

3.2. Generally

- (a) Provide printing facilities for reports.
- (b) Funds (always fund. . .).
- (c) Sponsor open Seminars on different topics once a month, to better inform Government officials of what might be happening in another area of Government research.

B. AN OVERVIEW OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH AMONG BASARWA IN BOTSWANA

Ever since W.H.I. Bleek worked among Bushmen in the Cape in the mid-19th century, scholars have been fascinated with these people and their of life. In spite of the fact that Isaac Schapera summarized a mass of data on the Bushmen in 1930 in his book The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots, serious anthropological work among them did not really begin until the Marshall family began work among !Kung in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. Between 1951 and 1961 the Marshall family carried out a series of expeditions to various Bushman groups in South West Africa and Botswana, and they collected data on everything from group size to folklore, in addition to making some superb films of the people with whom they worked. In the 1950's and 1960's, George Silberbauer, an officer of the Bechuanaland Government, conducted surveys among Basarwa groups, mainly in the western part of Botswana, and he did an in-depth ethnographic study of a /Gwi group in the Central Kalahari. His Bushman Survey Report, published by Bechuanaland Government Printer in 1965, contains a detailed description of the /Gwi, in addition to a discussion of Basarwa population distribution in Botswana and some of the problems faced by the Ghanzi Farms Basarwa. Richard Lee began a detailed study of the !Kung (Zu/wasi) in the Dobe area of Northwest Botswana in 1963 in which he emphasized subsistence ecology. He and Irven DeVore of Harvard University established what was to become the Harvard Kalahari Research Group, which carried out intensive anthropological, archaeological, and ethological studies between 1967 and 1975. This group consisted of a

Hitchcock, Robert K. (1978) pp 44-49

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(1978) Gaborone, Botswana

number of researchers, including Henry Harpending, Patricia Draper, John Yellen, Melvin Konner, Nancy Howell, Marjorie Shostak, and Megan Biesele, who worked on problems as diverse as genetics, settlement patterns, folklore, and ritual. With the in-depth investigation of a single group over a long period of time, anthropologists were able to observe change in the social and subsistence systems which few researchers, with their usual short-term investigations, are able to witness. Medical and genetic research was carried out in conjunction with the Harvard Kalahari Research Group by a number of doctors, including John Hansen, Brian Kennelly, Stewart Truswell, Trefor Jenkins and George Nurse (the latter of the South African Institute of Medical Research in Johannesburg).

While the Harvard group was working in Ngamiland, Jiro Tanaka studied /Gwi and G/anakwe groups in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, emphasizing, as did Lee, subsistence ecology. Further south and west of the Central Kalahari, in the Lone Tree and Takatshwane areas, H. J. Heinz was working among the !Xo (or !Ko), where he was later to establish a Bushman settlement scheme. I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, the ethologist, also worked in the same area; like Marshall, he and one of his students, Heide Sbrzesny, did detailed filming of interaction among the people they studied. Linguistic work has been carried out among Basarwa in a number of areas in Botswana, particularly in the southwestern and northwestern parts of the country. Anthony Traill of the University of Witwatersrand and Ernst Westphal of the University of Cape Town have both engaged in detailed linguistic studies of Sesarwa in Botswana.

The long-term studies of !Kung by the Marshall Expeditions and, later, the Harvard Kalahari Research Group, have made the Basarwa of northwest Botswana one of the best-studied groups in anthropology. Other studies in the same area which have focussed on different problems, notably exchange and diet, weight, and fertility, have been conducted by Polly Wiessner and Edwin Wilmsen, respectively. The University of New Mexico Kalahari Project, led by Henry Harpending and Patricia Draper, worked in the Botletle and Nata River areas and the East central Kalahari in Central District. William Chasko, Jr.,

Elizabeth Cashdan, James Ebert, and Robert Hitchcock, the four research assistants in the group, conducted studies of mobility, networks, hunting, technology, and inter- and intrasite settlement patterning among groups which varied in their degree of sedentism, from mobile hunter-gatherers in the northeastern Central Kalahari Game Reserve to sedentary agriculturalists and pastoralists in the Nata River region. John Yellen and Alison Brooks carried out ethnoarchaeological investigations among the !Kung in Ngamiland. Social anthropological research has been carried out in a number of areas of Botswana, including the Ghanzi Farms, by Mathias Guenther and Alan Barnard and the Kweneng District by Helga Vierich and Jackie Solway of the University of Toronto.

It is clear from the studies that have been conducted among the Basarwa that there is a change in emphasis from a static view of them as hunter-gatherers to a more dynamic and realistic picture of them as a group of people undergoing substantial change in their way of life. As boreholes are drilled in the Kalahari and as more people move into rural areas, the hunting and gathering Basarwa are adapting to the changed circumstances, settling on the peripheries of boreholes as well as towns, raising crops and herding livestock. Like any group of people they are opportunistic, and when they see a chance to get water rather than live off roots and melons, they make the switch without second thoughts. Anthropologists, fortunately, are beginning to realize that the study of this change from mobile hunting and gathering to sedentary agriculture, pastoralism, and even wage labour will enable them to gain new insights into change among social systems generally. Some of the researchers listed in Table I have made the jump from pure academic research to a more development-oriented type of research which is geared toward helping the people they have closely examined and studied for so long. In many ways academic research among Basarwa in Botswana reflects some of the new trends in anthropology world-wide: a shift from static, functionally-oriented studies to more wide-ranging, dynamic research emphasizing change and how it affects people (and how it might be made to help people). Thus, while the Basarwa are perhaps

one of the best-known groups of people in the world, they have had a profound effect on the people who have studied them, and it is hoped that this effect will have far-reaching implications for the betterment of people's lives, both those who are studied and those who carry out the research.

TABLE: A LISTING OF ACADEMIC RESEARCHERS WHO HAVE WORKED AMONG BASARWA IN BOTSWANA

Researcher	Group(s) Studied	Date of Research	Subject
Marshall, Lorna et al ⁺	!Kung, Nharo, /Gwi, etc.	1951-1961	Ethnography
Lee, Richard	!Kung (Zu/wasi)	1963-64, 1967-69, 1973	Ethnography
DeVore, Irven	!Kung	1963, 1964, 1967-68	Ethnography
Silberbauer, George	/Gwi, G//anakwe	1960's	Ethnography
Tanaka, Jiro	/Gwi, G//anakwe	1967-68, 1971-72	Ethnography
Katz, Richard	!Kung	1968	Ethnography
Konner, Melvin	!Kung	1969-71, 1975	Ethology
Shostak, Marjorie	!Kung	1969-71, 1975	Ethnography
Bieseke, Megan	!Kung	1970-72, 1975-76	Ethnography
Blurton Jones, Nicolas	!Kung	1971	Ethology
Howell, Nancy	!Kung	1967-69	Demography
Truswell, Stewart	!Kung	1967, 1968, 1969	Medicine
Hansen, John	!Kung	1967, 1968	Medicine
Kennelly, Brian	!Kung	1969	Medicine
Jenkins, Trefor	!Kung, /Gwi, etc.	late 1960's, 1970's	Genetics
Nurse, George	!Kung, /Gwi, etc.	late 1960's, 1970's	Genetics

⁺The Marshall expedition included Laurence Marshall, John Marshall, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, Nicholas England, Robert Story, Brian Maguire, Charles Handley, Jr., Robert Dyson, and Fritz Metzger.

Westphal, Ernst	Shuakwe, etc.	1960's, 1974	Linguistics
Traill, Anthony	!Xo, etc.	1972, 1973, 1974, 1975	Linguistics
Heinz, H. J.	!Xo, Okavango	1960's, 1970's	Ethnography
Eibl-eibesfeldt, I.	!Xo	1970's	Ethology
Wiessner, Polly	!Kung	1973, 1974-75	Ethnography
Wilmsen, Edwin	!Kung, Nharo	1973, 1975-76	Ethnography, Archaeology
Guenther, Mathias	Nharo, etc.	1968-70, 1974	Ethnography
Barnard, Alan	Nharo, etc.	1974-75	Ethnography
Vierich, Helga	!Xo, /Gwi, Batshila, etc.	1976-1978	Ethnography
Solway, Jackie	!Xo, /Gwi, etc.	1977-78	Ethnography
Yellen, John E. et al ⁺⁺	!Kung	1968-70, 1975-76, 1977	Ethnoarchaeology
Brooks, Alison	!Kung	1975-76, 1977	Archaeology
Harpending, Henry	!Kung, /aise, etc.	1968-70, 1975	Demography, Genetics
Draper, Patricia	!Kung, /aise, etc.	1968-70, 1975	Ethnography
Ebert, James	/aise, Eastern Kalahari	1975-76	Archaeology
Hitchcock, Robert	/aise, /Gwi, etc.	1975-76, 1977-78	Ethnography, Archaeology
Cashdan, Elizabeth	/Gwi, G//anakwe, etc.	1975-77	Ethnography
Chasko, William, Jr.	/aise, /Gwi, etc.	1975-77	Demography, Genetics

⁺⁺ The Yellen Brooks research team which worked in Ngamiland in 1975-76 and 1977 included Aron Crowell, Diane Gelburd, Thomas Hargrove, Daniel Gaister, Rick Forsythe, and Constance Walker.