1988	Tsodilo	Hambukushu	Tsodilo	Site Receptionist
Kontshae	Male	1983	Tsodilo	!Kung and Wayei	Tsodilo	Craftsman
Kesentseng	Male	1981	Nxamasere	Hambukushu	Tsodilo	Tour Guide And Pastoralist
Nxao	Male	1972	Tsodilo	!Kung	Tsodilo	Field Assistant Tsodilo World Heritage Site, BNM
Nxisa	Female	1956	Tsodilo	!Kung and Ju/ hoansi Married To Herero Man From Nokaneng	Tsodilo	-
Tsetsana	Female	1984	Gani	!Kung+ Ju/hoansi	Tsodilo	Tour Guide And Craft Woman
Urimoya	Male	64	Xaudome	Herero	Xaree	Pastoralists
Xabe	Female	-	Gani	Ju/hoansi	Tsodilo	Craft-woman
Xaatshe	Male	1988	Tsodilo	Ju/hoansi	Tsodilo	-



Xontae	Male	60+	Tsodilo	Ju/hoansi	Tsodilo	Tour Guide
Xomae	Male	46	Tsodilo Any Xabatsha	Ju/hoansi	Xabatsha and Tsodilo	Pastoralist
Kashivi	Male	63	Chukumuchu	Herero	Chukumuchu and Tsodilo	Pastoralist
Vamana	Male	67	Tsodilo	Herero	Tsodilo	Pastoralist and traditional doctor
Rumba	Male	65	Tsodilo	Herero	Tsodilo	pastoralist
Keakantse	Female	32	Tsodilo	Hambukushu	Tsodilo	Tsodilo Community Development Trust - Vice Secretary
-	Female	-	Sepopa	Hambukushu	Tsodilo	Basket Weaver
Ezekia	Male	60+	Xaudom	Herero	Xaudom	Pastoralist
MmaNxau	Female	52	Tsodilo	Ju/Hoansi	Xangwa	Bead Ornaments
Dimaha	Male	73	Tsodilo	Hambukushu		Farmer Pastoralist
Nxi	Female	46	Tsodilo	Ju/Hoansi	Tsodilo	Museum Cleaning Staff
Sthibo	Female	15	Tsodilo	Ju/Hoansi	Tsodilo	Student in Gumare
Kamanga	Male	74	Chukumuchu	Hambukushu	Chukumuchu	Traditional Doctor
Dimbongo	Male	67	Tsodilo	Hambukushu	Tsodilo	Farmer
Onkabetse	Female	34	Chukumuchu and Tsodilo	Hambukushu	Tsodilo	Local Tour Guide
Mothaba	Male	56	Nxamasere	Hambukushu	Tsodilo	Handyman in the site farmer
Sekora	Male	36	Nxamasere	Hambukushu	Tsodilo and Nxamasere	Local Tour Guide
Moruti Sennye	Male	1954	Seronga	Hambukushu	Chukumuchu	Chief in Chukumuchu Farmer
-	Female	1968	Sepopa	Hambukushu	Chukumuchu and Tsodilo	Tour Guide
-	Female	1921	Xaoha	Herero	Divitama	-
Ramaiyeo	female	-	Gani	Herero	Divitama	pastoralist
Onkabetse Bollen		26	Xangwa	Ju/hoansi	Tsodilo and Xangwa	-
Katjiho	Male	-	Nokaneng	Herero	Xaree and Chukumuchu	pastoralist
Onkgopotse	Female	38	Shakawe	-	Shakawe and Tsodilo	Site museum cleaning staff
Xinxwala	Male	29	Xangwa	Ju/hoansi	Tsodilo and Xangwa	Craft making

## Appendix 8

## Example Interview analysis

Interview	Codes
<p><b>Tsetsana's interview (translated)</b></p> <p>Xontae; Are you taking a video of us?</p> <p>Stella; No, it is just a voice recorder, I need it so that I do not forget what we talk about. Is it okay if I can use it to capture our talk?</p> <p>Participant; yes. It is okay for me.</p> <p>Stella; Can you please introduce yourself</p> <p>Participant; My name is Tsetsana Xixae</p> <p>Stella; how do you write your Name?</p> <p>Participant; spelling her name X-I-X-A-E</p> <p>Stella; Ok thank you, lets continue</p> <p>Participant; As I said, my name is Tsetsana, I was born in Gani but I lived my whole life in Tsodilo.</p> <p>I am not sure about the year when I moved here because I was very young. I started School living here in Tsodilo in 1991. One of my parents' lives in Tsodilo so I came here, while the other is in Gani. My father is Xontae he is from within Tsodilo, my mother passed away in 1997.</p> <p>I was at school in Nokaneng when she passed away. I finished my education at grade 10. I attended my primary school in Nokaneng and my junior secondary school in Gumare.</p> <p>I have to boys, one is 6 years the other is only 3. They do not know Gani. Ever since my mother and aunt passed away I do not go to Gani often.</p> <p>My livelihood in Tsodilo is based on these beads that I make and the money I get from Guided tours.</p> <p>When I was young I was encouraged to learn how to make beadwork, it is a skill that I have improved through years. I was still at primary school level when I learnt how to make necklaces. I did not learn any of this from school; I learnt all this here in Tsodilo through the elders. I learnt how to guide while I was at Junior secondary school level but this I also learnt here in Tsodilo. Apart from this I learnt about our culture and traditions. This helps me because I earn better money through the guided tours. The visitors do not buy our crafts that much.</p> <p>As a resident in Tsodilo. learning about the culture was very important to me. Through the elders I learnt about the environment, the gathering of wild fruits. They also taught me about the (<i>ditsa tholego</i>) natural heritage in the hills and the rock art.</p> <p>Stella; what do you mean by the (<i>Ditsa tholego</i>)</p> <p>Participant; I mean the hills, the caves, the rock art, the names of these hills in Sesarwa, the animals in Tsodilo, the plants. They also told us about how it all began, the past and the myth of creation. They told me that, as a girl child I had to learn about this environment and the food I can get from there. They said</p>	<p>Concern about the use of media</p> <p>Being born in one place and residing in another</p> <p>Stating educational background</p> <p>Reason for coming to Tsodilo being reuniting with family</p> <p>The passing away of the parent and Travelling long distance for school at young age</p> <p>Multiple Family relations between villages</p> <p>Describing subsistence strategies</p> <p>Imparting knowledge about culture in the village but not at school</p> <p>Describing Exchange</p> <p>Importance of culture</p> <p>Sharing of between generations</p> <p>Defining heritage as the natural resources (objects)</p> <p>Learning about the environment</p>

<p>“there are plants that you can eat and those that are not edible”. I had to learn the difference. Mogorogorwana, <i>moretwa</i>, <i>moretologa</i>, <i>mogwagwa</i> are those that during the harvest period I could survive on while such plants like the <i>mogau</i> are not edible. There are different season for these edible plants and we had to know these seasons. Normally one would be taught at home then taken into the wild to be shown these plants. It was easier because Tsodilo had a large variety of plants and animals to be shown to the young ones. Apart from that, while we lived by the male hill, we were taught about the features within the hills. Most of those resting (dead) used to encourage us to learn about these hills and the resources of cultural importance. They taught us that there are remnants of the work of our people in these hills.</p> <p>Stella: When you say those who are resting, who are you referring to?</p> <p>Participant; the dead, I am referring to my grandparents and my mother for example. Many people died as we lived in Tsodilo. Before they did, they shared their knowledge of the hills with us.</p> <p>As we lived in the Male hill, they said the hills also bear remnants of the San people who lived in the female hill. My grandfather said, these people lived here while there were also so many animals in Tsodilo, so they made the rock art so that they would show and teach the children about these different animals and the Basarwa Culture. They said the Nxaekhwe made this rock art.</p> <p>Stella; Okay, so there are different San groups that lived here? What about your family in Gani, are they also Ju/hoansi</p> <p>Participant; yes, we are Basarwa, the Ju/hoansi! Kung.</p> <p>Stella; Isn't there a difference between the Ju/hoansi and the !Kung?</p> <p>Participant; As the !Kung we have different Cliques. We are all Basarwa but our languages differ. Ju/hoansi is part of the !Kung language family.</p> <p>We speak a language that is related. When we say Ju/hoan we also mean people but !Kung is also a language. (<i>!Kung is sometimes written Zhu</i>). We were told that the Paintings may have been painted by the Nxaekhwe but they are different so we do not know. The paintings are different; there are the white and red paintings. According to the explanations, the red paintings were made from the plant roots that were reddish and fatty, or from the reddish Ochre mixed with animal blood or the bone marrow. The red rock known as Haematite was mixed with these things to make the red paintings. The white paintings were made out of crushed and powdered ostrich eggshells, when crashed the shells produce white powder that was possibly mixed with fat. But they realised that the white paint does not last too long so they continued with the red paint. This is why there are so many red paintings than the white.</p> <p>Stella; Is this information from your elders or you acquired as a guide?</p>	<p>Defining heritage as the natural resources (objects)</p> <p>Learn about environment for survival</p> <p>Reflecting on the life when the host com lived within the hill</p> <p>Identifying heritage as remnants of life of his people</p> <p>Defining different Basarwa community diversity and knowledge being exchanged</p> <p>Hill bearing remnants of her people</p> <p>Explaining perception of the purpose of the art</p> <p>Identifying difference and similarities within community</p>
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<p>Participant; From both, see, I grew up being told about these things and even the taboos, dos and don'ts in the hills. These days there have been so many changes, there was a small rock in the male hill where we used to go to, and it was called <i>Dama</i> in our Language. This is where people went first before going to hunt or when they had a need for something. They went there to ask God for protection, best luck or healing.</p> <p>It is a very small rock, most of these guides do not know where it is, but I do. I was told by my grandfather about these secret places and traditions. We do not often take people there.</p> <p>This is why Bajanala (tourists) prefer us the locals to guide them. As a guide I have also realised that the tourists are mainly interested in the paintings so we do not take them to our sacred places. There is that van der post panel paintings with elands and giraffes which are also found advertised on Botswana television.</p> <p>That is most of their favourites; they are beautiful, clear, located up on the hills where you can see them from a distance.</p> <p>It is not fading like other paintings on other panels. Some tourist are also interested on <i>pina ya sesarwa</i> (the traditional San song and dance).</p> <p>This is usually not only for tourists; some visitors come here only interested on <i>ngwao ya sesarwa</i> (the San culture) in Tsodilo. It is not many who ask for it, but some visitors come specifically to learn <i>ngwao ya sesarwa</i>. So they ask that we organise a song evening for them.</p> <p>Stella; What do you mean by San Culture?</p> <p>Participant; I mean a culture that needs to be respected and protected; we should not lose it because it is part of who we are. We are taught about our culture so that we know who we are.</p> <p>For instance we are taught about making these beads and ornaments like necklaces. They are different, there are these ones that we make, to sell to tourists, but there are also these more permanent ones that you can only find in elderly women because they are still holding on to that culture. These ones are special for cultural reasons, like for protection. It is because of these changes that you do not find them on the youth because we are losing that culture. When the visitors say they want to see this culture, we change and wear the traditional clothes and dance.</p> <p>Stella; you are mentioning change, What is this change that your refer to?</p> <p>Participant; <i>sigh</i> A lot has changed, I personally do not think living here, we live better than we did when we were by the male hill. While there we had more possibility of selling our crafts to the tourists. We were on their way before reaching the hills. They bought most of our ornaments. These days I can make them and they will remain here for days or weeks or even</p>	<p>Demonstrating detailed knowledge of the Tsodilo heritage</p> <p>Reverence of the Spirit of the hills</p> <p>Asking from the God at the Hills</p> <p>Identifying features of the site, and the values they carry</p> <p>Secrecy of site areas</p> <p>Identifying Tourist preferences</p> <p>Excluding sacred sites on visitor tours</p> <p>Advertising the site on television</p> <p>Being the favourite panel for visitors due to advertising</p> <p>Fading of the rock art</p> <p>Interest on the song and dance of the Ju/hoansi</p> <p>Visitor interest on the living culture of Tsodilo</p> <p>Defining culture</p> <p>Being taught the culture</p> <p>Culture as something you learn</p> <p>Linking culture with crafts and difference</p> <p>Identifying beads for tourists (commercialisation) and for traditional use</p> <p>Identifying change of lifestyle and livelihood</p> <p>Proximity to hills being advantageous</p> <p>Selling to tourists being difficult</p>
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<p>never get sold because we are too far from the site. Some visitors come looking for us here and never find the village. One can easily miss that turn from the Chukumuchu, it would have been better if we were still at our chosen place by the hills.</p> <p>Stella; were you told why they moved you?</p> <p>Participant; it was mainly because of our animals, they said our animals would be destructive in the campsites. So we were moved so that tourists can camp near the hills. But now even the old campsites have been moved from within the core area.</p> <p>Stella; what animals are you referring to?</p> <p>Participant; we have livestock, cattle and goats. It helps us to diversify and keep livestock because we are not allowed to hunt. They said the cattle would disturb tourist. But see, now we don't see tourists at all, but they say this is our home, we are too far. The other change I see is that lifestyle has changed; we lived by hunting and gathering.</p> <p>We were independent but now that is not allowed so we depend on the tourists' income and the government.</p> <p>We were told that we have to preserve the wild animals so that they live here for a longer time. So far these changes are not making it easy for us. We were supposed to earn income as a village from the campsite but not many visitors camp so the campsites are not useful. They preferred the old campsites by the hills. We have this Tsodilo Community trust that was supposed to help the community but it is not well organised to be able to help the community. The Museum robbed us off our land and sent us this far to suffer by ourselves (<i>reduces her voice</i>). When they moved us, we were given livestock. They died!</p> <p>Stella; was the move forced?</p> <p>Participant; they forced us out and built their museum there!</p> <p>Stella; who is they u refer to?</p> <p>Participant; the Museum</p> <p>Stella; did the community not be consulted?</p> <p>Participant; we were consulted but a lot has changed, if we knew it would be like this, we would have not agreed. When they moved us they did not settle us here. We were settled even far deeper in Ga-Mosheshe. It was so far we could not move easily, there was too much desert sand there. The tourists could not find us so we moved by ourselves to this current place. I still think we would be living better if we lived close to the hills where it was easy to meet the tourists. We tried to live in Mosheshe from 1994 to 2007.</p> <p>We were told to move to Mosheshe so that we also leave some place for developments.</p> <p>Stella; what do you think can be done better?</p>	<p>Accessing the tourists being difficult</p> <p>Cattle being destructive in the camp sites</p> <p>Moving campsite from the core area/revising previously made decisions</p> <p>San Possessing livestock</p> <p>Cattle disturbing tourists</p> <p>Hunting not allowed for conservation of site</p> <p>Losing independence and depending on tourists and government</p> <p>Conserving the wildlife</p> <p>Identifying promises made but unfulfilled</p> <p>Preferring proximity to hills</p> <p>Community trust not able to fulfil task</p> <p>Identify the Displacement as forced</p> <p>Being forced to move</p> <p>Dying livestock</p> <p>Moving the community and building the museum</p> <p>Being consulted about the change</p> <p>Regretting agreeing to the displacement</p> <p>Telling of the difficulty after the displacement</p> <p>Moving from Mosheshe voluntarily</p> <p>Foresighted developments leading to displacement of the community</p>
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<p>Participant; My desire is that on the east before the Hambukushu village, a few of our traditional houses be built there and fence around the area with a big board indicating that this is where you find <i>ba setso sa Basarwa</i> (people of the San culture). This would be where we make our money, do our performances, sell our crafts and share our culture. It should be made clear that it is a place for the San, no Hambukushu allowed. The Hambukushu also can have their own where they make their baskets and their own crafts not like the ones we make.</p> <p>The Hambukushu in Tsodilo are not making their baskets, they are leaving their culture and taking ours. They make our bead ornaments. We need to make clear who makes what here. When the tourists come, they cannot tell which one is for the Hambukushu or Basarwa.</p> <p>(<i>Lowers the voice</i>) to be honest, from the past, we have not lived harmoniously with black people because they always unfitting with us. They steal from us. They have taken our land and now they want to take even our culture to make their money. We do not make their baskets why are they making our bead work. Sometimes we are called for cultural events, where we promote our cultures, we often go with our crafts but they hide away from sending their crafts because they know it is not their culture that they show. They should not be making these necklaces. If you ask them about the culture here they will not tell you anything because it is not their culture to represent...What can they possibly say?</p> <p>This museum, also does the same, all they do is take free pictures of us put us in their displays and we get nothing. Our children's pictures are all over the world but we do not get anything out of that. This taking of our pictures is also discouraging. It is like they are selling us out there but I do not see anything coming back to us. How do we benefit? If you take a picture it is only fair that you give something in return so that we also do not feel like we lost something of ourselves without gaining anything when we see these pictures.</p> <p>Stella; is it the museum who only takes pictures</p> <p>Participant; People who come here come because of the museum; they say they have permission from museum. Everywhere I go people show me pictures of people in Tsodilo, they ask do you know this person? Our children are suffering here but look nice on pictures. Even this old woman (<i>pointing at her stepmother</i>) she is all over the papers. Even in the boards you see us. Shouldn't our lives be better in return?</p> <p>Stella; would you prefer that I do not take pictures of yourselves and family?</p> <p>Participants; what differences will it make, we are already there. The only problem is that I am not clean enough for a picture. Come later or tomorrow for the picture (<i>few days later during the school holidays at a different location she told me to take the picture of her and the children</i>).</p> <p>Stella; would you say there is a difference between the San culture here and in Gani where your mother is from?</p>	<p>Desired changes based on the preservation of culture</p> <p>Building fences around area</p> <p>Need for visible Signage</p> <p>Needing clarity on conceptual cultural borders</p> <p>Cultural marker of difference and borders</p> <p>Negative Relation within the community</p> <p>Promoting cultures through crafts</p> <p>Taking without giving</p> <p>Taking without giving being negatively felt</p> <p>Using crafts as an identifier of cultural difference</p> <p>Taking pictures felt negatively</p> <p>Permitting access demonstrated as being unfair</p> <p>Complaining about the exposure that does not seem to directly benefit her</p> <p>Reciprocity lacking</p> <p>Taking and giving something in return</p> <p>Museum giving permission</p> <p>Looking good on pictures but suffering</p> <p>Being all over papers and billboards</p> <p>Taking of pictures being problematic</p> <p>Partly allowing the taking of a picture but unhappy with it</p>
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<p>Participant; In Gani people do not know so much about the Tsodilo heritage, not because they are different but because there are things we do in Tsodilo that is different from Gani. Life here is better, things like making the bead ornaments are things we learn and do in Sesarwa culture but we make them differently for tourists. The beads like this one you see on this young boy (<i>pointing on small coloured glass beads and white shell beads around the waist and neck of a sleeping 3 year old</i>) are for traditional reasons. In Gani, they make those traditional bead ornaments, if I was to sell these ones that we make in Tsodilo, in Gani no one will buy them. It is not easy to find the material to make these traditional bead ornaments but the ones we make for tourists are easy to find and we can make many of them.</p>	<p>Culture in Tsodilo and Gani being different</p> <p>Live in Tsodilo being better than in other San villages</p> <p>Showing deference in the culture presented to the tourists and the lived culture.</p> <p>Differentiating between cultural ornaments</p>
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