

NEGOTIATING MEANING AND CHANGE IN SPACE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

An ethno-archaeological study among semi-nomadic
Himba and Herero herders in north-western Namibia

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Figure 1.1. An increasingly common sight in Opuwo, Kunene region. A well known postcard by Namibian photographer TONY PUPKEWITZ

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Margaret Jacobsohn,
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ABSTRACT

This contextual archaeological narrative explores the relationship between material culture and social relations, with reference to social, economic, environmental and political changes taking place in Himba and Herero settlements in far north-western Namibia.

A starting point is that changes in the organization of space and use of material culture cannot be understood as merely expressing changed social and economic conditions and/or changed value systems. It is necessary to examine how socio-economic conditions and cultural values and ideas work together to transform, produce and maintain cultural representations.

By focusing intimately on one semi-nomadic herding community over a five-year period, (where domestic space has to be reconstituted, both physically and conceptually, each time a group relocates,) the study probes how meaning is differentially invested in the spatial order that people build and live in, how the material goods they make, borrow, lend, buy and use recursively come to have and hold meaning, and how and why this meaning changes.

In mapping space and material goods at more than 100 wet season and dry season camps and homesteads, a number of discourses are tracked: changing gender relations, changing relations between different generations, people's relationships with natural resources, the spatial relations of former hunter-gatherers now living as herders, as well as material culture conformities and non-conformities between Himba and Herero households.

A key concern is to re-empower social actors, past and present, in the creation of (archaeological) meaning. A number of case studies show that meaning is not inherent in space or material goods; people activate meaning by their strategic interpretations. This has implications for both method and theory in archaeology, as well as for the contemporary research and rural development process in Africa.

While challenging assumptions about what is knowable from the past's material remains when such remains are, inevitably, recontextualized in a particular present, the thesis contributes to knowledge about material culture and social change and thus offers a number of research directions which could contribute to a more reflexive, dialogic and socially relevant archaeology.

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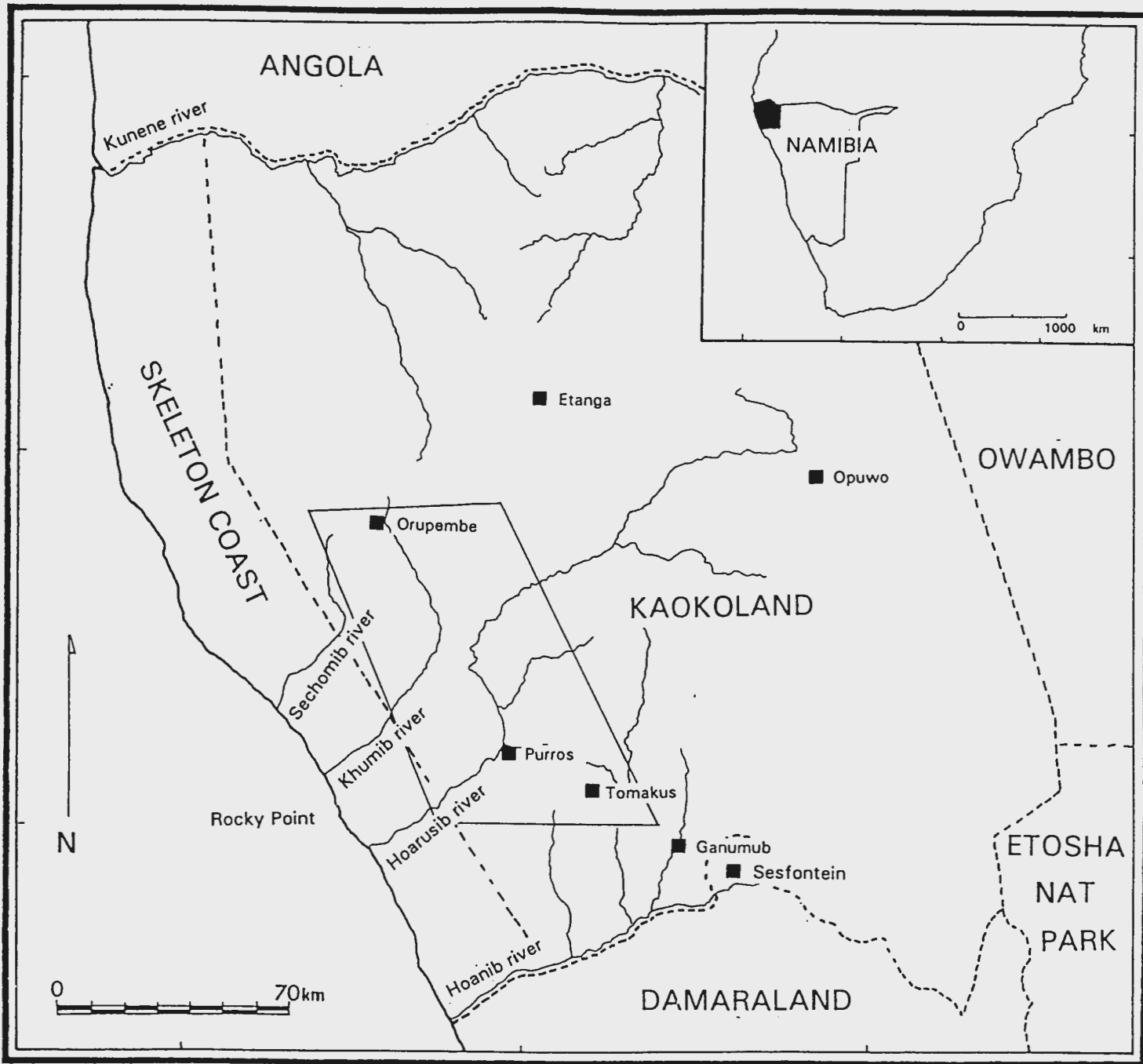


Figure 1.2. North western Namibia, now known as the Kunene region, showing main study area.

CHAPTER 1: A POTTER'S THUMB PRINT

"It is the theory which decides what can be observed." Albert Einstein

"... social systems have no purposes, reasons or needs whatsoever; only human individuals do so."
Giddens (1979:7)

1.1. INTRODUCTION

THIS thesis is based on more than five years of ethno-archaeological research, including two years living with herding communities in north western Namibia. My aim, when I mapped the first of more than 100 Himba and Herero homesteads under a blazing sun at inhospitable Ochams on the edge of the Namib Desert, was to explore the nature of the link between social relations and material culture, with particular reference to socio-economic changes currently taking place in the area.

By a relatively long-term and intimate focus on one small, isolated group of semi-nomadic people, I hoped to gain insights into how meaning is invested *by people* in built space and material culture, and how and why this meaning changes. The group's semi-nomadism was of special relevance because it afforded the opportunity to record repeatedly the same people's physical and conceptual reconstitution of their domestic space over time and space.

My interest in the archaeological problem of seeking people in the material patterning was sparked by a series of lectures given by Martin Hall on Ian Hodder's *Symbols in Action* (1982a) at the University of Cape Town in the mid 1980s. The spark was fanned by robust discussions with Andrew B Smith and others during excavations at the rich pastoralist site of Kasteelberg, near Paternoster on the Cape West Coast.

A curiously significant moment for me, then a second year student, occurred while excavating a large pot-shard in apparent association with a hearth at a depth of nearly two metres at Kasteelberg. Charcoal from the hearth was later dated to 1300 BP, but the personal impact of the find arose when I carefully freed the shard from the deposit and examined it for a moment. A thumb print of the person who made the pot was clearly visible on the inside of the shard. Without thinking, I fitted my own thumb into the print and felt a shock of realization, a visceral response, that a real person had made the pot ... in that moment archaeology came alive.

Later, other students on the dig responded in a similar way. The thumb print in the piece of pottery was strangely meaningful to us: it evoked the spirit of the long dead potter who had made the vessel hundreds of years ago ... it brought home to us the fact that archaeology was really about people, that the pot-shards, stone flakes and ostrich egg-shell beads among the mounds of mussel and patella shells at Kasteelberg were "made by someone ... to do something" (Hodder 1986:6).

It became clear to me in subsequent discussions with my fellow students that most of us experienced archaeology as a specialist field which sought esoteric patterns in (excavated) material residues. These awaited 'scientific' analysis which would enable adaptive strategies of the past or economic shifts within vast sweeps of time to become intelligible to a privileged few (eg 'qualified' archaeologists). I recall this seemingly trivial event in an inexperienced student's training because for me, the thumb print became a symbol of an archaeology that seeks to construct "an accessible past" populated "with real women and men and thereby bringing out issues that are intelligible as human concerns" (Lewis-Williams 1993:96).

My generation of students was fortunate to have entered the discipline at a time when the dominant professional discourse - archaeology as science - was being challenged. The New Archaeology of the 1960s and 70s sought general laws with the ultimate scientific aim of prediction, while its off-spring, processual archaeology, was concerned with uncovering cultural processes. An early emphasis on systems-theory (see Flannery 1968) in processual archaeology and the objective of finding the universal principles that apply to all living systems, including cultural systems (Wenke 1980), effectively excluded human agency in the creation of meaning.

In the 1980s Ian Hodder and his associates (Hodder 1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1984, 1986, 1987; Miller 1982; Miller and Tilley 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1987) launched the critical reaction to the processual approach. In breaking with archaeology's predominantly empiricist and positivist orientations, these researchers confronted post-structuralism, critical theory, hermeneutics, phenomenology, and realist and post-positivist philosophy. Concepts such as Binford's 'Middle Range Theory', which sought to understand culture process via a set of mechanical and universal principles read off the archaeological or ethnographic record were rejected. Meta-theoretical issues such as the relationship of theory to data and the idea of value-freedom were explored within the context of developing a reflexive, critically self-aware archaeology.

Post-processual archaeology coincided with and may even have contributed to a revival of anthropological interest in material culture. In her historical review of the shifting status of material culture studies within the discipline of anthropology, Davison identifies a number of reasons why material culture and indeed, the study of culture, was problematic for liberal researchers in southern Africa for the past half century. Apart from being associated with the outdated evolutionist and diffusionist approaches in anthropology, studies which emphasized culture, ethnicity or the objectification of ethnic difference in material culture, risked co-option as supporting 'evidence' for the apartheid policies of the day (Davison 1991).

For similar reasons ethnology - concerned with the classification of cultural differences - was left to the volkekundiges of the Afrikaans universities of South Africa who tended to view ethnicity as bounded, rigid and determinant (Ibid; See Gordon 1988 for a historical analysis of the volkekunde school).

Culture' and 'tradition' re-invented

Given this historical backdrop and the nature of this ethno-archaeological study of the material culture of a community which includes a majority of apparently 'traditional' people, both culture and tradition are central concepts which need to be clarified.

In recent years, culture - perceived as a resource which may be mobilized to strategic ends - has regained anthropology's interest, and it is this perception of the term which is used throughout.

"... there is not much point in trying to say what culture *is* ... What can be done, however, is to say what culture does, and how it does it" (Thornton 1988:26).

Thornton then goes on to demonstrate that the boundaries of class, ethnicity (identification with a larger historical group), race, gender, neighbourhood, generation, and territory - which come to seem uniquely real and permanent, are, in fact, cultural constructs. They can and do change, and the different identities that the boundaries demarcate - being a Namibian; being a Himba; being a clan member, being an elder; being an age-mate, being a man - overlap and often conflict with each other (and are constantly being re-negotiated). "They almost never correspond with other identities, however, in a way that would justify the belief that each 'people' has a uniquely different culture." This means that "the boundaries that are created, we can see now, are at the centre of culture, not its edges. (Ibid 1988:26-28).

An example of manifestly overlapping cultural categories in northern Namibia is given in Chapter 2 when Himba and Herero membership of seven matrilineal clans is discussed: These matrilineal clans extend into Botswana and Angola and even include a number of non-Herero speaking members (Ovambo, Ngambwe, Tjimbandu, Kuvare, Ngumbi and Sele)(Malan 1973, 1974). Thus clan membership breaches language groupings, national borders and vivid material and cultural differences, to name some of the more obvious constructs.

This revival of interest in culture, Davison (1991) suggests, is one of the factors contributing to renewed anthropological interest in material culture. Related, new ways of understanding and analysing the concept of 'tradition' - as an adaptable resource for coping with contemporary situations (Spiegel and Boonzaier 1988) - have also proved relevant to studies, both anthropological and archaeological, concerned with social practice and social relations.

Recent material culture studies have focused on the recursive creation of meaning within particular social, economic, historic, symbolic and ideological contexts, and on the recontextualization of the data as an academic text. In this they are seeking to renegotiate boundaries between related disciplines - archaeology, anthropology, sociology, philosophy and history, the boundaries being no less culturally constructed than those of any other social category. As Lewis-Williams has noted, such disciplinary boundaries are posited on career options and professional power structures (1993).

The work of Hodder (op cit), Moore 1982, 1986; Pearson 1982; Davison 1988, 1991; Hall 1984, 1987, 1992, 1993, Hall et al 1990; Brink 1992, and others counters the "dehumanized models of (an archaeology) which effectively reduces the material record to economic and/or ecological relations.

Such field studies also seek to move beyond ahistorical approaches that give primacy to ill-defined cognitive or generalized structural systems" (Jacobsohn 1988:76). If social relations and material culture are taken as mutually constitutive (Miller 1982), this integration frees material culture studies from the strictures inherent in structuralism and from the economic, environmental or technological determinism which have limited archaeological theory (Davison 1991). (For critiques of structuralism, see Moore 1986; Davison 1991). This then is part of the general background within which this study was conceived and produced.

Archaeology as political and social intervention

The new reflexive awareness of archaeology itself as social practice (Leone 1982; Hall 1984, 1987, 1982, 1993; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Hodder 1982c, 1986; Conkey 1991) leads to recognition that our (academic) interpretations and texts are social and political interventions which impact on how people view and assess their own and others' social position and worth. This realization carries a particularly heavy burden when a study involves living people, in this case, the people resident in far north-western Namibia, most of whom regard themselves as Himba.

The Himba people easily fitted into the former government's apartheid and homeland vision in that they appeared (literally and figuratively) to fulfil what Sharp (1988) calls the stereo-type of an ethnic group clearly differing from other such groups by virtue of objective cultural differences.

In general, the people resident in Kaokoland can be shown to have resisted the penetration of outside values and institutions from the former South West African socio-economy. (See Chapter 2.) It will be contended in this thesis that the form this resistance took (and to some extent, continues to take) - adhering to 'traditional' values and socio-economic activities, as well as 'traditional' technology and material culture - is now counting *against* many of the people of the former Kaoko in the developing modern nation-state of Namibia.

Kaokoland has been renamed Kunene Region since independence. I have, however, continued to use Kaoko and Kaokoland as this was the area's name during the study period. The name Kaoko is still in broad use within the region.

Non-literate and newly emerging into a broader socio-economy in recently independent Namibia, the Himba people currently face numerous challenges. It is these challenges which add explicit practical as well as theoretical intent to this narrative.

The Himba are popularly regarded as the most 'traditional' of Namibia's people. This relates, as discussed, to their fidelity to a socio-economy that pre-dates the cash economy and the modern political state of Namibia, and appears self-evident in their continuing use of 'traditional' domestic architecture, technology and material culture. These issues are negotiated later in the text. What is not necessarily as explicitly acknowledged is that the Himba are among the most economically independent of Namibia's people (See Tapscott, Jacobsohn and Owen-Smith 1993; Owen-Smith and

Jacobsohn 1993). This remains broadly true in spite of a number of very real problems, to be elucidated in following chapters.

One of the wealthiest cattle-herding groups in Africa (Malan 1973, 1974) before the stock losses in the devastating drought of the early 1980s, the Himba are rapidly rebuilding their herds. Recent studies which compared areas in Africa where livestock is raised through seasonal transhumance showed that this type of pastoralism provides excellent returns on per unit land area, superior even to North American commercial ranching (Bonfiglioli with Watson, 1992).

Nevertheless, although pastoralism sustains millions of Africans on some of the world's most marginal arid and semi-arid lands, pastoralism as a production system may be contending a losing battle in many parts of Africa (Smith 1992; Brown 1993). Despite the diversity of Africa's dryland regions and the particular histories of pastoral peoples, Bonfiglioli and Watson identify a number of broad trends. These include increased pressure on natural resources, due to growth in human numbers, development of markets and commercial opportunities, and lack of clarity in land tenure rules (Ibid 1992). The specific situation in Kaoko is discussed later, but one issue - that of the responses of 'others' to the Himba people's apparent 'traditionalism' - needs early elaboration to lay open one of the contexts within which this text, as an "artefact of professional practice" (Davison 1991:201), has been produced.

Of the various external groups with the potential to impact on the Himba's lives, my concern here are Namibian Government policy-makers and the international development and aid funders. My contention is that the Himba's 'traditional culture' as signified by bare, ochred bodies, calf-skin garments, wood and shell adornments, dung-plastered houses and nomadism, is being equated, in some political and development circles, with 'backwardness', technological inferiority and 'primitiveness'. This is reminiscent of apartheid South Africa, where the concept 'traditional' was integral to the political argument that because Africans were still traditional in outlook, they therefore could not be incorporated into the Western (white) political system (Spiegel and Boonzaier 1988).

In spite of the relative cattle-wealth of the Himba compared to other subsistence farming groups in the country,~ their 'traditional culture' is being seen as an obstacle to development and progressiveness. Underpinning this is an assumption that the Himba's local socio-economy, based as it is on raising livestock through patterned *nomadic* movements, (rather than 'modern' *sedentary* agricultural practices) is basically irrational and in need of development interventions.

As Fischer (1988:134) points out in relation to the subsistence farmers in his case study of a development project in a former South African 'homeland', government officials linked traditional and irrationality, the latter stemming from still being "caught in the thrall of 'tradition', of beliefs and practices which (or so the officials believed) have remained unchanged since the distant pre-colonial past". It could also be argued from the state's point of view that land which is not being farmed commercially to generate profits and tax revenues is unproductive.

From such a stance, it is an easy step for policy-makers to feel justified in promoting alternative land-use systems whether these be irrigated agriculture, national parks or hydro-electric dams.

In common with other post-colonial African governments, Namibia's SWAPO government, seeks to integrate its most 'traditional' peoples - in this case pastoralist Himba people - into the central state society and economy. Implicit in its efforts are the assumptions that the pastoralist way of life is inadequate (and even environmentally destructive), that 'progress' is inevitable (and desirable) and that integration will improve the quality of life (Bonfiglioli with Watson 1992). Also in common with many other post-independence African governments is the belief that there are more valuable ways than pastoralism to use parts of the Himba's lands (See Brown's translation [1993] from Comité de Soutien de Khelcom, 1992, for a Senegalese case study of government expropriation of pastoralists' land; Berger and Parkipuny 1989; Moehlmann 1990 for Kenyan and Tanzanian cases.)

Much of the social and ecological data which underlie such assumptions are outdated, at least in academic circles. As Smith (1992) and Brown (1993) point out, theories on pastoralism have substantively evolved beyond, for example, the 'tragedy of the commons' hypothesis which the international donor community used to justify much of its largely unsuccessful development aid programmes. Why such pastoralist sector interventions in Africa over the past 20 - 30 years have failed, oftentimes miserably (Dyson-Hudson 1985; Brown 1993), is discussed later. Of concern here is that in the time-lag between the development of a new academic paradigm and its broader acceptance by the policy-makers of African governments and international development agencies, real people are being marginalized.

A major issue facing the Himba people is the Namibian Government's proposed hydro-electric dam scheme at Epupa on the Kunene River. The planned dam will flood an area of approximately 250 square kilometres, including key dry season areas for the Himba people on both the Angolan and Namibian side of the Kunene. Apart from the loss of natural resources such as riverine vegetation, used by both people and livestock, up to 100 ancestral graves will also be flooded. As the ancestors are used by the Himba as intermediaries between the living and the Supreme Being, *Njambi Karunga*, their burial sites are a key cultural resource.

While the environmental and social impacts of the scheme are currently being investigated by a two-year feasibility study, a pre-feasibility study undertaken in 1992 states that the proposed dam may precipitate the break-down of the Himba's current socio-economy: "It is ... likely that the centuries old patterns of transhumance that form the basis of the local Himba social economy will break down; ... the loss of economic independence will give rise to a community largely dependent on external and costly inputs from government for their welfare" (Epupa hydropower scheme prefeasibility study. Final report 1993;10:57).

Some Namibian government officials appear to regard the existence of alternative viewpoints about Epupa as a non-issue: In a number of media interviews and on public platforms since independence, various senior government officials and politicians have asserted that they believe the

dam is for the greater good of Namibia and that the loss of land and resources by a section of the Himba people (who in any case, need to 'develop' and modernize) will be off-set by the perceived long-term benefits of the electrification scheme.

The government has made it clear that dissenting voices are unwelcome, and in so doing they have revealed a discourse in which the 'traditionalism' of the Himba is taken to represent a backward state, in need of modernization and upgrading. The latter processes are presented as rational; adhering to 'tradition' is by implication irrational.

Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob has asked environmentalists questioning the dam: "Why are you so interested in these primitive people with the bare breasts?" (Van Niekerk 1995:11); Polla Brand, the chairman of the Namibian power corporation, Swavek, has told journalists that the Himba "don't want to stay like baboons"; that they also want television and lights (Ibid). In a Namibian television discussion about the dam in March 1995, the same men used pejorative words like squalid and 'primitive' to describe the Himba life-style. Even the State President, Mr Sam Nujoma, has exhorted the Himba to "upgrade" themselves, and not just remain a tourist attraction (Van Niekerk 1995).

Heedful of anthropologist Sperber's view that "... anthropologists have neither the authority nor the competence to act as spokesmen for the people who have tolerated their presence, and even less to give the world professional guidance in moral or political matters" (1985:5), my objective in raising the Epupa issue is, following Sharp (1988), more modest. The intent is that it serves to emphasize awareness that no representation of (Namibian) society is a straightforward description of its real nature, because each representation is a political statement which includes the assumptions and intentions of the people who make it. The trap of relativism can be avoided by asking why people in particular positions hold their particular views.

"Once one has understood the historical and strategic reasons for the salience of particular views, then one is in a better position to assess their correctness (and indeed their moral defensibility)" (Sharp 1988:2).

While this thesis is presented in the hope that it will make a contribution to professional understanding of active material culture, one of its aims then is also to produce a narrative which spans a number of disciplines and which challenges certain assumptions within post-colonial reconstruction and nation-building circles. Hopefully, in so-doing, the text does not obscure the people in the polemic.

Notwithstanding the muddled articulation of two different discourses - the dominant political discourse of Namibia, on the one hand, and this type of academic discourse, on the other - the Himba people stand to lose major pastoral and cultural resources in Namibia within the next few years.

However, to return to the material culture and domestic space focus of this study: I will be making the case that no automatic opposition between 'modern' and 'traditional' can be assumed and that for some sections of the Kaoko community, remaining (apparently) traditional is a strategic - and rational - response to modern events. This attempt to understand "the apparent persistence of 'traditional' beliefs and practices as a dynamic response to changed circumstances" (Spiegel and

Boonzaier 1988:47) can be equated with Moore's use of "change through continuity" (1987:85) and Davison's "active conservatism" (1991:190).

1.2. STUDY SETTING and OUTLINE:

Field research for this study started in 1986. At that time the liberation war between SWAPO and the South African Defence Force was in progress in northern Namibia, and location of fieldwork in the extreme west, roughly between Tomakus in the south and Orupembe in the north (Figure 1.2) was dictated by the security situation. This central, western part of what was then known as Kaokoland marked the extreme limits of the 'safe' zone for a non-indigenous civilian researcher.

Although it was possible to travel further north, and north-east to Opuwo, then the region's SADF base, one did so cautiously, given the possibility of land-mines on the tracks. All travel had to be done by 4-wheel drive vehicle, on donkey-back or on foot.

The contingency of 'community'

The composition of the community of between 100 -120 people with whom I lived, changed in the five-year study period, with only four lineages remaining constantly present in the general area - as lineages, not always as individuals. This field experience of 'a community' is entirely consistent with the concept of communities as dynamic and in a constant state of flux, "... the unpredictable product of history and the product of people" (Thornton and Ramphele 1988:38).

War and drought were the two major reasons for the initial existence in a particular time and place of the so-called Purros community. (So-called because all lineages utilized the permanent spring waters at Purros in the late dry seasons during the study period). Before the early 1980s most lineages had been part of other communities further north and east, even though the seven lineages at Purros shared various patri- and matrilinear kinship links.

Some (but not all) residents of Kaoko recalled the decades immediately before the war and drought, following on the turbulent history of the area up till the early 20th century, as peaceful and prosperous. As I recorded descriptions of life in Kaoko in the 1950s, 60s and 70s, many people created the sense of a larger 'community' of herding people, living on both sides of the Kunene River, connected by a web of interlocking mutual interests. Such a community, and the various ways people conceptualized and experienced this communality, is now irrevocably fractured. Events in the previous century - the Nama raids - similarly caused major social and economic disruptions, as discussed in Chapter 2.

The Purros community, brought together by external threats and kinship connections, their separation from others emphasized by their remote location in vast, rugged Kaoko at a time when vehicle traffic was rare and travelling on foot was dangerous, on occasion showed what Thornton and

Ramphele have called "a community of purpose" (1988:35). Stemming from a shared concern about the dangers of the war and common efforts to rebuild their economy, this community spirit was nurtured by the unusually intense and prolonged interaction (for nomads) necessitated by a joint garden-growing endeavour in the alluvial silts of the Hoarusib River below the main Purros spring. A set of common problems - predators such as lion, hyena and jackal taking stock, the threat of elephants in the gardens and a perceived threat to land-rights by a tour operator, added to a sense of communality, as did a genuinely community-based attempt to address such problems. (Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn 1988; Jacobsohn 1990; Hitchcock 1993).

Thornton and Ramphele's point that community is contingent on the moment is borne out by the subsequent changes in the composition of the Purros community, after about 1993.

Continuity of change

Social and material change is a primary focus in this narrative and before presenting an outline of the study, the Purros community needs to be established in a broader setting. The following overview of some of external events which have (and are) impacting on rural Namibia, should not be allowed to overwhelm the intentionality of people's actions and strategies. Nor is it assumed that the Himba and Herero people at Purros are "teetering on the cusp (of past and present) as they hurtle into modernity with no previous experience of change and no lessons gained from the past." Schrire's (1984:1) comment about contemporary hunter gatherers, applies equally well in this case to subsistence herders (Jacobsohn 1986).

The five-year study period witnessed a number of dramatic political and social changes in Namibia: the end of the border war between South Africa and SWAPO; the arrival of the multi-national United Nations task group to monitor free and fair elections; registration of voters across the country including the study group; electioneering; the elections; Swapo's victory at the polls and the independence of Namibia in 1990.

However, other changes, less dramatic or notable from a sub-continental or national perspective, have also occurred in western Kaokoland in living memory, and their resonance is clearly apparent. These include the increasing institutionalization of a formal headman system and the beginnings of centralized political and administrative control, post 1970, under the South African Government's homeland policies, plus the devastating drought between 1979 and 1982 during which up to 90 percent of Kaokoland's cattle starved to death. The economic and social effects of this drought, coupled with the disruptions of the war, may be seen as a turning point for modern Kaokolanders, hundreds of whom subsequently embraced wage labour, the cash economy and Western schooling, in contrast to previous strategies which rejected many aspects of what the 'outside' world offered.

In the late 1980s post-war Kaokoland became a popular venue for 4x4 safaris and thousands of camera-wielding tourists began making contact with the local people. Government, including

veterinary and nature conservation officials, and non-government organizations, also stepped up their programmes in Kaokoland. One conservation programme, the community game guard system directly involved Kaokolanders and their leaders in decision-making and action. In 1987 the people of Purros, including women, started making crafts to sell to tourists. The so-called Purros Project in which tour operators using the area began paying small levies to local people as caretakers of wildlife, also started (Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn 1989; Jacobsohn 1991). With more cash in circulation, mass produced Western goods became more readily available. For the first time too, women had access to cash.

Some of the older Purros residents see events of the previous century - the Nama cattle raids - as having had a fundamental impact on their lives. These concerns and others are explored in the study.

Range of data

During the first year of the study I spent about six weeks living with two semi-nomadic Himba families near Purros and recording aspects of their domestic patterning (Jacobsohn 1986, 1988). During the next three years I was able to spend a total of about 23 months with the seven Himba and Herero lineages living around the Purros area. I was also able to undertake a number of trips further north in Kaokoland, recording settlement layout and social data. In 1990 I continued monitoring spatial, material and social organization during a number of short visits to western Kaokoland.

Almost all the homesteads, or *ozonganda*, built, occupied and re-occupied by the Purros people between early 1986 and 1990 were recorded - a total of 79 camps. In addition, 15 sites occupied outside the main study period by members of the Purros community were documented. A number of large pre-drought and contemporary homesteads were also recorded to the north. In all, this thesis draws on data collected from more than 100 living sites, including more than 300 individual houses, or *ozondjuwo*, and hundreds of activity areas.

In addition to mapping dry and wet season homesteads, inventories of all material items within settlements were recorded: Inventories were done while the homestead or camp was occupied, and post-occupation. In assessing material left in an empty *onganda*, it should be noted that Kaoko people don't regard an empty house or homestead as abandoned. This applies to wet season camps as well as to the more established dry season homesteads, the latter usually being used for some months every year. The possibility always exists that rain patterns in a future wet season will take a lineage back to a previous camp. Such a camp may be renovated and re-occupied, or some of its materials may be re-used to build new structures nearby. Such instances are documented in chapters 3, 4 and 5, when settlement patterns and representative samples of household maps are presented.

Also recorded, over a four-year period, are nearly 500 'trade' transactions. These mainly relate to the Purros craft sales, started in 1987. The data includes what sort of item was made by whom, the amount it was sold for, as well as what was acquired with the cash.

In living with lineages - in my own *ondjuwo* (a circular, dung-plastered, one-roomed dwelling) at Purros, the dry season base, and in the wet season moving with families and putting up a tent near their camp, I engaged, emotionally and intellectually, in daily life with the aim of learning about social relations and strategies - and the cultural, historical and economic conditions within which such relations are negotiated.

Although I took some Herero lessons in Windhoek and worked at learning the language locally, I deliberately retained the use of a translator at most times. This was because I believe that it takes many years to truly *understand* a new language, even though one can learn to speak it in a few months. I therefore continued to work through my translators, even when I understood the gist of the conversation. This freed me to observe body language and often enabled me to pick up on nuances I may have missed if I had been struggling with my basic Herero.

Two local people played an integral role as translators and field assistants: Shorty Kasaona of Otjindakwe near Sesfontein, who grew up in Kaoko as part of a Himba-Herero lineage, and Kaupiti Tjipomba, a young Purros woman who spent some years attending school. Shorty assisted me throughout the study period, with Kaupiti joining us periodically as an invaluable link with women in areas where a male translator was unsuitable or undesirable. A woman in her early 20s, Kaupiti died tragically in 1991.

Given the rich complexity of Kaoko social-spatial/material relations, I have focused selectively on aspects of the organization of household space and on certain material goods. It is thus inevitable that other components of Kaoko life, no less important, have been excluded. Case studies range beyond household space, linking palm trees, milk baskets and gender relations; connecting windmills and water-pumps with environmental degradation and with the erosion of the descent-based authority structure; examining women's dancing as a discourse of resistance; house-building and the ways ash and dung are used reveal gender relations and strategies. Tins, buckets and T-shirts are shown to be as ideational as ostrich egg-shell beads and ochre.

Other ways of knowing and seeing

While much information was obtained during focused discussions and interviews, some of my most useful data and insights came about without intent on my part. Weeks of just being in a homestead, listening rather than asking questions, engaging in ordinary conversations with my ever-present notebook closed and temporarily forgotten, revealed aspects of the Kaoko world which no-one ever articulated. Oppositions inherent in modern city life faded as the people around me moved seamlessly between secular and ceremonial activities; my understanding of public and private; culture and nature; temporary and permanent; work and leisure; far and near; individual and community; modern and traditional shifted. Many of my gender assumptions, in particular, were challenged. Such insights, hopefully, will become explicit in the data presented here.

In my second and third year with the community, people entered into the spirit of the academic undertaking - that I was going to write about the seven lineages and their daily lives and concerns. Often, during an animated conversation which I was struggling to keep up with in spite of the remarkable skills of my 'simultaneous' translator, Shorty Kasaona, someone would instruct me to lift my note-book out of the sand where it lay, and to write down what was being said.

I began to see that what people had said they did, as recorded in my first months in the area, differed somewhat from some of what was actually done. The point here being that people began permitting me to see aspects of their lives, only after I had spent many months with them. Given the entertainment value of any outside researcher to the host community, I cannot claim to have ever become part of the landscape, but with time and constant exposure, my novelty wore off. As Kent has observed, unless one lives with people, the researcher tends to acquire data on formal or ideal behaviour (1987). The differences between earlier and later versions presented are, of course, instructive, as they add to the data on values, strategies, contradictions and conflicts. But they are only instructive if one stays around long enough to locate the differences in context.

An example relates to the use of stone flakes. In my first months with the community, I asked if people ever used flakes for butchery or any other purpose. A group of young men, on leave from their army jobs, immediately insisted that every-one nowadays used knives. Others in the group agreed this was so, and I was shown several pocket knives and a few 'home-made' knives where blades from broken knives had been hafted into new wooden handles. Later, when I saw a woman shaving the head of a child with a quartz flake, she was dismissive of the tool, saying that it was a child's thing and that normally she used a knife or blade.

By the second year, when people trusted me, or were at least used to me, the same woman - and several other people - showed me how a stone flake is made and demonstrated some of its regular uses. People *do* use knives, and a few were always in circulation. But in many of the camps I lived in, a few rough flakes would be manufactured from local material to be used in activities ranging from preparing animal skins to cutting palm fronds for basket weaving. Usually the flakes would not be curated and would be left behind when the people moved. I asked the woman why she had not given me this information the previous year. She laughed and said that she was following the young men who wanted to show off (their modernity) to me. Now, she said, she knew me and she wanted to me to write down all the things that people did. This incident, one of several in a similar vein, indicates that it was only in the second and third year of research that data became firmly grounded in the daily life of the people.

As many field workers before me have experienced, the intimacy and connection engendered by living with people, with the objective of learning about them and their world, promotes the illusion, and illusion it is, that one is able to see the world from the other's point of view. What *is* possible, however, is to glimpse other ways of knowing and seeing. To this end, I conclude this section with two brief field experiences which challenged my Western frames of references. One of the incidents relates to the concept of privacy; the other to ways of counting stock.

On a humid morning in the rain season when the *onganda* seemed particularly full of people, and flies swarmed around us, I remarked to Kata, a Himba woman with whom I was sharing post-milking tasks, that an aspect of Kaoko life that was very different from my city life was that here I was rarely alone or out of earshot of other people. With her usual sensitivity, Kata picked up my sub-text, that I was not happy, and she drew out of me what I was really thinking: That I found the flies - landing in the milk, in our eyes and mouths, sitting on our backs in shifting black thickets, particularly onerous that day, and that also, it was sometimes difficult for me to live at such close quarters with other people. Kata was philosophical about the flies - they came with the rain and would disappear in the dry season, but she was interested in my other point.

We discussed my perception of privacy, which from my point of view included being able to be alone when one wished, in the sense of closing a door (to one's house, bedroom or office) on other people. Kata grasped the concept - even though neither she nor translator Shorty could think of a Herero word for privacy. A word they came up with was *omukarapeke* which means *recluse*, not the same as privacy at all. What she was unclear about was why one needed to be physically separated from people - by a door or other structure - in order to be alone. Now it was my turn to struggle to grasp her meaning. Eventually, she got up to illustrate. Instructing me to watch her, she walked through the homestead, past the score or so of men, women and children in sight. I present the discussion which followed:

Kata: Did you see? I was alone now (*Mumunu? M'bari erike nao.*)

MJ: No, there were people all around you.

Kata: But, I was alone for myself.

MJ: What did you do? Did you block out the other people?

Kata: No, I made myself open (*munine*) so that people could see through me. That's a way you can be alone for yourself.

Later I established that another translation for the word *munine* is translucent, a word people also use to describe clean water that one can see through. Kata's concept of privacy, so different from mine, was posited on an opening up, making oneself transparent or translucent, rather than on the erection of barriers. I had been shown another way of knowing and being.

An aspect of an alternative system of logic - another way of knowing and seeing that appears more holistic than the capitalist-commodified West's compartmentalized logics - was revealed by a male elder Venomeho. We were sitting together at the end of the day, as the goat herds streamed back towards the *ozonganda* for the night. The section of Venomeho's family's herd present at that time numbered about 140 animals. We watched the animals casually as we talked. As the last of the goats straggled past us, Venomeho rose and questioned one of the grandsons who had accompanied the herd. A pregnant ewe was missing. The boy last remembered seeing the animal at the spring which was a kilometre or so from the homestead. Venomeho, his grandson and I at once set off to find her. She was not far away, in the process of giving birth. If we had not found her, her kid, and possibly the ewe as well, would almost certainly have been taken by jackals or hyena.

When Venomeho had finished talking to the young goatherds about the need to keep a special watch over pregnant animals, I asked him how he had noticed one animal among 140 was missing. I was puzzled because he had told me previously that goats were not counted (enumerated), or named, as were cattle. We struggled to reach common ground but eventually, I understood that Venomeho (and others) did not count goats as in 1-2-3, the method of enumeration familiar to me. What he did was carry in his mind a picture, or a pattern of what the herd looked like collectively. This was based on age, sex, and coloration. Thus he could see that one animal - a black and white ewe - was missing from this composite mental image. The mental picture was not simple or static as the pattern required regular re-negotiation to keep up with changing situations, as herds were split up for various reasons, animals were slaughtered or given away and new young joined the group.

Other adult members in the community, women as well as men, shared this method of 'seeing' stock, although some were better at it than others. Venomeho's wife said that good management of goats depended on 'knowing' all the animals, even though neither she nor most others could 'count', in the sense of knowing the words for figures beyond about 20. The school-going children, she said, learnt to count in the "white man's" way. But as she and others agreed, much more was involved in the local way of knowing/seeing the herds than simply giving them numbers.

Such alternative systems of stock control are not unique to the Himba: For example, Ohta (1987) who examined stock identification and classification systems among the Turkana in northwestern Kenya, established that goats are not counted. He describes the Turkana method of checking the presence of members of a herd - mentally dividing the herd into several smaller units, according to certain selected attributes. The members of each unit are checked individually during and after herding trips (Ibid).

1.3. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

A broad theoretical orientation has been established by the concerns already raised in the previous sections. Specifically, this study argues for the re-empowerment of social actors, past and present, in the creation of (archaeological) meaning. This leads to the premise that meanings are not inherent or encoded in material culture and its spatial arrangements: People evoke meanings, according to their particular socially strategic actions and intentions.

It is self-evident to all of us, as social actors, that in spite of this apparent multi-referential quality of material culture, not all of the meanings evoked have equal weight, and some are more authoritative than others. For example, the shock effect of a British punk wearing a safety pin in his nose is possible only because his unconventional use of a mundane object impacts against a more conventional and powerful discourse - that of an orderly, essentially middle-class, market economy-driven nation, in which safety pins are for babies' nappies.

Similarly, there would be nothing outrageous about the plan, reported in the popular South African press (Donaldson 1995), to do nude photography on the steps of the Voortrekker Monument, outside Pretoria, if the building had not been a granite symbol of the genesis of Afrikanerdom and the Afrikaner people's rejection of both British and black domination, for the four decades preceding the New South Africa.

In both these examples, the rebellious/alternative interpretation of meaning invested in a particular material item or spatial setting takes place in relation to existing social and power relations. Neither the punk nor the photographer would be understood to be rebelling against convention if they were outside the conventional discourse. Foucault's point - that power comes from below, that the dominated are implicated in the production and reproduction of power relations (1977, 1979) is of relevance here. It is not possible to step outside existing social relations "because there are no available forms of discourse which do not appeal to the given categories, division and values which simultaneously produce and expose the relations of power" (Moore 1986:194).

If some interpretations are more appropriate or authoritative than others, it is necessary to enquire how a material-spatial order comes to have meaning, why do alternative meanings exist and how is it that some interpretations may be thought more appropriate than others?

The ability to define a particular interpretation as appropriate or not is seen to be both a function and a dimension of political power, with power seen as an effect or product of the operation of social relationships (Foucault 1977, 1979; Moore 1986). The authority of a particular interpretation is possible because although on the practical level, the meaning of the material order is negotiable and context-dependent, in reality interpretations are grounded in both existing historical relations and in the existing spatial order, "which can be no more than the sum of past and future interpretations of that space" (Moore 1986:195).

Of equal concern here is the problem of social change: How are ideological transformations linked to shifts in social and economic circumstances?

These questions and concerns are negotiated within a framework of social theory developed by Anthony Giddens (1976, 1979, 1982, 1984, 1987) and Pierre Bourdieu (1973, 1977), both of whom address the reintegration of cultural form and social practice.

Bourdieu's concept of '*habitus*' - simultaneously the regulating and generating principle of practice - and Giddens's theory of structuration - wherein structure is both enabling and constraining - have in recent years become central to the analysis of material culture. A number of southern African archaeological studies have drawn on these social models, and structuration and habitus have been reviewed by local researchers (See Hall 1984, 1987; Davison 1988, 1991; Mills 1986). Further afield, Moore (1986) and others have also examined, and linked the social theories of Giddens and Bourdieu.

Both theories are complex and rich, and only a few specifically salient points are discussed here. Compatible with one another, both broke theoretical ground in that power to act in social life is returned to people. This counters what Davison and others see as a pervasive problem in archaeology

and material cultural studies in general: the analytical separation of cultural object from social subject (Davison 1991).

Hall, discussing structuration theory, points out that it "explicitly avoids setting up analytical structures which have an implied existence 'above' the people and institutions that are the object of a study and, instead, sees human behaviour as recursive; that is recreating patterns of behaviour, intentionally or unintentionally, by the very action of living them out in the present" (1986:84). Giddens's theory, introduced in 1976 and elucidated in 1979, re-integrates the strategies and intentions of social actors with the production and reproduction of institutional structures.

Structuration has been described as a theory of agency and a philosophy of social action (Davison 1991). In essence, structure and action are conceptualized as being mutually constitutive, and structure, without having an absolute existence, is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of social practices. Concepts such as the contextuality of action, signification and the notion of power, as a class of action which can be analysed in terms of resources and rules, have direct impact on the analysis of material culture (Hall 1986, 1987; Mills 1986). Following Giddens, Kaoko resources, both material and non-material, are divided, for analytical purposes, into allocative and authoritative components. This has special relevance to gender and age data.

Probably the quintessential analysis of built space and material culture in relation to social practice, Bourdieu's work on Kabyle cosmology and space links structures with the strategies and intentions, conscious and unconscious, of social actors. In his concept of the practical mastery built up as people use a spatial order, it is acknowledged that social practices are, of course, influenced by the relative positions of components within constructed space, but the actual interpretations given to the ordering of those components, rests on the nature and intent of action (Bourdieu 1973, 1977). Bourdieu's main thesis - that space comes to have meaning through practice; that it can claim no fixed meaning outside social practice - is a keystone of my treatment of Himba and Herero space.

Bourdieu uses metaphor to emphasize the inter-dependency of meaning and action and shows that certain binary oppositions - man/woman; light/dark; up/down etc - are rooted in actual divisions by age, sex or position in relations of production. Thus spatial and conceptual domains are governed by the same sets of contrasts (Bourdieu 1973). His position is far advanced on structuralism because the divisions in his tangible classifying system are capable of re-negotiation and the actual meanings given to the spatial order may change and even contradict one another, according to the activities and concerns of the social actors. Structuralism, in isolating a few basic sets of oppositions and their transformations in built space, may be of rich descriptive value, but it fails to have any real explanatory power in that the oppositions are not grounded in their generative economic and social conditions (Ibid 1973, 1977).

Basic to Bourdieu's theory of practice is the concept of 'habitus' - a set of regulatory dispositions rooted in early childhood experiences. Although also involving cognitive oppositions, the habitus over-steps structuralism's reductionist employment of oppositions to bind and determine

behaviour, and instead, generates a probabilistic logic of practice. This is in the sense of a strategy-generating principle, rather than any rule-bound strategy (Ibid 1977).

Text and metaphor: An analytical structure

The study uses aspects of the analytical structure, developed by Henrietta Moore for her examination of household space of the Marakwet in Kenya (1986).

The framework is grounded in the work of Bourdieu and Giddens, as discussed, and employs Geertz' concept of cultural text (1971, 1983) as well as Ricoeur's discourse theory (1982), in which he gives metaphor a central role.

A compelling reason for being attracted to Moore's work is that, as she points out, her approach is less dependent on anthropological models and more intimately related to the practical folk models of the social actors concerned. "How much sense," she asks, "does it make to provide a meaningful analysis of cultural phenomena which have no 'meaning' for the people themselves?" (Ibid: 1986:5).

Cultural text and metaphor are used to suggest an analytic structure which retains the central concern with meaning while at the same time introducing ideas of social strategy and strategic interpretation. She aims to show how socio-economic conditions and cultural values work together to produce and transform cultural representation (Ibid).

Similarities and differences that emerge in Marakwet, Himba and Herero relations of space, provide insights into the general problem of understanding cultural representation. Both areas have experienced rapid social change, although the Marakwet's move from a situation of relative isolation to one of being increasingly incorporated into modern Kenya started earlier than similar processes in Namibia. The sloping world of the Marakwet people and their life on an escarpment contrasts with horizontal aridity of the pro-Namib plains. The Himba and Herero community are semi-nomadic pastoralists who confronted a limited form of furrow-irrigated horticulture as an emergency post-drought measure, whereas the Marakwet people are sedentary agriculturalists who keep limited numbers of stock. Both communities have wage-earners and subsistence farmers, and families who combine both wage-labour and farming.

A key point, of relevance to the Namibian data, is the tenet within Moore's interpretative approach that changes in the organization of space cannot be understood as merely reflecting changed social and economic conditions. "The idea that changes in the organization of space can be directly related to the breakdown of the value system and its replacement by another has little explanatory power. Space considered as a text does not take as its object real social and economic conditions but rather certain ideological representations of the real" (1986:51).

Both the Kenyan and Namibian data produce case studies where conflicts between the sexes exists but is not apparently reflected spatially, as well as, in Namibia, cases where certain spatial changes have been made. Moore has provided part of the answer, above: Spatial text only talks about or works over states of affairs that are already representations of reality rather than reality itself.

Bourdieu's notion of universes of meaning and universes of practice are employed as a way of explaining how material culture may have different meanings in different contexts. "However, the actual meaning a given set of contrasts acquires in relation to a particular universe of practice resonates with all the meanings those contrasts, or any other pair of contrasts that is interchangeable with them, might be given in other fields of practice - that is, in different contexts" (Moore 1986:78). Thus, the concept of practice- or context-dependent meaning is deepened, metaphorically and textually, to include referential and figurative qualities.

"The fact that meanings invoked in one context have the ability to refer to meanings invoked in another is what enables the analysis of meaning to be combined with the analysis of the strategic intention of social actors (Ibid:79). Moore uses the different meanings the Marakwet associate with ash to illustrate this. Similarly, different meanings given to ash, dung, water and wind, are examined in terms of the strategies of Himba and Herero men and women.

Metaphor and metonymy have been particularly potent in spatial studies. As models for understanding the world (Black 1962), metaphors extend far beyond language. Lackoff and Johnson (1980) argue that our whole conceptual system is structured by metaphors which provide systematic models for whole areas of discourse. Their example, winning or losing an argument, using the metaphorical model of war, demonstrates that we structure one type of experience in terms of another. Moore (1986) points out that such processes are not restricted to Western culture.

When a Himba matriarch, leading a ceremony, flicks water onto the ground, while asking her ancestors to help keep their people 'wet' (*tarazu*), she is not only referring to water, although that too is involved in her metaphorical model of well-being.

Importantly, metaphor "provides a way of analysing meaning and action within a single frame" (Moore 1986:77).

In developing an interpretive approach which integrates selected aspects of advanced semiotic analysis with the examination of ideology, power and strategy in social relations, Moore bases the study of space on an analogy with textual production.

"Of course, actors' interpretations are not without the constraints of convention (*habitus*) and some method has to be employed whereby space can be analysed in terms of its invariant physical form and in terms of the interpretations and intentions of actors." Moore's solution is to consider space as text: "The advantages ... are that it extends the analysis of event and meaning, it provides a way of linking social action to the structures which inform that action and it provides a theoretical framework for linking the organization of space to the material conditions of its genesis" (Moore 1986:79).

Both Geertz and Ricoeur have raised the idea that all human action may be considered as text, requiring interpretation or reading (Geertz 1983; Ricoeur 1982). Of importance to Moore's framework is Ricoeur's contention that action, like texts, have a reference component as well as a sense (Ricoeur 1981). "This referential capacity is crucial to the analysis of space as text because it implies that, as a structured totality or 'work', a text cannot be reduced profitably to its constituent elements" (Moore 1986:80). This obviously has profound implications for the analysis of archaeological sites.

The framework's application begins with an analysis of the 'conditions of meaning' - that is, with the relationship between a text and its social and historical conditions. A dual construction connects the study of texts, as cultural representations, to the study of historical development and changing ideological structures. This comprises an examination of the relation between text and history through the formal devices used to exploit and transmute culturally produced meaning, plus an orientation which recognizes the transience of any interpretation and scrutinizes the succession of interpretive acts or readings through which traditions are established and meaning produced (Culler 1980).

In arguing that spatial texts are not the expression - let alone the reflection - of ideologies, Moore characterises the relationship between ideology and text as one of produced representation. This opens the framework to the possibility of understanding social change.

If the spatial order is viewed as representation - through metaphoric extension and transformation - of divisions by age, sex or position in the relations of production, the order must therefore contribute to the reproduction of the power relations of which they are the product, naturalizing and helping to secure the arbitrariness on which they are based. A problem here, as Moore points out, is that like a rabbit in a car's headlights, the social actor appears both powerless and blind in the face of the dominant societal conventions which are represented in the spatial order.

Another problem is to account for the co-existence of competing interpretations of a spatial text, except as products of different metaphoric extensions in particular spatio-temporal contexts of action.

Moore argues that "the existence of ideological conflicts and tensions within a given text helps to account for the multiplicity of potential interpretations to which a text is open. Action, in any given spatial order inserts the individual into a particular relation both with the text, (as representation) and with ideology and history. As a result, different individuals and different groups may be seen to stand in particular relations both to the text and to its ideological and historical determinants. This last point lays the ground for a theoretical approach which does not subscribe to the notion that social actors are completely opiated by the ideologies embodied in cultural forms for they clearly have the reflexive ability to use a particular cultural text - in this case space - to produce a specific orientation towards a given ideology" (Ibid 1986:90).

"The point I want to stress is that ideology is not the 'truth' of the text; it is not necessarily or entirely what the text is all about (cf Eagleton, 1976). A spatial text has no intrinsic essence, just as it has no inherent meaning; the truth of the text resides in practice. It is through practice that a spatial text at once inserts the actor into a particular relation both with ideology and history and with the constructed representation of both which is the text itself. Since the relation between ideology and text is only invoked in practice - that is by participation in a given spatial order - there is no question of a fixed, immutable relationship between text and ideology. Yet certain forms of relationship are, of course more conventional or more appropriate - and it is in the interests of the dominant groups to narrow, or at least control, the range of possible relationships between text and ideology" (Ibid:89).

An action in a spatial order - a divorced Himba woman placing her cooking hearth to the right of her house instead of leaving this area open for the ancestors - can be understood as the meaningful construction of a representation, albeit in relation to an already existing text. The interpretation thus produced gives rise to an ideological discourse; the unconventional location of the woman's hearth produces a moment of reflection on the ideology which informs the (spatial) text and then permits the text to contain and produce variable degrees of internal conflict and disorder.

"Nonetheless ... the text only contains or permits ideological conflicts or tensions which it can itself resolve, or leave unresolved, without radically interrogating the ideology that informs it. Thus, a wide range of both conflicts and solutions may exist simultaneously in a text, which casts them from the outset into resolvable or acceptably unresolved forms, as part of the very act of representation. It is therefore possible to understand the ideological conflicts which necessitates and/or inform the text by analysing the solutions it proposes. This supports the characterization of the text as the a product, rather than the reflection, of an ideological solution" (Moore 1986:90).

1.4. STRUCTURE OF THESIS

In a general sense, the structure, both physically and conceptually, of this text reflects a bid to meet the demands of a reflexive study and to avoid (as far as is possible) imposing only Western categories of analyses and frames of reference on to peoples who may not share these conceptual divisions (Jacobsohn 1986).

The, at times, uneasy juxtaposition of academic synthesis with, by their nature, incomplete narrative of the people's ideas of what is worth knowing about themselves and their society should serve to highlight a dialogue between studier and studied that is far from comprehensive and never complete. If, as a result, my text appears overly self-conscious, and lacking in authority, it is because Himba and Herero knowledge systems, when allowed to stand on their own terms, are in some ways irreconcilable with Western academic imperatives.

As Lewis-Williams notes, the foundations of any confident meaning have been eroded by the deep doubts and questioning of post-modernism (1993). But this is no reason not to try to hear the Other or to allow what Sass calls epistemological jitters (1986) to stall attempts to affirm alternative interpretive logics.

The thesis comprises eight chapters. Although this, the first, presents a background to the study and its theoretical underpinnings, and the last focuses on archaeological implications of the data and pulls together overall conclusions, the text has not been rigorously divided into data and analysis: Where does one begin and the other end? Instead, it aspires to what Habermas (1973) termed a dialogic, self-reflective language.

Chapter Two serves to place the, till recently, little known people of Kaoko into an historical and ethnographic context in modern, 'developing' Africa. Sources include published works, interviews

with Westerners who have worked in remote Kaokoland and of course, my interpretation of the views Himba and Herero people shared about their own past.

Chapter Three is an attempt to integrate the social, spatial, symbolic and economic lives of Kaoko people into a coherent 'whole' that would be understood by the people themselves. This is a key chapter because it takes this material cultural study beyond manufactured goods and constructed domestic space into a semi-nomadic world.

In Chapter Four this representation of social experience is refocused to argue that age and gender are the two most important organizing principles. This social ordering is then linked to material culture, spatial categories and orientations in use in the area. Integrated into this material is my interpretation of domestic spatial ordering. The case is built up for a dominant representation and its most authoritative interpretation, without losing sight of alternative interpretations and the contention that the material domain conveys no coded meaning; meaning has to be operationalized by social actors.

Chapter Five draws on specific data from the seven lineages to illustrate degrees of variability of built space within the community, plus the patterns of association and segregation of key features such as house structures, sacred fires, other hearths, animal enclosures, ash piles and central poles within houses. Here, and in subsequent chapters, there is a concern with relating these patterns to value systems and social strategies, arising from particular historic socio-economic and cultural circumstances.

Gender and age relations are explored and analysed in Chapter Six. Conflicts and changing relations are examined and a series of case studies within the study's material culture and spatial focus are presented.

Chapter Seven tracks changes in material culture in use in homesteads and beyond. A complex series of discourses can be seen to be taking place, which warns against generalizations about material goods and social change.

Chapter Eight returns to Himba space and the actual changes being made to it by women in particular. I suggest that a cumulative shift in interpretations of meaning, made possible and increasingly powerful because of new, socio-economic realities, is undermining, and threatening to overthrow the dominant spatial text - one which has prevailed in Kaoko for the past 50 years, and probably longer. Finally, the archaeological implications of material presented in terms of theory and method is discussed.



Figure 2.2. Kata in her bridal *ekori*.

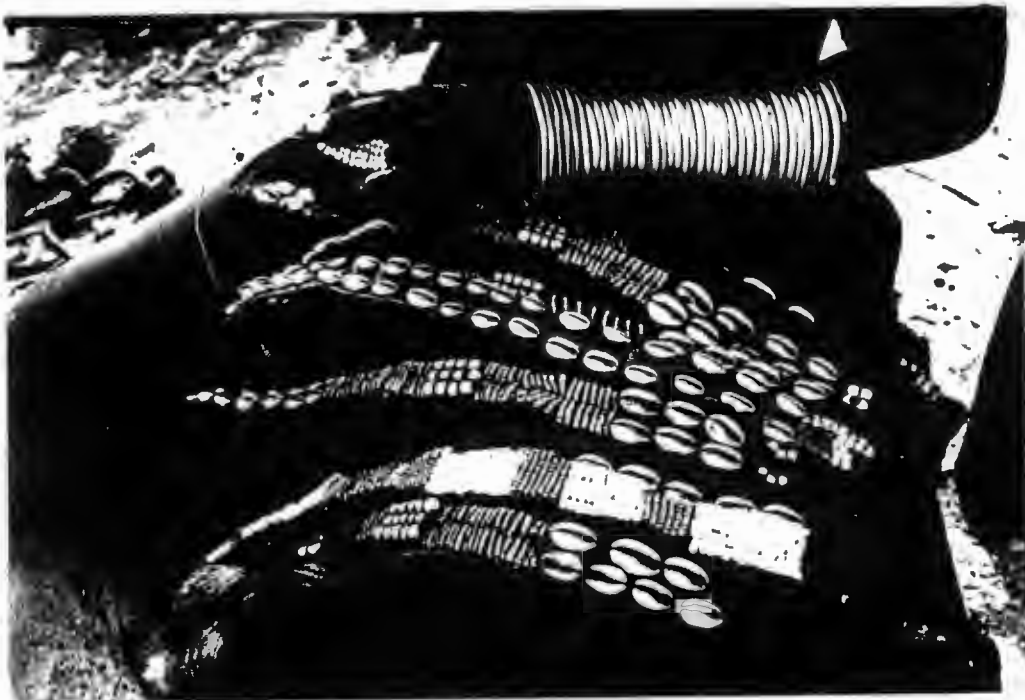


Figure 2.1. A ceremonial *ondikwa* (baby carrier).

CHAPTER TWO: LOCATING THE PEOPLE OF KAOKO

"There is in postmodern social documentation ... progress towards the re-enshrinement of narration as a more natural mode of description than the controlling expository modes of science. In this new view, the other is seen as a person who is continually making sense of himself for himself, and increasingly, the observer is included in both the event and its record: in other words, there is progress towards creating common cause in all representations, which are themselves seen as social and political facts" Biesele (1990).

THIS chapter seeks to locate the residents of western Kaoko in an historical and ethnographic context that includes their own world views as well as those of outsiders: academic and otherwise. A brief overview of published literature on the history of Kaoko (albeit mostly focused on the wealthier, more populous north-east) is given first. An account of contemporary events, up to the 1990s, is next. I draw on field observations as well as published and unpublished reports by travellers to Kaoko, academic and otherwise, in the 1970s and 80s. This is followed by a generalized description of social structure, based largely on the literature. This overview is necessary to navigate later sections, including a more intimate discussion of the ordering of social life in the study area in Chapter 4.

The last part of this chapter, arguably the most important, gives local perspectives on history and social change, on the origins of herding and links with other groups. Although obviously, I have imposed a structure (as well as subjective selectivity) onto this section, in essence I have tried to preserve the narrative quality which imbued the original oral material as it was recorded over a five-year period. The aim, then, is to present some of the facts/beliefs/views/stories that Kaoko people thought worth knowing about their past. My comments and connections in this section represent, as already discussed, the uneasy articulation of two differing and essentially incompatible knowledge systems.

2.1 A COLONIAL HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Almost nothing is known about Kaoko's inhabitants before the middle of the last century, when, less than 140 years ago, the first European expeditions were made into the remote, harsh territory's interior.

This paucity of information did not prevent historians and ethnographers (eg. Van Warmelo 1951; Bruwer 1966) from reconstructing several key events which are supposed to have taken place between about 1550 and 1850. These early models follow the general rule inherent in much pre-1970s southern African history which allows pastoralist and/or agriculturalist blacks to arrive in this part of the continent around the same time (or preferably, shortly after) early Europeans first 'discovered' these lands.

Using this politically expedient migration framework, but little hard evidence, Bruwer (1966) has the pastoralist 'Herero' - already neatly conceptualized as a 'tribe' - migrating from the Mocamedes province in Angola, where related groups still live, into Kaoko in the middle of the 16th century, shortly after the Ovambo and Kavango peoples are supposed to have arrived in Namibia. Bruwer suggests the 'Herero' people and their cattle herds crossed the Kunene River east of Ruacana. When their bid to settle on the well-grassed plains north of the Etosha Pan was resisted by the already resident Ovambo, they turned westward into harsh, mountainous Kaoko. Malan (1974) picks up the story 200 years later in the mid-18th century: Around this time the majority of 'Herero' people decided to move south-east to more hospitable central Namibia. But not everyone trekked south and it is this group who are mainly the ancestors of the modern Himba and Herero of Kaoko.

We do not have the archaeological evidence to reconstruct the beginnings of pastoralism - the dominant mode of production - in Kaoko. It may be that oral history, and what Galaty calls ethno-theories of group origins (1986), suggests an alternative to the migration model, at least in western Kaoko - a model that awaits archaeological testing via excavation.

We do know that pottery was present in northern Namibia by 2000 years ago (Kinahan 1981, 1984). While this may indicate the presence of pastoralists or agriculturalists, or at least contact with them, pottery cannot automatically be conflated with herding or with food domestication in general. Work in Highland East Africa, for example, suggests that pottery precedes faunal assemblages dominated by domestic animals by an estimated 1500 years (Ambrose 1992). Kinahan (1991) also challenged the assumption that pottery and domestic stock were a 'package', and his analysis of material from sites in the central Namib desert suggests that pottery was present more than 1000 years before domestic animals. On the other hand, material from excavations between 1978 and 1986 at Geduld, near Outjo, in central northern Namibia, has recently been interpreted by Smith and Jacobson (1995) to indicate the possibility of the presence of domestic stock by 1800 BP.

Cattle, goat and sheep herders were well established in southern Angola and presumably, in neighbouring Kaoko, by the time the 16th century Portuguese mariners first visited this part of the African continent. In 1618, a year after Portuguese conquistador, Cerveiro Pereira, established the presidio of Benguela in Angola, he made contact with wealthy cattle and sheep breeders to the south. Portuguese forces defeated these pastoralists in battle, and they took a vast booty: Governor Pereira listed 1000 head of horned cattle and 2000 sheep and rams (recounted in Estermann 1961).

Such early records concentrated on the more hospitable Angolan shores and no European traveller is known to have penetrated beyond the Skeleton Coast with its Namib Desert barrier, into Kaoko until after 1850. At that time Kaoko was in dire straits: The terrain, with its widely separated springs and waterholes plus erratic grass- and browse-producing rainfall, requires pastoralists to adopt a nomadic and dispersed settlement pattern. This spatial and social isolation between settlements/groups of homesteads meant they were easy prey for the Nama bands of stock thieves who migrated from the south after 1850. The Nama, who were members of the Swartbooi and Topnaar groups, based themselves at Sesfontein (see Fig.1.2) and Fransfontein. Between about 1850 and the end of the century they raided large numbers of cattle in Kaoko and southern Angola, killing anyone

who stood in their way. Formerly wealthy herders lost their stock and were forced to hunt, scavenge and gather plant food to survive (Malan 1974).

The Portuguese explorer, Pereria do Nascimmento, who visited Angola during 1894-1895, wrote of the Nama marauders: "For a long time these ferocious bandits have been invading ... every year, robbing and killing the natives, the cultivators and the herders established in Gambos, in particular the vu-Kuvale, ova-Himba, and vu-Ndimba ... It is estimated that 2000 head of cattle are stolen annually from these poor people by the Hottentots" (1898).

The impact of the raids is described in the diary of Artur de Paiva who explored the environs of the Kunene in 1892: "This country was very heavily populated; today it is completely deserted; the Hottentots cleaned out everything" (In Dias 1938).

Kaoko's first European visitors - explorers and hunters - returned to the missions and trading stations in central highland South West Africa with tales of Herero-speaking people who had lost most of their stock to Nama raiders. These people who were forced to live in small groups as hunter-gatherers became known as Tjimba-Herero, a derogatory term whose first word may derive from *ondjimba-ndjimba*, meaning aardvark, an animal that digs in the ground for its food (Malan 1974; Vedder 1928).

In Kaoko the designation Tjimba is also the name given to a group of black-skinned hunter-gatherers who, many modern Kaokolanders believe, already lived in the mountainous north when the Herero-speaking people entered the territory. The Tjimba subsequently adopted the otjiHerero language used by Himba and Herero alike, and appear to have been assimilated although there are adults today in the west who grew up as Tjimba. The stone-working, hunter-gatherer people whose self-designation was ovaTjimba who were encountered in the north in September 1964 by Steyn and Grobbelaar of the State Museum, Windhoek, spoke a dialect form of Herero which suggests they had been in contact with Herero-speakers for some generations (Malan 1974).

The designation Himba, the name used by about 7000 Herero-speakers in Kaoko today, has been the subject of some speculation (MacCalman and Grobbelaar 1965). Heinrich Vedder, German missionary and historian (1938, 1928), claimed that ovaHimba means the people who boast, apparently because of their large cattle herds. An 1880 study by Antonio Francisco Boguera, a Portuguese merchant of Mocamedes, mentions a nomadic and pastoral people who occupied the left bank of the Kunene on its lower course, the Be-Himba or Ba-Simba, meaning those of the bank. Some contemporary Himba informants say the word means those who sing.

Malan (1974) suggests the name Himba is little more than 100 years old and has its origin in the events that followed the Nama incursions into Kaoko. In about 1870, with the Nama raids at their worst, many impoverished Herero-speakers fled Kaoko into Angola. They sought refuge with another pastoral people, the Ngambwe. This large group of destitute Kaokolanders were not the first of their people to seek protection in Angola in those turbulent years, and the Ngambwe, whose hospitality was by now probably stretched to its limit, called them the ovaHimba, those who beg for food and shelter.

In 1863 a boy destined to play a major role in changing Himba fortunes, was born into the matrilineage of a prominent Herero family at Otjimbingwe on the Swartkop River. Vita, or Oorlog, as he

was also known, followed his Tswana father, Tom Botswana, into Angola. There the young man encountered the Kaoko refugees who were already called the Himba. He became their leader and astutely turned local unrest to Himba advantage. He organized his men into a fighting force and allied them with the Dorsland trekkers and Portuguese colonists against local insurrections in return for arms and ammunition. His ranks were swelled by more Herero-speaking and probably other refugees, a few hundred men who had been defeated by the German forces in the 1904 southern Herero rebellion.

With their superior Portuguese weaponry, Vita and his men began a series of lucrative cattle raids against, among others, the Kuvare, Ngumbi and Kwanyama. The spoils were divided among the men who had thus accumulated vast herds when Vita led some of them back into sparsely populated Kaoko after Germany's South West African forces surrendered in 1915 during world War I (Stals 1988; Malan 1974).

The Himba settled in northern Kaoko, retaining their links with those Himba who stayed in south western Angola. Vita's Herero followers spread across central and southern Kaoko. Some of the small population of Tjimba-Herero who had remained in Kaoko had kinship ties with returning families and many were assimilated into the Himba community whose name they adopted. Those who sought integration with the Herero group were never fully accepted and it is only in recent years, since the 1980s, that the designation Tjimba-Herero has fallen into disuse (Malan 1974; Owen-Smith pers.comm).

Between 1879 and 1880 the first group of Dorsland trekkers sojourned in Kaoko en route from the Transvaal to the Humpata Plateau in southern Angola. They planted crops at Otjitundua and Kaoko Otavi which they furrow-irrigated from local springs. This practice was adopted by some Kaokolanders and continues today. The trekkers left Kaoko for Angola in December 1880, seeking a higher rainfall area more suited to agriculture (Malan and Owen-Smith 1974).

South West Africa was proclaimed a German colony in 1884 but apart from a small military post at Sesfontein and a few expeditions led by the geologists Hartman and Kuntz, the explorer Baynes, and Vedder, the missionary, Kaoko was left alone. After World War I, in terms of the treaty of Versailles, South West Africa became a C-mandated territory entrusted to the Union of South Africa. Kaoko was declared a reserve for four "chiefs", including Vita who had recently returned from Angola (Van Warmelo 1951).

After 1920 there was a gradual influx of Herero-speakers from the southern reserves to relatives in Kaoko. A police post was established in 1925 at Swartbooisdrift on the Kunene river, to control livestock movements across the border. It was later abandoned and a Native Commissioner was stationed at Otjitundua. In 1928 Kaoko was proclaimed a game reserve area in addition to being a reserve for the various chiefs, and in 1939 the commissioner's office was moved to Opuwo, a Herero word which means finished or no more. Local people claim the town was so-named by the people to mark the limits of what they were prepared to concede to the white man; the use of a small town and no more. Kaoko's first mission, including a small school and hospital, was established in 1954 at Orumana (Malan and Owen-Smith 1974).

Thus Kaoko had no direct Western influence until well into the 20th century. It was not till the mid 1960s that schools and medical facilities started being accepted, the latter more readily than the former, and with trading stores being introduced into remote areas, Kaokolanders began joining the cash economy (Ibid).

In 1962 the infamous Odendaal Commission was set up by the South African Government. Its brief, among other things, was to propose means whereby the indigenous people could 'develop' more rapidly. Odendaal proposed a patchwork of homelands where each so-called ethnic group could progress towards what the South African Government called self-determination in their own areas. In spite of considerable national and international controversy and criticism, Odendaal's report was adopted in 1964.

2.1 KAOKA: 1970 - 1990s

Kaoko was deproclaimed as a game reserve in 1970 and became a homeland for about 13 000 people, most of them cattle-owning Herero-speaking pastoralists and agropastoralists. At that time most of the estimated 5 000 Kaokolanders who called themselves Himba resided mainly in the area north of the Hoarusib River (Malan 1974), but in the past decades a number of Himba families have moved south. At least one prominent Himba lineage, that of Kapue, lived south of the Hoarusib in the middle of this century.

Until the 1980s only a handful of Himba children ever went to school and the relatively few travellers to Kaoko were impressed by the self-sufficiency of these mobile people whose vast herds of wide-horned cattle provided a milk staple, with smaller herds of goats and sheep being kept for meat. A 1972 survey by the Department of Agriculture put Kaoko's cattle at more than 160 000. Malan estimated that with an average of 12 head of cattle per person, or about 62 for each family of five, in addition to smallstock, the Herero and Himba were among the richest Bantu-speaking pastoralists in Africa (1974).

This cannot be totally attributed to the Kaoko people's herding skills. Stock numbers increased in part because of an ill-conceived borehole drilling programme started by the government in the 1960s. The effects of this programme with the eventual disastrous ecological consequences during the drought in the late 1970s are discussed in the next chapter which examines the socio-ecology of Kaoko.

Between 1979 and 1982, war and the worst drought on record devastated Kaoko. Owen-Smith (pers.comm) has estimated that between 80 and 90 percent of the domestic stock in Kaoko starved to death around then-barren permanent springs in the early 1980s. At about the same time SWAPO (South West African Peoples' Organization), in conflict with the South African Defence Force since 1966, opened a western front into Kaoko. Himba families in the north began moving south and west to avoid becoming embroiled in the guerrilla war.

In those days Kaokolanders felt under onslaught from both sides: A man who led his family south to avoid the war-zone explained in 1986: "We Himba sit in the middle. Swapo comes in the night

and demands our cattle and goats for meat. If we do not agree we will be killed. Then later comes the (SA) army and they are angry and wish to punish us because we gave Swapo meat."

The Himba were thrown into close contact with the SADF in the final year of the drought as cattle died by the tens of thousands. Destitute, thousands of herders moved into the emergency feeding camps set up by the government, the army, Red Cross International and local service organizations.

First wage-earners

Although the majority of people left the camps when the drought broke in 1982 to attempt to rebuild their herding economy, hundreds stayed encamped around Opuwo, the main army base and administrative centre of Kaoko. Young men began joining the army as an alternative to their parent's collapsed subsistence economy, the first generation of Himba wage-earners. Until the SADF's withdrawal in 1989, it was the major employer in Kaoko. Several hundred local Himba and Herero men, used to army wages of around R700 a month, have had to be reabsorbed into Kaoko's largely subsistence economy.

Other major post-1970s influences on Kaoko include the formalization of a headman system as part of South Africa's policy of a centralized ethnic authority for each 'homeland' in Namibia. Although Malan argued in 1974 that this form of institutionalized leadership did not impinge to any large extent on the autonomy of lineages, I contend that by the 1980s the headman's role and influence in his community generally exceeded his early mainly socio-judicial function in that he was called on to represent his people in relation to the State. This could involve, for example, being asked by the regional authorities to rubber stamp an application for a tourism concession on land used in his area, (eg. Schoeman's Skeleton Coast Fly-In safaris concession in the Purros area; Ongongo concession to Desert Adventure Safaris in the Warmquelle area). In effect the system was - and is - having considerable impact on social and hierarchical relations within and between lineages.

Western-type schooling became acceptable to Herero parents in the 1970s and 1980s, with smaller numbers of Himba children trickling to school in the 1980s. At this time, for the first time in Kaoko, Christianity seemed to be gaining some ground. This did not involve large-scale adult conversion, but children at school were exposed to Christianity as part of the 'modern, progressive' curriculum offered at Namibia's mostly conservative rural schools. The negative impact of eurocentric education on Kaoko family life is elucidated in following chapters.

As 4x4 vehicles became easily accessible in the 1970s and 1980s so remote Kaoko opened up to tourism. By 1990 hundreds of tourists were visiting Kaoko each year, camping at permanent springs and making contact with local people. The ochre-smearred, calf-skin clad Himba people became one of the attractions for tourists on photo-safaris.

That the Himba had some insights into the motivation behind this attention was evidenced in several ways: In 1989 a group of women at Purros started a Himba doll 'industry', fashioning pieces of ochred cloth and goatskin into tiny replicas of Himba women. These were sold to tourists. Around the

same time a series of subtly ironic and self-aware Himba-style 'jokes' about tourists arose: For example, one dealt with the fact that many tourists wanted to photograph 'real' Himba and were disconcerted to discover that most Himba men wore a T-shirt or some other form of Western apparel. Kaokolanders understood perfectly well that Western clothing contradicted the tourist stereotype of 'a real Himba'. It was a source of much amusement that even when a Himba man obligingly took off his shirt for a tourist's camera, he was still duping the tourist: He still wasn't a real Himba because, chances were, he was wearing Western-style underpants under his black *erapi* (skirt)!

African craft and curio dealers also 'discovered' Kaoko in the 1980s and Himba jewellery, apparel and baskets became popular commodities to buy for cash or exchange for tobacco, food or other goods. Some dealers sought 'authentic' goods: Prized 'finds' included the ceremonial *ondikwa* - ornate leather baby carriers, decorated with cowrie shells and beads (Fig.2.1), and the leather bridal *ekori* (Fig.2.2). These items are passed from mother to daughter and some of those sold for a tenth of their commercial value were up to five generations old (see Jacobsohn 1990:35). Some dealers gave away bottles of alcohol at each *onganda* visited and goods were bought when the owner was inebriated. Often people deeply regretted the loss of such an object later. In 1990 the late Headman Vetamuna of Etanga ruled that no-one should sell items that were still in use, but it is a ruling that is not enforced, or enforceable.

Post-independence alcohol-sellers have been quick to use similar sales techniques in Kaoko. A few bottles of commercially manufactured wine or spirits are sold at low prices, or given away at an *onganda*. In the three-day binge that follows, the seller soon runs out of the former, and easily sells large quantities of dubious home-made liqueur, making great profits in the process.

It is not only ceremonial items of material culture which mediate social relations and are implicated in Kaoko systems of signification. Ordinary and banal utensils such as milk containers in every day use play active social roles in gender and other relations, for example. But for nomads, whose material culture must be totally portable, it may be arguable that certain material items may be more explicitly portent with social energy than others. The abrupt disappearance of such ritual objects (into a dealer's truck) can therefore have a profound impact on social practice and relations. It is suggested that women and matrilineal clans, in particular, are being affected by the dealer trade because items which are passed from mother to daughter such as the ceremonial *ozondikwa* and the bridal *ekori* are highly sought after by dealers. These material objects are particularly important in signifying and maintaining links between related women who are usually geographically separated after marriage.

Another new external influence which made itself felt in the 1980s was nature 'conservation', as conceptualized by Westerners. Before the 1979-82 drought, little large-scale hunting of wildlife was done by pastoralist Kaokolanders and in any case, Kaoko was not regarded as a priority conservation area by the authorities. The proclamation of the Skeleton Coast Park in 1975 sliced off a 50km wide and 600km long strip of land from Kaoko, but as this coastal zone is desert with less than 50mm annual rainfall, it did not at first appear to be a major loss to herders. Conflict with nature conservation officials arose during the drought when, as was the norm during cyclical pasture scarcity, Kaokolanders drove

their starving cattle into the 'park' for them to use the vegetation in the dry river beds of the Hoarusib and Hoanib (Waravi pers.comm.; Loutit pers.comm.; Jacobsohn 1991)

During the 1980s Kaoko became the focus of non-government conservation organizations and, later, government conservationists because of its desert-adapted wildlife including elephant and black rhino in a rugged, starkly beautiful setting. Anti-poaching laws were enforced for the first time, and a community-based conservation programme was set up. (Owen-Smith 1984; Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn 1988; Jacobsohn 1993; Hitchcock 1993). Social and material implications are explored in following chapters.

As the cash economy gained ground in the 1980s, mass produced goods became more readily available, and by the late 80s even the most remote Kaokolanders owned blankets, cooking pots and other utensils such as tins, plastic mugs, spoons and knives. Most Himba men owned one or more shirts and a jacket or coat of some kind. T-shirts, already in general use by the mid 1980s became ubiquitous during the general election campaign in 1989. Political parties, in particular the DTA Party, gave out hundreds of such shirts in Kaoko.

The 1989 general election in Namibia had reverberations in Kaoko as the United Nations Task Group (UNTAG) went to great lengths to register all Namibians, including those in the most distant and inaccessible areas. This exercise was followed (or as often, preceded) by canvassing of votes by various gift-bearing parties, and finally, the election with its mobile polling booths. For a majority in Kaoko, this was their first experience of the democratic election process. During 1989 and 1990 hundreds of journalists visited Namibia to cover the independence process and a number of these found their way to Kaoko. As a result, the Himba people became the subject of scores of television features and magazine articles throughout the world.

2.3 SOCIAL STRUCTURE

While the world press has sought romantic Africa in the Himba, academic interest in the Herero-speaking people of southern Angola, Namibia and Botswana has generally focused on their semi-nomadic lifestyle as the most exclusively pastoral people of all the Bantu-language speakers in southern west Africa, their relatively unusual system of double descent which produces co-existing dual lineages and their non-centralized political system (see Vedder 1928; Luttig 1934; Van Warmelo 1951; Wagner 1952; Gibson 1956, 1962; Estermann 1961; Malan 1973, 1974; Kuvare 1977; Steyn 1977). In 1974 Malan and Owen-Smith published a pioneering ethnobotanical study which attempted to use Kaokolanders' own taxonomic categories. More recently Crandall (1991) examined the importance of the Himba patrilineage.

Only six double descent systems whereby unilineal descent is reckoned through both parents, are known: West Africa; adjacent parts of Namibia and Angola, India, Australia, Melanesia and Polynesia (Murdock 1940). All Kaokolanders thus belong to a uterine kin group called *eanda* (pl. *omaanda*), the matrilineage, and to an agnatic grouping, the *oruzo* (pl. *otuzo*), the patrilineage. These clans

have different functions: Although the patriclan has a direct and continuous influence on an individual's religious and day to day life with the basic residential unit usually being the extended patrilineage, Kaoko people claim the matriclean carries most social "weight". The term *omuhoko*, meaning related, is used only for matrilineal kin. Most movable property including stock (but not the sacred cattle which are the property of the patrilineage) is controlled and inherited through the matrilineages.

Crandall (1991) has challenged that the *eanda* is regarded as more important than *oruzo*: He makes a strong, if somewhat androcentric case for the importance of the patriclan. His model, based on his several months work in the north-east of Kaoko, is evaluated against data generated in the more westerly community of Purros in Chapter 5. A conclusion is that in both areas sets of data exist which represent Kaoko male cultural notions about the world and about gender relations; neither present a realistic picture of actual daily life.

Matriclans and patriclans

All Himba and Herero are born into one of seven matricleans, each of which shares a common origin through a single female ancestor whose daughters and grand-daughters founded the matricleans. In fact, membership of all but one of these *omaanda* extends far beyond the Herero and Himba and neatly illustrates how classifying people according to one particularly visible ~'tribal' (or 'ethnic' or 'cultural') boundary can obscure as much social information as it apparently reveals.

Most of the Herero-speaking groups and some non-Herero speakers in Namibia, north western Botswana and southern Angola share various degrees of matrilineal kinships, through the matricleans. These groups, many of whom have their own Herero dialect and distinctive material culture (hair-styles; clothing and body decorations; domestic architecture), include the Mbandero, Zemba or Ndimba, Hakahona, Thwa, Tjavikwa and Tjimba. Matrilineally related non-Herero speakers include members of the Ovambo, Ngambwe, Tjimbundu, Kuvare, Ngumbi and Sele (Malan 1973, 1974).

Within the matricleans there are lineages, comprising people who recognize exact genealogical relationships with one another, usually spanning five generations. Because a woman usually, but not always, goes to reside at her husband's home (with his father) after marriage, members of matrilineages do not generally live together. In Kaoko with its vast distances between water holes and related pasture, this means kin can be widely dispersed, meeting only occasionally. Material culture can be shown to be implicated in a silent but highly visible discourse between matrilineage members: grandmothers, mothers and daughters; mothers and sons; sisters and brothers.

The 20 patriclans and in particular, their lineages of extended patrilineal families, have much greater daily impact on people's lives and the basic residential unit is the patrilineal extended family. The patriclans have no tradition of a common origin for all, but like the matricleans, no one patriclan is ranked above the others. This excludes a hereditary leadership position through either matriclean or patriclan and Kaoko has no known tradition of a centralized political authority or hereditary chieftainship. Each of the various lineages in the patriclans are autonomous with family authority in the

hands of the hands of the lineage head. This type of social organization is changing , however, with increasing centralized and regional administrative and political control.

Each patriline traces its founding to a long-dead ancestor who, it is believed, imposed various prohibitions or rules on his kin, according to gender and age groupings. These mainly involve the different colorations and horn configurations of cattle, smallstock and sometimes even dogs of a specific colour, that may or may not be owned, as well as dietary taboos. Some clans specify the direction a calf enclosure and house should face and where ash from sacred and domestic fires should be discarded.

No group functions are performed at patriline level: the functioning segments are the lineages. Each patrilineage is reckoned over about five generations, with the eldest two represented by one deceased male each. Although dead, the two men are believed to still play an active role in the welfare of their kin. Rights to resources such as water and grazing are acquired nowadays through the patriline which means patrilineages are associated with specific geographical areas.

The sacred fire

At the heart of most Kaoko families' lives, even today, is the *okuruwo* (sacred fire), at which the lineage head, the senior man in the third of the lineage's recognized generations, officiates. He uses the *okuruwo* to attract the attention of his late father and grandfather, and may ask them to approach the creator, Ndjambi Karunga, on his behalf, or he may ask the advice of his ancestors. Thus most people do not see themselves as worshipping their ancestors who are merely being respectfully asked to assume the role of divine messenger. Slightly different versions of who the creator is occur across Kaoko. Some people believe the first ancestor, called Mukuru is Njambi Karunga; others believe they are two separate entities.

The sacred fire is moved from camp to camp by the semi-nomadic herders and the ancestors are called to participate in or bear witness to all important family events, from birth; the baby-naming ceremony; the changing of hairstyle and body decorations as a child moves up through the various age-stages; male circumcision; marriage and death. A daily milk-tasting ceremony at the sacred fire witnessed and described by J. Irlie more than 85 years ago is still being performed in western Kaoko today (Irlie 1906; Jacobsohn 1986).

Other researchers who have discussed the ritual life of the Himba (including Malan, Steyn and most recently, Crandall) assert that men conduct rituals and ceremonies, with women playing little role. My data, as will be shown in subsequent chapters, presents a somewhat different picture. This pertains not only in the study area, but further north-east in settlements such as Etanga where considerable women-led dancing took place in the late 1980s into the 1990s.

Sacred cattle, another pillar of Kaokolanders' religious beliefs, play less of a role today compared to just a decade ago. This is because most patrilineages lost all or most of their sacred cattle, along with their matrilineal herds, in the 1979-82 drought. Many families are, however, rebuilding sacred herds. There are two types of sacred cattle and up to 36 named categories.

Age-sets

An institution that has been damaged, irreparably, according to some Kaokolanders, by the cattle poverty are age-sets or *oviwondo* (sing. *otjiwondo*). Almost all adult men and women still belong to *oviwondo*, but cattle and small-stock exchanging parties which were their lifeblood, had ceased in the study area after 1981 as few people could afford to give away stock. The demise of age-set activities has had far reaching effects on social relationships including gender relations, relations between wife and husband (Jacobsohn 1990:21; 1991) and, importantly, between age-groups. These are discussed in chapters 4 and 6.

2.4 LOCAL HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

While the west with its unreliable and low rainfall (<50mm) is adequate for semi-nomadic smallstock farming, it is marginal for cattle (Owen-Smith 1984) and presumably would not be an area of first choice for cattle herders migrating from elsewhere. We should look beyond the old migration model for alternative histories of the people whose roots are deep in western Kaoko. The following Himba and Herero perspectives are not tidy or comprehensive chronological accounts in the manner of the Western historians quoted previously, but this does not invalidate them.

Oral histories recounted today in western Kaoko have a strong common thread: Each of the accounts I have recorded agree that goats, sheep and later, cattle, came "from the north" from a variety of sources, but that the people who acquired this stock, thus changing from a hunting and gathering mode of subsistence to one of pastoralism, were already in western Kaoko when this major socio-economic shift took place. Transcripts that follow are the views of people who live in arid western Kaoko, and may not necessarily reflect the beliefs of the Himba people in the more populous, higher rainfall northern highlands about their own history. The perspective presented here is local, applying only to the sparse human population (less than 1 000 people) on the western pro-Namib plains.

A dominant account claims that people who were already living in western Kaoko, as hunter-gatherers, without stock, acquired small stock from the Ovambo people in the north-east. Cattle were acquired later as a gift from the ancestors (see Jacobsohn 1990:22-25). Some of the same informants assert that these west Kaoko residents were not the original inhabitants and that Tjimba hunter-gatherers, who were black-skinned (unlike the yellow-skinned "Bushman" about whom my informants knew), lived in the mountains.

"The old people told us the Tjimba were already in this land when my ancestors came. Then the Tjimba spoke a different language; today they have learned ours." Venomeho, lineage head (1987)

It is possible, given the social ranking that exists among western Kaokolanders - the belief that herders are more 'civilized' than hunter-gatherers - that people are deliberately obfuscating any links they may have with the mildly despised Tjimba. Two women in the community which took part in this

study grew up as hunter-gatherers, yet other people, explicitly recognized by the community as Himba rather than Tjimba could recall living with little or no stock.

One very old woman, estimated to be more than 80, gave me a complete and coherent account of the type of material culture in use during her youth (60-70 years ago). People had no stock then, she said, and dassie skins were worn. Ostrich eggshell beads were also sewn together to form skirts. People regularly visited the coast to exploit limpets and other marine foods including sea urchins. "But now," she said, "we have turned around and no longer eat sea food" (Kovikwa pers.comm). Another woman described a limpet shell I found in a camp that was abandoned about 30 years ago, as the "spoon of the Himba".

In spite of the fact that members of her own family recall surviving without stock in the past, Purros matriarch Vengape Tjinigire reflects her community's attitude to the Tjimba in the following account: "Once, when I was still a child I saw some Tjimba people. It was terrible: they did not wear proper clothes made from calf or sheep skins, just some white, dried up wild animal skins." (To keep this in perspective, it should also be noted that Vengape is a close friend of one of the so-called Tjimba women.)

Another Himba woman dismissed the Tjimba as "wild" people: "They don't have proper homesteads (*ozonganda*) or even houses (*ozondjuwo*); they just sleep and eat there where they have killed an animal." That Kaoko people believe there is more to being a herder than owning stock will be explored in later chapters.

It is significant that in all of these various accounts the Tjimba people are definitely seen as black-skinned people, and explicitly differentiated from the yellow-skinned Bushman or ovaKwena (translated as Nama or Hottentot). Today among the western Himba, brown skin is preferred to black skin. A mother will say of a child: "When she was born her skin was very black but luckily she turned brown."

The Himba practice of removing two bottom front teeth and filing the upper two to form an inverted V is done, according to most informants, to distinguish the Himba from both Damara and Ovambo people. This practice was common till this decade and is only just starting to be dropped by a younger generation.

The above apparent pre-occupation with skin colour and ethnicity does not reflect my area of interest: These are the sorts of issues discussed spontaneously by the people when general questions about the past arose.

Nama raids

What complicates these fragments of oral histories and ethno-identifications are the Nama raids between 1850 and the end of the century which forced herding people to become hunter-gatherers to survive while others fled to Angola. It is possible that people today are recalling the era after the raids when people lived by hunting and foraging for a few generations, until Vita led his cattle-rich followers back into Kaoko. According to local accounts and Malan (1974), these so-called Tjimba-Herero re-

acquired stock by attaching themselves to returning lineages to which they could claim kinship - and cattle.

However, western Kaokolanders are adamant that they are not confusing the re-establishment of a herding economy in Kaoko in this century with the original beginnings of pastoralism in the area. Informants pointed out that a robust body of oral accounts of the Nama raids and aftermath exist and that several people are still alive today who experienced that aftermath.

A few of the very old residents of western Kaoko who were born around the turn of the century, remember the aftermath of this 'war', as it is called, and family tales of bravery and suffering are still told.

For Omukuyu, the oldest lineage head at Purros during the study, the loss of his lineage's cattle late last century meant the end of wealth and status for his family. He believed, having been told so by his father and grandfather, that before the Nama raids people lived well in the west and that although some people were richer than others, everyone had enough cattle to survive.

"Before the war the people here had lots of cattle. Then came the Ovambo and the Ovakwena (Nama). They took the cattle. Our people had to chew old skins. Clever people ran away and took some of their stock. The stupid stayed here and lost all. So now only some of us have cattle. From that day we have struggled. Many people lived off the few cows that were left. People had to eat grass seeds, skins and honey. It is only now that cattle are becoming green again. Goats too. The old days were good. There were no very rich people or very poor people". Omukuyu 1989. (The old man is consciously or unconsciously conflating the cattle raiding of the previous century with the cattle raiding that occurred during the independence war.)

Omukuyu's use of the word green in this context draws on a local metaphor which evokes the rebirth or growth of grasses, bushes and trees that occurs in the arid and semi-arid pro Namib plains after rain). Metonyms for green are fat/wet/plentiful/living/young/vigorous (*nona/tarazu/takavara*).

For this old man, and for other surviving men and women of his generation, the events of last century are more important than anything that has happened this century, including the arrival of white people: "It's true the whites brought new things. In the old times you only needed milk so you waited only for rain. Now our food comes from whites. You have to wait for them; they could come any time. The bad times came when we lost our cattle, not with the white man" (Ibid). In saying that food comes from whites, Omukuyu was referring in part to the old-age pensions then paid to the elderly every two months by white government officials as well as to handouts from tourists and other visitors.

Omukuyu speaks for his generation when he expressed his confusion about the headman system: "I don't know this new way of choosing a headman. Before you did not have to choose someone. If a man was rich (with cattle), he was the headman and he gave food to those who needed. People put up with some badness from him because he fed you, but if he behaved too badly you looked for a another rich man to live near. So this choosing and voting is a new thing."

Kazetaura Tjiningire, a lineage head from Orupembe, north of Purros, is named after his father Kazertupuka. The names means: 'They stood and fought' and 'They did not run away'. According to

Kazetaura the names are rooted in events during the Nama raids. His father, a boy at the time, stood alongside the other men in this lineage and fought off the raiders, thus saving some of their cattle.

Kovikwa, the oldest woman at Purros, still cautions people not to make their cooking fires too big. If the flames are too high, she warns, the Ovakwena (Nama) will see them and ride in on their horses to steal your cattle.

Evidence that local oral histories extend well beyond events of the last 100 years can be found in the stories about the origins of the seven matriclans of the Himba and Herero people. One of the original clans is the *omukwandongo*, named after the daughter-in-law of the (digging) stick. The tale about how this clan was founded (see Malan 1973; Jacobsohn 1990:41-43) emphasizes the importance of plant food gathering and in fact, it is notable that only one of the seven main matriclan origin stories involves domestic stock. Apart from subclans within the *omukwendata* (daughter-in-law of the mud) matriclan, neither cattle nor smallstock are mentioned in the other six matriclan origin stories.

It could be argued that this is because these tales reflect women's perspectives, but although women do not usually herd cattle in Kaoko, they own small numbers of them, milk them, wear their skins and to a large extent (more so in the past than today) control the smallstock. Cattle are, however, a feature in the founding story of the *omukuruvara* sub-clan (the lion people), a sub-clan that almost certainly originated in the west, relatively recently, in the last 100 years during the Nama raids (Jacobsohn 1990:42).

Hunters to herders

Western Kaokolanders are very conscious of the problems encountered by hunter-gatherers attempting to become herders. For example, an account of how a particular man and his relatives killed and ate the sheep and goats given to him as bridewealth by his daughter's groom was told to me with a mixture of contempt and amusement by several different people.

Men also have an explanation for how some Tjimba learnt to become herders: They explain that when a Tjimba was given domestic stock his relatives would expect him to slaughter it to share the meat. However, if he could claim that the stock did not belong to him and that he was working for a Himba herder, his relatives could not expect him to kill stock that was not his. He would be able to share out milk. Later the man would be given a calf or two for his services but he would not mention this to his relatives, who in any case, had grown used to the milk provided by cattle. In this way, a herd could slowly be acquired.

Smith (1992) points out how the Tswana system of recruiting Basarwa as stockmen in western Botswana has frequently resulted in a form of indentured labour: For his labour the herdsman will be offered the use of the milk and a few animals. But in reality, because of stock-losses to large predators, the worker ends up owing the owner stock.

Among Caprivi people in north-eastern Namibia, the practice of acquiring cattle by working for a stockowner is known as *mafisa*. This involves loaning cattle to people willing to move with them to grazing areas. Payment is effected in the form of the use of milk and some of the calves born during

this period, usually half. Oxen may also be rented out for ploughing. Caprivian informants claim that *mafisa* has long been used by poor people and Bushman hunter/gatherers to acquire stock.

Field research in 1992 suggested that the tradition of *mafisa* was being undermined by the availability of impoverished Zambians from across the border, prepared to work for a cash payment of about R60 per month (Naeraa et al 1992).

Kaoko informants emphasized that stock alone could not make a herder: Ownership of cattle is not vested in individuals. A man holds sacred cattle in trust for his patrilineage; the ordinary or secular herd is the property of the matrilineage. Matrilineal inheritance is seen as the main mechanism for acquiring stock and although informants said it was possible for women from outside the matriclan grouping to marry a Himba man, in practice, such a union could raise a number of serious problems, even if as Malan (1973) suggests, matriclan membership was conferred on an individual. Being adopted into a matriclan did not mean automatic acceptance into a matrilineage, and in any case, the adult was likely to have missed out on the web of matri-kin stock obligations into which a child is incorporated at birth. A specific case study of a Himba-Damara marriage which resulted in the breaking down of a lineage and the dissipation of vast cattle herds is discussed in the next chapter.

Hair fashions

Kaoko people drop enigmatic 'clues' about their social history and changing material culture. The Himba are perceived as the most 'traditional' of Namibia's people, yet many of the apparent material icons of traditionality can be shown have been adopted relatively recently by the people.

Many adult men told me Himba men did not always wear their hair covered. They used to have braided hair the same as woman, just a bit shorter. "Then our old people saw the ovaNgambwe and decided to turn around (*tanauka*). From then on married men covered their heads."

Some evidence exists that this new hair styling occurred this century: A number of senior men and women recall their own fathers "changing over" (*tanauka*), from braided, chin length hair and a barehead to the rolled *ondumbo* style, which is the norm for married men. This involves styling the hair into a roll along the top of the head and covering it with a piece of soft leather tied at the back of the neck. Unless in mourning, a married man should not be seen in public without his head covered. Black cloth was in more general use than leather by the 1980s. By the 1990s western-style hats and caps were replacing the *ondumbo*.

Wood carvings and wire beads

People also assert that knives only became readily available in the west in the last 30 years: "In the past we only had palm baskets (today woven by women) for milk and water; there were no pots or tins and men did not make wooden milk pails (*ehoro*) because we had no axes to cut down trees and no sharp knives to carve the pails. We also used to use stones for pillows; the *ongwinyu* (a carved wooden

neck rest) is new. At first, because the knives were few, no-one decorated the *ongwinyu*: it is difficult to carve patterns in wood with a stone (quartz flake). So the *ozongwinyu* were plain." (Venomeho 1988.)

Today, when most men and youths own a pocket knife or at least a commercially-made knife blade hafted into a homemade, wooden handle, many different patterns are carved onto *ozongwinyu*. The range of patterns is diverse and the role of the *ongwinyu* in social relations between different generations and the socially strategic role of containers are discussed in later chapters.

The wire beads used extensively in Himba adornments, today the marker of 'traditional' Himba decorations, are also relatively recent imports. Men and women used to wear necklaces, arm and leg bands made of wood and woven palm fronds, as well items of shell and ostrich eggshell. For some families the change-over to wire beads was sufficiently recent to recall. "The Ovambos came and mocked us because we had nothing fine like the wire beads. My father gave a cow for beads for my mother to wear." (Himba man, recalling events that occurred an estimated 30 years ago.)

Generally older people are ambivalent about the modernization taking place around them. They recognize the convenience of mass-produced goods, particularly containers, but also see their social structures breaking down.

"In the old days it was women's work to weave baskets and look for food in the bush. Men brought honey home. We put it in a wooden bowl (*omutung*). We had no wire, only palms. Children went out with the goats every day. When they brought them home, they got food from their mother's hearth. Now the children leave the goats for the jackals and run to the tourists for sweets." (Tukupoli 1989.)



Figure 3.1. Watering stock from a hole dug in a dry river bed.

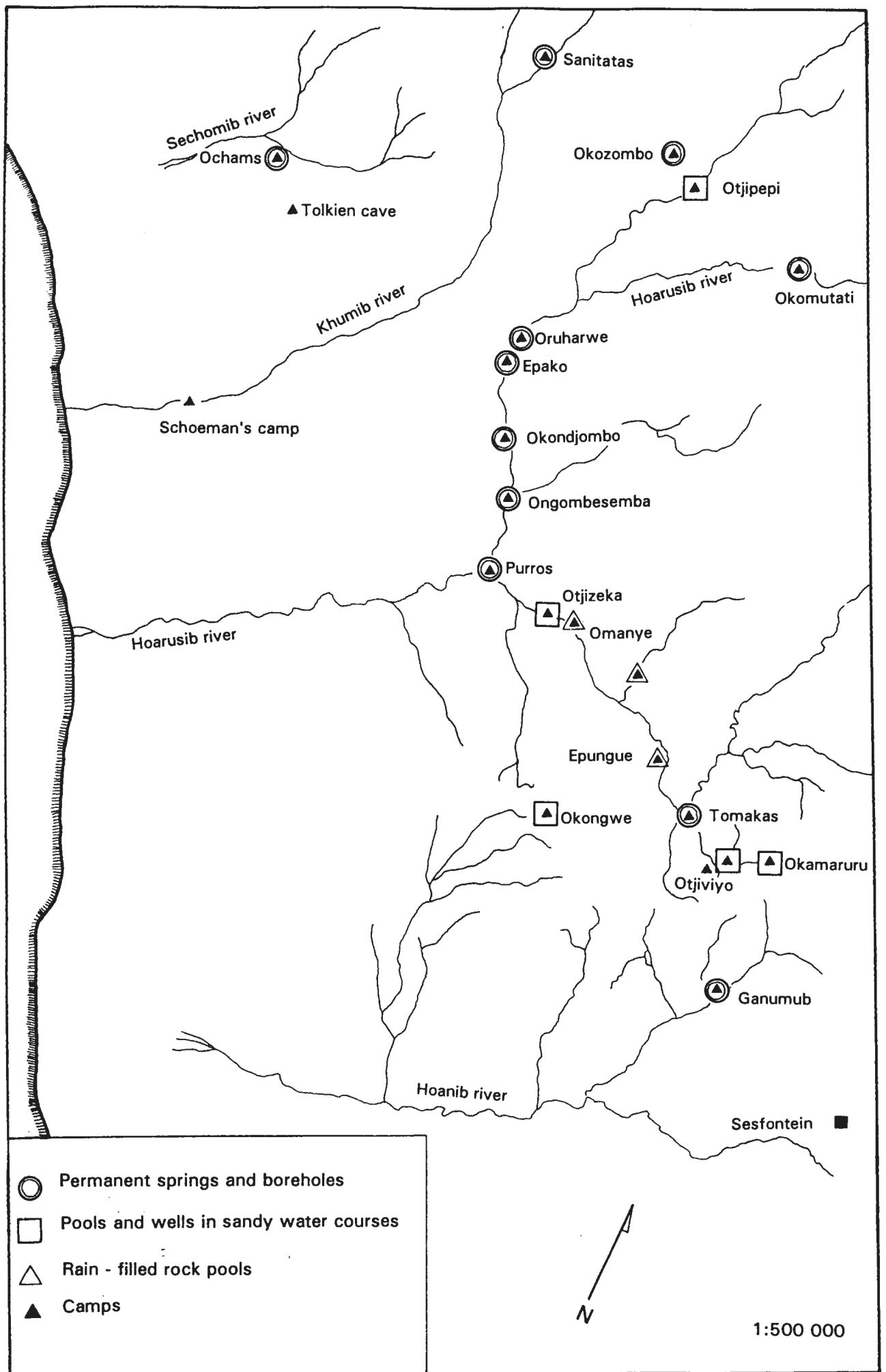


Figure 3.2. Main area used by the seven lineages, showing permanent springs, boreholes, seasonal

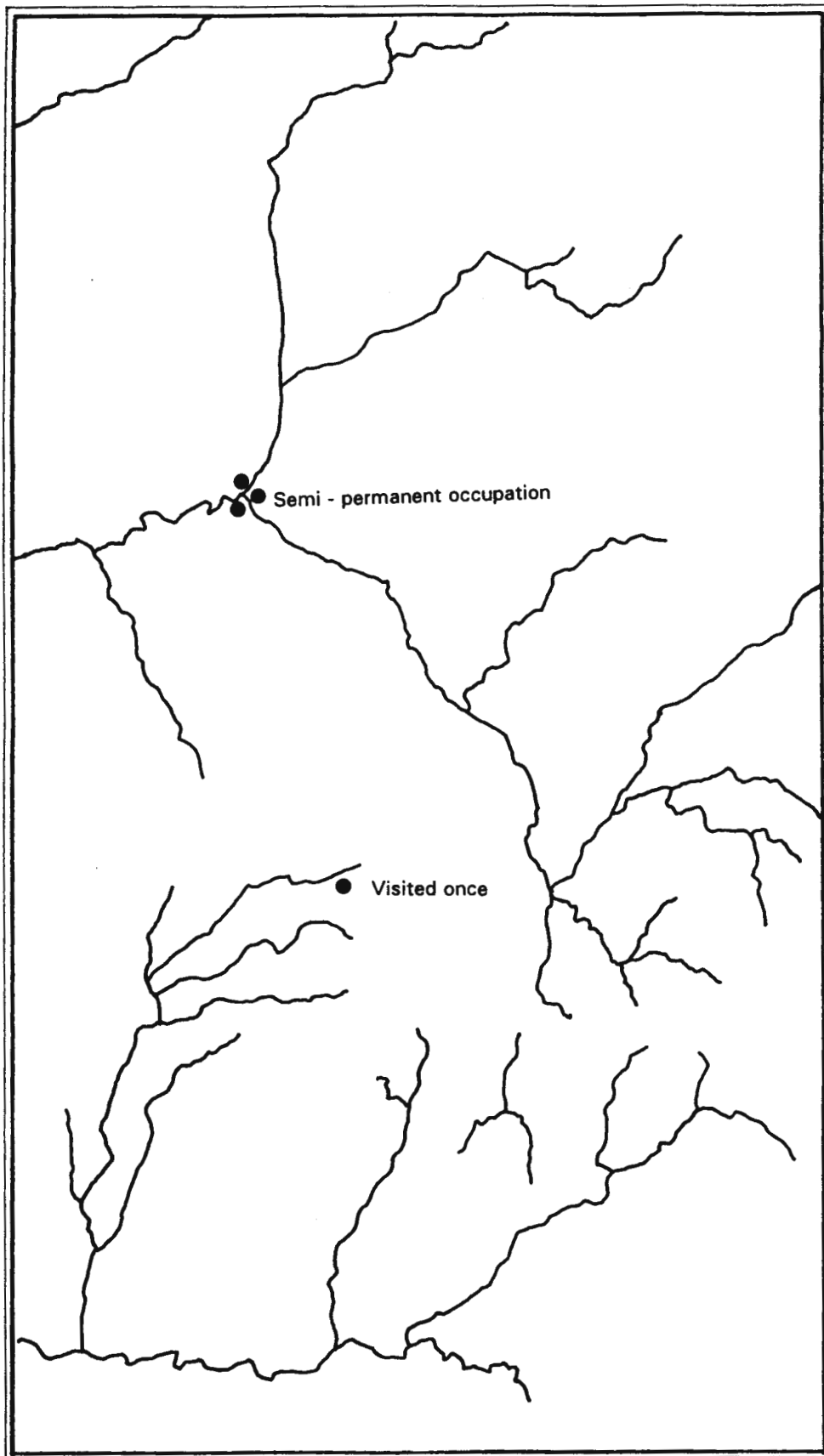


Figure 3.3. Camps used by Lineage 1 in five years.

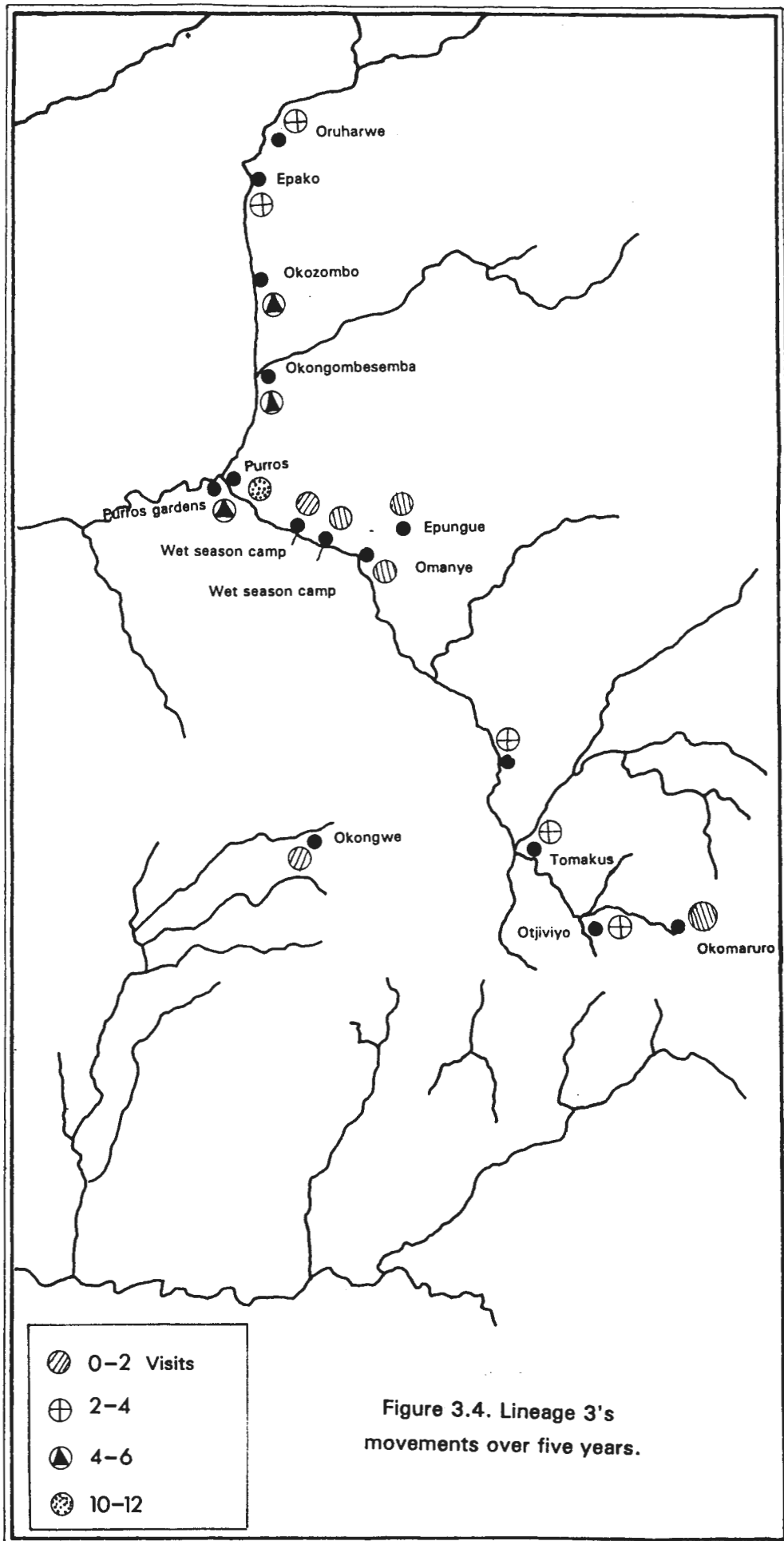


Figure 3.4. Lineage 3's movements over five years.

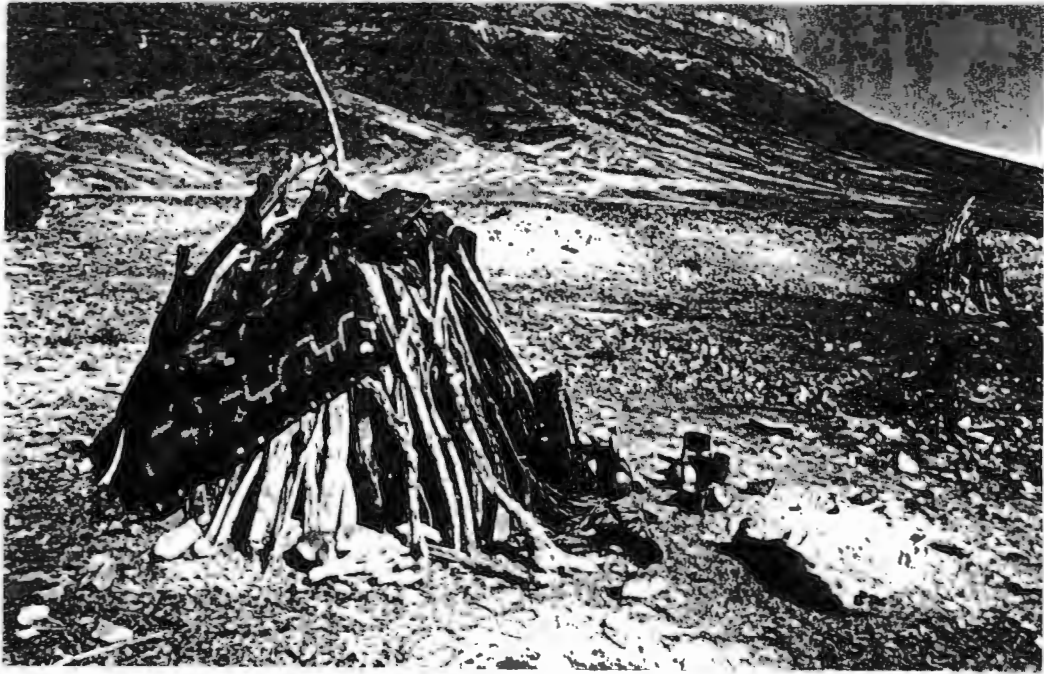


Figure 3.5. Above, a lineage 4 camp on a rocky slope above the Hoarusib River, showing the unusually constructed shelters. Below is a more typical homestead in the same area in use by Lineage 3 and Herero visitors.

CHAPTER 3: BEYOND BUILT SPACE: SOCIO-SPATIAL GEOGRAPHY OF WESTERN KAOKO:

Don't start your farming with cattle; start it with people - old Himba/Herero proverb.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

THIS chapter draws together social, symbolic, spatial and economic data to form a picture of daily and seasonal life that would be recognizable to the people of western Kaoko.

Pastoral nomadism takes place within a wide range of different social, political and economic contexts. In spite of these differences, common features exist whether one is discussing the Maasai of Kenya, the Qashqa'i of southwestern Iran, the Bharvad in western India or the Himba of northern Namibia. Perhaps most notable is that pastoralist nomads or semi-nomads have shown themselves to be remarkably resilient as cultural groupings or socio-economic entities. This has been so in the face of overwhelming pressure, including war, appropriation of land, government sedentarization programmes and more insidiously, in sub-Saharan Africa in particular, Western philosophical and technological intervention in the guise of ~'development and aid'.

Pastoral nomads have survived into modern times because they have evolved socio-ecological relations that are responsive to the arid and semi-arid terrains they usually inhabit. The key word here is socio: As the old Himba/Herero proverb quoted at the start of this chapter tacitly recognized, it is the social organization of nomads that has enabled them to turn marginal zones to economic advantage. Spooner (1984) argues, nomadism as a way of life is rarely explicable simply as ecological adaptation; it involves ways of thinking about space and people that may be unique to nomads. Useful concepts here are Bourdieu's 'habitus'(1977) and Giddens' duality of structure (1984).

Barfield writes: "We find pastoralists who also farm, trade, work as soldiers, smuggle, or drive trucks ... In general, nomadic pastoral societies are those in which animal husbandry is viewed as an ideal way of making a living and in which movement of all or part of the society is considered a normal and natural part of life. This cultural aspect is vitally important, for while economic analysis of some groups may show that they earn more from non-pastoral sources, the concept of nomadic pastoralism remains central to their own identities. These societies are built around a pastoral economic specialization, but imbued with values far beyond just doing a job" (1984:2).

The people of Kaoko display this "cultural aspect" whereby the concept of nomadic pastoralism is central to their identity. As Spooner recognized, "nomadism forges an intimacy and commitment between the family and the range that is probably unattainable by any other means." He also identified nomads' knowledge and understanding of their total territory as important both economically and as holding the potential to redefine "society's general conception of nature, the relationship between the total society and its environment" (1984:25).

In his work with East African pastoral societies, Goldschmidt encountered what he called the independence syndrome (1971) Although he explained this "cultural attitude" in functional terms, what he and both Barfield and Spoorer are describing, albeit from different theoretical perspectives and research contexts, is the robust holism of the conceptual schemes through which nomadic herders organize their world. This is not to suggest that pastoral nomads around the world share conceptual schemes; what they do appear to share, given the strong resistance to outside forces for change displayed by many such groups, is a powerful sense of their placement within the social, symbolic, economic *and* physical cosmorama they inhabit. A key requirement for this ethno-archaeological study is thus to broaden the analysis to include space/place as perceived by the people of Kaoko. To understand the Kaoko worldview, this means going beyond built space.

3.2 "TRAVELLING BRINGS TROUBLE"

When I first heard the old Herero-Himba proverb, "Travelling brings trouble", it made me laugh out loud: To me, a sedentary Westerner, struggling with all my camping gear, personal possessions and research paraphernalia to pack up and move camp with Kaoko families, it seemed absurd that semi-nomads, people who shift homes every few months, or even weeks, could say such a thing. On reflection, however, I began to see beyond my overlaid (both literally and figuratively) eurocentric perspective: From a Kaoko herder's stance, relocating a homestead by 50 km or so was not travelling - so long as one stays within one's own landscape, as defined bio-geographically and historically.

As Ingold (1980) has pointed out, socially given premises organize the way in which the environment is exploited. It is also true that our very perceptions about what is or is not 'nature' or 'the environment' are socially constructed. Kaoko people's spatial text is punctuated, literally and figuratively, with places in the landscape which link them with their biographical past and their social and economic future.

This extends further than burial sites: A mountain with an outcrop of quartz is "the place where our fathers acquired stone blades"; a place in a distant dry river bed where in certain years, depending on rain patterns, pits can be dug to reach water, is known as Otjiviyo, recalling an incident in which a cow broke the leg of a male relative, who subsequently died. Indicative of how the Himba feel about their cattle is that the place name derives from the cow's name, not that of the deceased relative. A gorge in the mountains is called Haivikongo, after a lineage head whose herd of sheep drowned there in a flash flood.

As communal rights to resources are mainly descent-based, this historical landscape becomes a map for present and future economic and social relations. It is necessary to include this topographical dimension into any representation of Kaoko social experience before Kaoko's social order can be linked to domestic spatial categories and orientations. To separate these dimensions is, literally, to lose sight of the Kaoko context.

A key aspect of this historical landscape is that it was till recently, and still is in most western areas, managed *communally* by the people of Kaoko. This communal ownership over common property, it is argued, is part of reason for the cultural and economic resilience of Kaoko which is both the most 'traditional' and the most economically independent of Namibia's former ethnic homelands. But as the descent-based authority structures which have jointly managed resources for generations continue to erode, so too will the viability of the local economy. This is partly because young Kaoko people, having received a eurocentric education, are losing their perception of themselves as economically, culturally and spiritually a part of the ecosystem (See Hogg 1983).

As Kaoko communities integrate into the central state economy, it is predicted that they will join the Western world and much of modern (and impoverished) Africa in viewing the natural landscape as a series of unrelated resources to be exploited in order to make money. This changed relationship with the natural environment where humans are alienated (for a variety of different reasons) from natural resources, can be shown historically to be the first step towards the massive environmental degradation visited on the world in the name of development and progress. (Marks 1984; Adams and McShane 1993; Bonner 1993).

Kaoko time

Kaoko perceptions of time also need to be considered. In a sense, the people of the Western industrialized world put themselves at the centre of time with the clock or 24-hour cycle being calibrated around them. There is no equivalent in western Kaoko as people still view themselves as part of the environment, not yet as or at its centre or apex. This does not mean that time is not important in Kaoko; indeed, people navigate and experience socio-economic relations in terms of various overlapping but different forms of time and social divisions of time.

There is genealogical time - all people are members of a matrilineage and a patrilineage which comprises four to five generations. Age-sets, groupings of similarly aged men and women who reached puberty around the same time or within a few years of each other, locate people within their society with relations within the age-set being socially defined, as are relations between age-sets (senior and junior). As individuals, people's lives are demarcated by a series of age-stages, each signified by hairstyle and body adornments.

Kaoko people also experience historical time, with past and future spatially located on a linear and horizontal plane which is opposite to the modern world's spacio-temporal sense. In Kaoko it is logical that the future is behind you, as yet unseen, and the past is in front, in view. To say "*Matu kakaene kombunda*" - I will see you later - thus makes perfect sense even though "*kombunda*" means both a time in the future and a place that is behind you.

On the other hand, the Western saying "Put the past behind you; look to the future", is incomprehensible to a Kaoko person. How can you put your past behind you?, It's happened, you have experienced it and therefore it lies ahead of you where you can see it. Eventually, as more recent pasts happen, the old past will be on the distant horizon, to be seen only by the old people who no longer live

fully in the present. As one views western Kaoko with its vast, flat open plains below the escarpment, this horizontal concept of time and space seems completely rational.

As 'outside' time increasingly penetrates western Kaoko, with its need to demarcate specific days, young men have devised a local 'calendar': a flat piece of wood, about 15 cm long and 6 cm wide, into which a line of seven holes has been punched. The calendar, or 'Himba watch', as local people jokingly called it, is hung on a man's belt with a leather thong. Arrange to meet the man in five days time, and he will place a small stick or roll of leather in the fifth hole, to remind himself. Notably, he will not calculate his days from the hole in the piece of wood, nearest to his body, (eg 1-2-3-4-5- etc as would have made spatial-temporal sense to me), but from the seventh hole (eg 7-6-5 etc) which is furthest from his belt.

These different forms of time and time divisions are all experienced against a backdrop of seasonal or environmental time where the annual possibility of rain forever holds the potential to transform or 'turn round' (*tanauku*) the world. The Kaoko equivalent of 'years' is calculated from one rainy season to the next. Thus the drought of 1979-82, when little or no rain fell for three years, is described as one year - known as "the time when people had to chew their leather clothing". This alludes to the great hunger and suffering experienced by people in that period.

Rain and the season that follows are linked metaphorically to all that is young, green, healthy, fat, wet, growing, fertile, blooming, flourishing, multiplying. At this time of the year people are often able to live in closer proximity to others and weddings and meat feasts are held. After good rains a herder will tell you that times are not bad; his herd is green (*nona*). What he means to convey is that the animals are well-fed, strong, healthy and flourishing (*omasa; takavara; tarazu*).

On the other hand, the late dry season has a range of negative associations. This is the time when fodder for stock is scarce and milk production may drop below daily human needs. Hunger is often experienced by all. Many water holes may have dried up and the landscape is experienced as uncomfortably hot, barren, brown and dusty. Metonyms drawn from life at this time include brown, dried up, dying, old, weak, scarce, barren, thin, ill (*herenga, kaha, kamba*).

Not surprisingly, these qualities of wet and dry are fundamental ways of thinking about the arid western Kaoko world. During a baby-naming ceremony at the sacred fire, a lineage head will ask his ancestors to ensure that the child stays wet (*otjitarazu/outarazu*), meaning healthy and strong. Water itself is often used as a positive symbol: The door and entrance of a new house should be sprinkled with water; A mother approaching the sacred fire for the naming ceremony of her new baby will be preceded by senior women, using mopane branches to flick water onto the ground in her path. Many other ceremonies including male circumcision rites involve this watering of the ground or of utensils. People explain this by saying water washes away a mistake. Even to dream of water means good health.

Fat, made from milk or meat, is metaphorically linked to water. It is used as other societies use water: to clean the body, for example. A lineage head and all men present will rub fat on their hands before they handle an infant at a baby-naming ceremony. They will tell you that this is to make their hands wet; without the fat their hands would be dry, almost like dead hands. Women attending and

assisting with a difficult birth will rub fat onto their hands before touching the mother; a toddler's sore stomach will be rubbed with fat.

Dung, ash and ostrich egg-shell beads are other socially-strategic symbols in Kaoko daily life.

The living and the ancestors

A dominant way in which Kaoko people experience space and time is through the relationship between the living and the ancestors. Senior men and male lineage heads in particular, are associated with the ancestors via control of the sacred fire. Senior women may also be associated with ancestors on occasion, as will be shown. But there is no automatic correlation between wet and the living or dry and the dead, although this can occur, as will be discussed in following chapters. Wet:dry and living:dead are two different, albeit cross-cutting conceptual schemes.

It is important to distance oneself from modern Western concepts of living-dead if one wishes to understand Kaoko perspectives: the deceased ancestors who continue to play a role in the lives of their living relatives are not absent. The potential exists for them to become a force for social good as long as the living re-create, in space and time, the correct conditions for this to happen. This involves male elders leading rituals and ceremonies at the sacred fire; it requires the living to use a particular area of the homestead for daily life, with an equivalent opposite area being left open for the ancestors to sit. All takes place in a landscape to which people and their lineages have biographical links.

Age and gender are the main organizational principles through which these living-dead relations are experienced in daily life, with key institutions including age-sets, marriage and the matriline and the patriline. These will be explored in the next chapter where it will be shown how elder male authority, and to a lesser extent associated senior female authority, are represented in the organization of space and how such representations 'naturalize' the existing social order with symbolic values of the living-dead cultural construction.

A common characteristic of these Kaoko conceptual schemes is that they hold the potential to be transformed - the natural environment by rain or drought and the social environment by events such as death or war. Human agency is believed to be involved in phenomena such as drought. For example, when people sat around a hearth at night talking, an elder would wonder whether the hard times being experienced in the present were perhaps the result of people turning away from "the old ways." Specifically, the elders would complain about the lack of respect (for elders) of some young men.

In some such cases, - death or war, for example - human action is necessary to limit or stop further damage. Key spatial and material relations are literally and figuratively turned around (*tanauku*) in order to do so.

After a death, people sit on the ancestor's side of the homestead; a new widow will turn her *erembe* (leather headwear) and her skin skirts inside out; the central pole in a deceased man's dwelling will be broken; in the past, the tunnel entrance to the house would also be broken open; the rule that a married man's head must always be covered is reversed and men bare their heads, short lengths of

beads are lengthened into long ones; a widow may wear items of her deceased husband's apparel and vice-versa; a woman will show herself in public carrying her late husband's walking stick, something she would never normally do. Ash from the sacred fire will be put in a position opposite to where it normally goes. When death is about, the normal Kaoko handshake, gripping the hand, then the thumb becomes a double hand clasp with wrist's crossed. Just as the rains transform or turn around a suffering landscape and make it flourish once more, so human intervention - via a transposition of aspects of the spatial and material text - can influence the negative and even transform it into the positive.

3.3 SOCIO-ECOLOGY

The aim of this section is to present a generalized picture of the socio-ecology of the people of western Kaokoland, including ecological parameters to the local social economy, plus pastoralist strategies, past and present. My intention is not to emphasize ecological or economic relations over others, but to present a coherent, holistic view of a particular semi-nomadic pastoralist people in their particular arid setting. Local people's perceptions of this setting, on the edge of the Namib desert, their place in it and the seasonal potential for the dramatic transformation that rains bring, has been presented as one of the central metaphorical models that structure their worldview. At the same time, a key aspect of social organization, the descent-based authority structure of the patrilineages, including pivotal relationships between different generations, both living and dead, will be shown to play a major ecological and economic role.

From this analytical perspective, it can be shown that Western technological interventions such as borehole drilling programmes in Kaoko, discussed later in this chapter, disrupt the 'natural order of things', both socially and environmentally, and therefore have impacts well beyond the changes in stock movements which new, artificial waters make possible. This section lays the foundation then which will enable me, in subsequent chapters, to focus in detail on the changing social-spatial relations of one small community.

The term Kaokoveld was derived from the word *okaoko* which means the left or the small side, presumably the left bank of the Kunene River if one faces downriver; *okunene* means the right-hand or big side. The Kunene River thus received its colonial name, on the erroneous assumption that this was its Herero designation. (Post-independence, the government has entrenched this error by renaming the Kaokoveld the Kunene Region, even though in terms of historical Herero nomenclature, this was the term for the Angolan side of the river, ie the right bank).

In living memory the name Kaoko has been used by the Herero-speaking people to describe the mountainous north western regions of Namibia, from the Kunene River in the north to the Swakop River about 800 km to the south (Vedder 1928). In the west Kaoko extends to the Atlantic coast and in the east it grades into the northern Kalahari sandveld plains 300 to 350 kilometres inland.

Topographically, the Kaokoveld can be divided into a relatively high plateau (1 000 - 1 300 m.a.s.l.) with rugged mountains rising up to 2 000 metres; a steep escarpment zone dissected by deeply incised dry watercourses and a coastal plain with residual mountain ranges and inselbergs. The annual average rainfall varies from 350 mm in the north-east to less than 50 mm near the coast. The first rains may fall as early as late September, but the main rainy season usually only starts in January, lasting until April. Rainfall cycles are erratic with periodic droughts of varying severity. The combination of low rainfall and rugged mountain ranges has created some of the most spectacular arid landscapes in Africa.

The vegetation on the plateau is dominated by *Colophospermum mopane* and *Terminalia/Combretum/Acacia spp* woodland and savanna, with tall *Acacia spp/Combretum imberbe/Ficus spp/Hyphaene petersonia* riparian woodland fringing the larger watercourses. The escarpment and plateau mountains support *C.mopane/Commiphora spp* dominated short tree savanna, while the coastal plain comprises desert steppe with dwarf trees on the ranges and rocky outcrops. Perennial grasses naturally dominate the highland and escarpment where rainfall exceeds 100 mm. Annual grass species usually predominate in the very arid west.

The only perennial river is the Kunene which forms the international border with Angola. The seasonal riverbeds and watercourses that drain the highlands, escarpment and coastal plain only carry floodwaters immediately after rainstorms but many flow under the surface, at varying depths, throughout the year. Permanent seep springs occur periodically along the courses of the larger river beds where rock obstructions force the underground flow to the surface. Artesian fountains are quite common in some parts of the region and more or less permanent contact springs occur where erosion gulleys have cut across underground aquifers. After rain, numerous pans and rock pools form throughout the region, some of which may hold water for many months.

Until the 1970s Kaoko supported large populations of big game including elephant, black rhino, giraffe, Burchell's and Hartmann's zebra and many species of antelope, as well as lion, leopard, cheetah, Cape hunting dog, hyena and many smaller predators. During the 1960s headmen in the region were issued with both rifles and strychnine poison in a government campaign to reduce the predator populations. By the end of the decade lion, cheetah and wild dog had been exterminated throughout most of the highlands.

Between 1979 and 1982, a veterinary cordon fence was erected from east to west, across Namibia to prevent the spread of foot and mouth and bovine pleuropneumonia, highly contagious livestock diseases which are endemic in southern Angola and have sporadically occurred in northern communal areas of Namibia. The fence bisects the Kaokoveld between the Hoanib and Huab rivers. Livestock or livestock products, or the products of cloven hoofed wild animals, are only allowed to move from north to south through the cordon fence after a period of quarantine. Today, the veterinary fence excludes northern farmers, including those in the study area, from the main commercial livestock markets further south and therefore forms the boundary between the area where primarily subsistence-based semi-nomadic pastoralism is still practised.

In response to the 1992 drought experienced in parts of southern Africa including Namibia, the government erected a quarantine camp for small stock near Khovarib in the central western Kunene. Although not without practical problems, the camp provides a useful mechanism for some farmers north of the fence to sell stock.

Among these northern herders milk is the staple food, with meat, usually goat or mutton, being eaten as often as the family can afford to slaughter. Cattle are normally only slaughtered on ceremonial occasions. Up until the early 1980s, more than 100 wild plants were exploited (Malan and Owen-Smith 1974) but maize meal, sugar and other manufactured foods and goods have now taken the place of many of these plants.

(Some of the material in this section was used in an abridged form as part of a paper entitled "Pastoralism in the arid and semi-arid north-west of Namibia", presented jointly by Garth Owen-Smith and myself at the Norwegian Man and Biosphere meeting in Alta, Norway in 1991.).

3.4 PASTORALISM, PAST and PRESENT

What follows is a generalized description, based on observations of today's system, plus interviews with older Kaoko men and women about the way pastoralism has been practised in living memory. The system started breaking down in some areas in the 1960s and 70s, particularly among the Herero of Kaoko. Although the trend towards sedentism continues, some Himba communities are proving remarkably resistant to so-called modernizing processes even though they are selectively adopting and adapting certain aspects of modern or Western culture.

As previously discussed (Jacobsohn 1986, 1988, 1990; see also Spiegel and Boonzaier 1988; Davison 1988, 1991) this social resilience cannot be explained as passive conservativeness (for example, see Estermann 1961; Scherz et al 1992) on the part of the Kaoko people. Non-change - the persistence of 'traditional' practices - needs to be accounted for in the same way as change.

In following chapters the social role of material culture and built space within biographical space/place will be drawn on in an attempt to make sense, from the western Kaoko people's point of view, of differing responses to external and internal forces for change. I will argue, with Davison (1991), that general sociological, economic, environmental and anthropological studies ignore or downplay material culture to their own detriment.

When the first heavy rains of the season fall in Kaoko, young men are sent out to ascertain where the rainfalls have been sufficient to fill temporary pans and rock crevasses or where flash-flooding rivers have left muddy pools along their normally dry beds. Upon their return to the *onganda*, men gather at the sacred fire to debate the options of where to trek with the family's cattle, goats and sheep. Many factors have to be taken into consideration: How long are the new water sources likely to last? What is the state of the grazing and browse in the area? How far away is it. How many days walk? Should the whole family move with all their stock or should the herds be split, with the younger

men taking the oxen to the remoter, temporary waters and the older people and children remaining with the milch cows and small stock?

Knowledge and experience of elders who may recall similar conditions in the past, are drawn on. Senior women express their opinions. People are very conscious of the fact that a wrong decision could result in the loss of animals. Certain areas have to be avoided immediately after rains because poisonous plants bloom; the same area may be safe a few months later. The options are numerous and dynamic, both as the rainy season progresses and from year to year. Decisions are not taken quickly and options are carefully weighed.

If a lineage head is unsure of what to do, he may consult with his late father and grandfather at the sacred fire. Today some younger Kaoko men are neglecting the sacred fire which for generations has served as a mechanism for the living to pass on, exchange and disseminate indigenous knowledge and values. This is just one of the ways in which the sacred fire can be shown to be a key socio-spatial feature of Kaoko life.

It is also essential for the patrilineage heads in the area to consult with one another so that watering points are not overcrowded with livestock from different families. Resource utilization rights are based on patrilineal descent and creative negotiation. Lineages with first rights, based on historical use of an area by patrilineal ancestry, were recognized as having the authority to refuse later arrivals the right to stay. In practice, this authority was seldom exercised because magnanimity today was seen as insurance for co-operation in the future; potential disputes were usually settled amicably by compromise. Today co-operation is not as good as it used to be.

Oral evidence exists in the west that resource rights were till recently also based on matrilineal descent. However, although some people claimed that such rights could be earned through either the matri- or patri-line, no actual examples of the former could be traced before the disruptions of the drought and war. It seems possible that matrilineal kin and eanda membership formed a broad 'sense of community' within which patrilineal rights were exercised. This is a complex topic which requires intensive investigations, which were beyond the scope of this study.

Up until the 1970s the presence of large predators in the region ensured that the young men and boys who accompanied the livestock to the wet season grazing areas actively herded the cattle, goats and sheep during the daytime, and corralled them in brushwood enclosures during the night. Herding would have entailed keeping all the animals under their control close together while they were grazing and browsing to reduce the threat of predators taking stock. Today predators are rare and it is the norm for cattle to go out to graze unaccompanied. Calves kept corralled ensure that milch cows return at night.

The remarkable cattle-communication skills of Kaoko herders - various signals, combinations of whistles, clicks, yells, hand claps, stamping - are being lost as they are not being learned by younger men - or by new stock. 'Trained' cattle will stand, lie down, turn, walk or run in a particular direction in response to appropriate signals.

Without herders or predators, cattle no longer stay in a tight, bunched group when they feed. The significance of the way that cattle and other grazing ungulates utilize perennial grasslands, either

close together in herds and flocks, or as happens today, dispersed over a wide area, is only now being realized by some modern range managers (See Savory and Parsons 1980).

Till recently good herders would also have ensured that their herds and flocks did not feed in the same area for extended periods: This no longer always happens because with less co-operation between lineages, there seems little point in not using an area to its maximum if, as soon as you move out, another lineage moves in and allows stock to graze till nothing is left.

There is also the problem of labour: young men may be away, in or seeking wage labour, and are not available to move stock when necessary. Similarly, children, who traditionally work as goatherds till puberty, may be at boarding school. A direct result of these labour shortages is reduced herding skills - reduced mobility of small and large stock, plus less effective herd management. This of course, impacts negatively on the natural environment. In general, years away at school also erodes the younger generation's environmental awareness.

At the end of the wet season herders continued to keep most of their animals around temporary waters for as long as possible. To extend the period they were able to remain in wet season grazing areas, pits were often (and still are) dug in water courses that had flooded, following the receding watertable to depths of up to four metres. This water would have to be decanted from the pit into wooden troughs carved out of a tree trunk (usually *Commiphora sp.*). Watering stock thus could involve a number of people in many hours of labour, daily for goats, and at least every second day for cattle (Figure 3.1).

The following description is based on a number of stock-watering occasions which I was able to witness. Young men, youths and, if labour was short, young women and girls, would work together to excavate a pit. It would require deepening, as the water receded. The pit would usually be kept covered with branches to prevent animals or children falling into the hole. While the stock was approaching, one man would climb to the bottom of the pit to fill a bucket and pass it to a man (or woman) balanced two metres up, who would then pass the bucket to a third person at ground level. S/he would empty the water into the trough before passing it back down. Several people would be fully employed controlling the thirsty stock and preventing them from stampeding the trough or troughs and overturning them. Usually cattle are led in to a trough in twos or threes.

If smallstock are being watered, five or six may use a trough at the same time. It was not unusual for such an exercise to take between two and five hours, depending on stock numbers, and superficially, it seems easy to understand why engine-equipped boreholes and windmills are regarded by young men as desirable. This issue, and the impact of modern technology on social relations, is examined in the Onyuva case study in Chapter 7.

In some areas and in some seasons, it was well into the dry season before the last of the livestock returned to the vicinity of the region's permanent springs. Where the rainfall had been poor around these springs, further moving of the livestock may have had to take place as grazing shortages occurred. This might simply have entailed building a new *onganda* on a different side of, but at some distance from the spring, to enable the livestock to utilize the available forage in another direction from the water. In particularly dry times, the *onganda* might be built five or more kilometres from the spring,

and the animals would only be allowed to drink every second day. This strategy would double the distance the livestock could forage from the spring, thereby increasing the total potential foraging area by up to 600% (Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn 1991).

Such herding strategies - and their spatial patterning - have obvious implications for archaeology's understanding and interpretation of the material record regarding, for example, human density within a region, seasonal occupation and settlement patterns. Without offering any simplistic analogy between present and past, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that a large number of sites around waters in an arid or semi-arid zone need not indicate a large population or even a long time depth of use. It may simply represent a dynamic and complex herding strategy by a small group of herders whose social organization was geared to facilitate ecological sustainability within a fluctuating environment.

Key components of herding

As can be seen from the above discussion, the key components of Kaoko's centuries-old successful herding economy involves a combination of three types of strategies, as defined by Hogg (1991):

- 1) The technical (eg, dry season reserves, changing herd composition, the digging of pits in dry river beds);
- 2) The associated institutional arrangements such as the descent based authority structure within lineages, the hierarchy of age-sets and age-stages which facilitate the gender and age-based division of labour.
- 3) Culturally constituted rights, obligations and responsibilities which define access to natural resources and promote co-operation between lineages.

The three are integrated and interdependent: Mobility of stock, flexible and responsive herd management, both in terms of active herding plus strategic division of herds and flocks, requires access to family labour and to the knowledge and experience of older generations. All need to take place through negotiated co-operation within a system of communal property rights between lineages. The last component is worth examining in the light of Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop's (1975) distinction between a system of open access where there are no defined rights governing access to resources (in this case pasture and water) and that of common property where such rights have been communally defined. Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop criticised Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons' hypothesis for failing to recognize the existence of (indigenous) common property arrangements and their potential for accommodating sustainable resource use.

In western Kaoko, as already briefly discussed, rights to utilize a particular area are recognized on several grounds. Historical use of an area by patrilineage ancestors is one; utilization rights in a new area may also be negotiated with the senior occupants. The communal property system which still exists in parts of Kaoko could totally collapse because of the weakening of the social institutions which defined equitable communal arrangements. In fact, each component is threatened because of a range of social, economic and political changes, as will be elucidated.

The first major Western technological intervention into Kaoko started in the 1960s with the creation of artificial water points. This, coupled with the availability of poisons to kill predators, has had a major influence on the role played by men in Kaoko and has strained the established common property system.

From the early 1960s onwards, a major borehole drilling and dam building programme was embarked upon which had, by 1990, provided more than 160 new permanent water points for the region's herders and their livestock. What initiators of this programme failed to take into account were the rotational grazing systems, governed by well defined indigenous social conventions, that had been practiced in the region for centuries. Boreholes were thus randomly sunk and equipped, sometimes less than 10 km apart, wherever no natural permanent water occurred. Most of the apparently unused rangeland where the new waterpoints were sited, had, in fact, been seasonally used by the herders when they exploited temporary water sources created during the rains. With the areas around the permanent waterpoints now becoming available for dry season use, the size of the wet season grazing areas, the key to the traditional rotational systems, was considerably reduced.

As a result of the drilling programme, tens of thousands more cattle, goats and sheep were able to be supported during the dry season. These increased herds and flocks, coupled with the reduced effectiveness of traditional rotational grazing system, caused large scale degradation of the palatable shrub and perennial grass cover in the vicinity of both natural springs and artificial waterpoints. The new boreholes also reduced the area of fallback grazing that had in the past, served as a cushion during periods of drought.

By the mid-1970s numbers of livestock had reached an unprecedented level. The disastrous collapse of all livestock populations in the early 80s involved the death up to 150 000 head of cattle and close to 100 000 smallstock (Owen-Smith pers.comm). The very high stock numbers up to this time caused widescale range damage and this in turn contributed to a dramatic decline in the numbers of all indigenous wild herbivores. This decline was exacerbated by widespread hunting, both for food and commercially, by, among others, impoverished herders. Today, more than a decade later, stock numbers are increasing as are wildlife numbers, albeit the latter more slowly.

The techno-politics of boreholes

No social research about communal resource rights was done at the time of the drought. However, an illuminating window on the common or communal property/open access issue was opened up during this study's monitoring of the use of boreholes and natural waters. It was found that people's attitude to natural waters and boreholes differ.

Generally people recognize ancestral 'first rights' to natural springs. Even in a drought situation in Kaoko, it was accepted that it was necessary to negotiate with the incumbent lineages before moving stock in. But when a borehole is arbitrarily drilled, the techno-politics transforms the water point and removes it from the 'natural' order, meaning both nature, as defined by Kaoko people, and the socially constructed system of resource rights which operate within this defined sphere of nature.

Windmills/boreholes in Kaoko are built and maintained by government (pre- and post-independence); this means it is possible to claim - strategically - that they belong to no-one - and to everyone.

Concomitant with water rights, is access to pasture. A borehole placed less than about 20 km from a natural spring could also affect the existing social-resource conventions because stock, when it is only being watered every second day, may graze up to a maximum of about 10 km from water. Thus people using a new borehole could infringe the established pasture rights of others.

Some elders in western Kaoko believe that problems were caused not simply by the drilling of a borehole but because inadequate discussion and negotiation took place beforehand. Unlike many development and aid workers in Africa, they understand clearly that the technical (object) cannot be separated from the social (subject) and institutional.

"In the very early days, when the first wind-pumps were built, the government man spent much time talking to the people about the best place (to drill a borehole). So when the new water came, we already knew, from our talking together, whose stock would drink there. This old way did not bring problems. Later many new waters were put in without any talking. Up till today there is disagreement between lineages at such places" (Venomeho Tjiningire 1992).

A number of conflicts took place around two boreholes in western Kaoko between 1987 and 1991. These two brief cases illustrate the points made above. One problem at the Ganumup borehole (See Fig.1.2) was that in times of pasture shortage elsewhere, people from neighbouring areas felt free to move to the borehole nearest them. Their justification was that the government had put in the borehole for all the people, not just the two or three lineages who normally used the range, seasonally, in that area. This meant that the lineages who were planning to return to their permanent water in the dry season faced the prospect of returning to find their dry season pasture had been used up by 'outsiders'. Their response, which, in this context, must be seen to be completely rational, was to return earlier in the season than planned to stake their rights to the range around the borehole, with predictably detrimental environmental effects.

In 1990/91 a young herder from one of the local lineages (Lineage 1 in the study) kept stock at Ganumup borehole for several months after rain had fallen elsewhere. The message was clear: what was the point of moving away and leaving grazing for others to use while you were absent? This had happened during the previous season when a number of herders from Sesfontein, a settlement 30 km away, had moved in. The lineage was eventually persuaded to move out the stock by other lineages but the problem is ongoing and unlikely to improve as human population and stock numbers increase.

At the other borehole, Tomakus, a different scenario took place in response to a poor rain season in the early 1990s. The strong and wealthy Herero lineage (Lineage 1 in the study) claimed exclusive rights to the area even though it had been used in previous seasons by a number of smaller, less powerful lineages. Partly because rain fell elsewhere, giving the other lineages alternative grazing, Lineage 1 has so far been successful in keeping Tomakas for its exclusive use. In time, conflict is inevitable. (Adding to this problem was the 1989 demobilization of the SADF prior to independence. A number of young men who had been employed in the army thus returned home. Lineage 1 regained three sons, plus their wives and children. Lineage 1 has also been able to expand its cattle herds faster

than others because a number of its members are employed by a tour operator in the area. The lineage has split into several physically separate independent segments.)

Such events add to the weakening of the region's local descent-based authority structures: Young people witness the powerlessness of their elders to deal with incomers or takeovers by dominant lineages; they lose confidence in the existing communal resource rights system and the descent-based social organizations that governed it.

Combined with eurocentric schooling that presents the (Western) scientific method and the Western knowledge and value system as the only rational mode of thought (and paradoxically, promotes Christianity), the allure of wage labour and a cash economy, the availability of manufactured goods, the political mobilization pre- and post-Namibia's independence and the unprecedented influx of tourists since 1989, a slide from a communal property system to a more sedentary open access system seems probable. Unless alternative sustainable rotational grazing and land tenure systems are put in place, large-scale environmental degradation due to overstocking and a breakdown of semi-nomadism, is inevitable. The starting point for any such alternative systems is neither technological nor environmental; it is social and institutional - Start your farming with people, not with cattle.

Two differing perspectives on the Ganumup borehole conflicts were provided by a senior Herero man, and by his nephew. The latter was the young man, a de-mobbed soldier/son returned home, who took it on himself to keep stock owned by his lineage and that of his maternal uncle, at the borehole after the rains. The two men, representing two generations, each saw a part of the equation.

The older herder blamed the situation - where people felt free to move as they wished - on young people "with money in their pockets but no respect" (for their elders). Deteriorating relations between young and older generations is a recurrent theme in this study.

The young ex-soldier was speaking for many of his generation whose earlier environmental knowledge and experience, gained while growing up in Kaoko, seems to have been overwhelmed by a few years of eurocentric schooling and some wage labour. He explained: "We should just stay here (at the borehole) so people know this is our place. Trekking (moving) was alright for the old people; now it's too hard to move all your possessions unless you have a truck."

The demise of most of Kaoko's predators in the 1960s and 1970s lost men one of their major tasks: With no threat to stock from predators, continuous daily herding was no longer necessary and men stopped accompanying stock on a daily basis. Strongly build stock enclosures at each new settlement became less important and people, including women, had less need of male protection when they moved around the region. Thus both gender roles and relations were affected.

In humorous illustration of women's increased independent mobility, a Himba husband told me that one of the reasons he would welcome the return of dangerous wildlife to his area (elephant, rhino and lion) was that this would serve to keep wives at home. Nowadays, he said, a man came home to an empty hearth (and thus an empty belly) because his wife was out visiting a neighbouring homestead. In the past, (before the major hunting epidemic and the 1979-82 drought) a wife waited for her husband to escort her on such visits because she was nervous of bumping into a rhino or elephants (Langman pers.comm.1988).

Integrated use of natural resources

The pastoralist activities of the Himba and Herero people of Kaoko have been a major focus of previous studies (eg. Steyn 1977). However, it is suggested here, following Owen-Smith (1984; Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn 1991) that the success of the local socio-economy involved an integrated and sustainable use of a wide range of natural resources. Many of these required skills and indigenous knowledge of elder men and women, as well those of other Herero and non-Herero speaking groups.

The past range management strategies of the western Kaoko pastoralists might have been ecologically sustainable, but, informants point out, the herds and flocks did not produce all living requirements for people. They did provide the food staple, milk, plus meat, and raw materials (skin, horns, bones and dung) with which to manufacture clothing, bedding, shelter, body ornaments, utensils etc. However, the adequacy of the supply of these commodities varied seasonally and according to how many animals a family owned. Milk would only have been available in sufficient quantities throughout the year for the wealthiest stockowners. In the dry seasons, most families would have had to supplement their domestic animal-derived diet from a range of other resources such as vegetable crops, wild plants, game meat and even some insect species.

Otjikari (beer), an important ingredient for all social and ceremonial occasions - a baby-naming ceremony, a son's circumcision, a daughter's puberty celebration, purification rituals (see Jacobsohn 1990:26-30), marriages and funerals - was, and still is, made from grass seeds robbed from the nests of the harvester ant. Seed is mixed with bark from the pale-barked *Boscia albitrunca* and honey or sugar. The production of *otjikari* used to involve both men and women: Women would collect the grass seeds and bark while men sought honey.

Knowledge of the location of ants nests and beehives was a resource in itself. Products were sustainably used: It was not in the people's interests to take too much seed or honey because then the ants and bees would move which meant the people would need to locate the new nests and hives. Although bottled liquor is increasingly available in Kaoko, homemade beer is still brewed today but its manufacture has become women's work instead of a task shared by both sexes. Women still collect grass seed and bark but with the ready availability of sugar, men no longer need to find honey.

Although enjoying the convenience of packaged sugar, matriarchs talk nostalgically about the family inter-dependence and mutual co-operation involved in the old ways: "You would go out into the veld with your husband and children for two or three days. Everyone worked together. We woman knew where the ants were living and we all took some seeds, leaving enough behind for the ants to go on farming. You also did not destroy the ant's place with your digging. Your man would go to where he knew there was a beehive. We all watched while he climbed a tree with smoke to soothe the bees so that he could take some honey. It was very important to close up the hole made in the hive so that other creatures did not raid the hive and destroy it. That way we knew we could come back another time. Those were good days. Today a man just buys sugar and says, woman make beer."

The skins of domestic livestock were also not always the most suitable for a particular purpose. For example, rhino and giraffe hide was preferred for the making of durable sandals, kudu leather made the strongest straps and thongs; rock rabbit skins were favoured for various items of apparel. Until a few decades ago, with wild animals still abundant in Kaoko, their use was, in fact, an integral part of the pastoralist economy. With herding skills, elders passed on their knowledge and experience of wildlife. Even today, older women, as well as men, could discuss the very different ways to negotiate a safe path past elephant and rhino, for example (Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn in press).

A number of necessary raw materials were not available in the region. These included various commodities manufactured from iron and copper, such as spears, knives, arrow heads, cooking pots and a variety of body ornaments, cloth and sea shells. The Kaoko people met these needs by using their livestock to barter and trade with neighbouring peoples, including the early European colonists (eg the Portuguese in Angola). In times of local hardship, the herders would also have traded both internally and externally for grain and other food crops. Livestock or their products were also used to pay for extra labour and the services of specialists in the fields of prescribing herbal remedies and divining.

So although the herding people of Kaoko were among the wealthiest stock owners in Africa, their economy was not based purely on the produce of their herds and flocks. They had a wide resource base and long established networks of trade interactions with neighbouring societies. Above all, to return again to the proverb - Start your farming with people, not with cattle - each member of the lineage, from the four-year-old, just able to lift a single kid goat and carry it to its mother, to old men and women with a lifetime of accumulated knowledge and experience, had a role to play in the family economy. This inter-dependence of young and old, male and female was the key to successful herding in an arid environment.

3.5 PLACES AND PEOPLE IN THE LANDSCAPE

Unlike the young man quoted in the G anumup windmill case, above, older, active Himba people do not regard moving as particularly onerous. Moving camp is normal; shelters can be erected in a few hours, houses in a few days, and possessions can either be carried or replaced with resources obtainable near the new living site. As already discussed, people feel connected to their historical environment rather than to any particular built space. The oppositions of temporary and permanent can be applied to a spring, whose water may be always there, or seasonal, or rain-dependent, but the terms make no real sense when applied to homesteads.

This perception of a broader spatial text contains a representation of the biographical past and the social and economic future. Although it is not built space, this text, with both 'natural' and cultural properties, can be shown to be as implicated in the organization of the Kaoko social world as any *onganda*. Such extensions of our understanding of space and place are an essential part of glimpsing other ways of knowing.

Settlement patterns and strategies

In a lifetime a western Kaoko pastoralist may move more than 300 times (An average of five moves a year x 70 = 350). A total of 121 moves by seven lineages were recorded during the five-year study period: This involved all moves made by three lineages (Lineages 2, 3, and 4) and the major relocations of the other four lineages in the main study area. This total does not reflect each move by all members of a lineage: Lineages sometimes split into two or more domestic units, each residing at different places. These divisions usually related to herd or flock management (eg goat rams may be separated from females and kids and moved to new camp) but social needs also affected settlement patterns.

This number of moves also does not equal the number of homesteads or camps (79) occupied by the seven lineages; some sites were used more than once and those near the dry season permanent waters were usually occupied for several months each year.

LINEAGE/ Own designation		No of moves in 5 years	No of camps
No 1	Herero	4 (6)	4 (4)
2	Herero	6	3 (1)
3	Himba	33 (6)	20 (2)
4	Himba (with Tjimba members)	31 (9)	22 (5)
5	Mixed Herero/Himba	10	8
6	Himba	27 (6)	14 (3)
7	Himba	14	8
Total:		121 (+26=147)	79 (+15=94)
=====			
Others	Himba (northwest Kaoko)	-	12

TABLE 3.1 Number of moves and number of homesteads or camps occupied by the seven lineages in the main study area, as recorded between January 1986 and January 1991. Figures in brackets indicate additional living sites used by four lineages outside the five-year study period, from the 1960s and 70s up to the end of 1991. The latter reflect only a small sample of such sites per lineage, recorded because they were still visible, accessible and/or illustrative of a site type (eg Lineage 4's camp carved in a *Boscia foetida* tree). Totals for the two Herero lineages (nos 1 and 2) are deceptively low because in one case the lineage head was elderly and in both cases some of their stock was in the care of younger brothers who were outside the study group and/or area. Nevertheless the differences indicated in the settlement strategies between lineages reflects actual trends in the study area and in Kaoko in general: Herero lineages move less than Himba; elderly people are more sedentary than younger people.

It should be noted that the term lineage refers here to an extended patrilineal family of four to five generations, all of whom use the same sacred fire and who at times share a homestead or *onganda*; domestic unit refers to those people sharing a single dwelling and or/cooking hearth. Thus a couple with children would be a domestic unit as would a sister at a stock camp with her two older brothers: The three young people would not share one *ondjuwo* but they would cook at the same hearth. Homesteads and camps basically mean residential sites with the term homestead (*onganda*) denoting a more built up settlement, usually a dry season base which will be re-used annually in the dry season; camp generally means sites used in the wet season/and or briefly used or 'temporary' stock camps, but this does not mean the camp will not be re-occupied in a subsequent year if graze and browse became available.

As previously stated, settlement patterns are believed to be changing in Kaoko in general, with a trend towards reduced mobility, particularly among Herero lineages. Possibly indicative of this were the two Herero lineages living at Purros who were markedly less mobile than the four Himba and one Himba/Herero lineages. However, within the study area in general mobility *increased* for all lineages from 1987 onwards. (See Table 3.2.) A number of elderly women from several different lineages (1, 2, 3 and 6) did, however, continue to spend most or all of their year at Purros. Most of these women had lived 5 km downriver at the gardens from the early 1980s. Between 1988 and 1989, when crops started failing, people gradually abandoned this settlement and moved to the main Purros settlement, two km above the main Purros spring, on the main road. Families who had been living in the area for several years thus became more visible to passers-by. This 7 km relocation included the large Lineage 1 which swelled when a number of sons were demobbed from the SADF and returned home.

These events have led to a subjective impression by, for example, government officials (eg. Grobelaar 1992 pers.comm.), that the trend towards decreasing mobility is occurring in the west whereas, in fact, the data shows the reverse for the Purros community as a whole in the study period: The actual number of people and stock permanently at Purros decreased between 1987 and 1991 and the mobility of all lineages increased after 1986. See Table 3.2, below, for an annual breakdown of moves per lineage.

Lineage/self designation	Moves in 1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	Totals
1 Herero	Sedentary		2	2	Sed.	4
2 Herero	Sedentary		2	2	2	6
3 Himba	5	8	8	5	7	33
4 Himba	4	10	6	5	6	31
5 Mixed Herero/Himba - not present at start of study						
6 Himba	-	7	6	7	7	27
Annual totals	9	25	24	21	24	101

Table 3.2 Annual breakdown of recorded moves for five lineages

Lineage 2's sedentarization at Purros relates, in part, to the fact that this Herero lineage's head was elderly (more than 80 years old) and infirm and the little stock he had left after the drought of 79-82 was in the care of his brothers or nephews which freed him of the necessity of moving.

The other Herero lineage (1), headed by an elderly but still active man, tended to be sedentary for several reasons: One was that a number of the younger brothers in this lineage were employed and the homestead had thus acquired material goods such as iron beds, radios, trunks, additional clothing and bedding, garden utensils and several 100 litre drums which were difficult to move without transport. Wives of the men in wage labour sometimes stayed with Lineage head no 1 and his two wives because the homestead was in a convenient position for regular visits to/from the husbands who worked for a safari company with a tented camp 40 km from Purros. A third important reason why this lineage head remained at his Purros base was linked to his personal aspirations to be recognized as 'headman' of the area, even though his community had chosen his younger brother to be a councillor, the local representative of the senior Herero headman based 120 km from Purros at Warmquelle.

The tendency today, among some Herero and to a lesser extent, Himba families, for aged people - those whose economic activities are ostensibly making less of a direct contribution to the patrilineage - to remain at the dry season base for most or all of the year has been made possible by the establishment of gardens, the cash economy and the availability of mass produced foods and goods. Usually a few milch cows and/or some goats are left with the old people, and the lineage elders will ensure that they receive a regular supply of maize meal. A few pre-puberty children, if the family can spare their labour at the stock camps, may also remain behind with their grandparents.

Informants said that this was a new trend in the arid west: Older people had always moved less than the young, with the latter being expected to endure hardship at remote stock camps, but this was the first generation of grand parents and great-grandparents who could be supported without them moving with the rest of the lineage. This trend may seem innocuous enough until the effects of year-round occupation by even a small amount of stock is noted at Purros and other springs. Riparian vegetation - vital to the main herds in the late dry season - is gradually used up; lower strata browse is

damaged by goats and continuous defoliation can kill smaller perennial species. On the other hand, younger people at stock camps are deprived of the environmental knowledge and experience of their elders.

Such environmental observations need, however, to put in perspective: a single good rain season, such as the 1994/95 season in the north-west, did more damage to the riverine vegetation than a decade of over-use by stock and people. The volume of water which flowed down the Hoarusib was such that long established trees and bushes were uprooted and swept away, and much of the riparian vegetation where the river was restricted, eg below Purros spring, thus actually disappeared. Conversely the good rains re-established grasses around water-holes and in the vicinity of homesteads, demonstrating that the seed bank was not depleted. Species changes are likely however, in that over-use can negatively impact on perennial grasses.

The cultivation of furrow irrigated gardens in certain areas, including Purros, also encouraged families to divide up, with some members remaining at a permanent garden settlement to tend the fields.

Figures 3.3 and 3.4 , at the start of this chapter, illustrate recorded moves made over five years by Lineages 1 and 3, with Figure 3.2 marking the different types of water sources in the area. These two lineages are representative in that No 1 was relatively sedentary, with No 3 as one of the more mobile groups.

Purros

The more or less 'permanent' settlement at Purros dates to the drought of 1979-82. Before this time, as far as could be established, Purros was usually occupied for just a few months (or less) of the year except in exceptionally dry years. Several hundred Kaoko residents congregated at this permanent water source in the last year of the drought: their cattle starved to death there by the hundreds.

The idea of planting gardens at Purros was born during this time. In 1981 when the SADF, the Red Cross and other service organizations were engaged in emergency feeding schemes in Kaoko, a group from Windhoek took five truckloads of food, medicine and seeds to Purros. The party included members of the South African Defence Force, Rotary, Rossing Foundation and TUCSIN, (a Namibian training centre). By then some lineages, including Lineages 1 and 2, had laid out gardens in the alluvial silts of the Hoarusib River, 5 km down river of the main Purros spring. The Windhoek party supplied seeds, garden tools and advice to encourage this horticultural endeavour (Sandelowsky et al 1981). Most of the people at Purros at that time left within a few months, after the food-aid ceased, and by the mid-80s when this study started, only seven lineages were using the Purros springs seasonally.

The gardens partially supported members of all seven lineages and it was only in 1988-89 that the furrow-irrigated plots were abandoned and not replanted. This was because of a variety of crop diseases and increasingly poor harvests, probably related to depleted nutrients in the soil due to seven years of continuous planting. Moving to new fields would not have been an easy task: extensive

furrows had to be dug to irrigate the crops and people were aware that the river was likely to flow during the rainy season and destroy both fields and furrows.

By this time too, sufficient cash was being generated by the Purros community-based conservation and tourism project to enable families to buy maize meal and other goods. The Purros project involved a tourist levy paid by two tour operators to the community as caretakers of the increasing wildlife in the area, the sale of crafts to tourists, plus ad hoc employment for conservation-related work (Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn 1988, Jacobsohn 1991; Hitchcock 1993). In 1990 the community arranged for a Sesfontein trader to visit the area once a month with a truckload of goods, and in 1990/1991 he opened a small shop at Purros. It is noteworthy that the mobility of lineages, specially the Himba families, was not decreased by the cash income and in fact, most lineages spent less time at Purros once the tourism income was established than before the project started in 1987.

This then is the generalized settlement pattern recorded within the study area: Leaving the elderly and infirm with a few children at the Purros dry season homesteads, lineages move out after rains. Wet season camps may be between 20 km to 70 km from Purros. On average, cattle herds are moved about five times in a year, with goats being moved more often. The main rains should fall between January and April. Lineages stay out as long as water and grazing/browse is available. In a good season this may mean moving back to Purros in about October; in a bad year when rains are poor lineages may be forced to return to permanent water by July. This means riverine vegetation and locally available fodder may be depleted before rains fall the following year.

Location of camps

The choice of a site for an *onganda* involves a compromise between practical, cultural and symbolic imperatives, plus personal social strategies. In western Kaoko the preferred site location for both Himba and Herero lineages was almost always a flat or slightly sloping open area, well clear of trees or other features such as cliffs or large rocks, between 500 metres and 2 km from water. A slight slope was preferred during the wet season to avoid flooding of the camp in the event of a downpour. (It is not unusual in the west for 30-40 mm of rain to fall in one area in half an hour. The resultant runoff may cause a minor local flash flood.) Lineage 4 provided some notable exceptions to this location pattern which will be discussed later. Caves or rock overhangs were occasionally used for shelter while a camp was being built; younger men, particularly if they were armed and unaccompanied by women, may also sleep in a cave rather than go to the trouble of building a shelter.

Homesteads were rarely built closer than 500 metres from natural water points. A number of reasons for this and for the openness of the site were given: The main reason involved stock control and water. As discussed earlier, in dry times stock may only be watered every second day. If the camp was too close to the spring there was a danger that stock returning home after the day's feeding could detour to the spring: water could be used up too quickly and/or trampling by stock may turn the spring into mud. People and stock are often forced to share the same rain pool or spring and clear water is preferred to muddy water. (See Jacobsohn 1990:37-43).

Another reason, cited by mothers, was safety of small children. Proximity to a spring would bring a risk that toddlers could fall in and drown.

Camping close to water also exposed people and stock to contact with potentially dangerous wildlife (elephant, black rhino, predators) that may come in to drink. When there was no shortage of water, people also felt that springs should be left undisturbed so that wildlife could utilize them at night. Some older Kaoko people believed that wildlife are the cattle of the creator (*Mukuru or Njambe Karunga*). If there was no wildlife, the creator would not bother to send rain, and the people and their stock would suffer or even die. Thus the fate of wildlife, domestic stock and people were seen as linked, another example of how for the Himba, the spatial text extends beyond constructed space.

Heavily wooded sites are avoided because this would provide cover for dangerous wildlife, particularly predators intent on preying on stock. Lineage 1 broke this rule with its first dry season *onganda* when members moved from the gardens to 2 km above the Purros spring. Houses were built as close as 10 metres from several large shade trees by sons returning after army jobs. In the second year of occupation the homestead was moved 200 metres into the open because of a number of disconcerting encounters with a young elephant bull who wished to use the nearby shade trees. Shaded areas also tend to have a higher biomass of snakes, spiders, scorpions, ticks etc.

An ideal site should provide a sandy, stoneless floor for stock enclosures and dwellings. The one point no-one mentioned in this list of site requirements was the need for enough space for the 'orthodox' spatial order between dwellings, hearths and stock enclosures. This was taken for granted and people were surprised when I asked about it. *Ozonganda* were spatially organized in a particular way because "it is the way of the old people".

Yet these 'old ways' can be shown to mean different things to different social groupings and individuals, depending on strategy and intent. Although it may be the produced representation of the divisions in a particular dominant ideology, built space carries no intrinsic code and essential meaning. Social practice activates meaning by strategic interpretations or readings which may challenge the existing social order. It is also notable that the relationship between ideology and (spatial) text is also not one of reflection or even expression: "The text is a product of ideology, of the 'lived' conditions of social reality (Moore 1986:87). This becomes a key concept in understanding social change in subsequent chapters.

Where artificial water points existed, people were prepared to camp closer to the water: At Tomakus, 50 km from Purros, homesteads were within a few hundred metres from the windmill and small, shallow, concrete dam there.

Kaoko people were often perplexed at the Western tourist's habit of camping under trees or at a spring. Similarly, the Westerners found it difficult to understand why, in a climate where temperatures above 40 degrees C are not unusual, local people built their homes out in the open, with no shade. Archaeologists would do well to interrogate their ethnocentric assumptions about site location in the landscapes of others.

Lineage 4 demonstrated a different range of location choices, compared to the other six lineages. Generally this lineage's choices were more expedient: a tree trunk, a few poles and some

blankets would serve as a shelter for a few weeks; the group, including, women and children lived in a few small caves; at another site a rock shelter would be roofed in and turned into a dwelling; a chamber (and a kid goat pen) was carved into a *Boscia foetida* tree (See Jacobsohn 1986). When they did build a conventional Himba *onganda*, this lineage was careful to conform to spatial 'rules', although more than once spatial divisions were reversed and various other anomalies were noted, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Even where more typical homesteads were erected, the *onganda's* actual location was often unusual compared to other lineage's choices: Lineage 4 often favoured rocky slopes where natural features could be incorporated into the camp. Their camps were thus often innovative and unconventional. This almost certainly can be related to the fact that the first wife of Lineage 4's head, grew up as a Tjimba hunter-gatherer, accustomed to a different kind of domestic space/place. Like other women in the community, she built the houses/shelters in which she and her husband lived. Other people in the lineage with a hunter-gatherer background was the wife's younger sister and their mother who at times lived in the Purros area. A range of sites used by this lineage over a 10 year period is illustrated and discussed in Chapter 5. See also Figure 3.5, a and b, which contrasts a Lineage 4 camp with a more conventional one in the same area.

Seasonal differences between living sites

Kaoko people congregate around permanent water in the dry season; in the wet season lineages disperse to take advantage of localized pasture and rain related waters. It is also during or just after the rain season that lineages split up in response to different herd management strategies, as well as social imperatives. Thus maximum social aggregation and interaction takes place in the dry season when lineages come together at their dry season base. This does not mean, however, that all seven Purros lineages would be found within two km of the main spring throughout the dry season.

As already discussed, four lineages (1, 2, 5 and 6) moved their dry season bases 7 km upriver to near the main road, about two km from the spring, when the gardens grown nearby the original homesteads started failing. Other lineages (3, 4 and sometimes 5) then tended to use a permanent spring eight km further upriver during the dry period. This was partly because of personal conflicts between individuals but also in response to the needs of stock in terms of grazing and browsing. People also did not like mixing herds for too long or too frequently as animals then started to lose herd identity. A distance of eight km is regarded as virtually next door: All but the very young and very old would walk this distance and back with ease in a day; donkeys may also be ridden.

Prior to and during 1986 Lineage 4 used Ochams on the Sechomib River for part of the dry season. This lineage relocated to the Purros area after 1986 and had only used Ochams again once by the end of 1991. This relocation related to rainfall patterns, the gardens at Purros and the work as a community game guard by the head of Lineage 4. An additional reason involved the lineage head's courting of and subsequent marriage to a Purros girl, a daughter of Lineage 7, who thus became his second wife.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIO-SPATIAL RELATIONS

"How much sense does it make to provide a 'meaningful' analysis of cultural phenomenon which has no 'meaning' for the people themselves?" Moore, 1986:5

4.1 INTRODUCTION

IN Kaoko communities age and gender clearly emerge as the two most important organizational principles. This pertains to the ordinary daily life of the individual, as well as in terms of the social organization necessary for the maintenance of a pastoralist economy and the reproduction of Kaoko society in the arid region. The over-arching relationship between the living and the (dead) ancestors is experienced differentially, according to age and sex, even though it is this relationship which is the symbolising mechanism that seeks to "naturalize" the social order and senior male authority. Key institutions for such social ordering include age-sets, age-stages, marriage and the lineages.

A brief overview of the broader Kaoko social system, based in large part on a literature review, was given in Chapter 2. Aspects of this now need to be refocused to link the ordering of social experiences to material culture and to spatial categories.

As already discussed, serious challenges are being made to Kaoko's existing social orders and both age and gender relations are under major stress. Evidence suggests that the most serious ideological interrogations are being experienced between different generations and that it is here that western Kaoko's social fabric is tearing. As will be shown later, rebellious sons and daughters cannot merely challenge their fathers; they are forced to challenge their ancestors as well. This can involve alternative 'readings' of the spatial order in the homestead, physically changing domestic space, and on occasion, a total rejection of existing social-spatial relations.

While conflicts are being experienced *between* genders, these are (at this stage) not sufficiently radical to overthrow the existing ideology. Himba women, experiencing a loss of power and control over their lives, have reacted by re-arranging, both literally and figuratively, aspects of their lives and homes *within* the existing order.

This capacity of western Kaoko gender ideology to incorporate such changes relates in part to a social ordering that is (or was) more egalitarian, in terms of gender, than it may first appear from a Western gender perspective. To do justice to women's (and men's) perspectives in Kaoko we need to re-examine concepts such as power, subordination, status and individuality and attempt to view them from a Kaoko perspective.

It is predicted, however, and can already be shown, that as new relations are forged between different generations in Kaoko and between people and natural resources, gender roles and relations will change to the material and social detriment of women. This is partly because, as many feminist studies have been able to show, the division of labour in rural subsistence life in general and in domestic life in particular, disadvantages women in terms of the temporal scheduling of the modern

world and its centralized political economy. Paradoxically, as women's indigenous knowledge and skills become less valued, their (free) domestic and subsistence labour becomes a cornerstone of the developing economy, thereby keeping them at home and limiting their access to many aspects of the new economy.

In discussing some of the key social structures associated with age and gender in the following sections, I make no attempt to present a total view of Kaoko social life. The study is based on a remote, fairly isolated community, who are not in the mainstream of Himba and Herero cultural and economic life. My aim, in this thesis, is to explore the links between material culture and social action in a series of specified and well recorded contexts, without losing sight of human agency. What follows, therefore, is a selective attempt to represent how some of the social experiences of one small community are ordered and structured, and how material culture, spatial categories and orientations are linked to this ordering.

It is difficult to present any social structure as an anthropologically coherent entity without losing sight of individual actors: People's attitudes, knowledge and practices vary; the amount of weight invested in the same institution by different people differs. In western Kaoko initiation rites, including male circumcision, have shrivelled in importance compared to those even in the 1970s. A five-day ceremony previously requiring newly circumcised boys to spend three days alone in the bush, now takes place in one day and includes children too young to understand the event; Age-sets for both women and men are obviously very important to the older generation and they are keen to discuss them; many of the younger generation who have grown to adulthood in the past decade have never witnessed an age-set gathering.

In both the initiation ceremonies I witnessed, the boys' ages ranged from about three or four up to about 10 years. People said that the youngest boys were too young for the ceremony, but that, following the disruptions of the war and the drought, it was better to get them 'cut' when someone with the necessary skills was available. The man who did the surgery may not pass through the area again, and it was less expensive for a group of boys to be done together. Payment was made in cash and small stock. An impression was created that even though the children were too young to understand the ritual, it was safer - in terms of their spiritual well-being - to have them circumcised early, rather than leaving it till later. Previously, the preferred age-grouping would have been from about 10 to 15.

The patriclan affects day to day life with its set of dietary and other rules; yet people, both men and women, insist that the matriclan, which does not function locally, is the more important.

The patrilineage, as the local residential unit from which the descent-based authority structure operates, can be seen to play a fundamental role in daily economic and spiritual life, and is experienced as such. Yet if one spends long enough living with the community, one will witness ceremonies in which deceased relatives of the matrilineage are evoked by senior women, contrary to all previous research literature.

Material culture can be shown to be actively implicated in discourses between patrilineages and matrilineages, between husbands and wives, mothers and daughters, mothers and sons and between sisters. Marriage, which draws on and, in turn, affects, all of the above, must obviously

constitute one of the key institutions to be examined. But to isolate marriage, for the purposes of an academic discussion, is to lift it out of its broader social context and does not do justice to how Kaoko people experience their own social matrix.

I have chosen, therefore, to present the following section as a selective but more or less chronological series of age-stages as experienced by both men and women. Case studies are included where they may contribute to the reader's sense of western Kaoko life and space. I have used several brief extracts from my book, *Himba, Nomads of Namibia*. (See Jacobsohn 1990).

4.2 LOCAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In Kaoko where semi-nomadism is taken for granted and people move an average of five or more times a year, depending on rainfall, families do not expect to live together for all or even most of the year. It is, in fact, debatable whether 'families' exist, in the Western sense. Children are expected to work from the time they are old enough to carry a kid goat; At eight or nine years old they should be experienced and competent goatherds. Such a child may spend weeks or months at a remote stock camp with a few other children and a single older sibling; a young boy or girl may be required to live with a matrilineal relative, or a grandparent, depending on where labour is needed.

Just as parents and children may spend months of the year apart, so do spouses. Men have social, age-set and other obligations to do with their matrilineage and that of their children; they may have to split stock up and spend time at different stock camps. Because of the vast distances, a man or woman's visit to a clinic or a shopping expedition to Sesfontein or Opuwo can mean an absence of several weeks. Women, too, have social obligations towards parents and siblings who may live 100 or more km away.

The Western phenomenon of the nuclear family, with its sentimental emphasis on family togetherness, where parents and children expect to sleep under the same roof as a matter of course, would be regarded as an alien way of life in Kaoko. This is not to suggest that Kaoko families are not close or loving. One only has to witness the anxiety of mothers when the children are late returning with the goats; a father individually greeting each of his children after a long absence; the caring companionship of a couple who have been married for 30 years.

Yet, compared to many in the modern world, people, including children, seem less emotionally dependent on their immediate families and spouses and more personally secure. For example, I was occasionally asked by adults to give particular children lifts in my truck as I moved about Kaoko. The youngest to travel alone (ie with me, a near stranger) was a little girl of five or six. She was being sent to stay with an aunt she barely remembered, 120 km from her home. Her mother explained that her sister who had married about two years earlier had not yet fallen pregnant. She believed that having her small niece live with her for a few months would assist her sister to conceive. With considerable insight, the mother said that her sister needed to stop worrying about having a baby and just enjoy the little girl's company, a member of her own matriline. When the girl was lifted into my vehicle, there

were no tears or tantrums. Although obviously nervous of me and of her first ride in a vehicle, she settled down quietly for the four-hour journey to her aunt or 'little mother'.

The child's composure almost certainly stemmed from the fact that, growing up in an extended family, she always had several loving adults and older children to care for her. Unlike many Western city children, she had not had to depend on one mother and father, or a single parent, for her emotional and other needs, and indeed, she regards her aunts and uncles as her other mothers and fathers. A number of other important social groupings beyond the extended family are discussed below.

Age-sets: "Your age-mates give you respect"

Again and again, as I asked questions about relationships which were important to Kaoko residents, adult men and women mentioned age-sets (*oviwonde/sing otjiwondo*). A male age-set is formed by those boys who are circumcised together. Such ceremonies usually take place every five to 10 years. Similarly, girls who begin menstruation and undergo a puberty ceremony within a few years of one another, may form their own age-set. Such puberty ceremonies differ from boys' circumcision rites in that the latter is a group ceremony, publicly bonding an assemblage of boys, whereas the former focuses on an individual girl - a significant distinction in the way boys and girls experience this particular rite of passage.

People said that in the past, age-sets were determined by birth years. Each new age-set was declared open by a spiritual leader who lived in Angola. He would consult with the ancestors and decide when it was time for a new age-set to be created. Word of this would be sent across Kaoko. The war had collapsed this custom.

Western Kaoko people were able to name all local members (*omakura/ sing. ekura*) of their own age-set, and knew most of the names of the members of the age-set immediately senior to them as well as the one below theirs. Most people could also list, chronologically, those age-sets that were still open (ie with members still living).

It was notable, however, that while women could do this for both men and women's age-sets, few men could remember the names of more than one or two women's age-sets. This may relate in part to the fact that male age-sets appear to have had a more public manifestation through regular stock-exchanging parties and meat feasts. At these gatherings age-mates did their best to trick one another into breaking a prohibition of the age-set, often one invented for the purpose of the party. The misdemeanour, although of a frivolous nature, had to be paid for in stock. Women, as wives of male age-set mates, were also involved: For example, such wives may be forbidden to mention a particular word. Their husband's age-set members would then take great delight in trying to trick a woman into using the word. If they succeeded, the husband would have to pay a fine in stock.

At least three age-sets usually took part in such gatherings. One would host the party, the age-set immediately senior to the hosts would act as judges in the friendly contests and the age-set immediately junior to the hosts would act as 'servants', slaughtering stock and preparing the meat feast for the others.

Three-tier hierarchy

This hierarchical relationship between three age-sets is entrenched within Kaoko terminology - people in the age set immediately senior are *ovahona*; those in the junior age-set are *ovakarere*. Customs such as reserving special meat cuts for the *ovahona* further fortify this hierarchy. One is expected to show respect and allegiance to senior age-set members and in turn, one expects respect and obedience from the age-set below one's own. This applies to women's age-sets as well as men's. This three-tier hierarchy thus crucially links and structures all generations.

As Malan, referring to male age-sets, recognized nearly 20 years ago, "The fellowship between members of an *otjiwondo* and the disciplinary qualities of the strict senior-junior relationship between successive grades, are of considerable social and political significance in the stateless society" (1974:119). He also noted that it was common for the manipulation of authority among local groups to take place within the framework of the age-set organization. "This may be necessary in order to settle conflicts arising from the communal utilization of pastures and water holes by different residential groups not having the same *eanda* or *oruzo* ties" (ibid).

Age-set names usually derive from an event that attracted attention at the time the age-set was created. A well-known age-set in Kaoko is the *ondera* (aeroplane), opened in 1939, the year the first aircraft landed at Opuwo. Since a large age-set gathering, more than 30 years ago, wives of members of this age-set and a subsequent one are forbidden to use the word *ondera*. If this word is heard on their lips, their husbands will be forced to pay a fine.

Other male age-sets still open in western Kaoko, according to local informants, include the:

omukande - a word with several meanings including an animal slaughtered for a ceremony; the removal, at puberty, of a child's two bottom teeth and a visit to the grave of a deceased person;

onjovera or ***onyovera*** - one of three types of fat made from milk or meat;

ondjima - the baboon age-set, so named because a baboon was killed on the day of the circumcision ceremony;

mayora - after the rank of an army major whose visit made an impact on the people;

omuzinye - which, like the *ondera* age-set alludes to an aircraft but the word is not used;

ombandje - meaning jackal. This age-set may not harm jackals;

ongandu - after a crocodile which was killed with a knife.

ombume - named after a porridge made by grass-seeds. This age-set was formed in the mid-1980s after the great drought and refers to a food people were forced to eat because milk was scarce after the cattle die-off;

otjindere - the last age-set formed in the west. This word is an old Himba name for white people, and it was chosen, according to informants, as the younger generation

are called *otjindere* by older people because, like whites, they know about 'white' things but have no local knowledge.

Some of the women's age-sets open today in the west include the:

- otjongo* - last child in a group;
- otjohuhwa* - chicken;
- otjovahona* - wealthy mothers;
- okakambe* - horse;
- omukundakunda* - ground squirrel;
- opasenge* - dam;
- otjokapate* - a screw-on top for a container;
- ohere* - rock rabbit.

None of the western Kaoko *oviwondo* had had a gathering since before the drought (about 10 years); some of the youngest had never had a meeting. People attributed this to the social and geographical disruption caused by both the drought and the independence war. A member of the *ondjima* age-set told me in 1987: "No-one would call such a party today. Who has enough stock to play games?"

In more populous areas such as Etanga and Opuwo age-set gatherings have been revived, with cases of liquor being used in place of cattle.

Until the last decade, however, people maintain that their age-set and age-mates played a major role in their lives. As the *ondjima* age-mate explained: "You will always help your age-mate and you know he will help you. You can trust him with your stock." In fact, age-mates often work together in terms of stock, interbreeding individual animals from their different herds hoping to produce offspring of a particular colour, and sharing general herding responsibilities. As each of the patriline have a range of rules regarding cattle they may or may not own, based on coat colorations and horn configurations, age-sets can form a useful breeding reservoir of stock. A man may exchange a calf for another with an age-mate, if the former conforms to one of the 36 categories of sacred beasts he may be required to own.

Age-mates also share important experiences such as the ritual seclusion a man must undergo while his marriage is being finally negotiated at his future in-law's *onganda*. His age-mates would keep him company, bring him food and drink, help him to sneak into his future wife's house at night (and get back to his own without his in-laws seeing him), and, importantly, keep him informed about the state of negotiations.

Women too expressed solidarity with their age-mates for a variety of reasons. When she marries a woman must leave her parents' home to live with her husband and his parents. She will usually find herself a long way from where she was born, living with in-laws that she may barely know. Apart from physical separation from her family, she has to symbolically sever herself from the patrilineage in which she was reared. This involves ceremonies at her father-in-law's sacred fire, and until the transition is final, she is confined to certain areas in her new *onganda*.

She must also wear the bridal *ekori* in public, a bonnet-shaped head-covering which restricts vision (see Fig.2.2) and show exaggerated respect for her mother-in-law, at whose hearth she must eat. When the new patrilineage is ready to accept her, she scrapes her body clean and applies a new ochre covering, mixed with butter fat from milk from sacred cattle belonging to the patrilineage. Only then may she build her own cooking hearth and use areas of the homestead which were previously out of bounds, such as crossing the *omuvande* - the 'sacred' corridor between the main house, the sacred fire and and calf enclosure.

Women recalled these early days in a new home as difficult and lonely times. A major source of strength and comfort, however, was that usually some of their age-mates would have been born or married into the same or nearby patrilineages. The bride would thus have her own allies and friends in the area. If no members of her age-set lived nearby she would still have been accompanied to her new home by a few age-mates who would stay there until she was well settled.

The exciting final stages of her marriage negotiations were also shared by age-mates who carried messages between her and her future husband's age-mates. When her father finally agreed to the marriage a cow would be slaughtered and the bride, plus her age-mates, would wear pieces of the beast's stomach on their heads for the day. These 'caps' (Fig.4.1) with their distinctive white streaks of fat, were meant to signify how much her family valued her.

Apart from companionship, age-mates also empowered one another.

"Your age-set gave you respect," a matriarch told me. "If your husband treated you badly, you could complain to his father. But it was not just your voice; your-age mates spoke with you." In some cases, age-mates not only accompanied a woman to a meeting to resolve a dispute, but spoke for her. So a man and his lineage knew that in any serious dispute, they were taking on not just a lone wife, but all her age-mates as well.

A woman who was divorced from her first husband and widowed by her second husband said: "You can lose a husband but your age-mates stay with you all your life" (Maipangwe, pers.comm.1989). The recent breakdown of the institution of age-sets, and its effects on men, women and marriage, will be further explored in Chapter 6.

The preceding discussion indicates that up till the youngest two age-sets, both men and women experienced an important and constant relationship with their age-mates. Solidarity within age-sets develops as age-mates proceed through the same age-stages, sharing ceremonies and experiences. Two of the most significant are the circumcision rites for boys and the puberty ceremony for girls. Age-mates also share a series of age-specific tasks which may cause them to spend time together or at least draw on common experiences.

Age-stages and social construction of gender

The Himba's pre-occupation with different age-stages is self-evident in the custom of changing hairstyles and body decorations to mark entry into a different age grouping. This is true for both genders (see Malan 1973, 1974; Jacobsohn 1990). Materially and socially demarcating the different

age-stages is clearly important for a society whose socio-economy requires that all members of the family, male and female, assume specific roles and age-related tasks.

In Kaoko age-stages relate to the family's socio-economy. Another functional example of an age-stage can be taken from modern Western society: The age-stage 'teenager', which only emerged in the baby boom years post World War II, can be related to the broader market economy which promoted the concept and prospered hugely by creating a new teenage-specific market.

As was shown in Chapter 3, adequate labour is essential for the complex herding strategies necessary in an arid environment. Where pastoral groups may differ from those agricultural societies that are based on women's labour, is that boys and younger men are also integral to the success of the herding economy. This is not to downplay women's role, as will be seen. An analysis of age and gender-related tasks, including their differential scheduling in time, shows that both genders and all age groups are needed to make a (good) living in Kaoko. This inter-dependence of lineage members is one of the key material conditions which has to be re-worked in Kaoko domestic space into a representation of social relations which legitimizes senior male control.

People in the seven lineages identified five different life- or age-stages for both men and women.

For women these are:	For men:
Childhood	Childhood
Pre-puberty	Puberty
Early adulthood	Early adulthood
Married adult	Married adult
Elder	Elder

Male age stages differ from women's in that the period between puberty and marriage is longer than for women who generally marry at a younger age than men. People said that in the past, when lineages were cattle-rich, a man's post puberty and early adulthood stages were filled with much learning to prepare him to become a good herder. Nowadays, because cattle were few and because young men were away in wage labour, the stage was barely signified.

A girl has a special pre-puberty stage because it is at this time that her transition from an exuberant child, goat-herding with her siblings of both sexes, into a well-behaved woman, has to occur, ie before she is capable of bearing children.

Of a girl/woman's five different life-stages three are signified by a new hairstyle and all five involve changes in adornments which vary in different patricians. Patrician membership often marks every-day wear - the style of the *oruvanda*, worn daily by women as a back decoration, signifies her patrician - whereas matrilineages influence the design of certain ceremonial items, eg the bridal *ekori* and the ornate *ondikwa* (baby carrier). These articles are only worn on special occasions.

1) Childhood:

A little girl's hair is arranged into two plaits, drawn forward over her forehead, as soon as it is long enough. The rest of the hair is shaved off by her mother, using a quartz flake or a razor blade. If

she is a one two girl twins, she will have one plait, in the centre of her forehead, and her twin-sister will wear the other.

2) Pre-puberty:

As she approaches puberty the plaits are undone and fashioned into a number of thin twists which fall over her eyes, reducing normal vision in an inconvenient way. Some patrilineal clans require girls to wear bead wigs which hang over the eyes, emphasizing this curbed vision. This period, which usually lasts a few months, is an important interim stage between girlhood and womanhood when she is expected to learn some key lessons about women's roles and responsibilities. She is allowed to practice wearing women's heavy wire bead ankle bands and other adornments in place of her lighter body decorations, usually woven from palm fronds. At this stage her torso may be decorated with scarification patterns and her front teeth may be filed to display a V-shaped gap. In some parts of Kaoko her two lower incisors may be knocked out.

3) Early adulthood:

After puberty, when she is deemed marriageable, the girls hair twists are pushed backwards into the adult woman's style. She now formally, with her parent's full sanction after a puberty ceremony at the sacred fire, adopts women's body decorations. At this time her mother will give her a white cone shell (*conus spp.*) to wear on her chest. These shells, traded from Angola, are a key aspect of Himba women's apparel and mothers and maternal grand-mothers went to a lot of trouble to ensure that all their daughters and grand-daughters acquired such a shell. People said that pre-drought it was not unusual for a large perfect shell to be swapped for a young ox or cow.

4) Married adult:

A few months after her marriage a woman may exchange the bridal *ekori* (see Fig.2.2) for a married woman's *erembe*. Except when she is carrying wood or water on her head (a special leather cap is worn to help balance such objects), a wife should never appear in public without her *erembe*. To do so endangers her husband. (In Chapter 6 it will be shown that during group dancing, women deliberately defy this 'rule'.)

5) Elder:

When her children are grown and her reproductive years have ended, she enters her final age-stage as a respected elder or matriarch. A marker of this stage is to exchange her leather and wire bead belt for a much wider belt.

Three of the five different age stages for males are also marked by a new hairstyle and all stages involving changes in clothing and/or body decorations.

1) Childhood:

A boy's hair is plaited into a single plait (*ondatu or ondato*) down the back of his otherwise shaven head. This style varies slightly according to patrilineal clans.

2) Puberty:

He enters his second age-stage around puberty, after a circumcision ceremony. Just before the ceremony and until he has fully healed from the circumcision, he will wear a single strand of ostrich egg-shell beads around his waist. Afterwards he may wear the *ombware*, a white bead necklace which

he will have to persuade his mother to make for him. As he matures, his mother will add more layers of beads to thicken to his *ombware*. On several occasions I heard young boys pleading with their mothers to do this as a thick *ombware* carried high status. This could well be the last generation of boys to wear such items.

3) Early adulthood:

When his parents and uncles deem him ready for marriage, his single *ondatu* (plait) is split into two, signalling to his society that he is now ready to mate in earnest.

4) Married adult:

After marriage, he will fashion his longish hair into a thick roll along the top of his head, the *ondumba* style of a married man. From now on he must keep his hair covered with a soft piece of leather or black cloth, tied low at the back of the neck. To appear bare-headed in public is a sign of disrespect to the ancestors. If a close relative dies, however, he is expected to tear open and flatten the *ondumbo* roll and dispense with a head covering for several months to announce his state of mourning.

5) Elder:

When his father dies, or becomes old and infirm, a man enters the highly respected stage of elderhood. This age-stage, at the pinnacle of social status in Kaoko society, is demarcated more by what a man is entitled to do (eg eat certain parts of an animal, reserved specifically for male elders), with less emphasis nowadays on material appearances.

GIRLHOOD and BOYHOOD

"One of my first memories was having my hair twisted into two plaits, drawn forward over my forehead. My mother shaved off the rest of my hair, using a white (quartz) stone. I shave my daughter's head now with a razor blade. I remember my mother making my brother's single plait. We were pleased and proud with our hair. Today it's different with the boys - many don't care about the old ways and won't stay still for the plait (to be made). They prefer to wear caps like the white tourists. They are following after their older brothers who worked in the army, with their pants and (unplaited) hair. Write down that I say the old ways are nearly finished" (Vengape, Lineage 4, 1989).

As already discussed, children start working as soon as they are weaned. By four or five years old, little girls and boys are expected to help with the goats. The work is light and children treat their tasks as a challenging, enjoyable game. A major job, to be performed once, or sometimes twice, a day involves re-uniting kid-goats with their mothers. The kids are kept penned so that the goats return willingly to the homestead each night, and enable human control of the goat milk. With help from their mother and older siblings, children quickly learn which kid belongs to which goat - not a mean feat when a herd may number more than 100 adult females.

Within a year or two of starting to work with kids, a child is keen to leave the homestead each day to accompany the older children who are in charge of the family's goats.

Three to six children, siblings and cousins of both sexes, herd the family's goats. Some of the goats will belong to their mothers and aunts; others to fathers and uncles. It is not necessary to take food or water on these long hot days: Depending on the season, there are fruits to eat and thirst can be slaked by a quick drink from a goat's udder.

Girls wear a knee-length goat skin (or black cloth) skirt at both front and back. Boys are only covered with a front skirt, with just a leather thong at the back. Both genders will wear light ornaments made of palm fronds, wood, glass or metal beads round their necks.

High fashion in Kaoko in the 80s were carved white plastic armbands, (Fig.4.2) and wider plastic belts. The white plastic piping was obtained from the plumbing in SADF installations. Young men and youths carved a variety of patterns in the soft plastic, before bending it to arm-shape or to fit a girl's waist by holding the plastic strip near an open flame. The item would be completed by the rubbing of a charcoal-aromatic herb-fat mixture into the incised decoration in the plastic. A striking black and white pattern would thus emerge.

Children are moved out of their parent's house as soon as they are fully weaned (at about four) and they will share a shelter, often unplastered, with other siblings. In practice, children often continue to sleep in their mother's house for much of the time as fathers are often away, seeing to stock and other duties.

The herding work required of children in Kaoko is not regarded as onerous by the children themselves, and in fact, some, particularly women whose life changes dramatically as puberty approaches, regard their goat herding days as the most carefree time of their lives. More and more children are now going to school and women are taking over many of the tasks formerly done by the young.

PRE-PUBERTY

The following extract (Jacobsohn 1990), a distillation of observation and interview, is used to demonstrate how material culture is actively involved as both a signifier and producer of new social relations, in this case, in the social construction of femininity. Of importance here is that the young girl, Mavekoterwae, (also spelt Mavekotorwaiye), and her older companions were able to discuss and question the construction. Although she decided to go along with the conventional interpretation of her new material markers, as a produced representation of a gender ideology, she was not "completely opiated by the ideologies embedded in cultural forms" (Moore 1986:90).

"Mavekoterwae was about 12, just entering puberty. Her breasts had started to develop in recent months and to her great joy, her mother and father had allowed her to unbraid the two plaits all Himba girls wear. Her new hairstyle, only a few days old, was dozens of thin twists of hair hanging forward over her face. They covered her eyes and had to be pushed out the way every few seconds so that she could see ... but such small inconveniences were totally overshadowed by the girl's pride in her new interim status, not yet woman, but no longer a child.

"Her new ankle bands which accompanied the new hairstyle, were made of rows of beaten wire beads. They were proving much heavier than her old ones which were woven from makalani palm fronds. No wonder women moved slowly and complained when they had to walk far for firewood. Mavekoterwae comforted herself with the thought that soon, once her bleeding started, she would be allowed to push back her many hair twists and adopt the shoulder-length multi-braid hairstyle of the Himba woman. She would be allowed to have her own horn of ochre and another for butterfat. She would collect the gum of the *omuzumba* (*Commiphora multijuga*) to perfume the butterfat and the bark of the *omumbara* (*Commiphora virgata*) to grind into an aromatic powder that could be mixed with the ochre. All these she would smear on her face and body so that she gleamed sleek and red like a heifer.

"But still, as she pushed back her hair for the hundredth time and felt her heavy ankle bands chafe her shins, there was a question she needed to ask the older girls. Both her companions had already crossed into womanhood. If it were not for the shortage of young men and the cattle-poverty of the older men, Etomakwa, the eldest, would probably be close to marrying by now.

"Mavekoterwae's question was this: Why is it that our fathers would not trust us to take the calves to the far water in the hills? Why did they fear we would lose our way? Have they forgotten that up till a few days ago, I went often into the hills. Until I put away the plaits of a little girl and started on the path towards womanhood, up till that time, I went out with my brothers with the goats and sheep most days, except when my mother or aunts needed me for a chore at home. Three rain seasons now we have been to this camp and I know the paths as well as my brothers. And I never once fell asleep in the shade and allowed a jackal to take a small goat, as has my youngest brother. Even you my sisters, you too took out the goats and sheep, when you were younger. You know the land as well as I. So I am puzzled. Does my father think I have already forgotten all I knew yesterday as a goatherd?

"The older girls understood Mavekoterwae's confusion well. They too had experienced it ... one day you are a child, running free with your brothers. Most mornings you lead the small stock into the veld. As long as one keeps a careful eye out for jackal, goats and sheep don't need much attention at all. You and your brothers run, climb, play, taking a quick drink from a nanny goat's udder when you are thirsty. Then suddenly, your body begins to change. Two little bumps on your flat chest signal the woman's breasts that are to come ... and life changes forever. You are told you must not run and throw yourself around like the boys still do; that young women do not climb trees or scramble up rocky cliffs. You should endeavour to walk slowly with your head erect, moving gracefully at all times. The new hairstyle helps ... it hangs in your eyes so that you carry your head high and are afraid to run anywhere in case you trip over something you did not see. The new heavy jewellery, awkward and uncomfortable round your ankles, your waist and neck, also slows you down.

"But in a few months you have grown used to the trappings of femininity and have forgotten that you used to run with the boys. Other more interesting things lie ahead ... as long as you learn how to make yourself beautiful and behave in a desirable, womanly manner. You already know that your younger brother will get away with interrupting his grandfather with an impertinent remark, but that as a girl, you should not speak while the men are pontificating. Something else you soon learn as you enter the world of women is that you are expected to be afraid of the veld and its denizens and admire the

brave men who go out into the wilds ... no matter that you spent your early girlhood herding goats in those wilds. Now, as a woman, you look inwards into the onganda, leaving the (newly) dangerous wild world outside to the boys and men.

"Mavekoterwae listened carefully to her sisters as they tried to explain. She couldn't help wondering if she had not preferred the freedom of her earlier girlhood ..." (Jacobsohn 1990: 38-39).

ADULT MANHOOD

The following data is presented to show that men also have to conform to a particular social construction of masculinity, ie. men are brave, level-headed and able to cope in a crisis. The information relates to an elder, who was head of Lineage 1 during the study, but the events described took place before he assumed leadership of the lineage.

According to community informants, the lineage head had been passed over and his younger brother chosen as a councillor to the ward headman. He had not been made a councillor because people thought his younger brother "had a better head". Several incidents which had counted against the older brother were related to illustrate this assertion. They contain useful indicators about local perceptions of positive and negative masculine traits and male roles in general.

One night in the early 1980s a pride of lion had approached the homestead. Cattle had panicked and broken out of their enclosure; the younger brother had acquitted himself with bravery, coolly organizing and leading the group of men and boys who rounded up the cattle and drove them back into their kraal in spite of the nearby lions. The older brother, informants said, had remained in his dwelling.

Similarly, it was claimed that the latter had responded to a rumour that a band of Swapo insurgents were in the area seeking cattle (for food) and recruits, by fleeing the homestead to hide in the hills for a few days. The fact that he had left wives, children and stock to fend for themselves would not readily be forgotten. The lineage head was also regarded as unreliable because he was a man who abused liquor: A man, people said, whose hat falls off his head during a meeting.

Till recently all married Kaoko men kept their heads covered - wearing a hat, cap, leather or black cloth covering in public - except when in mourning. Hats and caps would thus normally be worn during meetings and ceremonies. The saying "A man whose hat falls off during a meeting" means, literally, that he is so inebriated that he either falls asleep or falls over during the meeting, so that his hat drops off.

With some sense of Kaoko life, as experienced by the different age groups and genders, it is now necessary to examine the age and gender-related division of labour in more detail to demonstrate that the way in which life is experienced differs significantly according to both age and gender.

Age and gender-specific tasks

It should be noted again that the data is specific to the far west in a community relatively poor in terms of cattle numbers and labour compared to some communities further north and north-east. Several weeks were spent with northern Kaoko communities where stock numbers are higher and larger concentrations of people occur. The same broad picture pertained, with only one notable difference: a stronger division of labour among women, according to age. Older women in the north expected and had more leisure than younger women. In the labour-hungry west, older women were less free to ease their workload as there was often no-one to take over tasks.

A listing of the work done by women, men and children follows. For each group, tasks have been broken up into a four categories:

Daily - tasks that are performed every day

Regular/Ongoing - routine tasks performed several times a month, or more

Seasonal - tasks performed regularly or daily in a particular season

Occasional - work done less than about four times a year

All women, from puberty to old age do most or all of the tasks given below, although younger women are expected to work harder than their elders. This is indicated in the text where relevant.

Men's work, significantly, is more stratified according to age and two age categories are needed to convey a realistic overview, even though the sum of men's tasks is far shorter. Tasks that were done in the past but no are longer performed are also indicated. Senior men are lineage heads and other elders and well established married men with children; young men include married men who may have one or more children but have yet to attain elder status; youths are post-puberty boys who are unmarried.

STAGE 1 GIRLS: DAILY

- 1 Take kidgoats/lambs from pen to suckle from mothers
- 2 Return kids to pen
- 3 Accompany goats and flocks for day's browse
- 4 Water small stock
- 5 Take care of younger sibling
- 6 Help mother and grandmother with household chores

STAGE 1 BOYS: DAILY

- 1 Take kidgoats/lambs from pen to suckle from mothers
- 2 Return kids to pen
- 3 Accompany goats and flocks for day's browse
- 4 Water small stock
- 5 Take care of younger sibling if sister not available

STAGE 2 PREPUBERTY//INTERIM GIRLS: DAILY

Now preparing for her puberty ceremony, the girl must remain at the homestead to learn and share women's work. The more active girls often find moving from carefree, unsupervised days with other children in the veld, herding goats, to relatively heavy housework at home, a dull and difficult transition. Separated from their male play-mates, girls begin bonding with their future age-mates at this time.

- 1 Child-care
- 2 Assist with milking cows and goats
- 3 Collect firewood
- 4 Fetch water
- 5 Make sure all kid goats and lambs suckle
- 6 Supervise younger children's work with goats
- 7 Care for aged and infirm
- 8 Personal grooming and ablutions, hygiene of younger siblings

STAGE 2 PREPUBERTY//INTERIM GIRLS: REGULAR/ONGOING

Assist with:

- 1 House maintenance (eg replastering)
- 2 House cleaning (Sweep out house; air bedding)
- 3 Repair and maintenance of milk baskets and other household utensils
- 4 Repair and maintenance of family clothing and decorations
- 5 Grooming of children (eg head shaving and hair styling)
- 6 Assist with jewellery-manufacture

STAGE 2 PREPUBERTY//INTERIM GIRLS: SEASONAL

- 1 Gathering of veldfoods
- 2 Collecting of aromatic/medical herbs
- 3 Herb preparation for cosmetics and medicines (crushing, grinding, burning, smoking, mixing)
- 4 Ochre grinding
- 5 Reciprocal hair styling with women companions (Himba women need help to maintain their long hair twists)
- 6 Manufacture of goods such as baskets, dolls, belts for sale to tourists
- 7 Irrigation of vegetable gardens.
- 8 Weeding
- 9 Planting vegetables
- 10 Harvest maize cobs
- 11 Grinding mealie cobs into meal

STAGE 2 PREPUBERTY/INTERIM GIRLS: OCCASIONAL

Assist with:

- 1 House-building at a new camp, (collecting saplings and other materials, erecting the house, collecting cattle dung, mixing it with river sand and plastering the house)
- 2 Manufacture of woven milk baskets for household needs
- 3 Making family apparel and body decorations
- 4 Making and maintaining horn and leather cosmetic and medicine containers
- 5 Goatherding duties if children not available
- 6 Journey to ochre mine to collect ochre

STAGE 2 PUBERTY: BOYS

Once he has undergone circumcision rites, he continues his work with the goats until such time as his male elders deem him responsible enough to start working with cattle. Being permitted to move from the goats to cattle is a proud and eagerly awaited day for most youths. Today, as already discussed, stock duties and responsibilities are lighter than in the past because there are few predators.

STAGES 3 and 4 WOMEN: DAILY:

An unmarried woman's work will obviously be lighter than a married woman with children. But young women are expected to assist relatives and an idle woman is frowned upon. Frequently I saw older woman finding tasks for unoccupied girls and young women to do whereas idle youths and young men were more likely to be offered milk or other food.

- 1 Child-care
- 2 Milk cows and goats
- 3 Collect firewood (usually but not always younger women)
- 4 Fire-making
- 5 Fetch water (Usually younger women)
- 6 Decant, mix and store milk for drinking, cooking, fat-making
- 7 Cook for and feed family/ responsible for milk allocation
- 8 Separate fat from milk
- 9 Oversee and organize milking strategy
- 10 Make sure all kid goats and lambs suckle
- 11 Supervise children's work with goats
- 12 Care for aged and infirm
- 13 Nurse and treat ill and injured
- 14 Personal grooming
- 15 Networking (ongoing reciprocal economic relations with the women of other *onganda*; the explicit aim being to acquire needed goods from

others in a system of exchange, but to keep others more in your debt than vice versa. Networking skills are recognized and respected.)

- 16 Let cattle out of enclosure to graze if men absent or labour is short
- 17 Corral calves and cattle at night if men absent or labour is short

STAGES 3 and 4 WOMEN: REGULAR/ONGOING

- 1 House maintenance (eg replastering)
- 2 House cleaning (Sweep out house; air bedding)
- 3 Repair and maintenance of milk baskets and other household utensils
- 4 Repair and maintenance of family clothing and decorations
- 5 Grooming of children (eg head shaving and hair styling)
- 6 Ash removal from hearths
- 7 Perfume skin clothing with smoke from aromatic herbs

STAGES 3 and 4 WOMEN: SEASONAL

- 1 Gathering of veldfoods
- 2 Collecting of aromatic/medical herbs
- 3 Herb preparation for cosmetics and medicines (crushing, grinding)
- 4 Burning, smoking and mixing of herbs
- 5 Ochre grinding
- 6 Reciprocal hair styling with women companions (Himba women need help to maintain their long hair twists)
- 7 Manufacture of goods such as baskets, dolls, belts for sale to tourists
- 8 Irrigation of vegetable gardens.
- 9 Weeding
- 10 Planting of vegetables
- 11 Harvesting of maize cobs
- 12 Grinding mealie cobs into meal
- 13 Assistance with watering stock when male labour is short

STAGES 3 and 4 WOMEN: OCCASIONAL

- 1 House-building at a new camp, (collecting saplings and other materials, erecting the house)
- 2 House-plastering: Collect cattle dung over period of days, mix with river sand, and apply to floor and walls of the new house
- 3 Manufacture of woven milk baskets
- 4 Make family apparel and body decorations
- 5 Make and maintain horn and leather cosmetic and medicine containers
- 6 Goatherding duties if children not available
- 7 Journey to ochre mine to collect ochre store (10-20 days)

- 8 Beer making: Collect grass seeds from harvester ants' nests
 - Collect bark from *Boscia albitrunca*
 - Winnow and grind seeds
 - Mix seeds and bark with water and honey or sugar
- 9 Make special ritual items, eg pre-circumcision ostrich egg-shell belt for a son

STAGES 3 AND 4 YOUNG MEN: DAILY

- 1 PAST: Men used to accompany cattle herds out each day; now cattle is left to graze without overseeing; wet cows usually return to the *onganda* each night of their own accord
- 2 Calves and cattle corralled at night

STAGES 3 AND 4 YOUNG MEN: REGULAR/ONGOING

- 1 Wash western clothes
- 2 Slaughter goat/sheep for meat (3-4 times a month, on average)
- 3 Butcher carcass
- 4 Boil meat for male consumption
- 5 Seek missing stock

STAGES 3 AND 4 YOUNG MEN: SEASONAL

- 1 Dig pits in river beds as water table receded in late wet season
- 2 Carve drinking troughs for stock
- 3 Water stock from pit: Fill buckets; pass to surface; fill trough; control stock
- 4 Explore range on foot, seeking future grazing and browse

STAGES 3 AND 4 YOUNG MEN: OCCASIONAL

- 1 Build calf/cattle enclosures
- 2 Build small stock pens
- 3 Sandal manufacture from car tyres or animal skins
- 4 Prepare cattle skins
- 5 Make brass or wooden items for personal adornment (wife/lover or sister will share work)
- 6 Carve plastic armbands for self and wife/lover/friends
- 7 Carve milk spoon
- 8 Carve milk pail
- 9 Manufacture wooden items for sale
- 10 Clear fields for planting
- 11 Dig irrigation furrows
- 12 Dig graves
- 13 Collect honey for beer (Sugar is usually used today)

STAGE 5 SENIOR WOMEN

As already discussed, in the west senior women continue working well into old age, and most collect firewood, cook and help build and maintain their houses, repair and make household goods and items of apparel for their family as long as they are able. A few tasks may only be undertaken by post-reproductive women.

- 1 Midwifery - attend and assist at childbirth
- 2 After a death, prepare body for burial (senior women only)
- 3 Recite deceased's life story at the sacred fire before burial (senior women only)
- 4 Conduct certain purification ceremonies (senior women only)
- 5 Make input into lineage location decisions
- 6 Assist with arbitration of family disputes
- 7 Maintain sacred fire at night in main house

STAGE 5 SENIOR MEN: DAILY

- 1 Lineage head will perform milk cleaning ceremony each morning

STAGE 5 SENIOR MEN: REGULAR/ONGOING

- 1 Lineage head, with elders, will conduct ceremonies at sacred fire as needed, eg. baby-naming, rites of passage
- 2 Read future in entrails of slaughtered goat/sheep
- 3 Boil choice cuts of meat for own consumption
- 4 Supervise herding strategy
- 5 Assume overall responsibility for patriclan rules

STAGE 5 SENIOR MEN: SEASONAL

- 1 Plan and decide stock movements and herding strategy
- 2 Plan and decide lineage relocations
- 3 Rekindle sacred fire at new location

STAGE 5 SENIOR MEN: OCCASIONAL

- 1 Negotiate mutually acceptable stock movements with other lineages
- 2 Explore range on foot or donkey back to assess environmental conditions
- 3 Arbitrate family disputes (with assistance from other elders, including senior women)
- 4 Negotiate cattle transactions regarding marriages
- 5 Participate in burial rites
- 6 Input into inheritance negotiations with matrilineage members (the elder's own and that of his children)
- 7 Attend council of headman meetings in Opuwo

8 Carve *ongwinju* for personal use (neck pillow)

This data was presented to show that the ways in which life in Kaoko is lived differs significantly according to both age and gender. The places and goods used also differ according to these two major social divisions as will be illustrated when spatial organization is linked to social organization below.

Aspects of Herero social organization

Before moving on to built space, a brief discussion on Herero social organization is necessary to incorporate the two Herero lineages in the study area. They belong to the same age-sets as Himba people and see children as passing through the same age-stages and ceremonies, although the material markers, in terms of apparel, differ. At a circumcision ceremony held at Purros in 1987, three of the boys circumcised were from Herero lineages and five from Himba lineages.

I was told that wealthier lineages would allow daughters to wear 'big dresses', as the full-length, 'Victorian'-style dresses are known locally, after they had reached puberty. In western Kaoko, however, Herero girls wore ordinary Western dresses, often home-made and much repaired. Some did not expect to acquire a big dress until after they married when their husband would be expected to bear the costs of 12 metres of dress material. Some of the girls who were attending boarding school said they preferred "modern" Western-style clothing to the cumbersome big dresses worn by their mothers. Older women, however, were proud of their big dresses, and teased me for wearing my "boy's clothes" - loose cotton trousers and T-shirts. These they excused only on the grounds that my work required me to drive a car, ride a donkey and do other such "men's work".

4.3 ORGANIZATION OF THE HOMESTEAD

There is broad consensus in western Kaoko regarding the 'correct' spatial layout of an *onganda*, in terms of the association and segregation of some of its key features. These include the sacred fire, which should be located between the entrance to the calf enclosure and the entrance of the main house. The corridor thus formed is called the *omuvanda*. People agreed these were the most important aspects of Himba household space.

Most people also agreed that wives and children, related to the lineage head patrilineally, should place their houses to the left of the *omuvanda*, with relatives who were matrilineally- (and patrilineally) related to the right, (eg brothers, married or unmarried, and unmarried sisters). As my data will show, this rule was often broken.

In the 1970s Malan recorded a 'typical' Himba homestead (Fig.4.3) of the oHerero patrician, which contained the *omuvanda*, as described above, but in which only two houses - the main house and the dwelling of the lineage head's intended successor - faced the sacred fire or calf enclosure; all

other houses faced in the same direction as the main house (1973:99). This presents a neat solution to the modern dilemma of some houses, those opposite the main house, having a reversed spatial text. Steyn, on the other hand, recording actual homesteads, has houses facing inwards, towards the calf enclosure (1977:46-55). This accords with my data.

As Malan's work goes back into the 1960s and was based to a large extent on the knowledge of senior men, his homestead map may reflect the ideal, as envisaged by the dominant authority structure, or it may reflect an older style of domestic layout which subsequently changed. These apparent differences in built space in just a quarter of a century underscore the point that 'tradition' is not static, and is always open to re-negotiation.

Spatial orientations are supposed to vary according to patricians. For example, the large oHerero patrician requires that the main dwelling faces east; other clans may stipulate a west-facing entrance. A lineage may specify that ash (a potent substance that contains positive and negative properties) from the sacred fire should be put to the left of the fire, near the calf enclosure entrance, whereas, it is claimed, that in the past most homesteads placed the ash on the right. This could be verified at some old homesteads. An explanation for this changeover, according to senior women, was the war taking place to the north. The "old people" (ancestors) had asked the living to do this to help safeguard homestead residents. This habit of reversing aspects of the spatial and material order in times of death or crisis can be shown to be a persistent theme in Kaoko.

Notwithstanding such variations, on request, the average person in Kaoko will sketch in the sand a plan of an *onganda* that shows generally similar spatial relationships between houses, hearths, stock enclosures, storage structures and ash piles. Even the miniature homesteads built by children at play usually conform to a standard general layout. The Himba homestead will form the main focus of the following discussion.

Compared to other types of domestic architecture, such Kaoko homesteads may appear relatively simple with a limited and rigid set of spatial 'rules'. Nevertheless, it can be shown that the spatial organization of the *onganda* is actively implicated in a complex range of human relationships, social, economic and symbolic, which are played out in daily life (Giddens' *duree*), in biological life (*dasein*) and within the long-term passage of time (*longue-duree*) (Giddens 1979, 1984).

It will also be suggested that the *onganda's* relatively narrow range of spatial variations have been used to bind in time and across (semi-nomadic) space (and thereby repeatedly reproduce and naturalize) a particular social order and value system, a produced representation of reality, which has enabled generations of semi-nomads to survive not just as people, but as pastoralists in an arid environment.

At the same time, it will be argued, following Bourdieu (1977) that people experience and use the spatial order in different and strategic ways. This means there is no single spatial code, in the structuralist sense, inherent in the Kaoko *onganda*, although there is a conventional, authoritative interpretation. Systems of spatial classification acquire meaning through social action and operate reflexively to structure and inform action (Davison 1991:59).

From an archaeological perspective, it is indeed possible to "read" the spatial layout, "over the shoulder" of, for example, the dominant Himba male elder, to borrow Geertz' (1971) analogy. It is essential, however, to keep in mind that such spatial texts do not, of necessity, reflect real social and economic relations: the patterns of association and segregation which are to be found in homesteads across Kaoko are a socially and strategically produced representation of social organization (Moore 1986). From this theoretical perspective, it becomes possible, in chapters 6, 7 and 8, to examine material-spatial-social discourses of change which are taking place in Kaoko.

Semi-nomadic domestic space

Thousands of homesteads, in various stages of repair, stand empty across Kaoko, awaiting their semi-nomadic owner's return. In western Kaoko they range from large, formal dry-season bases with as many as 12 plastered dwellings and a number of storage structures, to wet season camps which may consist of nothing more than one or two shabby, living shelters with a broken down stock pen and an ephemeral scatter of charcoal, marking a soon to be invisible cooking hearth.

Some *ozonganda* will be re-occupied: Within a day or two of the people's return, the homestead will have lost its desolate, 'dried up' ambience. Sagging dwellings will be repaired, walls and floors will be neatly replastered with a mixture of dung and river sand; new thorn branches and poles will be cut to repair stock enclosures; red-ochred baskets and milk pails appear to the left of *ondjuwo* entrances; blankets in the rich oranges, tans and browns beloved by Himba people, will be draped over bushes or dwellings to air; Smoke rises from cooking hearths; children fetch and carry kidgoats; women, their bodies gleaming red with ochre and butter fat, move about their domain, busy but unhurried, in the graceful, contained way of Kaoko women ...

A 'typical' dry season homestead is described here. A range of actual homesteads used in different seasons follows in Chapter 5. A mere description of spatial organization must fail to do justice to the material ramifications of semi-nomadism as well as the social energy inherent in an occupied homestead in its arid setting. The following outline thus attempts to present a dynamic account of built space and daily and seasonal life. At the same time it highlights important social and symbolic behaviour within the homestead in relation to domestic space and material culture.

Sacred fire:

The first feature to be built at a new site is, or should be, the sacred fire, (*okuruwo*). Just a generation ago, sacred fire sticks would have been used to light this fire; sadly, by the mid-1980s no fire sticks were still in use in the study area. The last pair had been mislaid in the social and economic upheaval during the drought when lineages lost most or all of their stock, and many of their possessions.

The head of Lineage 2 recalled that such sticks had to be left for two days on a stone at the sacred fire because they were too potent to be put inside an *ondjuwo* immediately after use. He explained that the energy or power released by using the fire sticks was so strong that it could harm people sleeping in the house; time was therefore needed for this power to dissipate. The sticks were

stored at the back of the main house, slightly to the left, with other ritually portent objects such as the *otjipwina* a small wooden bowl in the shape of a goblet, which is used at the sacred fire during many ceremonies including circumcision of boys. The *otjipwina* is also used inside the *ondjuwo* by women for certain intimate personal rituals which are linked to sexual intercourse and fertility.

The central position of the sacred fire, in the unmarked but powerfully important 'corridor' between the entrance to the calf enclosure and the main hut's entrance, enables the lineage head to elicit the authority of his ancestors to mediate - spatially and socially - between different interest groups within his homestead, including his patrilineage and matrilineage, his wife and children and his brothers and sisters.

The sacred fire's centrality, in the *omuvanda* or sacred corridor, enables the lineage head to disassociate himself from the mundane activities of the homestead and to be associated with the ancestors. As he kindles the fire each morning to conduct the *omakere* ceremony - a milk-tasting ritual, first recorded by Irle in 1906, which requires the lineage head to free the milk of taboos so that other residents of the homestead may drink - his position of authority is articulated and re-enforced by the spatial text. As a lineage head told me, the sacred fire simply could not be anywhere else but in its central position.

The social-spatial division which connects the lineage head with the ancestors is re-enforced by the fire's position opposite the entrance to the calf enclosure, the locus of the lineage's most important possessions. The main house, where the lineage head - or in some cases, his widowed mother - lives, marks the other end of the special corridor. These spatial relations are emphasized by a ruling that strangers - and a new daughter-in-law - may not enter or cross the *omuvanda* unless and until they have been introduced to the ancestors.

The stone for the branches:

The sacred fire is nowadays a simple structure in western Kaoko which varies from a few stones, usually four or five, in a rough circle to a well-marked circle of stones. Sometimes an *ewe roviso* (the stone for the branches) is placed centrally; this marks where mopane wood, used exclusively for the sacred fire, is stored. The *ewe roviso* is not always put in position in western Kaoko although it was usually visible at the large homesteads further north and north-east. Malan's data had the *ewe roviso* placed to the left of the sacred fire (1973).

Stock enclosures:

Next, stock enclosures will be built by men and boys; a sturdy calf and cattle kraal of poles and thorn branches in the centre of the homestead with its entrance facing the main house, plus one or more smaller rock and branch pens for the kid goats and lambs.

The calf enclosure will be located in the centre of the homestead. This has practical, socially-strategic and symbolic reasons. The central position, encircled by houses, is obviously the safest place, in terms of predators, to keep prized cattle at night. At the same time, the enclosure's position makes it the central focus of the *onganda*: It is what all lineage members first see when they look out of their

houses so that "... the system of social relations defined and effected through ownership of those cattle (is) permanently on view in the camp layout" (Parkington and Mills 1989:10).

Although complex networks of ownership and usufruct of cattle and milk are worked out in each lineage, the sacred cattle belong to the patriline, and the secular herd to the matrilineage of the male head of the household. Cattle are thus associated with the ancestors via the two senior (and deceased) generations of lineages. Lineage members, including its head, are not free to trade with or otherwise dispose of cattle as they wish.

Ash from the sacred fire is placed near the kraal entrance, on the right-hand side (or, as previously discussed, on the left-hand side). A baby who dies before naming will be buried inside the enclosure as this is a child who has been "taken back" by the ancestors.

The position of the smallstock enclosures are usually related to ownership: Kidgoats and lambs are extremely vulnerable to jackals and it makes sense to position the enclosure within earshot and even, line of sight, of a house entrance. In the past small goat herds were usually owned by women, and a wife's kidgoat pens would therefore be placed on the left side of the homestead, near her house or that of her children.

Since the 1979-82 drought, goats have assumed greater economic importance to western Kaokolanders, and herds have increased in size. Such herds are now likely to be "owned" by a man and are regarded as the property of his matrilineage, along with his non-sacred cattle. Women resent this male take-over of one of their economic domains. For practical reasons, however, a wife and husband usually keep their goat herds together, although they will know who owns each and every animal. The wife prefers the kidgoat pen to be on the left of the homestead while some men told me the pen should be alongside the calf enclosure. The position of pens are likely to become more of an issue in the future as polarization of gender relations continues.

Main house and *omuvanda*:

The main house, built, as are all dwellings, by women, will face the entrance to the calf kraal with the sacred fire in a line, slightly closer to the kraal than the dwelling, between the two structures. As discussed this *omuvanda* - main dwelling entrance-sacred fire-entrance to calf enclosure - is the most private part of the *onganda*, out of bounds to non-lineage members.

A new wife who is required to change from her father's patrician to that of her husband and father-in-law after her marriage, should not cross the *omuvanda* for the first year after moving to her in-law's *onganda*. This means she cannot walk across the homestead but must leave the circle to walk behind the main house, a daily, inconvenient reminder of her outsider status. She should also avoid the area near the main dwelling and sacred fire, and is expected to stay close to her own house, unless a chore, given by her mother-in-law, takes her elsewhere. These spatial restrictions are coupled with others, such as not being able to use the names of certain people in the new *onganda*. When these restrictions are finally lifted, the sense of freedom within the homestead thus engendered, facilitates her identification with and loyalty towards her new patrician and patrilineage.

The main dwelling is usually where the lineage head and his senior wife sleep; in a few cases in western Kaoko this position was taken by the widowed mother of the lineage head. The lineage head would then place his dwelling to the right of the main house.

Other dwellings:

The *onganda's* other dwellings will be arranged round the calf kraal in a circle, or nowadays, in an arc. The lineage head's intended successor, usually his brother, will build his house on the far side of the circle, opposite but slightly to the right of the main house. The public entrance to the *onganda*, even where there is no outer enclosure, should be from this side, furthest away from the omuvanda.

Wives and daughters, who share the lineage head's patriclan but not his matriclan, should build their dwellings to the left of the main house, with relatives who share the lineage head's matriclan (*and* patriclan), on the right. It should be noted that the left and right opposition used here for the *onganda* accords with the spatial orientation in use in western Kaoko, ie from the point of view of the main *ondjuwo* user, looking out of the door from the main house, towards the sacred fire. However, all householders carry with them a smaller spatial universe in which a left/right opposition, from their own point of view inside their house, looking outwards, applies. This means a house on the other side of the calf enclosure, facing the main house, will not reverse its own spatial relations to accord with those of the main house; left is taken as the house occupants look out of his/her door, even though left in that instance may be to the right of the main house of the homestead. As discussed, Malan's data (1973) suggests a different spatial resolution in the past.

Like Malan (1974) and Steyn (1977) before him, Crandall (1991) has claimed, on the basis of his work in the north east of Kaoko, that the division of space in the "kraal" (sic), (meaning, in his paper, homestead and not just the stock enclosure), is based strictly on a left/right, *oruzo* (patriclan)/*eanda* (matriclan) division. It is suggested that while this may be one important aspect in terms of a senior Himba male view of spatial divisions in Kaoko, there exist cross-cutting variables as well as challenging interpretations, from within the *onganda*, to this view. For example, to a wife the left side of the homestead, and the left side of her house, are related not only to her adopted patriclan but also to her own *eanda* which will be the source of her children's future material wealth. Crandall stands in danger of seeing the rules of a particular institution, rather than the people.

It will be recalled that a wife changes from her father's patriclan to that of her husband after marriage. But women do not view themselves *only* as members of a patriclan. They remain members of the matriclan into which they were born, as do their children.

While the patriclan may look after one's daily needs while one's husband is alive, women know they can always depend on their *eanda* - through a brother or son - for long-term security. Women often mentioned that it is an added source of distress to a widow to see the stock she and her husband have nurtured and depended on for milk and meat, disappear after his death to his brothers or to his sister's children. Technically, all his other movable possessions may also go to his *eanda* relatives and it is in the interests of a wife to accumulate as much personal stock for herself and her children during her marriage, as well as to maintain congenial relations with her husband's matrilineal relatives.

Although resources are pooled and shared on a daily basis in marriage, both spouses are always aware of who owns a particular object or animal: A wife may bring some stock (for example, a small herd of goats or sheep) to her new home for her own use and she will expect to acquire stock, as gifts from her husband and other relatives, specially but not only matrilineal kin, for both herself and her children during the marriage. A bride would not, however, arrive at her father-in-law's home with goats; that would be insulting her new patrilineage's ability to support her and undermine her initial exaggerated demeanour of humility and obedience. She will fetch the goats from her father's homestead a year or two after her marriage.

A widow may chose to remain with her adopted patrilineage and her late husband's brother - who inherits the sacred fire - is expected to look after her needs. In western Kaoko two widows had opted to move to a son; two were living with the brother of their late husbands and in one case, a lineage head had taken his late brother's widow as his second wife. People said this was not an unusual event but that a widow would never be coerced into such a marriage.

The left side of the *onganda* then, is where a married woman's concerns are mapped: Her children live there; the offspring of the smallstock she owns, including goats given to her children, are penned nearby. It is on the left that she displays and plays out her allocative power over patrilineal resources.

Hearths:

Apart from the sacred fire, a number of other outside hearths occur in the homestead. Most of the dwellings occupied by an adult woman will have an outside cooking hearth, a few metres to the left of the house entrance. This is a prime activity area where people congregate to cook, eat, talk and work. It is explicitly associated with the woman of the house. It is here, on the ground or hanging from the house, both inside and out that she keeps her various milk and water containers, pots and other domestic utensils. Calabash-shaped baskets or actual gourds (both known as *ozondjupa*) may be hung in the left side of this entrance, or from a stick in the ground to be rhythmically rocked to separate butterfat out from milk.

Men, women and children regularly use this area although if a man has a group of male visitors he may take a piece of smouldering wood from his wife's hearth and start another small fire, around which he and his visitors will sit in the shade of a nearby tree. Apart from cooking and eating here, women may spend hours of their day at this small hearth. They will be talking but are rarely idle: there is always skin clothing and jewellery to be maintained and repaired, household utensils need regular maintenance, butterfat has to be made ...

Hundreds of activity areas were recorded; only one Himba women sometimes placed her cooking hearth to the right of her house. As a divorced woman, she claimed that she could put her fire wherever she wished.

Ancestor's place:

The space to the right of the dwelling entrance (main and other dwellings) is where firewood is kept and older people will not usually sit here. This area is the ancestors' place, they say. The allocation of space on the right of the house to important patrilineal-matrilineal relatives indicates that Crandall's left/patriclan right/*eanda* division of space (1991) is overly simplistic, reminiscent of structuralism. The only time it is permissible for the living to sit here is when there has been a death in the *onganda*. Then the spatial and material idiom is inverted: people sit on the right and even cook there; certain items of apparel are worn inside out; a new widow may use male items such as her late husband's walking stick.

This practice of physically reversing or inverting the norm in times of social stress and upheaval highlights the mediating role domestic space and material goods can play, located as they are between the real world and the symbolically constructed or imagined world. The practice is called *tanauku*, and with its range of literal and figurative meanings, it is central to an understanding of how the social, economic and symbolic lives of Kaoko people are integrated and experienced through a succession of on-going and strategic "readings" of built space and the recursive use of material culture.

Meat fires:

When an animal (usually goat or sheep) is slaughtered for eating, parts of it may be cooked by men on a separate fire. The actual slaughter and butchery should take place to the right of the lineage head's house unless he was absent, in which case the beast should be killed to the left of his house. The meat fire is also usually situated to the right of the stock owner's house, although in practice, men often located their meat fire for comfort - eg in the shade of a nearby tree, irrespective of its position in relation to the house. There was some disagreement among elders in the west about fire locations: some men believed the meat fire should be to the left of the main house. These differences could not be related to membership of different patriclans. Male elders will usually "read" the future in the entrails of the slaughtered animal. In the wealthier past, men said it was cattle entrails they used; nowadays goats or a sheep have to do.

Ash piles:

Another significant physical feature in an *onganda* is one or more piles of ash, usually close to the calf enclosure, to the left or right of the sacred fire. This ash, from the sacred fire which is outside and the interior hearth of the main house (where coals from the sacred fire are supposed to be placed each evening), is swept up and moved by the lineage head's senior wife, or widowed mother.

Ash is a substance which men should not handle. It is believed that harm or even death could befall a man who came into contact - wantonly or accidentally - with ash from the sacred fire. Ash from ordinary cooking hearths is less dangerous - although men should still avoid unnecessary contact. This changes, however, when a death occurs in the house. Ash from the cooking hearth(s) and interior hearth immediately associated with the deceased then becomes as dangerous to men as the sacred fire's ash. Such ash would be added to the sacred fire ash heap, or in some patriclans, it should be disposed of under a bush, some distance from the homestead.

A continuum of danger, according to age, applies in relation to ash. An elder or lineage head should never come into contact with ash. In practice in western Kaoko this was strictly adhered to, and many times a lineage head was seen to call his wife to clean out the hearth before he performed a ritual at the sacred fire. Younger married men should also not associate with ash, but it would be less dangerous for them to do so than for the elders. Youths and unmarried men should preferentially not handle ash but no harm will befall them if they do. They would be expected to do any of the work involving ash if a woman was not available.

Storage structures and shade shelters:

Other possible components of the homestead are storage structures and shade/storage shelters. These will almost always be placed to the left of the house, sometimes slightly behind it. The storage platform is usually more than a metre off the ground, as a safeguard against scavengers such as jackals and hyena, and looks like a miniature dwelling on stilts. The sapling 'roof' will be plastered. Wealthy lineages will store skin clothing, extra containers, items of jewelry and different foods in these structures.

The shade shelter, such as those built at Purros by women in Lineage 3 in response to the arduous and hot task of grinding mealie cobs into meal, usually has a flat roof on which goods and foods are stored. The shelter is not usually plastered and consists of a skeleton of saplings, over which blankets or skins will be thrown. Children or guests may sleep in the shelter which may also be used for cooking and socializing out of the sun.

Otjoto and birth hut

Temporary structures may be erected for a wedding ceremony or a birth. The *otjoto*, for weddings, will be located to the left of the sacred fire, and must always include a green (wet) sapling, with which the bride is explicitly associated. She is required to remain in seclusion here (the shelter will be draped with skins or blankets) for several hours while men consume a meat feast. In the past, people said, when an ox rather than a goat or sheep would be slaughtered, this seclusion could last a few days. Age-mates of the bride would be in attendance at this time, keeping her company and tending to her needs. Some people also recalled that the couple were required to spend their first night together in the shelter, but this was no longer done.

Birth huts also used to be built in the past - none were used during the study period. In the past a man took his wife back to her own mother for the birth of their first child. A birthing shelter would be built behind the mother's house and her labour would be attended by her mother, aunts and other senior women. Mother and child would remain in the birth hut until the umbilical cord dried up and fell off. This would be buried under the floor of the shelter, as was the placenta immediately after the birth. The baby would then be brought to its maternal grandfather's sacred fire and named. A similar naming ceremony would later take place at its own father's (or paternal grand-father's) sacred fire.

"In the old days it was as if the child nearly had two *oruzo*," according to elders, men and women. Nowadays births may take place in the woman's own house, or in that of her mother.

A new mother is required to bury the placenta and umbilical cord herself. In the Himba births I was able to attend, the mothers used dried pieces of cattle dung to line the hole in which the placenta was placed. Birthing shelters were not used and the women gave birth in their mothers' houses.

Donkey tethers:

A last feature found in *ozonganda* are donkey tethers - usually a sturdy branch positioned to the left of the owner's house.

Natural resources

Natural resources used to build a homestead are branches, saplings, bark, leaves and palm frond ties. The main species utilized are the *omutati*, the preferred tree (mopane - *Colophospermum mopane*) and *omungwati* (tamarisk - *Tamarix usenioides*) which provide saplings and branches for the house frames. Bark, usually from the *omumbonde* (camel thorn - *Acacia erioloba*) leaves and palm fronds are collected from the *omurunga* (*Hyphaena petersonia*). Building tools comprise little more than a sharp pointed stick, called an *epingo*, for digging holes in which to 'plant' the house frame. Calf enclosures include brushwood from the *omuumbamenye* - the tree that pricks springbok (*Balanites aegyptiana*).

Dwellings

Whereas the homestead as a whole is associated with its senior male and known as his *onganda* (*viz*, *onganda yaMukuyu*; the homestead of Omukuyu), the individual dwellings within the homestead are associated with the women who built and occupy them. It is interesting to note that the only disagreement on this point came from young Herero men who were in wage labour who said their houses belonged to them. Other men, Himba and Herero, agreed that a house is known as for example, *ondjuwo yaVengape*; the house of Vengape, its female occupant.

People recognize two types of accommodation: the *ondjuwo*, a circular dwelling made of sturdy saplings lashed together in a dome shape which is then plastered with cattle dung, and a temporary shelter called an *ondanda* if it is roofless. The latter could be a roughly built lean-to of branches against a tree but was usually a completed, but unplastered, house. Cattle dung, also used on the floor of an *ondjuwo*, can thus be seen to play an important role as a "civilizing" agent - an *ondjuwo* is not an *ondjuwo* till it has been plastered with dung. This is a strategic substance, like ash, that can only be handled by women.

Entrances:

In the past an *ondjuwo* usually had a low tunnel entrance, requiring one to stoop to enter. A prime function of this type of entrance was safety against predators. At least two verifiable accounts of lion entering, or attempting to enter a dwelling in the past decade are told locally. In one case a tunnel entrance to a Himba house which restricted the lion's movements undoubtedly saved the lives of the house's occupants, members of Lineage 4. In the other incident a lion entered a ('modern') Herero

house, through its door-size opening, and killed a sleeping child. The point of these two stories is to demonstrate the rationality of early, local domestic architecture in Kaoko.

Today, with only remnant populations of lion, not all Himba dwellings have tunnel entrances and in general, doorways have become higher and larger. In the past, people said, the entrance was also associated with the ancestors and formed part of the central pole-interior hearth complex, to be discussed below.

House interior:

An *ondjuwo* is more spacious inside than it looks from the outside. In an environment where temperatures of 35-45 degrees are normal, the Himba dwelling provides a cool, dark refuge. (Modernity has brought an increasing number of tin and corrugated iron shelters to Kaoko, including one to Purros (Lineage 1); from my Westerner's perspective, it is hard to understand how the convenience of these materials can offset the discomfort of living under tin in stifling heat. Of course, such 'modern' materials signify much more than convenience.)

Inside a house, one is likely to find a smooth, plastered floor of dung, covered in the rear sleeping area with goat and sheep skins and blankets. In Himba houses there is no furniture, in the Western sense, although stones may be used as pillows or seats. A small circular hearth, neatly lined with stones in an unplastered depression, is usually present if a woman is living in the house. Its position, in the past and in older women's homes today, was more or less in the centre of the circular house, directly in front of a central floor-to-roof, pole. The hearth is said to represent the combined interests of the husband's patriline and the wife's matriline. Tangible products of the union between these two lineages are the children, born of the marriage. The interior hearth is one of the most explicit markers of a wife's contribution to the reproduction of the society.

In the past decade, as will be discussed in following chapters, the position of this hearth has been strategically moved by women of the younger generations to either directly in front of the entrance to the house, or in some cases, to the left of the house.

Relocation of the interior hearth may be accompanied by the disappearance of the non-functional but formerly, highly symbolic central pole. The pole is said to represent the man of the house and his patriline, and it should never be left bare, especially if the man was absent from his *onganda*. One or more sacred pails (containing milk from sacred cattle) should be hung on this pole. Older people still believe that the pole should be broken and burnt on the death of the man. The entrance to the house may also be broken, or a hole may be made in the wall of the house to the right of the pole through which his body could be removed. If a woman died in her house, her body could not be carried out through the door, past the pole, if her husband survived her. A hole should be made in the wall at the back of the house for this purpose.

The pole should not be broken down when a house is abandoned as this could bring ill-fortune to the male householder. Figure 4.4 shows a central pole, one of several, from collapsed houses built in the 1970s by members of lineage 6. The poles have remained standing for 20 years; although it is

common practice to re-use wood and other material from old, no longer used houses, no-one would ever remove a central pole from someone else's home, people said.

A division of space exists within the house: the married woman sharing her house with her husband, will store her personal and domestic goods on the left, as one faces the door. The man's possessions will be kept on the right. Specially important objects, such as the *otjipwina*, the wooden goblet used in a variety of rituals, are stored at the back of the house, on the left in the woman's care. The couple will sleep behind the hearth and pole. Skin clothing, jewellery and other goods are hung on the walls or tucked into the roof, within the left/wife:right/husband spatial division.

Data accumulated over five years show that Himba couples generally adhered to this division of space (See Chapter 5). The right side of the house is explicitly associated with the strong right hand of a man (*okunene*) and the left side with the weaker left arm (*okaoko*). Some people also believed that in the distant past (ie when the old people first came to Kaoko) this spatial division had to do with the right side (*okunene*) and left side (*okaoko*) of the Kunene River.

4.4 HERERO SPACE

So far Himba space has been described. Two of the lineages (1 and 2) within the study area were Herero, and one, Lineage 5, was mixed Himba-Herero. Although Himba space and material culture formed the main focus of this study, Herero space was also recorded. In general, even though Himba houses are circular, dome-shaped structures whereas the Herero build square or oblong dwellings with pitched, thatched or tin roofs, there were only a few significant differences in (exterior) onganda layout: similar patterns of association were found between dwellings, sacred fires and stock enclosures.

However, exterior cooking hearths used by younger Herero women were often expediently placed on the right in contrast to older Herero women and almost all Himba women whose domestic activity area was on the left. Herero women also started using enclosed court yards for cooking and domestic activities in the late 1980s. Other exterior hearths and ash piles were more randomly placed than in Himba homesteads.

Because of its structure, the Herero house requires more wood and sturdier poles. In effect, this meant that entire young tree trunks were sometimes cut down for Herero houses; Himba houses tended to use flexible branches from such trees. The former house types therefore had more of an impact on natural resources than the latter. As populations build up in arid western Kaoko, this will become an increasing problem.

Interior of Herero houses:

The Herero house interior differs from that of Himba houses, not only in terms of shape and increased space. Only rarely are interior hearths used (and only by the elderly) and in no cases were central poles in use. People said that interior fires were abandoned because smoke damaged the clothing

stored inside the house. Central poles were associated only with round houses and were not used in square houses.

In general, more 'furniture', in the Western sense, was in use in Herero houses even though this was mostly a home-made adaption: a wooden plank standing on stones became a shelf or table; Lineage 1 used a metal bed frame (for storage, not sleeping) at one of his houses. Women tended to keep their goods on the left of the house, with the bed on the right. As Herero big dresses and their numerous petticoats or underskirts take up considerable space, women often kept their clothing hanging on a rail in an unoccupied house in the homestead. (See Figure 4.5).

4.5. LOCAL SOCIAL-SPATIAL RELATIONS

The above data based on more than 100 homesteads plus local information and observation, serves to link social organization to material culture and its spatial patterning. Age and gender can be shown to be two major organizing principles, in both daily life and within lived in space, with the living's relationship with ancestors as the main symbolizing mechanism in space.

The key age and gender-based division of labour, on which the local semi-nomadic herding socio-economy pivots, is legitimized in the spatial text. The text also works to provide resolution for the socio-economic tension between the patrilineage, as the residential unit, and matrilineage, through which stock is inherited.

Elder male authority over women and young men is naturalized by association with the ancestors at the sacred fire. The *omuvande*, the sacred corridor between the entrance to the calf enclosure, the sacred fire and the entrance to the main house in a homestead, underscores the authority of the lineage head in particular, as it enables him to mediate between the living and ancestors, as well as between patrilineage and matrilineage relatives. The former are meant to place their houses to the left of the *omuvanda*, with the houses of relatives who are both matrilineally (and patrilineally) related to the lineage head on the right. This means his wives and children would live on the left, with the lineage head's brothers and unmarried sisters on the right. From a socio-economic perspective, tension exists between these two sets of relatives because the main cattle herds are owned and inherited matrilineally and a lineage head is watched carefully by his matrilineal kin to see that he does not over-extend his own children's rights to stock. These children belong to and will inherit from a different matrilineage - that of their mother.

Slightly cross-cutting but also drawing on this left/right opposition is the explicit association of ancestors - and married men - with the right-hand side of all houses: Married men will always keep their possessions on the right side of the house. Immediately outside a house, to the right, is an area which should always be left open for the ancestors to sit and one should always enter a house from the left.

A non-functional central pole inside the house represents the male head of the household and is associated with his ancestors. This association is emphasised by the custom of keeping a special

milk pail, used only for the milk of the lineage's sacred cows, hanging on the pole. A small interior hearth, immediately in front of the pole, relates to the joint project of marriage and the connection of the husband's patrilineage with his wife's matrilineage. Their children will, of course belong to the husband's patrilineage and the wife's matrilineage. The interior hearth is used by women to prepare cosmetics and for intimate rituals associated with sexual power and fertility. This pole and hearth association within a gendered division of space draws together notions of male authority (via links with the ancestors), female fertility, and the linking of a patriline with a matriline, and as such, posits the socio-economic future on a particular social and cultural ordering. In a sense, this interior spatial patterning, with its central pole-hearth association, mimics the *omuvanda* of the *onganda*. The tunnel-entrance of the house was almost certainly also part of this symbolic complex.

On the left of the house entrance is the main domestic activity area, explicitly associated with the woman of the house. It is here she places her cooking hearth and spends much of her time. Inside her house, she keeps her possessions on the left side. Items of special ritual significance will be placed at the very back of the house, in line with the central pole and the hearth, but they are still regarded as being in the woman's care.

Senior women share some of the authority associated with the ancestors; a widowed mother or senior wife of a lineage head will take responsibility for taking the sacred fire into the main house at night, and keeping it alight. She will also remove the ash and place it at the calf enclosure, formerly on the right-hand side. Senior women may also be required to conduct certain ceremonies associated with reproductive powers, in which case they will sit on the left side of the sacred fire, with the senior males on the right. Notably invisible in the spatial text are the young, young men in particular. Viewed as representation, through metaphoric extension and transformation of social divisions, the spatial-material ordering contributes to the reproduction of the power relations of which they are the product.

The basic spatial and conceptual contrast of living/left with ancestors/right are picked up and re-worked through a number of other oppositions, including women/men; patriclan/matriclan; wet/dry; safety/danger; weak/strong, as will be discussed. These contrasts are not fixed or immutable and they may cross-cut at times, and coincide at others. The spatial text is thus open to multiple readings, depending on the socially strategic intent of the user.



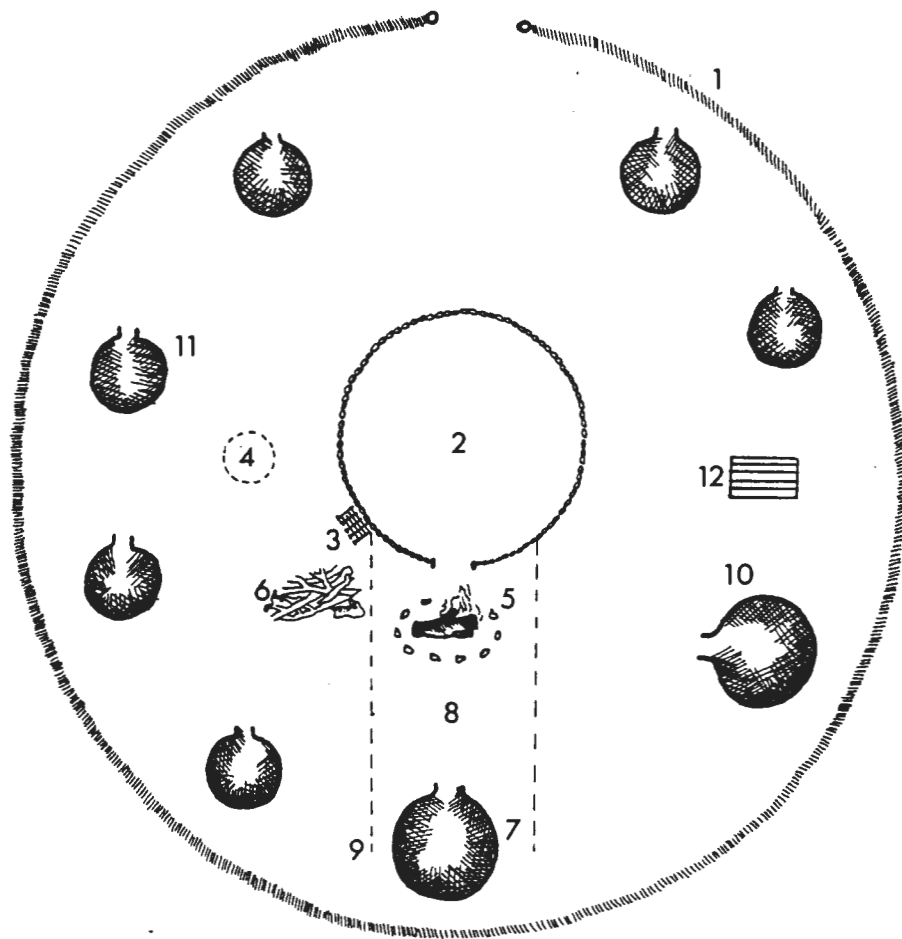
Figure 4.1. A bride - to - be is adorned with a cap of fat from a sheep's stomach. The sheep was slaughtered by her father as a mark of his daughter's worth.



Figure 4.2. White plastic armbands worn by a woman mixing ochre powder with fat.



Figure 4.4. A central pole still standing from a collapsed house built in the 1970's. Pre drought central poles were never removed.



- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Fence of branches | 7. Main hut |
| 2. Cattle kraal | 8. <i>Omuvanda</i> - imaginary passage between main hut and cattle kraal |
| 3. <i>Otijoto</i> - shelter for religious ceremonies | 9. Shelter for ceremonies |
| 4. Lambs' pen | 10. Hut of the kraal head's successor also facing the sacred fire |
| 5. Sacred fire | 11. Other huts do not overlook the sacred fire |
| 6. Wood for sacred fire placed on a special stone | 12. Store |

Figure 4.3. Plan of a Himba homestead, (oHerero patrician as recorded by Malan (1993)).

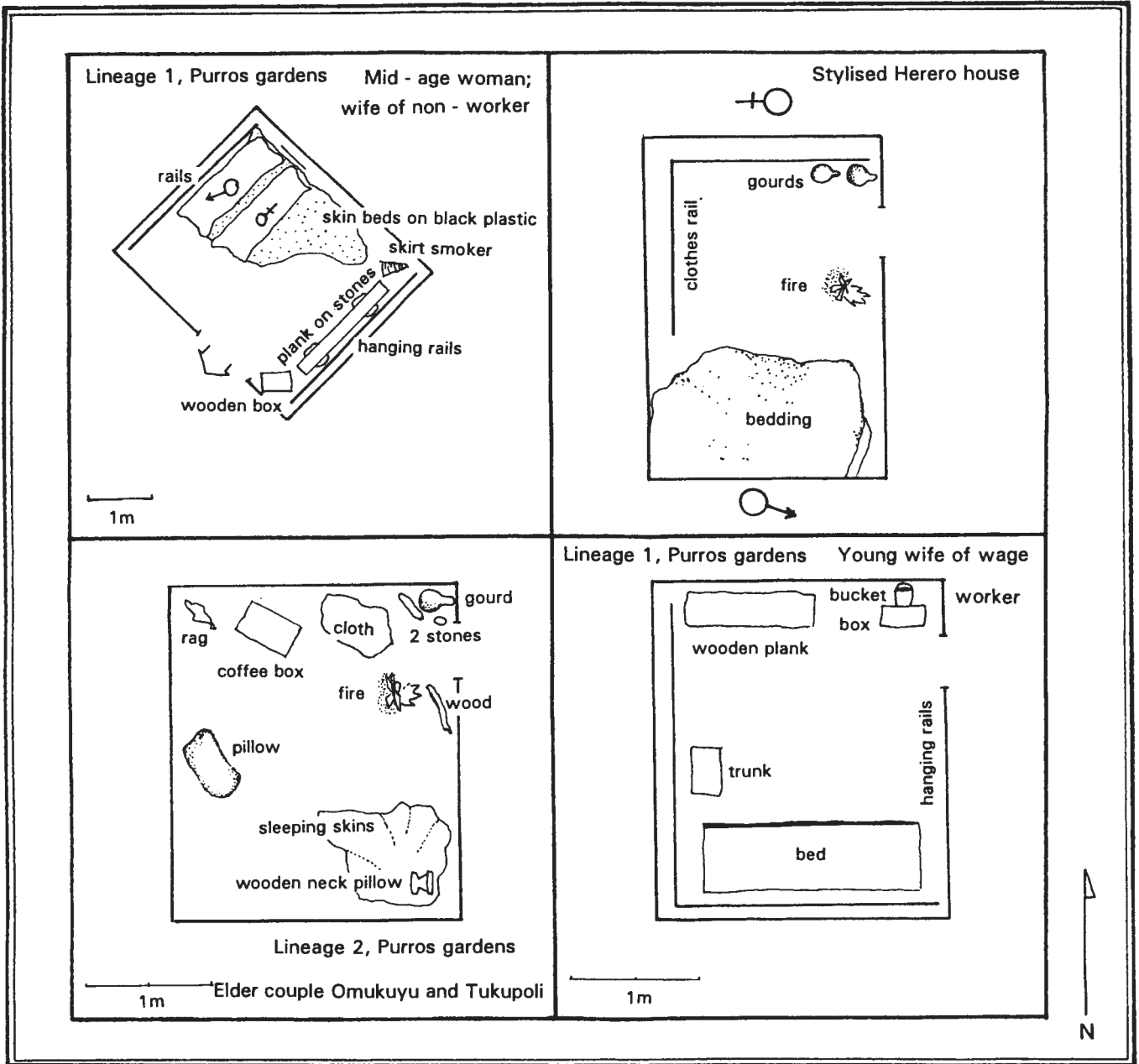


Figure 4.5. Herero space at Purros in 1988/89.

CHAPTER FIVE: SEVEN SACRED FIRES - PATTERNS, VALUES AND STRATEGIES IN SPACE AND TIME

IN this section, I draw on specific data from the seven lineages to illustrate degrees of variability of built space within the community, plus patterns of association and segregation of key features such as houses, sacred fires, cooking and other exterior hearths, animal enclosures and ash piles. Inside houses, hearths, the presence or absence of a central pole and the division of space are examined. A concern is to start relating these patterns to local value systems and social strategies, arising from particular historic socio-economic and cultural circumstances. A number of homesteads mapped in remote areas further north towards the Angolan border, as well as just outside Opuwo, the administrative centre and at the time, the SADF army base in the region, are also discussed.

5.1 THE PURROS COMMUNITY

Seven sacred fires burnt at or near Purros in the south-west of the old Kaokoland (now the Kunene region) in the late dry seasons of 1985/86 up to 1990/91. The seven patrilineages who relied on Purros waters, thus presented as the 'Purros community', total a core group of just under 100 people of whom 64 are adults, and more than 30 children or youths. With visiting relatives and friends, this population often swelled to 120 or more people.

The lineages used the riverine vegetation and sweet, permanent springs in the lower Hoarusib river for themselves and their stock in the late dry season. During the rest of the year, the herds were sustained by seasonal springs and rain water pools, plus wet season pasture within a radius of about 60 km from Purros. (See Figs.3.3 and 3.4 for examples of lineages' movement in the area).

During the study period only a handful of elderly people lived permanently at Purros with most members of lineages moving out to stock camps as soon as the rains came. A total of 121 moves, involving stock, different individuals and/or households within the lineages, were recorded in five years. This represents all moves made by three lineages and major relocations made by the others.

Although the study started in 1986, four years after the drought broke, families around Purros were still experiencing the aftermath of the massive cattle die-off of 1981/82. In 1986 all lineages owned goats and some sheep with only five lineages owning cattle. A sixth family owned a single cow at the start of the study but the animal died (after injecting a plastic bag) in 1987. All lineages claimed to have been cattle wealthy before the drought and that the current stock numbers were remnant herds, in some, but certainly not all cases the drought losses appeared to have been an exaggeration.

Known history of the area 1940 - 1986

The Purros region, on the pro-Namib plains with an average annual rainfall of 50 mm, is marginal for livestock. Nevertheless, within living memory it has always been used seasonally in both the good rain years and, because of the permanent springs, in the very bad years when rains are poor.

The key to the area's use is mobility: After rain, bare sand plains, gravel and rock plains and hill slopes produce good stands of annual grasses, mainly *Stipagrostis hirtigluma* and *Kaokochloa nigrinostris*. Pools of water collect in rocks, in river and stream beds and even in depressions made by zebras rolling. Herders who know the terrain well are able to take advantage of the various waters that occur after rains in the three main habitats (hill slopes; plains and dry river beds), and graze and browse that cannot be used in the dry season because of its distance from permanent springs thus becomes available for stock. At the same time, vegetation around permanent water is conserved for use in the dry season when temporary waters have disappeared.

The earliest Himba lineage associated with Purros, about which oral history can still be collected, was headed by a man known as Kapue. He based at Purros in the late dry seasons of the 1940s and 50s. Kapue, who had two Himba wives and two Damara wives, and numerous offspring, some of whom are still alive, was buried at his subsequently abandoned *onganda* at Purros in 1961. A death-bed wish, that everyone passing through Purros should put a stone on his grave, is generally still followed by most local people today.

It is customary, even today, for Himba lineage heads to stipulate where they wish to be buried: A man who does not chose his grave site is carried on a litter, after death, until his dead body gives a sign indicating the place for his grave. Litter-bearers may have to cover several kilometres before this happens. Given the on-going significance of ancestors in the ordering of Kaoko life, burial sites are specially important socio-economic markers. In past cattle-rich days, important graves were marked with the skulls and horns of cattle slaughtered to mark the death.

According to one story told at Purros, lineage head Kapue specified that he should be buried within his cattle enclosure - not a usual burial place for Himba adults, or children who live long enough to be named - because he did not want to be near the graves of some of his wife's female relatives. He claimed that in life he had often been disturbed by the noise these women made when they talked in the Damara language with its explosive clicks, and he did not want his death similarly disturbed.

Kapue's large cattle and goat herds did not prosper after his death and the lineage diminished in importance and eventually broke up. This lineage's history provides a case study in which first generation sons from a Himba-Damara marriage were unable to become herders, even though they had been adopted into a matriclan and were born into their father's patriclan. It is presented here, not as evidence on either side in the archaeological debate about hunter/herder transitions (see Schrire 1980, 1984; Elphick 1985; Smith 1986, 1990), but as a particular case study, illuminating local value systems, and comprehensible within a particular matrix of social and economic circumstances.

All Himba children belong to their mother's matriclan and matriline and their father's patriclan and patrilineage. As stock is inherited through the matriline (ie a boy inherits stock from his mother's

brother, not from his own father), children who do not belong to a matriline cannot inherit stock. Kapue's two Damara wives did not belong to a matrilineage and although their children were 'adopted' into the *omukwenjanje* matriclan at birth, this did not automatically entitle them to an inheritance. As already discussed, individuals do not own cattle; a herd is regarded as the property of a lineage. Matrilineal relatives waited and watched carefully to see if the children would grow up to be worthy caretakers of the lineage's stock.

According to informants Kapue's sons did not respect the ancestors, and as their father became aged and infirm, they killed cattle and goats wantonly. It is claimed that these sons even killed and ate Kapue's sacred herd which belongs to the patrilineage, into which the sons were born. Sacred cattle are inherited by the next most senior male patrilineage member (usually a brother of the lineage head who also takes over the keeping of the sacred fire) and the sacred stock is thereby kept in trust for the lineage. Sons would only inherit in the event of there being no other more senior male in the patriline.

Thirty years later at Purros people were still appalled at the scandalous behaviour of Kapue's sons - killing sacred stock and "wasting" others. Two surviving sons could be traced: Both middle aged men, neither owned cattle and one was working as a goat herder for a Damara stock-owner to the south-east. People said that an old proverb: Before a milch cow, now a trek oxen, applied to the latter, ie. he was formerly wealthy, now he had to work, like a beast of burden, for another man.

Malan asserted in his 1973 paper that non-Himba people marrying into a Himba family were given membership of their spouse's matriclan but as this case shows, the issue is not a simple one. Values and a belief system are not automatically transferred along with membership of a clan.

Some people claimed that as a result of the behaviour of Kapue's sons, Kapue's lineage was cursed and thus it no longer functions, although, as will be shown, it continues to have an influence over people in the Purros area. Some informants believed that the actions of the sons contributed to Kapue's demise and that as he knew his formerly strong and wealthy lineage was almost certainly doomed, he took the unusual step of choosing his calf enclosure as his burial place. His request that stones be placed on his grave by passers-by has ensured that his lineage continues to be marked in space and in time, even though it no longer exists as a residential patrilineal unit.

Part of the stone-placing ritual involves 'talking' to Kapue at his sacred fire. A visitor may also leave a small token, such as a pinch of tobacco or a cigarette, at the sacred hearth. A typical communication would include a greeting and information about why the person is visiting Kapue (returning from a trip, or, if a non-resident, the reasons for his journey to the Purros area, including who is in his party). In conclusion Kapue will be asked to help ensure the safety and/or well-being of the group.

The senior man in the group will do the talking at the sacred hearth, with other men in the group sitting to his right; women on his left. At the end of this informal ceremony the officiator picks up some sand from the hearth area and offers it to each of his party, in turn. A man or woman whose father is still alive will press his or her forehead into the palmful of sand; those whose fathers are deceased touch the sand with their tongue and immediately spit it out. People say that some mishap

will befall local residents who neglect to "give respect" in this way to the "great old man" (with great meaning senior rather than the qualitative interpretation of the word).

The site of Kapue's last dry season on gonganda has thus taken on special ritual significance in the past three decades and Kapue (and therefore his lineage) continues to play a role in the lives of the living. Several other people have subsequently been buried at the same site: A nephew of Kapue, who committed suicide in the early 1980s when his only son was killed in the SADF-SWAPO conflict, lies to the left of his uncle. This double death is regarded as another confirmation of the curse upon this lineage, according to informants. A boy who died at Purros in 1990, aged about eight, is also buried to the left of Kapue, his small grave marked, as are the other two, with stones. A more recent grave is that of a young woman who died in the early 90s. People in the area agree that if Kapue had not stipulated that his grave be signified, the lineage would in time have been forgotten.

A different case involving a 'mixed' marriage, that of a so-called Tjimba who grew up as a hunter-gatherer, to a Himba herder, is examined later in the discussion about Lineage 4.

Although matrilineal stock - which comprises the main herd, and is differentiated from the smaller patrilineal herd of sacred cattle - may be sold and otherwise utilized by the lineage head, in practice he - and his watchful kin - do not regard any one individual as the 'owner', in the Western sense, of that stock. It is seen as belonging to the lineage as a whole and held in trust for future generations. Tensions and conflicts may arise between matri- and patrilineal kin over stock if, for example, matrilineal kin perceive a lineage head to be over-generous towards his wives and children. Given the drought and war, none of the seven lineages had sufficient stock for these sorts of issues to arise in the five-year study period.

The sacred cattle are similarly held in trust for the patrilineage. A lineage head's late father and grandfather are regarded as playing an important role in cattle management (and indeed, in lineage life in general) although they are dead, and all important issues are discussed by senior men at the sacred fire where, it is believed, the ancestors are present. There are various ways that the ancestors are believed to communicate with the living: One way is simply by putting an idea into a man's head. A lineage head explained:

"This is why you must never do something important like moving to a new place in a hurry. You must think about it and talk about it with the other men at the sacred fire. This gives the ancestors a chance to give you their ideas." It also, of course, as discussed in Chapter 3, provides a forum for key decisions to be informed by the collective experience and knowledge of a number of senior men. Senior women contribute directly, by joining in such discussions, or, more often, indirectly, by giving their views to senior male relatives. The sacred fire, as a meeting place for decision-making, indigenous knowledge transfer and other information exchanges, thus plays an important social, economic and political role in Himba life: It certainly does not merely reflect a belief system.

To return the question of ownership of stock: Ownership is not viewed according to the Western concept of exclusive rights. A man (or woman) will tell you, if asked, that he/she is the owner of stock. He/she will say they have the right to dispose of it as they wish but their frames of reference and concept of individual rights are different from that of the West. It is taken for granted that any such

action takes place within a conceptual scheme prescribed by certain rights and duties towards the lineages.

Some of Kapue's camps to the south-east of Purros are still visible and the stones of his sacred fire at a camp other than the one used for the burial sites, still stand at Purros about 200 metres from today's settlements. In 1987 a large pot was found buried in the sand near this sacred fire. According to people at Purros this had belonged to the Damara people who lived with Kapue. No Damara-speaking persons live in the area today. Shorty Kasaona, my assistant and translator who lived with Kapue's lineage when he was a child, recalls that Purros was visited by Damara-speaking people because it was a good area for collecting honey.

During Kapue's time Purros was usually only used in the late dry season which meant that for months of each year, the area was not occupied by people. Wildlife, including elephant, rhino, giraffe, gemsbok, zebra, springbok, ostrich, lion, wild dog and other predators, flourished around Purros. In those days there was minimal conflict between people and wildlife (except predators which were sometimes hunted or poisoned). Cattle used a spring or water hole in the daytime; wildlife used the same waters at night.

In the late 1970s and early 80s major illegal hunting took place across Kaokoland (Owen-Smith 1972, 1984), and this, together with the drought, left just remnant populations of most species. By the 1990s stock was recovering well and wildlife numbers were building up. Elephant were once more regular visitors to Purros. By then the furrow-irrigated gardens seven km downriver from the new main settlement area had been abandoned and lineages were deriving a small income from wildlife tourism via the Purros project (Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn 1988; Jacobsohn 1991, Hitchcock 1993).

In 1990 an area of about 4 000 sq km (see Fig.3.2) supported more than 400 cattle and several thousand goats and sheep. This was in addition to wildlife, with most species increasing, including, as discussed, small groups of elephant (3 - 10), up to 9 black rhino, and predators including jackal, hyena, cheetah, leopard and, infrequently, lion. Lineages agreed that the area was close to 'full', in terms of its maximum domestic stocking rate.

The problem was not entirely to do with stock numbers, according to some of the herders. An important consideration was the fact that seven lineages were using the area and that co-operation and co-ordination between them was not always good, or good enough. Men maintained that Kapue and his large family had successfully maintained more than double the amount of cattle in the area today - over 800 head of cattle as opposed to 400 - although they agreed he had only owned a few hundred goats. He had been able to do this, even without the windmill at Otjitenda, (also known as Tomakus) 50 km east of Purros, because he did not have to take other herders' needs and strategies into account. Men also pointed out that in Kapue's day wildlife, including elephant, had been far more plentiful around Purros than today.

The men's insights in this regard support an emerging appreciation in modern rural development that 30 years of western technological interventions into African pastoralist systems have generally been unsuccessful because they failed to take social and cultural aspects of such systems into account. "The crucial problem ... in African range livestock development now seems to be

organizational and behavioral, rather than technical. That is to say, what social forms of production are likely to be viable in the changed situation that faces most African pastoral populations?" (Dyson-Hudson 1985:161; See also Hogg 1983, 1991; Lusigi and Glaser 1984; Lusigi and Nekby 1991; Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn 1991; Smith 1992; Brown 1993).

5.2 VARIABILITY OF BUILT SPACE

Data from a sample of 94 homesteads used by the seven lineages is presented to show the range of variability in domestic architecture, homestead organization and site location, plus patterns of association and segregation of key features. The data can be seen to reflect changing needs of the lineage in its different stages of social and economic development, as well as strategic choice on the part of the individual and/or domestic unit, both played out within the context of certain authoritative 'conventions'. Data from 12 living sites used by other lineages further north are also drawn on for comparative purposes.

Although members of all lineages were explicit about the organization of an 'ideal' *onganda*, they rarely fully achieved this ideal in their actual living sites. This is attributable not only to the fact that people, not rules, build living sites, but also that in the sparsely populated western Kaoko, there were few 'typical' patrilineal residential units, particularly after the social and economic disruptions of the war and the drought. For example, Lineage 3 was atypical in that daughter Vengape's husband, Rutaka, had come to live with his father-in-law, rather than his wife moving to his father's homestead. Cattle numbers were low after the drought and some lineages' homesteads had no calf enclosures.

Nevertheless, as Moore (1986) argues about Endo compounds, there are no special or anomalous homesteads: Although household space is continuously changing and developing, certain principles of organization can be found in the layout of virtually *all* camps and homesteads. Variations can be shown to range around the key spatial theme, and as such can be used to underscore the holistic strength of the dominant Kaoko world view which is represented in built space. At the same time, alternative strategic interpretations of the spatial text are discussed, laying the foundation for my case, in Chapter 8, that cumulative shifts in interpretations of meaning, made both possible and increasingly powerful by changes in the socio-economy, are threatening to overthrow the dominant Himba spatial-social text.

In almost all homesteads with sacred fires, the latter is located opposite the entrance to the main house, even when no cattle enclosure occurs to complete the *omuvanda*, or sacred corridor. This was the case in almost all homesteads or camps where sacred fires occurred.

Particular areas are consistently used for certain activities: The area to the left of a house is where, almost invariably, Himba women place their cooking hearths.

Although young Herero women whose husbands are in wage labour place their cooking fires on either the left or the right, the data shows that older Herero women still use the left. Court-yards - an enclosed space adjoining the house for cooking and entertaining - came into use in Herero homesteads

during the study period (see Fig.5.3). A Himba equivalent was shade shelters but in all cases, these were placed to the left of the woman's house, related to her usual cooking hearth and domestic activity area.

Other studies (eg. Oswald 1984; Moore 1986; Davison 1991) found that the life cycle of the domestic unit was the key to understanding homestead organization: In most Kaoko homesteads, as will be shown, the picture is complicated, or perhaps simplified, by people's mobility in response to rain and pasture and the fact that living structures - most of them made from readily available natural resources - can be so easily built or moved. This means that individual choices can and do play a greater role than may be the case in more sedentary societies. A shelter can be erected in a day. With sufficient cattle dung, only a two or three day's more labour is needed to plaster the shelter, transforming it into a house.

As it is Himba women who build dwellings, using resources from the natural environment, they have major inputs into decisions about homestead organization and site location. Obviously, Himba men and women discuss the options and seek consensus, but women, as the actual builders of houses, regard themselves as equal or even senior partners in such negotiations.

Not so the neighbouring Herero women in their 'modern' square houses. They explicitly have less say in settlement decisions. This neatly illustrates that one of the ways that so-called modernization may disempower women is by eroding their independence of action through for example, loss of access/control over essential resources. As outlined in a case study in Chapter 6, a woman cannot build the larger, higher square 'Herero' house without assistance from male members of her household, and in fact, to a great extent house building has been taken over by men. Young wage-earning Herero men explicitly regard the houses they share with their wives as theirs, not their wife's. Apart from the cutting and transporting of the required heavy poles, tin roofs and tin or wooden doors are becoming increasingly popular. The latter depend on access to cash and, as important, on vehicle transport: Both these resources are more readily accessible to men, via wage-labour, than to women in Kaoko. It should also be noted, of course, that it is not just women but also *men* who have become dependent on external resources in this regard. The point is, however, that Herero women have lost control over an area of their lives that, in the days of round dwellings, was their domain.

Two of the following seven data-sets relate to Herero lineages - Lineage 1 and 2, with that of Lineage 5 representing mixed Herero-Himba space. The others - Lineage 3, 4, 6 and 7 - are Himba. The various lineages lived as neighbours and friends, in spite of their dramatic material culture differences. No matter how often one saw red-orchred women, clad only in calf-skin skirts, walking alongside women wearing tight-bodied, long-sleeved dresses with colourful full skirts brushing the ground, it was always a vivid visual experience. The following extract from Jacobsohn (1990:17), a description of two Purros widows, captures a sense of this.

"Komiho and Kwazerendu are hard at work picking mealies in the furrow irrigated gardens in the bed of the Hoarusib River. The women talk and laugh. Friends, neighbours and co-workers, the two widows are omuhoko (matrilineally related), having been born into the same eanda (matriclan).

"The bold, red and blue, full-length floral dress worn by Komiho makes an eye-catching contrast with the lush, green, chest-high mealie plants. Her graceful Mother Hubbard-style Herero dress, copied from those worn by missionary wives in German South West Africa at the turn of the century, is made from 12 metres of material. Under it, despite the heat, she wears five, heavy, gathered petticoats. Her Himba companion, Kwazerendu, presents a colourful contrast of a different kind: her bare upper body, arms, face and hair gleam red from the ochre, mixed with butterfat and aromatic herbs, which she has smeared onto her skin. Her short, pleated calfskin front apron is also ochre-red while the more elaborate back skirt is of soft, black calfskin.

"Later Komiho and Kwazerendu will walk home to their *ozonganda* (homesteads) on a terrace above the river bed. Komiho will go to her square, thatched *ondjuwo* (house) with its cleanly swept dung floor. The single-roomed *ondjuwo* is one of seven such pole and daga dwellings in the Waravi *onganda*. At the smaller Tjikorutjimba *onganda*, 200 metres to the west, Kwazerendu will stoop low to enter her *onduwo*, a cool, dark, conical dwelling, made from dung-plastered saplings.

"The striking differences between the two women, one Himba and other Herero, make them appear worlds apart. Yet appearances - this case in dress and domestic architecture - are misleading. Himba and Herero people share history, language, kin, economy, territory and religion" (ibid).

Although the main thrust of this study is changing Himba space, aspects of the Herero lineages' spatial-social organization are drawn on to illustrate similarities and differences in Himba and Herero spacial-social and material cultural relations. In particular, Lineage 1, with a number of sons engaged in wage labour, as well as subsistence economic activities, provides some useful points of contrast with other lineages with no job-employed members. All lineages had varying access to cash via old-age pensions, craft sales or wages.

People's first names are used below with their consent. No surnames are used, in the interests of consistency because, in the case of Himba families, surnames are not in common usage. Some of the members of Herero lineages preferred their 'colonial' names, as opposed to their Herero names, to be used in this study in order to increase privacy.

LINEAGE 1

Patriclan: *Ongwatjiwe*, requiring the main house to face west (*outokero* - where the sun goes down). This means the sacred fire and calf enclosure will be west of the main dwelling.

Lineage 1 is the senior lineage, regarded as the "owners" of Purros today. As they "were there first", after Kapue's lineage dispersed, the other six lineages had to negotiate grazing and water rights with them before moving in. A senior brother, Isaac, was 'headman' of Purros, until his death in 1987. Another brother, Japie, has subsequently taken Isaac's place as local headman, and as a councillor to the overall headman for this ward, Goliat Kasaona, who is based about 120 km away in Warmquelle. Reasons why Japie and not the lineage head and senior brother Mateus was chosen were discussed in Chapter 4. Japie was also chosen by his people as a community game guard, a position carrying some status.

The lineage described itself as Herero and a number of brothers with their wives and children lived in the Purros area; another brother in this large family lived in Sesfontein, 101 km away. Men and children used Western-style clothing, with adult women wearing 'big dresses'. From the age of seven or eight, most of the children were sent to boarding school in Sesfontein or Warmquelle, returning home only during school holidays.

In 1985 this lineage had a permanent *onganda* 5 km downstream from where the main Purros spring rises. This *onganda* (Figure 5.1) was permanently occupied by lineage head Mateus, plus several women and children who tended furrow-irrigated gardens in the alluvial silts. Men and some of the younger women moved seasonally with stock, returning to this camp in the late dry season.

The lineage was able to recover from the drought faster than others because a number of the brothers were employed by a local safari company and in a position to buy stock to rebuild their once fairly large herds. These transactions were facilitated by access to transport (the company supply trucks). Brother Japie received a small cash allowance from a local non-government conservation organization, plus generous monthly family food rations, for his community game guard work. Mateus, Japie and several senior women in this lineage received pensions, at that time R80 every two months, from the government. Although badly hit by the drought which cost them 90 percent of their cattle, this lineage was regarded as wealthy and powerful by the others. This position was entrenched during the study period.

As already discussed, the senior brother, Mateus, occupied an ambiguous position: Although he was senior male of the family and thus the lineage head, another brother was councillor and local headman. Mateus was also the only brother not employed, although he received pension money and ad hoc assistance from sons who were employed in the SADF.

Mateus' second younger brother Pieter split off from Mateus' homestead in the early 80s after he acquired a senior post at the safari company and a truck. In late 1988 Japie, with his two wives and children, also left Mateus' homestead to establish their own, some 50 km east of Purros. Mateus retained the sacred fire, with Japie returning to his brother's homestead when he needed to consult their ancestors. It was possible, he said, to have his own 'junior' sacred fire, by taking a stone and some embers from his older brother's fire, if he so needed.

Brother Pieter was a source of concern to this lineage. He had converted to Christianity and rejected the sacred fire and the ancestors. His sons had not been circumcised and people were annoyed that he regularly drove through Purros without stopping to place a stone on Kapue's grave. This probably had as much to do with the fact that people thus missed the chance of using Pieter and his truck for lifts, transport of goods and/or messages, as concern for his spiritual well-being.

When Pieter first left his brother Mateus, he built a large homestead in a prominent position on a hill on the west bank of the Hoarusib River, two km upriver from the Purros spring. After conflict with his lineage, he left the immediate area with his wife and children, moving closer to Sesfontein.

By 1988/89 Lineage 1 had abandoned their ailing gardens and homestead. For a few months Mateus and Konoria, one of his two wives, and a few members of his lineage occupied brother Pieter's empty homestead on the west bank (Fig.5.3). As can be seen from the plan, Mateus and Konoria

enclosed their house with a stockade or courtyard. They said this was for security and shelter from the wind.

In the wet season of 1988, Mateus visited a stock camp at Okongwe (Fig.5.2) where cattle and goats belonging to his lineage were being tended by his younger brother Jeremiah. Although he only spent a few weeks there, and did not build a shelter, he set up his sacred fire and slept nearby.

He subsequently built a new camp (Fig. 5.4) near the road on the east bank of the river at Purros. This coincided with the return of three ex-soldier sons after the withdrawal of the South African Defence Force from Namibia.

Four living sites were thus recorded for Mateus and his lineage, excluding those occupied by his two brothers, Japie and Pieter.

Figure 5.1: Purros gardens homestead

The first homestead, occupied from the early 1980s till 1988, had no cattle enclosure as the lineage had lost most of its stock in the drought. Their small, remnant herd was tended by brothers in the lineage and was mostly kept away from the Purros area because of the gardens. Mateus' sacred fire was in place in the centre of the arc-shaped homestead opposite the entrance to his house. The original main house, where the senior wife, Konoria still lived, was more or less correctly located for the *ongwatjiwe* patriclan, in the south-east facing north-west. Mateus had fallen out with his wife at the time the map was drawn and he had moved out of the main house to a house opposite in the northwest, facing south-east. This meant he still faced onto the sacred fire.

Other houses were not located according to the left/patriclan: right/matriclan convention, as outlined in Chapter 4. Mateus said this was because the homestead was built at the time of the great death of the cattle as well as at the height of the war. Life had been very disrupted with individual lineage members moving around a lot. His sons and brothers had left to seek jobs; Mateus had remained with their wives and children.

Of six exterior cooking hearths, only two were to the left of houses. Significantly, one of these conventionally-located hearths belonged to the senior wife Konoria (who said she remembered the old ways), and the other to their daughter who lived alongside her mother. The four other exterior fires were located to the right of houses. These were being used by wives of Mateus' younger (employed) brothers. They said it did not matter where a woman made her fire. It was also noted that ash piles were apparently randomly distributed towards the centre of the onganda. The young wives said it made no difference where ash was thrown. Mateus' second wife, Warokisa, who was sometimes resident, told me that if a cattle enclosure was present, she would have thrown ash from the sacred fire near to its entrance on the right side.

Figure 5.2: Okongwe stock camp

When Mateus joined his younger brother Jeremiah at a stock camp at Okongwe during the wet season of 1988, two rough, circular, unplastered shelters had been built by Kaonaove, the young widow of his late brother Isaac for herself and for Jeremiah. The latter's house was in the east, facing west in accordance with the patrician stipulation, even though no sacred fire was present when the camp was first occupied. A calf pen and kidgoat enclosure had been built by Jeremiah and three children at the camp. Two cooking hearths were visible, both to the left of the respective shelters. The remains of a meat fire was to the right of Jeremiah's shelter. A tree was being used for storage.

Mateus camped on the other side of the calf enclosure, locating his sacred fire between his sleeping area and the calf pen. A meat fire, where he cooked a goat, was near the sacred fire. Notable was that the two shelters were circular and built by a woman, whereas at the bigger, dry-season camps most of this lineage's houses were square, and mostly built by men.

Figure 5.3: Pieter's Purros homestead

Next, Mateus moved to the large homestead built by his brother Pieter on the west bank of the Hoarusib at Purros. Three of the 12 houses were occupied by members of Mateus' lineage at this time. Mateus' house correctly faced west and a small interior hearth was to the left of the entrance. This hearth was neatly constructed as a plastered circular depression in the dung floor. As mentioned, he and Konoria enclosed a court-yard around the front of their house. The building of this court-yard coincided with the couple's increasing acquisition of material goods via craft sales. They said they needed more storage space. An impression was that they also required more privacy so that they did not need to share food and drink with neighbours.

Mateus' sacred fire was in place between his house and the place where a calf enclosure would have been built if the lineage herd had been present. A few pens housed the goatkids in this homestead.

Figure 5.4: New Purros homestead

In 1990 Mateus and his lineage decided to build a new homestead on the east bank of the river at Purros, near the road. His reason related to his aspirations to be the headman, and his consequent wish to be accessible to all passers-by. He said that he expected travellers, including tourists, to stop at his house to greet him.

Although this *onganda* had an *omuvanda* - calf pen-sacred fire-main house - Mateus' troubled relationship with his senior wife once again resulted in him not occupying the intended main house which correctly faced west. He moved to an east-facing house on the other side of the calf kraal, and moved his sacred fire to this side of the kraal to create the *omuvanda*. This accounts for the two sacred fires in this homestead as he left the stones of the original fire in place.

The *onganda* did not conform to the convention which locates patriline relatives on the left of the main house and matrilineal on the right: Which-ever of Mateus' two main houses is taken as such,

matrilineal and patrilineal relatives were mixed on one side of the homestead. Exterior cooking hearths were again not placed to the left by younger women.

The relationship between Mateus and his wife Konoria continued to deteriorate and she moved out of the *onganda*, relocating herself to a house on the other side of the road, opposite her husband's homestead. Her new house was ostentatiously placed to humiliate Mateus by broadcasting their estrangement, people said.

None of the houses recorded for this lineage had central poles or interior fires. The houses were square, and included pieces of tin, some zinc roofs and wooden doors. They were built by men, with wives doing the plastering and finishings. One dwelling, that of Daniel, a worker, was built almost completely of corrugated iron. This shack caused some discussion locally: It was the first building at Purros which required no plastering. An analysis of the gender division of space in the houses of this lineage is displayed below in Figure 5.28.

LINEAGES 2 and 5

Both lineages belong to the patrician: *oHerero*. This requires the main house to face east (*otjiro* - where the sun rises) with the sacred fire and calf enclosure to the east.

The head of Lineage 2, Omukuyu (meaning wild fig), was the oldest man (an estimated 80 plus) at Purros. His sacred fire was used by the whole community for communal ceremonies, such as the cleansing rites conducted after the birth of sheep triplets (Jacobsohn 1990) and circumcision ceremonies. Although Omukuyu generally dressed in mixed Himba-Herero garb, his wife Tukupoli always wore Herero 'big dresses', as did their daughters. The sons (not living with their father or within the study area) wore Western clothing. Some of the children had gone to school for a few years and could read and write. The lineage split up after their cattle herd, including sacred beasts, perished in the drought. The sons left to find work, with unmarried daughters remaining with their parents.

Lineage 2 was living at the gardens settlement in 1986, neighbouring Lineage 1. Tukupoli and her daughters tended an extensive garden which provided mealies, melons and a few other vegetables. They had a small herd of goats and sheep but no cattle, all of their large stock having perished in the last stages of the drought. The eldest daughter Kaonaove was married to Isaac, head of Lineage 1 who died in 1987. After the death of her elderly husband this young woman moved back to her parents's homestead, about seven km down river. She and her husband had maintained a house for their use at this gardens homestead. This was abandoned after Isaac's death and his brothers helped Kaonaove built a new dwelling.

One pre-drought and three contemporary homesteads were recorded for Lineage 2; the latter represent all moves made by Omukuyu and his wife, Tukupoli, but excludes temporary relocations made by the two adult daughters of the lineage, Kaonaove and Kaupiti, to stock camps. The young women spent time at such posts for a variety of reasons including to accompany their father's smallstock and to cook for male relatives and boyfriends. The women built rough unplastered, circular shelters at the stock camps in the Okongwe area (see, for example, Fig.5.2).

As will be seen from the maps, Lineage 2 shared their homestead with members of Lineage 5 (mixed Herero-Himba) who were matrilineal relatives from the north. The latter comprised an adult son and his wife, two daughters, and, later the son's mother, Kwazerendu. This Himba matriarch was regarded as an accomplished diviner and she was in demand to lead women's trance ceremonies and trance dances.

Figure 5.5: Purros gardens homestead

This gardens settlement comprised four square houses and one round one, in which the two teenage daughters of Lineage 5 lived. The head of Lineage 5, Tjirewa and his wife used a square house. Tjirewe usually wore Himba clothing whereas his wife wore Herero big dresses. His daughters dressed as Himba girls. One decided to 'turn around' when she reached puberty and with single-mindedness and determination, she slowly acquired all items of clothing she needed to 'be Herero', and changed her ochre and skins for a big dress. (See also Chapter 7).

Omukuyu's sacred fire was in place in line with the entrance to his house, with the houses of members of Lineage 5 to the right of the main house. At this first camp that Lineage 5 shared with Lineage 2, there was only one sacred fire. Later, when Kwazerendu, the widowed mother of the head of Lineage 5 moved to Purros, her son moved his sacred fire there as well. The gardens *onganda* had no cattle enclosure as neither lineage had any large stock.

Omukuyu, a mine of information about the old ways, said a homestead without cattle was not a place for people to live, and it did not matter where houses were placed. Nevertheless, his dwelling was correctly located for his *oHerero* patriline, facing east towards his sacred fire.

Widowed daughter Kaokaove built her new house opposite her parent, facing away from the sacred fire. She said she wanted her house to face east. Her mother suggested, somewhat cynically, that the daughter did not want her father to have a view of her nocturnal visitors.

None of the houses had central poles. Omukuyu and Tukupoli had a small interior fire to the right of the entrance - one of the only two interior fires recorded in a Herero house apart from one used by Himba woman who lived in a Herero homestead for a few months. A hearth had been built just outside the entrance; this was for safety during a lion scare because the entrance (door-shaped) was too big, Omukuyu said.

Figure 5.6: Purros homestead

When Lineages 2 and 5 abandoned their failing gardens late in 1988 and made the 7 km move upriver to Purros, their new homestead, in direct contrast to their gardens *onganda*, comprised three round houses and one square one. In this homestead, only widowed daughter Kaonaove, built a square house. She was assisted in acquiring heavy poles by the brothers of her late husband. Her sister Kaupiti sometimes shared this house.

Omukuyu and Tukupoli, his wife, Tjirewe and his wife and his mother Kwazerendu built round houses, with the older women and daughters doing all of the building. Again there was no cattle enclosure although the main house faced north-east, close to the required orientation. Two sacred fires were in place: Lineage 2's opposite the entrance to Omukuyu's house and Lineage 5's opposite the house of the widow Kwazerendu. Her son placed his house to the right of his mother's. Only Kwazerendu's house had an interior hearth and a central pole. Omukuyu's wife cooked on an exterior hearth to the left of her house. Tjirewe and his wife, both frequently absent on family matters in the north, usually shared his mother's cooking hearth, just outside her shade shelter which was located to the left of her house.

When one of Omukuyu's sons came home briefly to marry, a ceremonial *otjoto* was built some metres beyond and slightly to the left of his father's sacred fire.

Ash from Lineage 2's sacred fire was placed to the right while ash from Lineage 5's sacred fire was deposited on the left. People were vague in their explanations of this, and again the absence of a cattle enclosure was mentioned, in this case as a reason for doing as one wished with ash. The Lineage 2 daughters, in their square house opposite their father's sacred fire cooked on a hearth to the right (their right) of their door.

Figure 5.7: New Purros homestead

About a year later, in late 1989, Lineages 2 and 5 moved again, relocating some houses by a few score metres and rebuilding all except one of the dwellings into square buildings. The exception was the widow Kwazerendu's house. As already discussed, she needed male help - heavy poles and labour - to erect a square dwelling. This was not forthcoming, and she allowed her round dwelling to deteriorate, living instead, with a grand-daughter, in her shade shelter which she extended and draped with black plastic and cardboard. Her unsightly living quarters were meant to remind her son and others of their promises to help her build a new square house. Her high status as a trance leader among women did not persuade men to go to her assistance.

Unlike her previous house at Purros, Kwazerendu's new house - used mainly for storage - did not have a central pole and interior hearth. This too, was a statement, to her son in particular, about the way she felt she was being neglected by being left in a round house. She cooked outside her shade shelter and used a small hearth inside the extended shelter at night.

The head of Lineage 2 and his wife now lived in a north-facing square house, with a cooking hearth outside, on the left. The sacred fire was in place opposite the entrance to the new house.

Matrilineal relative Kwazerendu was on their right. Her son's Lineage 5 sacred fire was in place opposite the entrance to her house. Two ash piles were located to the right of the sacred fire, one from the sacred fire and one from cooking hearths.

The Lineage 5 daughter who switched from Himba to Herero was to the right of her mother, now living in her first square house. As a young and attractive woman, she was able to find several

willing men and youths to help her put up her house. Her entrance faced outwards, asserting her separation from her grandmother's Himba world and her independence.

The next building was a shop, with a public entrance, also at the 'back' of the arc-shaped homestead. This was the first ever such commercial endeavour in Purros and the building housed a limited number of manufactured goods and food, brought in for sale each month by a Sesfontein trader.

The next three buildings, two dwellings and one storage room, belonged to the two adult daughters of Lineage 2, one of whom was responsible for running the shop. Each of the two women had built a courtyard onto their dwellings for privacy and to provide a sheltered, wind-free living area. Their cooking hearths were on the left, inside the courtyards.

The ninth structure, was temporarily used by Vengape, a married Himba women from Lineage 3. She said she preferred to stay there, near people, rather than remain alone in her onganda several hundred metres to the north, while her family was away. As a Himba woman, she used an interior hearth. The fire, placed towards the entrance, could be anywhere in the house she said, as she was not sharing the dwelling with her husband.

The poles for these various structures were cut for the women by male friends and lovers. Both daughters of Lineage 2 had a baby from such liaisons around this time.

Figure 5.8: Pre-drought camp at Omapunguwe

This pre-drought homestead was occupied by Lineage 2 while Omukuyu's predecessor was still alive. The lineage head's main house was correctly located in the east, facing west, forming an *omuvanda* with the sacred fire and calf enclosure in place to the west. All houses were round, with cooking hearths to the left of houses in which adult women had lived.

Herero space

Although only two of the eight Herero homesteads discussed contained calf kraals, in six of them, the main houses accorded with the patriclan orientation. In reality, lineage head Mateus did not always occupy the intended main house because of personal reasons. All of the *ozonganda* displayed sacred fires and where a stock enclosure was present the *omuvanda* was in place. No houses except Kwazerendu's had interior poles and on only one occasion did a Herero woman (Tukupoli) use an interior hearth.

The homesteads indicate that their older occupants still see the ancestors as playing a role in their lives.

LINEAGE 3

The lineage belongs to the *oHerero* patrician, requiring the main house to face east.

Lineage 3 moved south-west into the Purros area in the early 1980s. They used two dry season homesteads (Figs.5.9 and 5.10), utilizing permanent waters in the Hoarusib River between 1984 -1991, and maintained a camp at the gardens settlement, with most of the other lineages, until the gardens were abandoned in 1988/89. Nineteen other homesteads or camps were recorded. Some of these were occupied just once for a few weeks; others were re-used in subsequent seasons or years. Such a site may be left as originally built and merely renovated on the lineage members' return, or it may be re-organized, with some, or, even all structures being moved and rebuilt.

While stock needs, in terms of water and pasture, can be seen to play the key role in choosing to move into an area, specific site location is a very socially strategic decision. For example, Lineage 3 was forced to abandon their regular wet season range up-river from Purros in 1988 because no rain fell in that area during that wet season. Social relations - such as conflict with another lineage - as well as environmental factors played a role in whether Lineage 3 chose to live at its Purros dry season camp or eight km upriver at its Okongombesemba dry season base.

Figure 5.9: Okongombesemba dry season base

This homestead, about a kilometre from a permanent spring in the Hoarusib River at Okongombesemba, was the first built by this lineage when they moved to the Purros area. Occupied periodically since 1984, it was regarded as one of two dry season bases.

When first recorded the *onganda* comprised three plastered *ozonduwo*, a shade shelter and three stock enclosures (for calves, donkeys, and kids/lambs). The main house, built by Katherwe for herself and her husband, faced east, in accordance with the *oHerero* patrician, towards the calf and other animal enclosures with the sacred fire in place in the sacred corridor thus formed. Two ash piles were located to the left of the sacred fire.

Daughter Vengape had built her house to the left, with a shade shelter, used by her children for sleeping, a few metres further left. The older daughter Kata's house was opposite that of her parents, on the other side of the animal pens.

The main house had four exterior hearths, all to the left. One, near the entrance, was used by Katherwe for light, and another to the left for cooking. A hearth near the back of the house beyond two donkey tethers, was a meat fire and a large hearth on the extreme left relates to a 1986 overnight stay, when a goat was slaughtered, en route to another camp. The all-male camping party had used the sacred fire and Venomeho pointed out two ash piles where ash had been thrown on his instructions by his young unmarried grandson. He said that the youth had moved the ash in the absence of a woman to do this task.

Both other houses have an exterior cooking hearth: married Vengape's to the left and unmarried Kata's to the right. It is notable that after Kata's marriage, her cooking hearths became more conventionally located, on the left (see Figs.5.14 and 5.15).

The original three houses put up in 1984 were broken down and moved in the 1985 late dry season "because they did not make a good circle round the animal enclosures". This related to predator problems. When this homestead was first recorded, in July 1986, the remains of the first houses - roughly circular jumbles of broken up dung plaster, stones and sticks - were clearly visible. By 1991 - just six years later - wind and trampling by stock had obliterated all signs of the earlier structures.

Only the main house had a central pole. None of the interiors had hearths built into the floor although traces of small, centrally located interior fires could be seen on the floor of all three houses.

Figure 5.10 a-f: Purros dry season homestead

The six maps in Figure 5.10 show how Lineage 3's other dry season homestead physically changed in one five year period. January 1986 (a) found the homestead unoccupied by lineage head Venomeho and his wife, with only their daughter Vengape, her husband Rutaka and two of their four children in residence. Venomeho's wife Katherwe and their older daughter Kata were living seven km downriver, tending their gardens at the gardens settlement. Venomeho was at his Okongombesemba camp awaiting rain. Thus the lineage was simultaneously located at three different camps.

The Purros *onganda* comprised a central cattle/calf enclosure and five houses. The main house, belonging to the lineage head and his wife, faced east towards the cattle kraal entrance. This follows the required patrician orientation. As at Okongombesemba, it was the only house with an interior central pole although all had interior hearths. A pile of ash was visible to the right of the kraal entrance, but as Venomeho was not living there at that time, his sacred fire was absent. To the left was the house of divorced daughter Kata. Nearby stood a kidgoat enclosure. Further to the left, alongside the calf enclosure and more or less facing the main (parents') house, was the dwelling of Vengape and Rutaka. The married couple's house was in the position that should have been taken by the elder daughter, Kata, but she chose to be closer to her parents because she was afraid of wild animals at night.

To the right of the main house was the house of Katherwe's aged mother, Kovikwa, and beyond that, a house built by Kavetjikoterwe, a woman from Lineage 4, married to Katherwe's brother (and Kovikwa's son). This man, Kamasitu, head of the small Lineage 4, had, in fact, started the homestead in 1980. This dwelling faced away from Lineage 3's calf enclosure. A stock kraal built opposite the lineage 4 house eight years earlier was no longer standing or visible.

Other features included an exterior cooking hearth and household activity area on the left outside the main house, where daughter Vengape was living at the time.

Six months later, (Fig.5.10 b) two sacred fires were in place, in the corridor between Lineage 3's main house and the calf enclosure, and opposite the entrance to Kovikwa's house. This fire belonged to her son, Kamasitu, head of Lineage 4.

A shade shelter had been built to the left of Vengape's house and a cooking hearth was now visible on the left. Vengape said she needed the shade shelter because of the extra work she had to do, grinding mealies from the garden tended by her mother and sister. The shelter could also be used by her children to sleep in.

Lineage 3's part of this *onganda* stood empty for close to a year, with only Lineage 4's house in periodic use (Fig.5.10 c). Grandmother Kovikwa's house collapsed and Kata's started sagging from disrepair.

Vengape dismantled her shade shelter to use for another structure at the neighbouring Herero homestead where she was living. She moved there late in 1986 after the death of Isaac, then head of Lineage 1, to comfort and assist his widow. She generally maintained the same division of space inside the square Herero house that she used in her own circular dwellings, keeping her goods on the left with the right side of the house reserved for her (mostly absent) husband's possessions. A small interior hearth was located centrally, just behind the entrance (See Jacobsohn 1988:84).

When Vengape moved back into her father's *onganda* she chose to build a new house, opposite that of her her parents on the other side of the now reduced calf enclosure (Fig.5.10 d). (It should be remembered that Vengape and her husband were living with her parents, not those of her husband. In some ways, therefore, Vengape was taking the role of a son.) She also erected a shade shelter and a cooking hearth was located to the left of her house.

Her new house was larger and higher than other Himba *ozonduwo* in the area (4 metres in diameter instead of 3). There was no central pole and the hearth was placed close to the entrance (see Jacobsohn 1988:86). Her original house and her sister's Kata's house were broken down so that its poles could be used for the new house. When Kata stayed at this *onganda*, she used the Lineage 4 house belonging to her matrilineal uncle Kamasitu and his wife.

A new dwelling - a cross between a house and shade shelter was built by Katherwe, just behind the main house, for her aged mother who needed regular care and attention. Daughter Vengape's children often slept in this flat roofed structure with their great-grandmother. Katherwe used the flat roof to store produce grown in her garden downriver. Vengape's shade shelter was also used by the children as a sleeping area.

Lineage 4 built two structures: a kidgoat pen and a simple shelter for the bicycle owned by Kamasitu. A large hearth relates to a party and meatfeast held by the lineage.

Another year later, and only two of the original houses are standing, with one of them, that of Lineage 4, rapidly falling into disrepair (see Fig.5.10 e). The main house stands, with Katherwe's mother's shelter behind it and on the other side of the calf pen is Vengape's new house. Her shade shelter has now been moved some metres from her house and both sisters' original houses have all but disappeared. Some of the remaining sticks from Vegape's first dwelling have been used by her two girl children to make a rough shelter between her new house and the old.

In Figure 5.10 f, the calf pen is repaired and rebuilt. The main house stands with old Kovikwa's dwelling behind it. Her great grand-daughter, now old enough to do women's work, has made a cooking hearth to the left of Kovikwa's house and she sometimes prepares food there for the other children and the old woman.

Vengape's house now has a new shade shelter, a few metres to the left of the entrance. A cooking hearth is nearby, on the left, and a pile of ash is building up to the right.

Her daughters have erected a second shelter, made roughly from sticks. The girls sometimes sleep in one, with their older brother sometimes using the other.

Gardens camp

This 'camp' was used semi-permanently by Katherwe, the matriarch of Lineage 3, for about five years, up till 1988. Her elder daughter Kata also lived there for long periods, helping Katherwe in the garden. Husband Venomeho, working with the families remnant stock, visited the gardens regularly. For much of the 1987 and 1988, Katherwe's elderly mother, Kovikwa, also lived there, at the gardens.

Lineages 1, 2, 5 and 6 also maintained camps here, all built on the terraces above several hundreds metres of furrow-irrigated gardens in alluvial silts of the Hoarusib. These occupations related to the tending of vegetable gardens - mealies, pumpkins, wild water melons and gourds - set up during the major food shortages towards the end of the 1979-82 drought.

For its first three years of occupation, Lineage 3's camp comprised a single, flat roofed, east-facing dwelling and two make-shift shade shelters, one near the dwelling to the left, the other adjacent to Lineage 3's 25 by 40 metre garden. (See Jacobsohn 1986).

A second, conventionally shaped Himba house was then added and both dwellings were plastered with cattle dung (See Jacobsohn 1988:85). The two structures stood side by side, 23 metres apart, on a narrow gravel terrace, overlooking the gardens and river.

The first house where Katherwe lived alone or with her daughter Kata, with short visits from Venomeho, had a central pole behind a centrally located interior hearth. When alone Katherwe allowed her goods to spread into the right side of the dwelling but when her husband arrived she was always quick to move her possessions back to the left. Katherwe said the shelter's roof was flat to store mealies and other vegetables out of reach of jackals. An outside cooking hearth was located slightly to the left of the entrance and an associated activity area, on the left, was regularly swept clean.

The second *ondjuwo* was put up when old Kovikwa moved to the gardens. She usually shared the new house with her daughter. When Venomeho visited, she moved into the flat-roofed shelter, often sharing with her grand-daughter Kata. The new house contained a central pole and interior hearth, and Katherwe maintained a left/right wife/husband division of space. As with the first shelter, an outside activity area on the left was swept clean of gravel.

Lineage 3's sacred fire and livestock were never brought to this camp. Members of this and other lineages sometimes attended ceremonies at the sacred fire of Lineage 2, headed by Omukuyu.

Figure 5.11 a - c: Okozombo wet season camp

This temporary stock post, about 20 km upriver from Purros and about 12 km from Lineage 3's Okongomesemba dry season camp was first occupied in June 1986. Water was obtained from a strong but temporary spring in the Hoarusib and the camp was built about a kilometre away on a sloping gravel terrace above the river's east bank. Three adults - Venomeho and his two daughters, Kata and Vengape - plus Vengape's teenage son, Katondoihe, two teenage girls and four children lived here for about two months, until pasture for stock ran out.

Two rough, unplastered shelters were built by Kata and Vengape, one to house their father and his grandson Katondoihe, the other for the women, girls and children, Venomeho's shelter faced east in accordance with his patriclan, with his sacred fire opposite the entrance and the calf enclosure. However, the entrance to the enclosure also faced east and did not therefore, form the conventional corridor. This was because of the steep slope of the terrain: The main shelter was upslope of the stock kraals, and cattle would have had difficulty entering their enclosure from that side.

The floor of Venomeho's shelter was plastered by Kata (who slept there when her father was away). There was no central pole; a neat stone-lined hearth was located just inside the entrance. Unmarried Kata who stored some of her goods in this shelter maintained no left/right division of space even when her father was in residence. (Fig 5.11 a).

The second larger shelter on the other side of the calf and kidgoat pens was draped with an old piece of canvas and blankets. Its floor was unplastered and there was no central pole. Vengape said this was because her husband was not present, and she was sharing the shelter with children. A hearth was situated in the shelter's wide entrance, with an outside cooking hearth about three metres beyond. A central and left area, swept clean of stones, was in almost constant use by the women and girls in a wide range of activities including milk and other food preparation, repairing and renovating jewellery, processing skins for clothing.

The camp was re-occupied three years later in 1989 when the river flow once again opened up the temporary spring. Both living shelters had collapsed and initially the all-male group merely repaired the calf enclosure and built a new kidgoat pen. They fashioned a rough sleeping shelter, using the walls of the goatpen, a few poles and rocks. (Fig.5.11 b).

When the Venomeho's wife Katherwe arrived, the camp was moved, because it was decided, the slope was too steep (Fig.5.11 c). A new calf enclosure and adjoining kid pen was built, 25 metres downslope of the first stock pens. Two shelters were put up - one for Katherwe and Venomeho and a second, nearby, for the grandchildren who accompanied them. The sacred fire was in place about six metres from the calf kraal entrance. The main dwelling - the only one of this lineage not to face east - was not opposite but 10 metres to the east.

Practical considerations - the need for a flat living and sleeping area and for the young children to be close to their grandparents - dictated the organization of this camp although it is the only occasion this lineage head did not place his sacred fire conventionally.

The main dwelling had a central pole in place behind square piece of tin which served as a hearth. The outside cooking hearth was to the left of the main house, close to the children's shelter. Two piles of ash were visible: one to the right of the calf kraal entrance and the other beyond the sacred fire. The remains of a meat fire was visible to the far left, behind the shelters.

In February 1987 the men of Lineage 3 occupied a wet season camp briefly, building one rough shelter, a calf kraal and a kid goat pen. The sacred fire was in place and a meat fire and goat butchery site were visible.

Another wet season camp was at Tomakus (Otjitenda), occupied for a few months early in 1988 by Lineage 3 members, including Venomeho, Katherwe, Kovikwa, Kata, Vengape and Rutaka and the children.

The site they occupied was formerly a Herero camp. Only one house - subsequently used by Venomeho and Katherwe - was worth renovating; the others had collapsed and Kata and Vengape both built new shelters.

The main house occupied by their parents was almost square in shape - a compromise between Herero and Himba architecture - with the upper section plastered. The entrance was high and door-shaped, unlike all Katherwe's previous dwelling entrances. There was an interior fire but no central pole. The house faced east. This was one of the very few occasions when Katherwe lived in a dwelling for any length of time without a central pole: she said she could not add a pole to the already standing house which had been built by other people.

The sacred fire was in place opposite the entrance, more or less in line with the entrance to the calf enclosure. A pile of fire wood was stacked to the right of the dwelling's entrance and a few metres further to the right, under a shade tree, the remains of a men's meat fire was situated. A pile of ash to the left of the sacred fire was blamed on old Kovikwa - people said she had dropped the ash from the sacred fire there instead of putting it against the calf enclosure, on the left.

Kata's shelter was to the left of her parents with Vengape and Rutaka on the other side of the calf kraal. Both shelters had interior hearths but no central poles. Both also had outside cooking hearths, slightly to the left of the entrance and associated activity areas

Figure 5.12: Epungue wet season camp

In April of the same year Lineage 3 members spent a few weeks at Epungue, about 10 km from Okotjitenda (Tomakus) to take advantage of pasture that was now accessible because a few large water pools remained in a nearby section of the Gomatim River which had flowed briefly a few days earlier.

People knew they would be spending at most, 10 days to three weeks here: A calf enclosure, kidgoat pen and two living shelters were put up. Venomeho and Katherwe's east-looking shelter faced the calf kraal entrance with the sacred fire in between. Vengape and Rutaka's shelter was on the right on the other side of the calf kraal. Neither shelter was plastered or had central poles but both had interior hearths and with outside cooking hearths and associated activity areas to the left.

Sister Kata had just married at this time and one of her sheep was slaughtered and cooked on a large meat fire to the left of her sister's shelter. Kata, her groom and new father-in-law, en route to the men's home in the north, camped in the open for their few nights at this camp.

Figure 5.13: Khumib camp

This old camp used by Lineage 3 in the early 80s before they moved to Purros comprised a calf kraal and adjacent goat pen, three dwellings and a shade shelter. The main dwelling, Venomeho and Katherwe's, faced north-east towards the calf kraal entrance with the sacred fire slightly left, but roughly in line. A shade shelter was on the left: This had been built before the dwelling and the lineage head and his wife had lived here for a few weeks. The sacred fire which was put in place opposite the original shelter's entrance had never been moved from its first position. The dwelling had a central pole and interior hearth.

Kata's dwelling was to the left, with an interior hearth but no pole. Her cooking hearth was on the right, between her own shelter and her parent's shade shelter. Vengape and Rutaka's shelter was to the right, on the other side of the calf and goatpens. It had an interior hearth but no central pole. A cooking hearth was located to the left of the structure.

Married vs unmarried space

It has been shown that long divorced Kata sometimes placed her cooking hearths to the right of her dwellings whereas her mother and married sister consistently used the left side. After Kata's remarriage she moved north to live with her new patrilineage. Aspects of some of the camps in which she lived after the marriage are presented to show that her use of space changed with her marital status.

Okanombaye wet season camp

When Kata arrived with her groom and father-in-law at one of the latter's stock camps at Okanombaye, she kept out of sight, hiding in nearby riverine vegetation, until nightfall. Wapenga's sister, an age-mate (*okakambe* age-set), stayed with her until nightfall when she was allowed to slip into the dwelling allocated to her and her husband, located to the left of her father-in-law and his first wife.

As a new bride she did not built a hearth as she was expected to share her mother-in-law's food.

Figure 5.14: Oruharwe homestead

August 1988 found Kata and her husband of a few months tending cattle at Oruharwe. The camp was just a few weeks old, with other members of Kata's new patrilineage expected. At that stage it

comprised just a single west-facing shelter with an interior fire just inside its entrance but no central pole.

A left/wife right/husband division of space was evidenced by the position of goods inside the dwelling. An exterior cooking hearth was situated on the left of the entrance.

A calf enclosure had been newly built, its entrance facing south. There was no sacred fire as Kata's father-in-law was not in residence.

Figure 5.15: Onyuva

Another example of Kata's married space was recorded at a camp at Onyuva in February 1990. As the diagram shows the interior hearth is close to the entrance; there is no central pole and a left/wife right/husband division of space is visible. Kata's exterior cooking hearth is to the left of the entrance.

At another camp at Orupembe, in July 1991, (see appendix) Kata and Wapenga's living site display a similar organization. Their dwelling has no pole; the interior hearth is situated near the entrance and the exterior cooking hearth is on the left.

Lineage 3's gender division of space, in terms of where people kept their possessions, is displayed in Figure 5.28. Kata's married space is also illustrated.

LINEAGE 4

Lineage 4 also belonged to the patrician *oHerero*. Their main house should therefore face east.

This small, mobile lineage comprised just three permanent adult members: Brothers Kenalumbi and Kamasitu and the latter's wife, Kavetjikoterwe. Both spouses' mothers, one elderly, the other middle-aged, and a sister, Kaonatjito, were regular visitors, as was Kavetjikoterwe's teenage son. The brothers' mother was Kovikwa, and their sister, Katherwe, wife of the head of Lineage 3, and Kavetjikoterwe shared responsibility for the old woman.

Technically, Kenalumbi, the elder of the two brothers, was lineage head but because he was unmarried, people did not accord him full status. A taciturn, shy man in his 50s, Kenalumbi seemed comfortable with his charismatic younger brother Kamasitu assuming the role of leader. It was significant that Kenalumbi was the only senior man encountered who claimed to be a member of no age-set.

The sacred fire at Lineage 4's camps generally remained Kenalumbi's domain, with Kamasitu sporadically activating his own sacred fire, inherited from his father. (The brothers shared their matriline but had different fathers).

Kavetjikoterwe, her sister and mother grew up as hunter-gatherers, and although they dressed and lived as Himba people, others were quick to mention their background - behind their backs. Attitudes ranged from patronizing to mildly derogatory. It was unclear whether the women's family were herders who had lost their stock during the Nama raids of the previous century or whether they were

members of the so-called Tjimba people who, some allege, were the earliest inhabitants of the area. Most people believed the women were Tjimbas, as for example, Kavetjikoterwe had been heard to speak an unknown language when angry or inebriated.

This lineage's use of space differed markedly from the other lineages, both in terms of choice of site and in building styles, particularly in their unusual use of stones and rocks. There were also, at times, some differences in the organization of space within the homestead.

In general, Lineage 4 members were more expedient and creative than other lineages in their use of natural features as part of their living areas: Trees become shelters, rock overhangs were extended into dwellings, a rock shelter was divided into different chambers with sticks and rocks to become a living shelter for kidgoats and for people. Fourteen living sites used by this lineage between 1983 and 1991 are outlined to illustrate their range of camp types and sites.

No calf enclosures were present at Lineage 4 homesteads until the last camp recorded. This lack of cattle may account for the unconventionality of some of the camps, although other lineages built conventional homesteads even where they were without largestock enclosures.

Figure 5.16: Ochams dry season base

Ochams, 70 km northwest of Purros, became Lineage 4's dry season base in 1983 when enough rain fell to support the family's goat herd, in terms of browse, for the season. The area has a small salty spring and in the years when no rain falls, the bleak landscape is unremittingly brown with its windswept rock ridges, bare hills and barren plains of gravel and sand. Red algae sometimes thrives in the small spring, adding a garish streak of colour to a palette of browns.

Lineage 4's first camp (see Jacobsohn 1986), where they spent two dry seasons, comprised one house, two rough shelters and two goat pens, situated between the dwellings. There was no sacred fire as brother Kenalumbe had not yet moved south from Orupembe. Kamasitu and his wife used the house, with old Kovikwa and Kavetjikoterwe's teenage son using the shelters. Kenalumbe also used one of the shelters when he visited.

The *ondjuwo* displayed Kavetjikoterwe's predilection for including stone in the structures she built. Although her house was more or less the usual Himba shape, slabs of rock were used around its base. These and the wood in the structure were partly covered with dung and mud. A heavy wooden plank and poles were used to form the entrance, above which a springbok skull and horns were placed. Kamasitu said this was to signify that he was a community game guard, working in nature conservation. An outside cooking hearth was to the left of the entrance with an associated activity area. Inside the *onduwo* was a central pole and stone-lined circular hearth.

Lineage 4 moved to a more sheltered area nearby in 1985 (see Fig.5.16) Kavetjikoterwe said she found the first camp cold and too windy. The new camp was ingeniously designed to take full advantage of a rocky outcrop. Two overhangs were turned into cave-shelters, with the addition of rock walling and roofing. Similarly, animal enclosures were placed to make use of natural rock ledges and banks as walling.

The main house, used by Kamasitu and Kavetjikoterwe, was angular, rather than curved, with a domed roof of pale orange donkey dung. The walls were constructed from wooden poles, with horizontal supports lashed in place. The dwelling faced east towards a sacred fire, with a cooking and activity area to the left. Inside was a hearth and donkey dung floor. Lineage members said the donkey dung had not proved very successful as a plastering material but as they had no cattle, they had experimented.

Brother Kenalumbe, the old mother Kovikwa and visiting children used the two cave-shelters. Foliage from the *Euphorbia virosa* had been used as roofing. The latex of this succulent is poisonous, and sometimes used in Kaoko to kill small predators (Malan and Owen-Smith 1974). Kamasitu said he knew the plant's sap was poisonous but that his wife had rendered the branches safe by burning and drying them before use.

Figure 5.17: Sechomib wet season camp .

This unusual camp also sculpted the natural environment into a living site. This time a large *Boscia foetida* tree was used. Kavetjikoterwe tunnelled into the dense foliage, creating two 'chambers', one for herself and her husband, the other for their kidgoats. She used the other side of the tree to make a living shelter for brother-in-law Kenalumbe. A pen for donkeys also partly utilized the tree. Kenalumbe's sacred fire was located a few metres to the east of his north-facing shelter.

The living chamber shared by Kavetjikoterwe and Kamasitu displayed a husband/wife division of space that reversed the usual left-wife/right-husband convention. Kavetjikoterwe's goods were on the right, with her husband's possessions on the left, near the entrance. She said that this was so that her husband was close to the goats in case of predators. Two domestic hearths were visible: a small fireplace in the main living chamber and one in Kenalumbe's shelter. Kavetjikoterwe's interior hearth was used for cooking - an unusual use for an inside hearth. She was the only women in the seven lineages who ever did so.

Lineage members said they had moved into the area, a few km from the Ochams spring, to take advantage of good local pasture for their goats and a large crop of ripe *Inara (Acanthosicyos horirida)* after rain in December 1984. They spent about three months there and would re-use the camp if rain permitted. (See also Jacobsohn 1986, 1988).

Okozombo camps

This camp was located on a rocky gravel shelf above the Hoarusib River. One was built on the site of an old *onganda* which, Kamasitu said, had last been occupied about 15 years earlier. The man who had first built there was now very old and would not return. Kenalumbe placed his sacred fire where the previous occupants had located theirs. Two of the original stones were used with two new ones. This homestead, two km upriver from Lineage 3's camp, comprised two living shelters with two goat pens and the sacred fire in between.

Again Kavetjikoterwe's building style was unusual, compared to other wet season camps in the area. With her husband's help, she built two rough circles out of heavy rocks (See Figure 3.5). These formed the base of the shelters. Sturdy poles, some surviving from the previous occupation were then jammed in place between rocks and leaned together to form a central apex. The shelters thus lacked the curved domed roof formed when flexible saplings are bent and tied in place, typical of Himba building styles across Kaoko. Kavetjikoterwe said she had built her shelters with rocks because the ground was too hard to dig holes to 'plant' the poles, as is usually done. Kamasitu pointed out there was no cattle dung for plastering.

Kenalumbi used one shelter and his mother Kovikwa the other, with Kamasitu and his wife sleeping in the open, next to a cooking hearth. They kept their possessions in Kovikwa's shelter. Both shelters had interior hearths and no central poles. Each had an outside hearth to the left of the entrance. Kavetjikoterwe said she had built both interior hearths as she had used her brother-in-law's shelter when he was away. Kamasitu had built a small kennel of stones for his young puppy.

Below the camp lineage members had cultivated a long narrow garden, using the two metre high river bank as one wall with brush and sticks for the others. This was to protect the vegetable crop from goats. The garden was irrigated with channels from the ankle deep spring flowing just a few metres away.

Tree camp

This camp, used for about two weeks in September 1986 utilized the low branches of a camelthorn tree (*Acacia erioloba*) as the frame for a living shelter. A kidgoat pen made use of living bushes as part of its walling. A third structure, Kenalumbi's roofless shelter was roughly made with brush and saplings. The sacred fire was situated in the centre of the camp to the west of Kenalumbi's shelter. There were two other hearths: One was in the entrance to the tree shelter, the other to the left.

Kavetjikoterwe built the make-shift camp with the aid of a young female relative. The aged mother, Kovikwa, the female relative and her baby stayed in the tree shelter. Kavetjikoterwe and her husband spent their days at this camp but slept in their Purros *ondjuwo* four km away.

Figure 5.18 a,b: Cave dwelling

This east facing rock shelter (Fig.5.18 a) was used for a few months early in 1987 to take advantage of localized rain. Lineage 4 used the deepest area as a living area, building additional walling with rocks and branches (Fig.5.18 b). A small hearth was at the entrance to this area. Adjacent was a kidgoat pen, also making use of rocks and brush as walling. A more open area to the left was used for cooking and domestic activities, as a cooking fire attested. An opening in the rocks at the back of the shelter was plugged shut with foliage.

It was not usual for 'Himba' women to sleep in caves or rock shelters: People said that it was acceptable for young men to use such places, but not women.

Figure 5.19 a - c: Three wet season camps

Three wet season camps were used in three months in 1987. The first, at Otjikakano chomunige (a) , in May, comprised two shelters and a goat pen. Kenalumbi's sacred fire was opposite the entrance to his east-facing dwelling. Kamasitu's shelter was built under and into a mopane tree, with an outside cooking hearth opposite the entrance. His bicycle leant against the shelter on the left. There were no central poles and both of the rough, unplastered shelters had hearths in their entrances.

The next camp (b), on the Purros road, in June, consisted of two shelters, covered with blankets and mopane foliage. Kavetjikoterwe and her husband went ahead to build the structures: the first shelter she built faced east and contained a central pole and a cooking hearth to the left. When her brother-in-law arrived with the goats this dwelling was given to him and she built another shelter, which she covered with blankets. This had no pole or interior hearth.

Kenalumbi's sacred fire was to the east opposite his entrance, with an ash pile to the left. Kamasitu's bicycle was stored under a specially pruned storage tree to the right of his dwelling. A small triangular kidgoat pen completed the camp

The third camp (c), at Okotjizeka, as built by the men as Kavetjikoterwe was visiting in the north. They utilized a tree for one shelter which doubled as a store for the bicycle. A rough, roofless shelter made from mopane branches and blankets served as Kenalumbi's sleeping place, near the goatpen. No sacred fire was evident and only one hearth, just outside Kenalumbi's north-east-facing shelter was used.

Figure 5.20: Hoarusib tree camp

This camp was used in December 1987. The sleeping area was in the west, facing east.

Okongombesemba camp:

Poor rains found this lineage still near permanent water in March 1988. This camp consisted of two houses, a sacred fire and a kidgoat enclosure. Kenalumbi's east-facing shelter, with an exterior hearth in its entrance, faced his sacred fire which was marked with double stones. Kavetjiterwe and Kamasitu's house had a central pole, interior hearth and an outside cooking fire in front of the entrance. The goatpen incorporated a small tree.

Figure 5.21: New Purros camp

In the 1988 dry season Lineage 4 built a new homestead about 120 metres northwest of the homestead at Purros that they had shared with Lineage 3. The new camp was within a few metres of relatively

thick bush. Their reason for moving to this site was that they were cold in the open and wanted to be closer to the trees.

Once again, this was an unusual site choice: No other lineage would build so close to bush and trees because of the danger of encountering wildlife such as elephants and predators. As already discussed, Lineage 1 did at one stage build a house about 10 metres from a large tree at Purros, but moved the entire camp about 200 metres into the open when elephants were in the area.

Lineage 4's new Purros camp comprised a single plastered *ondjuwo*, facing north, Kamsitu's sacred fire, further north, to the east of a large goat enclosure, a smaller goat pen and two exterior cooking hearths.

The big goat kraal, more than 25 metres in diameter, was an unusual feature and the first of its kind to be built in the area. Herders usually erected small pens for kids and lambs, but adult goats were not corralled at night and they usually congregated as a herd close to the homestead.

A number of meat fires located in the environs of the homestead related to other lineage's and communal meat feasts over a number of years as the area, with its shade trees, was a popular place for men to sit and talk.

This time Kavetjikoterwe built a classic Himba-shaped house (see Fig.5.22) that local women discussed and admired: Dome-shaped with a tunnel entrance, it was neatly plastered from 40cm upwards on the outside, and from 45 cm to the floor on the inside. The house was 50 cm higher than average "so that husband Kamasitu could stand up to dress" (in his Western-style trousers).

The house had a central pole behind an interior hearth near the entrance. However, the pole was in two pieces, jammed together, something which caused some malicious mirth among local women as a broken pole signifies the death of the male head of the household.

The usual division of space inside the house was reversed with the couple's bedding taking up the left side of the house, and most of their goods on the right. Some of Kavetjikoterwe's possessions hung from the walls of the house on the left above the sleeping area.

Figure 5.23: Okongombesemba homestead

In 1991 this camp, originally built by Lineage 4 in 1988, now included Kavetjikoterwe's mother and her sister who had recently married. Some of the sister's husband's cattle was present and a calf enclosure was erected. The new *onganda* comprised four neatly plastered *ozondjuwo*, all with tunnel entrances, two storage structures, a calf kraal, a kidgoat pen and two sacred fires, one linked to each of the two Lineage 4 brothers. This was the first Lineage 4 homestead to contain a calf enclosure.

Kenalumbi now slept in the original east-facing house used by his brother and his wife in 1988 and his sacred fire, still with its double stones, had been moved to a position opposite his entrance. The entrance to the calf pen faced his house - thus forming an *omuvanda*. The dwelling still contained the pole and central hearth Kavetjikoterwe had put in place when she was in residence.

She was now living in a new house on the right, with a storage hut on the left. The house contained a central pole and an interior hearth, set forward, close to the tunnel entrance. Once again,

her use of space was unconventional: In this case the central pole was *in front* of the interior hearth, instead of vice versa.

This house displayed a strict gender division of space, the left side crowded with her goods, the right completely bare in her husband's absence. His rifle was stored on the left with her goods, Kavetjikoterwe said, for safety.

In fact, Kamasitu was away negotiating to marry a second wife, an issue which caused much conflict between him and Kavetjikoterwe, and the empty space in her house was poignantly eloquent, as was her display of a round shell ornament, belonging to her husband, on the central pole. (This decoration was often worn by men, and during the war some Himba mothers took to wearing the shell of a son who was in the army. The reason was so as not to forget him and to help to protect the young man from injury or death.)

An exterior cooking and activity area was on the left.

Her mother's store and house were next, with sister Kaonatjito and her husband on the right, opposite Kenalumbi on the other side of the calf enclosure. Both women's houses contained a central pole and an interior hearth. A cooking hearth was situated to the left of the mother's store. Four ash piles were visible. The two against the calf enclosure were from the two sacred fires.

One of the reasons for the apparently model appearance of this *onganda* were the regular visits a tour operator was making to introduce his tourists to Himba culture. Women from all nearby lineages congregated at this village on the days when tour operator came in to sell baskets and other goods.

The sample of homesteads and camps presented here highlight Lineage 4's unusual domestic architecture, their unconventional use of space and their unusual site location, compared to other lineages. Their gendered use of space is illustrated in Figure 5.28 below.

LINEAGE 6

This lineage belonged to the *oHerero* patriclan. The main house should face east.

The lineage moved south because of the war and the drought. Lineage head Heova was related to Venomeho, head of Lineage 3. Apart from inheriting his lineage's sacred fire, he found himself responsible for a number of middle aged and elderly female relatives and their children after his brother was killed in a war-related incident. His divorced sister also decided to live with her brother.

Heova had two wives, his second wife being his late brother's widow. Their marriage, in middle age, was perceived as a union of convenience - for the widow as much as the lineage head - in that it ensured the original lineage did not totally break up as an economic unit. For example, certain matrilineal stock was retained by the patrilineage because the widow had usufruct rights.

The complexity of who 'owns' what and/or who has usage or other rights to what is evidenced by the weeks or even months of deliberations that take place after a lineage head's death. In controversial cases such discussions may continue for several years. One is tempted to assume that

the fact that nothing is written down in this non-literate society adds to the complexity. Of course, the written word is no more inclined to ensure a unity of interpretation than speech.

Although Lineage 6 was a wealthy lineage relative to others in the south-west, Heova's female dependents were regarded by other lineages, to be a heavy economic and social burden on him. This was even though all the women owned some stock, including cattle. On the other hand, his network of responsibilities added to his prestige and to the prestige of the lineage.

In 1986 Heova was in the north with his remnant herds. Some of the female members of this lineage maintained an *onganda* at the gardens settlement down river of Purros. The group comprised two elderly women, one of them Heova's mother, two middle-aged divorced sisters of Heova and a widowed sister-in-law. A few children lived with the women and assisted with chores, including tending their garden.

The *onganda*, on its own terrace a few hundred metres from the homesteads of the other lineages comprised three houses. Once the women noted my interest in domestic space, they were quick to tell me that the gardens homestead was an anomaly, and did not reflect their usual use of space. Three years later, when the women were living in a large *onganda* at Purros, they reminded me of what they had said at the gardens and, with some pride, showed off their present home.

The evolution of the Purros dry season base over four years and one of Lineage 6's typical wet season camps are outlined below.

Figure 5.24 (a - c): Purros dry season base

In the first camp (a), the sacred fire lies between the house of the mother of the lineage head and the calf enclosure. His house was to the right, with women relatives, including a sister and a sister-in-law, to his right.

In the second camp (b), built in 1988, the sacred fire is still opposite Heova's mother with women relatives Maipangwe and Karinaitjino now to the left. Heova and his senior wife intend building to the right of his mother.

By 1989 the camp had been built on, with Heova and his two wives on the right of his mother.

Figure 5.25: Omuwongo petemba camp.

This was a small 1989 wet season camp at a place called 'water collection at the drinking trough' or deep pool, typical of this lineage. It comprised three houses, a calf enclosure, a kidgoat pen and a sacred fire. The main house, occupied by Heove and his first wife, Behuperwe, faced east with calf kraal entrance, with the sacred fire in between.

Warowa, the second wife, placed her house to the right, with a kidgoat pen nearby on her right. A daughter lived on opposite side of the calf kraal. Central poles were present in the two older women's houses, interior hearths were in all three, with outside cooking fires to left of the houses of the two wives.

All the main houses used by this lineage faced east, in accordance with the *oHerero* patriline, and an *omuvanda* was formed by the main house entrance-sacred fire-calf enclosure. The main house also usually had a central pole and a central interior hearth. At Purros in the dry season homesteads, the main house was usually occupied by Heova's elderly widowed mother; in wet season camps when she was not present, his senior wife built and occupied the main house.

Figure 5.26: Purros homestead

An 'empty' house at Lineage 6's Purros base, some weeks after members had left the camp, shows that a number of goods have been left there to await the owners' return. As discussed previously, a Kaoko definition of an abandoned house is one in which *no* goods have been left.

(This custom of leaving goods in an empty house is one which has been misinterpreted by Westerners: Lineages in some northern areas lost many of their material possessions as well as their stock during the drought in the early 1980s. A number of empty homesteads were raided by Western 'collectors' and/or tourists while Kaoko people were in emergency feeding camps. Some such people justified their actions on the grounds that a wealth of material culture would be lost unless it was saved for (Western?) posterity in Western-style collections. It was erroneously assumed that Kaoko people would not return to their homesteads after the drought. It was also incorrectly assumed that goods left in empty homesteads were abandoned by their owners.)

LINEAGE 7

The patriline of this lineage was the *omuhinaruzo*. No rules apply, and in fact, the name of the patriline means "has no patriline."

Kayuru, a nephew of Lineage 6's head, moved with that lineage for much of the year. He and his wife maintained a separate homestead, usually within a few hundred metres of Lineage 6's. His homesteads had no sacred fire of his own and important ceremonies relating to his family took place at his patriline's sacred fire as maintained by his matrilineal uncle. Eight camps were recorded; all followed the same basic layout: The main house facing the calf enclosure, with a daughter's house to the left. Kayuru's wife placed her cooking hearth to the left, and her interior hearth was usually central, close to the entrance. Her houses did not have central poles.

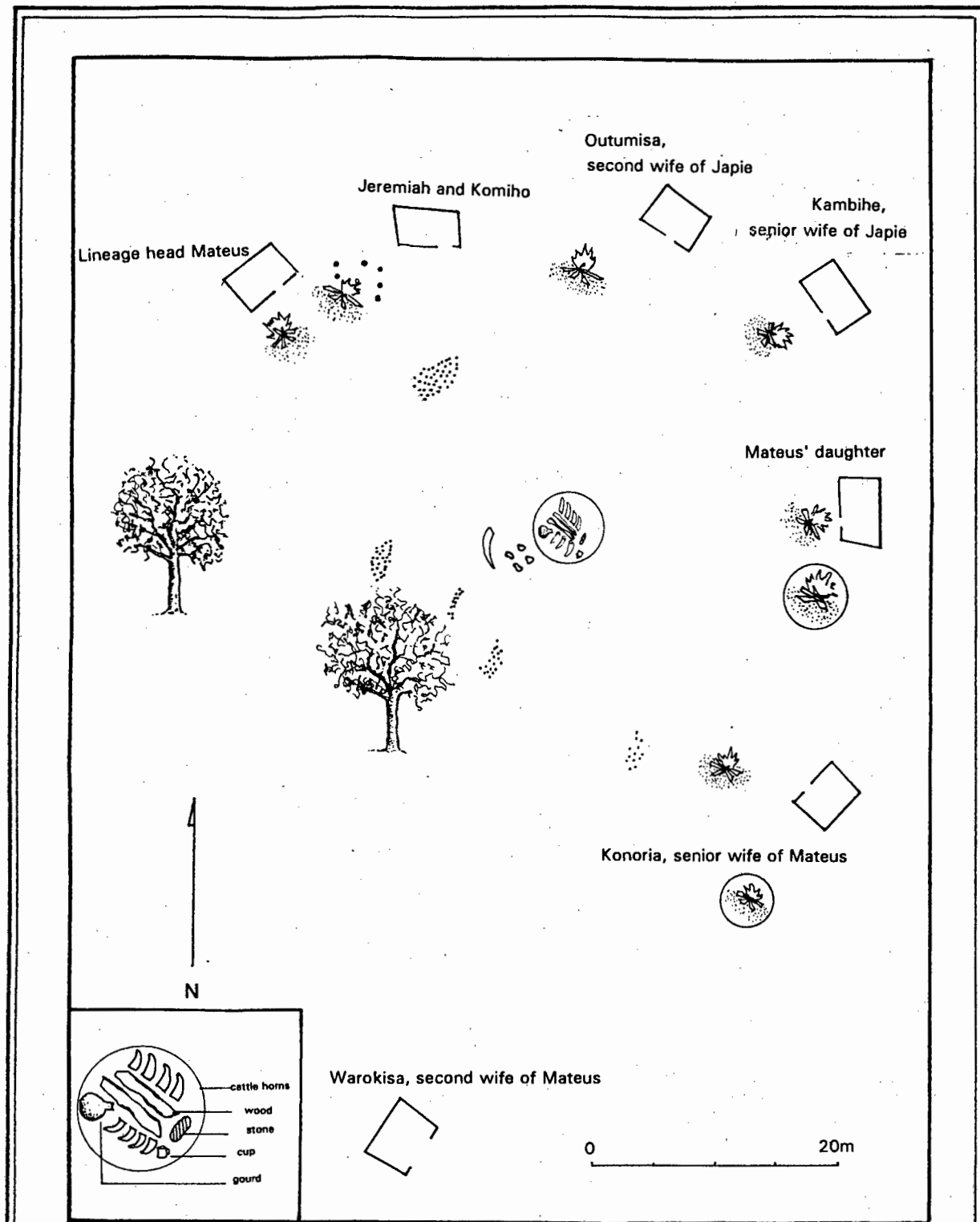
Space in the far north

A diagrammatic example of a homestead at Otjitanda, in the remote far north is illustrated in Figure 5.27. The houses of all three wives and the lineage head's mother have central poles and interior hearths. The two cooking fires are on the left of the houses. At the time the homestead was visited (early 1990s), cash and the market economy had yet to penetrate in any meaningful manner into this area. I suggest this accounts for its apparent spatial 'orthodoxy'.

Gendered use of space: Lineages 1, 3, 3a and 4

A graphic illustration of the gender division of space in the homestead's of married couples (Lineage 1, 3, 3a and 4) is displayed in Figure 5.28. The charts show that even in the case of the Herero Lineage 1, most women's goods are kept on the left (92 items as opposed to 14 on the right). Lineage 1 displays the highest percent of male goods on the left - at 14 percent still not a very high amount of goods. In all cases, women's goods lap over onto the right of the house, but the majority of their possessions are stored on the left.

Lineage 3a represents the married space of Kata, rebel daughter of Lineage 3 who before re-marriage, routinely placed her domestic hearth to the right of her house. After marriage, this changed, and her cooking fires were located to the left, but she still often used the right side of her house for some of her goods, as the charts indicate.







-  Meat fire
-  Cooking hearth
-  Ash
-  Stone game
-  Sacred fire

Figure 5.1. Lineage 1's Purros gardens homestead, occupied from the early 1980's till 1988.

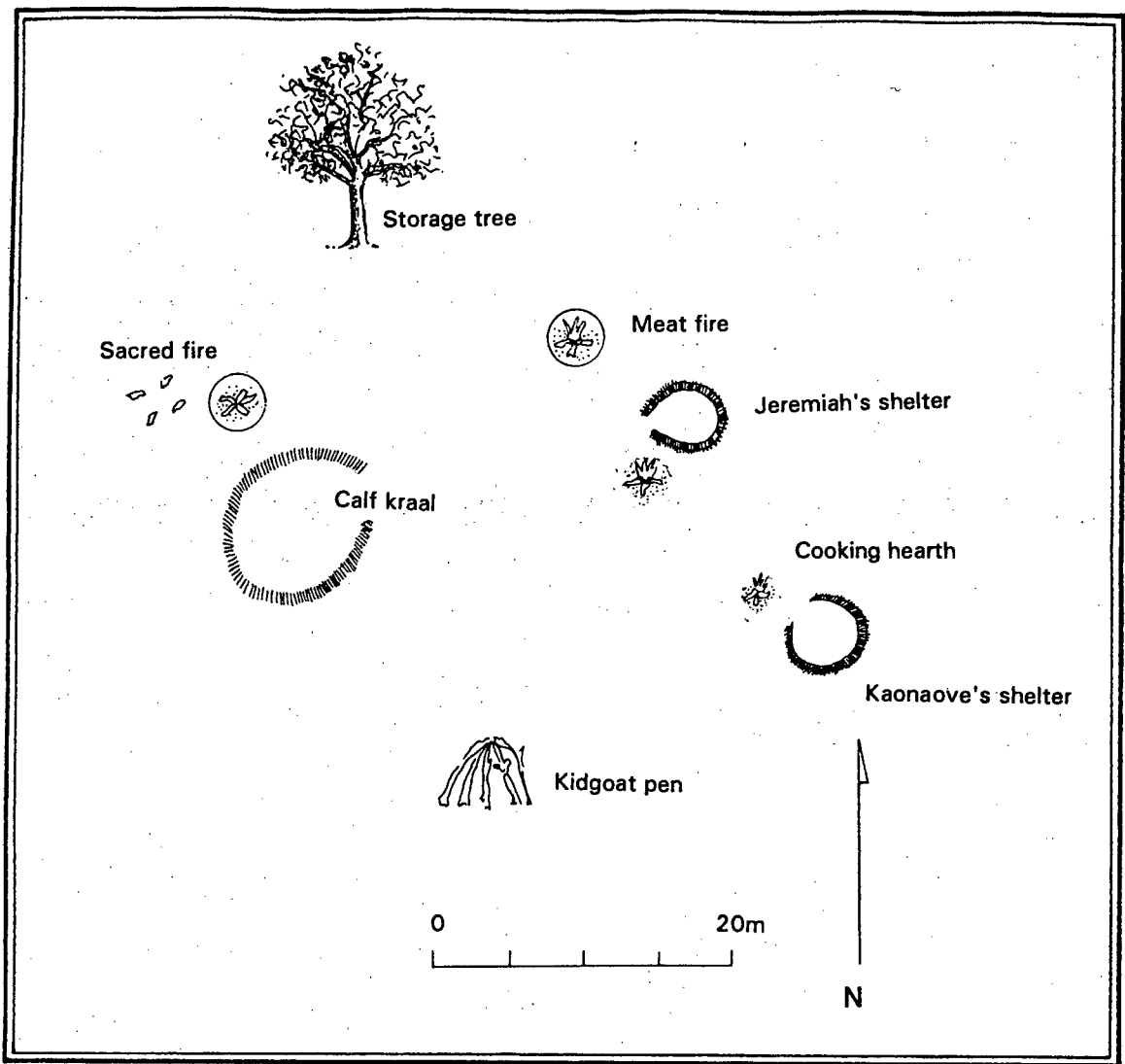


Figure 5.2. Lineage 1 stock camp at Okongwe after the 1988 wet season.

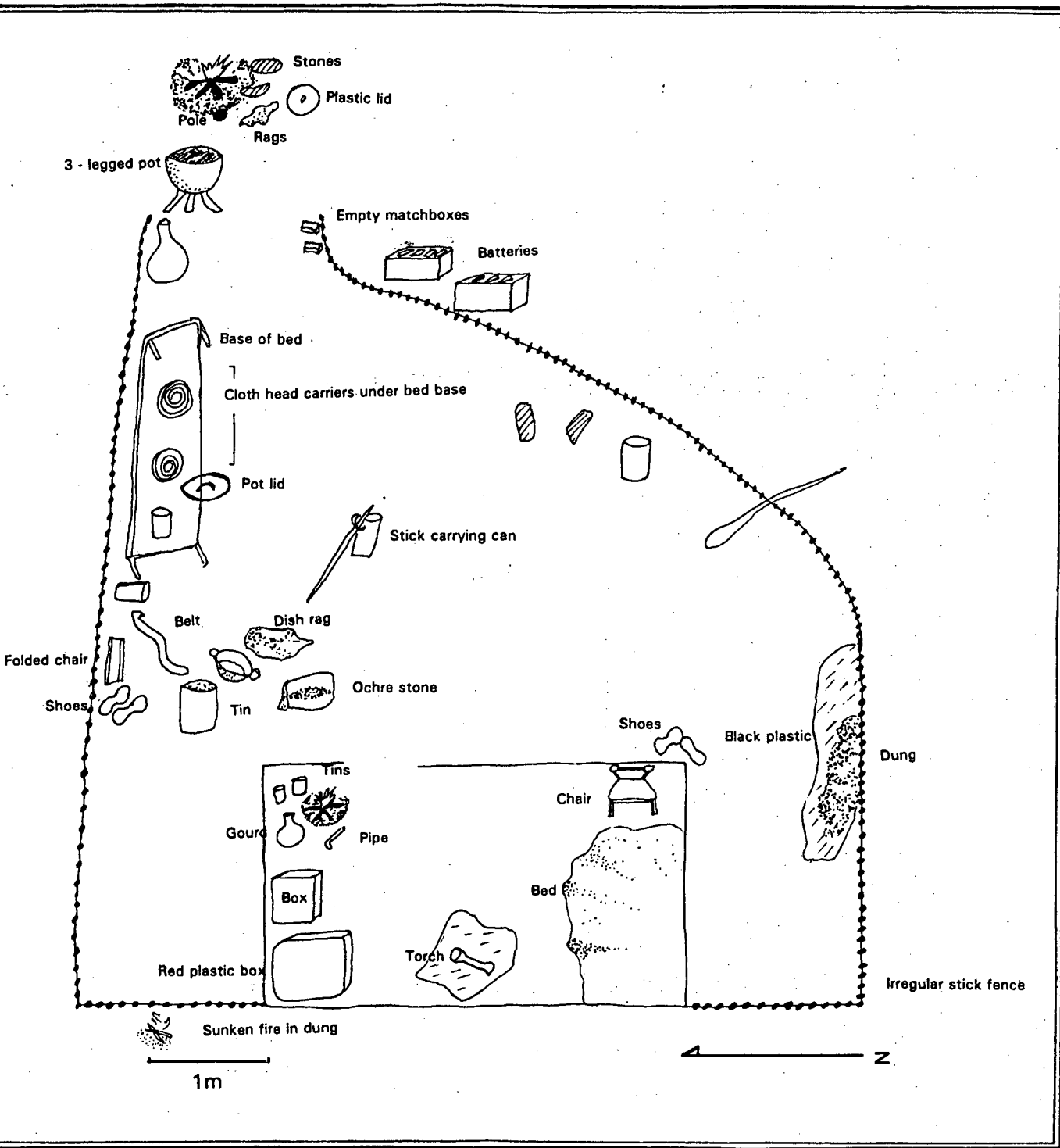


Figure 5.3. The first courtyard at Purros built around the house of Konoria and Lineage 1 head in 1988.

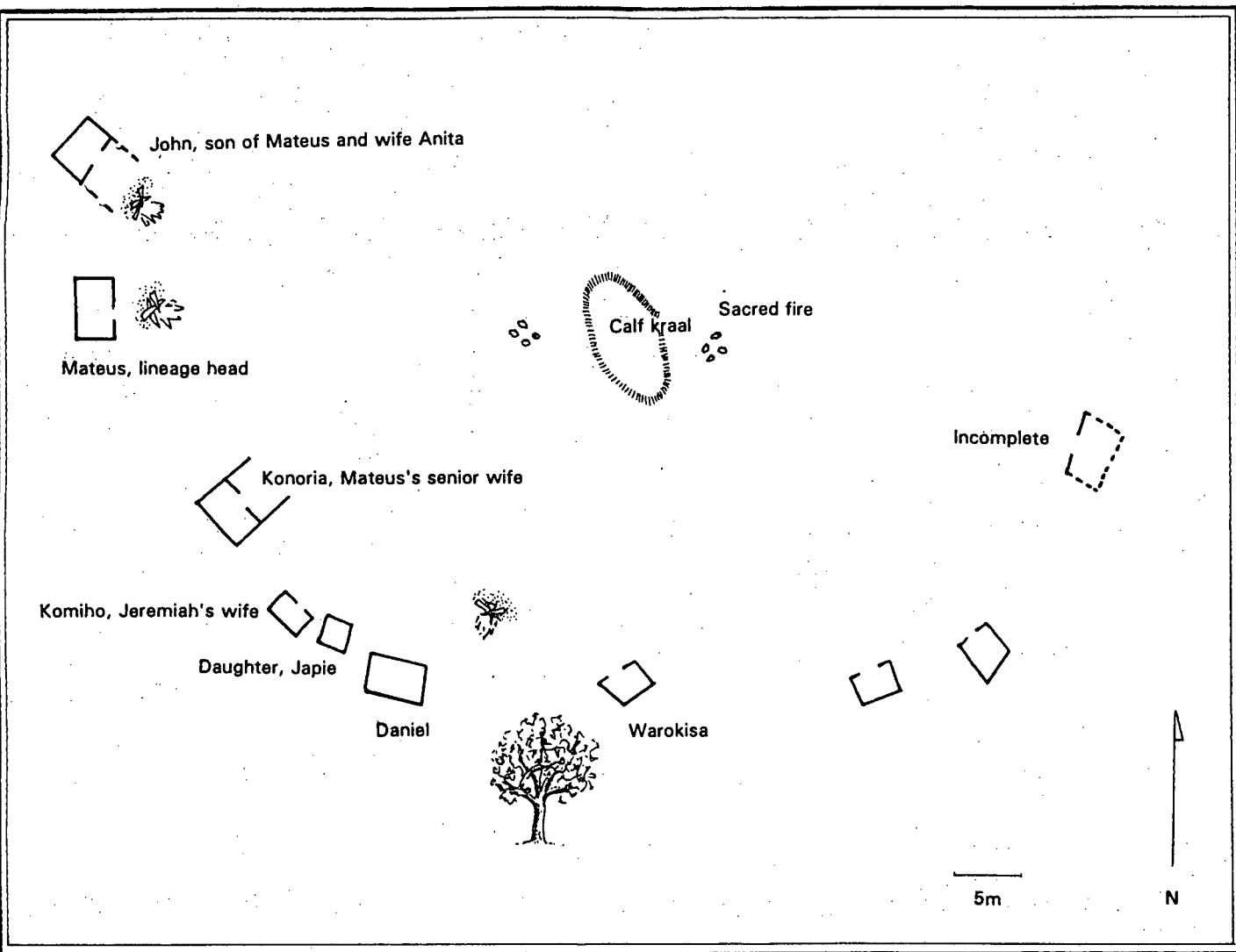


Figure 5.4. Lineage 1's Purros homestead in 1991.

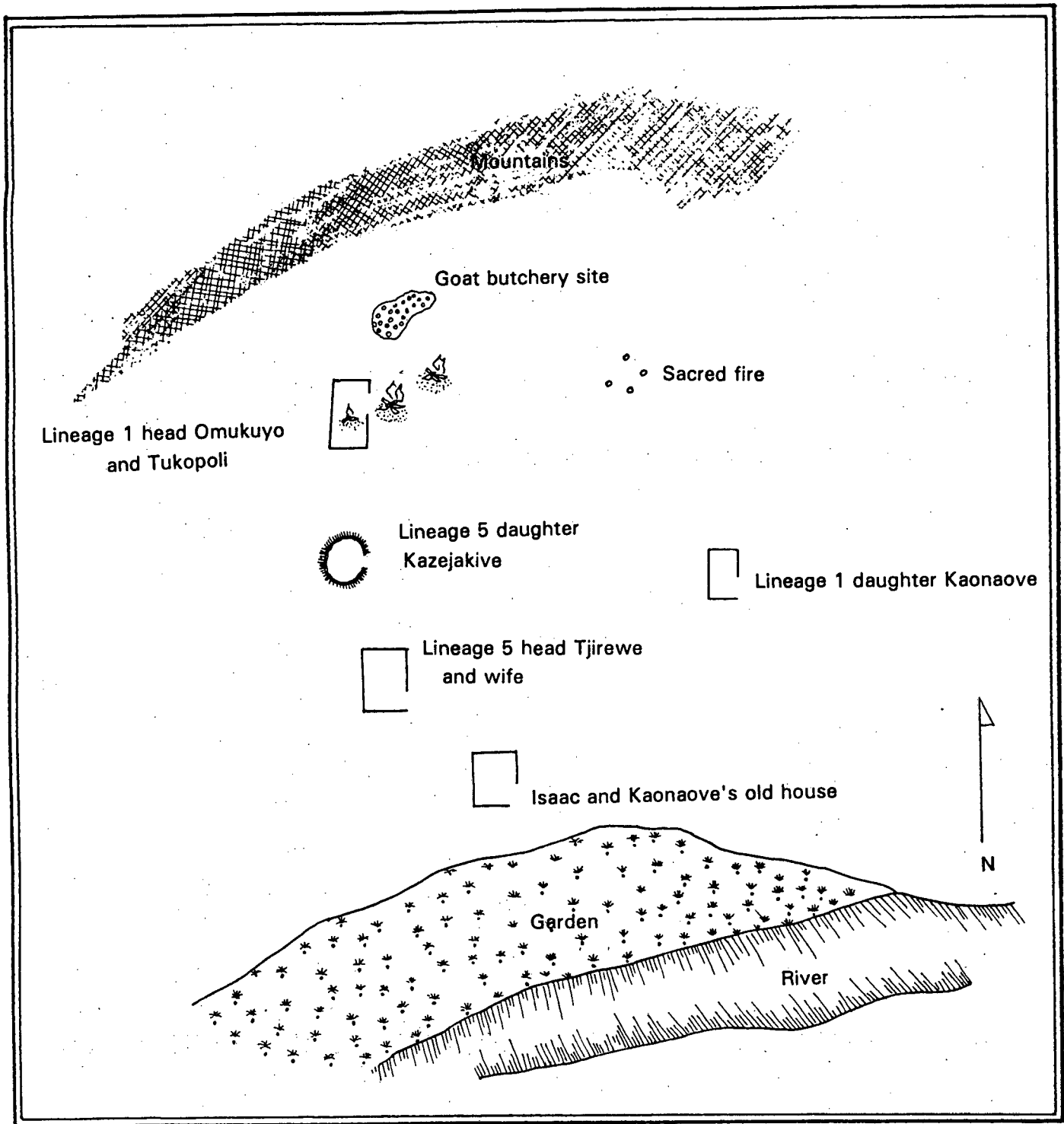


Figure 5.5. The Purros gardens homestead shared by Lineages 2 and 5.

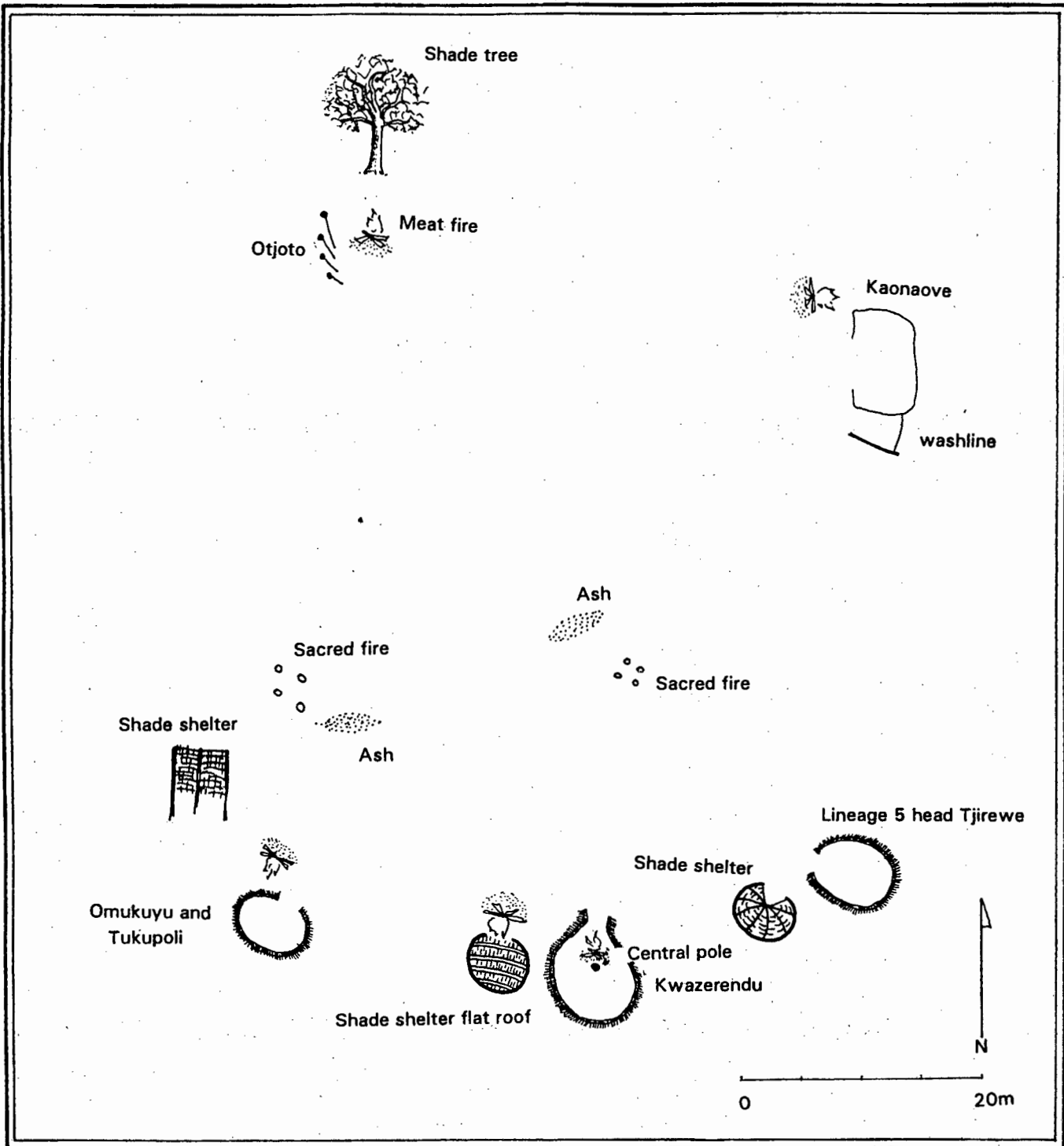


Figure 5.6. Lineage 2 and 5's first homestead upriver of the Purros spring, with round houses and one square one, in 1989.

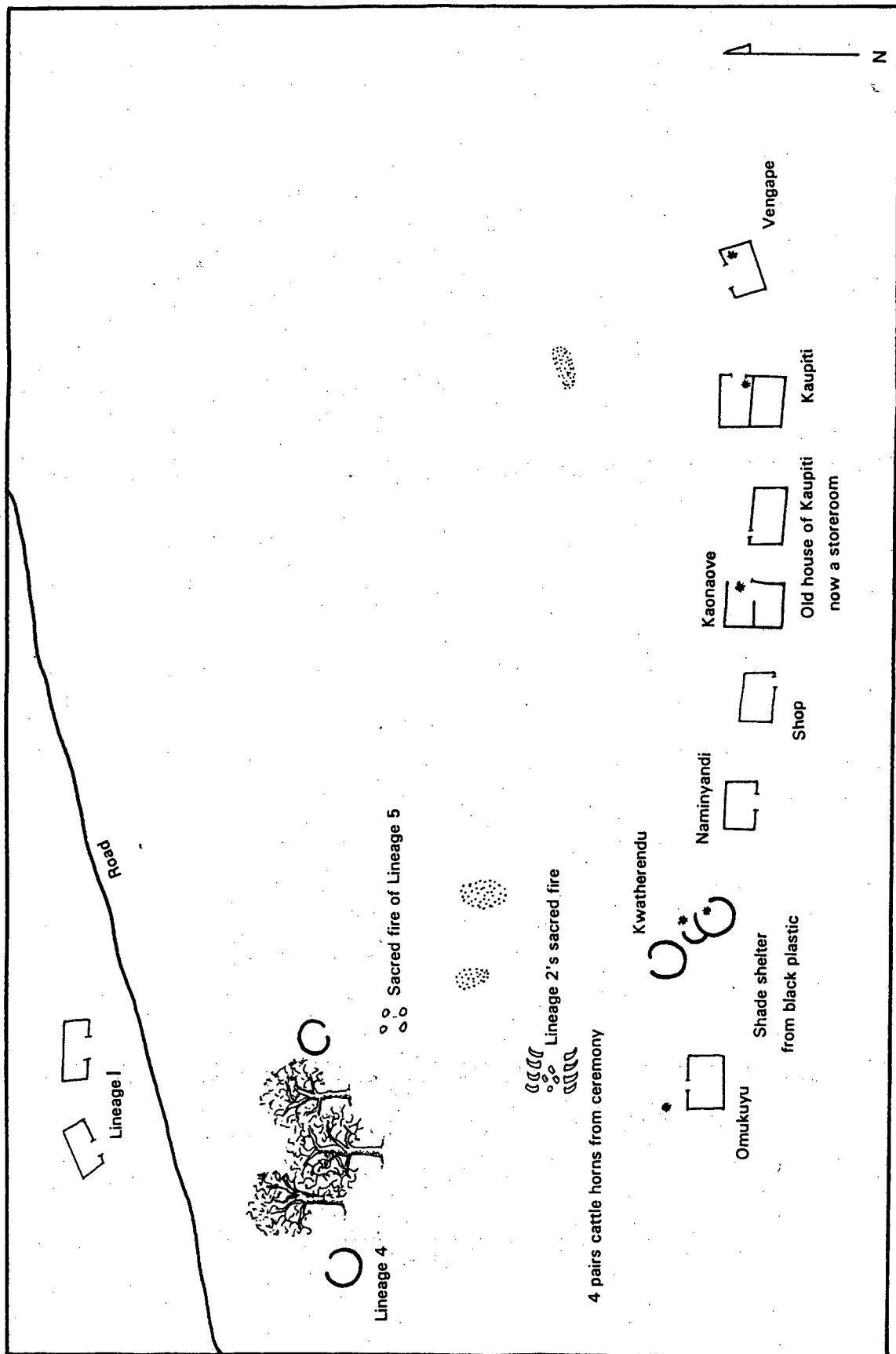


Figure 5.7. Diagram (not to scale) of Lineage 2 and 5's new Purros homestead as recorded in 1991. The new houses are now square except for that of widow Kwatherendu. Vengape of Lineage 3 was temporarily living here while members of her family were absent.

- Ash
- ★ Domestic fire

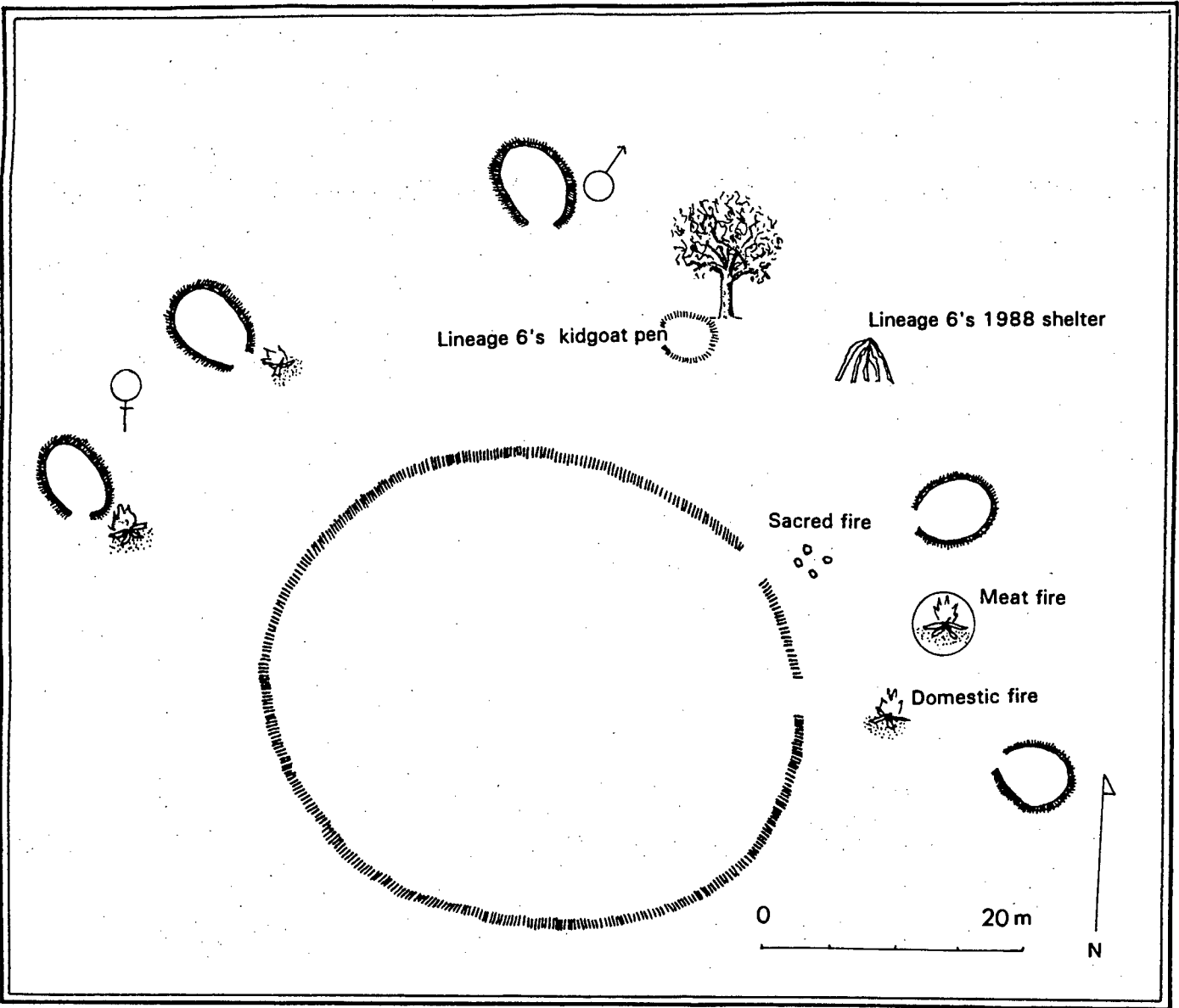


Figure 5.8. A pre drought wet season homestead of Lineage 2. The remains of round houses were still visible. In 1988 Lineage 6 used the area, building a rough shelter as a dwelling and reconstructing the calf kraal.

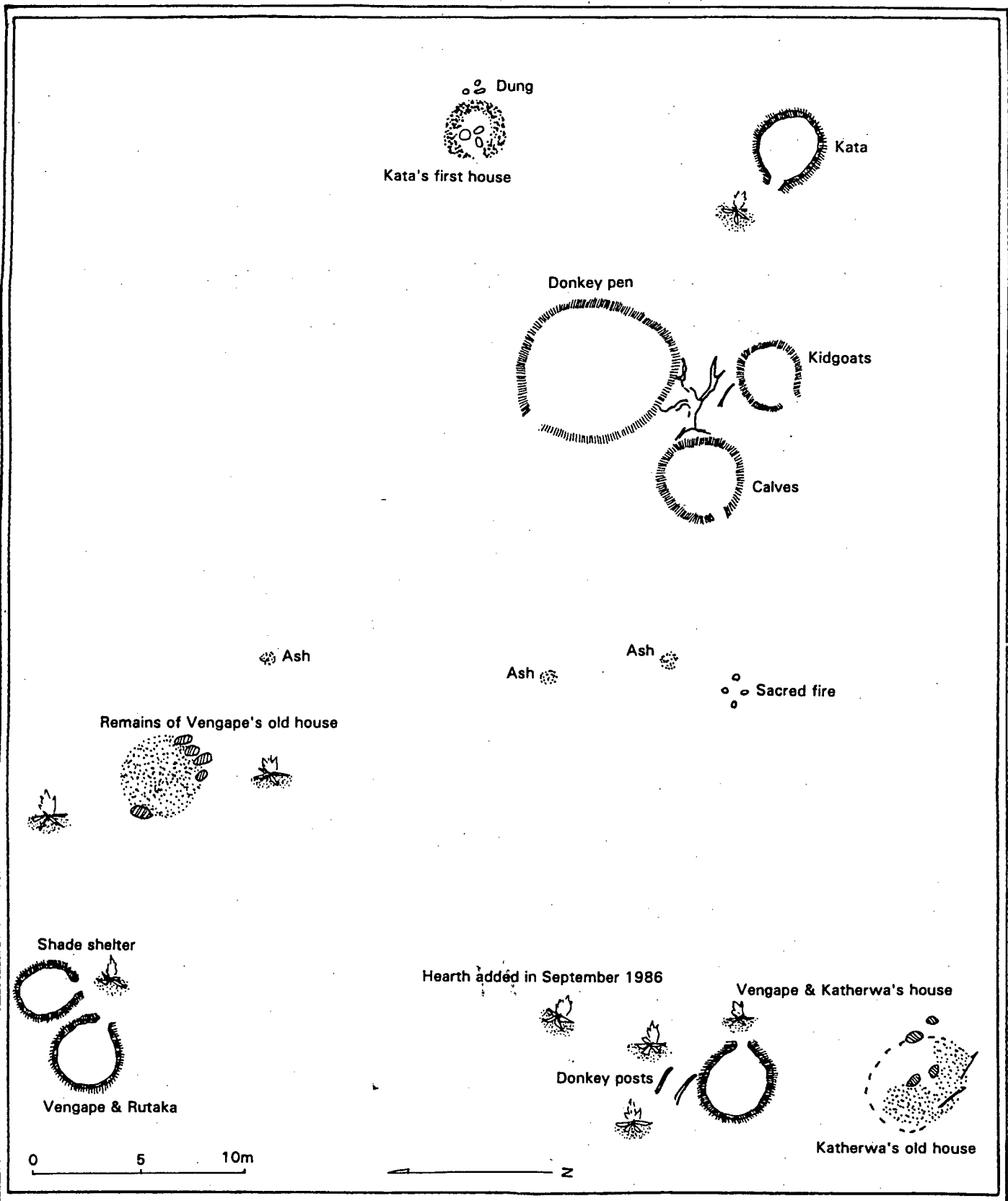


Figure 5.9. Lineage 3's Okongombesemba dry season base, used periodically since 1984. Kata's exterior cooking hearth is to the right of her house; the cooking fires of the other two women occupants were to the left.

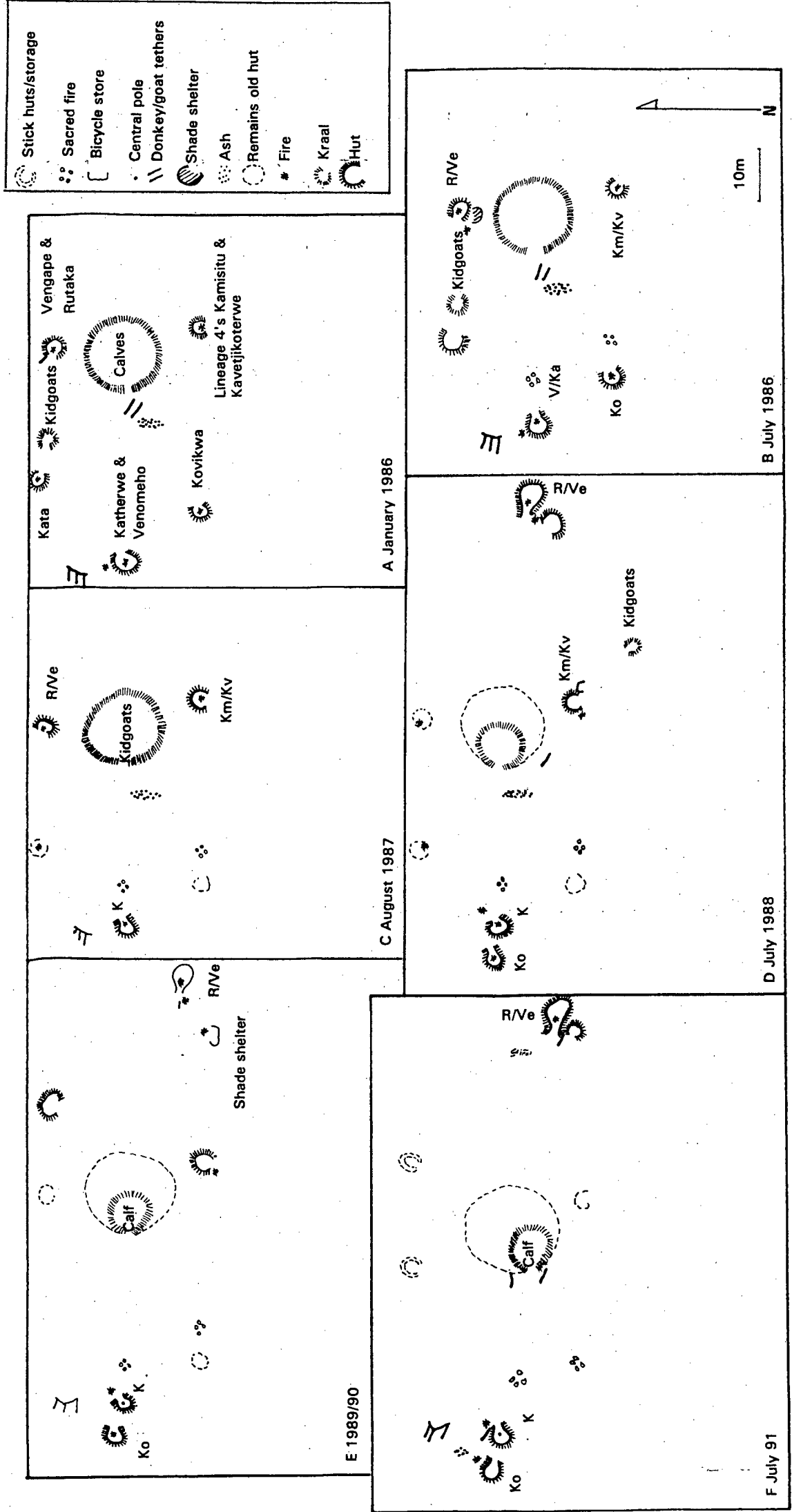


Figure 5.10. Lineage 3's other dry season homestead, at Purros, as it changed between 1986 and 1991. The homestead first included a Lineage 4 component.

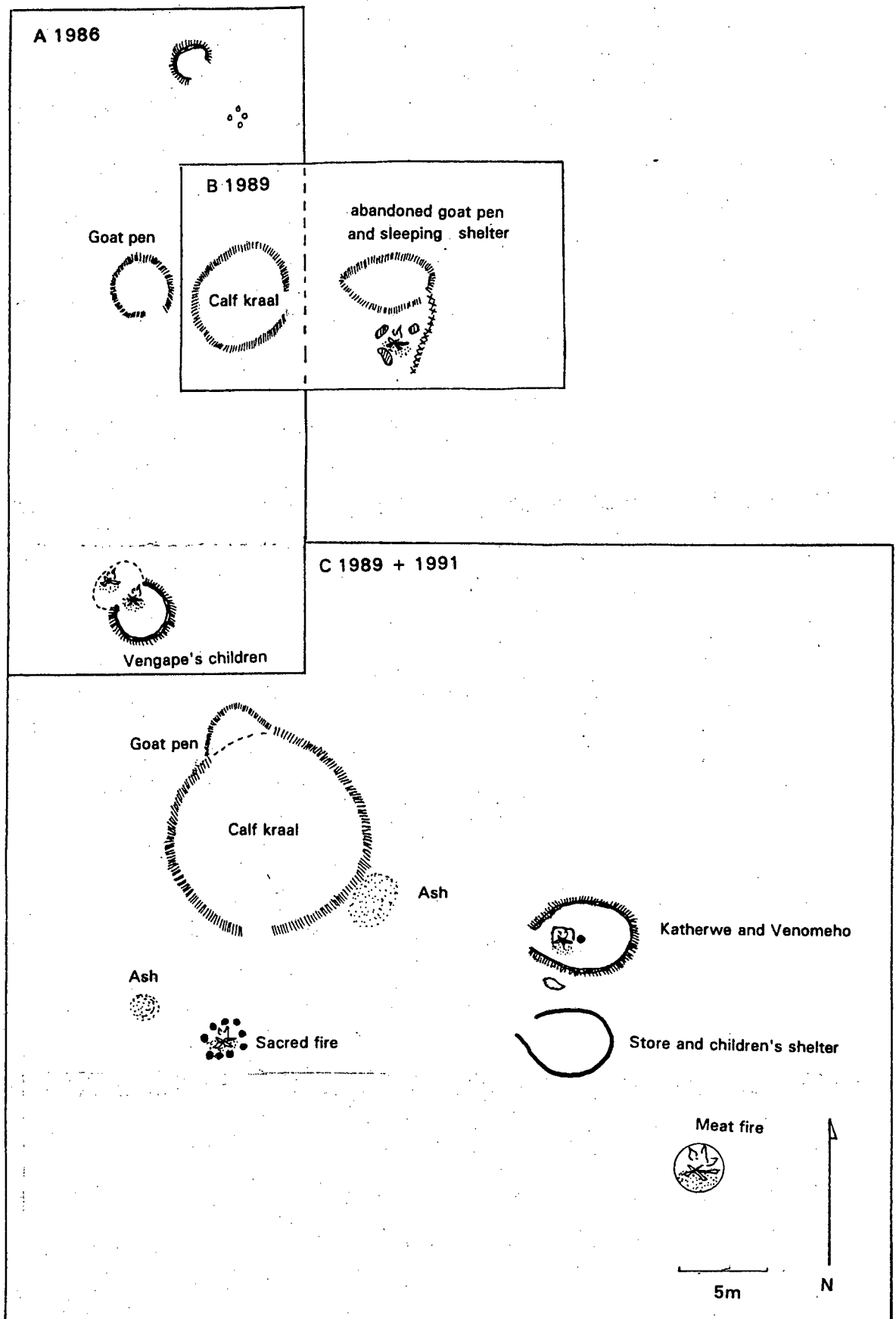


Figure 5.11. Lineage 3's Okozombo camp over time and a number of occupations.

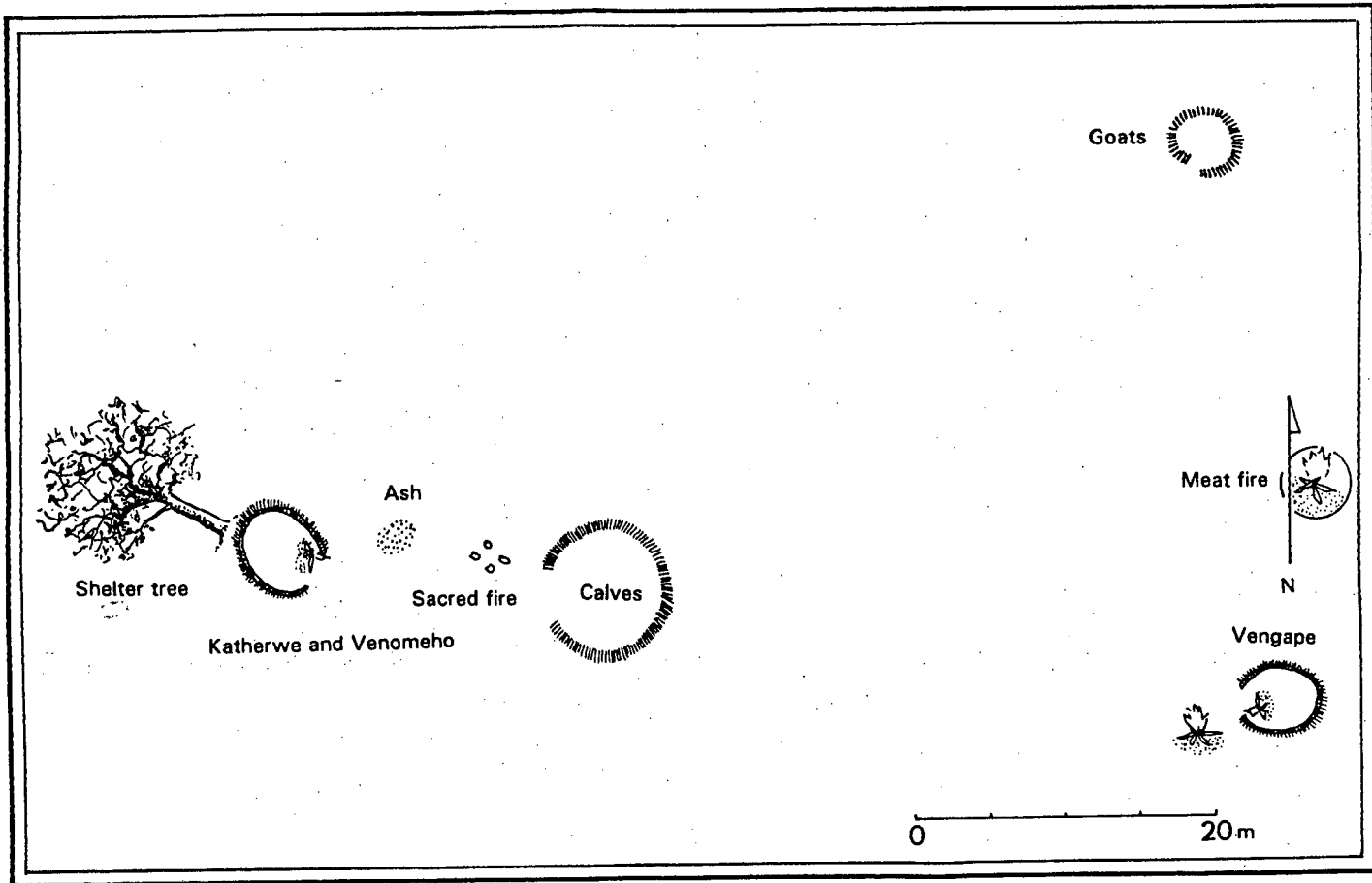


Figure 5.12. A Lineage 3 wet season camp at Epungue occupied in April 1988.

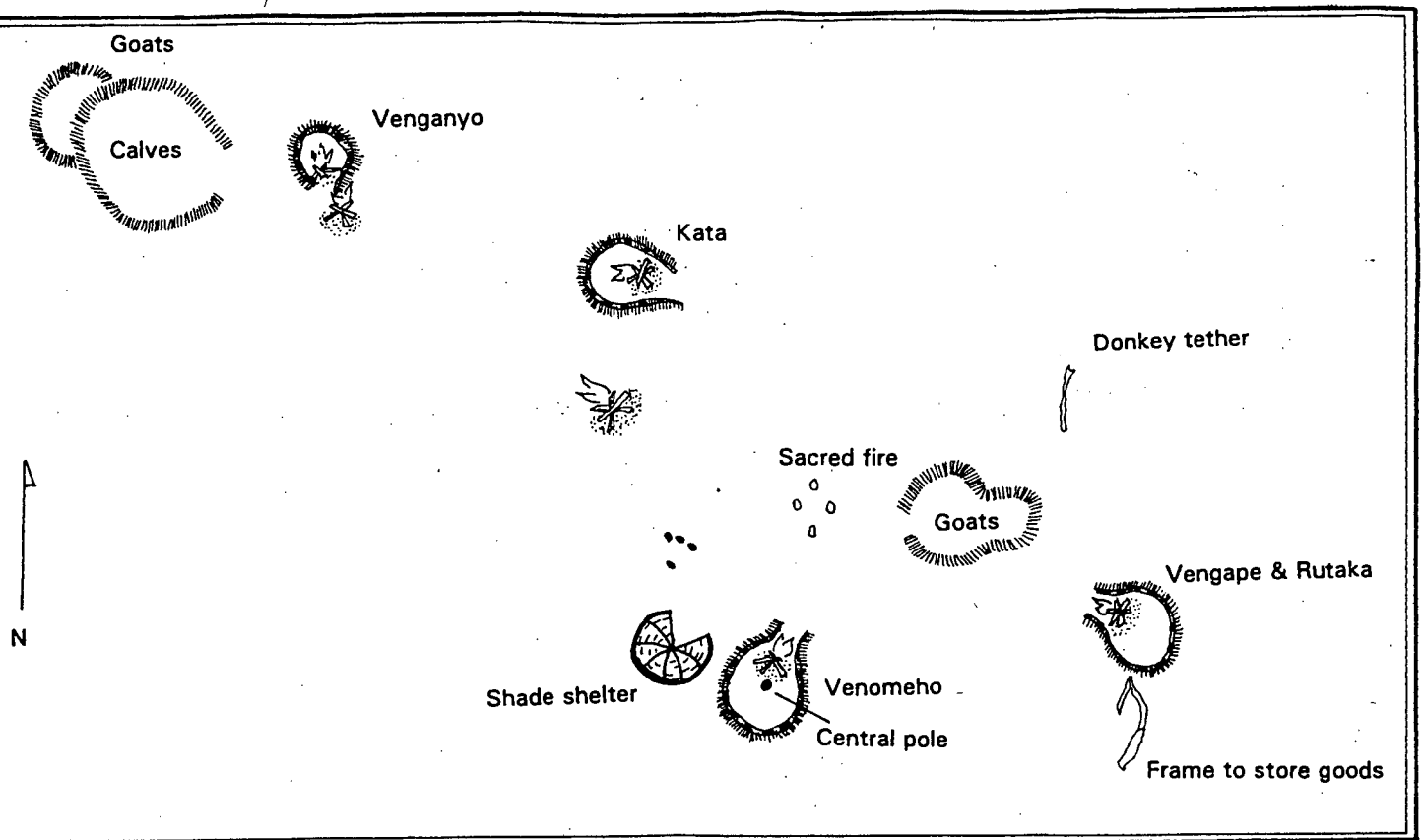


Figure 5.13. Lineage 3's Khumib river camp used in the early 1980's (diagrammatic, not to scale).

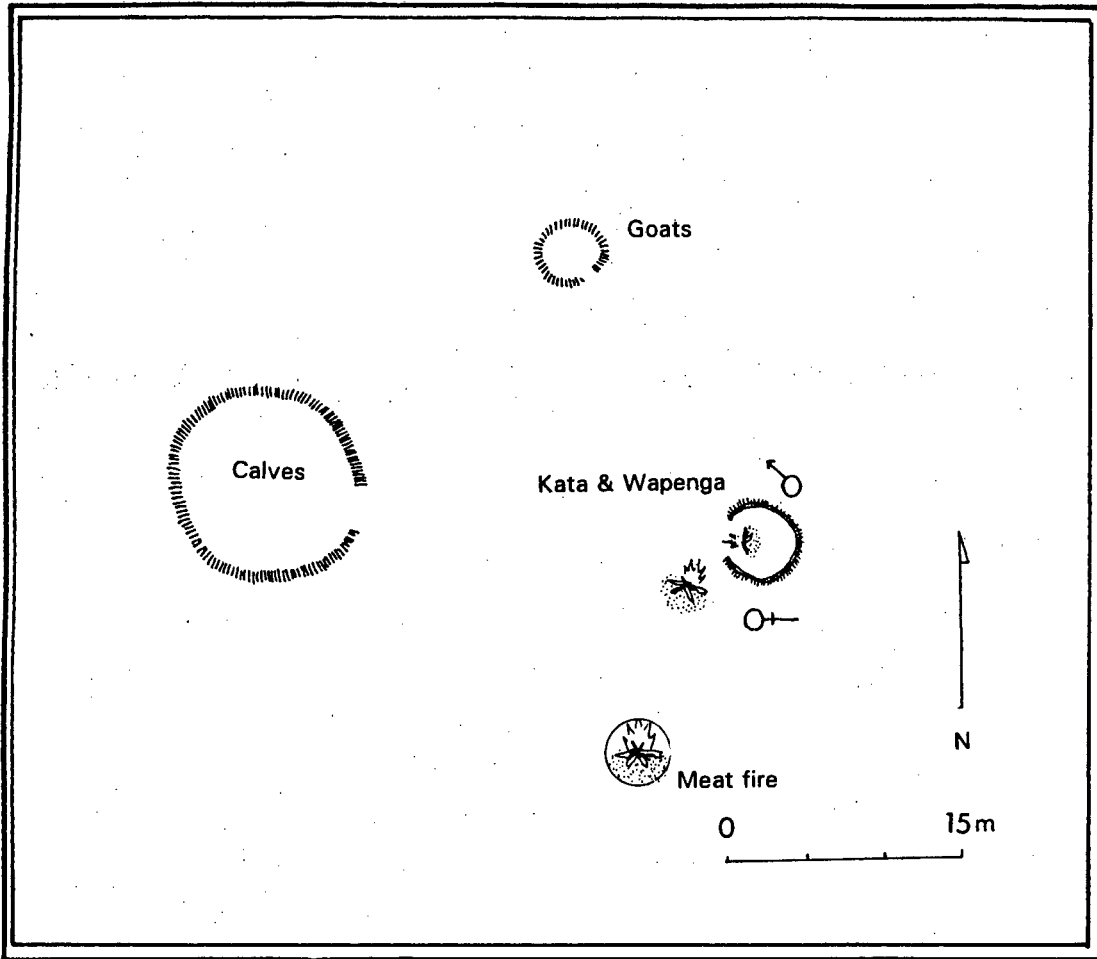


Figure 5.14. Kata of Lineage 3's married space - at Oruharwe to the north of the main study area, in August 1988. Her domestic hearth is now on the left.

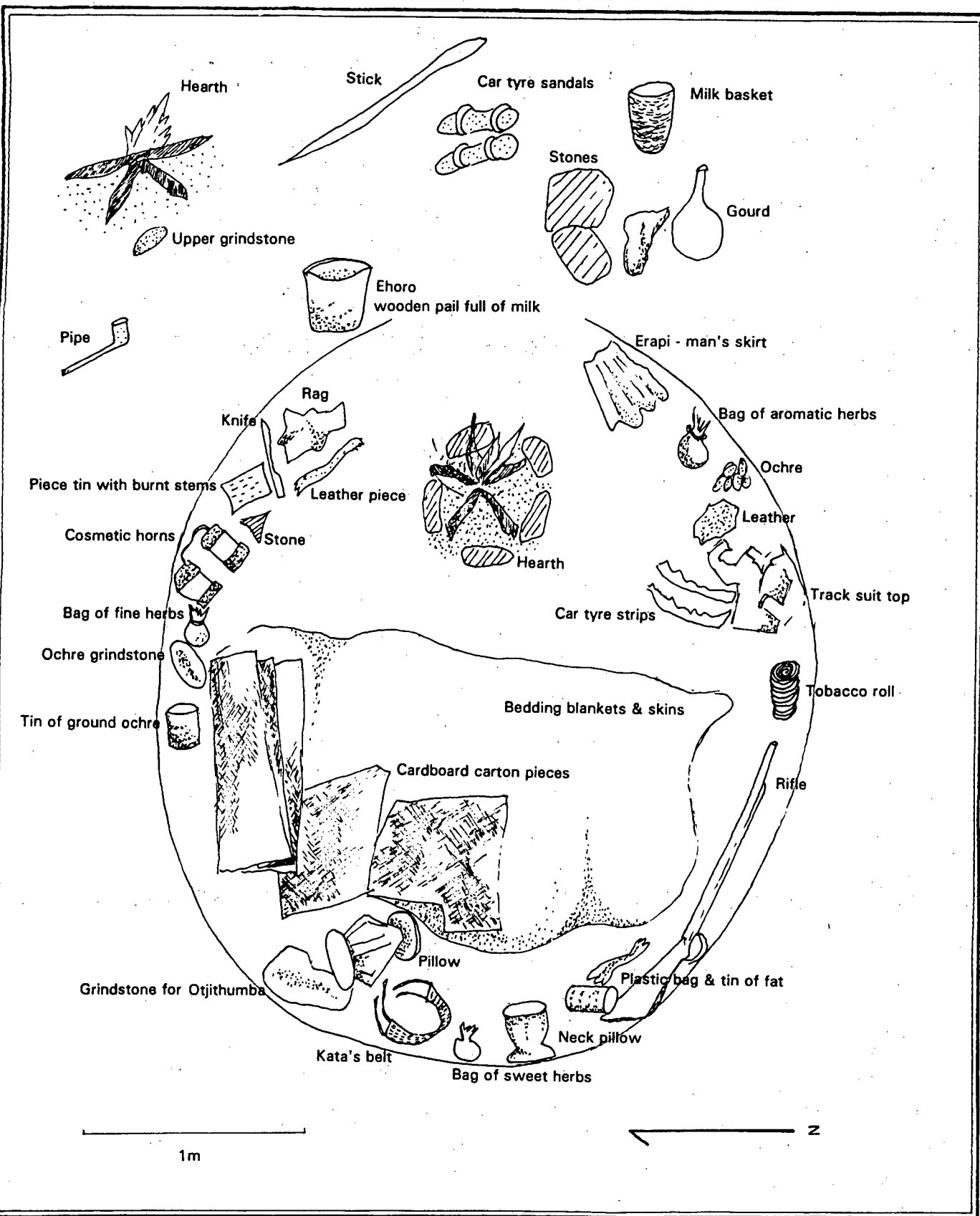


Figure 5.15. Another example of Kata's use of space after marriage - her house at Onyuva in February 1990. A general left/wife: right/husband use of space is visible, although some of Kata's goods are slightly to the right outside of the house.



Figure 5.16. Lineage 4's second Ochams camp, built in 1985. One of the two rock shelters used as dwellings is visible left, with the angular dome - roofed house built by Kavetjikoterwe beyond.



Figure 5.17. The remains of an unusual dwelling carved into a large *Boscia foetida* tree on the banks of the Sechomib River. The shelter included two living areas and a goatpen within the tree.



b, the entrance of the main living area with its exterior hearth.

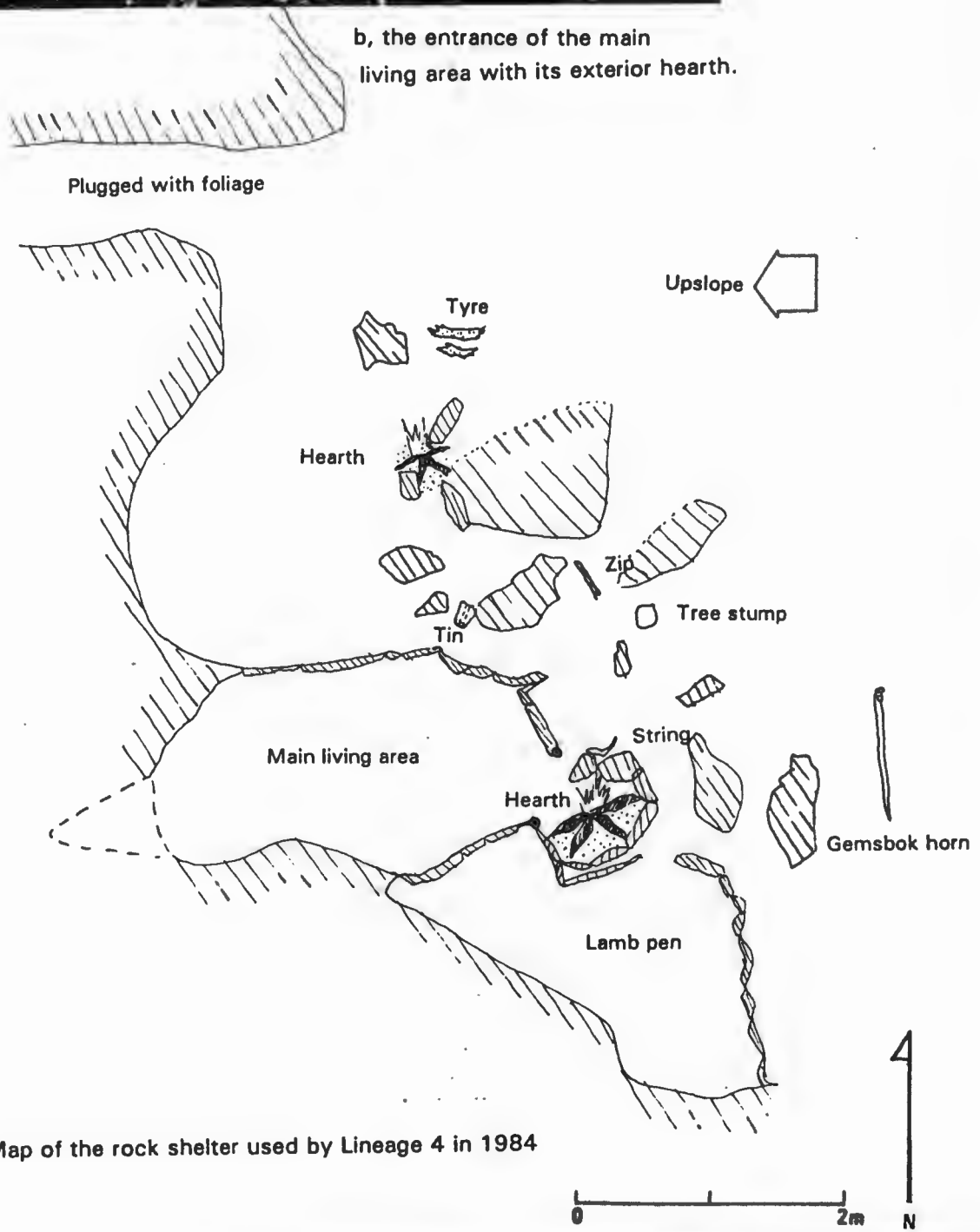


Figure 5.18a. Map of the rock shelter used by Lineage 4 in 1984

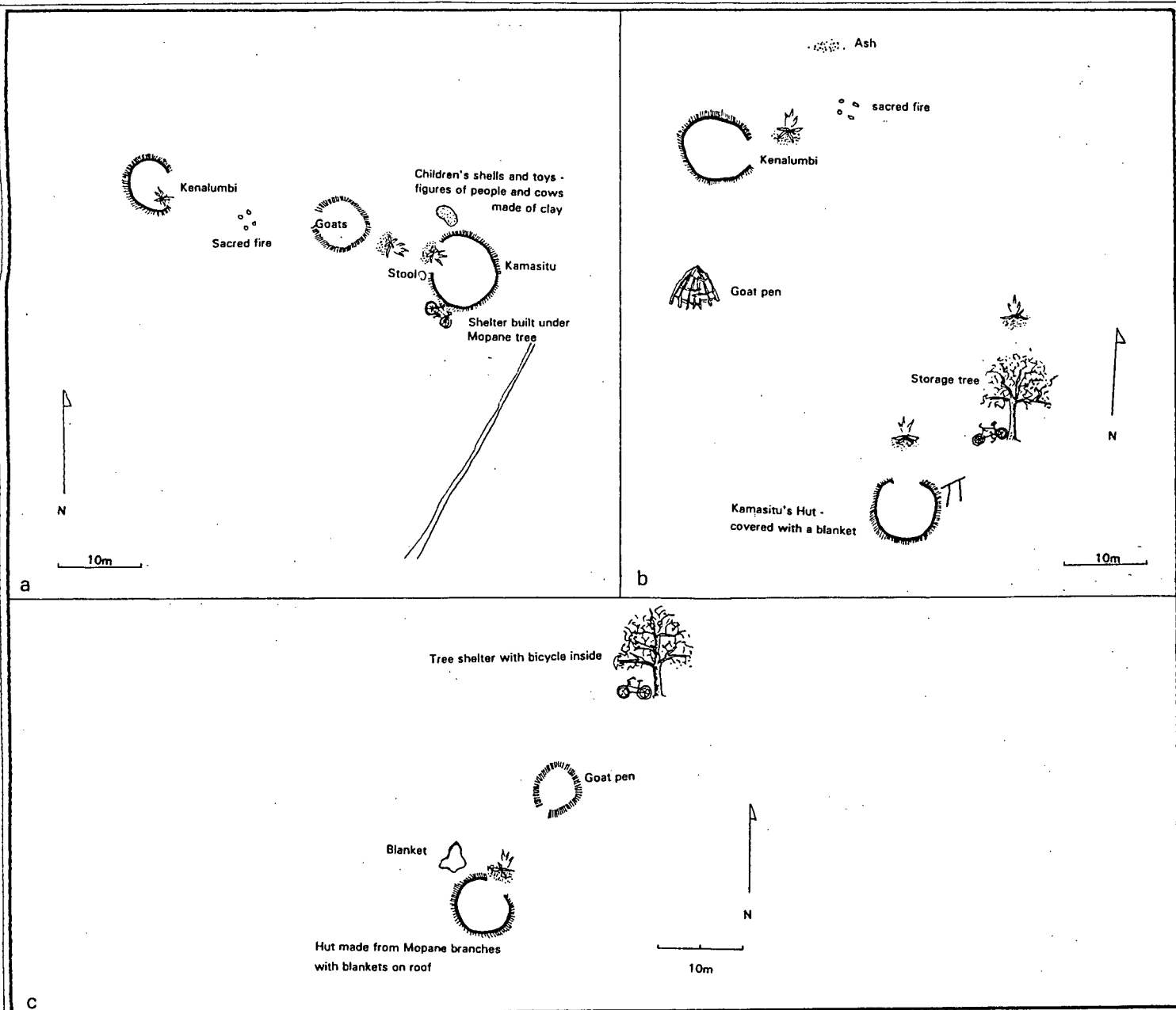


Figure 5.19a - c. Three post wet season camps occupied by Lineage 4 in May, June and July 1987.

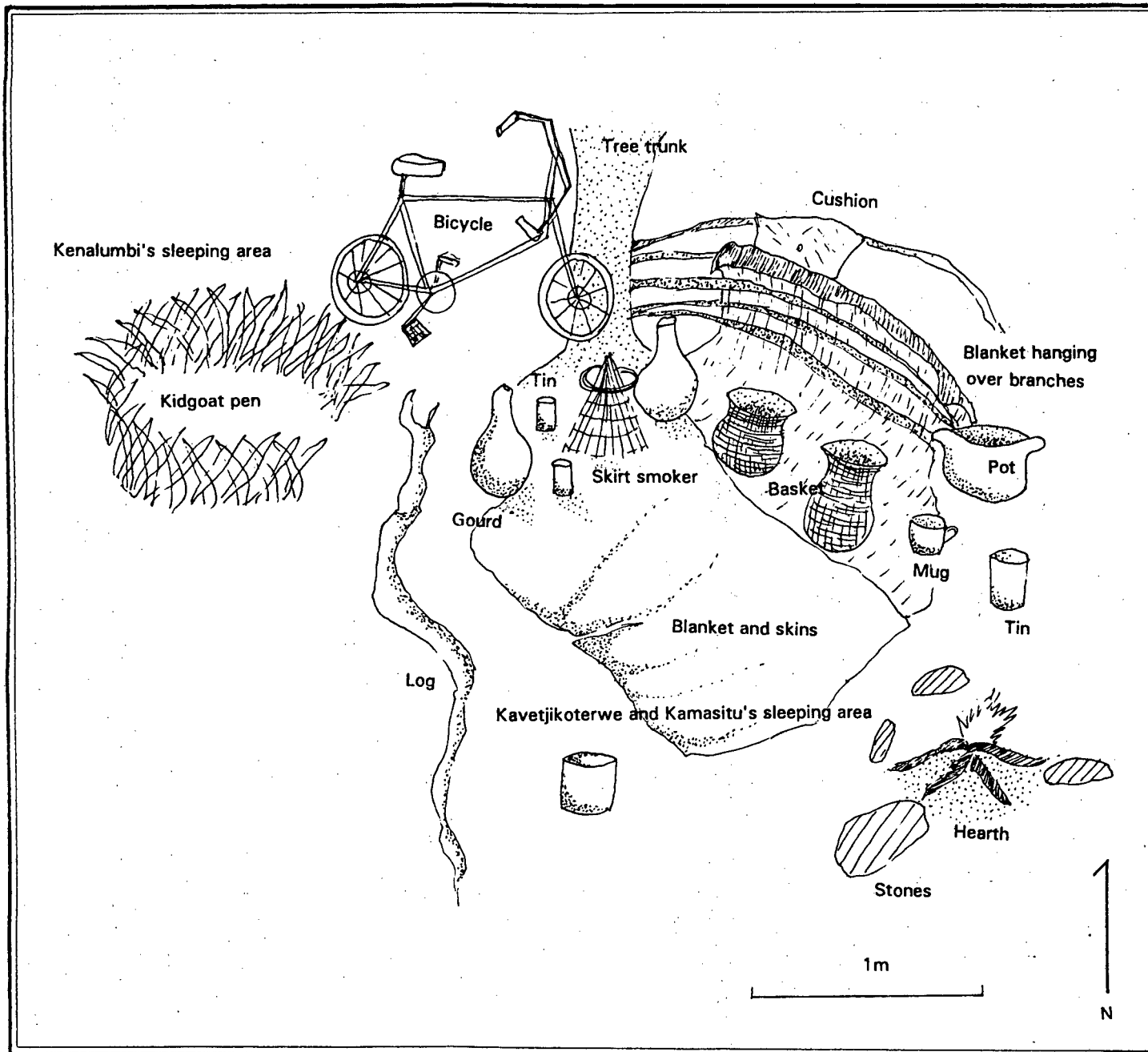


Figure 5.20. A tree camp used by Lineage 4 in December 1987 in the Hoarusib River near Purros.

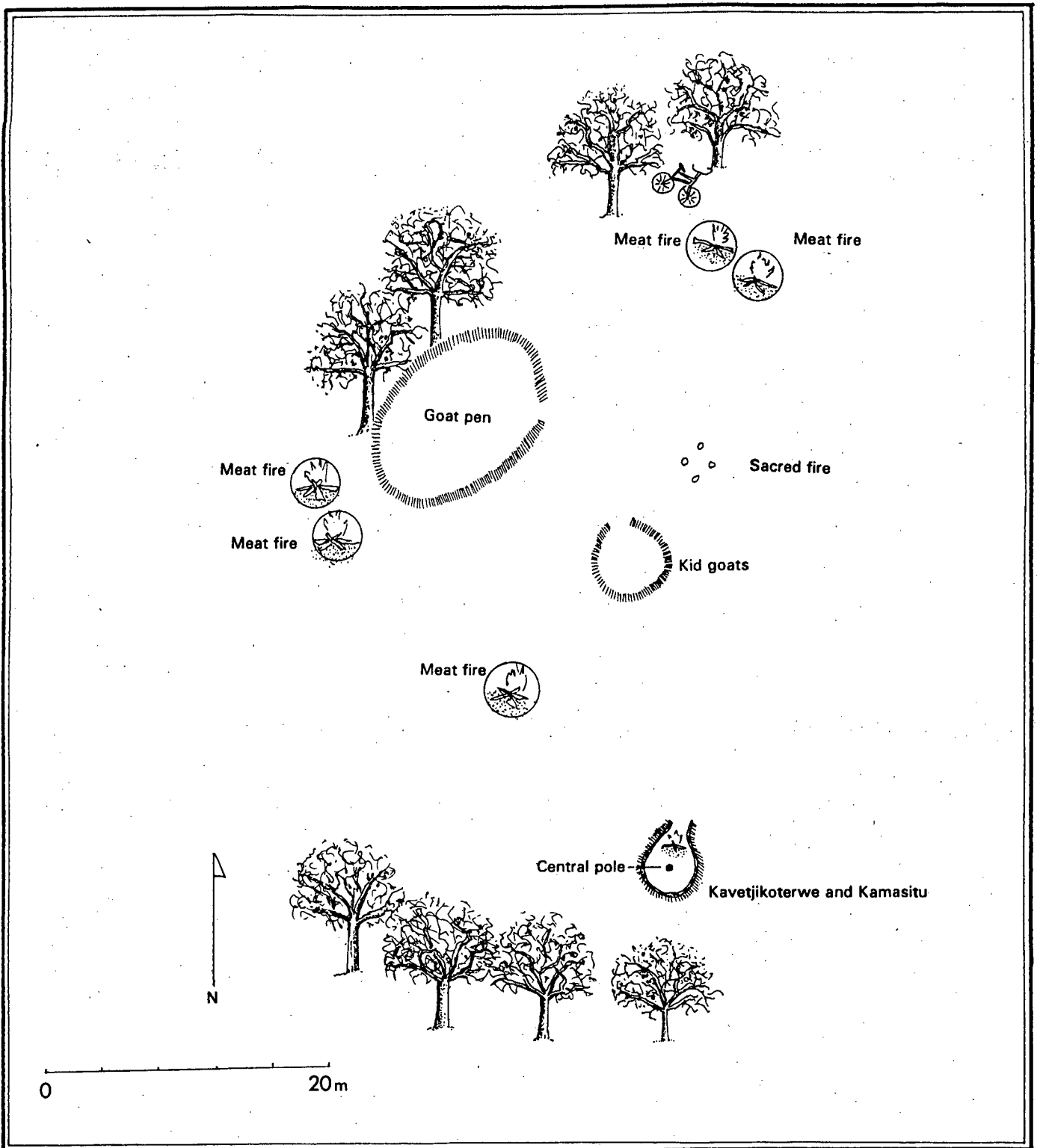


Figure 5.21. Lineage 4's new Purros homestead built near trees and bushes. Apart from this unusual feature it also included a large kraal for goats as well as a kidgoat pen.

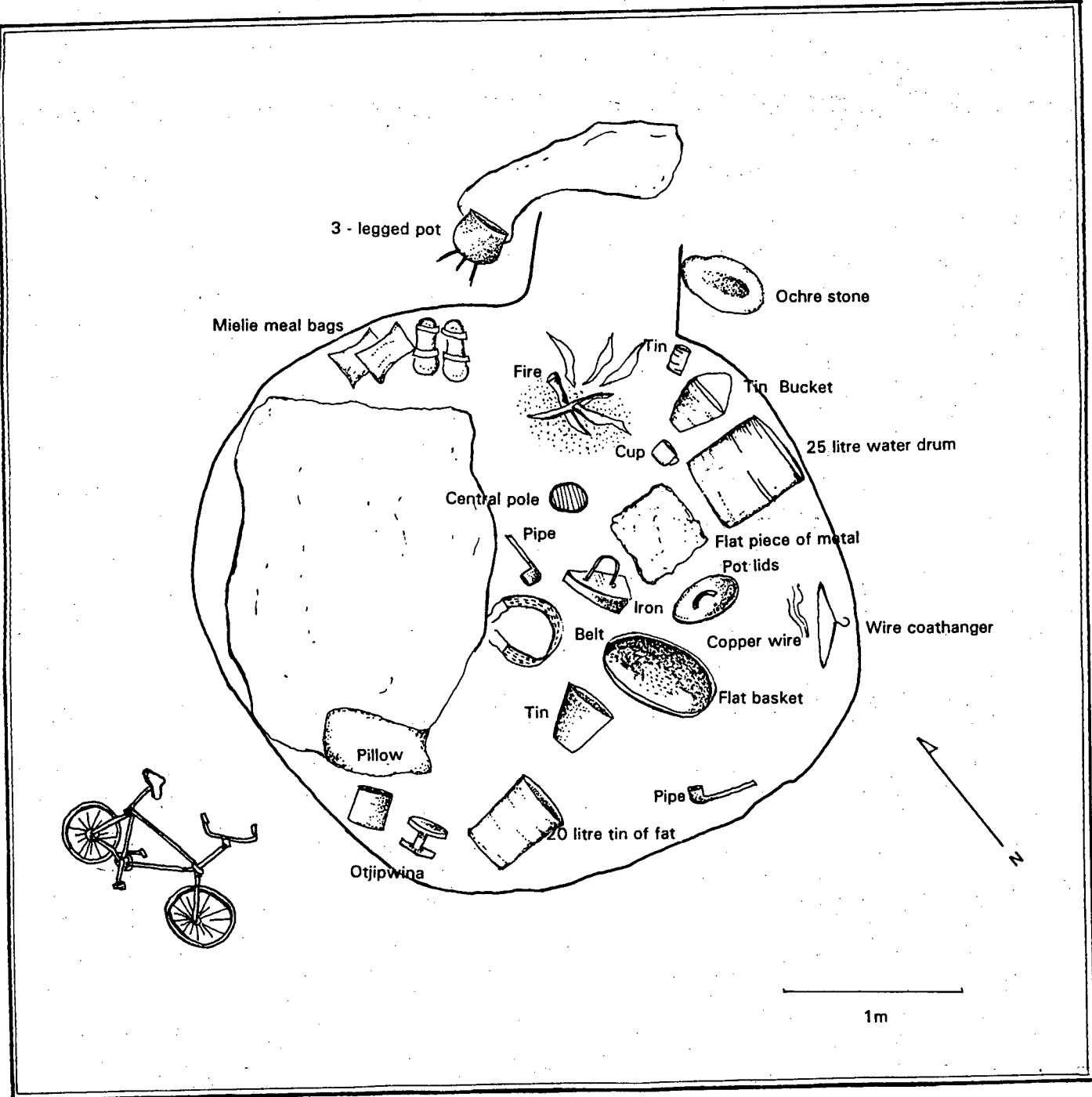


Figure 5.22. Interior of Kavetjikoterwe and Kamasitu's house (Lineage 4) at Purros in late 1988.

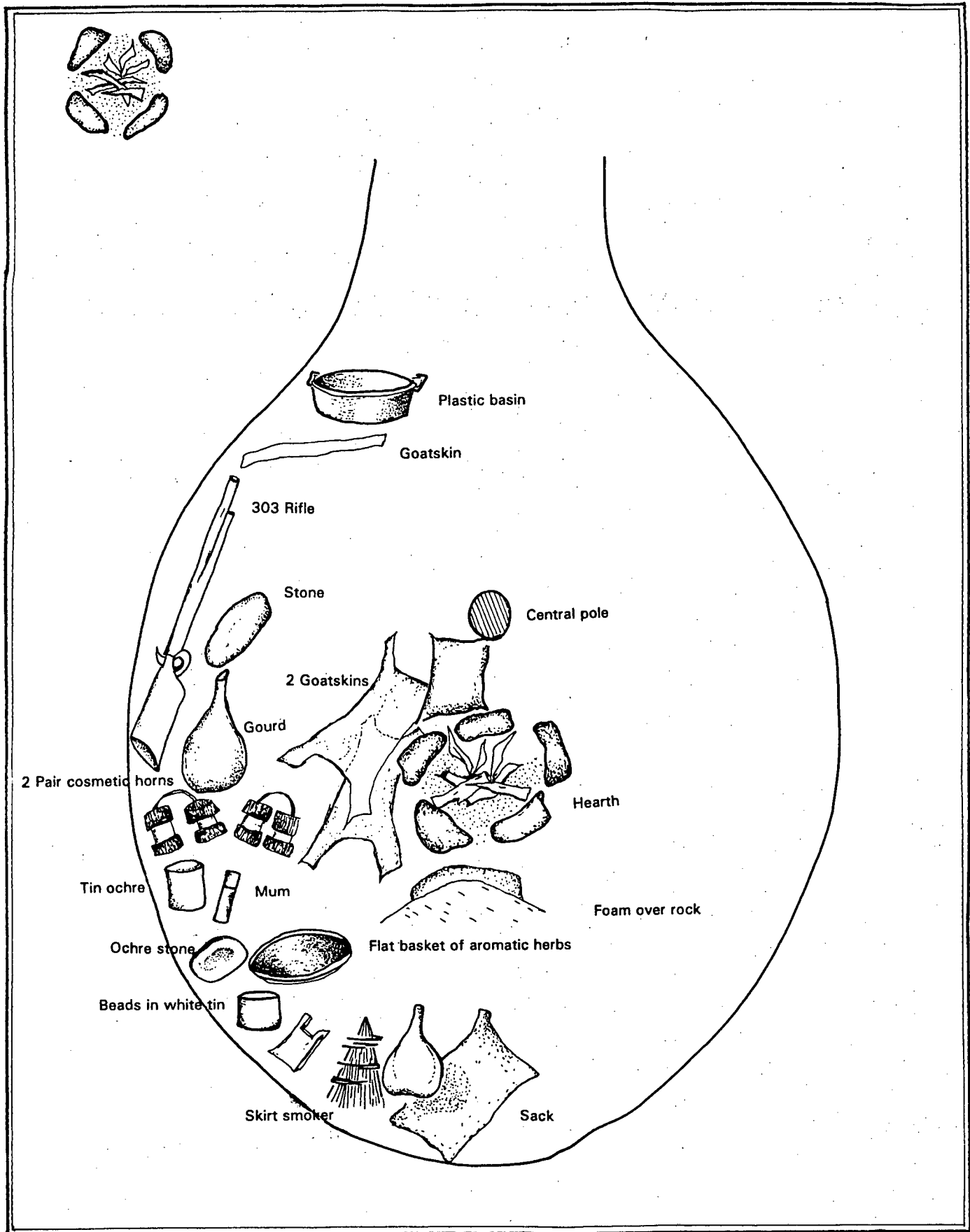
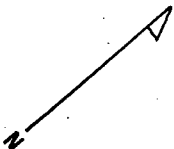


Fig 5.23. A Lineage 4 house interior at Okongombesemba. The house built by Kavetjikoterwe contains a serious *faux pas* - the central pole is in the front of the hearth instead of behind it.



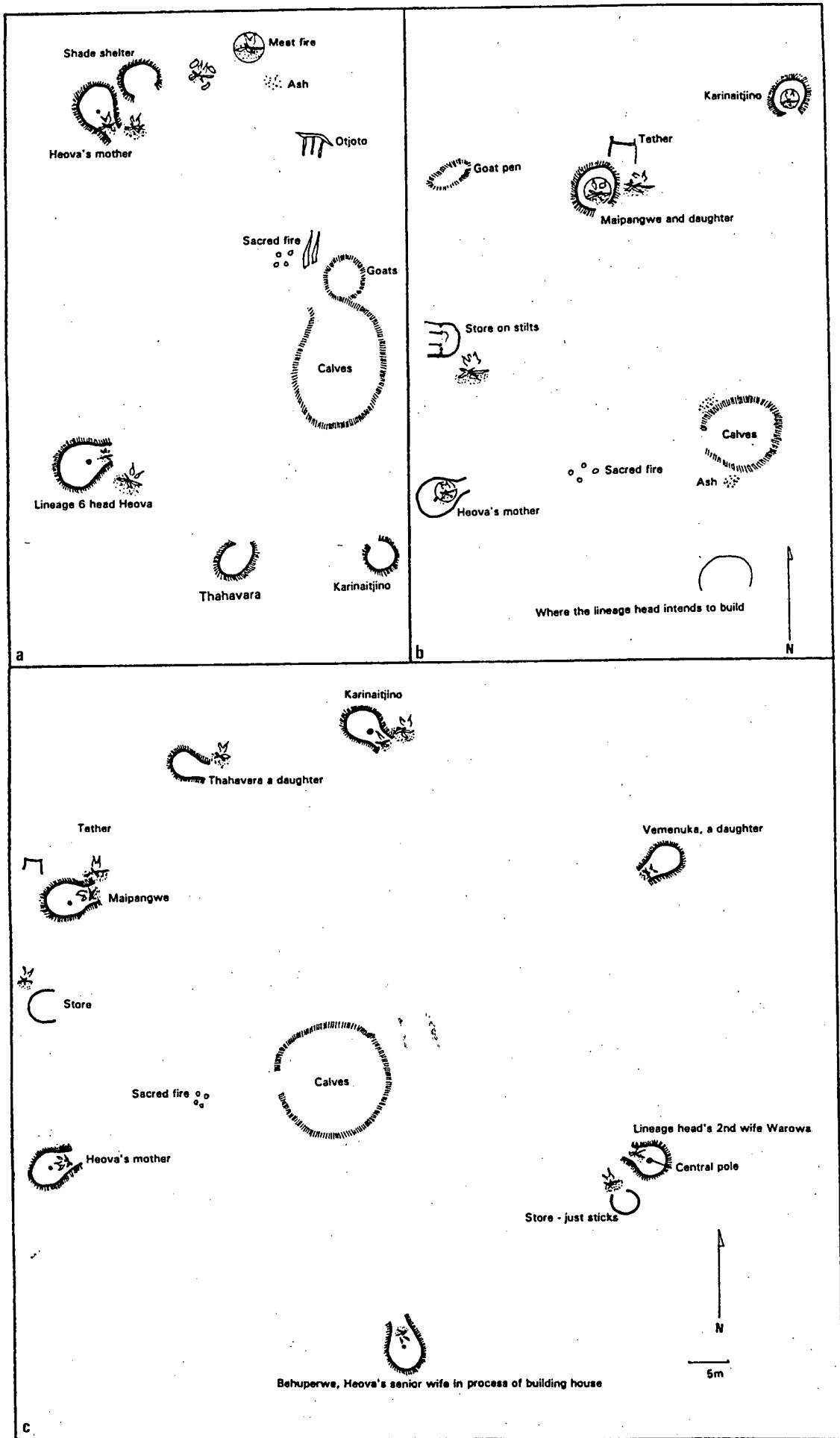


Figure 5.24a - c. The evolution of the Purros dry season base of Lineage 6 over four years.

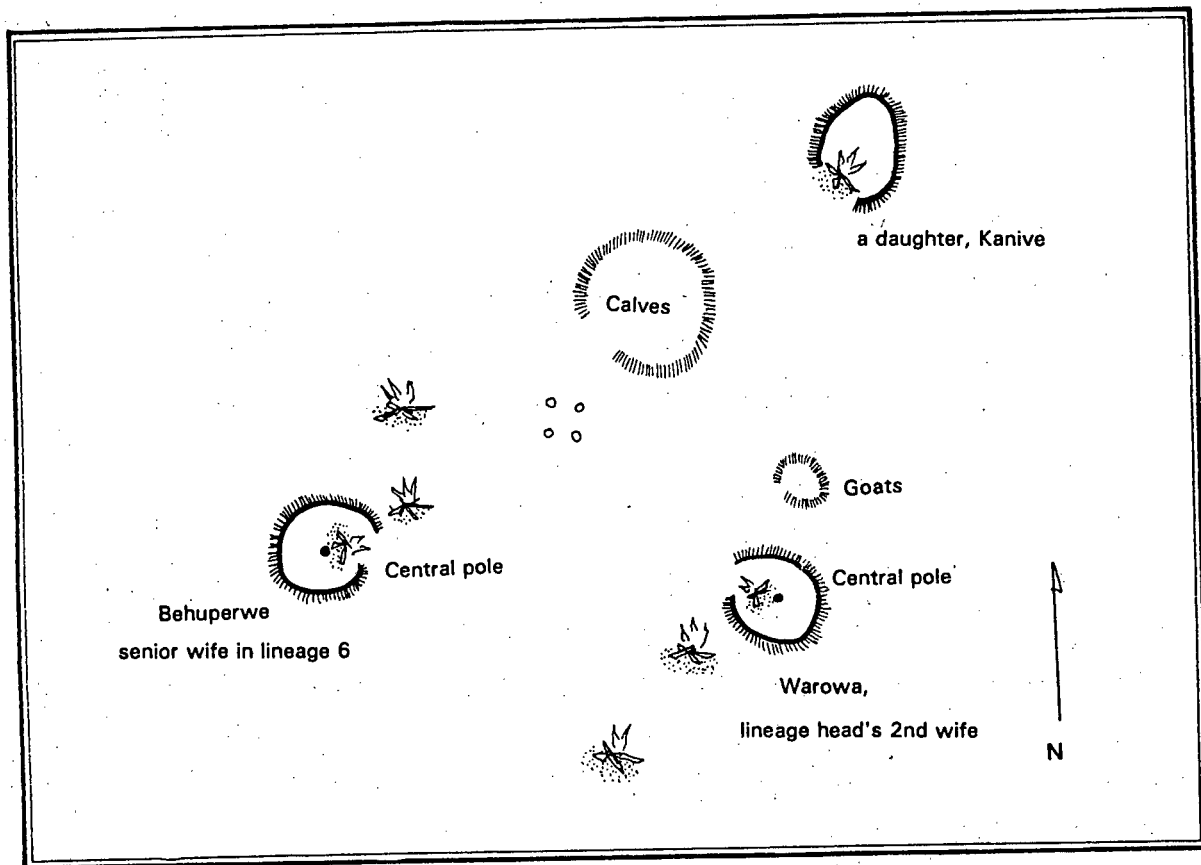


Figure 5.25. A post rain camp at Omuwongo petemba, typical of Lineage 6.

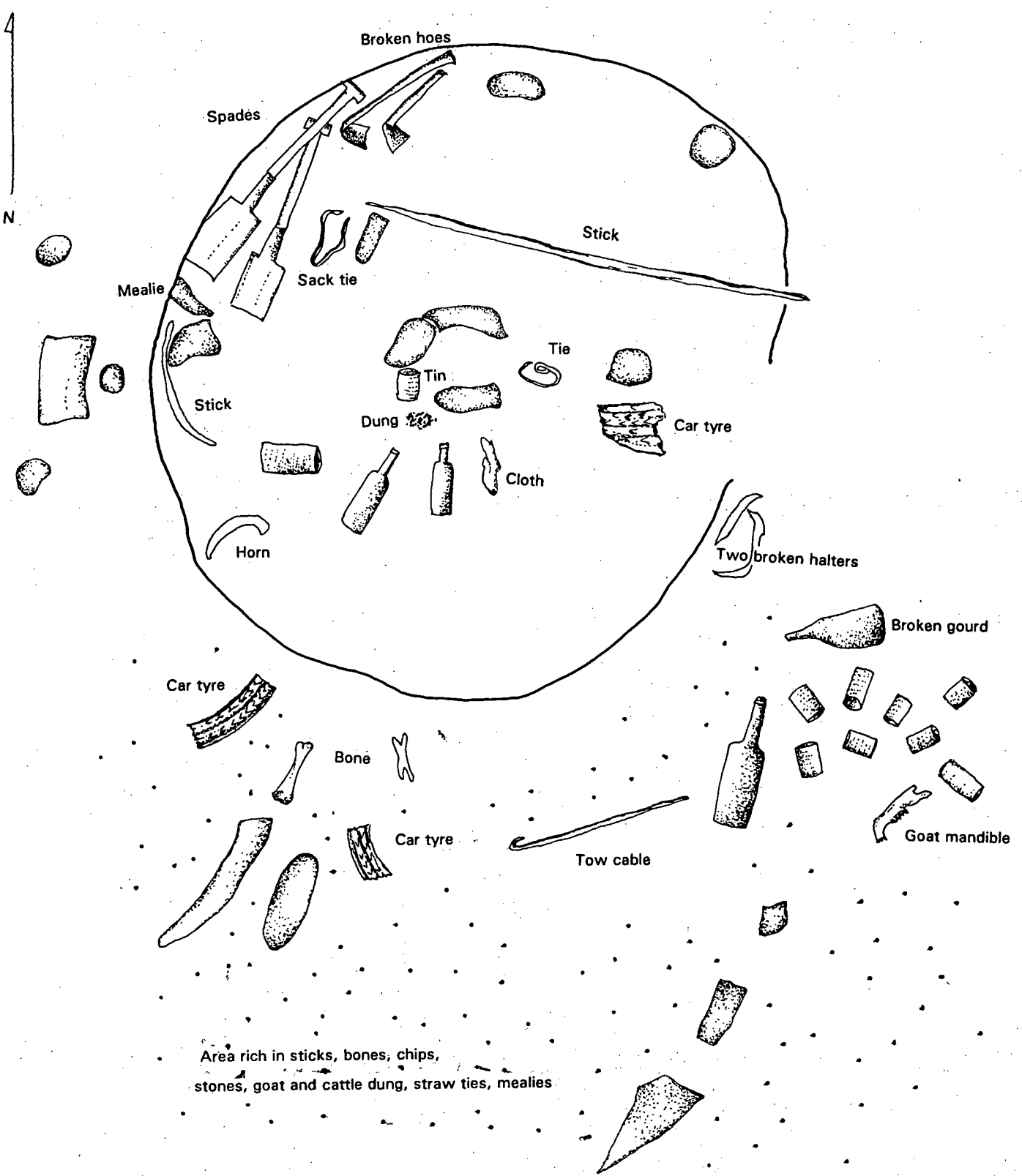


Figure 5.26. A Purros house used by one of the Lineage 6 widows, post occupation.

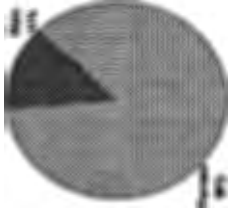


Figure 5.27. A diagrammatic plan of a remote homestead in the far north at Otjitanda 1990.

Lineage 1:

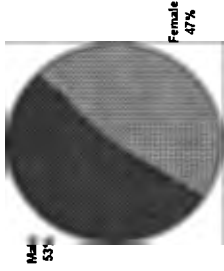
LEFT

92 Female Goods
15 Male Goods
107



RIGHT

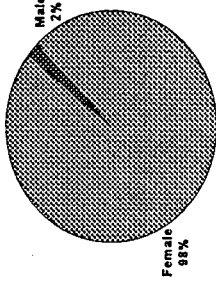
14 Female Goods
16 Male Goods
30



Lineage 3a:

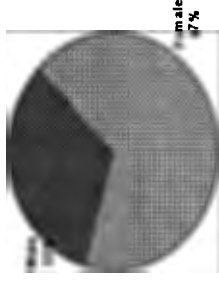
LEFT

67 Female Goods
1 Male Goods
68



RIGHT

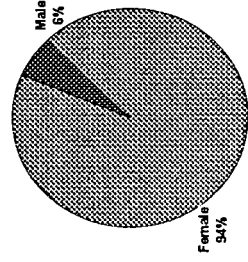
24 Female Goods
12 Male Goods
36



Lineage 3:

LEFT

166 Female Goods
10 Male Goods
176



RIGHT

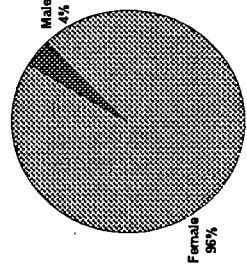
14 Female Goods
28 Male Goods
42



Lineage 4:

LEFT

114 Female Goods
5 Male Goods
119



RIGHT

16 Female Goods
17 Male Goods
33

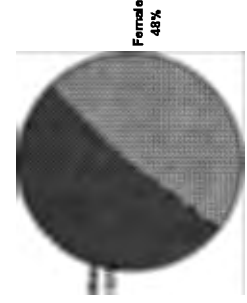


Figure 5.28. The charts display gendered division of space in the homesteads of married couples from four lineages.

CHAPTER SIX: AGE AND GENDER RELATIONS UNDER STRESS

"I can hear a green branch squeaking" - Words used by an elder to put a young man in his place.

"Women are the water that sinks into the sand" - Kaoko proverb, quoted by a male elder at a girl's puberty ceremony.

"She has a man's head" - Kaoko men's way of describing an intelligent and resourceful woman.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

IN this chapter gender and age relations are examined in the light of the different experiences and perspectives of men and women, young and old. Conflicts, contradictions and changing relations are explored and the existence of alternative interpretations of cultural form are revealed.

The three quotes at the start encapsulate key aspects of age and gender relations from the dominant senior male's public perspective in western Kaoko.

Younger men (green branches that squeak when they voice an opinion unsolicited by their elders) should listen respectfully to older men and do their herding work diligently.

The other two sayings - said by men about women - encompass the paradoxical way men experience women. On the one hand, women are mysterious beings identified with living blood and life-giving water. As rain is needed to turn the plains green, so women are needed to produce children. Women are also powerful catalysts able to transform certain dangerous and ambiguous substances or events into something harmless or even positive. On the other hand, according to men, women lack sense and are "weak, slow and fearful" ...

In Kaoko a Himba man cannot attain full adult status without a wife; he may not officiate at a sacred fire unless he is a married man; his matrilineage will not hand over stock due to him until he has a wife; he cannot become a successful herder without her essential domestic and other labour; without the children she can produce, all his wealth means little. As will be shown, he cannot even acquire a proper house without a woman to handle the cattle dung plaster which is necessary to complete an *ondjuwo*.

If women are the water that makes the sand productive, young men are the strong green branches without which a tree, or lineage, cannot thrive. As outlined in Chapter 3, successful herding strategies in an arid environment require men to explore the terrain after rain, seeking water and pasture, to build strong enclosures to safeguard stock from predators, to deal with predators which become problem animals, to move with stock to seasonal camps, to take sections of the herd to particular areas as required.

What women and young men have in common is that their labour is essential for this pastoralist economy. An added dimension to gender relations is the fact that, as shown above, a man

is regarded as incomplete without a woman/wife. In the words of Kayuru, head of Lineage 7: "A woman gives a man a plan. Until you have a wife, you are as a child in the world."

In reality, as has already been discussed, men of all ages temporarily lost their place in their world when stock numbers crashed in the 1979-82 drought. Although herds have recovered relatively quickly, wage labour and schooling are now having a major impact on the role of young men and on age and gender relations in Kaoko. In the study area, most young men were in wage labour for part of the year, with profound effects on local socio-economic relations. In some years more than half of the children were at boarding school (18 out of about 30 children).

Although in terms of the traditional local economy, sons and mothers can be shown to be allies, young men displayed more androcentrism than did male elders. This was so even though it is this latter group whose economic interests may at times conflict with those of their wives and their sons.

Most Kaoko people in the study area believed that a state of equilibrium, based on economic and social inter-dependence, which existed between men and women and between different age groups in the recent past (ie pre-drought and pre-war) was in the process of breaking down. Although this view may arise in part from the 'golden past' syndrome which seems to affect most human beings, the listing of age and gender specific tasks in Chapter 4 as well as Chapter 3's description of pastoralist practices, past and present, provide empirical evidence of such inter-dependence within lineages.

What I believe people are articulating is a recognition that men and woman, young men and others, are no longer working *together* to negotiate their differing sets of concerns and strategies within a similar, albeit not identical, representation of social relations. The Kaoko material's special interest is that it catches a small community literally on the cutting edge of such changes and enables views of domestic space and material culture in action in these particular processes of change.

Gender relations

The data that follows breaks from previous researchers' emphasis on male roles (Malan 1973, 1974; Steyn 1977; Crandall 1991) and presents women as the powerful, active, creative beings they are, from their own and from others' points of view. The conflicts and contradictions present in this characterization of gender relations are present in Kaoko life; hopefully they convey a sense of the complexity of human interaction.

The material presented produces a view of gender relations in which male elder authority prevails, but is benign in its actual dominance or control of women. This stance also suggests that women are *not* unpowerful in the Himba world, although this is changing; nor are they invisible in the spatial text, unless one chooses to assume a telescopic view - from one place at one time - which no-one except a researcher does in real life. As already discussed, the dominant model of social relations is able to contain a number of contradictions and alternative interpretations without losing its overall general coherence.

Adult and senior women in all lineages had a robust sense of their own power and worth if one probed beyond a bland and somewhat contradictory acceptance of the 'public' male ideology of masculine superiority.

For example, a woman would tell me that when the lineage moves, the precious and relatively fragile butter-fat gourds must always be carried by men because women and children are careless and may drop them. Later she would explain that the key she wore around her neck was for her metal trunk where special foods like sugar, tea, coffee and packets of soup were kept. She kept the trunk locked, and the key on her person, to keep out the men and children in her family: They never thought of tomorrow and would finish a packet of sugar in a day, she said. Other woman in the group at once agreed, and told a number of tales, portraying men as irresponsible and careless in regard to wasting food, losing possessions and childcare - virtually cliches in their cross-cultural universality.

A few days later the same group of women professed surprise that I (a woman) was the owner of a revolver. They would never even touch a firearm, they said. Such were men's things that required a good head - intelligence and a sense of responsibility - to use.

These contradictions, as familiar, in their own context, in my own Western gender relations as in Kaoko's, can be seen to relate to the different concerns/discourses of men and women. Women run the home; they need to feed children and men on a daily basis; men, free of the restrictions of the daily needs of the household and its occupants, are more concerned with outside issues such as interactions with other lineages, and increasingly, party politics.

An important potential opposition of concerns is that of the matrilineage vs the patrilineage. Because of the cattle die-offs, matriclan activity was low in my study area. Elderly lineage head Omukuyu explained: "(Without cattle), I don't work with the nation of my mother any more (meaning his matrilineage); now there's only the people of my patrilineage."

However, people said that normally some tension always existed between a man's matriline, which inherited the main herds, and the man's immediate family. Evidence suggests that the patrilineage may be growing in importance, with that of the matrilineage diminishing. (See also Crandall 1991).

A notable difference between Himba and Herero women was that Herero women, young women in particular, tended to see men as economic providers whereas Himba women saw themselves as involved in a joint occupation of herding, with their men and children, without losing sight of their own skills and special contributions. This is a key insight. Herero women need men - and their money - to provide them with clothing and, as already discussed, housing. A 'big dress' requires 10 to 12 metres of material - costing between R120 - R150 for one dress. Women make patchwork dresses, but all aspire to a dress made from one length of the same material. Himba women, on the other hand, have more ready access to the calf-skin clothing they wear and can build their own homes from local natural resources.

At present, most Himba women could still back up their view of themselves as members of a family team with the reality of their control of daily relations of production. However, women also felt

they were in the process of losing much of their power. Their responses to this, with the associated material cultural and spatial discourses, form a major theme in the remaining chapters.

Although elder male authority has been stressed in spatial-social representations, western Kaoko women cannot be lumped into a category of universally downtrodden females, their (inevitable) domination ordained by a particular analyses of class and labour relations. To do so renders women as homogeneously invisible (see Moore 1988). Similarly, we cannot view elder males simplistically, as caught up in a conspiracy to dominate all others, even though at times, this is a perspective articulated by other interest groups.

There is nothing unusual in recognizing the inter-dependence of families but this point needs to be kept in mind lest we lose sight of any one group of people and their particular predicaments. There is little doubt that a modern market economy and centralized political organization is disadvantaging Kaoko women as a group at this point in time, but it is also having a negative, albeit different, impact on some men. With this attempt to maintain a balanced sense of Kaoko society, we return to *young* men's apparent growing contempt for women.

In the study area it was possible to track a gradient of androcentrism. All men (and women) took it for granted that men were superior to women in certain areas but older men (and all women) were quick to acknowledge women's power and superiority in particular spheres. Young men, particularly Herero men and those Himba men who were in wage labour, were the group most dismissive of women and female qualities.

6.2. A LOCAL GENDER DEBATE

The following list of oppositions were drawn up, after many hours discussion, over a number of months, by both women and men of all ages, in response to my question: Are there any differences between women and men, besides the obvious physical ones, and if so what are they.

Given the imposition of a eurocentric attempt to conceptualize and then categorize male and female qualities in opposition, the list reflects the consensus of the mixed groups, with different or changing opinions reflected as these evolved in discussions. This style of data presentation attempts to replicate a popular mode of local communication in Kaoko. Usually regarded as entertainment, this is the 'debate' (*omahungiriro wakumwe*), with a few articulate members of the community taking a differing stance. Each 'team' then tries to gain the most support from the appreciative audience who are free to take part in the debate in support of whichever speaker has swayed them at that point.

The gender discussions quickly fell into this lively pattern although people pointed out that it was more usual for men to argue with men, generally their own age-mates, in the more public debates. In the gender debate, men - older vs younger - argued among themselves as much as they argued with the women present. People could, however, recall several occasions when the genders deliberately took opposing positions: These included flirtatious interactions between women and men as well as more ritualized "contests".

An example of the latter which took place after a cleansing ceremony to normalize the world after the inauspicious event of triplet stillborn sheep being delivered is described:

"... Men and women split into two groups about 10 metres apart. They faced each other, the women taunting the men with insults about their manhood and courage. The men jeered back but they were clearly no match for the sharp-tongued women who rained verbal blows on their sheepish opponents. Eventually Katherwe decided it was enough. Matrimonially, the air had been cleared. But one essential part of the ritual remained to be performed. Real feelings of anger and hostility can be generated when people insult each other even in jest. Such feelings must be given an outlet. She picked up a stone and flung it at the men, aiming for her husband. At once the men retaliated: here was something they were good at. The object of the stone-throwing was to hit your target, without actually doing any serious injury but there were several bruises and cuts on both sides before the noisy battle ended in laughter" (Jacobsohn: 1990:30).

No stone-throwing took place during the debates about men and women although at times feelings ran high, particularly among young men. At first, with men taking the lead, it was agreed that:

Men feel fear, but they make a plan; Women are fearful

Men are fleet and agile; Women are slow

Men are strong; Women are weak

At this point, some of the married women questioned whether they were, in fact, so weak, even though all agreed most men were physically stronger than most women. It was pointed out that:

Men quickly tire of work; Women are slow, steady workers

After some discussion, consensus was reached that:

Women are not so weak and in fact, on a daily basis, Women do more work than men

Groups agreed that in general:

Men are more observant; Women are less observant

Men can make decisions; Women are less able to make decisions

Again, adult women intervened, pointing out that

Men decide where to graze stock; Women take all decisions at the home

Older men said they agreed this was so whereas young men objected strenuously to this suggestion that women, and not men, were in charge of their households. Older men and women listed some of the decisions that women make: practically, on a day to day basis women decide which cows and goats to milk, women then allocate the milk to the family; women will decide when the family needs meat and request that a goat be slaughtered. Women pointed out that visitors seeking refreshment would not ask the man of the house but would go to his wife.

An elder (male) drew on an actual case to finally win the argument: He reminded the group of a lineage in the area (Lineage 4) that was theoretically headed by a middle-aged bachelor. Could anyone deny, he asked, that the community did not treat the bachelor as the true head of the lineage, turning instead to his younger married brother? This had less to do with the younger man's more

dominant personality than the fact that he was married. Knowing they were beaten, the young men reluctantly conceded the point.

An astute matriarch then observed that whereas

A man "only listens to himself"; Women have to listen to their parents and then to their husbands

Young men pointed out that they were expected to listen to their elders. Women took the point, but cited a number of cases where young men in wage labour had not listened to the elders and had gone their own way. It was agreed that:

Men have more freedom; Women have less freedom

Other oppositions that came up included:

Men are quick to take action; Women are slower in this regard in a crisis

However, older men got the group to agree that while:

A man will give help; Women are kinder and soft-hearted; and will always help the sick or injured

Young men were quick to seek points to score:

Men have a good command over language; Women are less adept in public-speaking

Men walk/travel far from home; Women stays close to home and work in and round the house and garden

Women qualified the previous opposition: As wives, they often travel far from their home to live with their husband's families. This led to a discussion about boy and girlhood. All agreed that:

A boy toddler can be naked; Girl toddler must never show her genitals

Women, as a group, had one major point to add: Women, they said, were fundamentally more important than men because life comes from women. Younger men replied at once that without men there could be no babies, but women, several of them pregnant, held their ground. Yes it was true, a middle-aged matron said, that a bull was needed to mix his breath with the blood of a cow before a calf could be born. But the herd only needed one bull whereas it needed many cows to produce many offspring and thus prosper. Young men tried to turn this argument to demonstrate the significance of the single bull that could impregnate many cows but, it was agreed, they did not make a convincing case.

6.3 A WOMAN'S PACE

A strong case has already been made for the inter-dependence of men and women in the local social economy. How then do perceptions that women are fearful, slower, less articulate, less equipped to respond in a crisis than men relate to a group who generally recognize their mutual dependence?

An examination of the passage in Chapter 4 on Mavekotorwaiye's gender socialization (see Jacobsohn 1990:38-39) reveals how material culture and space are directly implicated in such social constructions. As 12-year-old Mavekotorwaiye experienced, her approaching puberty signalled the end of her childhood years of freedom. As a child she went out with the family's goats and sheep almost every day. Her companions were other boys and girls of similar age, plus one or two slightly older

boys. She learnt to know her environment well, and followed the smallstock each day, walking kilometres into the veld, fearlessly, as fleet, fast and observant as any boy her age.

With the onset of her reproductive life, Mavekotorwaiye needed to be equipped for the role she must play if she was to take her place as a stable member of her society. She already knew that there were different standards of behaviour for small boys and girls: She would be reprimanded for interrupting elder males whereas similar action from a boy child may evoke pride and amusement. She would also be shooed away from the sacred fire and told to go and help her mother, even though her brothers were apparently welcome to listen to elder male talk. This meant she was already much more familiar with the women in her family and the things they discuss as well as their activity areas. She was a little unsure of herself and wary around the sacred fire and male elders.

Her brothers had learnt to be respectful towards all older people but they, in contrast to the girls, knew the sacred fire as a place where matters of great interest were discussed with both ancestors and the living. Here they heard negotiations and disputes over pasture, stock, bridewealth and inheritance. They listened to tales of courage and adventure involving both living men and ancestors, and learnt how men were expected to behave. The social, biographical and environmental knowledge they were thus acquiring equipped them for their future roles as herders and patrilineage members. It would also, with time and experience, qualify them to assume the respected status of elder.

Apart from preferential access to the knowledge and experience of their male elders, boys also learnt to how to speak in public, and grew up learning and practising the skills of debate and decision-making in a group. The many stories they had heard showed them that men are expected to be courageous and decisive in action. These same qualities are likely to assist the future men in making their way in a modern socio-economy. The qualities associated with femininity will not give future woman the same edge.

When a girl is about to become a woman it is necessary for her to lose her quickness, her agility ... she must stop climbing and running. She must lose her curiosity and her desire to explore the world beyond her homestead. After all, women are fearful, slow, weak and not very observant. In comparison, men are brave, fleet, agile and with superior powers of observation.

Some Kaoko women recognize, with a sense of irony, that the very qualities which they must shed as girls to become feminine, are later the same qualities that men use to demonstrate their superiority over women. Any woman who is too intelligent or resourceful, runs the risk of being judged unfeminine ... a woman with a man's head is not someone to aspire to be.

As Mavekotorwaiye's case study showed, material goods are directly involved in producing the value-laden ideology of femininity. Her new, heavy jewellery literally slowed her down (to a woman's pace); her new hairstyle with braids falling into her eyes also slowed her movements and forced her to carry her head high and gracefully, like a woman should. Wigs of white beads which cover a girl's eyes are also often used during the puberty ceremony, as well as in the following few months, when in essence, the girl is 'in training' for womanhood. Like the bride's *ekori*, the puberty hairstyle and wig

literally restrict female vision, blinding them, in effect, to the change of mindset they are undergoing in order to become productive and reproductive members of a matrilineage and patriline.

Childbirth

Lest this last case study create an impression that Kaoko women do not value themselves and their femininity, we need to move on beyond puberty to childbirth. Women revel in their child-bearing abilities and a barren woman is deeply pitied. Women derive status, power and economic security from their potential, actual and past fertility.

Senior women can be viewed at their most powerful during the birth of a baby in their homestead. Men play no role and wait helplessly on the sidelines while the drama is enacted inside an *ondjuwo*. In this instance, it is women who have the special, social knowledge to take control of an important event.

In the past, women said, a special birthing shelter would be built behind the main house in the *ondjuwo*. The mother-to-be would move there as soon as labour began. Usually a daughter went home to her own mother for her first child to be born. Thereafter she would give birth in a shelter behind her own house or that of her mother-in-law. Nowadays a birth is more likely to take place inside a woman's own house or in that of her mother.

Other women in the homestead will assist the woman during labour, taking turns to support her - literally squatting behind her so that she can lean back against someone in between contractions. She does not cry out, however intense her pain. Four or five other woman will crowd into the house at any one time, encouraging and soothing the mother-to-be in between their normal, lively conversations. The social atmosphere is undershot with excitement and tension and the bond between women is at its most tangible. Although senior women maintain a cheerful, deliberately relaxed demeanour inside the house, they will go outside to share a pipe and hold serious, low-voiced discussions about the progress of the birth. All are aware that death hovers near when a birth is taking place. Men who ask for news receive scant attention.

On one occasion when a young woman's labour continued all night, the elder women decided to call for the assistance of an experienced 'mid-wife'. At first light, a boy was dispatched on donkey-back to fetch Wazepozana from her *onganda* a few kilometres away.

There was still no sign of the baby when she arrived, astride a donkey, even though Eyapuwe had now been in labour for 15 hours. After a quick conference with the other matriarchs, she examined the grey-faced, exhausted young woman: First covering her hands and arms with fat, she carefully probed the distended belly and then felt deep into the birth canal. The problem, she said, was that the baby was in a feet-first position. It needed to be turned before the birth could proceed. She then manipulated Eyaphuwe's stomach, pushing and pulling, sometimes with one arm in the birth canal. After about 10 minutes, streaming with perspiration from her exertions, she pronounced the problem solved. Two minutes later the baby was born, head first, in a gush of blood. The child was held by its

mother while the afterbirth was expelled. Eyapuwe's own mother squatted behind her, supporting her body with her own.

While one of the woman wiped the tiny child and wrapped her in a blanket, Wazepozano tended Eyapuwe. She wiped her thighs and genital area clean with a piece of dried cattle dung and satisfied herself that the bleeding was not excessive. She then cut and tied the umbilical cord, using a razor blade which had been wrapped in a piece of cloth and was stored in a leather bag on her belt. Eyapuwe was now required to bury the afterbirth. Temporarily revived by the exhilaration of her companions who were exclaiming in delight at the perfection and beauty of the baby, she dug a small hole at the back of the house, using a stick. In this she placed the placenta upon a lining of dry dung pieces. Blood and other birth fluids were swept into the hole with pieces of dry cattle dung. These were placed above the placenta before the hole was filled in. Later, she would repair the dung-plaster floor so that the placenta would be well sealed.

Eyapuwe would now rest inside with her newborn infant, with a stream of women visitors - but no men - until the baby's umbilical cord dried up and dropped off. Until this time (between five to 10 days) she would drink only water instead of milk. A goat or sheep would be specially slaughtered so that she could eat as much meat as she wanted.

Baby-naming ceremony

A baby-naming ceremony would take place at the sacred fire as soon as the umbilical was gone. In the past this would be the first glimpse a man would have of his child; today curious fathers are allowed in to see the baby within a day or two.

The naming ceremony usually takes place late morning. The household residents, women well ochred and both genders wearing their best attire, assemble at the sacred fire. Men sit on the right, with women on the left. Senior women start the ceremony by flicking water onto the entrance of the house in which the mother and baby have been living. Using mopane branches to sprinkle water on the path ahead of them, the women lead the new mother to the sacred fire.

The ochre-polished baby is passed from her mother's arms to other senior women and then to the male lineage head, and other men. The men carefully rub fat onto their hands before they may touch the baby. They must do this otherwise their hands will be "almost like those of a dead person".

The mood is relaxed and happy: People admire the baby and reminisce about relatives. Anyone who wishes may give the child a name although to do so carries an implicit promise to give the infant a goat, sheep or even a cow in later years. The mother, and other relatives, will not forget the obligation. A child may thus acquire as many as ten or 12 names, as well as domestic stock. One name will 'stick' as the child grows up, although some relatives will always use the name they gave a child.

Women asked me if it was true, as they had heard, that in my world, male doctors attended births. They were amazed to hear that the majority of such doctors were men, although I hastened to try to explain there were nowadays many women doctors and that there was a modern trend back

to natural birth, with midwives in attendance. In the discussion that followed, Kaupiti, a young Herero woman with several years schooling, spoke knowledgeably about the role of modern doctors - how they saved lives and miraculously cured illnesses. The older woman listened silently, no longer illuminated in the power of their own knowledge and skills.

6.4 WOMEN CAN'T EAT CREAM; COWARDS CAN'T EAT HEART

As noted earlier, mothers and their sons are economic allies: Throughout her marriage a woman attempts to obtain stock for herself and for her sons and daughters, in that order. She is always aware that the non-sacred herd that supports the family will not be inherited by her children but by her husband's matriline, although her husband's heirs have a duty to see to her well-being. Widows often chose to live with a son, and the more stock they have acquired for themselves and their children adds to their power and status in his (or any) homestead.

These conflicting interests and divisions within the homestead need to be re-worked into cultural representations that enable the local residential unit, the patrilineage, to function as it does - in essence, maintaining social and economic sustainability in an arid and unforgiving environment. The lineage's first requirement is labour, with each age and gender group assuming responsibility for its range of tasks (see chapter 4). From this stance, it is easy to see, as Kaoko elders, male and female, know well, that social organization is the key to viability.

We have seen how the central, mediating position of the sacred fire is used to reproduce and naturalize senior male authority in the *onganda*. Patrician lore, with its complex rules about colouration and horn configurations of sacred cattle as well as the various dietary taboos, provides part of a context which legitimizes and recreates such 'readings' of the spatial text. The clan rules serve to underscore senior male power over women of all ages *and* over younger men. As importantly, the rules at times bond older and younger men as members of the same patrilineage.

At the time of the study, lineages were rebuilding herds after the drought die off, and none had complete sacred herds with two of the smaller lineages having no cattle at all for part of the five-year study. Consequently, only a few of the patrician rules were actually in operation and the following information was given by lineages as what should happen, rather than what was happening.

All agreed that the most important possessions of any patriline was the category of sacred cattle known as the sacred cattle of the ancestors - *ozongombe zoviruru*. Meat from such animals was occasionally eaten after important religious ceremonies in the past and only male patrilineage members, of all ages, were allowed to partake of it.

The milk of such cows, on the other hand, cannot be consumed by anyone, male or female, in the homestead until the lineage head performed the already mentioned *makera* (milk-tasting) ceremony at the sacred fire. This milk would be kept in a wooden pail which was reserved for that particular animal, and a special *ondjupa* (gourd) and funnel would be used by the woman handling the milk.

Lineage heads of lineages 1, 3 and 6 were regularly seen to perform the *makera* ceremony, and separate utensils were strictly reserved for this milk. A tin could be used to store the milk, as long as nothing else was put into it.

Following are the seven lineages and their patrilineal clans:

Lineage 1: *ongwatjiwe* patrilineal clan (*ondjumba*)

Lineage 2: *oherero*

Lineage 3: *oherero*

Lineage 4: *oherero*

Lineage 5: *oherero*

Lineage 6: *oherero* (*otjerungu*)

Lineage 7: *otjihinaruzo*

People contradicted one another about rules but general consensus was reached on the following points.

The head of a lineage in the *ongwatjiwe* clan should always locate his house on the eastern side of the homestead, facing west. The *oherero* clan lineage heads, on the other hand, should use the opposite orientation, with the main house facing east, located on the west side of the homestead. As seen in the homestead maps in Chapter 5 lineages largely tended to obey this patrilineal 'rule'.

Other *oherero* stipulations were that women should not eat fat meat or the colon of cattle. In general, older people were more inclined to adhere to the rules at all times, with younger people breaking them only when there were no elders to observe them. The *omuhinaruzo* clan, to which Lineage 7 belonged, is a patrilineal clan without dietary rules: All members can eat any part from any animal.

Malan (1973) cites a typical clan prohibition: Women of the *okoto* patrilineal clan may not eat cream and must refrain from milking during menstruation. The origin of this taboo lies in the past, having been instituted by the clan's founder. He sent his wife to pick grass for the calves, but she refused to go because she felt sick from eating too much cream. As Malan explained it, "This way of holding his power in contempt annoyed the man so much that he swore none of his wives nor any woman among his descendants would ever eat cream again" (Ibid 1973:94).

Young men as well as women of the *omakoti* clan may not eat any meat of sacrificial animals. This taboo, according to Malan's informants, arose after women and young men refused to fetch firewood when the lineage head ordered them to do so in preparation for burning an offering to the ancestors. Thereafter, the lineage head took an oath that young men and woman would never eat the meat of sacrificial animals again (Ibid).

The thighbone, heart and tongue are forbidden to members of the *omurekwa* patrilineal clan. The story told about the origin of part of this prohibition conveys a clear message to young men: Cattle were stolen from the founder of this clan by a stranger. The lineage head's sons were immediately sent in pursuit. They were outwitted by the thief, even though they succeeded in tracking the cattle. Their

father punished their cowardice by swearing that none of his children would ever eat the heart and tongue of a beast again (Ibid).

The *otjihinaruzo* patrician to which Lineage 7 belonged is out of the ordinary in that, as already discussed, its name literally means "has no patrician". Anyone may join this clan, and western Kaoko people agreed with Malan's more north-eastern informants that this clan can be seen as a way for outsiders to be adopted into the patrilineal clan organization (Ibid).

Having explored some of the ways in which the descent-based authority structure's ideology, in which senior men and women collude, is legitimized and maintained, it is now necessary to examine social and economic interactions that may be camouflaged within such ideology. This ground-truthing in particular historic socio-economic circumstances is necessary before attempts, in the next chapter, to ask and answer how such dominant (spatial) interpretations and representations can be eroded and ultimately overturned.

A key point to keep in mind is that the spatial and material text is not merely distorting or obscuring reality; domestic space and material culture does not directly reflect social relations; they are representations and products of such. It is this theoretical perspective that allows social change to be understood and not merely described (Moore 1986).

6.5 HERDERS and HOUSEWIVES: Some socio-economic 'realities'

The phenomenon of the 'invisible woman' has been well analysed in feminist anthropological literature (eg refer Moore 1988) since it first received attention from archaeologists following Slocum (1975), Davis (1973) and Zihlman and Tanner's (1976) challenge to the androcentric hunting hypothesis developed by Washburn and Lancaster (1968).

Reasons for previous invisibility of women in field studies is now well known. These include the implicit gender ideology of the researcher; and that of the cultural group itself. The latter has been explored above. The former - the filters through which the researcher gazes - are no less complex and contradictory. As Moore points out because we (Westerners) interpret differences and asymmetry as inequality and hierarchy - analogous to our own experiences in Western gender ideology - we may miss, or misunderstand potential equality in relations in other societies (1988).

In the interests of a reflexive, critically self-aware approach, the following two field views are presented. Although written 20 years apart, I suggest, both expose bias in the researchers.

"On the whole, I found women were quite ignorant of many aspects of the total society and usually unhelpful as informants. Outside the affairs of their own family circle they often showed a certain indifference. They were less inquisitive than the males and less quick to grasp situations. They found it harder to comprehend my remarks and questions. I had the impression that they had never been encouraged to show much initiative of their own and this was a quality which they simply had not developed and inborn tendencies to this had been baulked by the strictness of their upbringing. Their

demeanour was sometimes listless and frequently sour. They often lacked the general conviviality and warmth that typified the adult males and it was only with the ameliorating circumstances of middle-age that they tended to acquire it - and many never did." Spencer (1965) on the Samburu of Kenya.

"Now that I know Vengape and she knows me, I find her and the other women much more articulate than the men. Vengape is interested in everything; Rutaka (her husband) only talks about cattle." Jacobsohn (1987) - extract from field notes.

Eurocentric herding models have tended to draw on implicit Western gender ideologies: Work outside the home tends to be regarded as more important than housework. Thus the techniques of herding have been treated as more important than food preparation and other domestic activities. This has resulted in an androcentric over-emphasis on male activities and an unbalanced view of herding life: He's a herder; she's just a housewife.

The Kaoko reality belies "the secondary role" Levitas apportions to Himba and Herero women in the herding economy (1983). Apart from the fact that these women do the milking (something that Levitas finds surprising ... in view of value placed on cattle [ibid] !), they also have allocative rights to the milk and they have a central role in the management of stock, cattle as well as smallstock.

The Kaoko saying that a lazy or inefficient wife can ruin a rich husband, goes beyond for example, the essential (women's) tasks of producing and maintaining storage vessels for milk, fat and water. Apart from the actual labour of physically milking animals, women are in day to day control of the milking strategy: they decide which cows or goats have to be milked when and how much milk to take. A careless woman who takes too much milk from animals or milks an animal too often can directly effect the condition and growth of the calves and the kids. Such decisions are informed by input about condition and quantity of graze and browse available to stock and draw on women's experience and knowledge in the same way that the more visible male task of selecting feeding areas draws on men's experience and knowledge. A woman has to balance the nutritional needs of her household with the needs of the calves and kids. She is thus implicated as are men in the production of the herd.

In Western dairy production systems the amounts of milk taken from animals involves copious record-keeping and analyses: A Kaoko woman who may have to work out the milking strategy for 25 cows and 60 goats keeps her records in her head. Even if pasture is both plentiful and of good condition, she would notice, for example, if some of the calves were not putting on weight as fast as others, and she may stop milking their mothers for a few days or reduce the yield. Keeping a mental track of such milking strategies is a task most Kaoko women take in their stride.

It has also been shown in the age and gender-specific tasks listed in Chapter 4 that the interdependence of Kaoko households is in no dispute. All groups depend on each other's reciprocal labour. Youths and young men are also essential although they have less work to do today than in the recent past. If the task lists are examined in terms of scheduling, it can be seen that women of all ages bear the heavier burden of daily and regular/ongoing tasks compared to men today.

For example, girls up to puberty have a total of 14 tasks which have to be done either daily or regularly, compared to five for boys; women have 24 such tasks compared to seven for men; senior women also have 24 whereas elder men have six. This makes it difficult for women to fulfil their roles as women, wives and mothers and at the same time participate in modern life. A simple example which happens often in rural areas is the scheduling of political and other meetings at times that suit men, but do not cater for women's domestic schedules. Women thus become increasingly marginalized in decision-making, even though paradoxically, they may have more work to do, having to assume tasks formerly done by absent sons and husbands, or children away at school.

The broader topic of changing gender relations and women becoming more economically dependent on men as a result of 'modernization' processes such as wage labour and the cash economy has been examined by a number of researchers in the past two decades. (See, for example, Whiting 1972; Van Allen 1975; Remy 1975; Dey 1981, Mies 1982; Dankelman and Davidson 1988; Moore 1988.

Dung and ash

As already discussed, men may not touch cattle dung in its natural state yet men will tell you a dwelling is not "a proper house" till it has been plastered - by women - with dung.

Similarly, men may not touch ash from the sacred and other fires; it is women who move ash to the culturally correct place. A minor incident involving a gift of mealie meal provides a glimpse of the polysemic qualities of ash:

During a visit to Lineage 6 at a wet season stock camp, I was asked by the lineage head if I could spare some mealie meal. I had one packet left and offered to pour some of it into a container for him. The only large, empty container he could find was a tin in which he had boiled a sheep's head a few days earlier. As the sheep had died while giving birth, reproductive women were not able to partake of the sheep. The mealie meal was intended for everyone in the camp, fertile women included, so the tin container needed to be ritually cleansed before I could pour part of my packet into it. He called the nearest woman to us and the following took place: The young woman collected a handful of ash from the cooking hearth to the left of the shelter where we sitting, and poured it into the empty, slightly greasy tin. She swirled it around the inside of the tin for a few seconds and then poured the ash onto the ground near the calf enclosure, to the left of its entrance. The tin was now safe and I was invited to fill it with mealie meal

Certain ceremonies, such as purification rites (Jacobsohn 1990) require senior women, as well as men, to conduct particular aspects. Senior women may, for example, rub ash from the sacred fire onto the bodies of men, children and other women. Note that senior women from Lineage 3 and 2 also used water and mopane branches in the purification rites described below:

"Katherwa (Lineage 3), wife of the herder, gleaming red and resplendent in her cowry and bead ondikwa, left the group at the fire, and with Omukuyu's wife, Tukopoli (Lineage 2), she disappeared into

an *ondjuwo*. All talk stopped as the two women re-appeared, both now carrying large tins and a leafy mopane branch, the latter having been specially picked for the ceremony. With Katherwa leading, the women made their way slowly towards the *okuruwo*. At every step they dipped their mopane branches into the water they carried and flicked it onto the ground, wetting the path the stock and its herders must cross. Both women chanted as they walked: "Oh my mother, oh my great mother, you are our mother, mother of us all."

"The two then began work on the hundred or more (domestic and garden) objects that had been placed at the sacred fire, wending their way carefully between the utensils. Each item was splashed with water as they chanted.

"Next it was time to begin on the people: A little girl, the lone survivor of a twin birth, was led first to Katherwa, her grandmother holding her by the hand. She flinched as water was flicked on her face and over her head, wetting her single plait which, with her ostrich eggshell necklace, signified that she was one of twins. Men and woman raised their faces to be splashed. No-one was left out, not even the small baby nestling in an *ondikwa* on her mother's back.

"The stock started arriving, scrambling out of the river bed onto the terrace between two rocky hills on which Omukuyu's *onganda* stood. Each family displayed their goats and sheep first, then their cattle. The hills echoed the bellows and bleating, the shouts and whistles of the herders and magnified the pounding hoofs into thunder

"The *okuruwo*, burning between its four rocks, had now generated enough ash for the next stage of the ceremony. Katherwa, Tukupoli and several other elderly women who were *omuhoko* (matrilineally related), put handfuls of ash into pieces of broken calabash, the remains of a sacred *ondjupa* that had been used by Katherwa's late grandmother. Most of the men who had driven the stock had joined the group by now and each person present had ash rubbed onto his or her forehead and chest or stomach. Herero men pulled off their shirts to bare their chests; Herero women opened the tight bodices of their dresses.

"While she worked, Katherwa continued and expanded her earlier incantation. She asked her ancestors to help their kin remain free of hunger, sickness and ill luck; to keep them wet (literally meaning supple and vigorous, as opposed to brittle and dry); to protect them from the war in the north; to take away the disease which was plaguing the mealies in the gardens; to send good rains" (Jacobsohn 1990: 28-29).

Ritual markers

Women make almost all material age-stage markers worn by both genders, as well as special ritual goods. These include ostrich eggshell bead belts to be worn by boys before circumcision, the *ombware* necklace he adopts after his circumcision, the bridal *ekore*, the ceremonial *ondikwa* and others. In addition, certain key ritual objects such as the sacred fire sticks and the *otjipina* are kept at the back of the house on the left (wife's) side. One does not disagree with Crandall (1991) when he asserts that the left of the house is associated with the patriline. But the point is, women regard the left side of the

house as their own personal space, not just as the space of the patriline, and objects stored on this side are in their care. When this was discussed in western Kaoko, women said that in the past the fire sticks were always transported by a senior woman, past her reproductive years. A second choice would be a pre-puberty girl. As has been mentioned before, sacred fire sticks were regarded as particularly potent, needing to be left outside the house for a few days after use.

6.6. DISCOURSES OF RESISTANCE, SOLIDARITY AND COLLUSION

A relatively new phenomenon in Kaokoland is group trancing among Himba and Herero women. According to informants from different parts of Kaoko, trancing, as a result of spirit possession, has always occurred. But in the past usually only one person - often a man, but sometimes a woman - was involved. These individual trancers were also usually from one of the smaller Angolan groups who live scattered among the Himba and Herero - the Hakahona, Zemba, Kuvare and Ngambwe. These are Kaoko's trance-healers, diviners and herbalists. Several highly esteemed Himba healers and/or diviners are, however, recognized.

Group trancing among women is said to have started in the late 1970s in northern Kaokoland. Since then it has spread across the territory and most adult women have taken part in or at least witnessed a communal trance. The trance starts after one or sometimes two women claim to be possessed by an unidentified - but usually male - spirit. The women say that the possessed person will die unless the spirit is exorcised and this is the aim of the communal trance. The proceedings are led by a chief trancer - a woman with proven experience in exorcism, and she may have an assistant. She will set a time - usually late morning (after women have completed essential chores) and select the place.

At Purros women tended to use the same large shade tree within earshot and easy walk of the dry season semi-permanent *ozonganda*. Two 200 litre petrol drums which served as hand drums for trances were left under this tree, sometimes for weeks at a time. Being used as trance drums conferred special ritual status of these objects. Their correct position in the homestead was outside the main house, to the right, near the ancestor's firewood. This explicit association of women and women's ritual with the ancestors, in terms of domestic space, is a key to interpreting trancing, as will be seen.

When the drumming starts all women in the area drop what they doing and join the ceremony. The drummer is by preference a young girl in the interim state between girlhood and womanhood but an older woman will do if such a young girl is not available. In practice, two or three girls or women often share the strenuous, hand-bruising drumming by taking turns.

Women participating in a trance for the first time must wear their *erembe*, whereas experienced trancers go bare-headed. Trancing is the only occasion I ever saw women appearing in public bare-headed: Normally, to do so is regarded as dangerous to the welfare (health and prosperity) of a woman's husband.

The inexperienced trancers will also stay on the edges of the group, leaving central positions for the experienced, whose power is more developed. The women sit together, bodies touching at thighs and shoulders, in a tight semicircle swaying in time to the rhythmic drumbeat. Gradually, the chief trancer absorbs enough of the combined power of the group to take the invasive spirit into her own body and do battle with it. This may take several hours. The spirit will only be identified at that point - it may be a wild animal such as a lion or a hyena, or the spirit of a dead soldier - killed in the SWAPO-SADF conflict - or someone who died long ago. Almost always, though, it is male.

At the height of the ceremony the chief trancer manifests the behaviour of the spirit (Fig.6.1 a): she may crawl on all fours snarling like a lion and attempting to bite anyone in her path. People, including watching men, will scatter to avoid being bitten. I have seen two Etanga women, slavering like ravenous hyena, tear at raw meat and eat it. Later they vomited in disgust when they realized what they had done. A trancer may mimic the actions of a rifle-wielding soldier in battle before finally, dropping to the ground in a stupor. This is the most tense moment - when the trancer appears unconscious - when her collective power attempts to oust the spirit. When she succeeds she regains consciousness, appearing weak and confused for a few minutes. A second trance may be necessary if the spirit is not overpowered the first time.

Variations of this basic group trance form in which the chief trancer takes the central role, were witnessed at different times among the same and different groups of women. The possessed person may go into convulsions or become apparently unconscious at various stages; she, or others trancers may also stand up and dance before falling to the ground, with eyes rolled back.

After the spirit is gone, the trancing will continue for several hours as the women have been weakened by the battle and are vulnerable to repossession. A meat feast is held at this point and if there are male spectators, the woman may cover themselves with blankets or skins, forming a tent of privacy (Fig.6.1 b). The chief trancer supervises the cooking of a goat or sheep, usually provided by the possessed woman, and the meat is eaten according to certain ritual prescriptions.

Men and children hang around waiting to be offered meat: Although it is customary for lineage heads and senior men to have first choice at a meat feast, on these occasions they accede to the women. They don't like it and complain among themselves, particularly when, for example, the chief trancer snaps rudely at them to remove a child who is getting in the way of the trancers, or to gather wood and start a meat fire. Although obviously not enjoying being ordered around by women, men do not challenge the trancers. Most believe powerful and mysterious forces are in evidence during trancing; those that are more skeptical are not prepared to take the risk, in case they are wrong.

In effect, gender relations are exaggeratedly turned around during the trance: Women are in charge and get whatever they want. The chief trancer, behaving like an unusually autocratic (male) lineage head, may decide a sheep, rather than the already slaughtered goat, is necessary and whoever is asked - usually the husband or a male relative of the possessed woman - must meekly provide it.

Men were occasionally seen to take part in this group trancing as 'patients' who have been possessed by other male spirits. In such instances, the man is required to wear woman's skin clothing, or if Herero, he must wear a woman's skirt. Notably, people said this was nothing to do with the man

being identified with or taking on attributes of women but that it linked him to the past and to the 'old people' (ancestors) who did not wear pants or the black material *erapi* favoured by Himba men today. This strengthens the contention that women are using trancing to resist changes taking place in the present by drawing on supernatural powers associated with the past.

An experienced and respected trance leader, Kwazerendu, a matriach from Lineage 5, said she had inherited her power from her mother, when the latter died. This power was in the form of a "wind" (*ombepo*) which left her mother's body and entered her own. This wind was potentially "a bad thing" that she, as a woman, was able to transform into good by harnessing it to help the sick.

Trancing and spirit possession is a form of women's resistance that is well documented. Lewis, writing about Muslim Somali pastoral nomads in north-east Africa, has called it the "weapon of the weak" (1966, 1971). She interprets the prominent role of this mode of self-expression and protest among Somali woman as related to their exclusion from and lack of authority in other spheres of life. She sees spirit possession occurring in a context of women struggling to survive and feed their children in a harsh environment where they are liable to neglect from a husband who is often absent following the herds, and when they are undermined by the tensions of polygamous marriage and the precariousness of women's access to resources outside marriage.

In the case of Himba and Herero women, the communal trancing is however, much more than as Lewis puts it, "an oblique way of airing their grievances against the husbands and gaining some satisfaction in the way of attention and gifts and so on." Lewis argues that women's spirit possession is a way of making strategic interventions in a "sex war" (1971:77) and she may be right, but in the Kaoko case, it is also a political and economic statement. As James Scott says, such actions are the stuff of real politics (1989).

Socio-economic relations in flux

Himba and Herero women feel - and some have articulated this - they have lost authority and power in the past decade. As has been discussed in earlier chapters, this relates to the drought stock losses, as well as the social and geographical disruption of the independence war, to the wage labour which is increasingly attracting sons, to eurocentric schooling which takes away essential child and youth labour and to increasingly centralized political control. Some of implications of the many changes taking place in Kaoko are explored below in terms of gender relations, age relations and people's relationship to their natural and other resources.

When the study started in 1985/86 cattle herds were small although lineages were intent on rebuilding them. In the interim most families were relying on goats which breed faster than cattle, for meat and for some of their milk requirements. But because men no longer had their vast cattle herds to manage, they were taking increasing control of the goats, previously the women's domain. Women chafed against now being expected to ask their men when they need a goat slaughtered for meat to feed the children. In the past, they said, the small goat herds most families kept in addition to cattle, were left to women to manage.

Vengape, of Lineage 3, was genuinely angry when I thoughtlessly requested a goat from her husband when I was expecting important visitors for a meal. She chided me for not approaching her or her mother with my request. I tried to defend myself by pointing out that I had seen outsiders wishing to buy meat locally, negotiate with the men. Vengape replied: "That may be so with strangers who use money; it is different with people known to us. My husband or son will kill and butcher your goat for you, but it is me, Vengape, who is giving the animal, not the men."

On another occasion, a matriarch and her lineage head husband had a standup row at a wet season stock camp when the woman returned from the veld to find her husband had given a neighbouring woman a goat. There was no dispute that the animal was owed to the neighbour but the matriarch was furious that her husband had chosen which individual goat to give her, from a herd of about 80 animals, without consulting with his wife.

Power through dung

Women jealously guard other spheres where they wield power: When Shorty Kasaona, my (male) assistant, helped me load a truckful of cattle dung which had been arranged by women from Lineage 3 and 4 to be given to us by women from cattle-rich Lineage 1, women challenged Shorty's right to handle dung. After some discussion, it was finally agreed that Shorty could continue to load the dung as he was being paid to do this work. This involvement of money temporarily exempted him from his normal gender role.

When I mistakenly thanked the male head of Lineage 1 for the dung - to be used to plaster my newly built house - he interrupted me brusquely and changed the subject. I was later told that senior men do not even discuss cattle dung as this was a women's substance. It could be dangerous to men until woman had transformed it into plaster on a house. Nevertheless, this ambiguous substance was essential, in the eyes of both men and women, for a shelter to become a proper house.

My earlier eurocentric misperceptions about dung - that as usual, women get to do the dirty work - were thus totally off mark: cattle dung is seen by women and men to *add* to women's power and men's dependence on women.

This is not the case when a square Herero house is involved, as has already been briefly discussed.

From builders to dependents

People agreed that Herero lineages in the area had changed from Himba-style circular houses to square houses within the past few generations. The elderly recalled growing up in round houses and confirmed that women used to build such dwellings. Although Herero women said they liked and were proud of their "modern" square houses, the change has involved much more than house shape.

Herero women, to a large extent, have lost their role as house builders. Today men are needed to cut and transport the heavy poles as well as erect the house and its roof. Women 'help' the men and

are still responsible for plastering the walls. In fact, because of the bigger wall area to be covered, this task takes them longer than it takes their Himba neighbours. Even so, on the surface, it appears that Herero women have gained in some way in that they have less heavy work to do than Himba women. This is a perspective articulated by some Herero women. A (Herero) woman having to do heavy work has lower status than one whose daily work is light. The 'big' dresses worn by Herero woman are implicated in this linkage of more leisure to higher status.

But there are different ways of perceiving male involvement in house building: In reality, the division of labour among Himba families means that a Himba woman can build a house herself, and it is her man who is mainly dependent on her for a culturally acceptable dwelling. On the other hand, a Herero woman is dependent on her husband for her house, even though her labour is still required for extensive plastering. Such nuanced shifts in roles and responsibilities as linked to build space and material culture can be shown, on the ground, to have practical implications which weight one gender against the other. Built space does indeed not simply reflect social relations, it is a representation which awaits interpretation. A case study involving a matriarch from Lineage 5, serves to illustrate the point.

Widows requiring square housing are also dependent on assistance from male relatives: Such a woman may have to share accommodation until her relatives found time to help her put up a house. In 1989 Kwazerendu, a Himba widow in the mixed Himba-Herero Lineage 5, decided to change from Himba to Herero domestic architecture and became trapped between two worlds at her dry season base: While she had been prepared to build a conventional dome-shaped Himba house previously, she wanted a square Herero house as a more permanent base at Purros. She said this was because she was growing too old to build her own houses. Another reason was because a favourite grand-daughter had recently 'turned round', switching from Himba to Herero dress. The girl often lived with Kwazerendu, and with her new clothes, she needed more space.

In actuality, during the study period, Kwazerendu never managed to get her male relatives to help her erect such a structure and at the two dry season homesteads she lived in, she occupied a series of temporary wood, plastic and cardboard shelters. She did not like living thus and frequently complained. But even though she could have (and did in other areas) put up a Himba house, she preferred to wait for (male) help to build a square house.

Neither Himba nor Herero woman were prepared to concede any of their powers relating to ash to men, even in households where men were in wage labour. As described earlier in the account of a cleansing ceremony at Purros (see also Jacobsohn 1990:26-30) people believe senior women can actually transform this dangerous (to men) substance into something benevolent. On a day to day basis, in all lineages women continued to handle ash - generated from the sacred fire and other hearths. Most women were able to relate at least one generic story about a woman who threw the ash too close to the homestead. In one example, in the dark the husband walked on it and immediately fell down and lost the use of his legs.

In Chapter 4 the importance of age-sets to both women and men was discussed. Many older women believe the breakdown of such social organizations - as a result of communities splitting up in

the drought plus the social disruption and geographic dislocation caused by the independence war - has undermined women's "strength" and position in their husband's lineage. The trauma experienced by this and other Kaoko communities in the war is indicated by some of the names given to babies born during the war: *Mavekoterwae* (or *Mavekotorwaiye*) - what helps it to be born; the spirits will kill her; *Mekamburaye* - where shall I take her because the people will see her and kill her.

A wife in Lineage 4 expressed the isolation that may accompany a modern age-mate-less marriage: "Your husband becomes your father and your mother. Your parents are too far away to help you. So you have to depend on your husband for everything. This is very hard for a woman, specially if her husband takes new wives" (Kavetjikoterwe 1991).

This sense of a loss of power, respect and solidarity is being protested and resisted in communal trancing. Women of all ages bond and support one another during trancing. In some ways the trance group can thus be seen as seeking to recreate the positive and supportive relationships experienced through the age-set system.

Women's apparent traditionalism in their attire could also be seen as another way of bonding as a group and trying to create new gender and social relations which are closer to past gender and social relations when they felt "stronger" with more autonomy and status than today. Staying 'traditional' can thus be seen not as a lack of response to new realities in Kaoko but as a very explicit and strategic statement - seeking change through continuity.

Palm trees and milk rights

Another case study, this one involving women's resistance to male incursions on a natural resource traditionally associated with women is given below. It also illuminates some of the subtle webs of meaning that are strung between material markers by personal intent.

In 1987 the people of Purros started making crafts for sale. They wanted western goods - blankets, pots, beads, cloth and food - but had little access to cash. By 1991, four years of craft-making by both men and women, but with women basket-makers in the majority, had earned this community of semi-nomadic, illiterate herders more than R25 000.

A few months after the craft sales got going we noticed that the young palm trees near the settlement were dying off because too many fronds had been torn off them. We organized a tree count which was done by the woman, led by Kaupiti, the young Herero woman who had attended school for four years. The trees were in no danger of being wiped out, but thinking of the future, we called a meeting, expecting to have to introduce the subject of sustainably utilizing this natural resource. This was not necessary. The elder males in the group quickly took the point and berated the women for killing the trees. It was pointed out that in the old days, before metal and plastic containers were available, the people had relied on the palms for most of their containers. Yet the palms had thrived because people utilized them wisely - taking only one or two fronds per tree at a time. This way the same tree would go on supplying fronds for years.

The outcome of the meeting was that a senior lineage head, Mateus, assigned himself the task of monitoring the use of the palms. It seemed a potential problem had been neatly solved by the revival of an indigenous conservation practice.

In the months that followed, I noticed that palms were still dying and I went back to Mateus to ask what was going on. "It's the woman," he told me. "They are deliberately killing the trees because they are too stupid and lazy to walk a bit further to collect fronds from different trees." He turned out to be right on one of those counts.

I took the problem to the women and after a long, oblique discussion, I finally understood what was happening. Yes the women were deliberately killing palms but not out of stupidity or laziness. It was a deliberate act of protest and resistance aimed at demonstrating that women were refusing to accept a man's right to control the use of palms. This was a resource that had always been under women's jurisdiction: women collect fronds to weave milk baskets. Cows that are owned by men are milked by women into wooden pails which are carved by men. Then most of the milk is transferred into the women's woven baskets. At that moment the allocative rights to that product become the women's. They manage and distribute the milk as they see fit. A woman would not refuse to give a guest milk if her husband asked her to, but, the point is, he has to ask.

"If the palms become controlled by the men, next they will say they are owners of the milk," was the way a matriarch put it. So senior male intervention had disturbed the women's relationship with a natural resource, and potentially altered both gender relations and social relations of production.

Gender roles and relations are indeed, central to this pastoral economy, as are the material markers of such relationships. As Ricoeur (1982) has observed: discourse is always by someone, for someone, about something.

Wooden pails

The role of the wooden milk pail, or *ehoro* is also worth examining because it illustrates another, earlier change in gender and socio-economic relations and reminds us that 'traditions' are dynamic and constantly changing. People assert that until metal knives became available in the last few decades, people in western Kaoko did not carve wood. Elder men and women agreed that the only containers used were the waterproof baskets woven by women.

When knives started becoming available, it was men who acquired them by virtue of their more frequent contact with traders and outsiders in general. Men thus began carving wood, and started making wooden pails from the trunks and thicker branches of trees of the *commiphora* species. These pails became important signifiers of senior male authority and became the preferred containers for milk from sacred cows. A wife was required to hang such special containers on the central pole in the house.

Today, few houses have central poles and the special container is as likely to be a tin as a wooden pail. Significantly, however, a (women's) woven basket was rarely used for the milk of sacred cows, or for actual milking in general, although the latter was the preferred container for milk storage.

Women may be able to effectively resist a male takeover of a local resource such as palms. They are less able to withstand the power of centralized administrative and political control and the expanding market economy in the modern developing African state. Moore is correct in her assertion that "external pressure can be better understood as enabling internal changes rather than forcing them" (Moore 1987:104). But the opposition between enabling and forcing should not be allowed to cast a benign light on changes simply because they may have been made by the people themselves. Inherent in all theory is the danger of obscuring the social actor.

Historically in Kaoko, as in many other parts of Africa, there has been a tendency for planned social and political change to erode women's authority, autonomy and power in existing socio-economic and legal systems and to exclude women from emerging managerial and political structures. Even where this is not the intent, it is often the outcome.

As already discussed, this has partly to do with the modern separation of the domestic and economic spheres: Given the division of labour in which women do the most daily work in the home, they are a group that may be disadvantaged as decision-making moves to distant centres. Of course, this can equally apply to those men who do not or cannot involve themselves in the modern administrative and political process.

As members of a remote community, Purros men (as well as women) frequently felt themselves left out of decisions that were taken at regional and national level, where these directly impacted on the area. An example was an agreement between Kaoko leadership and the Ministry of Environment and Tourism that the western Kaoko would become a contractual park (ie a proclaimed conservation area which would facilitate control of tourism in the area without impinging on the farming activities of local residents). While the Purros community was not against the proposal, and felt there may be a number of positive aspects to it, they were not directly consulted, and in the absence of first-hand information and certain assurances from government, they were inclined to reject it out of hand (See Jacobsohn, Owen-Smith, Hambo and Kasaona 1991).

The process of modern rule started slowly in the 1950s and 60s in Kaoko when the former South African government institutionalized a loose system of headmen - senior, wealthy lineage heads who had geographically limited political and jurial power - into a headmen's council. This council met in the administrative capital of Kaokoland, Opuwo, which effectively excluded the majority of women - busy with children and goats back home - from attending. Given the cattle-wealth of the people, however, the *onganda*, the patrilocal residential unit, remained the economic centre for most families. This was so until the early 1980s, and remains so for most older and mid-age generations.

Many of the younger generations, however, have a vision beyond the *onganda*. Changed socio-economic circumstances have facilitated this: the war, the collapse of the parents' herding economy, job opportunities, schooling and the appealing and apparently empowering rhetoric of post-colonial nation-building, combine to offer a new world.

To a certain extent, western Kaoko women are being deliberately excluded from politics and the broader economy by younger men. A woman who speaks up at a meeting may be ridiculed or told to stop wasting men's time. This contrasts with the more egalitarian gender relations as perceived by

western Kaoko women themselves and by observers such as Owen-Smith (pers. comm.) in Kaokoland in the 1960s and 70s when the Himba were cattle-rich and economically independent with an independent prestige system for both men and women.

Men in the middle

This brings us back to the green branches and elder males at the start of this chapter. How are men responding to the incursion of a different modern world into Kaoko in which children are away at school for months at a time and young men have aspirations that differ from those of their older brothers and their fathers? As with woman, it is not possible to see men monolithically, or to divide men into modern wage-earners and traditional subsistence farmers.

In many ways, hardest hit by the changes is the group of men who probably show the least overt responses to the new world: these are neither the elders nor the youngest generations. They are adult senior men, now aged between about 30 to 50 who were too old to go to school and who have never been in wage labour. While their younger brothers went to work for the army or to school, these men stayed in Kaoko in place, literally and figuratively, in the socio-economy. In the past decade such men have been hard at work, helping their elders in the rebuilding of the herds. They have achieved a remarkable recovery of stock numbers but they have not been able to maintain the social order which has structured their society in living memory.

A key aspect of this is the three tier age-set hierarchy, with the mid-age men in the second or central age-set groupings. The hierarchy has lost its junior age-sets to jobs, to western education and to new prestige systems that are in the process of being constructed. The mid-age group, members of for example, the *omuzinye* and the *ombandje* age-sets, have taken their places below their elders, showing the senior age-set requisite loyalty and respect. But the *ovakarere*, the young men below the *omuzinye* and *ombandje* no longer subscribe to a social order which positions them on the lower rungs.

The mid-age group perceive their situation, some with a quiet bitterness of people who can see themselves becoming marginalized. They have few of the privileges that once went with their senior status and they know they will never experience the full fruits of elderhood.

"Marriage? It's all changed. In the old days a man waited till he had lots of cattle. Now young men don't wait; they just let money help."

"Once a girl gets schooling she won't look at a man. She wants a boy with money."

Both these observations, the first by a middle-aged Himba man, the second by an unmarried woman, accentuate two agencies of change which have arguably had the most direct impact on Kaoko society. These are schooling and wage labour.

The trend goes beyond young men merely marrying younger and having first choice, with their money and western clothes, over marriageable girls. Many babies have also been born in the past

decade without the security of the earlier social structure, as a mother of four observes: "It was better before when there were more people living together. We had lots of weddings and meat feasts. Now the young men have gone. They come back with lots of money, looking for girls. When they leave again, you know another baby will soon be born. Who will be its father? Who will give the child cattle, goats and sheep?" This is a question which is at the heart of the current major challenge to the dominant ideology in Kaoko.

A discourse among 'non-workers'

A possible discourse - between men - remains to be explored. As stated, *ozongwinyu* (carved wooden neck-rests) are regarded as fairly new, at least in western Kaoko, as knives to carve wood were not widely available until a few decades ago. Before this, men used stones as 'pillows'. Men say that the neck rests are essential for resting without flattening the hair, particularly the *ondumbo* hairstyle worn by married men.

Most of today's male elders possess an *ongwinyu* but almost all of these are plain or very simply decorated. On the other hand, the *ozongwinyu* used by younger Himba men - including those in the middle age sets - are usually intricately carved and decorated. (See Fig.6.2.) Himba youths who have not attended school or worked for wages are also keen decorators of *ozongwinyu*. Wage earners, on the other hand, don't need or use neck rests only partly because their hair is cut short: "We workers have put away such old things" a young man said.

It is suggested that men may be using *ozongwinyu* as a discourse of solidarity among non-wage-workers. The neck pillows illustrated in Fig.6.2. were all carved in the 1980s, before a demand for Himba crafts 'swamped' the area with decorated pillows, made for sale.

6.7 INVISIBLE YOUNG MEN

Although it is the young wage-earners/ and job-seekers who are having the most impact on local socio-economic relations, it is this group who were mostly invisible in the dominant spatial text in the past. This can be seen from the maps in the previous chapter. For example, although Lineage 3 was fairly dependent on Katondoihe, a youth (not in wage labour) who grew into young manhood during the study period, at no stage did he ever have his own house.

This invisibility is unsurprising: In cattle-rich days young men's labour was indispensable and part of the work of the spatial text was to naturalize such social arrangements, under senior male authority. Although young men were free to challenge this state of affairs by alternative readings of the text - eg by deliberately using the ancestor's area in the homestead - in reality, their options were limited: Interpretations are grounded both in existing historical relations and in the existing spatial order "which can be no more than the sum of past and future interpretations of that space" (Moore

1986:195). Economic circumstances, coupled with political power of the elders and the promise of future authority, served to curb the range of meanings.

Most young men appear to have accepted they had few rights until they were married. In the following chapters I suggest that new socio-economic and political relations are changing this: A balance of power which has united genders and older generations in living memory is being turned around in Kaoko.



Figure 6.1a & b. Above, women trancing at Purros. Below women at Epako cover themselves with blankets for privacy from men during a group trance. They are defying the dress rule which requires women to wear a head - dress in public.

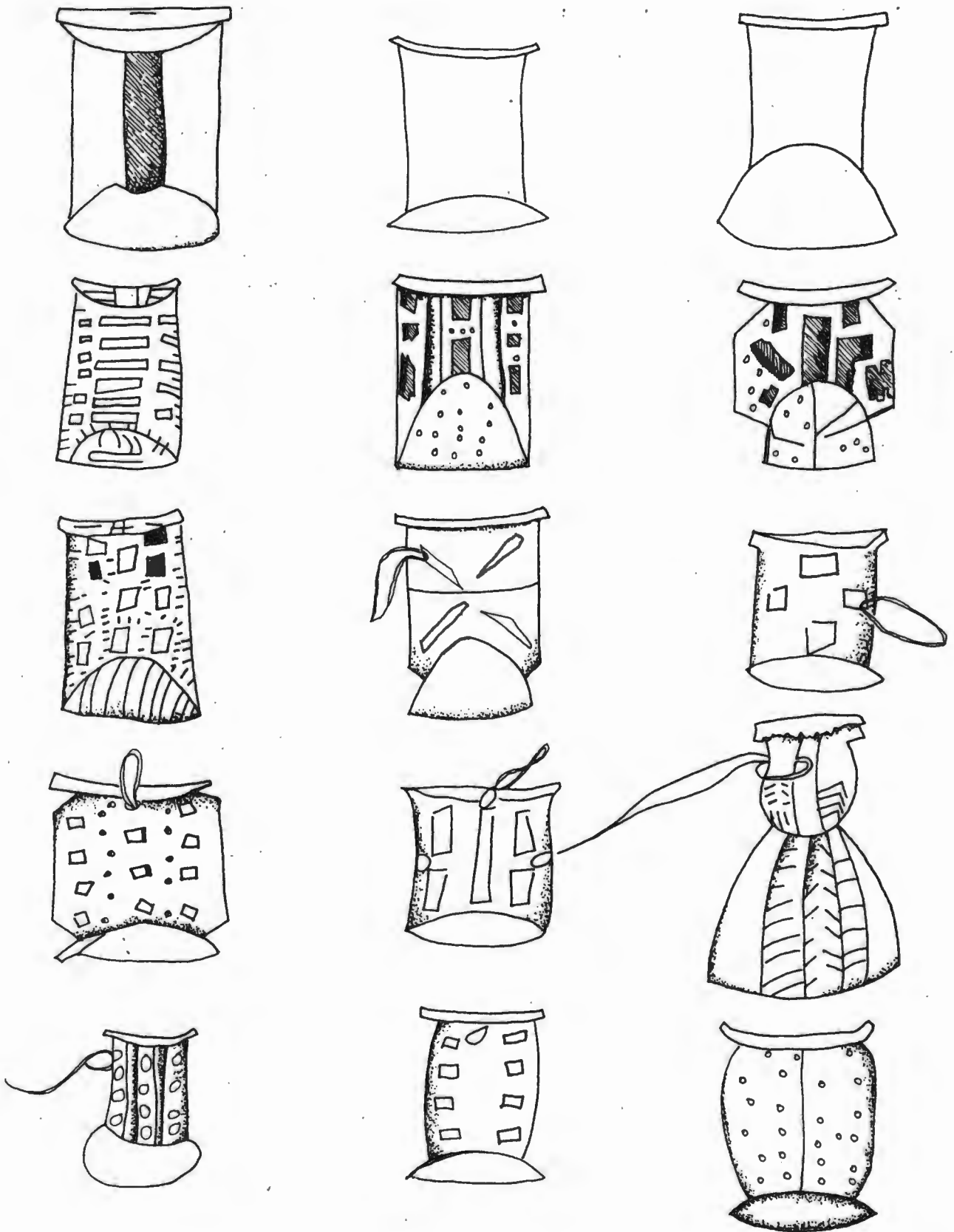


Figure 6.2. Men's carved wooden neck pillows - *ozongwinyu*. The top three are by elders of Purros with the others having been made by younger non employed men. The first *ongwinyo* incorporates a stripe of dark wood grain and like the others made by elders it is undecorated. Mid - age and young men who have neither worked nor attended school compete with one another for the most strikingly decorated neck pillows.

CHAPTER SEVEN: MATERIAL GOODS IN ACTION

"The material world /s social relations ... " (Hall 1992:380)

"The specific historical development of the region is crucial to any understanding of social change" (Moore 1987:103).

7.1 INTRODUCTION

My concern here is to present a series of discourses, grounded in their particular historical context in Kaoko, in which material goods mediate. The latter range from a diesel engine to cone shells and cowries, from school shoes and plastic containers of cooking lard to dress materials, glass beads, washing power and soap. The discourses have to do with the construction of change in relation to on-going processes of 'modernization' or 'Westernization' and the material demonstrates that it is difficult to generalize from material culture changes in one area to another.

As Hodder (1987:103) points out, the process of modernization in traditional societies is of widespread relevance to archaeology because it is one that has occurred throughout history as different societies have interacted with one another, often on the basis of differential power.

The deliberately, small-scale, intimate focus of my data tests the explanatory power of a theoretical model which, in examining people's own strategies - in resolving and re-empowering the individual or group as social actor/s - makes it "possible to comprehend how changes in the material world are linked to changing values and opportunities and thereby to alternative social and economic relations" (Moore 1987:87).

If, as Parkington has suggested, that in order to write social history as distinct from cultural chronology, archaeology needs to "resolve person to person, (to) generate an archaeology of interest groups and contemplate the potency of person to person relations, as well as society to environmental ones" (1993:96), we need to deepen our understanding of material culture's role in change in the present. From such a stance, we should be in a better position to broaden our interpretations of the past.

It is now well established that concepts such as modernization, Westernization, acculturation, detribalization and europeanization are trans-historical constructions which have often obscured as much as they have revealed where colonial and post-colonial Africa are concerned. Moore (1987) has outlined some of the weaknesses of such generalized notions - they lack an adequate theoretical basis for an explanatory model of social change because they do not specify the concrete historical conditions within which such changes take place and they lay undue emphasis on exogenous forces of social change.

It is also increasingly widely accepted - at least in academic circles - as previously discussed, that apparently 'traditional' practices and activities can represent rational strategies for coping with new socio-economic realities and that seemingly modern activities can be strategically intended to

strengthen 'traditional' values (See Davison 1991; Spiegel and Boonzaier 1988; Boyer 1987; Murray 1981; Mayer 1975).

In Kaoko, as in the rest of rural Africa, modern material indices of social change are familiar and ubiquitous. They include mass produced goods such as cooking pots and other household utensils, Western clothing and foodstuffs, radios, chairs, bicycles and motor cars. However, these similarities "should not be allowed to mask the potential differences between the processes of change they represent" (Moore 1987:86). Artifacts neither speak for themselves nor represent any one universal discourse, even when their functional use is similar.

A Himba woman who buys a metal bucket is taking advantage of the convenience of a strong, light, industrially-produced container but she is not necessarily seeking to imitate or aspiring to a western lifestyle. Her new bucket, even though it may replace a 'traditional' woven milk basket, does not reflect modernity or changed values, as will be shown. Similarly, a Purros widow who orders a 5kg plastic container of cooking lard from a store is seeking to strengthen traditional values rather than to modernize. To understand how and why specific items and activities are taken up, it is necessary to link such choices to the social strategies and possibilities of the group concerned, rather than to any external prestige structure (Ibid:86).

The material presented here first takes us beyond domestic space to examine a case of modern water-point technology and its role in changing age relations and forging increased dependence of lineages on the 'outside' economy. It shows that men, as well as women, can be disadvantaged by modernization. The data that follows returns to Purros and is based on trends in trade conducted by the seven lineages over four years, plus inventories of household contents of a selected sample of families, over five years.

7.2. THE WORLD IS LIKE A KUDU HORN

An old local proverb - that the world is like a kudu horn - is understood to mean that things are often not what they seem; the horn first points one way and then the other. The proverb has application to some of the development interventions currently taking place in rural Namibia: The development is intended to improve the quality of life but the horn often ends up pointing in another direction, bringing dependency and hardship. Such a technological development - the replacement of a hand-pump with a diesel engine at a water point - is discussed below.

Although it is pasture and not water which is the limiting environmental factor for pastoralism in Kaoko, water is obviously also of fundamental importance. It has been shown in previous chapters that special social and environmental knowledge of elders has enabled generations of herders to survive and prosper in the arid, and semi-arid far north-west of Namibia. This special knowledge included knowing about water - where to find it in crucially dry times, as well as cultural and social conventions about water and pasture use, based on communal management of resources by a number of different lineages.

The techno-politics of boreholes and windmills were discussed in Chapter 3, where it was shown that such technological interventions can lead to a breakdown of semi-nomadic herding strategies. The advent of more sedentary herding practices have been accompanied by severe environmental degradation around water points (Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn 1992). A key issue here was the suggestion that it is not the modern technology in itself that causes such water-point problems, but a lack of prior local consultation.

The Onyuva case which follows highlights a different aspect of modern water-point problems, and demonstrates how material goods can mediate in social and economic relations, in this instance by influencing age relations, and by structurally altering a lineage's local socio-economy.

Just as young people in cities use electronic and other technology that their parents are often unfamiliar and uncomfortable with, so younger Kaoko people who have been employed or to school, are perceived to be more technologically knowledgeable than older generations. This special social knowledge - in this case possessed by young men - adds weight to new social relations in which older generations are becoming marginalized.

Onyuva, is a strong borehole about 20 km north of Orupembe, which was equipped with a sturdy hand-pump and a small circular drinking trough by the South African authorities some decades ago. This water-point was one of those that people said was well discussed, and there were no disputes about its use. Kata, the older daughter of Lineage 3, married into one of the northern lineage's with rights to this water and my information is based on a number of visits to this lineage, and to the Onyuva borehole between 1987-1994.

Since independence, Onyuva and a number of other northern water-points have been modernized by international development agencies. At Onyuva, the hand-pump was dismantled and replaced with a diesel-powered engine. There is now no way to acquire water except by starting the diesel pump. The government allocated a 200 litre drum of diesel a month to the pump.

Problems have arisen because regular and reliable transport of diesel to Onyuva has been difficult to organize and the pump has been immobilized on a number of occasions through lack of fuel. Onyuva is a hard day's 4x4-wheel drive from the nearest diesel supply at Opuwa and none of the Himba lineages who seasonally use the water-point possessed a vehicle. This has meant relying on outside people and to date, diesel has been transported by government officials; by an Opuwa businessman who owns a vehicle and who is prepared to deliver the diesel for a generous fee; by casual tourists or by researchers, like myself.

In addition, in its second year of operation, the engine broke on occasion. Given the harsh, dusty conditions in which the engine operates, this is no fault of the machinery itself. No-one in the area has the requisite skills to fix it, even though the problems are often minor.

In short, lineages that once depended on their own skills and knowledge, now need outside resources and knowledge to water their stock and acquire drinking water for themselves at this key water-point where they used to spend much of the dry season.

Some of the young men in the Onyuva lineages were in the army, can drive a vehicle and have contacts in Opuwa. Even though learning to drive does not necessarily mean acquiring

mechanical skills, in the world of the blind, the one-eyed lead. The perception among older people in these lineages is that the young men know *something* - at any rate more than they do. Young men stand around the long-suffering and increasingly temperamental engine, prodding and poking, in the hope that something they do will fix it. Sometimes, they do; more often a passing tourist is able to help them adjust the idling speed or bleed air-locks ... and once more the water of Onyuva flows.

The point here is that previously young men were just needed for their labour, to work a hand-pump. In their absence, an older man or woman, or two children in tandem, could work the pump. Now it is the young men who possess, or who are perceived to possess, the special knowledge to keep the water flowing. In a sense, the labourers have become rural 'technocrats', and as such the age-based hierarchy has been undermined. But even the young men, with their elevated status, are newly dependent on outside resources.

Kata succinctly summed up the effect of the diesel pump on her new lineage: "We wanted the pump because we thought it would help us. But instead it has made us all into children."

She is quite right on a practical level, yet the younger generations in Kaoko continue to aspire to diesel engines. This is because material goods are much more than technical instruments: Social relations and material culture are mutually constitutive (Miller 1982) and an analysis of the latter involves concepts such as the contextuality of action, signification and power (Hall 1987, 1992; 1993; Mills 1986). A diesel engine in this context signifies modernity and progressiveness; it links younger Kaoko men to the bigger, outside world while at the same time, it serves as a source of power and prestige for them. Hand-pumps may be more reliable, but they are on their way out in modern Kaoko.

7.3. THE HORN POINTS ONE WAY, THEN THE OTHER

The Purros community was relatively isolated in 1986 when the study started. Because of the war, with contact between SWAPO and the SADF taking place less than 120 km away, few tourists ventured into the north west. Visitors or passers-by were a rare occurrence and it was not unusual for us to see only one or two vehicles in a month, usually a government or army official. By 1989 with the war ended and the independence elections taking place, this had changed drastically. A 1991 survey on the impact of tourism in the north west estimated that between 100 and 120 vehicles passed through or visited Purros in the month of July (Jacobsohn, Owen-Smith, Hambo and Kasaona 1991). Most of these vehicles were tourists, travelling privately or with tour operators, and government officials and development agencies.

Accompanying this increase in contact with the 'outside' world, was increased access to cash by women, as well as men. Cash was certainly not unknown in 1986 in the Purros area as every lineage had at least one or more elderly person who was receiving a government old-age pension of R80 every two months, and two lineages had sons who worked for the army. It is not known how much of this latter income found its way to parents and other relatives, but informants said that some sons were "helping" their families with money. Such sons usually came home once a year on leave. In

addition, several men in Lineage 1 worked for a local tour operator and a man in Himba Lineage 4 and subsequently another in Lineage 1, were community game guards, receiving monthly rations and a small cash allowance from a conservation organization.

However, after 1987 more cash was in circulation because most lineages began selling crafts to tourists and a tour operator began paying a small eco-tourism levy to a newly constituted Purros development committee. This levy was divided between all lineages and monthly income varied between about R150 to R50 a lineage, depending on the season. People found the levy money particularly useful in the late dry season - from about September to February - when stock produced least milk. As money was paid two months in arrears, this meant that high season money, July - September, when most tourists visited the area, was received in October - December when it was needed most.

An analysis of inventories of household contents recorded in 1986/87 shows that all of the six lineages then living in the area owned some mass-produced goods (Table 7.1). As can be seen, the percentage of so-called 'modern' possessions per lineage ranged from 51% (for Lineage 1 which had the highest number of men in waged employment) to 29% (for Lineage 3, with none of its members in jobs and only one old-age pension).

Table 7.1 presents totals of household contents, divided into the three categories broadly recognized locally. The first column gives the percentage of goods made locally from local resources (eg. goat, sheep and calf skins used as bedding and clothing, containers and items woven from palm fronds, grinding and other stones in regular use as utensils).

The second column is for mass-produced items such as western clothing, iron cooking pots, buckets, tins, cups, tin plates and spoons, plastic containers and dishes.

The third column displays an interesting category of goods in which local goods and mass-produced goods have been used together to produce a 'traditional' object such women's jewellery or a Himba man's skirt. For example, drawing pins, metal zips, rifle cartridges, pieces of plastic etc were crafted into body decorations with leather, bone, wood and palm fronds. This group of material goods I have called 'adapted'. People felt strongly that wooden carved items, such as milk pails and neck-rests were also not totally local because knives, obtained from outside, were used to make such goods. Accordingly, I recorded pails and neck-rests as 'adapted'. These items constitute a small percentage of household goods, with three lineages having no wooden milk pails (Lineages 1, 2 and 5), and the others owning a maximum of between eight (Lineage 6) and three (Lineage 3) at one time. Lineage 1 owned no neck pillows; the other lineages possessed one or two each.

LINEAGE; No of core adults	% Local Goods	% Mass Produced	% Adapted	
1 9	21	51	28	n=139
2 4	33	49	18	n= 75
3 6	49	29	32	n=117
4 3	55	30	15	n= 47
5 3	47	26,5	26,5	n= 49
6 10	40	35	25	n=260

Table 7.1. Inventories of household contents per lineage in 1986/87, indicating the number of adult core members. It should be noted that these inventories do not necessarily reflect all possessions of a lineage; goods are often stashed in different homesteads which have been used by the lineage. In addition, the low number of goods, for example, recorded Lineage 4 and 5 relates to their particular situation - no children - and not 'poverty'. In fact, Lineage 4 is relatively wealthy, given community game guard Kamasitu's salary and monthly food rations, yet this 'wealth' is not reflected. This is partly because Kamasitu used his wealth outside the home, for example, to court various young women, one of whom became his second wife.

Some of the items in the inventories on which this table is based will be examined later in this chapter to demonstrate, as the proverb puts it, the (material) world is like a kudu horn: The horn points one way and then another: ~The mass produced category, in particular, is problematic, and the usefulness of this category itself is questionable. I have retained it in order to deconstruct it, and to demonstrate that the *intention* of the user of a material item can overwhelm other 'apparent' (to the archaeologist) meanings. For example, in the hands of a Himba elder, a South African Defence Force sock, ceases being an army-issue sock and becomes a tobacco pouch and a substitute for the more conventional kid-goat skin tobacco holder.

The increased cash-wealth in the community after 1987 can be seen in the increased number of material possessions, including higher percentages of mass produced goods. The differences were most marked for Himba lineages 3, 4, and 6. Household inventories recorded in 1991 showed that Lineage 3's percentage of mass produced goods was up from 29% in 1986 to 43%; Lineage 4 from 30% to 38% and Lineage 6 from 35% to 53%. But if such material goods are to be viewed in their own context, they cannot be taken to merely express changing, more modern values.

Numbers of 'local' goods, as recorded at 1991 homesteads decreased compared to 1986: for Lineage 3, from 49% to 28%; for Lineage 4 from 55% to 42%; for Lineage 6, from 40% to 25%. Adapted goods were slightly down for Lineage 3 and 6: from 32% and 25% respectively, to 28% and 22%. Lineage 4's adapted percentage increased from 15% in 1986 to 20% in 1991. Again, it should be pointed out that these figures represented those goods present, and presumably in use, at the homesteads at that time; other goods were stored at the other homesteads that lineages had used.

Such statistics then (see appendix), representing a short time-span in the lives of the lineages are of limited value. Of greater concern here are the material goods themselves and the intentions and strategies of their users.

7.4 ATTITUDES TO CHANGE; INDICES OF CHANGE

Older people's attitudes to the changes taking place was briefly discussed in Chapter 2. A division could be drawn between the young (under about 25) and the older generations. The former perceived most changes as positive and were optimistic about a future full of new possibilities whereas older people correctly saw their world being ruptured by the changes.

As previously discussed, for some of the elderly (as opposed to elders) events of the previous century, when lineages lost their stock to Nama raiders, outweigh current changes. People under about 60 were more concerned with events in the last decade. The independence war being fought in the north of the country was often linked to the drought of the early 1980s. On one level, this is not surprising because the drought and great cattle die-off coincided with the war spreading into north-western Kaoko. But the relationship was perceived as more than one of contiguity: The drought was believed, by some elders, to have been *caused* by the war.

While acknowledging that modern goods made women's work easier, senior women identified the labour shortage and the loss of children (to school) as two changes that were hardest to bear. Senior men were quick to agree. It was as well, a lineage head said, that people had more goats than cattle nowadays.

"Goats are better for us now. They don't die in drought and they eat anything. Who has enough people today to farm cattle?" (Heove, head of Lineage 6).

Older people were very conscious of changing relations between young and older generations. The young no longer respected their parents and did not do what they were told to do.

One problem was that parents saw little of their children who spent most of the year away at boarding school: "We are far from the school. So we don't know how our children are turning out. It would be easier if we were closer" (Kayuru, Himba father, Lineage 7).

Although they linked western education to the loss of their children Purros parents, like parents everywhere, wanted the best for the children and they were prepared to sacrifice their own needs for those of their offspring.

"When they (children) come home they are lost to their families. They tell their parents to their faces they are dirty and ignorant" (Omukuyu, head of Lineage 2).

Yet the old man agreed with others who said that schooling was necessary: "It's not like the old days. We have hard times now and it is better that a child can learn at school to read and write."

Everyone recognized modern material goods as indicators of the changes although again, significant differences could be identified between young and old, men and women.

Most, young and older, men saw new Western clothing as indicating wealth:

"Look at me: my clothes are torn and broken. You can see at once I have no money and no work" (Omukyu). However, this elder qualified this statement, and re-affirmed his commitment to cattle as opposed to wage-labour: "In the past a man had what he needed."

Omukyu and the older people then discussed the leather cloaks made from tanned cow-skin, the fine ostrich egg-shell bead and feather garments and other prestige items from their past. These used to be made from herding products or from local natural resources; others were traded from Angolan people or from people in the north-east.

Young men aspired to motor cars - unlike older generations who said cattle indicated wealth. Young men, Himba and Herero, listed new clothes, modern shoes (as opposed to the locally made car-tyre sandals) and watches as items that would signal to them that the wearer was a wealthy man who had money and a job.

Himba women, however, did not consider western clothing as prestigious for themselves - they preferred their calf-skins and sleek, ochred bare limbs. Women whose skin gleamed with ochre and butter fat were 'wet'. This notion draws on positive concepts such as healthy, plentiful, fertile, fat. To be without ochre and fat was to be dry, poor, unwell, thin - in other words, to be without cattle. The women linked their calf-skin skirts, the white, cone shell on their chests, (reminiscent of a cattle horn), and their red ochred bodies to the beauty (and value) of the much admired 'red' cow.

I was reminded at this point of Western metaphors which link women's physical appearance and money: "A woman looks like a million dollars, she's a first-class beauty, her face is her fortune" (see Wolf 1991:20).

Herero women, as has already been discussed, equated their big dresses, requiring 10-12 metres of material, with status and wealth. Most women had made their much-repaired dresses from numerous small pieces of different materials. A dress made from 12 metres of the *same* material - without different coloured or patterned patches - indicated wealth to them. So did modern jewellery such as earrings and necklaces.

In spite of the vivid differences in their attire, it seems that both Himba and Herero women are using their clothing and body ornaments to display and express wealth and prestige (for themselves, their men and for other women). Two very different sets of material culture are thus being employed in similar strategies.

Men too were concerned with their physical appearance in terms of clothing and decorations. The people of Purros share their emphasis on attire and jewellery with other nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in Africa, as the photographic work of Beckwith and Fisher illustrates (1993; 1984).

Younger Herero women also saw cooking pots, dishes and cups as indices of wealth. This may suggest the beginning of a new discourse, in which the use and *display* of certain 'modern' items becomes a strategy (see Moore 1986 on this topic).

Himba and Herero women of all ages valued modern containers - buckets, tins and large plastic jerry cans - for their convenience. Owning a 20 litre jerry can means one trip to fetch water at the spring every two or three days, rather than a daily trip, bringing back just a few litres in a traditional

container. Yet all women, Herero included, continued to own 'traditional' containers, as discussed below.

The above discussion presents a realistically ambiguous picture, as people, individuals, tack strategically in response to the opportunities, tensions and conflicts which shape their daily lives. Older and mid-age people and most Himba women of all ages, value cattle wealth above money, even though it is this group who earned and spent the most money in trading crafts; most young men - and some of the younger Herero women - see money and jobs as having higher status than cattle wealth, but given the relatively few work opportunities in Kaoko, they are hedging their bets and acquiring stock.

As yet, there is no clear cut general hierarchy which places education and waged labour above cattle wealth, but this is developing. Kaoko is in flux, not for the first time, as the region's turbulent last century shows, but almost certainly never before have the tides of external change carried such force.

Social empowerment and community game guards

In many ways the younger Herero men and women at Purros were role models for younger Himba people. Although it can be seen from the inventories of household goods, that Herero families did not actually possess a great deal more than Himba households, the Herero people were perceived to be more modern and progressive.

No major hierarchy existed locally however, although the notion that to be Herero was superior to Himba was apparent in centres such as Sesfontein. Some of these notions turned on a clean:dirty contrast. For example, a Damara-speaking nursing sister at the Sesfontein clinic was visibly put out by having to treat women wearing ochred butter-fat. They were dirty, she told me, and left red smears in her clinic. (In reality Himba women always went to a lot of trouble to avoid doing so. Women would bring blankets to sit on when they travelled in my vehicle, for example.)

I suggest that a local reason why a hierarchy did not exist between Himba and Herero was the community game guard system. One Himba man and later one Herero man from Purros were employed in this conservation project, and at various times, other local men were employed to undertake special wildlife monitoring or tracking tasks. Wildlife, and existing local skills associated with wildlife were thus seen as part of the economic future.

The food ration provided for the first community game guard, Kamasitu, of Lineage 4, since the early 1980s, was a generous one, and able to feed more people than his immediate small family. At the time of the cattle die-off, the rations would have made a major impact at Purros. But apart from having food to share, the game guard had status, not only because he was employed, but also because he had been chosen by the community itself as *their own* 'worker' in wildlife conservation.

Given the new, respectful attitude to *community* conservation knowledge promoted in this NGO project, he was treated - by Western outsiders - as an authority on wildlife. The community game guard post differs from that of a local man being employed by government in conservation in that the latter needs a minimum level of education (standard 8) and is trained in Western conservation skills.

At Purros it was local, indigenous knowledge and skills (as opposed to outside Western knowledge), which were being respected and rewarded.

The resultant combination of social empowerment and economic benefit contributed at a local level, to the continued high status of Kamasitu in particular, and of 'Himba' skills, in relation to the natural environment, in general.

7.5 MATERIAL GOODS AT WORK

In this section selected household items are examined and linked to some of the specific circumstances and strategies of lineages, social groupings and of individuals.

To return to household contents: It is notable that *all* lineages, Herero and Himba, those including wage-workers and those without, possessed and used certain locally made goods. These included woven milk and other baskets, gourds, cosmetic containers made from cattle horns, skirt-smokers and sheep, goat and cattle skins. Although the lineages also owned 'modern' items that were functionally equivalent, they retained the local goods.

LINEAGE:	1	2	3	4	5	6
Baskets	3	6	6	2	4	5
Gourds	2	8	5	2	2	5
Wood milk pails	-	-	1	-	-	5
Plastic containers	-	1	3	1	-	2
Tins	10	3	8	2	1	11
Horn cosmetic holders	1	2	1	2	1	4
Skirt-smokers	1	1	2	1	2	3
Buckets	2	-	1	1	-	3
Skins	2	4	11	2	4	16
Blankets	3	1	6	1	1	6
Grind stones	1	-	1	1	1	1

Table 7.2. This table indicates the numbers of selected items present at a particular homestead for each lineage at one time. In all cases adult women were in residence (See appendix for full household inventories).

A herder's bed

As Table 7.2 shows all lineages owned skins which were used as bedding, with blankets, also owned by all lineages. People said that sleeping on skins was warmer and more comfortable than on blankets,

but a number of men and women also suggested that it was unacceptable for herding people to sleep on the ground, *without* domestic stock skins.

Glimpses of material culture *at work* in the construction of a pastoralist identity, combining the ideational with the practical, can be gained from the following: After I had been in the area for some months women offered to build me a house at the Purros dry season base. When the *ondjuwo* was complete and I was ready to move in, Vengape arrived with some goat skins to place in my sleeping area. Not wanting to deprive her family of bedding, I pointed out that my bedroll's groundsheet was waterproof. She insisted that I take the skins, saying that now that I owned some stock (I had been given a few goats), it was inappropriate for me to sleep on the ground. My groundsheet, as much as people admired its properties (waterproof, flexible, strong etc.), did not count as keeping me off the ground; that required skins.

Inside space

Similarly, at the house-warming party, people remarked that they were glad I was now sleeping *inside*, as opposed to *outside* (in my tent). It appeared that my dome tent, even though people were impressed by its portability and the ease with which it could be set up, was not regarded as a *real* shelter. The key ingredient distinguishing inside space vs outside was the cattle dung plaster on the walls of an *ondjuwo*.

Containers at work

All lineages owned woven baskets, and butter-milk gourds, along with an ever changing collection of mass produced plastic and tin containers: tins, buckets, bottles etc. Two Himba lineages (3 and 6) constantly owned carved wooden milk pails. It will be recalled that baskets and gourds were women's possessions, signifying women's allocative power over milk. As the household data show, these were almost always kept on the left or women's side of the house.

Wooden pails, on the other hand, signified male authority, or authoritative power. The 'correct' location for such pails was either on the right of the house, or hanging on the central pole. But women rarely bothered to place the pail on the right, although they were sometimes hanging on central poles, where the latter occurred. These various milk containers, I suggest, were employed in the women's discourse of resistance, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The fact that Herero lineage 1 did not own wooden milk pails can be linked to the fact that the majority of its men were in wage labour, and increasingly engaged in a broader (outside) socio-economic discourse. Lineage 2's lack of wooden pails relates to the fact that this lineage had only one male member - the elderly Omukuyu, *and* that for most of the study period they were without cattle, as was Lineage 4.

Cosmetics and grooming

All women owned various cosmetics and grooming aids. These usually included one or more grindstones and at least one pair of cattle-horn containers. Grindstones were differentiated according to use: mealie cobs would never be ground on a stone used for aromatic herbs or ochre, for example. A stone used to prepare mealie meal was often left outside whereas stones for cosmetics tended to be more carefully curated inside the house.

Women who were married to workers in Herero Lineage 1 used cosmetic grindstones even though they usually also owned and used commercially manufactured scents or deodorants. It was notable, however, that such grindstones were randomly placed in the house, on the right as often as the left. Himba women, on the other hand, usually placed grindstones on the left (woman's) side, when not in use.

The twin cattle-horn containers were present in all adult women's homes, even where a range of modern cosmetic containers - small tins and bottles - were owned. I suggest these 'traditional' containers were also part of the women's discourse, with their apparel, their milk containers and group trancing.

Another important item, in the same category, found in all houses where adult women lived were 'skirt-smokers' - a conical sapling and palm-frond frame which is placed over the interior hearth. Aromatic herbs are burnt in a small fire to create aromatic smoke; skin clothing is draped over the frame to be permeated with the scent of the herbs. Different plants are used for different occasions. A particular herb should be used when a newborn baby is in a house; some plants are believed to be useful in seduction; some are for use by women, others are used by men (although they will be prepared by women).

What these women's goods have in common is that although they are all locally produced and apparently 'traditional', they are being used in a modern discourse which, like group trancing, draws on the past to negotiate the present.

In the next section, where trade goods are discussed, it will be shown that the materiality and meaning of so-called modern, mass produced goods, are similarly manipulated according to the strategy and intent of the user.

7.5. PURROS TRADE IN CONTEXT

The first trade transaction I recorded, in February 1987, involved lineage heads from lineages 1, 3 and 6 exchanging young goats - mostly weaners - for mealie meal. They conducted the exchange via the nurse at the Sesfontein clinic who had family links to a man who owned a store. The men knew that the exchange of 14 small goats and five slightly larger animals for a total of 45 kg of mealie meal was an extremely high price to pay, at the going rate of mealie meal at that time. But they were not about to argue with the nurse as she was the only channel they had to buy food after they had hitch-hiked a 100

km lift in a rain storm on the back of the only vehicle to pass in two days. The food was for their women who were at Purros and the men went to a great deal of trouble to arrange for the mealie meal to reach them as soon as possible because at that time, milk and other food was scarce in the area.

From 1987 onwards women, and to a lesser extent, men, took full advantage of the small but growing market for baskets, milk pails, wooden neck-rests, wire-beaded belts, woven neckbands, bracelets and other goods. Records were kept from February 1987 till March 1991 of goods sold and of goods ordered with the cash thus earned.

The 479 transactions presented do not represent all trade that took place in that period. Goods were being sold and coming in from various sources other than the Purros Project craft market and in 1990 the community established a trade relationship with shop owners in Sesfontein, 101 km from Purros. The data does, however, undoubtedly represent a record of the largest and most consistent channel for selling or bartering local crafts and receiving goods from outside the area over four years. It should also be noted that although 479 *transactions* were recorded, more than one item may have been bought or sold per transaction. This is indicated in the detailed trade data in the appendix.

For many of the older women, bartering is a more apt description than selling: A woman would present three baskets and ask for sugar for one basket, mealie meal for the other, and a blanket for the third, for example. The craft sales provided local women with their first significant direct access to cash, although a few of them were receiving old-age pensions. The women were *not*, however, experiencing trade for the first time; a long time-depth for such exchanges of goods exists in the region, as has been discussed. The new part of the equation here was money.

Gift-exchanges and the (commercial) circulation of commodities have tended to be viewed as oppositions in the Western world: giving versus buying or selling. To analyse the craft marketing at Purros in these terms provides a false context and obscures the social actor - and the social energy in the material goods being 'sold' and acquired.

As Davison (1991) notes, Appadurai (1986) has warned against drawing too sharp a dichotomy between gift exchange and the circulation of commodities. He sees economic interest, broadly defined, entering into both discourses. Miller (1987, 1988) examines the argument from the perspective of the modern consumer, suggesting that the alienation inherent to industrialized commodity production might be counter-balanced by the subjective re-appropriation in consumption. Following Davison, who sees both Appadurai and Miller's perspectives as emphasizing the importance of the (material) object in mediating social relations and adding the dimension of continuing recontextualization (1991), I suggest that the trade process recorded at Purros for four years needs to be examined in its own historical and social matrix.

A first point is that crafts were sold in different ways. Some were given to me to deliver to craft shops in Windhoek and Swakopmund. Others, the majority, were sold to passing tourists, or by an arrangement with a local tour operator who brought in regular parties of visitors.

The crafts for sale or thus sold were recorded in a book by me or by a local woman, Kaupiti, who worked for the Purros Project, and acted as a part-time translator for me. At the same time people would 'order' whatever they required from town, tendering either cash obtained from the sale of an item

to a tourist, or crafts for 'exchange'. The items ordered would be acquired and delivered, by me, or by Purros Project staff, within a few weeks or months.

In 1989, following discussions about the need to become less dependent on project staff, the people approached a trader in Sesfontein, requesting him to set up a shop at Purros. He agreed, and a small store was built. From late 1990/early 1991 people used this erratically stocked shop mainly for foodstuffs, although they complained about high prices and low quality goods.

Regarding quality of goods ordered via me or Purros Project staff, people were extremely discriminating and refused to accept items that did not meet very particular requirements. A man or woman would prefer to pay R60 or more for a good quality blanket rather than acquire a cheaper and lower quality item. And of course, it should be tan, orange, red or brown, colours of the ochre spectrum. Particular colours of material were also stipulated by Herero women, and again good quality material was preferred over cheaper goods.

Buckets and pots were not ordered randomly: specific uses for a yet to be obtained item were already clearly in a woman's mind when she placed her order. The particular container needed a lid, or handles, or should be a particular size. A pot should be flat-bottomed or have legs.

At one time glass beads, imported from Czechoslovakia, became unobtainable in Namibia, and I made the mistake of buying plastic beads in the required colours (red, black and white). The woman who had ordered the beads opened the packet, gazed incredulously at the shiny beads, and then placed one between her teeth. She split it in half and spat it out onto the sand. Point made without a word being said, she handed the packet back to me. The women of Purros may be new to money, but they are certainly not new to trade.

'Strength' from cash

It is not unusual for entry into a cash economy to burden women with additional work: They may be pressurized by their men or children to produce goods for cash, as well as do their normal work. (eg. see Mies 1982). This did not occur in the study area, given women's robust sense of self-worth and their own power. Many women in western Kaoko said that making and selling crafts had brought them strength. They felt "stronger" now that they had access to a cash income that was independent of their men. Women usually kept the money they earned, handing it over to a husband only in exceptional circumstances. They also tended to make goods only when they decided they needed to obtain a particular non-local item.

Men also made crafts for sale, although fewer male transactions were recorded than women's. The crafts became a source of conflict between Herero women and their male elders when the latter objected to the women plying tourists with crafts before tourists had greeted senior men and requested permission to explore villages with their cameras. Younger men, also making goods for sale which they often left with woman to sell on their behalf, did not support the elder men in their complaints about this. In some ways, therefore, the craft-sales added to the growing divisions between generations.

Himba women, not as bold as the young Herero women in approaching tourists, preferred to sell their goods through someone they knew or in a more formal way. For example, they arranged a schedule with the tour operator, Schoeman's Skeleton Coast Fly-in Safaris, who regularly visited the area with parties of 10 tourists.

The women would gather at a pre-arranged *onganda* - usually that of Lineage 6 or in later years, Lineage 4's - shortly before the tourists were due to fly or drive in. The crafts would be placed in a line, with a dozen or so women sitting behind the goods.

Even though I saw this scene scores of times over four years, I never lost my strong impression that the women were deliberately demarcating a separation between themselves and the tourists. In sitting in a straight line, instead of the more usual informal circle, it appeared, perhaps accurately enough, that the crafts themselves were the main point of articulation between the Himba women and the outsiders. Here, it seemed, goods were being alienated from the field of inter-subjective communication.

Of the 479 transactions recorded, 392 were conducted by woman and 87 by men. In Table 7.3, which displays trade transactions by age and gender, I have divided the genders into three age categories - elders, mid-age and young - roughly corresponding to local, functional categories as well as to age-set groupings. The ~'mid-age' men and women are between about 25 to 50 years old, with the 'young' under about 25.

The age-sets to which elders belong are:

Women	Men
<i>otjongo</i>	<i>ondera</i>
<i>otjohuhwa</i>	<i>omukanda</i>
<i>otjovahona</i>	<i>onjovera or onyovera</i>
	<i>ondjima</i>

Mid-age age-set:

<i>okakambe</i>	<i>majora</i>
<i>omukundakunda</i>	<i>omuzinye</i>
	<i>ombandje</i>

Young age-sets:

<i>otjokapate</i>	<i>ongandu</i>
<i>opasenge</i>	<i>ombume</i>
<i>ohere</i>	<i>otjindere</i>

These age-set groupings will be returned to and shown to be significant in the interpretation of domestic space changes in Chapter 8.

No of transactions:	WOMEN	MEN
Elders	184	44
Mid-age	115	17
Young	93	26
Total	392	87

Table 7.3. Numbers of trade transactions according to the three age groupings for women and men.

The bargraphs at the end of this chapter, Figs.7.1 and 7.2, display number of purchases and goods bought according to gender and the three age categories: elder; mid-age; young. Crafts and cash worth nearly N\$12 000 changed hands during the four year period (N\$1=R1).

Obviously most of the goods bought were mass produced items but many were used with local products to produce an 'adapted' object, as discussed. Accordingly, the data lists in the appendix label items as either mass produced or adapted, according to the buyer's intent. Where an item was employed according to its functional use in terms of the technological discourse in which it was manufactured, it is called mass produced; where its original functional context changes, it is 'adapted'.

For example, when widow Kwazerendu bought a garden hoe in December 1987, she intended to use it, as a hoe, in her vegetable garden, and the item is thus categorized as mass-produced. On the other hand, when the Vengape bought drawing pins in December 1988, she planned to use them decoratively as part of various items of so-called 'traditional' jewellery and the pins are accordingly labelled as adapted.

A category of non-manufactured goods bought were shells - cone shells, to be used as part of the 'traditional' *ehumba* ornament worn by all Himba women, and cowries for *ozondikwa* (baby carriers) and other body ornaments. The war had disrupted the normal trade conducted into Angola, where the shells were obtained, and women urgently sought an alternative supply. Small numbers of such shells were available in shell and curio shops in Namibia and South Africa, and many crafts were sold to this end.

Goods bought included various cosmetics - talcum powder, deodorants, body lotion, perfume and soaps. Most of the former were bought by Herero women, but numbers of such goods bought were relatively low as most women still used a range of plant materials. On five occasions women bought containers of lard, to be used on their skin when locally produced fat was in short supply. Much more bulk lard (eg 20 litre drums or buckets) was ordered, but was not delivered because of the erratic availability of this item in Namibia.

The largest category of goods bought by elder and mid-age women was body decorations, followed by items related to dress (see Fig.7.1). Young women's dress purchases were just ahead of decorations, and includes a number of soap powder purchases for their men's Western clothes.

Items in the decoration category included copper and other wire for 'traditional' neck and other body jewellery, white and red glass beads, safety pins and drawing pins, all used as part of a body ornament or ceremonial baby carrier, white plastic pipings for arms bands and belts, mass produced bead necklaces and earrings (for young Herero women) and of course, cone shells and cowries for Himba women who were often buying the cone shells for a daughter of younger relative.

The dress category included many metres of dress materials for Herero women's 'big' dresses, and black material, usually bought by Himba women or elder Himba men for the men's *erapi* or skirt. A small amount of women's underwear and children's clothing was also bought. The latter was bought for Herero children.

The underwear relates to an interesting case in which Naminyandi, a young Himba woman in Lineage 5 decided to 'turn around' and become Herero. As previously discussed, she waited until she had acquired every item - big dress, bra, panties, shoes, earrings - before changing over. This took many months as cash was in short supply and she resorted to selling her ehumba and other 'traditional' goods to tourists in order to raise the money needed to buy her Herero clothing.

The decoration and dress goods bought, plus Naminyandi's case, reveal women's serious concern with their appearance and with the material goods which enabled them to create and recreate a particular identity. Their involvement in the craft marketing enterprise was largely to this end: The money they earned enabled the purchase of 'traditional' goods such as cone shells, as well as the use of modern, Western goods to maintain a 'traditional' appearance.

As seen, elder women conducted more trade transactions than any other grouping. This was in part because these women were involved in family life, and sometimes acquired goods for their sons and husbands.

Buckets and blankets have been excluded from the general household category of goods because these were two of the most apparently popular items bought - 38 blankets and 17 buckets were acquired. Blankets were used both for bedding and as clothing, eg as shawls.

Other household goods included water containers, pots, a few metal plates and a number of pangas. The latter were used by Himba women in house-building.

Shoes - usually black lace-up school shoes - were another item that was difficult for Purros people to acquire. Most of the shoes in the lists were for school children.

Food - usually mealie meal - accounted for 38 of the transactions and involved hundreds of kg of mealie meal. This was the largest category for elder men, and indicates their strong sense of responsibility towards members of their lineages. These older men were not using money to buy commodities, but to feed/support their families. Two radios were bought by younger men.

Storage containers - lockable tin trunks were bought by senior men and women for valuable goods, with younger people buying small suitcases.

Sugar was in great demand at all times, mostly because it was used to produce beer; senior and mid-age women bought the most. Relatively small amounts of commercially manufactured alcohol was bought, in part because other trade routes for liquor were well established.

The alcohol/tobacco category included a few cases of wine, ordered for a particular ceremony such as a wedding, some pipes, tobacco and snuff.

The trade data has been used to show that although many of the goods are familiar in both urban and rural settings, Western and non-Western, they neither speak for themselves or represent any single discourse, even when their functional use is similar. As Moore (1986) has pointed out, such similarities should not be allowed to hide the potential differences between the various processes of change they may represent.

For example, a metal tin or bucket is definitely a mass produced, modern item and all Kaoko people would identify it as such. But when women are using it to store milk, it takes on characteristics of her 'traditional' woven waterproof baskets, reproducing and signifying her allocative power over milk.

Similarly, a lineage head may use an ordinary tin in place of a wooden milk pail for the omakera ceremony in which he ritually tastes the milk from certain categories of sacred cows to free it from taboos so that other members of his lineage may drink it.

In neither of these cases can a dichotomy between traditional and modern be assumed, nor can the use of a modern item be equated with the user identifying with an alternative value or prestige system. In fact, the user's strategies and concerns *define* what the bucket represents and its modernity is overwhelmed by its strategic role in local socio-economic relations and values.

There is no one common way a category of material goods can be interpreted. Also in the mass produced column of Table 7.1 is a knitted Balaclava cap which a lineage head acquired somewhere to wear on cold winter mornings. On one such morning when we sat together at his sacred fire, I was surprised to see him take off his cap as he had recently told me that married men should never appear bare-headed in public, unless in mourning. I asked if a relative had died. He said no and explained that he could do this, even at the sacred fire, because the cap was a "white man's hat". Wasn't it true, he said, that white men always removed their hats when they sat down? In this instance, the lineage head, was choosing to allow an item's modernity to speak, quite possibly in sardonic response to my presence - a "white" person.

7.7. THE POWER OF MATERIAL GOODS

The data in this chapter has shown that Purros women, as well as men, have access to cash, and are using new mass-produced material goods for personal strategies that include the strengthening of 'traditional' values. Nevertheless, the circulation of new commodities *is* having an unintended (by the users) impact on local social relations.

As has already been discussed, a post-modern focus on the intentionality of the socially strategic actor/individual should not be allowed to recontextualize that actor as all-powerful, and immune to outside discourses and forces.

The new pressures the circulation of mass produced goods placed on people and their local relationships could be seen in the regular requests I received not to deliver goods to people's homesteads. They preferred to fetch goods from my car when it could be done in private.

Women said this was to avoid the 'jealousy' (*eruru*) of others. My observation was that at times, it was also an attempt to avoid having to share goods such as tea, coffee or sugar with neighbours, or rather to avoid having others come to take their share.

This returns us to a concept touched on in Chapter 4 where I used the term 'networking' to describe ongoing reciprocal economic relations between women in different patrilineages at and around Purros. The explicit aim of this networking is to acquire needed goods from others in a system of exchange, and to keep the others more in your debt than vice versa. However, certain items are excluded from the network - eg. fat (as produced from a lineage's cattle) may not be used by women from different lineages. Women's networking skills are recognized and respected among women.

Women explained networking in the following way. When you had more than you need of, for example, cow-dung, you would offer to share it with other less wealthy women who needed to plaster an *ondjuwo*. This built up a useful obligation towards the giver: "If you have given her cattle dropping, how can she later refuse you some of her ochre?"

I suggest that the attempt by women to exclude certain 'modern' goods from this social-material network indicates that the influx of mass-produced goods is not being experienced as unproblematic. Here one needs to take a step backwards, and consider other, broader discourses as well as the local ones.

Women were used to making most what they needed - household utensils, attire, body decorations. On one level, there is no doubt that the modern goods in circulation generated a sense of inadequacy. At first, before the craft market started, women found it hard to believe that (mostly white) tourists would wish to buy a woven basket, for example, when they had access to modern containers.

"Why would white people want my basket when they have money to buy this bucket?" a Himba woman once asked me indicating a yellow plastic bucket in my truck. We discussed crafts as art and the intrinsic value of an individually hand-made item, but basically she was quite right. No modern woman would use an ochred palm-frond basket for water or milk.

As lineage head Venomeho said: "I hear white people don't use our things; they put them inside their houses and just look at them." People found this bemusing and strange.

The increasing build-up and circulation of modern goods in the far north-west is likely, in itself, to promote alienation from past socially strategic discourses which mainly used a material cultural resource that local people understood and importantly, over which they had some control. Such alienation may be facilitated primarily *because* Purros people explicitly do not view or treat material items as inanimate objects, but recognize them as active and imbued with social energy. This is in contrast to the average Westerner who tends to regard material goods as the passive objects of human control.

Just as the drilling of a borehole or the installation of a diesel pump produces new technopolitics and facilitates new socio-ecological relations within and between lineages, so I suggest, the

circulation of commercially manufactured goods enables a new discourse in which socio-economic - and power - relations are altered.

Industrially manufactured material goods do not speak for themselves, as has been shown, nor do they represent one universal discourse. *But* they resonate with some of the power of the intimidatingly powerful technological discourse in which they originated. This can be largely understood by drawing on Bourdieu's notion of universes of meaning and universes of practice (1973, 1977).

Meanings invoked in one context have the ability to refer to meanings invoked in another, even though, I suggest, such meanings may be invoked by *others* in *other* discourses. Kaoko is not an island and although many of its residents have never visited a large city or seen a factory or modern, Western building, they do not live in ignorance of the existence of a bigger, more complex world - *outside*, beyond their own.

Purros people are extremely aware that their technology appears child-like in its simplicity, compared to much Western material culture. A Himba youth, Katondoihe, of Lineage 3, was fascinated by the engine of my truck and he spent hours with the bonnet open, inspecting its parts. He once said wistfully: "One day I would like to see the face of the man who made this engine; I wouldn't dare talk to him, but I'd like to just see him."

Although Katondoihe has since grown up and now has a driver's licence and a job, he has never totally lost his awe of things mechanical - and the people who appear to understand them. The sense of inadequacy, engendered in part by sophisticated industrially produced goods, was clearly expressed by the elder Venomeho who prefaced an evening of telling me about the 'old' days with the following: "Let me tell you about the Himba and Herero ... before the white man made us ignorant ..."

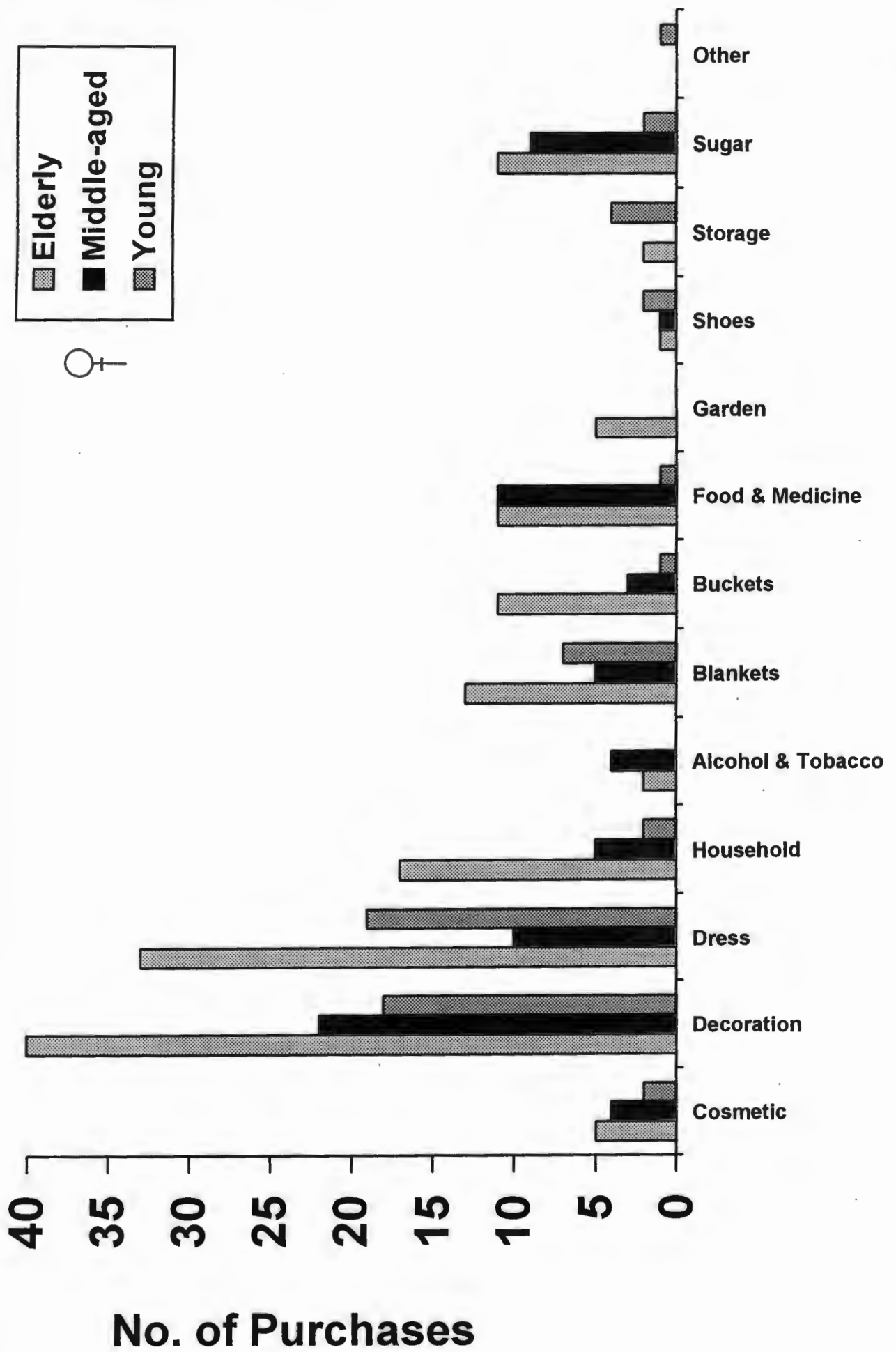


Figure 7.1. Number and type of purchases by all lineage women.

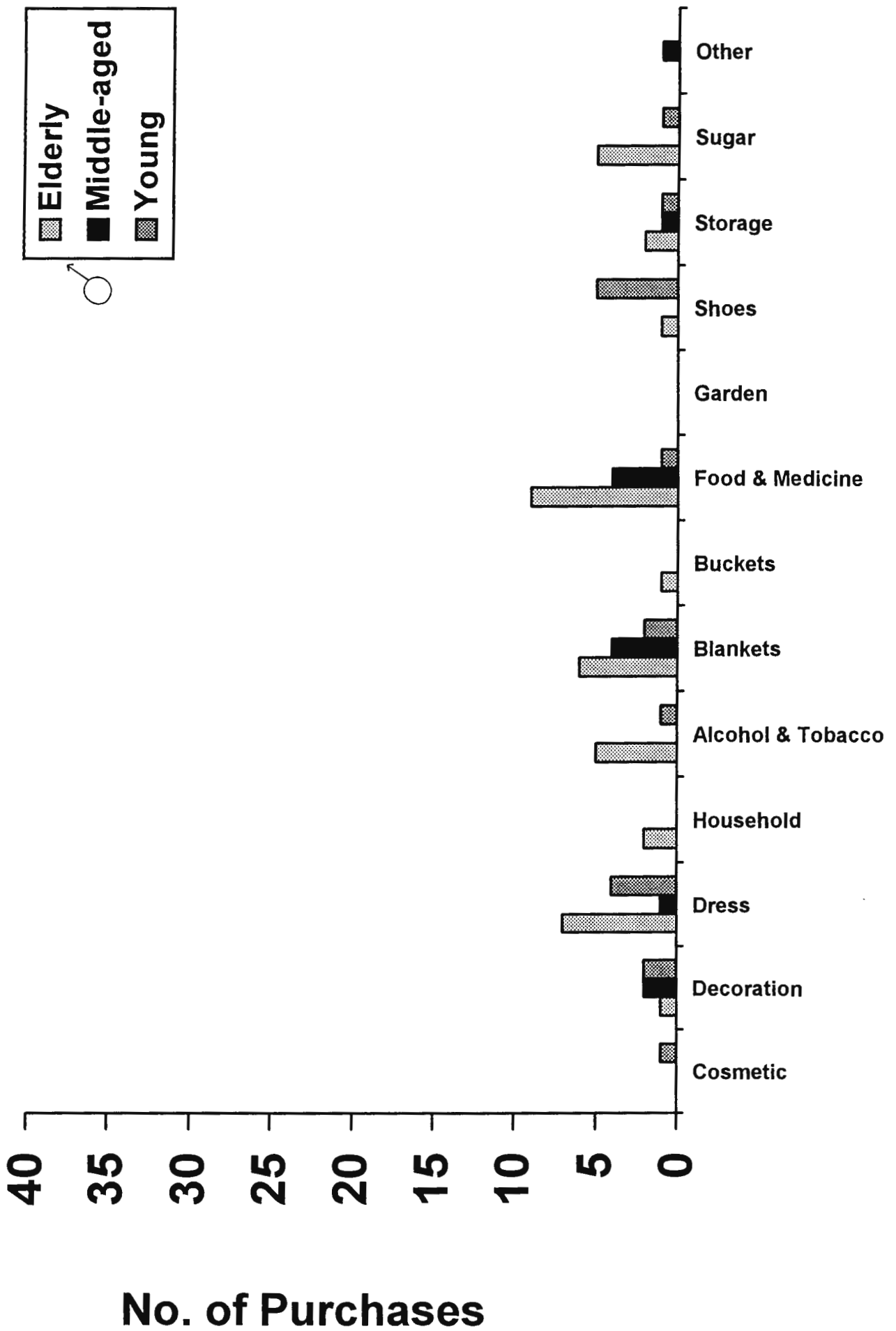


Figure 7.2. Number and type of purchases by all lineage men.

CHAPTER 8: OVER-TURNING THE WORLD

"The universe is made up of stories, not of atoms." Muriel Rukeyser. (In Steinem 1992)

8.1. HIMBA SPACE AND POWER

IN this chapter I return to Himba space, change and to the question: How socio-economic conditions and cultural values and ideas work together to transform as well as produce and maintain cultural representations. After reviewing the dominant spatial theme of built space, as well as the socio-economic changes taking place, the actual alterations currently being made to domestic space are discussed. Most of these changes post-date the drought cattle die-off and the war. These are interpreted from the point of view of women (who are making the changes) and young men (who are invisible in the dominant spatial text), in particular. This leads to the presentation of a new metaphorical model, which I suggest, is in the process of 'over-turning the world' - and its cultural representations - in western Kaoko. A final section explores archaeological implications of material presented, in terms of methods and theory.

It has been argued that the relationship between the living and the ancestors is the main symbolizing mechanism in Himba space. The age and gender-based division of labour, on which the local semi-nomadic herding socio-economy pivots, is naturalized and recreated in the spatial text. The text also works to provide resolution for the socio-economic tension between the patrilineage, as the residential unit, and matrilineage, through which stock is inherited.

Elder male authority over women and young men is legitimized by association with the ancestors at the sacred fire. The *omuvande*, the sacred corridor between the entrance to the calf enclosure, the sacred fire and the entrance to the main house in a homestead, reproduces the authority of the lineage head in particular, as it enables him to mediate between the living and ancestors, as well as between patrilineage and matrilineage relatives, who in theory should place their houses to the left (patrilineage) and right (matrilineage) of the main house. Socio-economic tension exists between these two sets of relatives because the main cattle herds are owned and inherited matrilineally and a lineage head is watched carefully by his matrilineal kin to see that he does not over-extend his own children's rights to stock. These children belong to and will inherit from a different matrilineage - that of their mother.

Slightly cross-cutting but also drawing on this left/right opposition is the explicit association of ancestors - and married men - with the right-hand side all houses: Married men will keep their possessions on the right side of the house. Immediately outside a house, to the right, is an area which should always be left open for the ancestors to sit and one should always approach/enter a house from the left.

The non-functional central pole inside the house represents the male head of the household and is associated with his ancestors. This association is emphasised by the custom of keeping a

special milk pail, used only for the milk of the lineage's sacred cows, hanging on the pole. A small interior hearth, immediately in front of the pole, relates to the joint project of marriage and the connection of the husband's patrilineage with his wife's matrilineage. Their children will, of course, be born into the husband's patrilineage and the wife's matrilineage. The interior hearth is used by women to prepare cosmetics and for intimate rituals associated with sexual power and fertility.

This pole and hearth association within a gendered division of space draws together notions of male authority (via links with the ancestors), female fertility, and the linking of a patriline with a matriline, and as such, posits the socio-economic future on a particular social and cultural ordering. In a sense, this interior spatial patterning, with its central pole-hearth association, mimics the *omuvanda* of the *onganda*. The tunnel-entrance of the house, more common in the past than today, is also part of this symbolic complex.

On the left of the house entrance is the main domestic activity area, explicitly associated with the woman of the house. It is here she places her cooking hearth and spends much of her time. Inside her house, she keeps her possessions on the left side. Items of special ritual significance will be placed at the very back of the house, in line with the central pole and the hearth, but they are still regarded as being in the woman's care.

Senior women share some of the authority associated with the ancestors; a widowed mother or senior wife of a lineage head will take responsibility for taking the sacred fire into the main house at night, and keeping it alight. She will also remove the ash and place it at the calf enclosure, formerly on the right-hand side. Senior women may also be required to conduct certain ceremonies associated with reproductive powers, in which case they will sit on the left side of the sacred fire, with the senior males on the right.

In summary, in the dominant spatial-social text:

- 1) Elder male authority is produced and reproduced by senior men's daily association with the sacred fire which is the living's main link with the ancestors;
- 2) Senior women share a part of that authority through their sacred fire care-taking duties. They also on occasion use the left side of the sacred fire but only with a senior male officiating.
- 3) Married women's allocative power is clearly mapped in her explicit association with her cooking hearth and domestic activity area to the left of her house, as well as her use of the left side of her house for her possessions.
- 4) Married male authority is re-enforced by a central (non-functional) pole inside the house, and by his usage of the right-hand side of the house, which is also associated in general with the ancestors.
- 5) Tensions between the patrilineage, as the residential unit, and the associated matrilineage who stand to inherit the main herds, are controlled by their mutual connection with the *omuvanda* which links daily economic life, signified by the calf enclosure, with the ancestors via the sacred fire, and with the leadership of the lineage head.
- 6) Unmarried sons, on whom the formerly cattle-rich lineage depended for a major share of essential herding labour, are invisible in this spatial text: Until they marry, they literally have no domestic

space/place. Unmarried girls on the other hand, will build themselves a house or shelter at each homestead they occupy as soon as they are old enough to do so - from about 12 or 13.

8.2 THE CASE FOR POWERFUL WOMEN

I have also suggested that women's power was such that, till recently, it served to balance the authoritative power of male elders. While a woman's main power was allocative - in that she was in daily control of household resources - there were areas where she had authoritative power. One example, previously outlined, is in daily stock management in terms of which animals are milked. Another domain where women were (and still are in the study area) all-powerful is in birthing - mid-wives are always women and they are held in high esteem by all. This is understandable, given that in remote rural areas where mothers give birth without any modern medical assistance, a mid-wife's skills and knowledge may make the difference between life and death.

Unlike in many other parts of the world, a Himba woman does not need to marry to acquire property/stock. A daughter born into a cattle-rich family acquires stock in her own right: At the baby-naming ceremony, anyone who wishes to give a name to a girl, as well as a boy, must commit himself or herself to a gift of stock - a calf, sheep or goats. Stock-giving may also take place at puberty and other ceremonies. People said that most girls owned several cows and their own herd of goats by the time they were adults.

Vengape, of Lineage 3, said she owned nine cows when she married; her sister Kata had eight. Both women had between 20 to 30 goats. The cattle died in the drought, although some of their goats survived. Because of the disruptions of the previous decade, no-one in the west had cattle to give away in the 80s. At a baby-naming ceremony involving Lineage 7, the infant acquired two goats, one from an uncle, (patrilineal), the other from a matrilineal aunt. Other naming gifts were in the form of money - to the baby's mother - and some bottles of cheap wine to the father. Elder women were very disapproving of the 'new ways', although they made sure that some of the wine found its way to them.

As already described, Himba *women* build their own and men's houses and men, who may not handle cattle-dung, are dependent on them for the all-important dung plastering which signifies a cattle-rich 'civilized' home.

Ash adds to women's power: Only they may handle it and it is viewed as a potentially dangerous element which only women can transform. The power of ash can be evoked in various ways: Men may overtly conduct marriage negotiations, for example, but people believe that the senior women in the couple's families have major influence. And this is not only influence over their husband's views, although obviously they also have that. An incident that occurred during final stage marriage negotiations between Lineage 3 men and the male elders of the prospective groom's patri- and matri-kin captures a sense of the mystified nature of women's power through ash.

Negotiations for this particular marriage were not going well and the groom and a group of his age-mates, in seclusion at his in-law's *onganda*, decided that some assistance was needed. He knew,

from his future wife, that her mother approved of the match, and the age-mates were sent to seek the mother's help. After a few minute's thought, the mother, Katherwe, went to her Lineage head husband's sacred fire and dropped a pinch of the ash into a tin of water. She sent this back to her future son-in-law to drink. He swallowed the liquid as if it were nectar from the gods, telling me that now he knew he would get his bride in spite of the strong opposition from some kin.

Katherwe said that her action would speed up the male talk, and that it would be very difficult now that the ancestors 'knew' the groom, for anyone to stop the marriage. She said that because people had seen what she had done, the male elders would also soon know about her decisive action. The marriage took place a few days later - after more than a year of inconclusive negotiations.

The power of fat

Although the allocative power of women cannot be understated, her control goes beyond milk and other foods. A key element in her power is fat - from either milk or meat. Fat is a metonym for green, healthy, fertile, plentiful, wet, as has been discussed. There are different kinds of fat - *oviruru*, *ongondiva*, *amathe* (fat from a beast's stomach; uncooked fat; cooked fat, not from the stomach), and no household is happy to be without fat.

Apart from eating, fat is used every day by people on their bodies. Women mix it with aromatic herbs and ochre and anoint their hair, face, torso and limbs, as well as their skin clothing. The resulting red sheen on their skin is equated with a sleek, red cow. In contrast, men use fat mixed with a particular aromatic herb which has been burnt black, on their neck and upper body. Men will also be required to smear fat on their hands before handling a baby at a naming ceremony to avoid having 'dead' hands.

As outlined earlier, fat plays a role in marriages: Caps cut from the fat-streaked stomach lining of a beast is worn by the bride and her age-mates the day before she leaves her home (see Fig.4.1); when the new wife is accepted into her new patriclan she is required to scrape off her old ochre-fat covering and anoint herself with new fat from her new patrilineage's sacred herd. Fat is used in childbirth by mid-wives and is regarded as having healing properties in general: Fat is rubbed onto children and a sore stomach or sprained ankle will be rubbed with fat.

People said that a wealthy household could boast five or six containers of fat. Fat represented cattle wealth; fat was wealth. When the family moved, the woman who 'owned' the fat would carry the containers herself. Fat was not used communally: only close kin would share it. Kwazerendu, a widow who ran out of fat, showed me her dry, badly cracked feet and lower limbs, saying her legs were 'dead' without fat. A few hundred metres from her house, two or three containers of fat stood inside the houses of matriarch-sisters Maipangwe and Karinaitjino, who lived with the relatively wealthy Lineage 6.

Practically, because of the extremes of temperature, fat is a useful, even essential, skin lubricant and protectant. It also keeps people warm, as the British Channel swimmers of the past knew well. Women said when it was mixed with ochre and herbs, it also helped to keep them cool by acting

as a barrier from the sun. Because of the scarcity of cattle - and milk fat - women took to trying to acquire it commercially. As seen in the trade lists in the previous chapter, on a number of occasions women managed to buy large plastic containers or tins of cooking lard from shops in a town.

Women also derived power from previous social organization, such as women's age-sets, as discussed. They were, and still are, also needed to make many of the age-stage and transitional material markers which are key to social ordering. Their special social knowledge and skills in this regard are recognized.

Ostrich egg-shell beads

An example not previously discussed in any detail are ostrich egg-shell beads. Such beads are associated with a powerful local construction of the past. They are thus needed for 'protection' during social transitions, such as circumcision and puberty ceremonies when a single strand will be worn around the waist. A woman who suffers a miscarriage will wear a similar belt, almost as though she is recreating her transition from girl to woman. A woman who gives birth to twins will wear an ostrich egg-shell necklace for the rest of her life, as will both twins. Today such a necklace is a mix of shell beads and wire beads, called an *omutombe*. The woman may also make her husband, the twin's father, a similar necklace. During mourning periods people may wear a long ostrich egg-shell bead necklace. In the past, people said, girl children wore a back-skirt made of ostrich egg-shell beads and all women wore such beads sewn together, as under-aprons, a garment worn under an outer animal skin skirt.

Only women make ostrich egg-shell beads. Men may find the eggs and bring them home. In the past, the eggs were regarded as a special food and were eaten at the sacred fire. People said that the specially prized very small beads, the *okupirika*, were nowadays bought in Opuwo. Only the very old mothers could still remember making these. Some people said such beads were previously bought from the Tjimba.

In building my case for women's power, I am not suggesting following Ardener (1975), that men and women have separate models of society. What I am trying to convey is the complexity of the single model they share: It is not possible for a man or woman to step outside it onto neutral ground, but, as Moore has stated, their view and experience of the model differs according to where they are positioned within it (1986). The researcher also stands inside a particular social model and must evaluate others in terms of it, however reflexive or critically self-aware, she may be.

The particular historical socio-economic circumstances need to be considered here: My strong impression of a mild, almost token notion of overall male superiority, underlain by a sense of egalitarianism (as opposed to equality) between the genders, may be related to the cattle poverty of the lineages in the 80s. The sharp edge of a dominant male model may have been blunted by this economic collapse. If this is, in fact, the case, that sharp edge was well sheathed by ideology (and, cattle-wealth?) because women insist that male control had only become "heavy" in the 1980s. I believe it is no coincidence that this perceived 'heaviness' coincides with the opening up of wage labour opportunities for young men in Kaoko and the penetration of *cash* into local socio-economies.

Another point to be made is that this long-term study focused intimately on one small group of people in the remote west, away from the main Himba area further north-east. I also spent about 70% of my time with women, and was deeply influenced by their perspectives. While sufficient work has been done to show that the same cultural order and socio-economy broadly pertains among other Himba communities, the Purros group is unlikely to be exactly the same as others.

This combination of male and female power, naturalized and recreated by an ideology that drew on the ancestors, produced a powerfully holistic conceptual scheme through which western Kaoko people organized and perceived their world. Its power and holism can be seen in its apparent persistence even after the virtual collapse of the Kaoko economy in the drought just over a decade ago.

Before moving on to economic and spatial changes which are contributing to the erosion of this conceptual scheme, it will be useful to pull together all its strands, in terms of metaphors and meanings.

8.3 TURNING A DRY WORLD GREEN

It should already be apparent that just as ancestors - and by association senior men - are central to the Himba world view, so are women. To do justice to the Himba conceptual-spatial domain, I need to move, once more, beyond built space into the arid, starkly beautiful territory in which the people live. Apart from its connection with ancestors via graves and other remembered places (see Chapter 3), the terrain as a whole provides a metaphorical structure/model, which I have suggested, is incorporated into the people's model of their world.

Stark, rugged, harsh, dramatic are words that come to mind in trying to describe the area with its vast sweeps of gravel, sand plains and mountains, the former occasionally threaded by a narrow, ribbon-like dry-river bed in which trees and bushes grow green. If one does not know where to find water, the region appears unremittingly dry and waterless. Yet water is there - in small, secretive springs in the hills or mountains, in a few large linear oases in dry seasonal rivers. In the hills, in a dry track of a stream, water may be accessible some metres underground, remembered by an elder who decades ago followed elephant to the place in a particularly dry season. With temperatures that range between 42 degrees C at midday in summer to below freezing on a cloudless winter night, Kaoko is "not a place for children to farm in", to quote Rutako, a skilled herder.

It is the special environmental and social knowledge of the people - knowledge which elders pass on to younger generations - which enables them to turn around the harshness and make a living as herders. A particularly dramatic and vivid feature inherent in this arid order is the annual possibility of rain, of transformation from dry and barren to wet, green and fertile.

After good rains plains disappear under thigh-high green grass; hill-sides are transformed from brown, rocky slopes into lush, green swellings. For a few hours or days, dry rivers become powerful, red-brown torrents, capable, as if in long suppressed energy, of re-sculpting the landscape. Big trees

are swept away, terraces of bush disappear, river beds change course as rain in the large catchments of the main seasonal rivers converges to rush urgently towards the Atlantic Ocean.

People are explicitly aware of the different ways life is experienced in the dry season and after the wet season: Rain means the difference between hunger and a full stomach; good rains mean the difference between a living and luxury - five or six containers of fat in the homestead, and as people say, enough milk for the dogs to drink. The months after good rains are socially rich as well as it is at this time that marriages and other enjoyable social occasions take place.

The term *tanauka* has been discussed in previous chapters. Meaning to turn round or turn over, it is a central concept - applied to social life as well as (and perhaps derived from) the physical world with its annual potential to be transformed by rain. It can relate to the land turning round - turning green - after rain and has many usages in daily life. An ailing person who recovers his/her health is said to have turned around; a person who changes his/her mind, a bride who changes patrilians, a woman who changes from Himba to Herero dress, all these and many others are examples of turning around.

The term is also used for more mystical cases of 'turning around'. If one wanted to free a sheep or goat of a taboo (*omaha*), a white stone could be put in its mouth to 'turn it around'. In the more serious event of people wanting to slaughter such an animal in the absence of its owner, the animal would need to be physically turned in a somersault. The custom of reversing space and material goods in times of mourning has already been discussed: this too is called turning round or turning over - *tanuaku*; *onganda ya tanauku*.

Metaphorical meanings invested in certain aspects of the physical and conceptual domain underlay these practices. I have suggested wet:dry (*farazu:kaha*) as a key cognitive opposition. Metonyms and overlapping 'universes of meaning' for wet are green, young, alive, healthy, plentiful, fertile (female), rich and a range of other positive notions about the world. In contrast dry evokes negative notions such as barren, scarce, thin, ill, weak, old, dead.

There is no automatic correlation or definitive point of resolution between living:ancestors, as key organizational contrasts, and women:men and wet:dry as other significant oppositions, although at times they do reflexively intercept and coincide. Similarly the points of contrast cannot be regarded as fixed or in permanent opposition; contradictions exist and cannot be resolved. This needs to be held in mind to avoid a structuralist orientation. An important point is that women, as well as senior men, are needed to play their role in turning around the dangers that are associated with both the non-living, spirit world and the (dry) physical world. A range of ceremonies involving stock, ash, water and fat have been described to this end.

8.4. SEEKING MORE SPACE AND TIME

Previous chapters discussed the various social, economic and political changes taking place in the region: the virtual collapse of the cattle economy and its slow recuperation, social disruptions caused

by the drought and the war; the quickening thrust into Kaoko of the cash economy and mass produced material goods, schooling, tourism, wage labour, rural 'development', conservation and centralized politics and administration. These were examined not merely as outside forces for change, and people were perceived as active creative beings rather than as passive recipients of these powerful external processes. In this section I focus on actual changes being made to domestic space, repeatedly in different homesteads of the semi-nomadic lineages. My interpretations of these changes plus a discussion on general implications of changing space and the changing socio-economy follows.

My concern here is the interior of the *ondjuwo* and the well established spatial association between the central pole, with its ancestor-related symbolism of the authority of the male head of the household, the adjacent interior hearth, and the gendered division of space on either side of these two features. It has also been suggested that the tunnel entrance, which was formerly common in Himba houses, was part of this 'mini-*omuvanda*' complex. That women locate themselves and their possessions on the left of the house, with husbands' goods on the right is not in dispute, as was shown in the previous chapter.

The central poles and interior hearths are somewhat more complicated: A number of pre-drought homesteads were recorded in which the central pole-hearth association was still visible. This applied to all the houses where married women, young and old, were in residence. Post-drought, most Himba elders in the study group consistently continued to use this 'conventional' association of central pole and hearth in their houses. Among younger women - those in the age-sets below those of the elders and married to men in the same position - the pattern was different. Elder women's age-sets are: *otjongo*, *otjohuhwa* and *otjovahona*. Elder male age-sets are: *omukande*, *onyovera*, *ondjima*.

In regard to age-sets it should be recalled that both men and women's age-sets have been dislocated by the social and economic upheavals in the previous decade. Mid-age men, in particular, feel trapped in an age-set hierarchy which makes demands on them, with little potential of future rewards, ie they are unlikely to ever achieve the status of *respected* elders because the age-sets below them are opting out of the old social order.

The men of the *omuzinye* and *ombandje* age-set, for example, pay respect and are obedient to their senior age-sets, but the age-sets below them - *ongandu*, *ombume* and *otjindere* - do not treat them similarly, and the *omuzinye* and *ombanje* men thus know they face a future where being an elder does not automatically bring respect. The middle group, of course, are the men who have no schooling and who have not entered formal wage employment; the younger age-sets generally comprise men who have worked in jobs or who have had some schooling, or who aspire to wage-labour. (It should be kept in mind here that the elders and the mid-age group - men and women - returned to their semi-nomadic herding way of life after their devastating cattle losses, and in the decade which followed, herds are being rebuilt.)

Women's group dancing has been presented as one of the ways women are seeking to recreate women's solidarity and strength. The following data is employed to suggest another female response to changing socio-economic circumstances. As Himba women build the houses they are in a powerful position to manipulate the spatial theme to reflect their concerns.

Details of different house interiors, recorded over five years, for the seven lineages are discussed below. The Herero lineages will be assessed after the Himba:

Lineage 3:

A total of 22 homesteads for this lineage were recorded, plus five additional, more northern homesteads in which a daughter who married during the study lived. Central poles and/or interior hearths were present in most houses in these 27 homesteads. In each case where a central pole was in place, the house was built and occupied by the matriarch Katherwe, and her lineage head husband. One of the houses she built for her elderly mother, Kovikwa, also contained a central pole.

Of the interior hearths in this lineage's houses, a few were centrally placed but most were moved forward towards the entrance. Elder Katherwe's fires were central in all her houses, except twice; her daughters preferred their hearths close to the entrance.

On one occasion at Okongombesemba, Katherwe's unusually large circular house contained no pole, and her hearth was close to the door; the other case involved a shelter she built under a tree, knowing that she would not be spending more than a few days at this location. The shelter had no pole and the hearth was close to the wide entrance of the structure. Katherwe said that at Okongombesemba her daughter Vengape had helped her to rebuild an existing smaller house, and this accounted for its size and lack of central pole.

The other pole-less houses were built and lived in by the two adult daughters, Vengape and Kata. The former was married, with four children. She and her husband, contrary to patrilocal convention, were living with her parents. Kata, her older sister, was divorced and childless. She married in the late 1980s, and moved north to her father-in-law's lineage. Her married space is included in this data set. As stated, neither woman used a central pole, although they agreed with their mother that a pole-less *ondjuwo* was "a new manner" of building. Almost always their interior hearths were located in the entrance, rather than in the centre of their houses.

Their reasons for dropping the pole and moving the hearth were because they "needed more space", the women said.

Lineage 4:

As usual, this small lineage presents a special picture. Out of 27 recorded homesteads or camps, only five have central poles. I suggest this relates not to the age of the occupants but to the fact that the built space of Lineage 4 is unconventional and indicates that its builders do not fully share local ideology or its cultural representation in built space.

The two women in this lineage grew up as Tjimba hunter-gatherers and both have married into a Himba lineage. The homes of the elder sister, Kavetjikoterwe, are the main topic of discussion here as the younger sister was present only some of the time.

As shown in Chapter 5, Lineage 4 lived in rock shelters, in chambers carved out of a *Boscia foetida* bush, in rough 'tree' camps, in 'teepee'-shaped, rock encircled shelters on rocky slopes (see Fig.3.5; 5.16 - 5.23), as well as in five more ordinary Himba-type homesteads. Unlike other women in her age group, Kavetjikoterwe included a central pole in the house she shared with her husband in these five *ozonganda*, but even these were sometimes unusual.

On one occasion the central pole was broken (which should never happen as it suggests the death of her husband); in another house her interior hearth was *behind* the pole, instead of in front of it. On some occasions she reversed the conventional division of space inside her houses.

These deviations from the norm were noticed by the other women in the community, and were the subject of some derision. Kavetjikoterwe had been adopted into Himba society, including a matriline, and of course, her husband's patriline, and she wore Himba garb but she was far from being accepted by other women, even though she was liked as a person. She was perceived to lack the special social knowledge that other women shared.

Kavetjikoterwe's interior hearths also do not follow the pattern of her age-group, ie mid-age, below elders. She was not a member of any age-set but her husband was a *omuzinye* member, one of the age-sets that are caught in the middle of a disintegrating age-set hierarchy. Her fires were centrally placed more often than set forward.

Lineage 5:

In the eight homesteads or camps recorded for this lineage, only matriarch Kwazerendu ever installed a central pole, with a central interior hearth - in both the conventional circular houses she occupied. A widow, she lived without a man, but said that as the mother of the lineage head, she should include the pole in her house. Kwazerendu, a member of the *otjovahona* age-set, was an elder in the social ordering. Her son's homes, built by his wife, a Himba woman who 'turned round' and adopted Herero dress, contained no poles or central interior hearths. For much of the study period this wife was away.

Lineage 6:

As already seen, Lineage 6, cattle rich by all but Lineage 1's standards, had a number of older women in residence. They included Lineage head Heova's elderly widowed mother, her sister, Heova's two wives and two sisters, one widowed, the other divorced. Heova, of the *ondjima* age-set, and all these women relatives fall within the elder category.

Of the 17 homesteads recorded (three of them pre-drought), central poles in houses was the norm. This was so even though four of the six senior women in this lineage were either widowed or divorced.

The old mother and her sister and Heova's senior wife placed their interior hearths centrally, with some variation among the others - either central or closer to the entrance of the house. When

asked why this was so, Heova's sisters pointed out they often shared their houses with their daughters and it was from them that these new fashions were being brought in.

Lineage 7:

Eight homesteads were noted for this lineage. As a satellite lineage to Lineage 6, there was no sacred fire and in none of the houses were central poles or central interior hearths in place. Lineage head Kayuru and his wife Wazepozana were both in the group of age-sets immediately below the elders.

Lineage 1

Women in this Herero lineage do not build the square houses with thatched or tin roofs in their homesteads; men do. Some of wage-earners in this lineage dispensed with dung-plastered branches as house walls, and trucked in sheets of corrugated iron. Out of 21 houses, no central poles were recorded. In one house, the lineage head and his wife used a small interior hearth, situated to the left of the door, but this was unusual. As already recorded, the Herero people said interior fires were not used because the smoke 'spoils' clothing. They also said that central poles had been dropped when people changed to square houses. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the sacred fire was present in all camps where the lineage head lived.

Lineages 2 and 5:

Also ostensibly Herero, Lineage 2 and the mixed Himba-Herero Lineage 5 sometimes lived in square houses and at other times in circular houses. Lineage 2 head Omukuyu was elderly, and his wife Tukupoli took responsibility for house-building when she could not get help (from men in Lineage 1 into whose lineage her daughter Kaonaove had married).

In a pre-drought homestead, none of five circular houses had central poles, although exterior cooking hearths were to the left of houses where women had lived. Post-drought homesteads displayed no central poles and only once was a hearth used inside, placed to the right of the entrance.

Again, as with Lineage 1, sacred fires were present in all camps where the lineage heads lived. The widowed mother of Lineage head 5 built a central pole into one of her houses during the study period.

Entrance types:

It can be shown that tunnel entrances, the norm for Himba housing in past decades, are being replaced by flush entrances which are usually higher and larger. Although the tunnel entrances had a very practical purpose, in keeping out predators, there is evidence that in the past, these were part of the central pole-interior hearth complex.

Elder men and women were disapproving of such changes being made to domestic architecture, even though they agreed it was much easier to enter a house through the larger, modern entrances. On a number of occasions, elder men said that the new type of entrances were almost the same as "breaking the door", as if the male occupant of the house was dead. It will be recalled that when a man dies, the central pole in his house is broken and the entrance to his house should also be broken open. Thus dropping the conventional tunnel entrance to a house can be interpreted, from the elders' point of view, as demonstrating a lack of respect for both ancestors and male authority. From women's point of view - as house-builders - the tunnels were omitted because they took "too much time" to build.

Herero houses had a door-sized opening. In some of the houses, working men built in doors which could close and lock.

8.5. DISCOURSES OF RESISTANCE vs CONTRA-DISCOURSES

In this section these alterations to conventional domestic architecture will be interpreted in terms of 'traditional' authoritative readings of the spatial text and linked to a build-up of alternative interpretations. I suggest the cumulative weight of alternative readings and the re-ordering of the spatial text as described above, are contributing to the inevitable future over-turning of the still existent social order. This has been made possible by changing socio-economic circumstances. Although apparently remaining 'traditional' in their ochre and calf-skins, women, as well as young men, can be seen as active agents in negotiating change.

To return to the material culture and space people build and use, these do not reflect or express ideology or values; they are actively implicated in producing and re-negotiating them. Similarly, changes in built space do not simply express changing socio-economic relations or changed values: "The idea that changes in the organization of space can be directly related to the breakdown of the value system and its replacement by another has little explanatory power. Space considered as a text does not take as its object real social and economic conditions but rather certain ideological representations of the real" (Moore 1986:51).

Changes in Himba space are contributing to the breakdown of a value system; they do not reflect modernity, changed socio-economic relations and/or changed values. The altered spatial text is a strategy by women which *resists* and protests these changing relations and values; thus it cannot directly express them.

The changing space of Himba women is a discourse of resistance to perceived socio-economic strictures but, I suggest, it is not likely to become a successful contra-discourse because, in its present form, it offers no solutions based on the emerging socio-economic circumstances of modern Kaoko. (Here, in terms of a critically, self-aware orientation, it is necessary to note that my perspective includes an ambiguous conception of a rapacious market economy where eurocentric schooling, jobs and cash are perceived as the *only* and inevitable routes to so-called progress in developing Africa. In

terms of scale, a local discourse such as that of the Himba women, as powerful as it may be locally, surely cannot stand against the broader socio-economic and political discourse of post-colonial reconstruction and nation-building).

As Ricoeur (1982) suggests, discourses are by someone (Himba women), about something (resistance to changing socio-economic relations) for someone - Himba men and the ancestors. But, as has been shown, in addressing their men, the women are addressing a group who are *themselves* confronting changing socio-economic relations in which their power is being challenged. Women are unlikely to be successful in their attempt to re-organize "patterns of respect" (Nedelsky 1990:175) by re-organizing domestic space because in (and beyond) the world opened up in front of their discourse, as represented in the amended spatial text, there are no solutions to be found (Ricoeur 1982).

Himba women in the Purros community can be seen to be re-arranging and discarding aspects of the dominant symbolic discourse, but they are not replacing it with a new symbolism, as are young men. Himba women retain the central position of the interior hearth, even though they may shift it forward, and their cooking fires are outside, to the left, unlike those of young Herero women who place their fires more randomly.

Four instances of interior hearths being placed on the left of a shelter were recorded outside the study area (Fig.8.1). These were four young Himba women, living on the outskirts of Opuwo, while it was still an army base. They said they were there visiting their husbands who were in the army and that they could put their fires anywhere because they got "no help" from the family of their husbands.

This is a most interesting case about which one may only speculate as four hearths is too small a sample to generalize upon: The women may be strategically emphasizing their claims for support to the patriclan by locating the interior hearth on the left/patriclan side of the house. Alternatively, and this is more likely, by abandoning a central location of the interior hearth, mediating between left and right, they may be rejecting male (patriclan) authority, because no support is forthcoming for themselves and their children.

To return to the women of Purros: I have suggested theirs is a discourse of resistance, not a counter-discourse. On the other hand, the young men, with their corrugated iron houses with doors that lock, with their money, their vehicles and radios, are indeed mounting a contra-discourse. It is one which has great potential to succeed in overthrowing the discourse of their fathers because it offers new symbolism and solutions that are based on a bigger, outside socio-economy of a developing political state in modern, Africa.

Although older Herero people in the Purros area mostly lived in square houses without a central pole, they maintained their sacred fires and broadly shared the conceptual schemes of their Himba neighbours - and of course, the same socio-economic circumstances. A homestead (see Fig.5.8) used by Lineage 2 just before the height of the drought - in the late 1970s - illustrates how little difference there was between this lineage's use of space and Himba space.

However, their children, as the first generation of wage-workers and school-pupils, with Himba children now following suit, have had contact and access to the socio-economic opportunities - and the symbolism - of the 'outside' world.

Some of the young women whom the sons and brothers of Lineage 1 have married originate from larger centres than Purros, such as Sesfontein. It is these women who see their men as economic providers - of big dresses, of houses and of household goods - in contrast to Himba women's vision of a joint enterprise. In common with other Herero women in other rural centres, these women complain about their men's neglect of them and dread the possibility that their husband may take a second wife. None of these conflicts are apparent in the younger generation's neat, cleanly swept Herero homes at Purros. Such glimpses of other discourses taking place in north western Namibia must await further research.

It is not possible for these younger Purros generations to do what, for example, the 17th century Cape free-burgers did in their discourse against control by the Dutch East India Company (Brink 1992). The free-burgers disrupted the old (VOC) order, not by declaring it null and void but by a shift in relations within the existing hierarchy - reconstructing themselves as a new kind of high status person (Ibid:108).

Unlike the VOC, Kaoko's current discourse - and its metaphorical model - cannot contain the radical interrogation of the young, the contradictions and conflicts which have been made possible *and powerful* by the new socio-economic and political situation in modern Namibia.

The key point is that increasingly, the discourse by the younger generation of Purros is not *for* their parents or the ancestors - they are addressing the bigger, modern world which is driven by a market economy and politics. The young cannot re-order the Kaoko world, they must over-turn it.

8.6 CLEANLINESS IS NEXT TO GODLINESS

New experiences of school, wage labour and the market economy with its shiny, new material goods are producing new notions about the world. The old world could be wet or dry; the new world can also be clean or dirty.

Clean:dirty (*kohoke:ondova*) is a new way of thinking about or organizing the world. The Himba are people who spend a lot of time on personal grooming and their appearance. This applies to men as well as women. Women often went into their house to apply fresh ochre, aromatic herbs and butter-fat before they would allow a photograph to be taken. This was not to sustain their image as tourist attractions; they felt incomplete and not fully dressed if they were 'dry' and un-ochred.

he terms 'dandy' or 'fop' often came to my mind when I saw a man kitted up for a social occasion. I knew how many hours of finicky work went into making, or assisting a man to make, some of the items of decoration which he wore. Just as a woman needed her ochre and fat to complete her appearance, a man needed burnt herb-blackened butter fat on his upper body to complete his grooming.

This is changing among young male wage-earners and school children: Ochre, aromatic herbs and fat are being replaced by clothes, preferably new and clean. As the trade data in Chapter 7 shows, there is a demand for washing power and soap, (bought for men by their women). Many young people

no longer need or want fat to smear on their bodies - or women relatives to produce it - and they avoid contact with fat because it marks clothing. Instead of making things wet, fat now makes things dirty. Although in practice, many people still use aromatic herbs, collected and prepared by women, mass-produced perfumes and deodorants have become highly prized.

On one level, cosmetics and washing powder may appear to be trivial or frivolous concerns. But as the world-wide advertising industry, grown rich on advertising such products, knows well, people's body images are fundamental in our conceptual domains. Just as wet:dry is a powerful opposition in their parents' world, I suggest clean:dirty, with a range of metonymic meanings, is important in the contra-discourse of the young.

"Ask my son why he says his father is dirty." A Purros father about his teenage son, just home from boarding school.

"The children come back from school and they say we are dirty and ignorant. They don't want to eat with their parents." Purros mother.

"The young people want clean things, like the paper in your book. We don't know these things. Our children are lost to us." Purros father.

In talking to young people about their notions about the world, I repeatedly recorded words like clean, new, rich. Attitudes to and indices of change were discussed in the previous chapter, with new clothing featuring high for young men and school children of both sexes. Young people also admit that they doubt the ancestor's power and prefer to talk about Christ and Christianity, as taught at school. Clean, new, modern, progressive, educated, well-fed, wealthy, smart, all these stand in opposition to dirty, ignorant, old, poor, uneducated. It is a short step to include the old ways, the old parents, the ancestors, in this latter group.

8.7 MATERIAL CULTURE, THE INDIVIDUAL AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Material culture, in the present as well as in the past, is the subject-matter of modern archaeology. As Davison points out, it is now widely accepted that a theoretical understanding of material culture in the present is relevant to an archaeological understanding of material residues from the past. Both involve making inferences regarding the varied contextual meaning of artifacts, and contemporary material culture studies can contribute to archaeological theory and knowledge by elucidating the relationships between the material, tangible dimensions of culture and the intangible, social dimensions thereof (1991).

To return to the potter's thumb-print on a Kasteelberg pot-shard and to Hodder's quote that material culture is made by someone: "It is produced to do something ... it does not passively reflect society - rather, it creates society through the actions of *individuals*" (1987:6, my emphasis).

It is the illusive individual, or group of individuals, who is problematic in contemporary archaeology, even though we have moved a long way since, for example, Flannery (1968) side-stepped the individual Indian who made the artifact and sought instead the system which apparently compelled his actions (See Hodder's discussion on the active individual 1987:6-17).

The active, socially strategic individual may be visible in material cultural studies in the present, but he/she - *and* the interest group he/she represents - usually disappear as active social actor/s in studies of past material cultural residues where no ethnographic or historical data exists. (It is necessary to keep in mind, of course, that studies of contemporary people and material culture are no less professional artifacts, based on interpretation and inference, than studies of the past.)

In their discussion on historical archaeology in the Western Cape, Hall and Markell (1993) address the problem of the invisibility of indigenous South Africans. They point out that Carmel Schrire's work at Oudepost, as well as other projects, has sought evidence of new ways of life from the perspective of indigenous communities (Schrire and Deacon 1989; Cruz-Uribe and Schrire 1991; Schrire and Meltzer 1992; Schrire and Cruz-Uribe 1993).

While acknowledging that further archaeological research into "colonial impact" is obviously required to develop its full dimensionality, Hall and Markell see the "texture" of such impact as illusive and conclude that this may be a function of the nature of archaeological evidence: "Material culture understood in conjunction with documentary evidence has a different quality than artifactual assemblages standing alone" (1993:4).

They go on to contrast how Schrire was able to evoke the spirit of an individual Dutch East India Company soldier in mementos such as an ostrich egg engraved with an eastern scene (Schrire 1988) whereas the KhoiKhoi visitors to the outpost - "as much individuals as Company soldiers" - are invisible as social actors. They "have to be evoked through statistical profiles of formal tools, debitage and minimum Number of Individual counts for faunal assemblages" (Hall and Markell 1993:4).

If, as Hall and Markell (*Ibid*) suggest, that the problem is methodological - an unequal distribution of information - then we may well have to accept an archaeology that is limited by the level of sophistication of its methods; an archaeology that is no more than the sum of its techniques. The individual from the past must remain invisible because, for example, "early colonial settlers more often than not broke the threads that could have connected us with the indigenous communities of southern Africa. Both displacement and incorporation severed the continuity of oral traditions, while derogatory and innacurate collective descriptions (see Smith 1993) compromised the value of contemporary ethnographic descriptions." (Hall and Markell 1993:4)

While in no ways disagreeing with Hall and Markell that a major part of the problem *is* methodological, I suggest that it is archaeological theory which is the fundamental handicap to an archaeology in which non-Western men and women, and *their* concerns, are visible as active individuals.

Alternative logics

Early in this narrative about Himba and Herero herders, I referred to other ways of knowing and seeing. There is nothing mystical or esoteric about Kata's concept of privacy or Venemeho's method of counting goats; they simply comprise aspects of logic based on knowledge systems that are alternative to those of the West. Almost any anthropologist who has worked with non-Western people undoubtedly has similar incidents to recount.

As modern, critically self-aware archaeologists we acknowledge that we need to make explicit our western assumptions and ideology in our inferences about other societies. Yet many of us have little formal background in studying and understanding the various 'other ways of knowing' in different contemporary societies. It is possible, for example, for an archaeology student at southern African institutions, the University of Cape Town included, to graduate without having taken a single anthropology course.

This is partly historical, in that at both major English-speaking universities in South Africa, the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town, archaeology and ethnology were split off from social anthropology and theoretical sociological concerns in general more than 50 years ago (See Davison's review of material cultural studies in South Africa 1991; Hammond-Tooke 1987; Schapera 1937). It also has to do with liberal anthropology's own discomfort with contemporary *cultural* studies of non-industrial societies in the South Africa of the Nationalist Government.

As discussed in Chapter 1, in relation to material culture studies, there were good grounds for anthropology to be wary of co-option to support political ends. Davison illustrates the discipline's sensitivities at the time in West's inaugural address as professor of social anthropology at UCT: "... an emphasis on culture - whether intended or not - can and does lead in this country to certain political inferences being drawn by others ... In a society where so much weight is given to apparent differences, we dare not underplay the similarities" (West 1979:10-11).

Davison points out that in most cases where an aversion to segregationist ideologies made anthropologists shy away from the study of culture, it was often a matter of emphasis rather than exclusion. However, "... it is fair to say that, in general, social anthropologists gave priority to the analysis of social systems and tended to overlook the cultural context in which these systems operated (1991:21).

New ways of negotiating concepts such as culture and tradition have to a certain extent revitalized cultural studies (See Thornton 1988; Spiegel and Boonzaier 1988, Davison 1991). But the earlier valid academic response to the socio-political agenda of the times, has I suggest, curtailed opportunities to learn about and understand other ways of being/knowing/seeing. There have been notable exceptions, of course, such as Megan Bieseles's work with contemporary Ju/'hoansi people in East Bushmanland in Namibia 1988, 1990, 1993.

However, the contra-apartheid anthropological discourse emphasized the similarity of all people, rather than their differences; in most of southern Africa; early fabrics of post-colonial nation-building was too fragile to incorporate anything that could be interpreted as having a 'volkekunde' taint.

Hopefully, a new more confident and robust discourse is beginning now that the colonial era is finally over and all of Africa is governed by Africans.

Archaeology, grounded as it is in the technological products of other societies, draws primarily on the technology and techniques of the Western world of which the discipline itself is a product. I suggest, following Lewis-Williams (1993), that it is this methodological grounding - this single (technical) 'universe of meaning' - in which it practices which contributes to the limitation of our theoretical explorations.

Lewis-Williams (Ibid:49) points out that "it is Western technologically centred values that place lithic sequences, exploitation strategies, adaptation to environments and so forth above complex symbolism, religious beliefs and social dynamics".

Although he tends to be somewhat rock-artcentric at times, Lewis-Williams has argued a powerful case for a wider, less exclusive archaeology: He challenges a southern African archaeology which defines itself in terms of excavation and empiricist procedures, and also suggests that chronocentrism - the accurate, chronological linearity implied by excavation sections and also enshrined in Western concepts of time - privileges colonial history at the expense of pre-colonial history. "Moreover, as this privileging implies, chronocentrism is a divisive, value-laden factor that cripples any alternative way of seeing southern Africa's past" (Ibid:49).

One of the routes to any "alternative way of seeing southern Africa's past", is, I suggest, to try to understand some of the alternative ways of knowing and seeing which exist in contemporary non-Western societies. We need to examine such other ways, not as quaint, exotic anachronisms or as "archaic curiosities" (Giddens 1982:171), but as alternative forms of logic, which draw on alternative cultural resources and value systems to which our over-technological society may have no access.

An example lies in the different ways in which different societies relate to and locate themselves in their natural environment. All human societies appear to differentiate between cultural and natural, yet the dichotomy as viewed from a Western perspective - with its historical background of conquering nature with technology for economic-utilitarian purposes - is not straight-forward. There are other ways of perceiving nature, as Nash (1967) and Worster (1977) pointed out many years ago in a conservation-ecology discourse (See also Adams and MacShane 1993). A wider understanding of such insights alone could greatly enrich archaeology.

In a critique of Marxism, Giddens cautioned against Marx's (and Western capitalism's) tendency to treat nature simply as a medium of human social progress and warned that "to subordinate other modes of relating to nature to the quest for material prosperity may be to destroy ways of life from which the West could have a good deal to learn" (1982:170).

Giddens's argument - that the contemporary emphasis upon economic development is tilting the world towards ecological disaster - is of great relevance to the development policies of modern post-colonial African states, including Namibia and South Africa. Giddens makes the case that while a redistribution of productive wealth from the developed to developing nations is a matter of urgency, it is vital to re-evaluate our relationship with the natural environment; to resist the concept that the economic problems confronting the world today can be resolved merely through yet more technological

innovation. He calls for an ecological radicalism which seeks to resist a purely instrumental attitude to nature (1982:171).

My point here, as discussed in my first chapter, is that this contextual-archaeological study is a social and political intervention which "impacts on the ways in which people perceive their own and others' social positions and worth" (Lewis-Williams 1993:49). It should be recalled that this narrative is produced against the backdrop of a dominant post-colonial political discourse which seeks to "upgrade" the Himba from their bare-breasted "primitiveness" (President Nujoma and Prime Minister Geingob of Namibia as quoted in Van Niekerk 1995:11).

To clarify my stance on the question of the Himba remaining 'traditional', I would like reiterate what I wrote in 1990 about ~'the Himba culture', as it may have existed in a particular economic, social and political context in the past, *not* being confused with the Himba people of today:

"They are living people, not puppets tied to a particular form of culture ... Today the Himba people do not need to be encouraged to stay 'traditional', however quaint, simple and attractive such a lifestyle appears to jaded city dwellers. What the Himba do need is continued rights to their own land and water, the right to control their resources, and most of all, the freedom to chose their own destiny as citizens of Namibia." (Jacobsohn 1990:56).

Thus, in presenting a study which highlights other ways of knowing and which incorporates discourses from other disciplines and endeavours, for example, rural development and nature conservation, I hope to convey the insight - beyond archaeological interest - that there is a great deal of value in the Kaoko people's modes of living - and that in an ideal world, economic 'development' and social change in the region, would involve a combination of the best of indigenous knowledge and values with the best of modern African practices and beliefs.

Archaeology and the re-empowerment of social actors

While the above discussion touches on some of the theoretical concerns of archaeology, I would like to return to my long-term concern with the active material culture and the re-empowerment of social actors, past and present, in the creation of (archaeological) meaning.

Present theoretical limitations notwithstanding, it remains to address the question whether any texture or traces of the rich social world of the people of Purros would have been visible from the material remains they left behind in their living sites.

This contextual archaeological study explicitly avoided an "as if it were a site" approach, and its contribution to archaeological understanding of active material culture - its demonstration that "material goods need to be viewed simultaneously in their tangible and intangible dimensions" (Davison 1991:205) - should allow it to stand, as is.

Nevertheless, the data has generated a number of small-scale but useful insights in terms of the material residues of sites. Obviously, none of these observations can be extrapolated into the past, but they do add to archaeological knowledge and may thus may enrich the range of interpretations available to archaeologists.

For example, the settlement data adds to our knowledge of the way in which herding people may use their arid environment. I pointed out that in particularly dry times, when people were already using their permanent dry season waters, they may be forced by grazing shortages to undertake a series of mini-moves: This might simply have entailed building a new camp on a different side of, but at some distance from the spring, to enable the livestock to utilize the available forage in another direction from the water. Livestock would also only be allowed to drink every second day. This strategy would double the distance the livestock could forage from the spring, thereby increasing the total potential foraging area by up to 600% (Owen-Smith and Jacobsohn 1991).

As discussed in Chapter 3, such herding strategies - and their spatial patternings - have obvious implications for archaeology's understanding and interpretation of the material record regarding, for example, human density within a region, seasonal occupation and settlement patterns. Without offering any simplistic analogy between present and past, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that a large number of sites around waters in an arid or semi-arid zone need not indicate a large population or even a long time depth of use. It may simply represent a dynamic and complex herding strategy by a small group of herders whose social organization was geared to facilitate ecological sustainability within a fluctuating environment.

Another useful insight was the extremely non-Western choice of site location in the open, away from features such as trees, cliffs or large rocks, preferably on flat or gently sloping terrain at least 500 metres to 2 km from water. It was also remarkable to note the ephemeral nature of the herding sites and the extreme variability of their preservation. One site would be completely invisible within six years of occupation, others could still be recognized as a Himba homestead more than 30 years later.

The data also widens our knowledge of how, for example, different people use cooking and other types of hearths. From this stance it would be possible to question as ethnocentric certain assumptions Henderson (1992) makes about hearth use, eg that the sizes of ash features in Cave 1B at Klasies River Shelter suggest individual or small rather than large group hearths. "... if these can be interpreted as domestic hearths, they are an indication that food preparation was carried out on an individual or immediate family rather than group basis" (Henderson 1992:23). She then makes the inference, via the volume of ash preserved at each of the hearths, that hearth-use ranged from periods of weeks or even months. A modern experiment involving a camping hearth used by six people, excavated three years after it was abandoned, gives Henderson "some indication of the effect of post-depositional modifications, such as leaching of solubles on this type of deposit" (Ibid:24).

Implicit in her admittedly modest conclusions about human behaviour are inferences that ash was not removed from hearths by occupants of the cave, as well as assumptions about the number of people who used the hearths (individuals or immediate family groups). This is not to suggest that her inferences are incorrect but to point out that there are *other* ways to interpret her hearth data. For example, people may move ash from hearths to other locations, for a variety of reasons, and fires of different peoples may differ greatly in size.

If an archaeologist were to excavate the domestic hearths of the Himba lineages of Purros and compare them to some of my hearths in the five-year study period, the interpretation would surely be

that individuals or very small family groups had used the Himba hearths, whereas my huge cooking fires indicated large group hearths. Such inferences would be quite wrong: whole goats, shared by up to 20 people, were cooked on the small domestic hearths of the Himba (sizes ranging from 0,20 - 0,60 m) while my fires (from 0,50 - 1,20 m) reflect the wood-wasteful habits of a lone Westerner, as well as my fearfulness about predators at night.

However, to return to socially strategic individuals, and assuming good preservation of a series of living sites, would it be possible to infer any of the social strategies and values of the people, as individuals, and as groups of individuals from material residues? Could we resolve mid-age and young women as an interest group? Would even the dominant interpretation of the material order - that of elder male authority - be accessible without ethnographic back-up?

I suggest it would *not* be possible to reconstruct the Himba world view, without access to the objective conditions which govern human action in any particular social context (Moore 1982). Certainly, however, rich inferential data resides in the regular patterns of association and segregation of certain key features. These include the *omuvanda* - the association of the main house entrance in line with the sacred fire and the calf enclosure entrance. Ash piles near the calf enclosure were either to the left, or in the past, to the right.

Another consistent association are interior hearths with central poles in older houses and houses of older people, plus domestic hearths to the left of houses in which married women lived.

Mapping of domestic activity areas, during and after occupation showed that very little of the larger pieces of refuse (bones and other organic matter) remained in primary context because of the presence of dogs, goats and children (see Fig.5.26). However, small amounts of small debris - slivers of bone, stone, pieces of tin, fragments of cloth and hide, ostrich egg-shell, pieces of plant materials - was almost always in place around domestic fires.

Sacred fires, in contrast, had no such debris. No cooking was ever done on interior fires either (except by Lineage 4), so such fires similarly lacked food-related debris.

It would thus be possible to relate aspects of religious, economic and social practices, one to another, via the main *omuvanda* which includes the calf enclosure, and the smaller domestic versions of the *omuvanda* in other houses, and thereby to identify some of the structuring principles which generate social action in a Himba homestead. The location of the different hearths in relation to the central animal enclosure are connected by the same set of functional and symbolic requirements; where a lineage head communicates with his ancestors at his sacred fire and where a woman cooks food for her family do not merely reflect the activities in the homestead; these actions are governed by the same set of generative rules which also govern the layout of the homestead (Moore 1982; 1986).

It may be possible to relate the absence of central poles and the changed position of the hearth in some houses to lower cattle numbers, but this is unlikely. A more possible correlation is the absence of poles with increasing quantities of mass produced goods. But, as has been shown, it would be erroneous to see the absence of central poles as expressing modernity: the dropping of the poles and changed hearth position are a women's strategy *resisting* some of the changes of modern times.

A key point, as Moore asserts, is that it is not possible to interpret aspects of the archaeological record in isolation from each other (1982).

In terms of archaeological excavation, the ephemeral herding sites of Kaoko would need to be dug spatially, and as Parkington suggests in his call for social history rather than cultural chronology, we would need to learn to make sense of small samples (1993).

Without suggesting that northern Namibia is not rich in excavating potential, I return to Lewis-Williams' case that the discipline is being seriously limited by the persistence of essentially conservative and exclusive views of what archaeology is and does; that we need to rid the discipline of the value-laden notion of an established mainstream component which is excavation (1993). Mazel's point that ultimately, the study of archaeological residue is part of the means, not the end; the end should be construction of social history (1992:123), is of relevance here.

Ultimately good archaeology depends on its theory, on the questions we ask of our data, not just on data distribution or techniques available to us. This small-scale, intimate social narrative linking cultural form and social practice in north-western Namibia - a contextual archaeological study - can claim no theoretical or methodological breakthrough. It does, however, suggest a number of questions to ask of the material cultural record in search of a more reflexive, dialogic and socially relevant southern African archaeology.

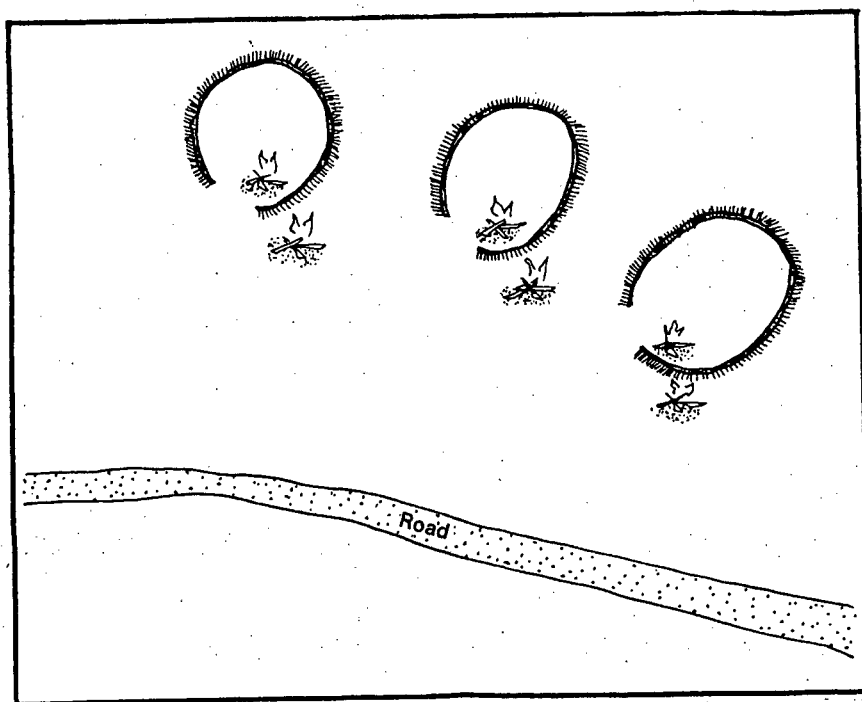


Figure 8.1. Diagrammatic sketch of three Opowo shelters with interior hearths on the left. These houses were occupied by young women whose men were working for the South African Defence Force.

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APPENDIX

SELECTED HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES

LINEAGE 1:

Occupant: Outumisa, wife of employed man

Location: Purros, gardens; Date: March 1988

On floor (left): small suitcase; wooden box on which stands: commercial deodorant; woman's belt, white beads, string, spoon, 2 flat woven baskets, tin bowl, three mugs, black school shoes; a wooden plank on two stones; tin of black plastic beads, tin of red wooden beads; skirt smoker with mass produced necklaces draped over it.

Hanging (left): bottle, containing sand; women's shoes; 7 petticoats/skirts, 2 petticoats; cloth holder for shoes; cattle-horn container with butterfat; 2 lambskin bags.

On floor (right): black plastic; skin bedding; broken kettle; lower grind stone for aromatic herbs.

Hanging (right): 1 'big' dress; 3 blankets.

LINEAGE 1:

Occupant: Komiho, wife of employed man

Location: Purros, gardens; Date: March 1988

On floor (left): cardboard box containing women's goods; bucket; woven basket; men's shoes; tin trunk; wooden plank on which stands cardboard box; rifle; stone; table; bed, broom.

Hanging (left): bucket; towel, cloth; shorts; material, 2 leather thongs; plastic bag, sack.

Hanging (right): men's clothing; batteries; metal hammer.

LINEAGE 1:

Occupant: Mateus and Konoria (Lineage head and matriarch/wife)

Location: Purros, west bank; Date: August 1989

On floor (left): 2 tins; gourd; pipe; box; plastic box; torch on stone.

On floor (right): bed; chair

Hanging (left): man's jacket; rag.

Hanging (right): ropes on which men and women's clothing is draped; large metal milk pail.

Courtyard (left): tin; woman's shoes, folded chair; man's belt, tin, metal bed-base on which stands tin and pot lid; under bed are 2 women's cloths for carrying goods on head; gourd; 3-legged pot; ochre stone; rag; stick for carrying tin; metal dish with handles; goatskin; 2 tins; woman's shoes (broken); rags; 2 cloth bags containing women's personal goods.

(Right): man's shoes; black plastic containing cow dung; stick; tin; 2 sitting stones.

Outside courtyard (right): empty box of matches; pole; sitting stone; plastic lid; metal sheet (for hearth); rags; 2 car batteries.

LINEAGE 2

Occupant: Omukuyu and Tukupoli (Lineage head and matriarch/wife)

Location: Purros, gardens; Date: March 1988

On floor (left): gourd; 2 stones; coffee box; cloth; stick; rag; cloth pillow; skirt-smoker.

Hanging (left): lambskin bag; 4 woven milk baskets; 2 flat woven baskets; cloth; canvas bag; horn container; cloth bag of beads; paper bag with soap; cloth; rags; lambskin bag; women's clothing draped over pole in corner.

On floor (right): sleeping area: wooden neck pillow leather strap; skin bedding; piece of wood.

Hanging (right): woven gourd; blanket; 2 men's coats; plastic bags containing 2 tins; horn cosmetic container; shoe; pot; man's erapi; 2 metal spoons; cloth; goatskin; stirrups; 2 hessian sacks containing personal and household goods.

On floor (left): blanket; 6 gourds; tin of mealie meal; blanket; baby clothing; shoes; plastic funnel.

On floor (right): plastic sheeting; bundle of wood; paper packet; tin plate; shoe polish.

Hanging (left): plastic bag; plastic milk pail; orange plastic toy till; sack of mealie meal; baby clothes; sack; cloth ties.

Hanging (right): 2 blankets; 2 skins.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Katherwa and Venomeho

Location: Purros gardens; Date: July 1986

On floor (left): 3 tins; rag; upper and lower ochred stone; basin.

On floor (right): 4 stones; 6 tins; wire coat hanger; 2 gourds; rifle; funnel; milk tin; kierie/stick; meat basket.

Front of entrance (left): hearth; sitting stone; cloth.

Front of entrance (right): bark; bone; quart; lower grindstone; 3 stones.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Vengape

Location: Purros; Date: July 1986

On floor (left): skirt smoker with necklace; water tin; box; rag; pot; funnel; 2 gourds; rifle; skin skirt.

On floor (back left): 4 gourds.

On floor (back right): bedding; skins.

On floor (centre): ochred lower grindstone.

On floor (front right): 2 tins; shoe.

In front of house (left doorway): shoe.

In front of house (right doorway): 200 litre petrol drum; 3-legged pot; tin.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Vengape and children

Location: Okozombo; Date: July 1986

On floor (left): cup; tin; knife.

On floor (right): bedding.

Hanging (left): wooden milk pail; tin.

Entrance: hearth

Exterior (left): wooden plate; two stones; hearth; tin; 3 gourds; tin; rag; bark; bucket; stone; skin.

Exterior (right): tyre strip; shoe; panga; 3 gourds; tin; stone; tin bucket.

Exterior (back): bark; netting; shoe; 2 cloths

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Vengape and Kovikwa

Location: Purros; Date: January 1987

Exterior (left): old shoe; tin; 200 litre drum; steel trap; 2 homemade knives; old tin; goatskin bag; cool drink tin; top of plastic bottle = milk pourer; old skins; tin trunk; skin smoker; 3-legged pot; tin dish; piece of cowhide; old goatskin and stone; piece netting; old mealie cob; tin; petrol tin; plastic bottle; Coke tin.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Vengape and Rutaka and family

Location: Otjiviyo; Date: May 1987

On floor (left): 2 traditional funnels; green plastic funnel; plastic container of fat; plastic and leather cosmetic containers; ondengura (beads/leather); Cloth bag containing private cosmetics, pills and money; child's apron (girl); piece material; plaited necklaces; women's bead belt; mixed horn, plastic and leather and metal bead cosmetic container; 3 women/girls clothing skins; gourd; milk pail; wooden milk spoon.

Exterior (left): gourd; basket; wooden pail; wooden pourer; plastic pourer; drinking spoon.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Vengape and Rutaka and Kata

Location: Tomakus; Date: March 1988

Storage tree: sleeping bag; 2 blankets; pair tyre sandals; neck pillow; plastic lid; firewood; cloth; string; grindstone.

Exterior (on floor): pieces of car tyre; wire; big milk pail; 2 blankets; tin; material; gourd; 2 sitting tins; 3 goatskins; canvas sail; rubber thong; mug; milking tin; gourd; towel; waterproof baby pants; spoon; broken wooden pail; mealie meal stirrer; 2 unfinished skirt smokers; thong; donkey ties; pieces of glass; 2 tins; 2 mugs; stick; 3-legged pot; enamel oven dish; 3 milk tins; enamel jug; ball; orungara; dish; tin roofing.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Vengape and Rutaka

Location: Tomakus; Date: March 1988

On floor (left): blanket; plastic funnel; 3 gourds; wooden funnel; tin bucket; rag; cosmetic container; belt; wooden pillow; 2 skins; women's cosmetics; knife and fork; back decoration; ochre; aromatic herbs; skirt smoker; ondengura.

On floor (back): skin bedding

Hanging (left): erembe; milk bucket; bag from Zimbabwe; plastic bag of beads; wooden bag; canvas bag; cloth underpants; 3 skin skirts; women's jewellery; rug; 2 ozondikwa; 1 ordinary baby carrier.

Hanging (back): canvas and plastic; bags; tobacco; aromatic herbs; 2 goat skins.

Hanging (right): bag tobacco; man's belt; palm frond fly whisk; cardboard box jammed in roof.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Katherwe

Location: Purros; Date: July 1988

On floor (left): tin; material; 2 gourds; 303 rifle; metal trunk; bucket.

On floor (middle): blankets.

On floor (right): sack; 2 pipes; stick; stone used for making ostrich eggshell beads; stone.

Hanging (left): mug; bag cloth; skin clothing; sack; plastic bag; gourd; women's jewellery.

Hanging (back): erapi; beaded man's belt; big tin.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Katherwe

Location: Purros; Date: July 1988

On floor (left): 2 dishes; tin; spoon; tin mug; plastic funnel; palm fronds; gemsbok horn; rag; string; cloth ties.

On floor (right): ancestor's firewood; cardboard box; rags; tins as drums for francing; palm fronds.

Hanging (left): car tyre; sandals; mug; 2 car tyre sandals; leather milk ties; rags; torn blanket; stick; sheepskin coat; pieces ostrich eggshell; cow hoof used for making ostrich eggshell beads; blankets and coats; Kata's shell and jewellery.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Venomeho and Katherwa

Location: Okongombesembe; Date: August 1989

On floor (left): stone; palm fronds; milk gourd; skirt smoker; women's belt; ondengura; 2 stones; blanket; Swiss Army knife; plastic bracelets being made; goatskin; gourd; stone; funnel; goatskin.

On floor (right): bedding; skins and blankets; pillow stone; oil tin; tin; walking stick.

On floor (back): 4 sandals; flat basket; sack; sheepskin used as windbreak.

On floor (central pole): awl; hearth

Hanging (left): 2 cloth bags; cosmetic horns; skin skirts; bead necklace; black jacket; tin; wooden milk pail; kidgoat bag; rifle; leather bag.

Hanging (right): goatskin; erapi; man's skin skirt; wine bag, man's belt; flint stone; tinder; tobacco.

Hanging (central pole): milk basket; tin; ehumba (shell).

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Vengape and Rutaka

Location: Purros; Date: August 1989

On floor (left): kidgoat skin; bucket.

On floor (right): bedding; 2 blankets; sheepskin on goatskin.

On floor (middle): bowl; stone; central pole; hearth

Hanging (left from entrance): ondikwa; rag; shell.

Hanging (back): aromatic herbs and powder puffs; awl.

Lineage 3

Occupant: Vengape and Rutaka

Location: Purros; Date: August 1989

Exterior, (left of entrance): hearth on drum lid; piece skin; tin pail; plastic and bullet funnel; dish; stone; gourd; plate; pole; wing of windmill; 2 stones; little box; 200 litre drum containing: 20 litre water container; plastic bottle; blanket; food.

Right of entrance: 3-legged pot and spoon; rags; pot lid; 3 gourds of thick milk; coat hanger; stones; ancestor's firewood.

Shade shelter (inside): 2 blankets; goatskins; suitcase; deck chair; girl's plastic belt; copper wire; skins.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Vengape, Kovikwa and children

Location: Purros; Date: November 1989

On floor (left): Milk tin; gourd; woman's belt; tin plate; gourd; box of skin clothes; upper grindstone; tin bucket; blanket; woman's belt; skin clothing.

On right: Ochre grindstone; pillow; 2 blankets; tin plate; adapted funnel; skirt smoker.

On central pole: woven milk basket.

Hanging: skin clothing.

Goatpen: DTA political poster used as door.

Exterior, on left: Suitcase; goatskin; 2 tins; man's coat; patchwork cloth; goatskin; blanket; 2 tins; cord; lambskin; 200 litre petrol drum containing: 4 tins; gourd; packet of sugar; neckband.

Domestic activity area: head rag;; 25 litre plastic drum; plastic piping; children's shoes; boy's shorts; 2 milk tins; denim shirt; wooden milk pail and basket on a stick; 3 stones; hearth on piece of flat metal; flat stone (near entrance of house); broken plastic box; copper wire; sandals - car-tyre; jersey; mealie meal stirrer.

Right of entrance, beyond ancestor's area: 2 3-legged pots; 1 spoon; skin; pile of firewood; petrol drum behind house.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Vengape

Location: Purros; Date July 1991

On floor (left): dung and grass ties; grindstone; 2 horn cosmetic containers; tin; yellow plastic container; vaseline; stone; rubber; rag; new woman's shoes; pan of aromatic herbs; rags; skin clothing; spoon; skin; skirt smoker; rags; ondengura; big stone; tin dish; mug; skin; rags; 2 tins; tin mug.

On floor (right): rags; stone; gauze; plastic man's ornament; skin rope; top of bully beef tin; vaseline; spoon and stick.

Hanging, on left: Woman's belt; cone she;; blanket; 2 woman's belts; back head-piece; big tin with smaller pails inside.

Centre: hearth, stone, skin, rags, tobacco in jersey sleeve; bully beef tin; sugar packet; rag; plastic.

Exterior, on left: Shoe; wooden neck pillow; shoe; tin mug; flat tin; 2 tin bowls; woven grass basket; woven gourd; pot lid; milk basket; panga; 3-legged pot; pot lid; plastic bottle; tin; stick; doll; 2 mugs; plastic water container; gourd; 4 tins; tin bowl; palm fronds; cup; tin cup; tin plate; tin bowl; tin mug; beer can; 2 dolls; cooking pot; 1 girl's wooden belts.

On roof (right): meat of slain ox; suitcase; mealie meal bag; cowskin; overalls.

In entrance, on ground: upper and lower ochre grindstones; 2 tin lids; pieces flattened tin; beer can goatskins; quartz stone; goat horn; quartz stones; 1 doll, rag and stick.

LINEAGE 3

Occupant: Venomeho and Katherwe

Location: Okozombo; Date July 1991

On floor (left): Piece of shoe; basin; funnel; 2 gourds; funnel; gourd; skirt smoker containing beef; tin of herbs; tin; car tyre pieces; new gourd; car tyre pieces; blankets; stone; rag; basin lid; neck pillow; pot; bucket with lid; mug; wire stuck in wood; blankets on skins in mid-area.

Centre: Beads, blankets behind hearth.

Hanging from left: plastic bag; leather thong; 2 wooden milk pails; skin skirt; cosmetic horns; 2 skin skirts; bag; woman's jewellery; 2 cosmetic horns; sugar; rags.

In roof, on right: white plastic belt.

Children's shelter/store:

On floor (left): Knife; man's belt; gourd; panga; plastic bag containing ID documents; stone; women's skin skirts; sack of woman's goods.

Right: Car-tyre shoes; bag of personal goods; stone; tin; panga; stick; tin.

Floor covering: blankets.

Hanging, left: awl; woman's skirt; back head-dress; wooden milk pail; woman's skin skirt; rag.

Exterior, left: tin; tobacco sack; sack; spoon; plastic bottle; pit; leather thong; tin; stick; stone; car-tyre; shoe; palm frond; goat horn; tin of car-tyre shoe materials in smaller tins; lino; goatskin; broken wooden pail; donkey harness; upper grindstone; basin; gourd; tin; plastic bottle.

Hanging outside: sack; milk pail; 2 blankets; pair of sneakers; pail; 3 buckets; woman's belt; donkey harness; tin; man's coat; goatskin; tin; copper wire; donkey harness; plastic bucket; milk basket; 4 gourds; woman's skirt; piece of canvas; decorated milk pail.

LINEAGE 3a (Kata's unmarried/married space)

Occupant: Kata (pre-marriage)

Location: Okozombo; Date: July 1986

On floor, left: Wooden funnel; stick; cloth; tin; 3 gourd; 2 funnels; tin; stick.

Centre: Bedding skins; blankets.

On right: gourd; lower grindstone; blanket; cloth bag containing cosmetic horns and cosmetics; stone.

Occupant: Kata and husband Wapenga

Location: Onyuva; Date: February 1990

On floor, left: rag; piece of leather; knife; tin of burn aromatic stems; stone; cosmetic horns; bag of ground aromatic herbs; ochre stone; tin of ground ochre; bedding: blankets and skins on cardboard; back of house: lower grindstone for aromatic herbs; man's neck pillow; woman's belt; bag of herbs.

Right, entrance: man's skirt, bag of herbs, ochre, leather pieces, track suit top; car tyre strips; roll of tobacco; rifle; tin of fat; plastic bag, neck pillow.

Hanging, left: horn cosmetic containers; bag, spoon, plastic, sack of tobacco with woman's goods; man's back decoration; erembi; rag; woman's back skirts; belt; donkey bit; woman's skirt; woman's back head piece; cone shell; back decoration; skin.

Hanging right: man's shirt, woman's back skirt; man's belt; leather thong.

Exterior: left: Pail of milk; pipe; upper grindstone; hearth.

Entrance area: Car-tyre sandals, stick.

Right: 2 stones; rag; gourd; milk basket.

On tree: short; leather thongs.

Occupants: Kata and Wapenga

Location: Orupembe; Date July 1991

On floor (left): sacks on cardboard and 2 blankets (as floor covering); ochre grindstone; tin; tin of ochre; gourd; funnel; leather bag; gourd; cup; tobacco; cosmetic bag material; plastic pail; bottle; ochre stone; tin; wore beads; gourd; brick; rag; cosmetic horns; tin; small suitcase; skirt smoker; senior woman's belt; sack; plastic pail, bucket of fat, tin.

On right: piece of car tyre; empty wine bottle; plastic pail; chamber pot; leather man's belt; shoes; mirror; tobacco.

Hanging, left: jewellery; spoon; leather twine; knife; erembe; pills; coffee tin; skin skirts; dried meat; copper wire; full milk pail

Right: suitcase; gourd; gauze; 2 spoons, rag, car tyre strip, leather thong, awl and spoon.

Above entrance, right: Tin of leather pieces; pair of scissors, rag.

Exterior (left): hunger belt; piece of tin; tin dish; hessian; grindstone.

From right, back of house: upper grindstone; leather thong; 3-legged pot; cooking tin; bucket; shoes; sitting stone, 2 blankets;

In entrance: hearth on piece of tin.

Location: Tomakus; Date: March 1988

On floor, left: Tin; grindstone; necklace; knife in sheath; tin of mealie meal; bag of ochre; skins and blankets; herbs (hanging)

On right: pipe (Kata's); tin; pot

Hanging, right: fire stick; 2 tins; leather thong, milk basket, drinking spoon.

LINEAGE 4

Occupant: Kamasitu and Kavetjikoterwe

Location: Sechomib River Boscia foetida camp, 18 months after last occupation; July 86

On floor (left): tin; stones

Back to right: Quartz stone; rag; wire; 2 upper ochre grindstones; lower ochre grindstone; 2 upper grindstones; plastic tube; tyre; 4 stones' rag; 6 smooth river stones; 2 ochre stones; wire stirrer.

Exterior: piece of netting, tin.

LINEAGE 4

Occupant: Kavetjikoterwe, Kamasitu and Kenalumbe

Location: Okongomesembe; February 1987: Meal preparation

Exterior (left, around cooking hearth): 3-legged pot; spoon; stirring stick; mealie meal tin and water; old pot of water; gourd; plastic funnel with rifle cartridge; enamel pot; pot-lid; big cooking drum; panga; woven basket; plastic oil bottle; sitting stones; deck chair; enamel mug.

LINEAGE 4

Occupant: Kamasitu, Kavetjikoterwe, Kenalumbe

Location: Tree camp, Purros; Date December 1987

On ground (left): blanket and skins; blanket; cushion (over branch); skirt smoker; woman's necklace; gourd; 2 milk baskets; pot; mug; 2 tins.

Right: gourd; 2 tins; bicycle.

LINEAGE 4

Occupant: Kamasitu and Kavetjikoterwe

Location: Purros; Date: August 1988

On floor (left): Box of tea; packet of tea; rag; 2 spoons; stick; stone; rags; mealie meal; panga; skin; mug; bottles; horn cosmetic container; cooked mealie meal in dish; gourd; tin; burnt roots in rag; orange peels; tin of ochre powder; sugar; 2 gourds; pillow; 2 woman's belts; 2 skins; 2 blankets.

Right: Pair of shoes; 2 tins; sack of mealie meal; suitcase; roll of wire; sack.

Hanging (left): Baby carrier; back decoration; tin pail; 2 sacks; girl's wig.

Right: Rag; meat; bucket; blanket.

Exterior, left: 200 litre petrol drum; box; bucket lid; broken gourd; stick; palm fronds: white stone; piece of glass.

Hanging on right of entrance: binoculars; 2 blankets.

On floor, right, down side of house: Plastic jug, ancestor's firewood, car-tyre sandals; panga; dish of fat; palm fronds; 4 wine bottles; empty box of wine; 25 km mealie meal; sack of mealies.

LINEAGE 4

Occupants: Kamasitu and Kavetjikoterwe

Location: Purros; Date: August 1989

On floor (left): Car-tyre sandals; 2 bags mealie meal; blankets on skins; bedding; tin; pillow; oljipwina; 20 litres fat.

Central area: tin; flat basket; woman's belt; pipe; coal iron; piece of flat metal; cup.

Right: rag; pole; wire coat hanger; pot lids; copper wire; 20 litre water drum; bucket; tin.

Hanging, entrance (left): Leather bag; cloth bag; sweater in bag; women's skin skirt; neck ornament; 5 skin skirts; woman's belt; ostrich eggshell beads; women's skin clothing, jewellery.

On central pole (broken): mealie meal tin.

Entrance covered with blanket, weighted by 3-legged pot and ochre grindstone.

At back of house: bicycle.

LINEAGE 4

Occupants: Kamasitu and Kavetjikoterwe

Location: De Gaulle Cave camp, post-occupation; Date: February 1990

On floor: Tin; car-tyre strip; cord; material; tin; plastic piece; foam piece; quartz flakes; pot shards; 2 lower grindstones; upper ochre grindstone; mauports: quartz, slate, quartzite bashed core; cloth pieces and potsherds.

LINEAGE 4

Occupant: Kavetjikoterwe

Location: Okongomesembe; Date: July 1991

On floor (left): basin; strip goatskin; 303 rifle; grindstone; milk gourd; 2 double cosmetic horns; tin of ochre; Mum deodorant; ochre stone; flat basket of aromatic herbs; white beads in tin; plastic bag; skirt smoker; gourd; sack; foam over rock; mealie meal sack; 2 goat skins.

Hanging, on left: milk basket; blanket; bag of personal charms; woman's belt; packet of soup; skin skirt; water bottle; sheepskin skirt; baby carrier; milk pail.

On central pole: Man's shell decoration.

On roof outside: wool; pot lid; rag; leather thong; 2 plastic belts; wire.

In store, to left of house: tin trunk; metal case; Omo; cloth shoe carrier; shirt; community game guard rations: 2 50kg mealie meal, sugar, cooking oil, salt, tobacco, tea, coffee, soup powder.

LINEAGE 5

Occupant: Kwazerendu

Location: Purros gardens; Date: March 1988

On floor near entrance: hearth on tin sheet; (left) tin; piece of rubber; wire stirrer; dung and kindling.

Back (right): stick; palm ties; towelling; skirt-smoker; woman's belt; man's belt; foam rubber; cloth; canvas; blanket; rubber thong; rag: otjipwina; old skirt smoker; walking stick; rifle; skin bag; 2 mugs.

Hanging (left): 3 flat baskets, 1 meat basket; goatskin bag; woven gourd; gourd; goatskins; goatskin bag; cloth bag; big horn cosmetic containers; erembe; senior woman's belt; skins; erembe; women's jewellery; 2 cloth bags; erembe; plastic bag; nylon rope; canvas bag; knife; 2 plastic bags; piece of plastic; grindstone.

LINEAGE 6

Occupant: Two elderly women (mother and aunt of Lineage head)

Location: Purros; Date: March 1988

On floor (left): 2 skins; flat basket; knife; ondikwa; flat basket; skirt smoker; erembe; 2 woman's necklaces; 5 skins; small gourd; 2 double horn cosmetic containers; back skirt; woman's belt; cosmetic horn; big double cosmetic horn container; skirt smoker with woman's belt and girl's neck decoration; tin of meat; tin dish; mealie meal and sugar; blanket; 1 skin underskirt; 1 skin.

Hanging: 2 skins; cloth; enamel milk pail; modern spoon.

On central pole: 2 wooden milk pails

Floor (right): 3 backskirt skins; 2 skin bags; stick; gourd; 3 ondikwa; snuff pipe; skin bedding.

LINEAGE 6

Occupant: Maipangwe, daughter and 2 babies

Location: Purros; Date July 1988

On floor (left): canvas cloth; mealie meal sacks; blankets; car tyre strap; dish; empty sugar packet; mealie meal sack; wire stick; ochre grindstone; cloth; gourd; stick; sack of personal goods; cloth; belt; wire beads; blanket; mealie meal sack; horn cosmetic container; tin dish; horn cosmetic container; skirt smoker with several woman's neckbands and ondengura; otjipwina; tin of ochre powder.

On floor (right): plastic container; orange peels; car-tyre piece; homemade spoon; rubber; cosmetic container; pile of oljidundu (herbs for baby).

Hanging (left): Gourd; rag; erembe; big horn-shaped cosmetic holders in plastic; 2 skirts; woman's belt; big leather bag; horn cosmetic container; back hair ornament; zip necklace; horn cosmetic holder; cloth bag; back skin skirt; orchred cloth; ochre tin in cloth; cosmetic tin in cloth; tobacco in sugar packet; material; towelling rag; tin beads for belt; mealie meal sack with Western food from tourists; daughter's omuvara; cloth; skin.

Central pole: wooden milk pail; milk tin.

Entrance (right): milk basket, 3 blankets.

Exterior (left): sitting stone; stock for butter fat gourd; gourd; tin; stone; packet; grindstone in flat basket; 3-legged pot; donkey halter; stick; tin; book; palm seeds; string; plastic water container.

LINEAGE 6

Occupant: Karinaijina, two daughters and their babies

Location: Purros; Date: July 1988

On floor (left): Big gourd; ochre upper grindstone; 3-legged pot; lid; 3 tins of fat; 1 spoon; broken gourd; stick; bottle; gourd; pot lid; lid; funnel; gourd; sardine tin; packet skim milk; 2 gourds; incomplete basket; mealie meal sack; gourd; big tin pail; small tin pail; sapling for head-carrying; 2 stoned; 2 ochre upper grindstones; gourd; big bucket; basin; big bucket; mealie meal sack; stick; plastic bottle; sack; tin; panga.

Exterior (left): Car-tyre sandals; sitting stones; tyre rim; sticks; head carriers; tin; upper ochre grindstone; spade.

Right: Stick; netting; plastic bottle; flat stone; ancestor's firewood; 2 tins; 2 cow horns; stones.

Storage tree: wash line; blankets; tin pail; shoes; door.

LINEAGE 6

Occupant: Unoccupied, previously Heova and 2 wives

Location: Place of the deep pool; Date August 1989

First shelter, on floor (left) 3 rags; 2 empty sugar packets; 1 piece mealie meal packet; stick; 4 flat stones; 2 ochred stones.

Second shelter, on floor (left): flat stone; 3 round stones; 2 tins; piece of flat plastic; DTA (political party) cap; broken plastic; glass; coke tin.

Outside, near goat pen: Upper and lower grind-stone; rag tie; string; glass bottle for ochre and fat; tin; wooden peg; rag; 2 goatskins; grindstone; Pepsi bottle; 2 tins; empty sugar packets.

In goat pen branches: Goat skin; rag; gourd; pot; tin mug; stick carry frame; rag strings; 3 lower grindstones, 2 for ochre, 1 for grass seeds.

LINEAGE 6

Occupant Heova and Behuperwe

Location: 12 km from Purros; Date: August 1989

On floor, left: Pot, bucket; 2 mugs; army plate; upper and lower ochre grindstones; tin plate; plastic bottle top; plastic top.

Hanging (left): Mealie meal packet; wooden milk pail; 2 tins; erembe; 2 tins; palm fronds for baskets; tin; 2 pots; plastic container; cough medicine bottle; blanket; gourd; man's jacket; jersey; walking stick; leather satchel; skin; sack; panga; knife.

On tree: Cloth bag; milk gourd; partly made milk pail.

Under tree: Skirt smoker; dish; rubber; tin; stick; flat basket containing tin of ochre, tin of flat; herbs in cloth bag; dish lid; big tin mug; blanket; skin; wood and bullet funnel; 2 wooden milk pails; blanket; skin.

Around hearth: Big mealie meal pot, panga, car-tyre sandals, 2 blankets; 3 tins.

On tree: goat skins; man's jacket; blanket; cloth jacket; 25 litre plastic container; cup; goatskin; car-tyre sandals; gourd; skin; plastic bag; leather cap; cloth bag; back decoration; 2 skins; wooden milk spoon; erembe; army sock; material; erapi; plastic envelope; metal milk pail; cloth bag; rag; 2 baskets; tin; ostrich egg-shell necklace; woman's belt.

TRADE TRANSACTIONS

NO	LINEAGE	GENDER	AGE	CATEGORY OF PURCHASE		N\$	GOODS SOLD	DATE
1	1	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	30	GOATS7	FEB87
2	1	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	50	CASH	SEPT87
3	1	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	MEDICINE	15	GOURD1	NOV87
4	1	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	25	BASKET2	NOV87
5	1	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	20	BASKET1	NOV87
6	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	GOURD1	NOV87
7	1	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	GARDEN	25	GIFT	DEC87
8	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	BASKET1	MAR88
9	1	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	12	BASKET1	MAR88
10	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DRESS	15	BASKET2	MAR88
11	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	2	NECKBAND1	MAR88
12	1	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	40	CASH	MAR88
13	1	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	40	GOURD3	APR88
14	1	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DRESS	25	GOURD2	APR88
15	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	60	BASKET4	MAY88
16	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	BASKET2	MAY88
17	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	10	GIFT	MAY88
18	1	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	8	CASH	JUL88
19	1	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	5	BRACE1	AUG88
20	1	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET2	60	CASH	AUG88
21	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	3	BRACE1	AUG88
22	1	MALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	EHORO1	10	CASH	AUG88
23	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DRESS	10	BASKET1	JAN89
24	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	6	NECKBAND4	MAR89
25	1	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	20	BASKET1	APR89
26	1	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	60	CASH	JUN89
27	1	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	30	CASH	JUN89
28	1	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	14	CASH	JUN89
29	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	STORAGE	50	CASH	AUG89
30	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	26	CASH	AUG89
31	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	10	CASH	AUG89
32	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	46	CASH	AUG89
33	1	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	15	CASH	AUG89
34	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	RADIO	20	CASH	OCT89
35	1	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	RADIO	60	BASKET3	OCT89
36	1	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	PIPE	10	GIFT	OCT89
37	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	10	CASH	OCT89
38	1	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	42	CASH	OCT89
39	1	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SCHOOLSHOE	25	CASH	OCT89
40	1	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	50	CASH	NOV89
41	1	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	40	CASH	NOV89
42	1	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	CASH	NOV89
43	1	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	30	CASH	NOV89
44	1	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	4	NECKBAND2	JAN90
45	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	35	CASH	FEB90
46	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	COSMETICS	13	CASH	FEB90
47	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	32	CASH	JUN90
48	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	10	CASH	JUN90
49	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	20	CASH	JUN90
50	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	30	CASH	AUG90
51	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	40	GIFT	AUG90
52	1	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	STORAGE	50	BASKET2	DEC90
53	1	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	15	GIFT	MAR91
54	1	MALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	30	SKULL	MAR91
55	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DRESS	20	CASH	FEB87
56	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	BASKET1	FEB87
57	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	15	BASKET1	MAR88
58	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	30	BASKET2	APR88
59	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	BASKET1	APR88
60	2	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	16	CASH	APR88
61	2	MALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	5	ONGWINYU1	APR88
62	2	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	20	BASKET1	APR88
63	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	10	CASH	MAY88
64	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	10	GIFT	JUN88
65	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	NECKBAND3	JUL88
66	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DRESS	116	CASH	JUL88
67	2	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	50	CASH	JUL88
68	2	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	12	CASH	JUL88
69	2	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	ONGWINYU1	JUL88
70	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	BASKET1	JUL88
71	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	BASKET1	AUG88
72	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	BASKET1	AUG88
73	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	20	BASKET1	DEC88
74	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	15	BASKET1	DEC88
75	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	SHOES	20	CASH	DEC88
76	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	15	BASKET1	DEC88
77	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	12	CASH	DEC88
78	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	12	BASKET1	JAN89
79	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	40	BASKET1	JAN89
80	2	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	60	CASH	JAN89
81	2	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	60	CASH	MAR89

82	2	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	15	CASH	MAR88
83	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	5	CASH	MAR88
84	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SHOES	30	CASH	MAR88
85	2	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	10	CASH	MAR88
86	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	BASKET1	APR89
87	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	BASKET1	APR89
88	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	20	BASKET1	JUL89
89	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD2	20	BASKET2	JUL89
90	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	10	CASH	JUL89
91	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	10	CASH	JUL89
92	2	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	60	CASH	JUL89
93	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	5	CASH	JUL89
94	2	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	25	GIFT	JUL89
95	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	25	BASKET1	JUL89
96	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	10	CASH	AUG89
97	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	SPOON1	OCT89
98	2	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	50	CASH	OCT89
99	2	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	35	CASH	NOV89
100	2	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	CASH	NOV89
101	2	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	5	CASH	NOV89
102	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	40	CASH	NOV89
103	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	40	CASH	NOV89
104	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	CASH	NOV89
105	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	2	NECKBAND1	JAN89
106	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	40	GIFT	FEB89
107	2	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	30	BASKET1	DEC89
108	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	SHOES	20	CASH	DEC89
109	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	5	GIFT	DEC89
110	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	20	GIFT	DEC89
111	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	BASKET	MAY91
112	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	DOLLS2	MAY91
113	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	20	ARMBAND1	MAY91
114	2	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	STORAGE	50	CASH	JUL91
115	2	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	50	CASH	JUL91
116	3	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	30	GOAT7	FEB78
117	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DRESS	20	CASH	FEB87
118	3	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	30	CASH	JUN87
119	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	40	GIFT	SEPT87
120	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	5	GIFT	SEPT87
121	3	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	5	ONGWINYU1	NOV87
122	3	MALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DRESS	10	SPOON1	NOV87
123	3	MALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DRESS	24	ARMBAND6	NOV87
124	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	50	BASKET1	NOV87
125	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	40	BASKET1	NOV87
126	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	20	NECKBAND10	NOV87
127	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	BASKET1	NOV87
128	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	15	EREMBE1	NOV87
129	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	ALCOHOL	22	NECKBAND12	NOV87
130	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	PIPE	20	BASKET1	NOV87
131	3	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	BASKET1	NOV87
132	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	30	GIFT	NOV87
133	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	25	BASKET1	NOV87
134	3	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	40	BASKET2	NOV87
135	3	MALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10	ONGWINYU1	DEC87
136	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	15	GOURD1	DEC87
137	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	25	BASKET1	DEC87
138	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	45	BASKET1	DEC87
139	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	27	BASKET1	DEC87
140	3	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	ONGWINYU1	DEC87
141	3	MALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DRESS	30	ONGWINYU2	MAR88
142	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	10	NECKBAND2	MAR88
143	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	NECKBAND2	MAR88
144	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	ALCOHOL	15	BASKET1	APR88
145	3	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	8	ARMBAND2	APR88
146	3	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	STORAGE	25	GIFT	APR88
147	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	HORN2	JUL88
148	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	19	ARMBAND2	JUL88
149	3	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	ONGWINYU1	JUL88
150	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	12	NECKBAND6	JUL88
151	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	8	BASKET1	JUL88
152	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	EREMBE1	JUL88
153	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	ALCOHOL	85	BELT2	AUG88
154	3	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	4	NECKBAND4	DEC88
155	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	45	BELT1	DEC88
156	3	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	3	NECKBAND1	DEC88
157	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	30	BASKET1	DEC88
158	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	70	ONDIKWA1	DEC88
159	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	12	NECKBAND1	DEC88
160	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	COSMETICS	10	BASKET1	DEC88
161	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10	BASKET1	DEC88
162	3	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	COSMETICS	20	BASKET1	DEC88
163	3	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	12	BASKET1	DEC88
164	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	BASKET1	MAR89
165	3	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	16	ARMBAND4	APR89
166	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	28	NECKBAND4	APR89
167	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	45	BELT1	APR89

168	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	23	OTJIPWINA1	APR89
169	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	15	GOURD1	APR89
170	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10	BASKET1	JUN89
171	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10	BASKET1	JUN89
172	3	MALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	COSMETICS	5	CASH	JUN89
173	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	40	BASKET1	JUN89
174	3	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	SHOES	60	CASH	JUN89
175	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	25	BASKET1	JUN89
176	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	40	CASH	JUN89
177	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	2	CASH	JUN89
178	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	15	GIFT	JUL89
179	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	15	GIFT	JUL89
180	3	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	30	BASKET1	JUL89
181	3	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	30	BASKET1	JUL89
182	3	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	50	GIFT	JUL89
183	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	GIFT	AUG89
184	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	COSMETICS	30	CASH	AUG89
185	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	70	ONDIKWA1	AUG89
186	3	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	15	ARMBAND3	AUG89
187	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10	CASH	AUG89
188	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	GOURD1	AUG89
189	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	150	ONDIKWA1	AUG89
190	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	30	BASKET1	OCT89
191	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	30	NECKBAND	OCT89
192	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	24	EHORO2	OCT89
193	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	55	CASH	OCT89
194	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10	GOURD1	OCT89
195	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	20	CASH	OCT89
196	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	CASH	OCT89
197	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	COSMETICS	12	CASH	OCT89
198	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	40	CASH	OCT89
199	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	CASH	OCT89
200	3	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	20	GIFT	OCT89
201	3	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	5	GIFT	OCT89
202	3	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	SHOES	28	ARMBAND7	JAN90
203	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	LOC	COSMETICS	1	CASH	JAN90
204	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	50	GIFT	NOV90
205	3	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	STORAGE	50	CASH	MAR91
206	3	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	50	CASH	MAR91
207	3	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	30	NECKBAND1	MAR91
208	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	60	BELT2	MAR91
209	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	SHOES	30	BASKET1	MAR91
210	3	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	60	BELT2	JUL91
211	3	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	50	CASH	JUL91
212	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	30	GIFT	FEB87
213	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	65	BASKET3	NOV87
214	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	30	BASKET1	DEC87
215	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	LOC	GIFT	20	BASKET1	DEC87
216	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	4	NECKBAND1	DEC87
217	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	20	BASKET1	DEC87
218	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	5	NECKBAND1	DEC87
219	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	15	BASKET1	APR88
220	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	20	BASKET1	APR88
221	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	25	NECKBAND3	APR88
222	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	12	NECKBAND6	APR88
223	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	15	BASKET1	APR88
224	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DECORATION	15	BASKET1	APR88
225	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DRESS	25	BASKET3	APR88
226	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	BASKET1	MAY88
227	4	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	ALCOHOL	80	CASH	MAY88
228	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	12	BASKET1	JUL88
229	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	30	BELT1	AUG88
230	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DRESS	50	GOURD2	JAN89
231	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	GOURD1	JUL89
232	4	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	30	ONGWINYU6	JUL89
233	4	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	SHOES	20	EHORO1	JUL89
234	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	BASKET1	JUL89
235	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	EHORO2	JUL89
236	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	25	BASKET1	JUL89
237	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	25	BASKET1	JUL89
238	4	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	25	GIFT	JUL89
239	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	12	BASKET1	AUG89
240	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	15	BASKET1	AUG89
241	4	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	40	EHORO2	AUG89
242	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	30	BASKET1	OCT89
243	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	BASKET1	OCT89
244	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	30	BASKET2	OCT89
245	4	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	30	EHORO2	OCT89
246	4	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	20	CASH	NOV89
247	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	COSMETICS	5	CASH	NOV89
248	4	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	CASH	NOV89
249	4	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	2	CASH	NOV89
250	4	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	ALCOHOL	50	CASH	NOV89
251	4	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	20	CASH	NOV89
252	4	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	15	CASH	NOV89
253	4	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	5	CASH	NOV89

254	4	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	15	BASKET1	JAN90
255	4	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	SPOON2	FEB90
256	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DRESS	40	BELT1	DEC90
257	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	40	GIFT	MAR91
258	4	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	45	GOURD1	JUL91
259	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	DOLL1	JUL91
260	4	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	35	GIFT	JUL91
261	4	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	25	GIFT	JUL91
262	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DRESS	18	CASH	FEB87
263	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	40	EREMBE2	FEB87
264	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	FUNNEL1	FEB87
265	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	25	HORN1	FEB87
266	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	BASKET1	FEB87
267	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	BASKET1	FEB87
268	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	BASKET1	FEB87
269	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	BASKET1	FEB87
270	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	BASKET1	FEB87
271	5	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	25	BASKET1	NOV87
272	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	GARDEN	20	BASKET1	DEC87
273	5	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	42	BASKET3	MAR88
274	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	GARDEN	20	GIFT	MAR88
275	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	30	BASKET1	MAR88
276	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	15	GOURD1	MAR88
277	5	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	40	ONGWINYU10	MAR88
278	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	15	GOURD1	MAR88
279	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	15	BASKET1	MAR88
280	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DRESS	8	NECKBAND4	MAR88
281	5	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	20	GOURD1	MAR88
282	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	50	BASKET3	MAR88
283	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	GOURD1	MAR88
284	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	GOURD1	MAR88
285	5	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	5	ARBAND1	JUL88
286	5	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	30	SPOON3	JUL88
287	5	MALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	30	EHORO2	JUL88
288	5	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	ALCOHOL	50	EHORO4	JUL88
289	5	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	45	GOURD2	AUG88
290	5	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DRESS	35	GOURD3	AUG88
291	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	36	ONGWINYU9	AUG88
292	5	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	12	ONGWINYU3	AUG88
293	5	MALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	15	ONGWINYU3	AUG88
294	5	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	5	ONGWINYU3	AUG88
295	5	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	SPOON1	AUG88
296	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	8	NECKBAND4	DEC88
297	5	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	ALCOHOL	100	BASKET6	DEC88
298	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	40	GIFT	DEC88
299	5	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	COSMETICS	55	BASKET2	DEC88
300	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	BASKET1	DEC88
301	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	50	BASKET2	DEC88
302	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	50	CASH	DEC88
303	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	GOURD1	JAN89
304	5	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	24	ONGWINYU6	JAN89
305	5	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	25	GIFT	JAN89
306	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	35	BASKET1	JAN89
307	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	5	BASKET1	JAN89
308	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	25	BASKET1	JUN89
309	5	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	35	GOURD1	JUN89
310	5	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	COSMETICS	50	CASH	AUG89
311	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DRESS	17	CASH	AUG89
312	5	MALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10	SPOON1	OCT89
313	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	DRESS	20	CASH	OCT89
314	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	50	GOURD1	OCT89
315	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	60	CASH	OCT89
316	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	2	CASH	OCT89
317	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	40	CASH	NOV89
318	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	15	GOURD	NOV89
319	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	GOURD	JAN90
320	5	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	48	EHORO2	JAN90
321	5	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	25	NECKBAND2	JAN90
322	5	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	ONGWINYU1	FEB90
323	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	GOURD1	FEB90
324	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	DECORATION	2	CASH	APR90
325	5	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	50	CASH	JUN90
326	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	20	GIFT	JUN90
327	5	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	30	GIFT	JUN90
328	5	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	30	CASH	MAR91
329	5	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	12	BASKET1	MAR91
330	5	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	65	GOURD	MAR91
331	6	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	30	GOATS	FEB87
332	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	50	BASKET2	NOV87
333	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	10	BASKET1	MAR88
334	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	5	BASKET1	MAR88
335	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	15	BASKET1	MAR88
336	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	BASKET1	MAR88
337	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	BASKET1	MAR88
338	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	BASKET1	MAR88
339	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	10	BASKET1	MAR88

340	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	30	BASKET1	APR88
341	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	15	BASKET1	APR88
342	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	25	GOURD1	MAY88
343	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	15	BASKET1	MAY88
344	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	30	GOURD1	MAY88
345	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	30	CASH	MAY88
346	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10	CASH	JUL88
347	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	40	BASKET1	JUL88
348	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10	BASKET1	JUL88
349	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	4	NECKBAND2	JUL88
350	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET2	60	BASKET1	AUG88
351	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	30	CASH	AUG88
352	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	20	GOURD1	DEC88
353	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	ALCOHOL	50	GOURD1	DEC88
354	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	GARDEN	15	BASKET1	DEC88
355	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DECORATION	45	BELT1	JAN89
356	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	GARDEM	20	GOURD1	JAN89
357	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	GOURD1	JAN89
358	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	40	BASKET1	MAR89
359	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	5	NECKBAND1	MAR89
360	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	5	NECKBAND1	MAR89
361	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	2	NECKBAND1	MAR89
362	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	2	NECKBAND1	MAR89
363	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	ALCOHOL	5	CASH	APR89
364	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	40	BASKET1	APR89
365	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	15	BASKET1	JUN89
366	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	45	BELT1	JUN89
367	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	15	BASKET1	JUN89
368	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	15	CASH	JUN89
369	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	BASKET1	JUN89
370	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	STORAGE	10	BASKET1	JUN89
371	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	20	BASKET1	JUN89
372	6	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	SHOES	30	CASH	JUN89
373	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	20	CASH	JUN89
374	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	1	CASH	JUN89
375	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	COSMETICS	25	BASKET1	JUN89
376	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DECORATION	2	CASH	JUL89
377	6	MALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	SHOES	30	ONGWINYU1	JUL89
378	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	25	BASKET1	JUL89
379	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	COSMETICS	20	CASH	AUG89
380	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	CASH	AUG89
381	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	25	CASH	AUG89
382	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	STORAGE	10	GIFT	AUG89
383	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10	CASH	OCT89
384	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	12	ONGWINYU3	OCT89
385	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	30	BASKET1	OCT89
386	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	4	NECKBAND2	OCT89
387	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	ONGWINYU4	OCT89
388	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	GIFT	OCT89
389	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	35	BASKET1	OCT89
390	6	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	STORAGE	50	CASH	NOV89
391	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	BASKET1	NOV89
392	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	15	CASH	NOV89
393	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	5	CASH	NOV89
394	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	BASKET1	NOV89
395	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	30	CASH	NOV89
396	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	CASH	NOV89
397	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	15	CASH	NOV89
398	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	5	CASH	NOV89
399	6	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	20	CASH	NOV89
400	6	MALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	50	GIFT	NOV89
401	6	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	ALCOHOL	20	GIFT	NOV89
402	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	40	CASH	NOV89
403	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	40	CASH	NOV89
404	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	10	CASH	NOV89
405	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	50	BELT1	DEC89
406	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	35	BASKET1	DEC89
407	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	BASKET1	DEC89
408	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20	BASKET1	DEC89
409	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	35	BASKET1	DEC89
410	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	50	BELT1	DEC89
411	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	45	BASKET3	JAN90
412	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	40	BELT1	JAN90
413	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20	BASKET1	JAN90
414	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	5	ONGWINYU1	JAN90
415	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	20	ONGWINYU1	JAN90
416	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	ONGWINYU1	JAN90
417	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10	ONGWINYU1	JAN90
418	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	15	BASKET1	JAN90
419	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	STORAGE	30	GIFT	FEB90
420	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DECORATION	30	BASKET1	FEB90
421	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	30	BASKET1	FEB90
422	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	35	GROURD	FEB90
423	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	50	CASH	FEB90
424	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10	CASH	FEB90
425	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	40	CASH	FEB89

426	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	30 BASKET1	FEB90
427	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	40 CASH	FEB90
428	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	40 BASKET1	JUN90
429	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	40 BASKET1	JUN90
430	6	MALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	50 CASH	JUN90
431	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DECORATION	25 GIFT	JUN90
432	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	25 GOURD	JUN90
433	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	20 CASH	JUN90
434	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	40 CASH	JUN90
435	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	12 CASH	JUN90
436	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DRESS	20 CASH	JUN90
437	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	50 CASH	JUN90
438	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	45 BELT1	JUN90
439	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	35 CASH	AUG90
440	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	HOUSEHOLD	20 CASH	MAR91
441	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	25 CASH	MAR91
442	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	25 CASH	MAR91
443	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	15 CASH	MAR91
444	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	25 CASH	MAR91
445	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	35 CASH	MAR91
446	6	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20 CASH	MAR91
447	6	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	35 CASH	MAR91
448	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	40 CASH	MAR91
449	6	FEMALE	ELDER	ADAPTED	DECORATION	35 CASH	MAR91
450	7	MALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	10 ONGWINYU1	DEC87
451	7	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	2 NECKBAND1	DEC87
452	7	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DECORATION	25 GOURD1	MAR88
453	7	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	2 NECKBAND1	JUL88
454	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	20 BASKET1	JUL88
455	7	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	2 NECKBAND1	JUL88
456	7	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	40 EHORO4	JUL88
457	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	4 CASH	JUL88
458	7	MALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DRESS	12 CASH	AUG88
459	7	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10 SPOON1	AUG88
460	7	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	4 ONGWINYU1	AUG88
461	7	FEMALE	ELDER	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	15 GOURD1	AUG88
462	7	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DECORATION	20 GOURD1	AUG88
463	7	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	4 NECKBAND2	MAR89
464	7	FEMALE	YOUNG	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	10 GOURD1	JUN89
465	7	FEMALE	YOUNG	ADAPTED	DECORATION	2 CASH	JUN89
466	7	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	BLANKET1	55 CASH	OCT89
467	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	30 BELT1	NOV89
468	7	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	STORAGE	52 CASH	NOV89
469	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	15 CASH	NOV89
470	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	SUGAR	40 CASH	NOV89
471	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	20 CASH	NOV89
472	7	MALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	FOOD	40 CASH	NOV89
473	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	25 GIFT	NOV89
474	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	BUCKET1	35 CASH	DEC89
475	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	CASH	90 BELT2	JAN90
476	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DRESS	35 BASKET1	JUN90
477	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DECORATION	30 GIFT	MAR91
478	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	MASS PRODUCED	HOUSEHOLD	25 BELT1	MAR91
479	7	FEMALE	MID-AGE	ADAPTED	DRESS	40 BASKET1	MAR91