

Future Pasts

FUTURE PASTS WORKING PAPERS NO. 7

Maps and memory, rights and relationships

Articulations of global modernity and local dwelling in delineating land for communal-area conservancies in north-west Namibia

Sian Sullivan

October 2019

<http://www.futurepasts.net>

@Future_Pasts

Bath Spa University, School of Oriental & African Studies, University of Edinburgh
with Namibian partners:

The National Museum of Namibia, Gobabeb Desert Research Institute, Save the Rhino Trust



Copyright © Sian Sullivan

Published by **Future Pasts**

Working Paper Series
Bath Spa University
Newton Park, Newton St. Loe
Bath BA2 9BN
United Kingdom

www.futurepasts.net

futurepastscontact@gmail.com

ISBN: 978-1-911126-15-7

Future Pasts draws on Arts and Humanities research methodologies to document and analyse culturally-inflected perceptions and practices of sustainability. The project has a particular geographical focus on west Namibia, where three of our core research team have long-term field research experience.

The project seeks to:

- enhance understanding of sociocultural, economic and environmental changes in historical and post-independence contexts;
- document and support cultural heritage and indigenous knowledge regarding present and historical cultural landscapes of west Namibia;
- extend analysis and understanding of the historical ecologies of the Namib;
- interrogate interpretations of 'sustainability', particularly those contributing to the promotion of a growth-oriented 'green economy';
- foster cross-cultural public discussion of concerns relating to environmental change and sustainability;
- critically engage with the power dimensions shaping whose pasts become transferred forwards to the future in contemporary approaches to environmental conservation and sustainability.

Future Pasts is funded primarily through a Major Research Grant from the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC award no. AH/K005871/2), under the Care for the Future Theme's highlight notice on 'environmental change and sustainability' (see <http://careforthefuture.exeter.ac.uk/>). Starting in October 2013, **Future Pasts** involves UK academics Sian Sullivan (Principal Investigator and Professor of Environment and Culture, Bath Spa University), Angela Impey (Co-Investigator and Senior Lecturer in Ethnomusicology, School of Oriental and African Studies, London), Rick Rohde (Co-Investigator and Research Fellow, Centre for African Studies, University of Edinburgh), Mike Hannis (Research Fellow, Environmental Ethics, Bath Spa University) and Chris Low (Research Fellow, Anthropology, Bath Spa University). Namibian partner organisations include the National Museum of Namibia, Gobabeb Research and Training Centre, Save the Rhino Trust and Mamokobo Film and Research.

Future Pasts *Working Paper Series*

The **Future Pasts Working Paper Series** aims to facilitate rapid distribution of research findings and work in progress by researchers associated with the **Future Pasts** project. We also welcome relevant contributions by post-graduate students and other associates of **Future Pasts**. The series aims to open up discussion among the global community of scholars, policymakers and practitioners on pressing issues concerning conservation, sustainability, heritage, knowledge and value that are exemplified in west Namibian social and environmental contexts. All **Future Pasts** working papers are available to download free of charge in PDF format via the **Future Pasts** website (<http://www.futurepasts.net/future-pasts-working-papers>).

All our papers are peer reviewed, the copyright is retained by the author(s), and authors are welcome to publish further iterations of papers in journals and other formats (references and notes may be formatted as appropriate for such future publications). **Future Pasts** working papers in joint authorship include a contribution statement as an early footnote. Acronyms present in each working paper are also listed in an early footnote.

The opinions expressed in the papers are solely those of the author(s) and should not be attributed to the project funders, Bath Spa University, or partner universities and organisations. We welcome comments on individual working papers, which should be directed to the author(s), or through futurepastscontact@gmail.com.

More information about **Future Pasts** and our working paper series and other activities can be found on our website, www.futurepasts.net.

Maps and memory, rights and relationships: articulations of global modernity and local dwelling in delineating land for communal-area conservancies in north-west Namibia

Sian Sullivan¹

Abstract.

Mapping new administrative domains for integrating conservation and development, and defining rights in terms of both new policy and the citizenry governed thereby, have been central to postcolonial neoliberal environmental governance programmes known as Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM). Examples now abound of the complex, ambiguous and sometimes contested outcomes of CBNRM initiatives and processes. In this paper I draw on historical, oral history and ethnographic material for north-west Namibia, particularly in relation to indigenous Khoe-speaking Dama / ≠Nūkhoen and ||Ukun peoples, to explore two issues. First, I highlight the significance of historical colonial and apartheid contexts generating mapped reorganisations of land and human populations, for memories of access and use that exceed these reorganisations. Second, I foreground a nexus of conceptual, constitutive and affective relationships with lands now bounded as CBNRM administrative units or ‘conservancies’ that have tended to be displaced as an economising ‘culture complex’ of neoliberalism has unfolded in this context. Acknowledging disjunctions in conceptions and experiences of people-land relationships can assist understanding of who and what is amplified or diminished in contemporary globalising trajectories in neoliberal environmental governance. In particular, oral histories recording individual experiences in-depth, especially those of elderly people prompted by return to remembered places of past dwelling, can historicise and deepen recognition of complex cultural landscapes that today carry high conservation value.

Keywords: maps; memory; affect; identity; rights; land; community-based natural resource management (CBNRM); neoliberalism; neoliberal environmental governance; on-site oral history; cultural landscapes; colonial and postcolonial Namibia; Dama / ≠Nūkhoen; ||Ukun

This paper is dedicated to memories of Nathan ≠Ūina Taurob,
Philippine |Hairo ||Nowaxas and Andreas !Kharuxab.

¹ s.sullivan@bathspa.ac.uk

1. (Pre)ambling in north-west Namibia²

Memory is always a collaboration in progress. (Powers, 2018, p. 404)

In the course of doctoral field research in north-west Namibia in the mid-1990s, I met Nathan ǀina Taurob³. ǀinab⁴ has since passed on. When I knew him he was a materially impoverished man in his 70s – often sprightly and always dignified. He spoke of himself as a ǀNūkhoen person who was also ‘Purros Dama’. This meant that his *!hūs* or home area – the area in which he had grown up – was in the vicinity of present-day Purros village some 100kms north-west of the settlement of Sesfontein / !Nani|aus, where ǀinab lived in the years I knew him. A decade previously, Purros had been the focus of an innovative ‘small pilot eco-tourism project’ with primarily ovaHimba pastoralists settled there in the 1980s (JACOBSON, 1995; DURBIN *et al.*, 1997)⁵, requiring ‘all tourists on Endangered Wildlife Trust (EWT)⁶ tours to pay a fee to the local community as caretakers of their natural resources, including land and wildlife’ (JACOBSON, 1998(1990), 55). In the 1990s the village was in the process of becoming the headquarters of a ‘communal area conservancy’ linked with Namibia’s emerging national

² The work shared here has had a long gestation. Some of the content was first presented with the title ‘The “wild” and the known: implications of identity and memory for “community-based natural resource management” in a Namibian landscape’ for a session on ‘Contested Landscapes’ at the conference *Landscape & Politics: a Cross-Disciplinary Conference*, March 2001, Dept. Architecture, University of Edinburgh. It was later presented at a workshop on ‘Environment and Sustainable Development in Southern Africa’ at King’s College London, and most recently as “‘Our hearts were happy here’”: recollecting acts of dwelling and acts of clearance through mapping on-site oral histories in west Namibia’ for a panel on ‘Cultural maps and hunter-gatherers’ being in the world’, at the 12th international Conference on Hunter-Gatherer Societies (CHAGS12), August 2018, Penang Malaysia. I am grateful for comments and suggestions received at these events. I first submitted a version of the paper to the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* in 2008. Despite receiving a generous ‘revise and resubmit’ and three helpful reviewers’ reports, illness and a tight teaching schedule conspired at the time to prevent resubmission to that journal. I would like to belatedly thank the editor and three anonymous reviewers for their constructive engagements.

This version of the paper has been substantially rewritten to incorporate recent oral history and archival research, carried out in particular through two research projects supported by the UK’s Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) through which I have sought to deepen my exploration of concerns engaged with in earlier iterations of the paper: *Disrupted Histories, Recovered Pasts* [<https://dsrupdhist.hypotheses.org/>] (2016-2019) and *Future Pasts* [<http://www.futurepasts.net/>] (2013-2019). The paper has been drafted for a special issue of the online journal *Conserveries Mémoires: Revue Transdisciplinaire* (<https://journals.openedition.org/cm/>) entitled ‘Disrupted Histories, Recovered Pasts | Histoires Perturbées, Passés Retrouvés’. The formatting reflects the style guidelines for this journal.

³ The symbols |, ||, ! and ǀ in Khoen words indicate consonants that sound like clicks, as follows: | = the ‘tutting’ sound made by bringing the tongue softly down from behind front teeth (dental click); || = the clucking sound familiar in urging on a horse (lateral click); ! = a popping sound like mimicking the pulling of a cork from a wine bottle (palatal click); ǀ = a sharp, explosive click made as the tongue is flattened and then pulled back from the palate (alveolar-palatal click).

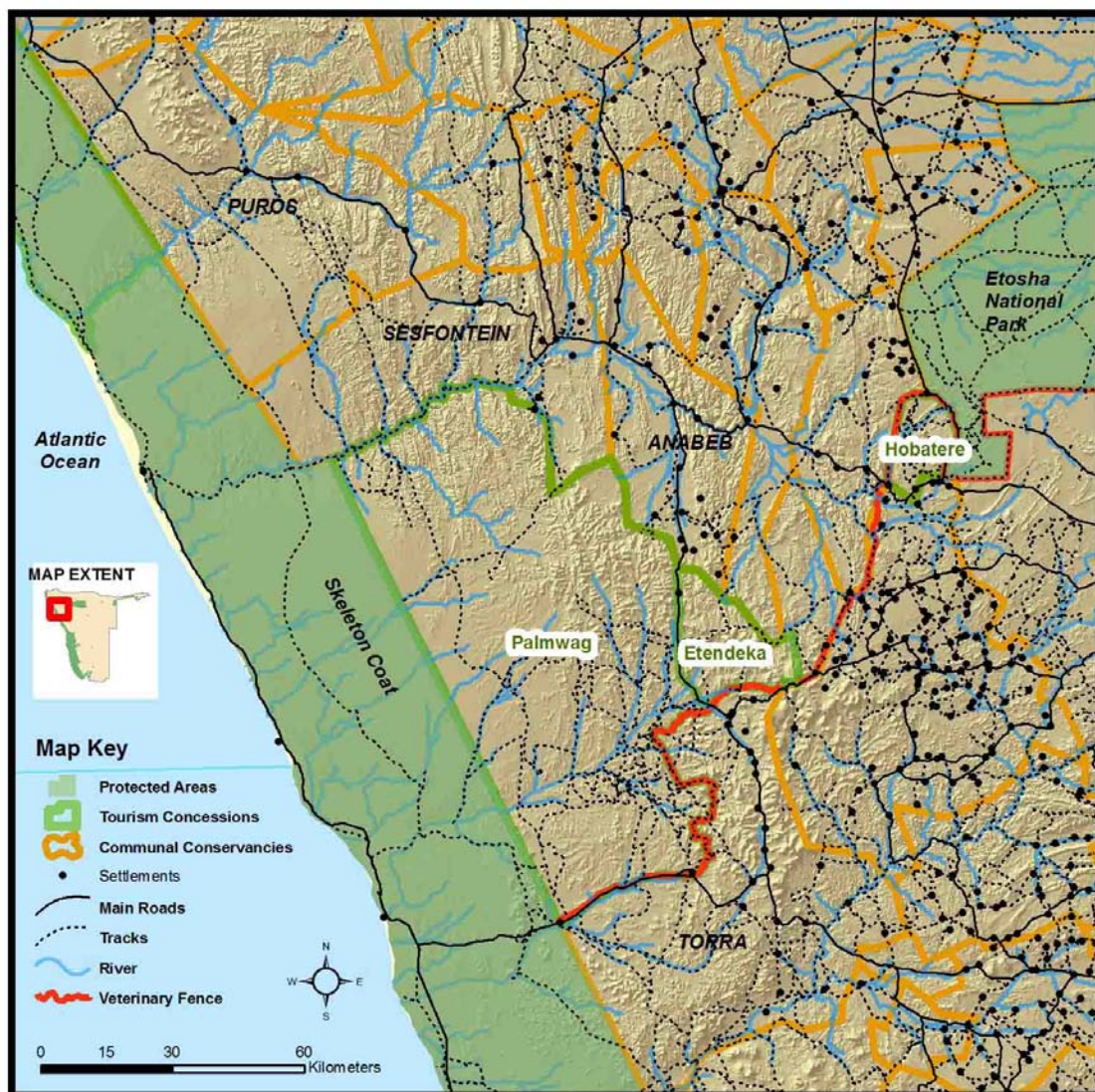
⁴ Khoekhoegowab – the language spoken by Dama / ǀNūkhoen in Namibia – is a gendered language in which nouns and names ending in ‘b’ are denoted as masculine whilst those ending in ‘s’ are feminine.

⁵ In 1971, Tinley describes Purros as an uninhabited temporary grazing post, and includes an image of an uninhabited temporary ‘Himba Herero hut made of sticks and cow dung in the Namib Desert at Purros near the Hoarusib River’ and stating that ‘[t]hese temporary huts are made by the pastoralists for the period during which their herds graze the ephemeral flush of desert grass before moving back inland to sites with perennial grasslands’ (TINLEY, 1971, 6).

⁶ Acronyms: CBNRM – Community-Based Natural Resources Management; EWT – Endangered Wildlife Trust; GEF – Global Environment Fund; NACSO – Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisations; NGO – Non-Governmental Organisations; RGS – Royal Geographical Society; TA – Traditional Authority; USAID – United States Agency for International Development; WWF – World Wide Fund for Nature

Community-based Natural Resources Management Programme (CBNRM) (TAYLOR, 2012, 42) (see Figure 1). Absent from this post-independence community-conservation focus on the settlement, however, was the complex association of Khoe-speaking lineages linked with this north-westerly area, traces of which are indicated by the many Khoe names on maps of the area: Hoanib, Hoarusib, Gomadam, Sechomib and Khumib for the westward flowing ephemeral rivers whose dense vegetation and subsurface water offer lifelines in this arid landscape; and Purros, Auses, Dumita, Ganias and Sarusa, for places where springs made it possible for people to live and access important food and forage plants in this dryland area.

Figure 1. Boundaries of current tourism concessions, surrounding communal area conservancies and state protected areas in southern Kunene Region, west Namibia. Source: Jeff Muntiferung, 5 March 2016.

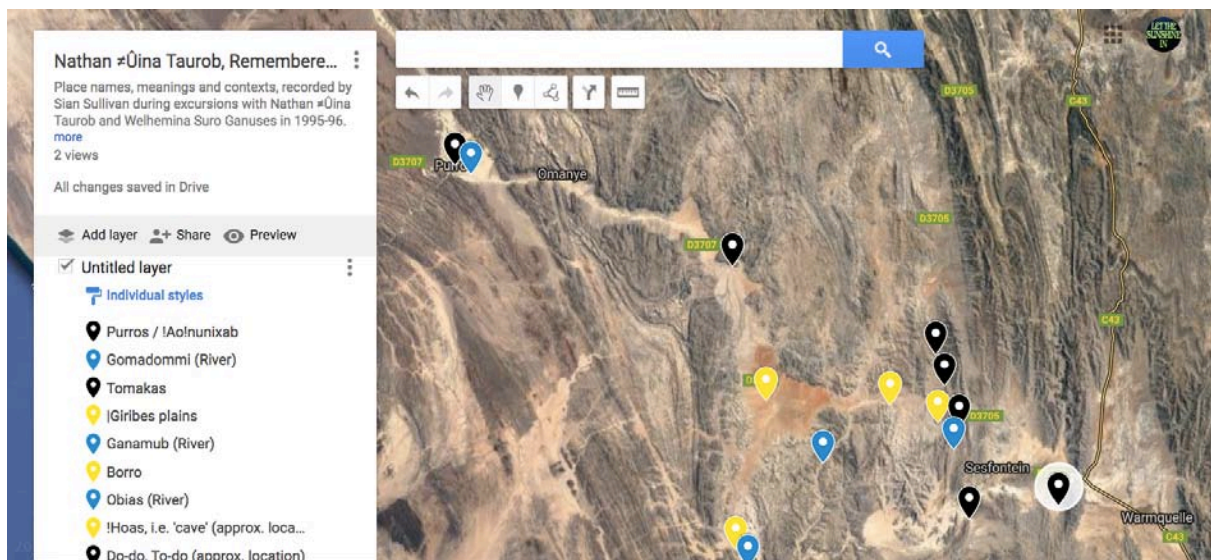


I was taken by \hat{U} inab on a number of trips into the *!garob* – the ‘field’ – to locations where he and other members of his family harvested particular foods and had lived in times past. I remember a day in 1995 spent collecting honey from a hive near a place he called To-to to the north-west of Sesfontein – on the road to Gubikoti. Another day, after harvesting grass seeds from harvester ants nests (*!goburun oms*) in the |Giribes plains, he astonished me by walking several kilometres straight to a now disused honey hive in a lone *Sterculia africana* (*khoe hani*) tree

(for fuller description see SULLIVAN, 1999). The tree was located in a small valley in distant schist hills, seemingly indistinguishable from all the other valleys leading into the hills that surround the plains. #Ūinab had not been there for some years. For him this feat of orientation was clearly a normal part of being in what to me, and to the many tourists now encouraged to visit this area, was a wild and ‘ungraspable’ landscape. #Ūinab was the first person who introduced me to the greeting and offering practice known as *tsē-kehom*, wherein known ancestors and anonymous spirits of the dead are spoken with to request safe and successful passage through areas in which their agency remains significant (SULLIVAN, 2017).

The remembered places encountered and recorded in 1995-96 with #Ūinab and added to through recent on-site oral history research are mapped on Figure 2, and can be viewed online with detailed information and images (where available) for each place by following the links at <https://www.futurepasts.net/remembered-places-of-nathan-taurob>. The combination of inscribed and embodied information comprising this ‘indigenous map’ (cf. CHAPIN *et al.*, 2005; EADES, 2012) provides some indication of the density of knowledge and of memory in relation to landscape for one person associated later in life with one living place. Detailed descriptive place names (toponyms) speak of acute observation of biophysical characteristics of the landscape (cf. BASSO, 1984, 1996). Identification of people and events with particular places, tells of the remembered emplacement of defining moments in local history. Memories of places that have been home communicate the loss of both pasts and futures that comes from being unexpectedly displaced through historical forces not of one’s choosing (JEDLOWSKI, 2001; also ALBRECHT, 2007).

Figure 2. Screenshot of online map showing remembered places encountered and recorded in 1995-96 with Nathan #Ūina Taurob and added to through recent on-site oral history research. Source: linked at <https://www.futurepasts.net/remembered-places-of-nathan-taurob>, last accessed 19 August 2019.

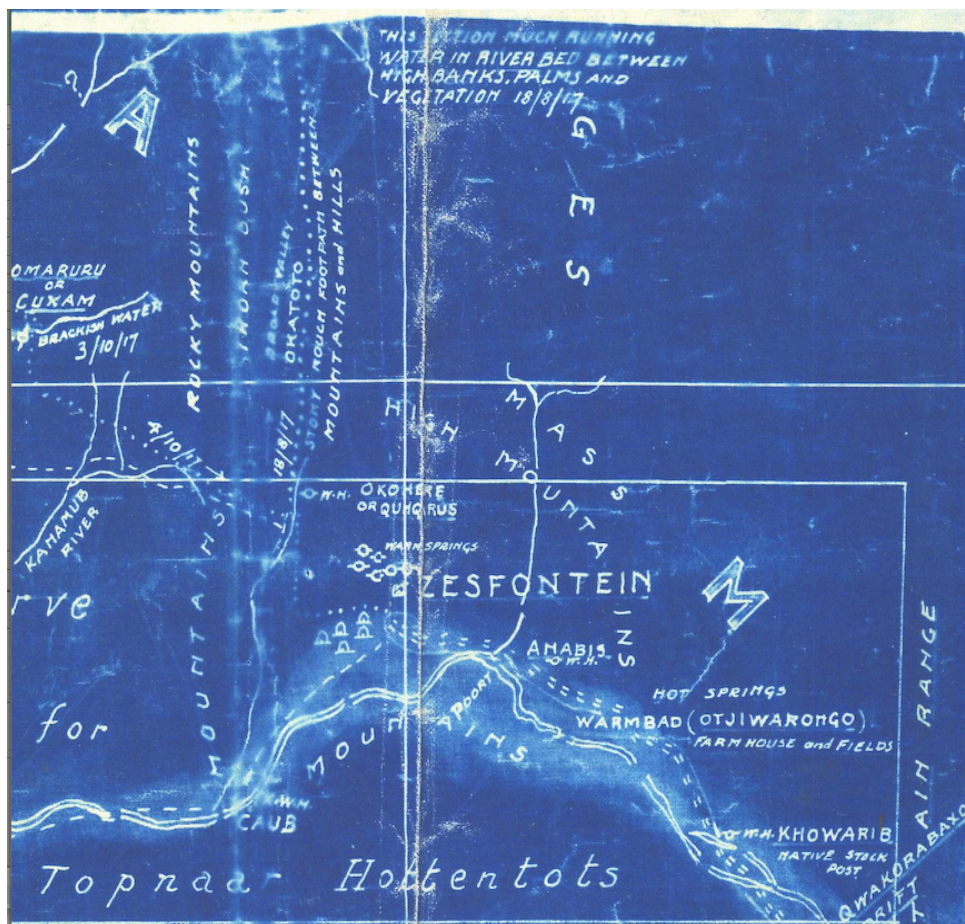


The emotional force of this displacement began to dawn on me as #Ūinab showed me the exact location of where his dwelling – his *oms* – had once stood at the settlement of #Nū-larus to the north-west of Sesfontein (see Figure 3). Although not appearing on contemporary maps of the area, the settlement named #Nū-larus is shown clearly on the ‘Traveller’s Map of Kaokoveld’

Figure 3. The late Nathan ǀUina Taurob in 1996 at the site of his former home at ǀNū-larus, north-west of Sesfontein, Namibia. Photo: Sian Sullivan.



Figure 4. Detail from Kaokoveld Map by Major C.N. Manning 1917, showing Sesfontein (‘Zesfontein’) and, marked just above, the place of ǀNū-larus (i.e. ‘Okohere’ and ‘QuhQrus’). Source: National Archives of Namibia.



compiled from ‘tours’ in August – October 1917 and June – July 1919 by the first Resident Commissioner of Owamboland, Major Charles N. Manning, deposited with the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) in London in 1921⁷. Manning has been described as having ‘fantasies of following in Francis Galton’s footsteps as an explorer and geographer’ (HAYES, 2012, x), implicitly representing himself ‘as the successor to a line of explorers and travellers [to the territory] such as Francis Galton and Charles John Andersson, [and] inserting himself as it were in Galton’s wake as the geographer and cartographer of the remoter parts of Owambo and Kaoko’ (HAYES, 2000, 50). Travelling in the post-World War 1 moment in which events on the global stage conspired to transform Deutsch Südwestafrika into the League of Nations British Protectorate of South West Africa, Manning’s mission 100 years ago was to extend control by the emerging post-war state over native peoples and landscapes (Hayes, 2000; Rizzo, 2012). This endeavour intersected with peoples encountered through his travels, described using the social mores of the day in a 1921 letter accompanying the copy of the map of Kaokoveld he sent to the RGS:

[we were] assisted by the comparatively few wild native inhabitants (viz Herero Bantu type and Hottentot-Bushman Nama type) of the remoter parts who not only guided me and explained matters along many hitherto unknown mountain routes, - frequently without even footpaths or the often useful elephant and other smooth game tracks through stones and bush, - but pointed out water in secluded kloofs and in beds of rivers which once flowed; abandoned settlements of previous generations, ... occasional rhinoceroses, elephants, giraffes and so forth which were very abundant before that greatest of all exterminators of the finest varieties of game viz the European’s firearm.⁸

Although creating the most detailed map at the time of this north-western corner of the state now known as Namibia, the lands, natures and peoples documented in the reports, journals and map contributed by Manning continually exceeded and troubled his bureaucratic vision and intentions. Nonetheless, the settlement ≠Nū-larus is shown clearly on his map as a place with both oshiHerero and Nama names (‘Okohere’ and ‘QuhQrus’ respectively, the ‘qs’ in the latter signalling click consonants) (see Figure 4). ‘Puros’, where the Hoarusib and Gomadom rivers meet, is noted to be inhabited by a ‘few Nama-speaking natives’. At several places downriver, encounters with elusive so-called ‘klip kaffirs’⁹ are marked, confirmed in oral histories and genealogies documented in the present to be ≠Nūkhoen ancestors of ≠Ūinab and connected families.

Some decades after Manning’s trek, ≠Ūinab and his family lived at ≠Nū-larus ‘for a long time’, cultivating small gardens of maize and tobacco using water channelled from the spring north of the settlement. In 1995 it was still possible to see the rough outlines of their irrigation channels, although nothing remained at the site of ≠Ūinab’s dwelling. Nathan’s family moved from here to Sesfontein due, he said, to pressure from southward moving ovaHimba with large

⁷ NAN A450 Vol.4 1/28, Manning - Royal Geographical Society, London 19/12/1921, also HAYES, 2000, 53. See notes on Manning’s journeys to Kaokoveld at <https://www.futurepasts.net/major-manning-kaoko-journeys-1917-1>

⁸ NAN A450 Vol.4 1/28, Manning - Royal Geographical Society, London 19/12/1921.

⁹ Identifying terms such as this one carry derogatory associations. After some consideration I have elected to incorporate them when written as such in quoted historical texts *only* where their use in such texts conveys information relevant for present understanding, for example, by clarifying the past presence of specific self-identifying groups of people.

herds of goats and some cattle. In 1999 it remained inhabited by ovaHimba, although by 2008 it was the site of a commercial trophy hunting outfit called Didimala Hunting Safaris which had gained a 10-year hunting concession with Sesfontein, Anabeb and Omatendeka Conservancies for trophy animals including leopard, elephant and lion. To my knowledge, #Úinab and his family's history of association with this place – together with their experiences and knowledges of the landscape – did not and does not feature in contemporary land and wildlife governance practices and institutions. To all intents and purposes, theirs and their ancestors' successful human histories of living lightly on the land here for at least several generations have been all but erased by the various incarnations of a globalising modernity; just as the landscape now reveals little material manifestation of their years of embodied dwelling in these places.

2. Introducing contexts and codifications

The preamble above touches on one thread of experience in relation to the conservation and cultural landscapes of north-west Namibia. Here, current international prominence is entangled with a global emphasis in rural environment and development initiatives on conferring or strengthening the land and resource tenure rights of 'communities' of people. In southern Africa this focus has manifested in part as a range of national postcolonial programmes for Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM). These initiatives embody a discourse with the following tenets: that some sort of security of resource tenure is a prerequisite for empowerment; that 'community' is an appropriate and feasible level of aggregation for governance and decision-making; and that when local people become variously owners and managers of, and earners from, 'natural resources', they are more likely to act in ways compatible with biodiversity conservation, while at the same time benefiting in economic development terms (for example, NACSO, 2014). CBNRM models generally are based on ideas of 'common property' or 'customary tenure' arrangements, either through strengthening existing or 'traditional' property arrangements, or by attempting to create new 'common property' tenure arrangements where it is considered that these have broken down (as summarised and discussed in OSTROM, 1991; JONES, 1999a; HULME, MURPHREE, 2001; FABRICIUS *et al.*, 2004; also overview in SULLIVAN, HOMEWOOD, 2004). Emergent social, democratic and environmental outcomes are now known to be rarely unambiguous, with dispute, conflict and protest sometimes arising in relation to these contexts (as detailed in a range of analyses of CBNRM in Namibia – see, for example, SULLIVAN, 2002, 2003; PELLIS, 2011; SILVA, MOSIMANE, 2012; TAYLOR, 2012; PELLIS *et al.*, 2015; BOLLIG, 2016; HEWITSON, 2017; STAMM, 2017; SCHNEGG, KIAKA, 2018; KOOT, 2019).

Since 1996, CBNRM policy framework has allowed Namibian citizens in communally-managed areas to register new natural resource management institutions called conservancies. The framework has received core funding from a number of international donors, primarily the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and the World Bank's Global Environment Facility (GEF). The resulting nexus of implementation and facilitation activities on the part of donors and NGOs, and the accompanying national legislative changes, has parallels with other major USAID-funded

CBNRM programmes in southern Africa, for example, CAMPFIRE (the Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources) in Zimbabwe and ADMADE in Zambia. Following MURRAY LI (2007), CBNRM and associated initiatives are engaged with in Namibia as a modernisation programme generating *improvement* in the management and governance of natural resources in rural communal areas. This improvement is considered to be multifaceted, producing multiple wins for environmental conservation, local development and business.

Communal-area conservancies thus enable Namibians inhabiting communal land (see below) to receive benefits from, and make some management decisions over, the natural resources within the territory assigned to a conservancy. Legally, a number of requirements have to be satisfied in order for a communal-area conservancy to be registered: its territorial boundaries have to be agreed; its membership has to be decided and registered; and a constitution and management plan have to be drawn up, focusing particularly on the management and distribution of conservancy wildlife and associated income. Conservancies are now described in part as organisations established to enable business, particularly with tourism and trophy hunting operators (NAIDOO *et al.*, 2016). A recent report of the Namibian Association of CBNRM Support Organisations thus states that a conservancy is ‘a business venture in communal land use... although its key function is actually to *enable* business’, such that conservancies,

do not necessarily need to run any of the business ventures that use the resources themselves. In fact, these are often best controlled and carried out by private sector operators with the necessary know-how and market linkages (NACSO, 2014, 25, emphasis in original).

The premise is that it is through business that both conservation and conservation-related development will arise (see discussion in SULLIVAN, 2006, 2018; BOLLIG, 2016; SCHNEGG, KIAKA, 2018; KOOT, 2019).

CBNRM is thereby clearly positioned as a state-, NGO- and donor-facilitated process of outsourcing access to significant public natural/wildlife resources and associated potential income streams to private sector (frequently foreign) business interests – a governance arrangement associated with neoliberalism (see DUNLAP, SULLIVAN, 2019; also SULLIVAN, 2006). CBNRM in Namibia strengthens market-based approaches to biodiversity conservation in particular by increasing income sourced from international tourism travel and trophy-hunting, and increasing the area of land available for such activities (LAPEYRE, 2011a; NAIDOO *et al.*, 2016). There are now 86 registered communal area conservancies in Namibia, concentrated in the wildlife-rich communal lands of the north-west and north-east of the country¹⁰. With its populations of rare desert-dwelling elephant and rhino¹¹, and its international profile as a ‘last wilderness’ (HALL-MARTIN *et al.*, 1988; OWEN-SMITH, 2010, 26) and ‘arid Eden’ (OWEN-SMITH, 2010) that is simultaneously home to exotic(ised) traditional Himba pastoralists (JACOBSON, 1998[1990], north-west Namibia has been a primary territory for this conservation-oriented work and is now a high-end ‘wilderness’ tourism destination. The area west of present Etosha National Park boundaries, however, has also been shaped historically by layers

¹⁰ <http://www.nacso.org.na/conservancies> (last accessed 22 July 2019).

¹¹ The area is home to the largest population of endangered black rhino (*Diceros bicornis bicornis*) outside a National Park (MUNTIFERING *et al.*, 2016).

of land clearances and settlement constraint, both of which continue to haunt memories in the present of displacement and associated life-course disruptions (as discussed below).

Recent research introduces complexity into analyses of CBNRM success in Namibia. SILVA and MOSIMANE (2012) and SILVA and MOTZER (2015) document discontent with CBNRM as a development strategy, in part due to the exacerbation of human-wildlife conflict (SILVA, MOSIMANE, 2012; also SCHNEGG, KIAKA, 2018). SUICH (2012) observes insufficient, i.e. low value and low volume, levels of economic incentives. HUMAVINDU and STAGE (2015) express concerns regarding the long-term financial viability of many communal area conservancies. NEWSHAM (2007) and LAPEYRE (2011b, c and d) observe a concentration of skilled knowledge, resources and decision-making power in the hands of tour operators and NGOs. SULLIVAN (2003), PELLIS (2011), TAYLOR (2012), and PELLIS *et al.* (2015) document the exacerbation of local differences and inequalities through complex local dynamics that can act to privilege particular constellations of people over others with similar claims to conservancy opportunities and resources. HEWITSON (2017) analyses the creation and flow of monetary values and payments in relation to elephant trophy hunting in Kwandu Conservancy, Zambezi Region. He demonstrates the limited disbursement of income to those local people whose labour creates the value of animals that become identified as potential trophies, showing too how fees become concentrated amongst members of a conservancy elite and as profit to commercial operators.

In part, these complex outcomes are connected with the ways that, in the course of strengthening formal tenure rights of ‘communities’, cartographic techniques and legislative systems linked with the modern state and ‘State Science’ generally (DELEUZE, GUATTARI, 1987(1980); SCOTT, 1999) act to increasingly codify (and commodify) these rights. PELUSO (1995, 400, 402) has suggested that such endeavours can engender a ‘... “freezing” [of] the dynamic social processes associated with “customary law”’, in part by emphasising the demarcation of ‘exact boundary lines’ of territories. ABRAMSON (2000, 14) notes further that ‘... where the law recognises and underwrites “traditional” tenure, the law codifies “tradition” as a system of customary property rights *rather than as an affective relation of belonging*’ (emphasis added). TAYLOR (2012, 1) observes for conservancy contexts in north-east Namibia that codification processes may harden and politicise ethnic differences, ‘including through the implementation of land mapping projects’, even in contexts where great effort, particularly by facilitating non-state actors, is expended on ‘depolicitising’ struggles for authority over land and resources.

These and other analyses affirm HARLEY’s (1988, 1992) Foucauldian interrogation of the inter-relationships between cartographic techniques, textual dimensions of maps, and relationships of power and authority. Whilst ‘the map is not the territory’, the relations of power distilled in mapped representations may nonetheless shape possibilities of use and access, with multiple material consequences. In combination, these tendencies become part and parcel of modernity’s epistemic ‘order of things’ (cf. FOUCAULT, 1970[1966]), erring towards the categorical fixing and representation of ‘a nonverbal world of *process* ... in words [and images] that indicate a *static* quality’ (CONDON, 1975, 15; cf. SULLIVAN, 2013¹²). In doing so they may

¹² Also see Lindsey DODD’s article in this volume in which she problematises the ‘fixing’ of the past as history when the past was and is process: it is ongoing.

discard semantic and sensual webs of dynamically improvised meaning to reduce and render local(ised) lives naked of significances that thereby become othered and discounted (FOUCAULT, 1970[1966], 129-133)¹³.

FOUCAULT (2003[1975-76], 7-8) affirms that it is ‘the reappearance of what people know at a local level’ – these ‘disqualified’ and ‘subjugated knowledges’ whose ‘historical contents ... have been buried or masked in functional coherences or formal systematizations’ – that makes ‘critique possible’ (also see Dodd, this volume). Indeed, a revisionist ‘countermapping’ restructuring claims to territory is increasingly deployed precisely so as to refract and decolonise the freezing tendencies noted above, paradoxically appealing for legitimacy to the specialist technologies of a globalising modernity (HUNT, STEVENSON, 2017). Surveys, maps and (now) GIS that previously acted to dispossess people of territory, or at least to control and often constrain access to significant places and resources, are thus utilised today to empower claims to land by local, indigenous and marginalised communities (PELUSO, 1995; POOLE, 1995; JACOBS, 1996; ALCORN, 2000; HODGSON, SCHROEDER, 2002; CHAPIN *et al.*, 2005; LEWIS, 2007; EADES, 2012; REMY, 2018). In Namibia specifically, ‘community-mapping’ processes have become part and parcel of fostering complexity in understanding indigenous and local values *vis à vis* conservation landscapes. ‘Cultural mapping’ (DIECKMANN, 2007, 2012), ‘naming the land’ (TAYLOR, 2012), and on-site oral history at remembered and returned-to places (SULLIVAN, 2017; SULLIVAN *et al.*, 2019a) are employed not only to inform administrative reorganisations of land areas for conservation purposes, but also with the desire to (re)vitalise cultural memories, heritage values and alternative knowledges of other-than-human natures associated with landscapes. Such work points towards both the contrary and competing ‘regimes of visibility’ at work in the deployment of cartographic techniques of representation (TSING, 2005, 44), and the density of known, used and remembered places in the broader landscape that can remain diminished and displaced in postcolonial contexts. Recovering and historicising elements of this ‘density of meaning’ for elderly Khoe-speaking inhabitants in the geographical context of southern Kunene Region, north-west Namibia, is the focus of the remainder of this paper.

3. Sources and emphases

To call up the past in the form of an image, we must be able to withdraw ourselves from the action of the moment, we must have the power to value the useless, we must have the will to dream. (BERGSON, 1950, 94, quoted in RICOEUR, 2004, 25)

Against this contextual and conceptual background, in the sections that follow I explore some socio-cultural and political implications of landscape delineation in support of CBNRM policy in north-west Namibia. I consider aspects of the process of delineating conservancy boundaries, to comment on possible implications for the construction of both claims to

¹³ Also DELEUZE and GUATTARI (1988[1980]), especially ‘plateau’ 12, and discussion in SULLIVAN and HOMEWOOD (2018).

community/conservancy membership, and the ways in which relationships with ‘the environment’ are conceived and represented in national and international policy. Geographically, I draw on case-material from north-west Namibia, specifically from Sesfontein, Purros and Anabeb conservancies in southern Kunene Region, which were a focus of dispute regarding their establishment (SULLIVAN, 2002, 2003; PELLIS, 2011; PELLIS *et al.*, 2015). I deploy a combination of research methods and materials, iteratively compiled in field engagements from 1992 to today. Particular sources are:

1. Two long oral histories with the late Andreas !Kharuxab, former Dama / ≠Nūkhoen headman of Kowareb settlement (now part of Anabeb Conservancy), and the late Philippine |Hairo | |Nowaxas, resident of Sesfontein. These interviews are drawn from a dataset of some 885 minutes of oral history recorded in 1999 with 18 Dama / ≠Nūkhoen individuals known to me through PhD field research from 1994-96 (SULLIVAN, 1998).
2. Multiple recorded oral accounts gathered in particular during a series of multi-day journeys with elderly Dama / ≠Nūkhoen and | |Ubun (see below) individuals currently living in the villages of Sesfontein / !Nani|aus and Kowareb (as listed in Table 2). These journeys were undertaken in 2014, 2015 and 2019 in a process of (re)finding and recording coordinates and information for places mentioned in prior interviews as where an array of now elderly people used to live. They have focused particularly (but not exclusively) on the area now designated as the Palmwag Tourism Concession (see Figure 1).

Table 1. Journeys forming the basis for on-site oral histories in the broader landscape with elderly Khoespeaking inhabitants of Sesfontein and Anabeb Conservancies.

Date	Name	Ethnonym	Focal Places
27-281014 & 20-231114	Ruben Sauncib Sanib, Sophia Opi Awises	Khao-a Dama, Ubun	Kowareb, Mbakondja, Top Barab, Kai-as
17-190215	Ruben Sauncib Sanib	Khao-a Dama	Kowareb, Kai-as, Hunkab, Sesfontein
21-220215	Ruben Sauncib Sanib	Khao-a Dama	West of Tsabididi, ≠Khari Soso, Aogu gams, Bukuba-≠noahes, Huom
07-100315	Ruben Sauncib Sanib	Khao-a Dama	Sixori, Oruvao/ Guru-Tsaub, Sanibe- gams
07-091115	Ruben Sauncib Sanib, Sophia Opi Awises	Khao-a Dama, Ubun	Kowareb, Khao-as, Soaub (Desert Rhino Camp area)
13-141115	Christophine Daumû Tauros, Michael Amigu Ganaseb	!Narenin Hoanidaman / Ubun	Sesfontein, Purros, Hoanib
20-261115	Franz Hoëb, Noag Ganaseb	Ubun	Sesfontein, Hoanib, coast, Kai-as
05-090519	Franz Hoëb	Ubun	Sesfontein, !Uniab mouth, Hûnkab, Mudorib, Oeb, Hoanib
12-150519	Ruben Sauncib Sanib	Khao-a Dama	Sesfontein, Gomagorras, Nobarab, Khao-as, Soaub
17-200519	Julia Tauros	Purros Dama	Sesfontein - Purros
22-240519	Hoanib Cultural Group, Sesfontein (n = 18, + 7 facilitators)	Multiple	Kai-as

This method of ‘on-site oral history’ led by research participants constitutes what anthropologist Anna TSING (2014, 13) describes as ‘historical retracing’: ‘walking the tracks of the past even in the present’ to draw out ‘the erasure of earlier histories in assessments of the present [thus] infilling the present with the traces of earlier interactions and events’. Such documentation can draw into the open occluded and alternative knowledges, practices and experiences that continue to ‘haunt’ the present despite their diminution through various historical processes (BIRD ROSE, 1991; BELL, 1993[1983]; BASSO, 1996; TSING, 2005, 81; DE CERTEAU, 2010, 24; also SULLIVAN, 2017). The full mapped dataset of named springs, former dwelling places, graves and landscape features recorded through this research, combined with stories, memories, genealogies and images can be viewed online at <https://tinyurl.com/futurepasts-oralhistories-map>. It has formed the basis for reporting to the Namidaman Traditional Authority (TA) (SULLIVAN *et al.*, 2019a) and is currently being mobilised as part of this TA’s submission to the Ancestral Land Commission established by the Namibian government in 2019 (IJITEMISA, 2019).

3. Historical documents held in the National Archives of Namibia, and other secondary and grey literature sources regarding the governance and truth regimes effected through colonialism, apartheid and the postcolonial state, especially in relation to land distribution and connected policies in north-west Namibia. This underlying literature review of ‘happening history’ and the ways this has unfolded and been framed is available in a series of iteratively updated texts embedded online at <https://www.futurepasts.net/timeline-to-kunene-from-the-cape>.

The oral accounts generated in 1. and 2. above combine first-hand experiences with inter-generationally transmitted oral history (cf. HAACKE, 2010, 24). All Khoekhoegowab oral accounts have been recorded, transcribed, translated and interpreted with significant work by Welhemina Suro Ganuses from Sesfontein, whose assistance and collaboration has been central to the development of this paper, as has that of Sesfontein resident and conservancy ‘Rhino Ranger’ Filemon |Nuab, who acted as guide for all mapping journeys listed in Table 2. Namibia(n) scholar Wilfred HAACKE (2010, 7, 24) observes that oral accounts can ‘provide pivotal information to facilitate the understanding of causalities and human interaction in historical events’, offering ‘valuable insight for the understanding of a situation’, even if ‘numerical detail in particular soon becomes unreliable’. Oral accounts of personally experienced pasts and past disruptions can also generate new historical and moral questions regarding present circumstances (as elaborated in the paper introducing this Special Issue).

In what follows I mobilise these diverse methods and sources to problematise two interrelated issues regarding the establishment of conservancies in north-west Namibia as postcolonial wildlife management and income-generating institutions.

First, my discussion turns to the significance of national and local historical contexts regarding land distribution and the locating of boundaries (also see BOLLIG, 2016). As ALEXANDER and MCGREGOR (2002) have traced for the emergence of protest and dispute in the context of Zimbabwe’s CAMPFIRE programme in an area of Matabeleland North, and Julie TAYLOR (2012) has analysed for Namibia’s West Caprivi (now Bwabwata National Park), historical structuring of access to landscapes and wildlife is critical in shaping the ways that contemporary ‘community-based’ conservation initiatives unfold in practice. At the same time,

these factors may be masked in southern Africa through a non-ethnic labelling of CBNRM ‘recipients’ as ‘communal area dwellers’¹⁴ from which historical contexts and ethnicity are discursively removed. Related to a struggle for independence that was a nation-building struggle, as well as to a post-independence constitution that affirms equality for all people regardless of axes of difference such as race, colour, sex and political allegiance, this modernising endeavour nominally strips out cultural-ethnic difference but also has deeper, less palatable roots. It echoes, for example, the moment immediately following the German Südwest-Afrika genocidal colonial war of 1904-07 in which ‘strong efforts ... [were] made to reclassify the black residents of the Police Zone reserves as black labourers’, through deferring or deflating tribal identities (SILVESTER, 1998, p. 144). A postcolonial homogenising of cultural-ethnic identities and associated pasts and knowledges may thus give an appearance of modernising away axes of difference, without making power struggles based on these differences disappear. Indeed, by appearing to deny that these differences exist, conflict associated with them may be amplified. Other contemporary governance tendencies also pull in different directions. For example, the Namibian Traditional Authorities Act (2000) recognises ethnic difference and the specificities of cultural heritage, as well as the legitimacy of previous so-called ‘traditional’ leadership structures (see, for example, HINZ, GARISEB, 2013). In ‘History: maps and rights’, then, I foreground the ‘happening histories’ at national and local levels of known historical events that have acted contingently to shape and constrain contemporary rights narratives, as these are playing out in CBNRM in north-west Namibia.

In relation to this set of issues, in ‘Land: memory and relationship’ I weave into my narrative some considerations of memory, embodied experience and ideational conceptions of land on the part of Dama / ≠Nūkhoen and ||Ukun families and individuals with whom I have interacted for a quarter of a century. So-called Damara Khoe-speaking people refer to themselves as ≠Nūkhoen, meaning literally ‘black’ or ‘real’ people and thus distinguished from *Nau kboen* or ‘other people’. Historically, ‘Dama-ra’ was the Nama or Khoe name for ‘black people’ generally (referring literally to two female black-skinned people) (see HAACKE, 2018, 133-134, 140). Since Nama were often those whom early European colonial travellers first encountered in the western part of southern Africa, they took on this use of the term ‘Dama’. This gave rise to a confusing situation in the historical literature whereby the term ‘Damara’, as well as the central part of Namibia that in the 1800s was known as ‘Damaraland’, tended to refer to dark-skinned cattle pastoralists who called themselves Herero (see, for example ALEXANDER, 2006(1853); GALTON, 1890[1851]; TINDALL, 1959). The terms ‘Hill Damaras’ and ‘Plains Damaras’ were used to distinguish contemporary Damara or ≠Nūkhoen (i.e. ‘Khoe-speaking black-skinned people’) from oshiHerero-speaking peoples respectively. In conjunction, these names also signalled historically-constitutive processes whereby pressure on land through expansionary cattle pastoralism pushed Khoe-speaking Damara / ≠Nūkhoen further into the mountainous areas that became their refuge and stronghold (HAHN *et al.*, 1928; LAU, 1979). Historian Brigitte LAU (1979, 30-32, emphasis in original) maintained that ‘the Damaras are *historically* a group apart and settled in the country *before* other Nama and Orlams moved in’, living in ‘a scattered collection of communities *historically apart and separate* from all other Nama peoples who migrated into the

¹⁴ See, for example, <http://www.kcs-namibia.com.na/conservation-history.html> (accessed 7 July 2019).

territory'. Alongside a more recent consolidation and appropriation of an homogenising Damara ethnic identity associated with colonial and apartheid governance processes (FULLER, 1993), ≠Nūkhoen are linked with a diversity of dynamic and more-or-less autonomous *!haoti* (lineages) associated with different land areas (*!hūs*) (as clarified below), with both specific and overlapping livelihoods and lifeworlds enacted by different *!haoti* as 'local-incorporative units' (BARNARD, 1992, 203). Khoe-speaking ||Ukun are sometimes referred to as 'Nama' and at other times referred to as 'Bushmen' (personal fieldnotes), for whom a mythologised origin tale tells that they split from ≠Aonin / Topnaar Nama at Utuseb in the !Khuseb river valley, following a dispute in which a ≠Aonin woman refused her sister the creamy milk (| |*ham*) that the latter desired. They travelled and established themselves north of the !Khuseb and are linked with many former dwelling sites located in the Namib close to the ocean [i.e. '*burib*']¹⁵ in this far westerly area (see SULLIVAN *et al.*, 2019b).

In relation to a context wherein differently remembered pasts generate diversity in present concerns, in 'Land: memory and relationship' I thus engage with some framings and experiences of the territories concerned that seem to be consistently occluded in the drawing up of postcolonial administrative boundaries, a process of which the delineation of the territory of conservancies is a recent iteration. I do this by working first through a series of Dama / ≠Nūkhoen and ||Ukun organising conceptions of landscapes, followed by a selection of material from on-site oral histories recorded whilst journeying with senior Khoe-speaking inhabitants of Sesfontein and satellite settlements to remembered places of past dwelling (as per Table 2). My intention is to open up the density of cultural meaning associated with 'wilderness spaces' that has been affirmed and prompted through these journeys, as well as to foreground some of the other(ed) modes of knowing places and landscapes that have thereby emerged.

4. History: maps and rights

For southern and central Namibia, a key outcome of history for today's land use and planning initiatives is a situation of significant inequality in the distribution of rights to land. The contemporary location of Namibia's communal areas is a legacy of the establishment of 'Native Reserves' and 'homelands' during Namibia's colonial and apartheid past, which in turn were pockets of land left for indigenous inhabitants as more productive land became subject to a creeping, and frequently violent, appropriation as settler farmland. Large areas were also proclaimed for conservation and mining, both with extremely restricted access. With some exceptions, this pattern of land distribution has remained roughly the same since new regional boundaries combining communal and freehold land were drawn up in the 1990s after independence. Mapped documentation of these shifts in land tenure and territorial boundaries can be viewed and downloaded from the Atlas of Namibia and ACACIA project websites¹⁶. A

¹⁵ Interviews with Heldika |Nuas (Sesfontein), 6 April 2014 and Emma Ganuses (!Nao-dâis), 12 November 2015.

¹⁶ ACACIA Project E1 2007. Digital atlas of Namibia, available on-line: http://www.uni-koeln.de/sfb389/e/e1/download/atlas_namibia/e1_download_land_history_e.htm#land_allocation, based on data from the Atlas of Namibia Project online at http://209.88.21.36/Atlas/Atlas_web.htm (both last accessed on 24 June 2019).

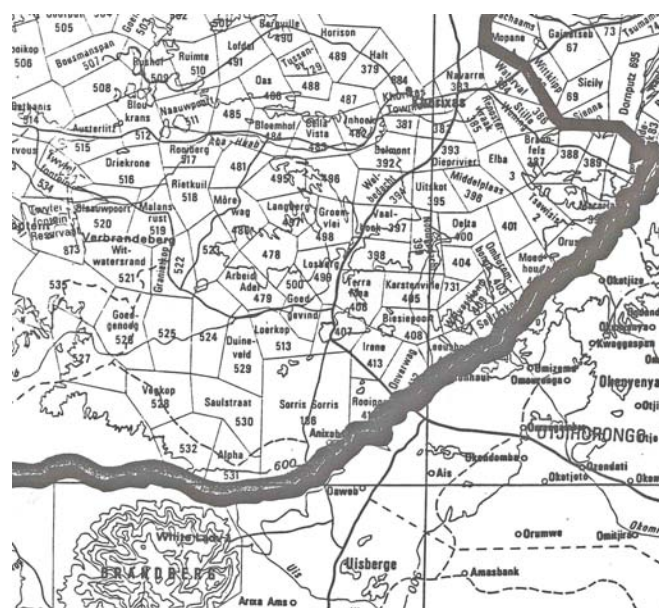
summary of the historical trajectory, i.e. the ‘happening history’, of shifting land distribution and administrative boundaries as it played out for the former ‘Damaraland’ area of north-west Namibia is available online at <https://www.futurepasts.net/historical-events-west-namibia>.

The imposition of colonial rule and the later South African administration, and the accompanying ‘settler imperative’ driving large-scale land appropriation under private tenure and capitalist production ideals, engendered a massive and rapid conceptual shift in perceptions and understandings of land in the territory that became Namibia. Different local experiences of the impacts of this shift have produced a complex array of ‘winners’ and ‘losers’, whose historically-located quarrels over land rights feed contemporary disputes over conservancy boundary location and other aspects of communal area conservation policy. These two layers – national structuring and local engagements with this – are explored further below.

National context

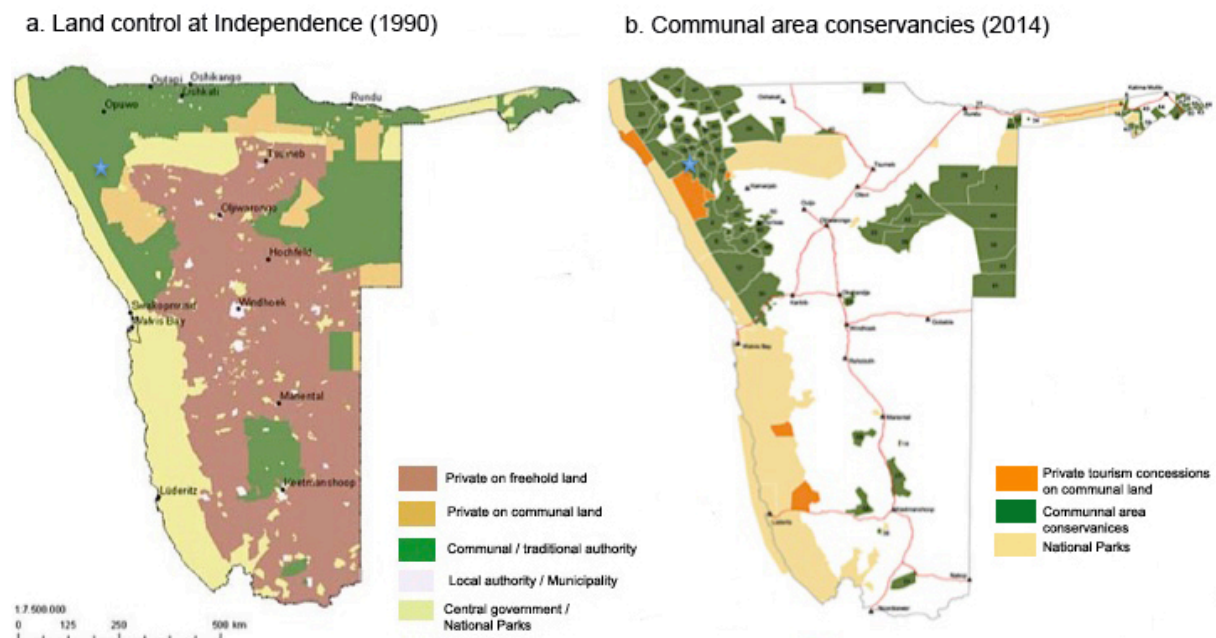
As elsewhere (e.g. see WEITZER, 1990), the colonial imperative that played out in Namibia entailed surveying and registering the territory’s natural riches and appropriating these through European settlement and industry, a process accompanied by coercion, violence and a genocidal war (BLEY, 1996; GORDON, 2000; OLUSOGA, ERICHSEN, 2010). In southern and central Namibia, the country’s more productive land was surveyed, fenced and settled by livestock ranchers, resulting in a mapped landscape of static boundaries (see Figure 5). The process was inextricably bound with the ‘overcoding’ manifested by the cadastral land-planning mindset of modernity accelerated by the British Enclosure Acts of especially the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, extended worldwide as an integral part of western Europe’s project of colonialism and empire-building (DELEUZE, GUATTARI, 1988(1980), 208-213; SCOTT, 1999; HUGHES, 1999; SMITH, 2001; PORTER, 2010).

Figure 5. Namibia’s cadastral landscape of surveyed and fenced farms in Khorixas District, southern Kunene Region (formerly ‘Damaraland’): the straight lines signify farm boundaries that are mostly fenced. The Brandberg Mountain to the south-west of the map is known as Dâures by Damara/≠Nūkhoen. Source: Surveyor-General, Windhoek, 1994.



CBNRM in postcolonial and post-apartheid Namibia has been established on top of the pattern of land control set up during Namibia's colonial and later apartheid history, as depicted in Figure 6. Most of the central and southern parts of the country were surveyed, fenced and settled by commercial white farmers once indigenous peoples – other than those that became labourers in commercial farming areas – had been constrained to more marginal areas (coloured green in Fig. 6a). It is these remaining *communally-managed areas* that have been the focus of CBNRM, adding a new dynamic of mapping and area delineation to facilitate ‘... land acquisition for conservation in the non-formal sense’ (JONES, 1999b, 47) and become an additional layer of centrally-facilitated codification and objectification of people-land relationships.

Figure 6. Pattern of land control in Namibia: a) showing areas under private and communal tenure (the pink and green coloured areas respectively) (adapted from ACACIA Project E1 2007 online http://www.uni-koeln.de/sfb389/e/e1/download/atlas_namibia/pics/land_history/control-over-land.jpg); b) showing the area now administered as communal area conservancies (in green). The blue asterisk indicates the location of Sesfontein Conservancy (NACSO, Windhoek, online <http://www.nacso.org.na/resources/conservancies-map-a3>).



In recent decades additional historical processes have acted to further clear people and livestock from land areas of southern Kunene Region:

1. a livestock-free zone north of the veterinary fence dissecting Namibia from east to west (see Figure 1) was coercively cleared of people living there so as to control the movement of animals from communal areas in the north to settler commercial farming areas in the south (MIESCHER, 2012). Africans including ‘Berg Dama’ were repeatedly and forcibly moved out of the western areas between Hoanib and Ugab Rivers, although inability to police this remote area meant that people moved back as soon as police presence has left (MIESCHER, 2012, 152). In the SWA Annual Report of 1930, for example it is noted that,

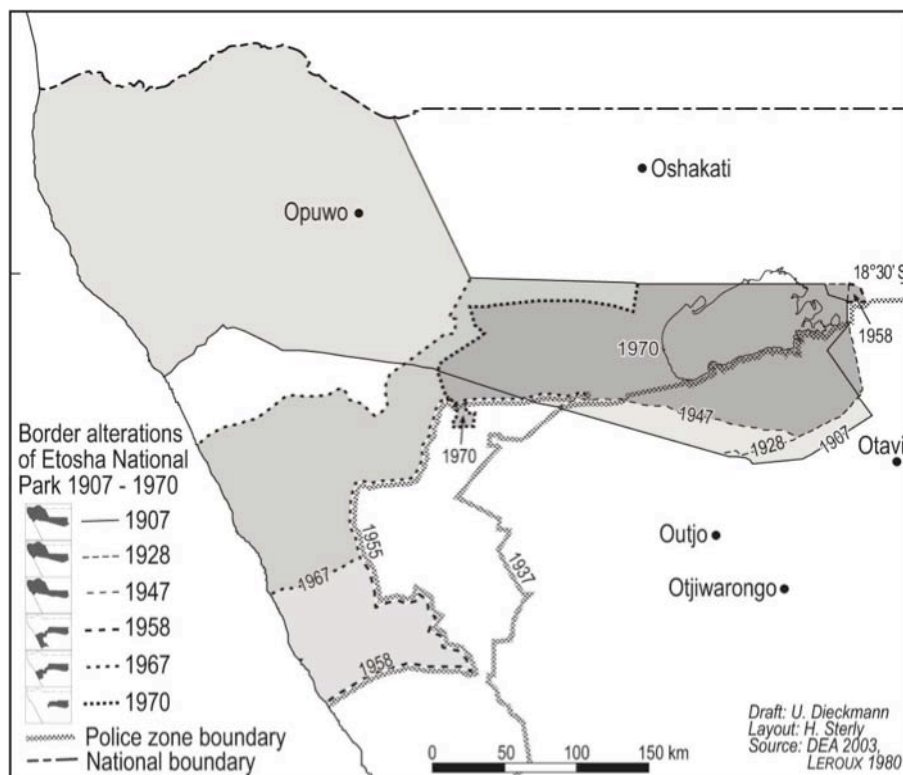
[c]hanges in regard to the settlements of natives have recently been carried out in the Southern Kaokoveld. Scattered and isolated native families, particularly [but not only] Hereros, have been moved to places where it is possible to keep them under observation and

control. ... All stock has been moved north over a considerable area in order to establish a buffer zone between the natives in the Kaokoveld and the occupied parts of the Territory which remain free of the disease [lungsickness] (SWAA, 1930, 14).

Some years later, an Inspection report for the Kaokoveld by an Agricultural Officer recommends that the then derelict gardens at Warmquelle, at the time under small-scale agriculture by several families, be used '... to provide grazing and gardening ground for the Damaras who moved to Sesfontein from the Southern Kaokoveld'¹⁷. Moments of this clearance process are vividly remembered by elderly informants today (see transcript from Ruben Sanib below);

2. in the 1950s relief grazing was made available under Namibia's South African administration, mostly for Afrikaans livestock farmers (KAMBATUKU, 1996);
3. from 1950 on, several diamond mines were established in the northern Namib, especially at Möwe Bay, Terrace Bay, Toscanini and Saurusa (MANSFIELD, 2006), making this territory a 'restricted access area'. This is a remembered process that displaced especially | | Ubun people living and moving in this far westerly area, as well as offering new employment opportunities in the mines thereby established;
4. in 1958 the boundary of the former 'Game Reserve no. 2 (now Etosha National Park) was extended westwards to the coast following the Hoanib River in the north and the Ugab River in the south (TINLEY, 1971) – see Figure 7 – a process associated with further constraints on people and livestock utilising and moving through this area;

Figure 7. The shifting boundaries of Game Reserve No. 2 / Etosha National Park, 1907-1970. Source: DIECKMANN, 2007, 76, reproduced with permission.



¹⁷ Inspection report, Kaokoveld. Principal Agricultural Officer to Assistant Chief Commissioner Windhoek, 06/02/52, SWAA.2515.A.552/13 Kaokoveld - Agriculture.

5. various boundary changes that took place in connection with the creation of new ‘homeland’ areas following government recommendations in the 1960s (ODENDAAL REPORT, 1964). At this time, much of the western portion of Etosha National Park was reallocated as part of the ‘homeland’ of ‘Damaraland’ and the western park boundary was moved eastwards to its 1970 position. The process allowed the Skeleton Coast National Park to be gazetted (in 1971) from the northern Namib (TINLEY, 1971), already cleared of people through its establishment as a restricted access mining area from 1950. The new ‘Damaraland Homeland’ provided re-settlement opportunities for many Dama / ≠Nūkhoen in other parts of Namibia. In the southern parts of the Homeland territory in particular, surveyed farms that had been settled by predominantly Afrikaans settler farmers (see Figure 5) were ‘communalised’ (i.e. turned into communal land) through their (re)allocation to ≠Nūkhoen herders (SULLIVAN, 1996). Later, the Damara Regional Authorities committed a large area of land in between Etosha and Skeleton Coast Parks as the hunting and then tourism concession of Palmwag (see Figure 1).

In sum, these processes affected the land embodying territories (*!hūs*) known as ≠Khari Hurubes, !Nau Hurubes¹⁸, Aogubus, and Namib (see Figure 10 below). | |Khao-a Dama of ≠Khari Hurubes and Aogubus were mostly consolidated in the northern settlements of Sesfontein / !Nani | aus, Anabeb, Warmquelle and Kowareb. Dâure-Dama of the more southerly !Nau Hurubes became concentrated mostly in the vicinity of the Ugab River to the south of the Palmwag Concession. People were understandably reluctant to leave places they considered home. Some oral histories indicate that coercion accompanied this movement. In November 2014 I sat at the waterhole of ≠Khabaka, now in the Palmwag concession, with Ruben Sauneib Sanib, a renowned hunter of the |Awise | |Khao-a Damara family associated with Hurubes and surrounding areas who was born *ca.* 1930s. He recalled his experience of being evicted from the formerly large settlement of Gomagorras in Aogubus, now in the Palmwag Concession, an event that happened prior to the memorable death of Husa, then Nama captain of Sesfontein / !Nani | aus who in 1941 was mauled by a lion at the place known as ≠Ao-daos (see below) (personal fieldnotes, and VAN WARMELO, 1962(1951), 37, 43-44):

The government said this is now the wildlife area and you cannot move in here. We had to move to the other side of the mountains - to Tsabididi [the area also known today as Mbakondja]. Ok, now government police from Kamanjab and Fransfontein told the people to move from here. And the people moved some of the cattle already to Sesfontein area, but they left some of the cattle [for the people still in Hurubes and Aogubus] to drink the milk. Those are the cattle the government came and shot to make the people move.

Some of these cattle belonged to a grandfather of Ruben’s called Sabuemib:

And Sabuemib took one of the bulls into a cave at |Gui-gomabi-!gaus and he shot it there with a bow and arrow [so that they would at least be able to eat biltong from the meat and prevent the animal being killed by the authorities]. Other cattle were collected together with those of Hereros [also herding in the area] and were shot by the government people at

¹⁸ Also ‘| |Hurubes’, see see Dâure Daman Traditional Authority in HINZ and GARISEB (2013, 186).

Gomagorras [named after the word *goman* for cattle and located in the hills south of Tsabididi]. Some of Sabuemib's cattle were killed in this way.¹⁹

Given this multi-layered historical context, and fuelled by a national situation of inequity and insecurity in access to land, local negotiation regarding conservancy establishment has focused on access to land areas, even though legally a conservancy is limited to conferring certain rights over animal wildlife (SULLIVAN, 2002). I turn now to the ways in which differing historical and cultural experiences can influence claims to land and affect the outcomes of CBNRM initiatives by outlining some additional local dynamics arising in the disputed registration of two specific conservancies.

Local context

He explained to them that history was like an old house at night. With all the lamps lit. And ancestors whispering inside.... 'To understand history,' Chacko said, 'we have to go inside and listen to what they're saying. And look at the books and the pictures on the wall. And smell the smells. ...' (ROY, 1998, 52-53)

As evoked by Arundhati Roy above, history is not only about the facts and figures that describe events and contribute to a legal architecture for governing land and lives. In these contexts the exigencies of history also shape changes in ways in which relationships with land are both conceptualised and experienced, influencing memories of past relationships that may flow into current events and discourses (SULLIVAN *et al.*, this volume). Clearly, where diverse groups of people are involved in negotiation over the establishment of rights to land and resources, one important issue is likely to be that of *whose* perspectives and claims are represented in these negotiations (SULLIVAN, 2002, 2003; TAYLOR, 2012). Here I outline some ways in which historical and recent establishment of state administrative boundaries has interacted with some socio-cultural relationships with 'the land', contributing to emergent dispute through multiple and multi-layered processes of displacement.

In particular, and connected with the shifting of administrative boundaries discussed above, in southern Kunene Region a dynamic has been set in motion that has impinged specifically on settlement and land use by Khoe-speaking people in the area. To provide one example, in the 1970s the re-drawing of administrative boundaries and the creation of 'homelands' following the recommendations of the Odendaal Report (1964), reportedly led to the settlement of Warmquelle/|Aexa|aus (Figure 1) becoming part of Opuwo District to the north and thereby (re)created as a Herero/Himba constituency, i.e. as located in the Kaokoland ovaHimba 'homeland'. Historically Warmquelle/|Aexa|aus had been claimed by Khoe-speaking people from at least the time of German colonial rule. For example, the incoming !Gomen

¹⁹ Robert Hitchcock and colleagues record similar reports for the northern British Protectorate Crown Lands of Botswana in the late 1940s, describing the purposeful shooting by camel-mounted police of domestic livestock belonging to Tshwa Bushmen (HITCHCOCK *et al.*, 2017). The self-slaughter of livestock by 'Khoikhoi' so that the animals would not fall in to the hands of white settlers was observed historically in the Cape Colony, for example in 1776 by Swedish botanist Anders Sparrman (as reported in WÄSTBERG, 2010, 184).

Topnaar captain of Sesfontein, Jan |Uixamab of !Gomen, i.e. Walvis Bay, was able to assert such a position of prominence in the area in the late 1800s that on 3 October 1898 he ‘sold’ 4,000 hectares constituting the farm Warmbad (Warmquelle) to the colonial Kaoko Land and Mining Company (as documented in RIZZO, 2012). This farm was later taken over by a German settler called Carl Schlettwein (!HAROËS, 2010; MIESCHER, 2012, 33; RIZZO, 2012, 64-67), and under German colonial rule Dama / ≠Nūkhoen contributed labour for the newly established German outpost and farm at the growing settlement. When Major Manning later travelled through ‘Warmbad’ on 8 August 1917 he found it occupied by a manager for Schlettwein – an Italian called B. Oldani (see Figure 8). Manning described the place as follows:

[w]arm springs, permanent water, small house. Concrete aqueducts for irrigation, much land under corn, lucerne and mealies. Some native families on farm, road from Khowarib through open country, sandy and crossed Hoanib dry River bed²⁰.

In the late 1940s, a government ‘ethnologist’ for the South African administration noted again that ‘Schlettwein’s farm ‘Warmbad’ is occupied by one of the Sesfontein Nama ‘voormanne’ - Jafta Hendrik - ‘with a small number of people’, and grazing posts linked with Sesfontein were also observed to be used in the area around Sesfontein itself ‘for many miles around’ (VAN WARMELO, 1962(1951), 37-38).

Figure 8. B. Oldani, manager for C. Schlettwein of Warmbad [Warmquelle] farm, near Sesfontein, in 1917. Source: Manning Report 1917, National Archives of Namibia.



Andreas !Kharuxab, former ≠Nūkhoen (Dâureb Dama) headman of Kowareb, and his peer and friend, Salmon Ganamub, recall these dynamics in an interview recorded in May 1999:

First, Damara people were staying at |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle. Damara were there. ...At that time Gabriel, who is now dead, was the headman [at |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle]; it was he who

²⁰ Manning Report 1917, ADM 156 W 32 National Archives of Namibia, p. 7.

passed the leadership on to me. You're asking how long had the Damara people been there? Those people were born there, they grew up and worked there. ... It was a German place then. ... Damara people were already there, then the Germans came and they gathered other people who were in the veld [*!garob*, see below] and they gave them work [for food]. They rounded them up with horses and some people came of their own accord.

First before we came to Kowareb we stayed for years and years at |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle and we worked the gardens there. Here (i.e. Kowareb) was the farm-post of Nama people²¹. !Nani|aus/Sesfontein and |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle were big villages and the Nama people of !Nani|aus/Sesfontein and the Damara people of |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle used to keep livestock here at Kowareb.

But there are reasons why we came here and made this garden [at Kowareb]. Political things²² came in which were not here before in our lives. Political things were introduced which made |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle part of Opuwo district. That commissioner of Opuwo made |Aexa|aus/Warmquelle part of Opuwo district and he gave it to Herero people. We sat then on the plains and then we came here (to Kowareb) and talked with the government and they built us this garden; they built the dam and they pushed the water here (for irrigation). Then we founded this garden here.²³

This narrative describes the 1970s displacement of Khoekhoegowab-speaking people inhabiting Warmquelle / |Aexa|aus southwards to Kowareb in what became designated as 'Damaraland' – the 'homeland' of 'the Damara'. It is reportedly only since this time that Herero families who are now so important in the local politics of the area settled permanently in Warmquelle, and more recently (since the 1990s) have become prominently established at Kowareb. This history, and accompanying anxieties that such processes of settlement and land loss will be repeated, underscored opposition expressed by some Dama / ≠Nūkhoen to conservancy establishment throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s (SULLIVAN, 2003). Such fears are compounded by a current momentum whereby pastoralists with relatively large cattle herds are moving into the area, generating experiences of displacement and feelings of resentment (as noted elsewhere in the country, see BOTELLE, ROHDE, 1995; TAYLOR, 2012). In combination with conflict occurring between key Herero families regarding leadership and land rights in and around Warmquelle (SULLIVAN, 2003; PELLIS, 2011; PELLIS *et al.*, 2015), this ongoing argument regarding the delineation of long stretches of proposed conservancy boundaries in the late 1990s and early 2000s necessitated the designation of large potential conservancy areas as 'dispute areas' (LONG, 2004, 18).

Figure 9 reproduces one of the working maps used in late 1999 and 2000 in meetings discussing emerging conservancy boundaries, involving facilitating NGOs, representatives of the

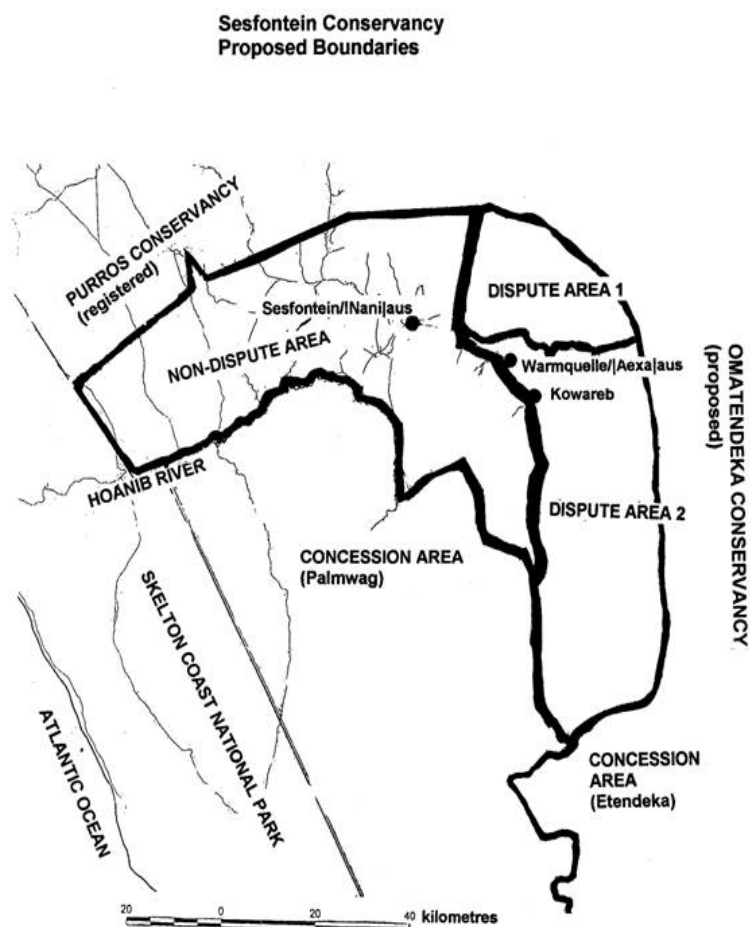
²¹ As Manning confirms, at 'Khowarib' on 8th August 1917, [a] '[g]ood stream of water which runs in Hoanib at intervals all way from CAYIMAEIS ends here', plus '[a] few Ghodaman natives (Klip Kaffirs or Bergdamaras) in charge cattle post here belonging to Zesfontein Hottentots whose Reserve said to extend as far as this point'. Manning Report 1917, ADM 156 W 32 National Archives of Namibia, p. 6. ≠Nūkhoen and ||Uban presence at Kowareb in connection with herding livestock in patron-client relationships with Nama families based in Sesfontein is also confirmed in oral histories, for example, Manasse and Heldika |Nuab/s, Sesfontein / !Nani|aus, 11/05/99.

²² This is a literal translation of 'politiek xun'. Andreas is referring to the 1970s enacting of the recommendations of the Odendaal Report which amounted to the establishment of 'homelands' and the redrawing of administrative boundaries in the name of *apartheid* or 'separate development'.

²³ Interview with Andreas !Kharuxab, Kowareb, 13/05/99.

MET, conservancy and other local committee members, and local inhabitants. The map shows clearly the locations of conservancy dispute areas. What is striking about the map is the visual dominance of the marked *boundaries* of the proposed conservancies, which in this reproduction accurately reflects the size of these boundaries as demarcated on the original working map. These excessively marked boundaries convey a sense of the focus on determining conservancy borders as a prerequisite for administrative and managerial control. While the stated intention is for such control to devolve to local people and meet local aspirations, the tools used and the two-dimensional depictions that result seem to reflect and construct an emphasis on particular relations of objectification and experiential distance *vis à vis* land (and the ‘resources’ located therein). As noted above, this process, as well as the assumptions it conveys regarding what is important about people-land relations, acts discursively to devalue other experiences and constructions of landscapes that are less easily reduced, flattened and manipulated. Such acts of mapping thus become both representations and manifestations of attempts to manipulate both land and peoples’ relationships with ‘it’. Combined with a conservation priority of protecting large mammals and ‘last wildernesses’, and a strongly economic development frame oriented towards external tourism and trophy markets (NAIDOO *et al.*, 2016), this impetus shapes and displaces dense local memories and knowledges of landscape. It is to these experiences and memories of landscape that I now turn, drawing primarily on material from encounters with Dama / ≠Nūkhoen and ||Ukun inhabitants of the area.

Figure 9. Slighted edited working map of the proposed boundaries for the emerging Sesfontein Conservancy, 2000. Source: pers. comm. Blythe Loutit.



5. Land: memory and relationship

We lived where we wanted; the land was open like our heart (*≠gao*). (Andreas !Kharuxab, interview 1999).

Anthropologist Keith BASSO (1996) writes in *Wisdom Sits in Places* that research that ‘maps from below’ faces the challenge of how to represent the layers of cultural significance entangled with land in a way that bridges gaps between oral and written dimensions of this knowledge. Dama / ≠Nūkhoen and ||Ubun, as well as those speaking Khoekhoegowab more generally (cf. WIDLOK (1999) and DIECKMANN (2007) for Hai ||om), have framed, conceptualised and experienced land in terms that tend not to be represented by the mapping practices considered above, or by the plethora of managerial and economic discourses that permeate CBNRM. As theorised in the anthropology of landscapes more generally (e.g. BENDER, 1993; TILLEY, 1994; ASHMORE, KNAPP, 1999; INGOLD, 2000; BENDER, WINER, 2001; TILLEY, CAMEROON-DAUM, 2017), these ‘other’ and othered frames arguably emerge only when culture and land are perceived as mutually constitutive domains, produced in relation to the felt sense and *habitus* of lived and remembered practices and experiences. In responding to this nexus of concerns, in this section I first outline four layers of socio-spatial organisation of Dama / ≠Nūkhoen and ||Ubun (cultural) landscapes. I then foreground the density of meaning that may emerge through on-site oral histories prompted by, and recorded in, places returned to with senior Khoe-speaking members of conservancy communities in north-west Namibia.

1. !Garob

!Garob is the broader landscape where people go to collect veldfoods (*!garob ≠ûn*), where people hunt (thus also ‘*!aub*’, from *!au* meaning hunting, and used synonymously with *!garob*), and where livestock go to graze when they are not kraaled near homesteads. A small garden (*!hanab*) can be part of, or in, the *!garob*, but land ceases to be *!garob* – the field – in places of permanent dwelling (||*an-||gûib*) – as detailed below. *!Garob* is thus a space of *movement*; of moving through in the process of procuring livelihood, and of being in whilst betwixt and between places of more permanent dwelling. It is nevertheless known and remembered, peppered with specific places charged with history and stories, and celebrated as the source of appreciated foods and water (as elaborated below). As such, *!garob* does not map on to the idealised ‘smooth space’ of DELEUZE and GUATTARI’s (1988[1980]) ‘nomad science’, although of course such ‘empty areas’ were constructed as the available *terra nullius* of the imperial imagination and its required settler frontier.

2. !Hūs

A *!hūs* is a named area of the *!garob*. As Andreas !Kharuxab explains:

From the !Uniab River to this side it’s called Aogubus. And the Hoanib River is the reason why this area is called Hoanib. And from the !Uniab to the other side (south) is called Hurubes. That is Hurubes. From the !Uniab to that big mountain (Dâures) is called Hurubes. If you come to the ||Huab River – from the ||Huab to the other side (south) is called ||Oba (now Morewag Farm). Khorixas area is called ||Huib. And from there if you pass

through and come to the !U≠gab River we refer to that area as |Awan !Huba, i.e. ‘Red Ground’. *Every area has got its names.*²⁴

A *!hūs* is also known in association with the lineage-based exogamous group of people or *!haos* who lived there. I say *lived* because the exigencies of a colonial and apartheid history mean that few such *!haoti* retain unbroken relations of habitation to such areas. Nevertheless, most Dama/≠Nūkhoen in north-west Namibia continue to identify with reference to the *!hūs* that they or their ancestors hail from, at least in recent generations (see Figure 10). So, for example:

... the people get their names according to where they were living. ... My mother’s parents were both Damara and my father’s parents were both Damara. I am a Damara child; I am part of the Damara ‘nation’ (*!hao*). I am a Damara (*Damara ta ge*). We are Damara but we are also Dâure Dama. We are part of the Dâure Dama ‘nation’ (*!hao*). We are Dâure Dama. (*Dâure Dama da ge*).²⁵

And,

My father was really from this place [Sesfontein/!Nani|aus], and my mother was from Hurubes. Really she’s from Hurubes. She’s ||Khao-a Damara.²⁶

Dynamic relationship with a lineage-associated *!hūs* is further reflected in such things as the location and orientation of families in larger settlements, and the directions in which people travel when venturing into the *!garob* to gather foods and other items (see below). While Sesfontein, for example, is one of the longest established precolonial and colonial administrative settlements in Kunene with a relatively large and permanent population of Dama/≠Nūkhoen people, most Damara ‘households’ tended in the 1990s to be physically located within the settlement in places that reflect their affinity towards the direction of the *!hūs* with which their *!haoti* is identified (see Figure 10) – a tendency similarly observed for desert peoples in postcolonial circumstances elsewhere²⁷. In southern Kunene, these different groupings are now categorised under the broader linguistic, lineage, and land-based grouping of *Namidaman* and represented by the Namidaman Traditional Authority.

As outlined above, African/indigenous Namibians experienced the loss of large areas of land inhabited during and prior to European incursion which for some indigenous groupings involved the removal of legal access to *all* the land to which they traced their ancestry and located their embodied memories. A number of Dama /≠Nūkhoen *!haoti* were uprooted completely from the *!hūs* that at the time of the colonial ‘shift’ constituted the fabric of their homes and lives (also see SULLIVAN, 2001). From the 1950s onwards, ||Ubun also lost all access to prior areas of dwelling and resource access. |Khomaniin of the valleys and mountains of the |Khomas Hochland to the west and south of Windhoek, ≠Aodaman of Outjo/Kamanjab/Etoshia area, |Gaiodaman of Otijawarongo and environs, !Oe≠gan of Usakos/Omaruru/Erongo Mountains area, and |Gowanin of Hoachanas/west Gobabis area lost all legal and autonomous access to their land (see Figures 11 and 12). Since much of this land was delineated and settled as

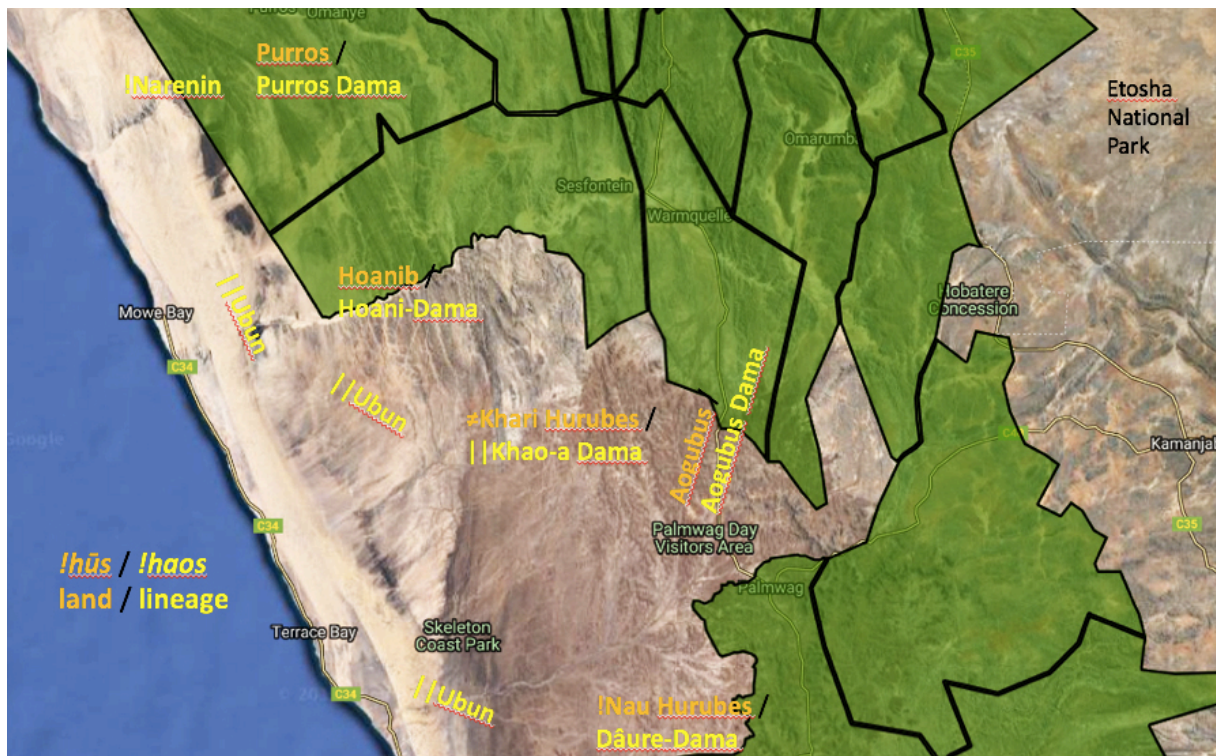
²⁴ Recorded interview with Andreas !Kharuxab, Kowareb, 13/05/99.

²⁵ Recorded interview with Andreas !Kharuxab, Kowareb, 13/05/99). (Nb. ‘Dâures’ is the Khoekhoegowab name for the Brandberg massif).

²⁶ Recorded interview with Philippine |Hairo ||Nowaxas, Sesfontein, 15/04/99.

²⁷ See BELL (1993[1983]) for the orientation towards ‘country’ by diverse Aboriginal peoples in Warrabri / Ali-Curang, Central Australia.

Figure 10. Named land areas (*!hūs*) as dynamically known in recent generations by Khoe-speaking Dama/≠Nūkhoen and ||Ukun inhabitants of conservancies in southern Kunene. The green-shaded areas are communal-area conservancies. Source: personal fieldnotes and on-site oral histories.

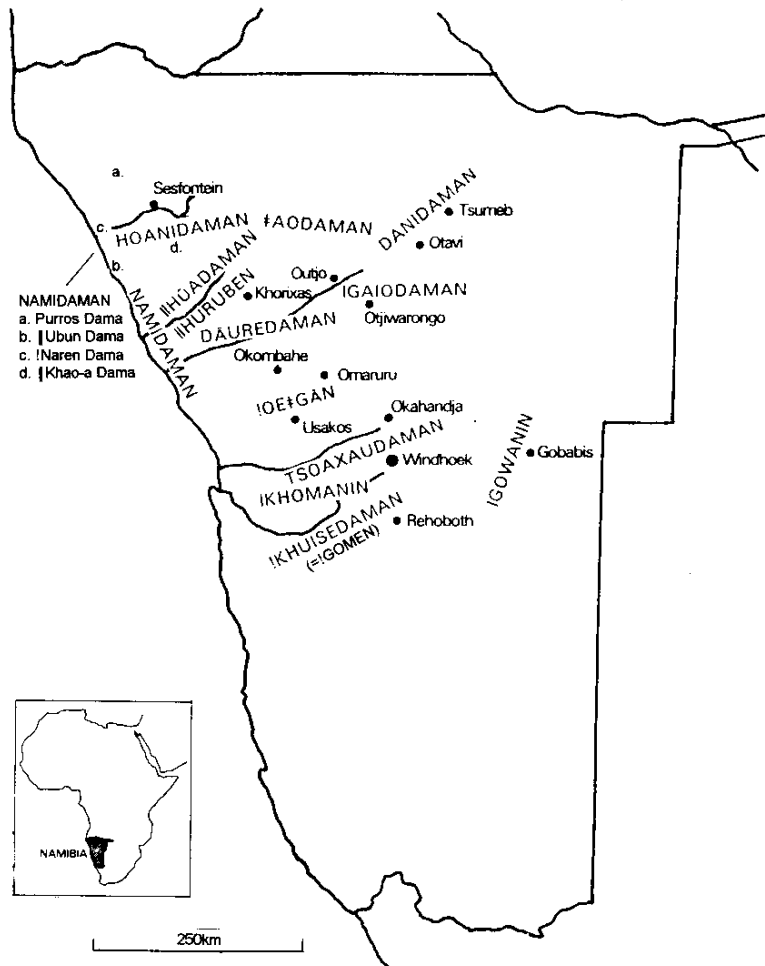


commercial farms by Europeans, many Dama/≠Nūkhoen found their way back to areas they had known as theirs as domestic servants and farm labourers for those with legal title to land under the German and South African administrations²⁸. Others left their *!hūs* to be absorbed by the labour system servicing urban areas and industry. The establishment of the Damaraland ‘homeland’, located in today’s southern Kunene and northern Erongo Regions, completely bypassed these and other Dama/≠Nūkhoen territories. While viewing the expanded ‘homeland’ of the 1970s as an opportunity to become established as relatively independent farmers, Dama /≠Nūkhoen *!haoti* from elsewhere who settled in ‘Damaraland’ also identify themselves as displaced from ancestral lands they remember and know as home, and to which they have an ongoing sense of belonging and constitutive identification (SULLIVAN, 1996). As noted above, Dama/≠Nūkhoen have also been dispossessed of land in the ‘national interest’ of wildlife conservation, and have engaged in protest and other efforts to reclaim access to land in conservation areas, suffering government refusal to consider the possibility of constructing frameworks that might facilitate the restitution and reconstruction of such relationships. In the 1950s, for example, especially |Khomanin Dama/≠Nūkhoen were evicted from what became Daan Viljoen Game Reserve (known as !Ao-| |aexas to its former dwellers), established for recreational benefit to Windhoek’s white, urban inhabitants. These |Khomanin were relocated several hundred kilometres away to the farm Sores-Sores on the Ugab (!U≠gab) River, a less

²⁸ Also see SUZMAN (1995) who observes this situation for land-dispossessed Hai | |om and Sān.

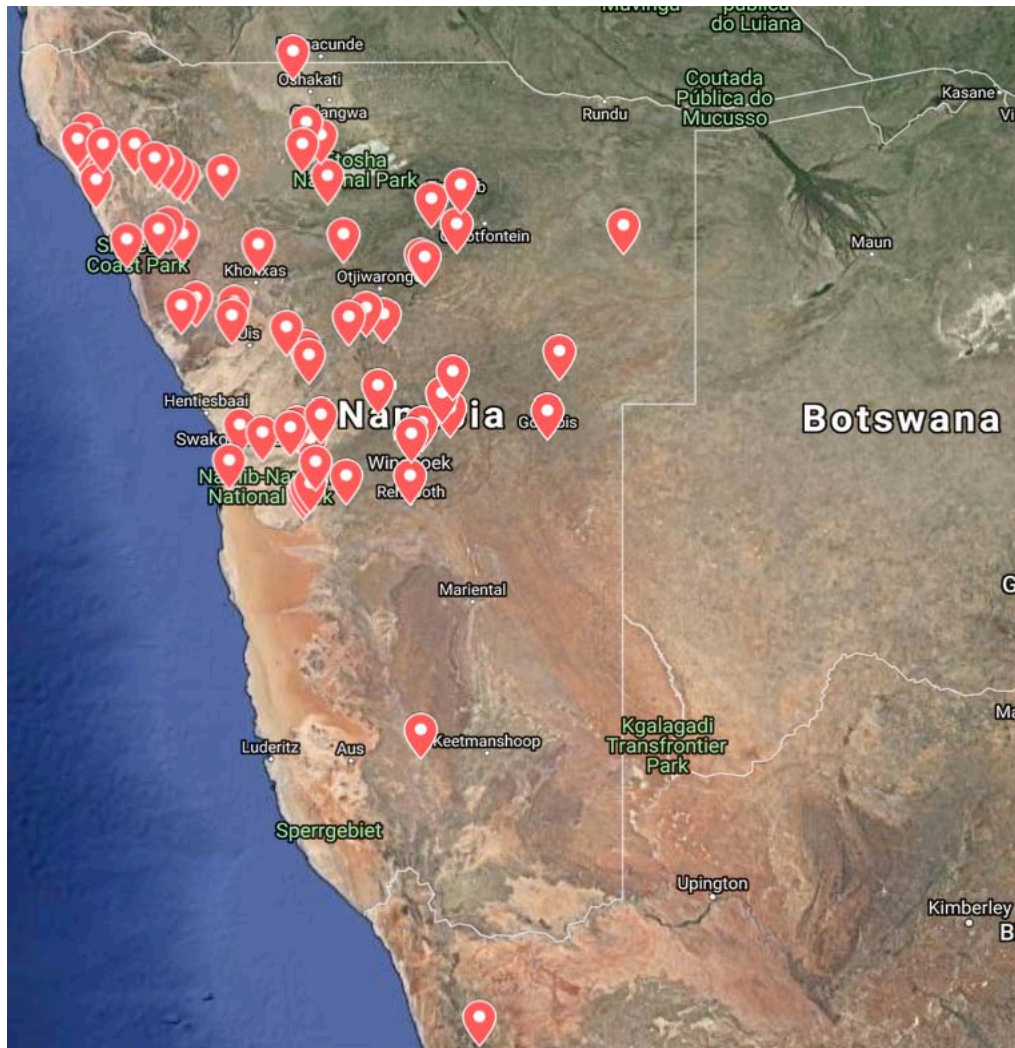
productive, ecologically and biogeographically different and remote area, where many of the promises for assistance by the then South African government remained unmet.

Figure 11. Rough precolonial locations of major Dama / ≠Nūkhoen *!haoti*. Source: HAACKE and BOOIS (1991, 51), supplemented with information in ||GAROËB (1991) and oral history fieldwork in north-west Namibia.



Such displacements are present as an underlying tenor to contemporary disaffection. Of further significance for the broader process of registering conservancies as both units of community and territory, however, are the different ways in which land as *!hūs* is conceptualised and generated. A *!hūs* implies and enables geographical orientation *and* denotes constitutive relationships of belonging (as in the identification of *!haos* with *!hūs*), without requiring a fixed or static external boundary or a defined relationship of ownership sanctioned by distant authority. This ‘fuzziness’ and improvised flexibility in people-land relationships, together with a strongly affective orientation towards the broad vistas of ‘home’, has been noted globally for peoples dwelling beyond the expansionary reach of settled agriculture (see, for example, BELL, 1993[1983]; INGOLD, 2000; BRODY, 2001). It generates relational, dynamic and remembered experiences and conceptualisations of land that exceed a fetishing of boundaries and membership, as discussed further below.

Figure 12. Screenshot of online map for historical references to the presence of Dama / ≠Nūkhoen in Namibia. Each placemark indicates a literature reference to people encountered for which the name and context clarifies them as Dama / ≠Nūkhoen. The full online map and references can be found at <https://www.futurepasts.net/historical-references-dama-namibia>.



3. ||An-||huib

A ||an-||huib is a place of permanent, or potentially permanent, dwelling: a place within a *huib* where people are living; and a place that lives – that holds its particular character – in part because people live there. In the semi-arid landscapes of central and north-west Namibia, a critical determinant for ||an-||huib is the presence of water. ||An-||huib translates literally to ‘living place’. Thus:

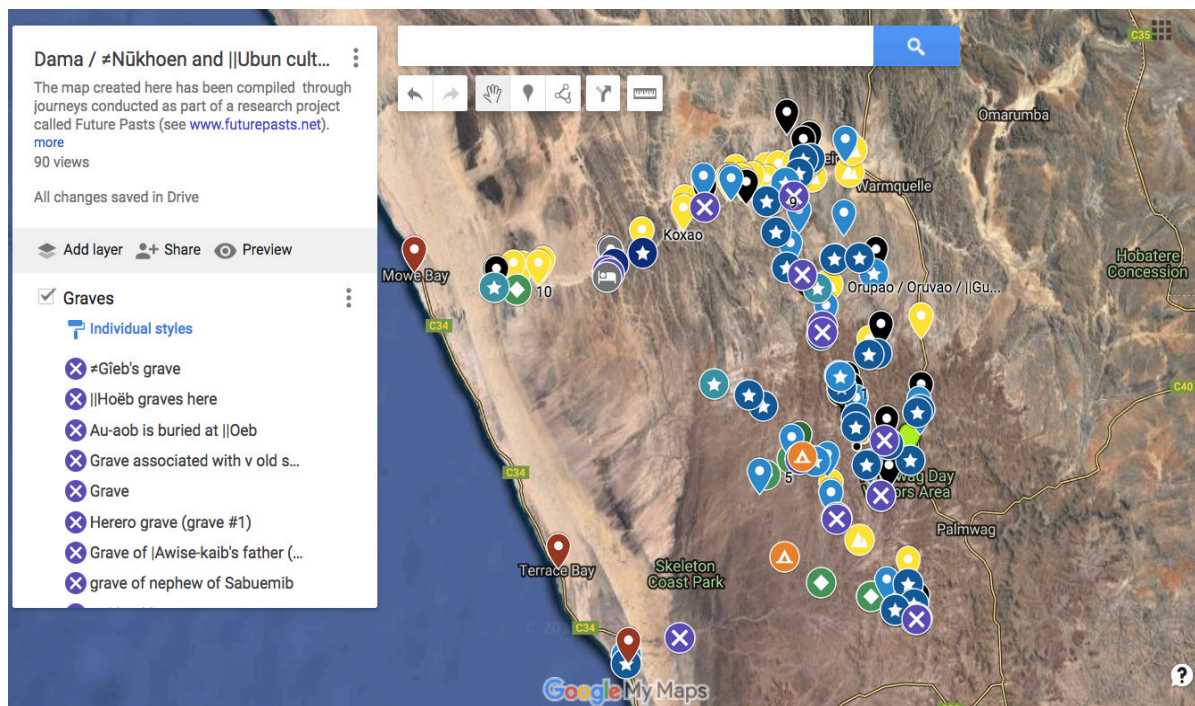
!Khoroxa-ams is up there. Behind that big blue mountain. The ground of Aogubus [see above] has lime in it. I could say it is a ‘kalkran’ [i.e. a limestone place]. It has lime. You know the ‘!kboron’? That means lime. It means the place of lime. It was the place where the people lived. ... There are many places whose names I haven’t said yet. There is |Nobarab, !Hubub, !Gauta, ≠Gâob, ≠Khabaka and !Garoab. And there are more places where people lived in that area. !Hagos, Pos and Kai-as were the places where people were living.²⁹

²⁹ Recorded interview with Andreas !Kharuxab, Kowareb, 13/05/99.

Or, as Phillipine |Hairo | |Nowaxas described when talking me through the different places she knows, ‘... this is Sixori, this is Tsaugu Kam, this is Oronguari, this is the home of *xoms* (termites), here is the field’³⁰.

It was the listing of named and formerly-dwelled-in places that no longer appear on any maps of the area that stimulated the series of journeys enabling on-site oral history documentation in recent research. Through this fieldwork, most of the places named above have now been (re)located and their coordinates recorded (see Figure 13 and online map at <https://www.futurepasts.net/cultural-landscapes-mapping>). These | |*an-*| |*huib* are now situated in areas removed from current Damara habitation and access, making it difficult for people to retain links to them. They live on, however, in memory and in the subjective ‘structures of feeling’ (WILLIAMS, 1993[1983]) that this remembering affirms. Sometimes they are visited in defiance of new rules of access and boundaries. Peoples’ memories of removal from places they remember and with which they identify, can engender scepticism towards current land and resource management initiatives.

Figure 13. Screenshot of online map (see <https://www.futurepasts.net/cultural-landscapes-mapping>) showing former | |*an-*| |*huib* (living places) and other sites (such as springs, graves, cairns to the ancestor-trickster-hero Haiseb and topographic features) in the broader landscape of the Sesfontein, Anabeb and Purros Conservancies. Source: on-site oral history research, 2014-2019, building on oral history documentation in the late 1990s.



4. | |Gâumais

| |*Gâumais* are livestock ‘posts’ or ‘satellites’ of more permanent settlements and are located in the broader landscape or *!garob*. Here, some members of a family will herd livestock and collect *!garob* *≠ûn*, normally with frequent movement between a | |*gâumais* and the | |*an-*| |*huib*

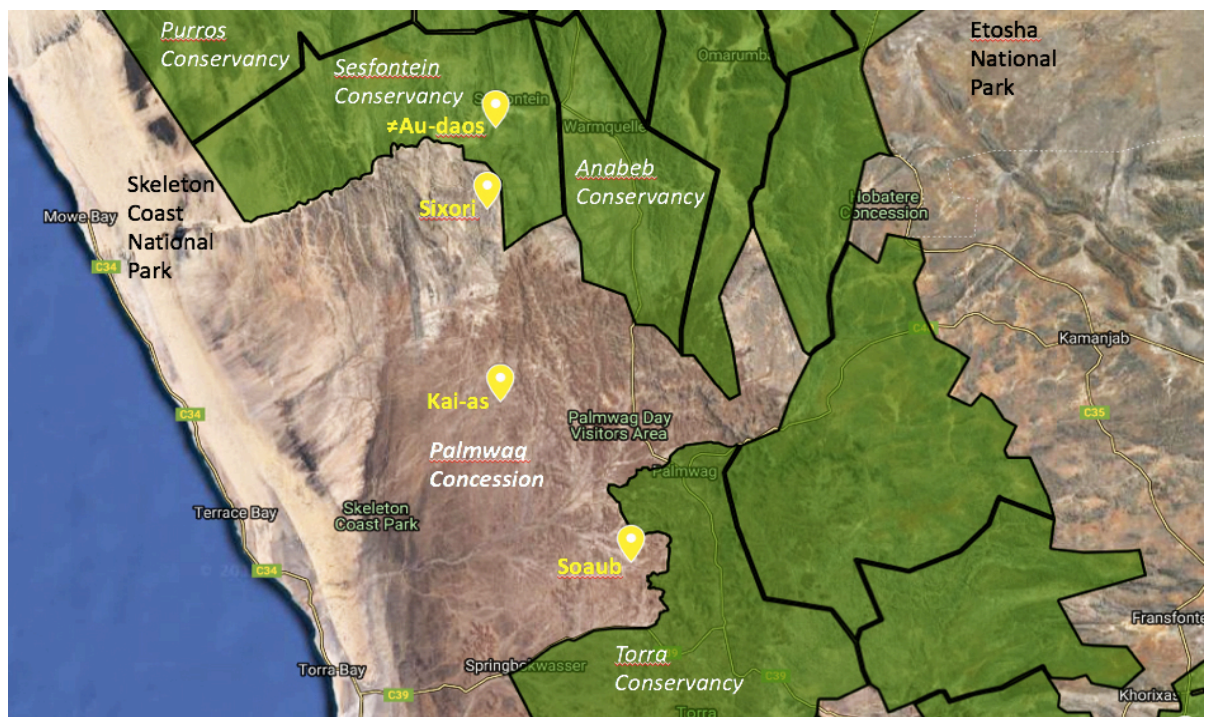
³⁰ Recorded interview with Phillipine |Hairo | |Nowaxas, Sesfontein, 15/04/99.

with which it is linked. Young children and children on school holidays often stay at a | | *gâumais* where they can benefit from easy access to milk and to ‘field foods’. These are places of space and freedom to roam and explore the wider environs, learning its geography, diversity and ecology. In recent times, the locating of boreholes in the landscape around Sesfontein increased possibilities for livestock herding in these locations, although frequently these were already known for other reasons. Tsaurob, for example, is a | | *gâumais* to the east of Sesfontein where a borehole was established in the late 1970s, prior to which it was known as the location of a honey hive from which honey - *danib* - was collected.

Densities of meaning

As noted above, recent field research working with now elderly people to find remembered places is partly a response to hearing the series of named places - | | *an* | | *huib* and | | *gâumais* – mentioned above. The emerging partial recovery of place names, lived experiences and genealogies embedded in the landscape disrupts some written archived narratives and maps associated with the area, not least those concerned with delineating and zoning the landscape in relation to conservation concerns. Drawing out the interwoven relationships between places, people, ancestors, and varied beyond-human natures has powerfully clarified that none of these are distinct and atomised, but rather are rhizomatically associated and generatively connected. Space does not permit more than a brief illustrative glimpse into these densely constitutive interrelationships (this material will be more fully elaborated in future publications). By way of an illustration, I invoke below a short series of four sought-out places (see Figure 14) that turned out to be densely connected through past mobilities and genealogies, often in spite of the imposed governmentalities constraining access possibilities (as outlined above).

Figure 14. Localities of four remembered places – Sixori, ≠Au-daos, Soaub and Kai-as.



A high point of the on-site oral history documentation underscoring and woven into this paper was finding **Sixori**, the birth-place of my field collaborator Suro’s grandmother |Hairo. The | |*gâumais* Sixori effectively kickstarted this deep mapping research when |Hairo began the first oral history interview I recorded in 1999 with the words ‘I was born at Sixori in Hurubes’. Neither of these names appear(ed) on maps of the area. After several failed attempts to (re)locate this | |*gâumais*, eventually we made it to the spring Sixori that in 1999 started this thread of enquiry. Sixori is named after the *xoris* (*Salvadora persica*) bushes that grow around a permanent spring of clear, sweet water and whose fruit provide a filling dry season food. The spring is located in the deeply incised landscape to the south-west of Sesfontein. Finding it on a brutally hot day in March 2015 required triangulating the orientation skills of Ruben Sanib – who remembered Sixori from past visits – and Filemon |Nuab - a younger man and well-known rhino tracker, who knew from present patrols in the area the location of the spring, but had not previously known its name of ‘Sixori’.

As we sat in the shade of a rocky overhang close to the spring Sanib recalled harvesting honey from a hive in the vicinity of Sixori. He was with three older men: Aukhoeb |Awiseb (also called | |Oesîb after his daughter | |Oemi³¹), Seibetomab and Am-!nasib (also known as Kano). Aukhoeb was the brother of |Hairo’s mother (Juligen | |Hūri |Awises). He was living and herding livestock at Sixori, a stock-post (| |*gâumais*) linked with Sesfontein / !Nani|aus. | |Hūri was visiting him when she gave birth to |Hairo, my collaborator Suro’s grandmother. The honey cave was west of Sixori. Sanib and companions travelled there to *sam* (to pull) the honey out from this cave, coming to Sixori afterwards to make *sâu* beer with that honey. From Sixori they walked back to Sesfontein through the pass that is called ≠Au-daos. At that time they didn’t have a donkey so they carried the honey in big tins on their shoulders.

≠Au-daos means ‘the road between two mountains’ – ‘*dao*’ is a mountain pass, and ‘≠*Ao*’ is the name of the white-flowered plant *Salsola* sp. which grows here and from which soap can be made³². This plant was reportedly gathered in the past by Dama / ≠Nūkhoen who had been recruited from their dwelling places in the wider *!garob* to work for an emerging Nama élite as this became established historically in Sesfontein / !Nani|aus from the late 1800s. They would make soap from the ashes of the plant, combined with animal fat³³. ≠Au-daos is a potent place, having been the site where the Nama headman of Sesfontein died after being mauled by a lion here in 1942. Weaving together several different recorded narratives, the story goes that,

cattle here belonging to a Herero herder were bitten by a lion here and Husab, accompanied by Theophilous | |Hawaxab, Namasamuel and GamāGâub came to shoot that lion. The lion was lying there in a cave nearby and when Husa shot the lion the lion came to Husa and grabbed Husa. The lion dragged Husa to a |*narab* (*Acacia tortilis*) tree, attacking Husa after he

³¹ As HOERNLÉ (1985[1925]) documents for Khoekhoegowab-speaking Nama, it is common for parents to be known by the name of their children.

³² Philippine |Hairo | |Nowaxas, Sesfontein, 15/04/99.

³³ Interview Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Kowareb, 090315. Soap-making in this way is described by James Edward ALEXANDER (2006[1838], vol. 1., p. 83), at the Nama-influenced reed mat hut of field-cornet Agganbag in the northern Cape, where he finds the ‘three fresh and strapping daughters [of the field-cornet] boiling soap, prepared with fat and the branches of the soap-bush’. A fictionalised account of such soap-making is also conveyed in the Northern Cape novel *Praying Mantis* by the late André BRINK (2006). At ≠Au-daos reportedly so much of the soap-plant was collected that there is little left here now, although the plant grows extensively further downstream in the Hoanib River.

had shot the lion. As the lion was pinning Husa down, Theophilous ||Hawaxab grabbed hold of its ears to try and pull him off. Meanwhile, GamāGâub shot the lion from far away (even though the others told him to get closer) and, although he managed to kill the lion, he also accidentally shot Husa in the side which killed him. When GamāGâub shot Husab, Namasamuel came and took the gun and shot the lion in the ear. When Husa was shot he called for his wife [De-i] and when she came he talked to her and then he passed away. They then brought Husa over to a big *Acacia tortilis* where, it is said, they made the |*araxab* [stretcher] on which they carried him back to Sesfontein.

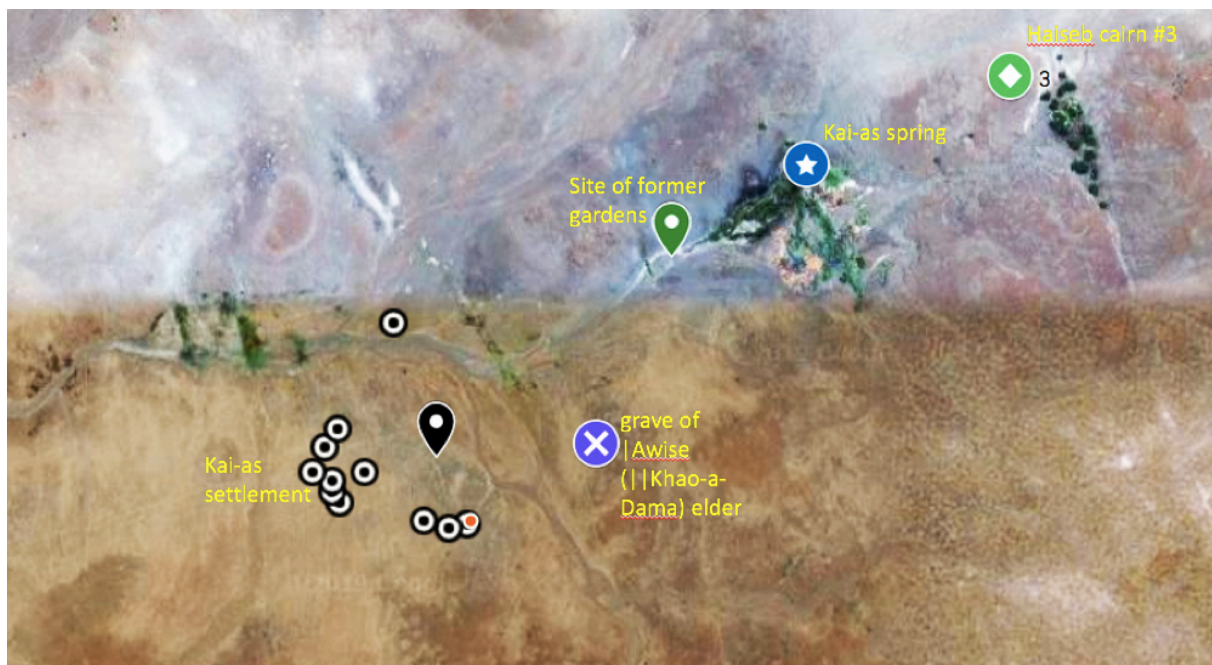
On a later journey we relocated the grave of Aukhoeb, |Hairo's uncle who had been herding livestock of the Ganuses family at Sixori. Aukhoeb died and was buried at the ||*an-||buib* – the living place – of **Soaub**. Today Soaub is located in the private Wilderness Safaris tourism concession associated with Desert Rhino Camp in the Palmwag Concession. Clearly a large settlement with multiple dwellings in the past, whose headman was called !Abudoeb when Sanib knew the settlement, it was later linked with allocations of reserve grazing to Afrikaans settler farmers, especially in the 1950s. Aukhoeb's grave is unmarked but located exactly where Sanib remembered. Like ≠Ûinab in the 'preamble' with which I opened this paper, Sanib led us with little hesitation to this grave. Its location had clearly lived on in Sanib's memory of past dwelling places, recalled in the present through the possibility and experience of return.

Figure 15. Ruben Sauneib Sanib sits at Aukhoeb's grave at the former living place of Soaub. Photo: Sian Sullivan, 15/05/19.



Kai-as, the fourth and final place described here, was once an important focus of past settlement for ||Khaos-a Dama and ||Ubun at the site of a large permanent freshwater spring which used to feed a garden (Figures 16 and 17). People would congregate at Kai-as after the rains had started, and it was also a key place on routes between locations of key resources. For example, ||Ubun would move between *!nara* (*Acanthosicyos borridus*) fields in the !Uniab and Hoanib river mouths via Kai-as and Hûnkab springs to the north-west of Kai-as. Ruben Sauneib Sanib and Sophia Opi |Awises recalled how people from different areas (*!hûs*) used to gather at this place to play their healing dances called *arus* and praise songs called |*gais*. These were times when young men and women would meet each other. Times when different foods gathered in different areas were shared between the people, when much honey beer (*!kharî*), made from the potent foods of *sâni* (*Stipagrostis* spp. grass seeds collected from harvester ants nests) and *danib* (honey), was consumed (see SULLIVAN, 1999). As Sanib and Sophia described, ‘our hearts were happy here’ (*sida #gaogu ge ra !gais neba*)³⁴.

Figure 16. Kai-as detail (see Figure 14). Source: Sullivan *et al.* 2019a, 10.



³⁴ Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, Kai-as, 22/11/14.

Figure 17. Ruben Sanib, Sophia Opi | Awises and Franze | Haen | | Hoëb return to Kai-as in November 2014 and 2015. Composite image made in July 2017 with the assistance of Mike Hannis, using two 10 x 10 km aerial photographs from the Directorate of Survey and Mapping, Windhoek.



6. Conclusion

... remembering is not only welcoming, receiving an image of the past, it is also searching for it, 'doing' something. (RICOEUR, 2004, 56)

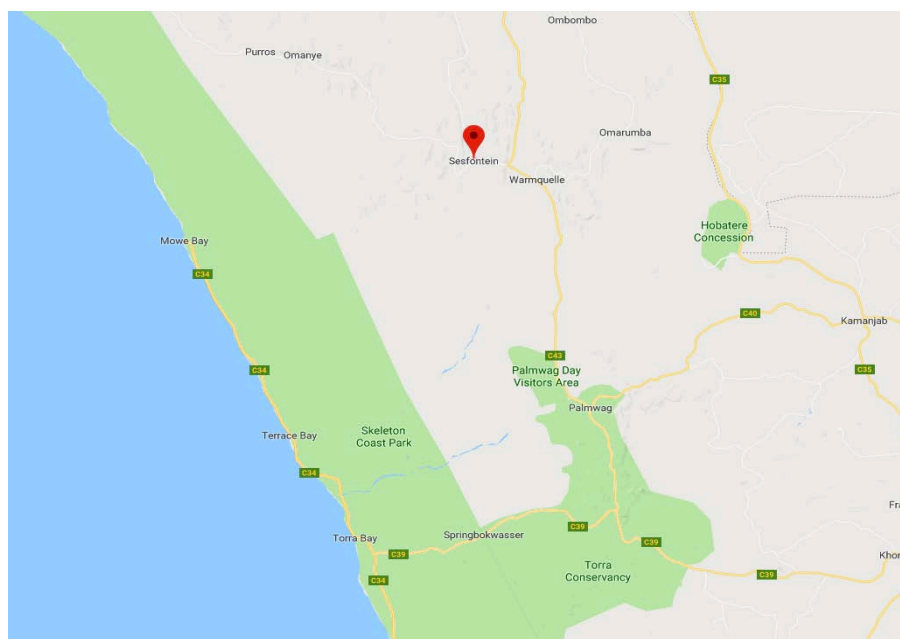
The struggle of [wo]man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting.
(KUNDERA, 1996[1978], 4)

My intention with this paper has been to bring some ethnographic and historical 'thickness' (cf. GEERTZ, 1973) into debates regarding conservancy establishment in a specific context. In doing so, I have sought to both historicise the land areas concerned, and to (re)inscribe layers of

cultural significance now occluded from maps and other formalised representations of the area. The diverse local histories articulated above instead affirm that communal areas of high conservation value ‘are “hotspots” not only of biodiversity but of cultural heritage as well’ (HECKENBERGER, 2009, 28). As with other narratives regarding the north-west Namibian landscape, however, such material can only ever tell a partial story, and indeed one others may dispute – not least in relation to postcolonial considerations of ‘voice’, ‘speaking for’ and ‘positionality’ and the power relations infusing all these dimensions (cf. CHAKRABARTY, 1992; TWYMAN *et al.*, 1999; KINAHAN, 2017). I also do not intend with this analysis to suggest that these are the only terms of engagement via which those identifying as Dama/≠Nūkhoen and ||Ukun articulate with and experience the establishment of conservancies as an expression of CBNRM in Namibia. Conservancies have also become a forum for power struggles played out by politicians and an urban(e) middle-class with interests in rural conservancies, including those intersecting patriarchal structures of national and regional party politics and formally recognised Traditional Authorities (cf. SCHIFFER, 2004; SULLIVAN, 2003, p. 76).

The French philosopher George BACHELARD (1994[1964]) writes in *The Poetics of Space* that ‘[i]t is because our memories of former dwelling-places are relived as daydreams that these dwelling-places of the past remain in us for all time’. We have been able to map the above places and their stories in the present because memories of them have lived on in the day-dreams of people who once lived there. It follows that if people can no longer go to the places of their memories, there is a limit to how long these places can live on as day-dreams. The contemporary moment is instead infused with erasure of the density of cultural meaning with which the landscapes of west Namibia have been known. A cursory googlemaps search on the settlement of Sesfontein, for example, pulls up a map from which all the cultural meaning documented above is absent, however much the scale of the map is magnified (Figure 18). Even with all the mapping / GIS technology available today, it is noticeable that cultural detail is increasingly stripped away from the maps most people now see.

Figure 18. Erasure? A googlemap search on Sesfontein today pulls up a mapped landscape devoid of the density of locally known places and cultural meaning.



(Re)inscribing place names and relocating remembered places and associated memories are political acts, given a complex context of historically overlapping claims to land, as well as the links between acts of ‘naming’ and acts of ‘claiming’ where land is concerned (cf. TAYLOR, 2012, p. 170).³⁵ Returning to the traces of particular dwelling structures as well as of graves at many of these remembered places also stimulates memories for those who once lived there, becoming ‘cartographies of remembrance’ as SLETTTO (2014) puts it. At times returning to these places has been emotional. People are reminded of friends and relatives who have now passed on. They also remember previously assumed futures and how these were altered by broader historical processes that are not of their choosing. Retaining both material and ideational access to such places, however, is critical not only for utilitarian reasons, but also for the sustenance of biocultural knowledges and affective practices of environmental care (SULLIVAN, 2009, 2017; SINGH, 2013; IMPEY, 2018). These considerations tend to be diluted in the texts, discussions, analyses and practices that construct what HANNERZ (2007) refers to as the globalising ‘culture complex’ of neoliberalism as it takes hold in environmental governance. In addition, new scaling-up endeavours in conservation to transform a large area of southern Kunene Region into a ‘People’s Park’ linking the inland Etosha National Park with the Skeleton Coast Park will perhaps compound these processes in as yet unforeseen ways (e.g. MET, 2009).

It might be the case that the density of land-associated meanings gestured towards above is missing from CBNRM because it is relatively unimportant. My sense, however, is that this exclusion is built into structuring discourses that inform CBNRM, as well as neoliberal environmental governance more generally. These modes of environmental governance seem unable to articulate or integrate conceptions of land ‘organisation’ that are radically ‘other’ (and thereby othered) (SULLIVAN, 2006, 2017). On the one hand, it might thus be celebrated that CBNRM initiatives are pragmatically attempting to foster means by which local people and contexts can enter into inevitable globalising political and economic dynamics in ways that ameliorate the worst exploitations of these processes. Yet on the other, it might be argued that this participation itself may demoralise and disempower, through increasing a sense of what BAUMAN (1998, 2-3) has referred to as ‘[t]he discomforts of localised existence’, whereby ‘localities are losing their meaning-generating and meaning-negotiating capacity and are increasingly dependent on sense-giving and interpreting actions which they do not control’: policy frames and options are introduced by NGOs and external experts; donors influence with their distant requirements for good investment and returns; landscapes and wildlife are accessed by increasing numbers of tourists, researchers and experts – ‘the world of the globally mobile’ (BAUMAN, 1998, 88); local hunting remains criminalised as poaching; and the rules and regulations pertaining to new legal institutions lack the subtlety required to embrace multiple conceptions and practices in relation to lands and entities of lived cultural value.

Framing southern African CBNRM as a ‘social movement’ (cf. FABRICIUS *et al.*, 2004) thus seems disingenuous, if this term is understood as an association of people for radical and progressive socio-political change conceptualised and emerging from the grass-roots

³⁵ An additional politics not emphasised here relates to overlapping and contested ≠Nūkhoen and ovaHerero claiming of land and pastures, in a context wherein Herero historically both lost access to immense tracts of land into which they were expanding, and deploy naming through praise songs (sing. *omitandu*, pl. *omitandu*) as one means of claiming places and spaces (HOFFMAN, 2009, 117).

(FOWKERAR, 1995). CBNRM, whilst participated in and shaped *in situ*, emerged as a pragmatic management response to conservation and rural poverty issues characterising the late 1980s and early 1990s and the particular opportunities offered by an economic and globalising framework of neoliberalism, as this took hold in post-independent Namibia. Accompanying this globalising structure of changes are myriad subtle displacements constraining cultural and subjective experiences of land that sometimes deepen earlier displacements rooted in colonial and apartheid pasts. It is this simultaneous continuity and complexity that I have attempted to explore here for specific circumstances in north-west Namibia.

Acknowledgements

Multiple people and organisations in Namibia have supported this research. Werner Hillebrecht at the National Archives of Namibia located the Kaokoveld Reports and Map by Major Manning. Kapoi Kasaona at Palmwag Lodge, Chairman of Sesfontein Conservancy Usiel |Nuab, Emsie Verwey at Hoanib Camp, and friends at Save the Rhino Trust - Jeff Muntifering, Simson !Uri-#Khob, Sebulon | |Hoëb, Andrew Malherbe and Alta van Schalkwyk – all helped in different ways to make it possible for the on-site oral history mapping work to take place. Welhemina Suro Ganuses and Filemon |Nuab made it possible for field research and documentation to happen. Mrs Esther Moombolah-|Goagosos and Mrs Emma |Uiras at the National Museum of Namibia have supported my research affiliation with this organisation, as have Gillian Maggs-Kölling and Eugène Marais at Gobabeb Desert Research Institute. A series of Ministry of Environment and Tourism permits enabled research in the Skeleton Coast National Park – permits 2023/2015; 2190/2016; 2311/2017. Mike Hannis and Lindsey Dodd kindly read and commented on an earlier draft of the paper. Last but in no way least, I am grateful to the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council and Bath Spa University for grants supporting this research (Refs. AH/K005871/2 and AH/N504579/1).

Bibliography

Unpublished Archive Sources

National Archives of Namibia ADM 156 W 32 General Kaokoland report [and 'Manning Map'] by Major Manning 15 November 1917.

Published Sources

||GAROËB, Justus, *Address to the National Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question*, Windhoek, Office of the Prime Minister, 1992.

IHAROËS, I. "Max !Gâgu Dax: In the footsteps of the uncrowned prince (1869-1972)", *The Namibian*, 17 September 2010.

ABRAMSON, Allen, "Mythical land, legal boundaries: wondering about landscape and other tracts", in Allen Abramson, D. Theodossopoulos (eds.) *Land, Law and Environment: Mythical Land, Legal Boundaries* (eds.) London, Pluto Press, 2000, pp. 1-30.

ALBRECHT, Glenn, "Solastalgia: the distress caused by environmental change", *Australasian Psychiatry* 15, pp. S95-S98.

ALCORN, Janis B., "Borders, rules and governance: mapping to catalyse changes in policy and management", *IIED Gatekeeper Series* 91, London, International Institute for Environment and Development, 2000.

ALEXANDER, James Edward, *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa: Through the Hitherto Undescribed Countries of the Great Namaquas, Boschmans, and Hill Damaras, Vols. 1 and 2*. Elibron Classics Series, orig. published by London, Henry Colburn, 2006[1838].

ALEXANDER, Jocelyn, MCGREGOR, JoAnn, "Wildlife and Politics: CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe", *Development and Change* 31(3), 2002, pp. 605-627.

ASHMORE, W., KNAPP, A.B. (eds.) *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1999.

BACHELARD, Gaston, *The Poetics of Space*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1994[1964].

BARNARD, Alan, *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa: A Comparative Ethnography of Khoisan People*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

BASSO, Keith H., 1983 "Stalking with stories: names, places, and moral narratives among the western Apache", in E. Bruner (ed.) *Text, Play and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society*. Illinois, Waveland Press Inc., pp. 19-53.

BASSO, Keith, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

BAUMAN, Zigmund, *Globalization: The Human Consequences*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1988.

BELL, Diane, *Daughters of the Dreaming*, St Leonard's, Allen and Unwin, 1993[1983].

BENDER, Barbara (ed.), *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, Oxford, Berg Publishers, 1993.

BENDER, Barbara, WINER, Michael (eds.), *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, Oxford, Berg, 2001.

BERGSON, Henri, *Matter and Memory*, trans. N.M. Paul and W Scott Palmer, London, Allen and Unwin, 1950.

BIRD ROSE, Deborah, *Hidden Histories: Black Stories From Victoria River Downs, Humbert River and Wave Hill Stations*, Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press, 1991.

BLEY, Helmut, *Namibia Under German Rule*, Hamburg, Lit Verlag, 1996.

BOLLIG, Michael, "Framing Kaokoland", in Hartmann, W., Silvester, J. and Hayes, P. (eds.) *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 1998, pp. 164-170.

BOLLIG, Michael, "Towards an arid Eden? Boundary-making, governance and benefit-sharing and the political ecology of the new commons of Kunene Region, Northern Namibia", *International Journal of the Commons* 10(2), 2016, pp. 771-799.

BOTELLE, Andrew and ROHDE, Rick, *Those Who Live on the Land: A Socio-economic Baseline Survey for Land Use Planning in the Communal Areas of Eastern Otjozondjupa*, Windhoek, Land Use Planning Series Report no. 1, 1995.

BOTHA, Christo, "People and the environment in colonial Namibia", *South African Historical Journal* 52, 2005, pp. 170-190.

BRINK, André, *Praying Mantis*, London, Vintage, 2006.

BRODY, Hugh *The Other Side of Eden: Hunter-gatherers, Farmers and the Shaping of the World*, London, Faber and Faber, 2001.

CHAKRABARTY, Dipesh, "Postcoloniality and the artifice of history: who speaks for 'Indian' pasts?", *Representations* 37, 1992, pp. 1-26.

- CHAPIN, Mac, LAMB, Z., THRELKELD, B., "Mapping indigenous lands", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34, 2005, pp. 619-638.
- CONDON, John C. Jr., *Semantics and Communication*, London, Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1975.
- DE CERTEAU, Michel *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, trans. by B. Massumi, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- DELEUZE, Gilles, GUATTARI, Félix, *A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia*, vol. 2. (trans. B. Massumi), London, The Athlone Press, 1988[1980].
- DIECKMANN, Ute, *Hai | om in the Etosha Region: A History of Colonial Settlement, Ethnicity and Nature Conservation*, Basel, Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2007.
- DIECKMANN, Ute, *Born in Etosha: Living and Learning in the Wild*, Windhoek, Legal Assistance Centre, 2012.
- DODD, Lindsey, "'It's not what I saw, it's not what I thought': challenges 'from below' to dominant versions of the French wartime past", *Conserveries Mémoires: Revue Transdisciplinaire*, Submitted, Special Issue on 'Disrupted Histories, Recovered Pasts | Histoires Perturbées, Passés Retrouvés'.
- DUNLAP, Alexander, SULLIVAN, Sian, "A faultline in neoliberal environmental governance scholarship? Or, why accumulation-by-alienation matters", *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 2019, DOI: 10.1177/2514848619874691.
- DURBIN, J., JONES, Brian T.B., MURPHREE, Marshall, *Namibian Community-Based Natural Resource Management Programme: Project Evaluation 4-19 May 1997*, Windhoek, Report submitted to Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) and World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), 1997.
- EADES, Gwilym L., "Cree ethnogeography", *Human Geography* 5(3), 2012, pp. 15-31.
- FABRICIUS, Christo, KOCH, E., MAGOME, H., TURNER, Stephen (eds.) *Rights, Resources and Rural Development: Community-based Natural Resource Management in Southern Africa*, London, Earthscan, 2004.
- FOUCAULT, Michel, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London, Routledge, 1970[1966].
- FOUCAULT, Michel, *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality*: 1. London, Penguin, 1998[1976].
- FOUCAULT, Michel, *Society Must be Defended*. Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-76, trans. Macey, David, London, Picador, 2003.
- FOWERAKER, J. *Theorizing Social Movements*, London, Pluto Press, 1995.
- FULLER, Ben B. *Institutional Appropriation and Social Change Among Agropastoralists in Central Namibia 1916-1988*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Boston Graduate School, Boston, 1993.
- GALTON, Francis, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, London, Ward, Lock and Co., 1890[1851].
- GEERTZ, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, Basic Books, 1973.
- GORDON, Robert J. "The stat(u)s of Namibian anthropology: a review", *Cimbebasia* 16, 2000, pp. 1-23.
- HAACKE, Wilfred, "The hunt for the Damara | Haihāb in 1903: contemporary oral testimony", *Journal of Namibian Studies* 8, 2010, pp. 7-25.
- HAACKE, Wilfred H.G., "Khoekhoegowab (Nama/Damara)", in T. Kamusella, F. Ndhlovu (eds.) *The Social and Political History of Southern Africa's Languages*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 133-158.
- HAACKE, Wilfred H.G., BOOIS, Jan, *Khomia da ra*. Grade 5, Windhoek, Gamsberg Macmillan, 1991.
- HAHN, Carl Hugo L., VEDDER, Heinrich, FOURIE, L. *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*. Cape Town, Cape Times Ltd, 1928.
- HALL-MARTIN, Anthony, WALKER, Clive, Du P. Bothma, J., *Kaokoveld: The Last Wilderness*. Johannesburg, Southern Book Publishers, 1988.
- HANNERZ, Ulf "The neo-liberal culture complex and universities: a case for urgent anthropology?" *Anthropology Today* 23(5), 2007, pp. 1-2.
- HARDT, Michael, NEGRI, Antonio, *Empire*, Harvard, Harvard University Press, 2000.
- HARLEY, J.B., "Maps, knowledge, and power", in D. Cosgrove, Stephen Daniels, (eds.) *The Iconography of Landscape*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 277-312.
- HARLEY, J.B., "Deconstructing the map", in T.J. Barnes, J.E. Duncan (eds.) *Writing world: discourse, text and metaphor in the representation of landscape* (eds.), London, Routledge, 1992, pp. 231-247.
- HAYES, Patricia, "Camera Africa: indirect rule and landscape photographs of Kaoko, 1943", in Giorgio Miescher, Dag Henrichsen (eds.) *New Notes on Kaoko: The Northern Kunene Region (Namibia) in Text and Photographs*, Basel, Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2000, pp. 48-73.
- HAYES, Patricia, "Less is more? History and the Kaoko: an introduction", in Lorena Rizzo, *Gender and Colonialism: A History of Kaoko in north-western Namibia*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2012, pp. ix-xiii.

- HECKENBERGER, Michael J., "Mapping indigenous histories: collaboration, cultural heritage, and conservation in the Amazon", *Collaborative Anthropologies* 2, 2009, pp. 9-32.
- HEWITSON, Lee, *Following Elephants: Assembling Knowledge, Values and Conservation Spaces in Namibia's Zambezi Region*, Leicester University, Unpub. PhD Thesis, 2017.
- HINZ, Manfred O. and GARISEB, A. (eds.) *Customary Law Ascertained Volume 2: The Customary Law of the Bakgalagari, Batswana and Damara Communities of Namibia*, Windhoek, University of Namibia Press, 2013.
- HITCHCOCK, Robert, K., ACHESON-BROWN, D., SELF, E., KELLY, Melinda C., "Disappearance and displacement: the San, the Bamangwato, and the British in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1943-1945", *South African Historical Journal* 69(4), 2017, pp. 548-567.
- HODGSON, Dorothy L., SCHROEDER, R.A., "Dilemmas of counter-mapping community resources in Tanzania", *Development and Change* 33, 2002, pp. 79–100.
- HOERNLÉ, Winifred Agnes, "The social organisation of the Nama Hottentots of southwest Africa", in Carstens, Peter (ed.) *The Social Organisation of the Nama and Other Essays by Winifred Hoernlé*, Johannesburg, Witswatersrand University Press, 1985[1925], pp. 39-56.
- HOFFMAN, Annette, "Finding words (of anger)", in Annette Hoffman (ed.) *What We See: Reconsidering an Anthropometrical Collection from Southern Africa – Images, Voices and Versioning*, Basel, Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2009, pp. 115–143.
- HUGHES, David M., "Mapping the Mozambican hinterlands: land rights, timber, and territorial politics in Chief Gogoi's area", Paper presented at conference on 'African environments - past and present', St. Anthony's College, University of Oxford, July 5-8, 1999.
- HULME, David, MURPHREE, Marshall, *African Wildlife and African Livelihoods: The Promise and Performance of Community Conservation*, Oxford, James Currey, 2001.
- HUMAVINDU M.N., STAGE J. "Community based wildlife management failing to link conservation and financial viability", *Animal Conservation* 18(1), 2015, pp. 4–13.
- HUNT, Dallas, STEVENSON, Shaun A. "Decolonizing geographies of power: indigenous digital counter-mapping practices on turtle Island", *Settler Colonial Studies* 7(3), 2017, pp. 372–392.
- IMPEY, Angela, *Song Walking: Women, Music, and Environmental Justice in an African Borderland*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2018.
- INGOLD, Tim, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*, London, Routledge, 2000.
- JACOBS, Jane, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*, London, Routledge, 1996.
- JACOBSON, Margaret, *Himba: Nomads of Namibia*, Cape Town, Struik Publishers, 1998[1990].
- JACOBSON, Margaret, *Negotiating Meaning and Change in Space and Material Culture: An Ethno-Archaeological Study Among Semi-Nomadic Himba and Herero Herders in North-western Namibia*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cape Town, University of Cape Town, 1995.
- JONES, Brian T.B., "Policy lessons from the evolution of a community-based approach to wildlife management, Kunene Region, Namibia", *Journal of International Development* 11, 1999a, pp. 295-304.
- JONES, Brian T.B., "Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Botswana and Namibia: an Inventory and Preliminary Analysis of Progress", *Evaluating Eden Series Discussion Paper* 6, 1999b, London, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED).
- KAMBATUKU, Jack "Historical profiles of farms in former Damaraland: notes from the archival files", Windhoek, Desert Research Foundation of Namibia (DRFN), *Occasional Paper* 4, 1996.
- KINAHAN, Jill, 2017 "“No need to hear your voice, when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself...” Discourses on knowledge and power in the !Khuiseb Delta on the Namib Coast, 1780-2016 CE", *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 21(2), 2017, pp. 295-320.
- KOOT, Stasja, "The limits of economic benefits: adding social affordances to the analysis of trophy hunting of the Khwe and Ju|'hoansi in Namibian CBNRM", *Society and Natural Resources* 32(4), 2019, pp. 417-433.
- KUNDERA, Milan, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (trans. A. Asher), London, Faber & Faber, 1996[1978].
- LAPEYRE, Renaud, "The Grootberg Lodge partnership in Namibia: towards poverty alleviation and empowerment for long-term sustainability? *Current Issues in Tourism* 14(3), 2011a, pp. 221–234.
- LAPEYRE, Renaud, "For what stands the 'B' in the CBT concept: community-based or community-biased tourism? Some insights from Namibia", *Tourism Analysis* 16, 2011b, pp. 187–202.
- LAPEYRE, Renaud, "Governance structures and the distribution of tourism income in Namibian communal lands: a new institutional framework", *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 102(3), 2011c, pp. 302–315.

- LAPEYRE, Renaud, "The tourism global commodity chain in Namibia: industry concentration and its impacts on transformation", *Tourism Review International* 15(1-2), 2011d, pp. 63-75.
- LAU, Brigitte, *A Critique of the Historical Sources and Historiography Relating to the "Damaras" in Pre-colonial Namibia*, BA Dissertation, Cape Town, University of Cape Town, 1979.
- LEWIS, Jerome, "Enabling forest people to map their resources & monitor illegal logging in Cameroon", *Before Farming* 2, article 3, pp. 1-7.
- LONG, Andrew (ed.) *Livelihoods and CBNRM in Namibia: the findings of the WILD project*. Windhoek, Final Technical Report of the Wildlife Integration for Livelihood Diversification Project (WILD), prepared for the Directorates of Environmental Affairs and Parks and Wildlife Management, the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, the Government of the Republic Namibia, 2004.
- MANSFIELD, C, *Environmental Impacts of Prospecting and Mining in Namibian National Parks: Implications for Legislative Compliance*. Unpub. Masters Dissertation, Univ. Stellenbosch, 2006.
- MET *Tourism Scoping Report: Kunene Peoples Park*. Windhoek, Ministry of Environment and Tourism, 2009
- MIESCHER, Giorgio, *Namibia's Red Line: The History of a Veterinary and Settlement Border*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- MUNTIFERING, Jeff R., LINKLATER, Wayne L., CLARK, Susan G. *et al.* "Harnessing values to save the rhinoceros: insights from Namibia", *Oryx* 51(1), 2017, pp. 98-105.
- MURRAY LI, Tania, *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*, Durham NC, Duke University Press, 2007.
- NACSO, *The State of Community Conservation in Namibia: A Review of Communal Conservancies, Community Forests and Other CBNRM Initiatives (2013 Annual Report)*, Windhoek, NACSO, 2014.
- NAIDOO, Robin L., WEAVER, Chris, DIGGLE, R.W, MATONGO, G., STUART-HILL, G., THOULESS, C., "Complementary benefits of tourism and hunting to communal conservancies in Namibia", *Conservation Biology* 30(3), 2016, pp. 628-638.
- NEWSHAM, Andrew, *Knowing and Deciding: Participation in Conservation and Development Initiatives in Namibia and Argentina*. Edinburgh, Unpublished PhD thesis, Centre for Africa Studies, University of Edinburgh, 2007.
- ODENDAAL REPORT, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West African Affairs 1962-1963*, Pretoria, The Government Printer, 1964.
- OLUSOGA, D., ERICHSEN, C.W., *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide and the Colonial Roots of Nazism*, London, Faber and Faber, 2010.
- OSTROM, Elinor, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- OWEN-SMITH, Garth, *An Arid Eden: One Man's Mission in the Kaokoveld*. Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2010.
- PELLIS, A. "Modern and traditional arrangements in community-based tourism: exploring an election conflict in the Anabeb Conservancy, Namibia", in R. Van der Duim, D. Meyer, J. Saarinen, K. Zellmer (eds.) *New Alliances for Tourism, Conservation and Development in Eastern and Southern Africa*, Delft, Eburon, 2011, pp. 127-145.
- PELLIS, A., DUINEVELD, M., WAGNER, L.B., "Conflicts forever. The path dependencies of tourism conflicts: the case of Anabeb Conservancy, Namibia", in G.T. Jóhannesson, C. Ren, R. Van der Duim (eds.) *Tourism Encounters and Controversies. Ontological Politics of Tourism Development*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015, pp. 115-138.
- PELUSO, Nancy L. "Whose woods are these? Counter-mapping forest territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia", *Antipode* 27(4), 1995, pp. 383-406.
- POOLE, Peter, "Geomatics: who needs it?" *Cultural Survival Quarterly Winter*, 18(4), 1995, online <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/geomatics-who-needs-it> (Last accessed 22 July 2019).
- PORTER, Libby, *Unlearning the Colonial Cultures of Planning*, Farnham, Ashgate Publishing, 2010.
- POWERS, Richard, *The Overstory*, London, Vintage, 2018.
- REMY, L., "Making the map speak: indigenous animated cartographies as as contrapuntal spatial representations", *NECSUS_European Journal of Media Studies* December, 2018, online. <https://necsus-cjms.org/making-the-map-speak-indigenous-animated-cartographies-as-contrapuntal-spatial-representations/> (Accessed 24 June 2019).
- RICOEUR, Paul, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. K. Blamey and D. Pellauer. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- RIZZO, Lorena, *Gender and Colonialism: A History of Kaoko in north-western Namibia*, Basel, Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2012.

- ROY, Arundhati, *The God of Small Things*, London, Harper Perennial, 1998.
- SCHIFFER, Eva, “How does community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) in Namibia change the distribution of power and influence”, Windhoek, DEA Research Discussion Paper 67, 2004.
- SCHNEGG, Michael, KIAKA, Richard D. “Subsidized elephants: Community-based resource governance and environmental (in)justice in Namibia”, *Geoforum* 93, 2018, pp. 105-115.
- SCOTT, James, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, London, Yale University Press, 1999.
- SILVA, Julie A., MOSIMANE, Alfons W. “Conservation-based rural development in Namibia: a mixed-methods assessment of economic benefits”, *Journal of Environment and Development* 22(1), 2012, pp. 25-50.
- SILVESTER, Jeremy, “Your space or mine? The photography of the police zone”, in Wolfram Hartmann, Jeremy Silvester and Patricia Hayes (eds.) *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 1998, pp. 138-144.
- SINGH, Neera, “The affective labor of growing forests and the becoming of environmental subjects: rethinking environmentality in Odisha, India”, *Geoforum* 47, 2013, pp.189-98.
- SLETTTO, Bjorn I., “Cartographies of remembrance and becoming in the Sierra de Perijá, Venezuela”, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 39(3), 2014, pp. 360-372.
- SMITH, M., “Repetition and difference: Lefebvre, Le Corbusier and modernity’s (im)moral landscape”, *Ethics, Place and Environment* 4, 2001, pp. 31-44.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, *The ‘Communalization’ of Former Commercial Farmland: Perspectives from Damaraland and Implications for Land Reform*. Windhoek, Social Sciences Division of the Multidisciplinary Research Centre, University of Namibia, Research Report 25, 1996.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, *People, Plants and Practice in Drylands: Socio-political and Ecological Dimensions of Resource-use by Damara Farmers in North-west Namibia*. London, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1998.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, “Folk and formal, local and national: Damara knowledge and community conservation in southern Kunene, Namibia”, *Cimbebasia* 15, 1999, 1-28.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, “Difference, identity, and access to official discourses: Hai | om, ‘Bushmen’ and a recent Namibian ethnography”, *Anthropos* 96, 2001, pp. 179-192.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, “How sustainable is the communalising discourse of ‘new’ conservation? The masking of difference, inequality and aspiration in the fledgling ‘conservancies’ of Namibia”, in Dawn Chatty, Marcus Colchester (eds.) *Conservation and Mobile Indigenous people: Displacement, Forced Settlement and Sustainable Development*, Oxford, Bergahn Press, 2002, pp. 158-187.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, “Protest, conflict and litigation: dissent or libel in resistance to a conservancy in north-west Namibia”, in Eeva Berglund, David Anderson (eds.) *Ethnographies of Conservation: Environmentalism and the Distribution of Privilege*, Oxford, Bergahn Press, 2003, pp. 69-86.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, “The elephant in the room? Problematizing ‘new’ (neoliberal) biodiversity conservation”, *Forum for Development Studies* 33(1), 2006, pp. 105-135.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, “Green capitalism, and the cultural poverty of constructing nature as service-provider”, *Radical Anthropology* 3, 2009, pp. 18-27.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, “Nature on the Move III: (Re)countenancing an animate nature”, *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Enquiry* 6(1-2), 2013, pp. 50-71.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, “What’s ontology got to do with it? On nature and knowledge in a political ecology of ‘the green economy’” *Journal of Political Ecology* 24, 2017, pp. 217-242.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, “Dissonant sustainabilities? Politicising and psychologising antagonisms in the conservation-development nexus”, *Future Pasts Working Paper Series* 5, 2018, online <https://www.futurepasts.net/fpwp5-sullivan-2018> (Last accessed 22 July 2019).
- SULLIVAN, Sian, GANUSES, W.S, |NUAB, Filemon and senior members of Sesfontein and Anabeb Conservancies, *Dama / ≠Nūkhoen and | |Ubun Cultural Landscapes Mapping, East Namibia*, in progress report to Namidaman Traditional Authority, Sesfontein. Bath: Future Pasts, 6 August 2019, 2019a.

- SULLIVAN, Sian, GANUSES, W.S., with | |HOËB, Franz, GANASEB, Noag Mûgagara, TAUROS, Christophine Daumû, GANASEB, Michael |Amigu, SANIB, Ruben Sauneib, |AWISES, Sophia Opi, |NUAS, Hildegard, |NUAB, Filemon, *Nara* harvesters of the northern Namib: retrieving disrupted socio-ecological pasts through on-site oral histories, *Future Pasts Working Paper Series* 8, 2019b online <https://www.futurepasts.net/fpwp8-sullivan-et-al-2019> [Last accessed 21 July 2019].
- SULLIVAN, Sian, HOMEWOOD, Katherine, “Natural resources: use, access, tenure and management”, in Deborah Potts and Tania Bowyer-Bower (eds.) *Eastern and Southern Africa: Development Challenges in a Volatile Region*, London, Pearson Education Ltd, 2004, pp. 118-166.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, HOMEWOOD, Katherine, “On non-equilibrium and nomadism: knowledge, diversity and global modernity in drylands”, in Michel Pimbert (ed.) *Food Sovereignty, Agroecology and Biocultural Knowledge: Constructing and Contesting Knowledge*, London, Routledge, 2018, pp. 115–168.
- SULLIVAN, Sian, BAUSSANT, Michèle, DODD, Lindsey, OTELE, Olivette, DOS SANTOS, Irene, “Disrupted histories, recovered pasts: a cross-disciplinary analysis and cross-case synthesis of oral histories and history in post-conflict and postcolonial contexts”, Special Issue of *Conserveries Mémoires: Revue Transdisciplinaire*, on ‘Disrupted Histories, Recovered Pasts | Histoires Perturbées, Passés Retrouvés’, Under review.
- SUZMAN, James, *In the Margins: A Qualitative Examination of the Status of Farm Workers in the Commercial and Communal Farming Areas of the Omabeke Region*, Windhoek, Legal Assistance Centre, Research Report Series 1, 1995.
- SWAA, *Territory of South-West Africa, Report of the Administrator For the Year 1930*. Windhoek, 1930.
- TAYLOR, Julie, J. *Naming the Land: San Identity and Community Conservation in Namibia’s West Caprivi*, Basle, Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2012.
- TILLEY, Chris, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, Oxford, Berg, 1994.
- TILLEY, Chris, CAMERON-DAUM, K. *The Anthropology of Landscape*, London, UCL Press, 2017.
- TINDALL, B.A. *The Journal of Joseph Tindall: Missionary in South West Africa 1839-55*, Cape Town, The Van Riebeeck Society, 1959.
- TINLEY, Ken L., “Etosha and the Kaokoveld”, Supplement to *African Wild Life* 25(1), 1971, pp. 3-16.
- TJITEMISA, Kuzeeko, “President appoints ancestral land commission”, *New Era* 22 February, 2019.
- TSING, Anna Lowenhaupt, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*, Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2005.
- TSING, Anna Lowenhaupt, “Wreckage and recovery: four papers exploring the nature of nature”, *AURA Working Papers* vol. 2 (Arhus University), 2014, pp. 2-15.
- TWYMAN, Chasca, MORRISON, Jean, SPORTON, Deborah, “Autobiography, Reflexivity and Interpretation in Cross-Cultural Research”, *Area* 31(4), 1999, pp. 313-325.
- VAN WARMELO, N.J., *Notes on the Kaokoveld (South West Africa) and its People*, Pretoria, Dept. of Bantu Administration, Ethnological Publications 26, 1962(1951).
- WÄSTBERG, P. *The Journey of Anders Sparrman: A Biographical Novel*, trans. T. Geddes, London, Granta, 2010.
- WEITZER, Ronald, *Transforming Settler States: Communal Conflict and Internal Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990.
- WIDLÖK, Thomas, *Living on Mangetti: “Bushmen” Autonomy and Namibian Independence*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.