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## Anthropological Research and Remote Area Development among Botswana Basarwa.

by Robert Hitchcock

*"In the first place I saw no reason whatever for preserving Bushmen. I can conceive no useful object to the world in spending money and energy in preserving a decadent and dying race, which is perfectly useless from any point of view, merely to enable a few theorists to carry out anthropological investigations and make money by writing misleading books which lead nowhere". (C.F. Rey)*

*"I personally wish the !Kung could have remained independent as they were, remote, self-sustaining, and dignified; but that is wishful thinking. Our modern society does not allow people to remain remote. Furthermore, many of the !Kung themselves want change; they want to have land and cattle like the Bantu". (Lorna Marshall)*

*"My mother and I do the gathering now. We get what we can find, and our only meat is tortoises. Our men are all away. One of my brothers is at the mines in Johannesburg (South Africa). Another is in jail at Serowe; a game scout found the bones of an eland in our camp and took him away. Yet another is at Mosetharobega looking after cattle. He gets paid little, sometimes only milk. We are hungry, and if this goes on much longer we will have to go to Moiyabana and work in the homes of the Bakgalagadi or get food at the clinic. We do not want to ask others for help. All we ask is that our men get treated well and paid a decent wage. We just want to be able to live together with our men again. We want our own land, our own water, our own cattle and our own crops. We can earn these things; we do not want them given to us. If we cannot hunt then we want to be able to raise our own food. We just want to be left alone, to live in the desert as we always have". (a Kua woman in the eastern Kalahari)*

*"We are the forgotten people". (a cattlepost resident)*

These statements reflect the variety of opinions which exist concerning research and development among the Basarwa<sup>1</sup> of the Republic of Botswana, who are considered to be some of the most intensively studied and possibly best known people in the world today. On the one hand you have the attitudes of administrators such as C.F. Rey, who as Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate in the 1930s, felt that development among the Basarwa would be of little use and that the main objective of anthropologists was to preserve these people for their own scientific and pecuniary purposes (C.F. Rey, 6-11-36, Botswana National Archives -- BNA -- S.469/1/1). On the other hand there were those people such as Lorna Marshall (1976:61) who, as anthropologists, were generally sympathetic to the situation of the Basarwa and who realised that development and change were inevitable. The Basarwa themselves vary in their opinions, some of them wanting the benefits that development could bring and others wishing simply to be left alone. It is interesting to note that in spite of the massive amount of research and, more recently, development, which has gone on among Basarwa in the remote areas of Southern Africa, there are still those who feel that they have been overlooked.

The variety of sentiments indicated in these statements suggests that there are some fundamental issues with respect to research and development among Botswana

Basarwa that must be addressed. The first of these is the idea that the Basarwa, as a group, are over-researched. It is not uncommon to hear comments from administrators in Botswana to the effect that the average Mosarwa household consists of a husband, a wife, two children, and an anthropologist.<sup>2</sup> While it is true that numerous researchers have studied the Basarwa over the years, there are many groups which have yet to be investigated, and there are numerous research problems which should be addressed. The second idea is that much of the research done among Basarwa has been academic and thus esoteric in nature, and that it has had little applicability to development. The third idea is that administrators have been less concerned about research and development among Basarwa than have anthropologists. In this paper I propose to deal with these and other myths about research and development among Botswana Basarwa.

An examination of the history of anthropological research and remote area development in Botswana reveals that although a great deal of work has gone on among Basarwa, it has not fundamentally altered the lifestyles of Basarwa populations, many of whom are still foraging for at least part of their subsistence and who work for other groups for relatively low payment. Detailed anthropological research among Basarwa populations in Southern Africa began in 1951 with the advent of a series of studies by the Marshall family and their colleagues as well as those of Phillip Tobias and what was to become the Kalahari Research Committee.<sup>3</sup> The 1950s also saw the beginnings of the popularisation of the Basarwa, particularly with the publication of two books, Laurens van der Post's *The Lost World of the Kalahari* (1958) and Elizabeth Marshall Thomas's *The Harmless People*. Articles on the Basarwa began to appear in widely read magazines such as *Natural History* (J. Marshall 1958), *Atlantic Monthly* (Marshall Thomas 1959), and *National Geographic* (Marshall Thomas 1963). Films also began to be seen as an increasingly important means of conveying information about the lifestyles of Basarwa. In the 1960s the Basarwa had become a major focus of scientific inquiry, and data from the !Kung, G/wi, and other groups were causing serious re-evaluations of ethnographic film (*The Hunters*). By notions about the adaptations of hunting and gathering peoples (Lee, 1965, 1968, 1969; Lee and DeVore 1968; J. Marshall 1957; L. Marshall 1957a, 1957b, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1965, 1969; Tobias 1956, 1957, 1959a, 1959b, 1961, 1962; Silberbauer 1965).

The research on Botswana Basarwa has provided a rich data base which can be used to test hypotheses about human adaptations. Enough information has been obtained on Basarwa groups living in differing environmental situations to enable researchers to make comparative statements and to ascertain some of the determinants of adaptive variation (see, for example, Barnard 1979; Campbell 1976; Cashdan 1977, 1979, 1983; Hitchcock 1982a, 1982b; Hitchcock and Ebert 1984). In addition, since excellent baseline information exists, it is possible to assess the impacts of socio-economic change and to make some predictions about some of the effects of development programmes. Anthropologists and administrators have become more acutely aware of the problems facing Basarwa and other remote area populations, and in some cases they have begun to combine forces to deal with development and equity issues. The relationship has not been an easy one, as this paper will show. Hopefully, the analysis of anthropological research among Basarwa will illustrate the importance of detailed socio-economic data collection in the design and implementation of comprehensive remote area development policies.

### **A history of anthropological research among Botswana Basarwa**

The Basarwa comprise only a small percentage of the total population of Botswana. Numbering around 40,000 people in Botswana (see Table 1), the Basarwa have drawn

considerable anthropological, administrative, and popular attention for well over a century. While knowledge of the Basarwa goes back several hundred years in Southern Africa, it was not until the 19th century that observations of their ways of life began to be recorded in any depth in Botswana. The writings of explorers such as James Chapman, Thomas Baines, Emil Holub, C.J. Andersson, hunters such as

**TABLE 1****Group Names, Locations, Languages and Population sizes of Botswana Basarwa**

| Group Name(s)  | Location (Area)   | Language(s) Spoken                              | Population Size |
|--|---|---|-----------------|
| !Kung<br>(Zhu/twasi)   | Northwestern Kalahari<br>(Western and Southern<br>Ngamiland into Namibia,<br>Angola, and Caprivi)                 | Northern  | 2,800           |
| Ghanzi Groups<br>(Nharo, Auen,<br>Gxon (Magon),<br>Gzikwe, /Gwi,<br>//Gana, ≠Kaba)       | Western Kalahari<br>(Ghanzi District,<br>Southern Ngamiland<br>District)  | Central<br>(Tshu-khwe)                          | 9,350           |
| /Gwi, G//ana   | Central Kalahari<br>Game Reserve  | Central<br>(Tshu-khwe)                          | 3,500           |
| !Xo (!Ko)  | Southwestern Kalahari<br>(Ghanzi, Kgalagadi)  | Southern  | 2,300           |
| Urban Groups<br>(e.g. !Kung, Tyua,<br>Kua, Tshas!)                                       | Towns of Botswana (eg.<br>Maun, Francistown, Serowe,<br>Mochudi, Molepolole, Gaborone)                            | Northern, Central,<br>Southern                  | 1,550           |
| Kweneng Groups<br>(S. Kua, Tshasi,<br>E. ≠Hua, /Numsa,<br>/Ekwe, /Haiesi)                | Southcentral and<br>Southeastern Kalahari<br>(Kweneng District)   | Central<br>(Tshu-khwe),<br>Southern,<br>variant | 2,500           |
| Kgatleng Groups<br>(S. Kua, Tshasi,<br>E. ≠Hua)  | Southeastern Kalahari<br>(Northwestern Kgatleng<br>District)  | Southern,<br>variant<br>(E. ≠Hua)               | 900             |
| ""River Bushmen"<br>(Bugakwe, Tzexa,<br>!Garikwe, Gockwe,<br>/Tannekwe, Hukwe)           | Okavango Delta- North-<br>ern Kalahari (also<br>Okavango River, Mababe<br>Depression)                             | Central<br>(Tshu-khwe)                          | 2,550           |
| Central District<br>Groups (S. Kua,<br>N. Kua, Tyua,<br>Danisan, Deti,<br>Shuakwe, etc.) | Eastern and Northeast-<br>ern Kalahari (Makgadi-<br>kgadi Pans, Boteti<br>River, Nata River,<br>Eastern Hardveld) | Central<br>(Tshu-khwe)                          | 12,250          |
| Ngwaketse Groups<br>and Southern Kgal-<br>agadi Groups<br>(!Xo, Balala)                  | Southern Kalahari<br>(Southern or Ngwaketse<br>District)  | Southern  | 2,650           |
| TOTAL  |   |   | 40,350          |

Frederic Courtenay Selous, and missionaries such as David Livingstone, John MacKenzie, and James Hepburn contain numerous references to the "Masarwa" or "Bushmen". Their books, articles, and diaries provide us with information on a variety of topics, including how they were treated by other groups. It is clear from the 19th century observations that the Basarwa were to be found in a variety of environmental settings and socio-economic situations. Some of them were pure foragers, living totally off the bush and having no domestic animals, not even dogs. Others were involved in patron-client relationships with their neighbours, some of whom were Batswana. Still others were rural entrepreneurs who worked as specialised hunters, artisans, and general helpers and who were very much a part of the Kalahari fur trade which arose after the mid-19th century as the demand for skins, ivory, and ostrich feathers increased in the Cape and beyond. Many Basarwa were noted to be involved in herding livestock, and some of them were able to acquire their own animals in spite of the fact that people classified as servants (*malata*, *batlhanka*) were not supposed to have property rights.

In the last quarter of the 19th century linguistic and ethnographic research was undertaken among /Xam Basarwa in South Africa by linguist W.H.I. Bleek and his sister-in-law Lucy C. Lloyd (Bleek and Lloyd 1911). Reports were written for the House of Assembly in the Cape in 1873, and information was collected from /Xam individuals until 1884. The task of writing up much of this material fell to Bleek's daughter Dorothea, who did fieldwork in the Cape in 1910 and 1911. Much of this information was published in a series of articles in *Bantu Studies* between 1934 and 1936. Dorothea Bleek also published linguistic information (Bleek 1956) as well as studies of folklore, kinship, and rock art. Her studies were not confined solely to South Africa, however. In the latter half of 1920 she was commissioned by the government of the South West African Protectorate to undertake anthropological work. This she did beginning in January, 1921, concentrating on two Basarwa groups which occupied the western part of Botswana and eastern Namibia, around the village of Sandfontein. Her research on Naron and //K'au//en (Auen) was carried out between January and March, 1921 and from November, 1921 to mid-March, 1922 (Bleek 1928). Thus, what might be described as "family research" among Basarwa began in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as did research among Basarwa commissioned by government administrators.

Some of the early work done among Basarwa in Namibia and Botswana was conducted by German administrators and researchers, including Franz Seiner, L. Schultze, H. Werner, J. Wilhelm, M. Gusinde, Hans Kaufmann, and H. Schinz. Some observations were made on Auen (e.g. by Schinz), !Kung (Seiner), and Hukwe (Wilhelm). One of the first books on Basarwa that was based partly on data collected among Basarwa groups, which included !Kung, Mhissa, Nharo (Naron), and Tsaukwe, was done by geologist Siegfried Passarge (1907) who travelled extensively in the Kalahari Desert in the late 1800s. Passarge was one of the first people to describe some of the rock art at the Tsodilo Hills in northwestern Botswana, which was later to become the scene of a detailed archaeological and rock art investigation by the National Museum and Art Gallery under the direction of Alec Campbell.

Much of the early work on Basarwa was casual and short-term and usually consisted of brief observations by untrained individuals. The major exception was the work of Dorothea Bleek, who did an ethnographic monograph on the Naron (Nharo) of the western part of Botswana and eastern Namibia, based on her fieldwork in 1921-22 (Bleek 1928). She subsequently did fieldwork among Basarwa in the southern Kalahari, and she compiled a detailed listing of group names, languages, and numerous words, which were published posthumously in a book entitled *A Bushman*

*Dictionary* (Bleek 1956). Bleek was noted for her division of Basarwa languages into three categories: Northern, Central, and Southern. Later linguistic research which built upon the pioneering work of the Bleek family was done by Ernst Westphal (1971), Oswin Kohler (1981), and Tony Traill (1973, 1974, 1978, 1980, 1985).

Linguistic and ethnographic data were compiled by the Reverend S.S. Dornan who undertook visits to the Tati area and other parts of eastern Botswana from his base in Zimbabwe between 1910 and 1914. Some of this information was published in scientific journals between 1911 and 1917, and much of it was brought together in a book which was published in 1925 (Dornan, 1925). Dornan was one of the first people to draw attention to the range of variation in Basarwa adaptations in eastern Botswana, and he noted the presence of totemic clans and other social forms uncommon among desert-dwelling Basarwa groups.

According to Hermans (1977:57) the first reference to Basarwa in official records came soon after the founding of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The Colonial Office initiated an investigation into the treatment of the Basarwa, who were rumoured to be serving as the "slaves" of other groups. Three reports were prepared by persons of significance in the administrative and missionary circles in the Protectorate: the Reverend Roger Price, who worked among the Bakwena, Rev. A.I. Wookey, who worked among the Bamangwato, and John Smith Moffat, who as the son of missionary Robert Moffat, had become an administrator in the colonial service. Some useful information on the socio-economic status of Basarwa was contained in these reports, though generally they attempted to downplay the issue of mistreatment and generally did not opt for sudden moves toward emancipation.

The early 1900s saw the use of Basarwa as anthropological specimens and tourist curiosities and helped contribute to the push for legislation to protect the human dignity of these people. The attitude of colonial administrators towards the rights of Basarwa can be seen in the offer by the Government Secretary in 1909 to send a Mosarwa to be used for study by an Austrian researcher, Dr. Rudolph Poch (BNA S. 6/5). In 1908 there was a request by the South African Museum in Cape Town for Basarwa who would be used for purposes of making plaster casts. While the matter was given careful consideration, it was decided that it was best if the museum authorities came to the Protectorate in order to carry out their work (BNA S.36/5). A precedent for removing Basarwa from Southern Africa for purposes of exhibition had been set by William Hunt who, under the name Giliarmi Farini, had taken what he described as "earthmen" from the Kalahari to London in 1885 (Neil Parsons, personal communication).

The exploitative nature of anthropological show business can be seen in the case of "Klikko, the Dancing Bushman," who appeared in theatres in England in 1914 and 1915. According to Parsons (personal communication), Klikko may have been an epileptic whose dancing was a series of convulsions. At times he was bound and gagged and carried off the stage, and his "manager," Paddy Heston, claimed proudly to have whipped him in order to "tame him." This case did draw the attention of the Aborigines Protection Society, but no record exists of whether anything was done about it. The display of Klikko and other Basarwa on the stages of England and South Africa was not unlike "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West Show, which included Sitting Bull and other well-known Native Americans. These presentations can be seen as capitalist exploitation of indigenous peoples which served to instill racist notions about supposedly low levels of "civilised existence" among aboriginal groups.

Beginning in the 1920s the status and treatment of Basarwa in the Bechuanaland Protectorate began to be questioned in earnest. On a visit to Serowe, the capital of the Bamangwato, in 1926, the Resident Commissioner asked the regent, Tshekedi Khama,

about the status of the Basarwa. Questions had been raised since the founding of the League of Nations in 1919 concerning the status of indigenous peoples who worked for other groups in what some people perceived as conditions approaching slavery. An international convention on slavery and forced labour was held in 1923 which raised further questions about the treatment of Basarwa. Official letters were written about the treatment of Basarwa in the Nata River area in 1924 as a result of a disagreement over the right of Sekgoma Khama, son of Khama III, to exercise his authority over local Basarwa herders (*badisa*) (BNA S.34/8). These discussions were brought into sharp focus by Simon Ratshosa, who wrote a report on "How the Masarwa Became Slaves" in 1926 (BNA S.43/7). In this document Ratshosa reported that the Basarwa were treated poorly by the Bamangwato and that in some instances even cases of alleged murder of Basarwa did not receive official attention. This report was picked up by the *Times of London* and led to pressure to investigate "hereditary service" in the Protectorate. A statement was read in the Serowe *kgotla* by the High Commissioner, the Earl of Athlone, which held that "The Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another" (BNA S.43/7).

The year 1930 saw the publication of Isaac Schapera's classic work *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots* (Schapera 1930), part of which had been submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the University of London. This book brought together the various data on Basarwa and Khoikhoi peoples collected during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It provided the first systematic overview of the Basarwa of Botswana and covered a wide range of topics, including customs, demography, social organisation, and religion. Schapera saw his task as a salvage operation, bringing together facts of a dying way of life. The people themselves, according to Schapera (1930:4), were dying out or at least merging with their "Bantu" neighbours. Nevertheless, according to his investigations, there were a large number of named Basarwa groups, some of which were independent and continued to live as hunt-gatherers (Schapera 1930:31).

In 1930 Tshekedi Khama of the Bamangwato visited England's Secretary of State, Lord Passfield, in London. While there he requested that the British Government look into allegations of Basarwa mistreatment by the Bamangwato (BNA S.63/9 and S.63/11). This request was followed up by the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration, and E.S.B. Tagart was appointed to conduct a detailed inquiry into Basarwa treatment, an investigation which came to be known as the "Masarwa Commission" of 1931 (Tagart 1933). The report was completed in October, 1931 but was not published for two years, in part because the Administration did not want to upset Tshekedi Khama. In essence, the report held that the Basarwa were indeed treated poorly at times and that in some cases they did not have the right to transfer their services from one "master" to another. Recommendations arising from this report included (a) the conducting of a census of Basarwa in the Ngwato District, (b) the making of proclamations concerning the issue of slavery, and (c) the provision of land and agricultural assistance to those Basarwa who wished to undertake food production. Tshekedi reacted to these ideas, stating that he had suffered a great deal in regard to the Basarwa and that he and other Bamangwato had done far more than the Government to assist these people (BNA S.30/1). His ideas were also given an airing in a report published by the London Missionary Society in 1935 (London Missionary Society 1935).

The recommendations of the Tagart Commission led to the appointment of a Government officer in July, 1934 to carry out research and development activities among Basarwa. 1935, resulted in a detailed analysis of Basarwa population distribution and socio-economic status (Joyce 1938). A total of 9,505 Basarwa were

found in the Ngwato District, and Joyce estimated that there were an additional "thousand or so" people who had not been enumerated. Joyce (1938) reported that there was a large number of named Basarwa groups in the Ngwato region and that some of them were in the process of becoming self-sufficient agriculturalists and pastoralists. According to Joyce's figures (see Hitchcock 1978, II:141-155), nearly a third (31.13%) of the Basarwa in the Ngwato District had livestock, and he estimated that approximately 35% of them cultivated their own crops, though their yields were often poor (Joyce 1938:63). Joyce's recommendations, submitted to the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration in 1937 and published officially in 1938, included the establishing of training programmes for Basarwa, though he was loathe to recommend the introduction of settlement schemes since most Basarwa were opposed to the idea of being removed from their ancestral areas and being settled.

While Joyce was carrying out his survey, the Protectorate Administration came out with two proclamations, the Bechuanaland Protectorate Native Labourers (Protection) Proclamation (No. 14 of 1936) and the Affirmation of the Abolition of Slavery Proclamation (No. 15 of 1936), both of which were issued on 11 March, 1936 and read in the *dikgotla* of the Tswana chiefs in March and April, 1936. Many of the chiefs and headmen saw these proclamations as undermining their power and authority, and Tshekedi Khama suggested that these statements might alter existing socio-economic conditions, with resulting dislocation as Basarwa were sent away from cattleposts and left without a means of subsistence (BNA S. 360/3). Another issue raised at the time was that having to do with "an adequate rate of remuneration" (see BNA S.360/10), a topic which was to be echoed in later discussions about a minimum wage in the agricultural sector in the Botswana Parliament in the early 1980s.

The year 1936 was an auspicious one for anthropological research and development among Basarwa for other reasons, as well. It was in 1936 that the Empire Exhibition was held in Johannesburg, South Africa. One of the major drawing cards of this exhibition was a display of a group of Basarwa from the Kalahari who had been brought there by Donald Bain, a farm owner and entrepreneur. The language, customs, and traditional activities of these Basarwa (including the use of sticks to make fires) excited both popular and scientific curiosity. A group of researchers from Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg subsequently travelled to Donald Bain's farm in the northern Cape to study the 70 or so ≠Khomani and /Auni Basarwa who had been assembled there.<sup>3</sup> These investigations, the first of many by Wits researchers, resulted in a series of publications in *Bantu Studies* in 1936 and 1937 and were brought together in a book entitled *Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari* (Rheinallt Jones and Duke 1937).

One of the outgrowths of this research was pressure on the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration to do something to assist the Basarwa. In a statement drawn up by a number of South African academics entitled "Notes on a Proposed Bushman Reserve" (BNA S.469/1/1), which was sent to the High Commissioner, it was suggested that the Basarwa of the Union of South Africa and adjacent territories were dying out and efforts should be made to set aside land for them. As the statement noted, "It is of the highest importance to scientific investigators, from the linguistic, ethnological, and anthropological standpoints, that they should be preserved, as they represent a stage in the history of man's development which has long since disappeared and existence of which among them is now unique." It called the Basarwa "helpless little people" and said that they were "the truly disinherited among our native population." The document went on to argue that the case "should make a strong appeal to our sense of social justice" and it recommended that part of the "Mandated Territory" of South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, stretching as far

as what is now Zimbabwe be set aside as an area in which Basarwa "would be concentrated and preserved" (BNA S.469/1/1).

In November, 1936 the High Commissioner received a deputation that included Donald Bain and some academics from Witwatersrand University which pressed the issue of setting aside land for the Basarwa. The High Commissioner stated that it was doubtful whether the creation of a reserve for Basarwa could be justified on the grounds that it was desirable to keep them apart in order to facilitate anthropological research. He expressed the opinion that there was no reason to endeavour to prevent the Basarwa from being assimilated by other groups or to preserve them from contact with civilisation (BNA S.469/1/1). He did admit, however, that the Government did have a duty "on humanitarian grounds" to make some provision for Botswana Basarwa. Before this could be done, however, he noted that clearly some prior investigations were necessary in order to determine the numbers and contemporary conditions of Basarwa. Only on the basis of research, therefore, could any concrete development schemes be framed.

In a letter from C.F. Rey to the Government Secretary in Mafeking dated 6 November, 1936, it was noted that the matter of setting up a reserve was "out of the question." As Rey put it, "To settle more Bushmen on Ghanzi would, apart from creating extra unnecessary work for an overworked administration, involve us in trouble with the European settlers, who have already complained about the depredations of Bushmen in regard to cattle stealing, and who have asked us to move those who are there" (BNA S.469/1/1). He went on to say that "Altogether the whole thing is childish, academic, theoretical, and futile" and that he would have nothing more to do with it (BNA S.469/1/1).

He must have had second thoughts, however, for in a letter dated less than two weeks later he said that "protection for the Bushmen" was a possibility (C.F. Rey, 18 November, 1936, S.469/1/1). He admitted that they had been driven from their watering places and hunting grounds and that it "seemed a little cold-blooded to acquiesce merely and indeed to facilitate their extinction" (BNA S.469/1/1). He noted that it was hardly to be expected that the Administration should sink water holes for them and provide them with a large area of land to themselves. Rey was realistic enough to realise that "the Kalahari could not be reserved" for Basarwa. As he noted, "There are white settlers there; there are cattle routes and trade routes across it which naturally utilise the best water holes" (BNA S.469/1/1). Asked whether a study could be undertaken of Botswana Basarwa, Rey replied that it would be extremely difficult to do, partly because of the elusiveness of the Basarwa. Such a project, he pointed out, would take a long time and the person doing it would have to have special aptitude for such an effort (BNA S.469/1/1).

The idea of doing a survey of Botswana Basarwa was taken up by the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration, and a letter was sent to L.F. Maingard of Witwatersrand University on 20 November, 1936 suggesting that an anthropology student undertake a study and issue a report on the numbers of and on living conditions of Basarwa (BNA S.469/1/1). In 1937 it was recommended that Isaac Schapera be commissioned to undertake such an investigation, but in February, 1938 it was noted that he could not be released from his university responsibilities (BNA S.469/1/1). Much discussion ensued about the kind of survey that should be undertaken, and it was finally agreed by the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration that a desk study should be done, drawing together existing data on the numbers, distributions, and living conditions of Botswana Basarwa. This material was collated by Schapera in a report completed in 1938 and published in *Race Relations* in 1939. In contrast to earlier estimates of the numbers of Basarwa, Schapera (1939:70) suggested that there



were between 20,000 and 25,000 Basarwa in existence and that they lived in a variety of socio-economic situations.

In spite of statements to the contrary, the British Administration was involved in efforts to establish settlement schemes for Basarwa in the late 1930s. In September, 1937, W.H. Cairns announced the establishment of a Basarwa settlement scheme at Olifantskloof in Ghanzi District (Silberbauer 1981a:13-14). This scheme served to bring together a number of Ghanzi Basarwa who raised income through trapping, tanning skins, and doing work on local roads. Another settlement scheme was established at Letlhakane in the Ngwato District where agricultural training was undertaken with the assistance of an Agricultural Demonstrator by the name of Gilbert Molaba (BNA S.263/9; S.360/2; Silberbauer 1981a:16). A teacher was sent to Letlhakane in mid-1938 to work with the Basarwa children, and a dispensary was planned for the area. In July, 1939 a small agricultural show was staged at Letlhakane at which melons and maize raised by the Basarwa were shown (BNA S.263/9). By 1940, however, the settlements at both Olifantskloof and Letlhakane had been abandoned and the infrastructure handed over to other people.

In the latter part of the 1930s the Basarwa became increasingly involved in mine labour, particularly after the lifting of the ban on recruiting people from areas north of the 22° S. line of latitude. The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) established recruiting depots at Francistown, Maun, and Mohebo as well as transit camps at such locations as Madsira Drift (Nata) and Mosetse. Tyua and other Basarwa were hired to work on the construction of a road between Nata and Maun which passed through Bushman Pits and Odiakwe. Another change in employment patterns for Basarwa came about as a result of an increase in water drilling, an outgrowth of recommendations by the Pim Commission in 1932 on the development of the Bechuanaland economy. By the late 1930s the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund was being tapped for purposes of water drilling, and more and more cattleposts were established in the Kalahari and adjacent areas. Basarwa were hired in increasing numbers as herders and workers on both cattleposts and in lands areas.

The period of the Second World War saw relatively little activity in terms of Basarwa research and development. A photographic expedition was undertaken by A.M. Duggan-Cronin during this period, and the results were presented in a book entitled *The Bushman Tribes of Southern Africa* along with a foreword by Dorothea Bleek in 1942 (Duggan-Cronin 1942). Official interest in the Basarwa increased markedly in 1943-44, however, after two Royal Air Force cadet fliers who landed their plane at Kuakaka Pan in the northern Kalahari disappeared. Eight Basarwa led by Twai Molele, a Ganade Mosarwa from Gum/gabi, were arrested on suspicion of having murdered the men. They were tried in the High Court at Lobatse in September-October, 1944 but were acquitted for lack of evidence (BNA S.303/8/1; S.198/2). This incident led to efforts to control the activities of the Basarwa, and discussions centred on the need to settle them and to provide them with alternative sources of livelihood besides hunting and gathering. At a meeting held on 11 October, 1944 attended by several British administrators as well as headmen of the Bamangwato tribe, it was decided to establish a police post and a livestock improvement centre in the Nata area (BNA S.218/3). On 22 December, 1944, Tshekedi Khama met with approximately 70 Basarwa and told them of the displeasure of the Government with events that had occurred, and he discussed the order for the expulsion of some of the Nata Basarwa from Crown Land (BNA S.218/3).

The British Protectorate Administration and the Bamangwato tribe were united in their opposition to what they perceived as lawlessness on the part of the Basarwa and they took steps to change the situation. As one administrator put it, "It is hoped that in

the course of time many of them will be induced to till the ground and so provide for their needs" (BNA S.218/3). Most of the Basarwa residing on the Crown Lands north of Nata were rounded up by camel patrols, disarmed, and moved to places south of the river where they were settled on Bamangwato tribal land. By the latter part of 1945 most of the Tyua and other northern Kalahari Basarwa who had lived north of the Bamangwato tribal reserve had been settled either in the Nanga area of Chobe District or in villages and cattleposts south of the Nata River (BNA S.218/3; V.3/1/1/2). Little was done in the way of providing these people with an alternative livelihood, however, and informants reported that they often went hungry. The long-promised livestock improvement centre for Basarwa never materialised, nor did the tools and seeds that the Bamangwato and the British said they would give them.

The northern Kalahari Basarwa came to the attention of the Protectorate Administration again in the late 1940s during the course of planning a major livestock development project in conjunction with the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC). In 1949 a series of cattle ranches and trek routes were set up in the Nata, Bushman Pits, and Pandamatenga regions of northern Botswana. Whereas in 1948 the Nata Crown Lands had been reported as being "free of population" (BNA S.218/3), by the early 1950s large numbers of Basarwa had moved to the CDC ranches to work as *badisa* (herders) and casual labourers. They were paid £5 per month plus rations for their efforts, and many Bamangwato and Kalanga cattlepost owners reported a loss of Basarwa workers as a result of the competition from the newly established ranches. By the early 1950s the Basarwa of the Nata Region had returned to many of their former areas and were engaged in agriculture and pastoralism in addition to foraging and occasional migrant labour and small-scale rural industries.

### **Multidisciplinary field research among Botswana Basarwa: the 1950s and 1960s**

The year 1950 saw the beginnings of intensive, long-term anthropological field research among Basarwa. Whereas much of the early work on Basarwa populations consisted of short-term observations by untrained people or general compilations of data on statements by travellers, missionaries, and administrators, the mid-20th century saw the rise of careful anthropological work based on participant observation and face-to-face interviews. Genealogical work was undertaken among specific groups of Basarwa, and information was collected on a wide variety of subjects. Close cross-checking of statements was done, follow-up visits were made, and film and tape documentation was carried out. By the mid-1960s the anthropological world was to learn that there was a substantial number of extant hunter-gatherers in the Kalahari and that, contrary to popular opinion, the foragers were not living lives that were "nasty, brutish, and short."

In 1950 Laurence Kennedy Marshall and his son John travelled from their home in Cambridge, Massachusetts to the Kalahari. They surveyed a number of areas where they had heard there might be "uncontacted" Basarwa hunter-gatherers. While in /ai/ai in northwestern Botswana the Marshalls heard of some Basarwa on the other side of the border in Namibia which were living "in complete independence" (Marshall 1976:3). The next year they brought back the rest of their family, including mother Lorna and daughter Elizabeth. The Marshall family was to do ground-breaking research among Basarwa over the next decade and was to have significant impacts on the lives of the people they studied up to the present time (for descriptions of the Marshall family's experience, see Marshall 1976:ix-xv, 1-3, 10ff.; Marshall Thomas 1958, 1959, 1963, 1980; Marshall and Ritchie 1984).

The !Kung Basarwa that the Marshalls contacted and resided with in 1951 were

living independently of other groups and did no agriculture and kept no domestic animals (Marshall 1976:12). According to Marshall (1976:13), historical circumstances and the aridity of the Kalahari Desert favoured these people's independence. While other groups and individuals had moved through the Nyae Nyae area of Namibia where they undertook their anthropological investigations, the Basarwa were affected relatively little by them (Marshall 1976:13, 54). It is interesting to note that Marshall (1976:6) points out what I will call the "anthropologists' effect": the impact of the presence of researchers upon local people. When they arrived at Gautscha Pan in 1951 a drought was in progress and a number of groups were camped around the water point. The numbers swelled, however, once the Marshall family was in residence. As Marshall (1976:6) puts it, "It was not the drought that brought people together at Gautscha but curiosity about us." Besides causing increases in group sizes, anthropologists also tend to affect the subsistence and income patterns of Basarwa groups, particularly if they provide food or cash for services rendered. The Marshalls were acutely aware of this problem, and they agonised over the issue of giving presents to people for their assistance (Marshall 1976:10).

The Marshalls worked with a substantial number of researchers who carried out investigations on topics as diverse as archaeology, zoology, and ethnomusicology. Table 2 presents data on the members of the Marshall Expeditions (also known as the Peabody-Harvard Kalahari Expeditions). It is apparent from the information contained in this table that the majority of the work was conducted between 1951 and 1961. Subsequent work was done in the 1980s by John Marshall and Claire Ritchie (Marshall 1984; Ritchie 1984; Marshall and Ritchie 1984), thus allowing comparisons to be made over a period of three decades. This kind of long-term field research provides an almost unique diachronic perspective on a population. It has been possible, using the Marshalls' data, to assess some of the trends in Basarwa socio-economic status as a result (see Marshall and Ritchie 1984). These data have given us fascinating insights into the ways in which the Basarwa have changed over the years.

The group the Marshalls worked with, the !Kung, represent the largest group of Basarwa in Southern Africa. They are found in northwestern Botswana, northern Namibia, southern Angola, and the Caprivi Strip. They have been the subject of exhaustive studies by anthropologists from 1951 to the present, making them perhaps the best-studied group of people in the world today. Three major monographs have been done on !Kung (Marshall 1976; Lee 1979 1979, 1984), and a number of specialised studies have been produced on specific topics (e.g. demography, Howell 1979; trance dancing and curing, Katz 1982; and the life of a !Kung woman, Shostak 1981). Most of the major research problems worked on by anthropologists and other researchers were defined by Lorna Marshall, who studied a wide variety of topics relating to !Kung life.<sup>4</sup>

Many of the better-known Basarwa groups in Botswana were visited by the Marshall family during the course of their investigations, including the !Xo, G/wi, and Nharo (see the data included in Marshall 1976:11, Table 2). Some of these groups also began to receive detailed ethnographic attention during the 1950s and 1960s. In 1951 the French explorer François Balsan organised the Panhard-Capricorn Expedition, one objective of which was to undertake investigations of Kalahari Basarwa. One of the people who accompanied Balsan's expedition was anthropologist Phillip Tobias of

TABLE 2

## Members of the Marshall Expeditions (Peabody-Harvard Smithsonian Kalahari Expeditions)\*

| Researcher                       | Topic                                       | Date(s)   |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Blitz, Daniel                 | photography, sound recording                | 1955  |
| 2. Dyson, Robert H.              | archaeology                                 | 1951  |
| 3. England, Nicholas             | music, sound recording                      | 1958, 1959, 1961  |
| 4. Ernst, Hans                   | sound recording                             | 1953  |
| 5. Gardner, Robert               | film  | 1958  |
| 6. Gesteland, Robert             | photography                                 | 1957-58   |
| 7. Gordon, Robert                | social change                               | 1983  |
| 8. Haacke, Wolf                  | zoology                                     | 1961  |
| 9. Handley, Charles, Jr.         | zoology                                     | 1952  |
| 10. Hesse, Frank                 | sound recording                             | 1953  |
| 11. Koch, Charles                | entomology                                  | 1951, 1958  |
| 12. Maguire, Brian               | botany                                      | 1953  |
| 13. Marshall, Laurence K.        | photography, administration                 | 1950, 1951, 1952-53, 1955, 1956, 1957-58, 1961                |
| 14. Marshall, Lorna              | social anthropology                         | 1951, 1952-53, 1955, 1961                                     |
| 15. Marshall, John               | film, social change                         | 1950, 1951, 1952-53, 1955, 1957-58, 1972, 1978, 1980-82, 1984 |
| 16. Marshall, Elizabeth (Thomas) | social anthropology                         | 1951, 1953-53, 1955   |
| 17. McIntyre, Claude             | development administration                  | 1951  |
| 18. Metzger, Fritz               | ethnology                                   | 1951  |
| 19. Prozesky, O.P.M.             | ornithology                                 | 1961  |
| 20. Ritchie, Claire              | social anthropology, development and change | 1980-82   |
| 21. Scherz, Anneliese            | photography                                 | 1953  |
| 22. Story, Robert                | botany                                      | 1955, 1958  |
| 23. Williams, Eric               | anatomy                                     | 1951  |

\* Adapted from Marshall (1976:ix-xv, 1-3, 10-11)

the Department of Anatomy at Witwatersrand University. The expedition gave Tobias the opportunity to observe Basarwa in a number of contexts in Botswana, and this experience led to his becoming deeply involved in Basarwa research. In 1956 Tobias surprised the anthropological world when he estimated that over 55,000 Basarwa existed in Southern Africa, 31,000 of them in Botswana alone.

Tobias undertook a number of expeditions to the Kalahari in the 1950s, particularly in the Ghanzi District. He did an important paper on Basarwa in 1957 (Tobias 1957) and he later published a major edited volume entitled *The Bushmen: San Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa* (Tobias 1978). One of the points Tobias made was that

there was a wide range of variation in groups termed "Bushmen" or Sarwa. At one point he classified Basarwa into five types (Tobias 1962:808): (1) "wild" Basarwa, pure hunter-gatherers with little or no contact with agropastoral modes of production; (2) Basarwa born in the bush but who come in to farms or cattlepost for food and water in dry periods; (3) individuals or groups who had taken up residence on farms or cattle posts and who go to the bush only occasionally; (4) people on farms who never go on foraging, trading, or visiting trips; and (5) "tame" Basarwa, those born on the farms and who know no other lifestyle. Similar distinctions between "tame" and "wild" Basarwa were made by Marshall (1976:8) and Silberbauer (1965:129).

The year 1956 saw the formation of the Kalahari Research Committee (KRC), a group made up of scientific and academic researchers from Witwatersrand University and other institutions in South Africa. Between 1958 and 1960 this committee, with financial support from the Nuffield Foundation, sent seven expeditions to the Kalahari to study Basarwa (see Tobias 1959a, 1959b, 1961, 1975 for discussions of the results of these expeditions). A second phase of Kalahari Research Committee research was undertaken during the years between 1962 and 1967, when an additional 14 expeditions were mounted (Tobias 1975). Table 3 presents data on the personnel of the KRC along with their major research topics and institutional affiliations. It can be seen that nearly all of the researchers were from South Africa, with the exception of J.S. Weiner who was at Oxford University in England. It can also be seen from the data presented here that biological research tended to outweigh other kinds of investigations.

A film expedition and ethnographic study tour was undertaken in the mid-1950s by Laurens van der Post, who was to immortalise the Basarwa in books which were read widely (see, for example, van der Post 1958, 1961). As van der Post put it, he was involved in "a search for some pure remnant of the unique and almost vanished First People of my native land, the Bushmen" (van der Post 1958:3). This search for "pure" Bushmen was to dominate popular thinking in the 1950s and 1960s, culminating in a search for the "last River Bushmen of the Okavango Swamps" in 1966. There was a prevailing assumption that the Basarwa were dying out and that somewhere out there in the Kalahari roamed the mysterious "short people of the sand," pure of race and undoubtedly of mind. Anyone with a knowledge of population genetics would realise that such a search was futile, but it instilled in the popular consciousness an image of the "noble savage" which still plagues us today.

TABLE 3

Personnel of the Kalahari Research Committee (University of the Witwatersrand)

| Researcher             | Topic                   | Affiliation     |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Beighton, Peter     | epidemiology            | U. of Cape Town |
| 2. Clement, John       | dentistry               | Wits. U.        |
| 3. De Villiers, Hertha | anatomy                 | Wits. U.        |
| 4. Gear, James         | biochemistry            | SAIMR           |
| 5. Heinz, H.J.         | parasitology, ethnology | Wits. U.        |
| 6. Jenkins, Trefor     | serogenetics            | SAIMR           |
| 7. Mason, Revil        | archaeology             | Wits. U.        |
| 8. Metz, J.            | serogenetics            | SAIMR           |
| 9. Nurse, G.T.         | serogenetics            | SAIMR           |
| 10. Reuning, Helmuth   | psychology              | NIPR/CSIR       |

|                        |                     |                 |
|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 11. Steinberg, A.G.    | serogenetics        | SAIMR           |
| 12. Strydom, N.B.      | work effort, energy | HSL/CM          |
| 13. Thomas, Cyril      | dentistry           | Wits. U.        |
| 14. Tobias, Phillip V. | anatomy, genetics   | Wits. U.        |
| 15. Traill, Tony       | linguistics         | Wits. U.        |
| 16. Van Reenen, J.F.   | dentistry           | Wits. U.        |
| 17. Weiner, J.S.       | genetics            | Oxford U.       |
| 18. Westphal, Ernst    | linguistics         | U. of Cape Town |
| 19. Wortley, Wendy     | psychology          | NIPR/CSIR       |
| 20. Wyndham, C.H.      | physiology          | HSL/CM          |

\* The abbreviations are as follows: SAIMR = South African Institute for Medical Research, Wits. U. = University of the Witwatersrand, NIPR/CSIR = National Institute for Personnel Research/ Council for Scientific Industrial Research; HSL/CM = Human Sciences Laboratory of the Chamber of Mines of South Africa. Data in this table are adapted from Tobias (1975:74-76).

By the mid-1950s concern was again being expressed for Basarwa by Bechuanaland Protectorate administrators. Although little had been done in the way of development for Basarwa populations in the post-war years, it was felt that these people did have "special needs." Pressure was building to do something about the "Basarwa situation," and the path chosen, once again, was a socio-economic study (Silberbauer 1965:7, 1981a:16). The Resident Commissioner, M.O. Wray, felt that the issue was a political one and so opted for the use of an anthropologist. This time, however, it was recommended that an administrative officer be trained specifically for the purpose of carrying out the Basarwa investigations. A cadet in the colonial service, George Silberbauer, was asked if he wished to undergo anthropological training and return to do a survey of Botswana Basarwa. Silberbauer attended the University of Witwatersrand, where he obtained an honours degree in linguistics and social anthropology. By September, 1958 he had returned to Botswana and was in the field conducting research on Basarwa, a task with which he was involved until 1966 (for summaries of the results of his research, see Silberbauer 1965, 1972, 1973, 1981a, b, 1982).

Silberbauer placed deliberate emphasis on hunter-gatherers, primarily as a means of providing baseline data against which change could be measured (Silberbauer 1965:8). In April, 1960 he began visiting G/wi bands in the central Kalahari, where the Marshalls and, before them, Col. B.E.H. Clifford, had reported "the presence of Bushmen who appeared not to have been subjected to any great measure of acculturation" (Silberbauer 1981a:19). His monograph (Silberbauer 1981a) and report to the Government of Bechuanaland on the "Bushman Survey" (Silberbauer 1965) both contain substantial material on G/wi hunter-gatherers. It should be stressed, however, that he did look at non-foragers, including those groups interacting with Europeans (Silberbauer 1965:114ff), and black populations (Silberbauer 1965:127ff), as well as those near villages in the western Kalahari (Silberbauer and Kuper 1966). A classification of the Basarwa in Botswana by Silberbauer (1965:13-14) indicated that 4,000 (16.6%) were on the Ghanzi Farms and were either employed or were relatives of employees, 14,000 (58.33%) lived either permanently or for most of the year near villages or cattleposts and were either clients or labourers, and 6,000 (25%) were hunter-gatherers.

Silberbauer was to have some important impacts on Botswana Basarwa. One of his first steps was to have a large portion of the central Kalahari declared as a reserve where people could continue their traditional hunting and gathering lifeways without

disturbance from outsiders. As was the case with the Gemsbok Park in South Africa, which was declared a National Park in 1931, a debate ensued over the efficacy of having reserved land set aside for people, with some saying that land could only be conserved for wildlife. (In fact, in the *Cape Argus* of 25 August, 1936, it was reported that the Minister of Native Affairs in South Africa got around this problem by declaring that "Bushmen were fauna"). It was decided in the end to make the area a game reserve, and the Central Kalahari Game Reserve was promulgated (High Commissioner's Notice No. 33 of 1961).

One of the problems that Silberbauer foresaw with respect to the continuation of hunting and gathering as a way of life was that people were moving into areas formerly occupied by foraging groups, many of whom were brought high-powered rifles, horses, and dogs. Seasonal occupation of the pans in the central Kalahari by cattle-owning Bakgalagadi was already occurring (Hitchcock and Campbell 1982:154-155). Well aware of the impact of technological change and domestic animals on the Kalahari ecosystem, Silberbauer began to press for entry into the reserve to be controlled. Subsequently, additional legislation relating to the reserve was passed ("Central Kalahari Game Reserve 'Control of Entry' Regulations," Government Notice No. 38 of 1963) which made it illegal to enter the area without permission from the District Commissioner of Ghanzi District.

Silberbauer sought assistance for the people of the Central Reserve through organisations which provided funding for borehole drilling. In 1962 two boreholes were drilled near !Xade (≠Kade) Pan in the reserve, one of which was successful. Since the 1960s drought was in full swing, many people began to move to !Xade in order to gain access to the newly available water. The result was that food in the vicinity of the borehole became scarce, social conflict levels rose, and illness became more common (Silberbauer 1981a:26). The problems that Silberbauer witnessed at !Xade were to be seen most, if not all, at the water points drilled later for use by Basarwa and other remote area populations in the Kalahari.

Silberbauer, like the Marshalls, felt that the Basarwa should have the right to retain their dignity and to pursue their own options. By providing them with an area of their own he was able to give them the option of remaining hunter-gatherers if they so wished. He was criticised for this position, with some administrators claiming that he wanted to establish a "human zoo" where anthropologists could study so-called primitive people at their leisure. He reacted to this argument (see, for example, Silberbauer 1965:133), saying that he wished only for people to be allowed the right to freedom of choice about their lifestyle. Moreover, he made recommendations for those groups such as those living in the Ghanzi Farms who had already undergone extensive socio-economic change (Silberbauer 1965). He suggested that educational opportunities be expanded, and he recommended the initiation of training schemes in livestock production. He also noted that game domestication and cropping schemes might be a useful way in which to assist Basarwa (Silberbauer 1965, 1978). Most of his development-related recommendations went unheeded until the 1970s, but suggestions along similar lines reappeared in both anthropologists' and administrators' reports in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Toward the end of the 1950s the anthropological world was beginning to awaken to the importance of the Basarwa. Linguistic research conducted among Basarwa and other groups in Botswana by Ernst Westphal of the University of Cape Town led him to put in a request to the Protectorate Government that land be set aside for Basarwa, a suggestion reminiscent of that forwarded by University of Witwatersrand faculty members in 1936. Rather than choose the western and central Kalahari, Westphal suggested the use of the much less densely occupied region of northern Botswana

(BNA S.469/1/1). Westphal's recommendation was politely but firmly rebuffed. It is interesting to note, though, that the Protectorate Administration itself chose to recommend the resettlement of Kalanga from the Tati Reserve in the Northern Crown Lands in the 1930s and 1940s. Although no moves were actually made, the establishment of the CDC Ranches near Nata was a kind of response to the Government's policy of utilising the area.

In 1960 an effort was made to establish a "Coordinating Committee for Bushman Studies" at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London (BNA S. 469/1/1). The reasons given for forming such a committee were: (1) the culture and lifeway of Basarwa are unique and had not been studied comprehensively; and (2) to harmonise and coordinate the various scientific studies of Basarwa. Using this information, it was hoped to (3) examine the existing legal status of Basarwa and consider what further provision, if any, should be made for "the special protection of Bushman interests" (BNA S.469/1/1). It was felt that the Basarwa situation required immediate investigation and that gaps had to be filled without delay (BNA S.469/1/1).

While the idea of coordinating Bushman studies and "filling the gaps" was considered laudatory, anthropologists in Southern Africa considered this move as an invasion of their territory. Silberbauer (1981a:29) described it as an effort on the part of "some United Kingdom academics who sought to corner the Bushman market." In a letter to the Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Phillip Tobias pointed out that the Kalahari Research Committee at the University of Witwatersrand already had the same focus of interest as the proposed Coordinating Committee for Bushman Studies. One of its purposes was to organise research expeditions in a variety of disciplines on the life, culture, and environment of Basarwa. He went on to suggest that the South African populations had been "so intimately investigated that we now try to limit interference in order to maintain their cooperativeness, which has not been easy to establish". (Tobias to Phillips, 3 August, 1960, BNA S.469/1/1). Tobias also pointed out that one colleague was convinced of the need for a "Society for the Protection of the Bushmen from Indiscriminate Investigation".

On 10 October, 1960 a meeting was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, to consider the formation of a Bushman Studies Coordinating Committee. Twenty three people attended, and the list is a veritable who's who of Basarwa anthropology. Some of those who participated included Isaac Schapera, Laurens van der Post, geneticist J.S. Weiner, Ernst Westphal, Kenneth Oakley, Laurence Kennedy Marshall, Lorna Marshall, M.V. Guerreiro (who worked among !Kung in Angola), and Phillip Tobias (minutes on file in BNA S.563/1/3). A number of suggestions were put forward, some of them scientific and some humanitarian. The advantages of such a committee, it was suggested, were that: (1) an association of interested bodies would have obvious financial advantages; (2) coherent inter-regional and inter-faculty research plans could be drawn up; (3) the numerically few Basarwa could be protected from too many investigations, and that reverence for the dignity and integrity of the Basarwa could be fostered; (4) attention could be drawn to the fact that food reserves were being "wantonly destroyed," thus causing suffering among Basarwa; and (5) the interests of the Basarwa could be represented in the course of drafting the new Bechuanaland constitution (BNA S.563/1/3). One of the points raised at the meeting was that, as of 1960, there was no complete published study of a single group of Basarwa, with follow-up studies done subsequently, which covered satisfactorily the various aspects of day to day life.

Several major points concerning Basarwa lifeways and status were raised at the SOAS meeting. It was stressed that the term "Bushman" covers a variety of types of



people and lifestyles. Secondly, it was noted that no field studies had been done of Basarwa customary law. This was of particular concern to representatives of the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the British section of the International Commission of Jurists. Third, it was pointed out that Basarwa interests could tend to be swamped by the rising tide of African nationalism. Throughout the meeting it was emphasised that there was a need to coordinate the various investigations of Basarwa. Several organisations were already involved in Basarwa research, including the Kalahari Research Committee, the Instituto de Investigacao Cientifica de Angola (associated with the Junta de Investigações do Ultramar), and the Marshall-Peabody-Harvard-Smithsonian Bushman Research Expedition.

During the course of the meeting, the issue of how politically involved the coordinating committee should become was raised, and the KRC representative, Phillip Tobias, pointed out that the Bechuanaland Protectorate would be unlikely to support the clause recommending further examination of the legal status of the Basarwa with an eye to giving consideration for further provisions to be made concerning the "special protection of Bushman interests." It was noted that both the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the mandated territory of South West Africa had permanent representatives for the preservation of Basarwa interests and that research on Basarwa was underway in both areas. In a report on the SOAS meeting to the KRC (BNA S.563/1/1), Tobias said that some of the Coordinating Committee's goals were of a potentially contentious nature and that they might affect the relations between the Basarwa and the governments of those countries where they live. He expressed the fear that the committee would combine the functions of research with those of a political pressure group and that the members might therefore place themselves in a position of possible controversy with authorities (report dated 18 January, 1961, BNA S.563/1/1). Thus, it was clear that while research on Botswana was considered useful, there were some important questions regarding the relationship between research and political involvement. These issues would be raised again in discussions about anthropological research and remote area development in the 1970s and early 1980s.

The early 1960s saw anthropological research initiated among another group of Botswana Basarwa, the !Xo (!Ko) of the southwestern Kalahari. Between 1961 a total of twelve residential visits averaging between two weeks and one and a half months were made by a parasitologist-turned anthropologist H.J. Heinz (Heinz 1966:i). These groups lived in the area south of the Ghanzi Farms down into what is now the Kgalagadi District, and in an area stretching from the western Kweneng District across to the Aminuis Reserve in eastern Namibia (Traill 1985:1, 11). Much of Heinz's work focused on social organisation and was done among !Xo near Takatswane in the Ghanzi District (Heinz 1966). In the late 1960s and early 1970s Heinz became increasingly concerned with promoting a settlement and development project for the Takatswane people at Bere (Heinz 1970, 1973, 1975; Heinz and Lee 1979). He also made some useful observations on the Basarwa in the Ghanzi area, describing what he felt to be "squatters' syndrome" (Heinz 1968a, b). At one point Heinz took a group of !Xo to the Okavango Swamps where they were able to witness the adaptations of River Basarwa (Heinz 1969). Some of the money earned by the !Xo during this trip was used to buy goats upon their return, something that assisted them in their efforts at raising income and productivity levels (Heinz 1975; Heinz and Lee 1979).

In 1963 two anthropologists from the University at California, Berkeley, Richard Lee and Irven DeVore, applied to carry out research among Botswana Basarwa. Investigations began in August, 1963 when Lee and DeVore conducted a reconnaissance of the northern Kalahari. Lee and DeVore decided to concentrate on the Dobe area of western Ngamiland because it was there that "the most isolated and

traditional hunter-gatherers could be found in northern Botswana" (Lee 1976:18). The people occupying this area were the !Kung (Zu/wasi), who had also been the subject of the long-term studies by the Marshalls and their colleagues between 1951 and 1961. As Lee (1979a:81) notes, "Even after colonization by the Bantu, the !Kung continued in the main to be full-time hunters and gatherers." He attributed their intact group structure and foraging subsistence practices to the isolation of the area and to the intermittent nature of contact between !Kung and other groups. Lee ended up spending fifteen months and DeVore two months studying the subsistence ecology, land use patterns, and group structure of the !Kung (Lee 1965, 1968, 1969, 1979a; Lee and DeVore 1976).

In 1965 Lee estimated that of the 24,400 Basarwa whom he believed existed in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 16,300 (66.8%) worked on farms or cattleposts, 2,000 (8.3%) practised a mixed agricultural and hunting strategy, and the remaining 6,100 (25%) were traditional hunter-gatherers (Lee 1965:13, 20). The percentage of full-time hunter-gatherers was steadily dropping, however, so one of the objectives of Lee's and DeVore's research was to get a detailed picture of what they felt to be a rapidly disappearing way of life (Lee 1976:3). The data collected by Lee (1965, 1968, 1969) shed new light on foraging adaptations. A major conclusion was that the Basarwa were not living on the brink of starvation, and that they did not have to work very hard to obtain an adequate diet. Secondly, rather than placing emphasis on hunting, most of the !Kung diet was derived from plants (Lee 1968). Mobility was geared to the distribution and abundance of water sources and food, particularly a "superabundant staple," the mongongo nut (*Ricinodendron rautanenii*) (Lee 1968, 1969, 1973). Overall, Lee suggested that the !Kung were doing very well in spite of the fact that at the time he was conducting his research they were subjected to one of the most severe droughts in living memory.

The success of the 1963-65 field work among the !Kung led to Lee and DeVore setting up the Harvard Kalahari Research Group, which carried out a series of studies in northwestern Ngamiland between 1967 and 1972 (Lee 1976, 1979b; Lee and DeVore 1976). What started out as a two-man study expanded to a large-scale interdisciplinary effort including over a dozen researchers (see Table 4). Four major categories of research problems were addressed in this work: (1) ecology and social change; (2) population and health; (3) child development; and (4) the cognitive world (Lee 1976:3). This work was divided into stages. The first stage consisted of Lee, Howell, DeVore, Draper, Harpending, Yellen, Hansen, and Truswell, while the second, which began in 1970, included Bieseke, Konner, Shostak, and Blurton Jones (Lee 1976:12). Besides those researchers who remained in the field for long periods, sometimes as much as two years, there were many short-term visitors, some of whom were involved in carrying out medical research (see, for example, Truswell, Hansen, Wannenburg and Sellmeyer 1969; Truswell, Kennelly, Hansen and Lee 1972; Truswell and Maun 1972).

**TABLE 4**  
**Harvard Kalahari Research Project Personnel\***

| Researcher        | Topic                   | Date(s)                      |
|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Bieseke, Megan | folklore, social change | 1970-72, 1975-76,<br>1981-82 |
| 2. Blurton Jones, |                         |                              |

|     |                   |  |                                 |
|-----|-------------------|--|---------------------------------|
|     | Nicholas          | ethology                                     | 1971                            |
| 3.  | DeVore, Irven     | hunting behaviour                            | 1963, 1964,<br>1967-68          |
| 4.  | Draper, Patricia  | sex roles, child rearing                     | 1968-69, 1975                   |
| 5.  | Hansen, John D.L. | pediatrics                                   | 1967, 1968                      |
| 6.  | Harpending, Henry | genetics, demography                         | 1968-69, 1975                   |
| 7.  | Howell, Nancy     | demography, networks                         | 1967-69                         |
| 8.  | Katz, Richard     | ritual healing dance                         | 1968                            |
| 9.  | Konner, Melvin    | infant behaviour, ethology                   | 1969-1971, 1975                 |
| 10. | Lee, Richard B.   | ecology, social organisation                 | 1963-64, 1967-69,<br>1973, 1980 |
| 11. | Shostak, Marjorie | life history, crafts                         | 1969-71, 1975                   |
| 12. | Tanaka, Jiro      | ecology, social organisation                 | 1967-68, 1971-72,<br>1975       |
| 13. | Truswell, Stewart | medicine, nutrition                          | 1967, 1968, 1969                |
| 14. | Yellen, John E.   | archaeology, settlement<br>patterns, hunting | 1968-70, 1975-76                |

\* Adapted from Lee (1979b:319)

The !Kung were exposed to researchers more or less continuously over a period of five years. This they did with equanimity, often enjoying the attention they received. Some of the researchers did ethnographic interviews, others took blood samples, and still others participated with them in their activities such as gathering and hunting. Fascinating insights into the lives of the !Kung resulted.<sup>5</sup> They were shown to have a high degree of gender equality and a respect for women (Draper 1972, 1975a, 1975b, 1976; Lee 1974, 1982; Shostak 1981). Levels of social conflict were low, in part because of the care taken to discuss issues of importance, sometimes seemingly endlessly. Reciprocity and generosity were seen as important features of their existence. The !Kung were also revealed as having to undertake relatively little work when compared to food producers, and they were well-nourished and healthy.

At the time the initial fieldwork was carried out among Dobe !Kung, most of the people existed by hunting and gathering. Archaeological work by John Yellen (1976, 1977a, b) indicated that foragers had resided in the region for thousands of years and that the settlement and subsistence patterns of today were not unlike those of the past. Nevertheless, as Lee (1976:12) points out, most people had some experience of herding cattle and some of them had owned livestock in the past. Agriculture increased during the high rainfall period of 1967-69, but when the rains failed in 1972-73, the !Kung fell back on foraging (Lee 1976:19). It was clear that there were changes over time in the economy and social organisation of !Kung populations and that they were by no means unfamiliar with agropastoralism or wage labour.

Detailed census work was carried out by Lee (1979a) and Howell (1979), and the genealogical information collected was used by subsequent researchers for comparative purposes. Wide-ranging regional demographic investigations were also conducted (Harpending 1971, 1976). One of the conclusions reached as a result of this work is that the !Kung are characterised by some of the lowest levels of fertility of any population in the world. The causes of these low fertility levels have become a major research problem in anthropology and have been addressed by a number of researchers (see, for example, Howell 1976, 1979, 1980; Harpending 1976; Harpending and Wandsnider 1982; Lee 1972d, 1979a; Konner and Worthman 1980; van der Walt 1977; Wilmsen

1978a, 1981). Some of the hypotheses put forth to explain this demographic problem include: (1) short reproductive spans for females; (2) lactation suppression of ovulation; (3) hormonal factors; and (4) undernutrition and lack of critical fatness levels in !Kung women. It is apparent from the research that the causes of low population growth rates are multivariate in character.

Nutritional and medical assessments of the !Kung reveal low levels of vitamin and other deficiencies (Metz, Hart, and Harpending 1971). In general the !Kung populations were well-nourished (Truswell and Hansen 1968, 1976; Lee 1979a). Serum cholesterol levels were low, and cardiological research suggests that these people have few problems with high blood pressure. Some of the reasons set forth to explain these conditions include the levels of exercise of the !Kung, who spend part of their time on hunting and gathering trips as well as travelling from one camp to another, and the diet, which is low in cholesterol.

During the time that the Harvard Kalahari Research Group was in the field, efforts were made to stagger the research and to distribute the field workers in different areas so that impacts on the !Kung would not be too great. It did happen, though, that sometimes there were as many as eight researchers in a location (Lee 1979b:308). There is little doubt that the high density of researchers had effects on the local people, and Lee (1979b:308) notes that "there was an acculturative influence on the San." Later discussions with Ngamiland Basarwa revealed that the Dobe !Kung were the object of envy because of the presence of so many anthropologists, who were known to assist people with medical problems and sometimes to provide them with food and cash for their services.

Other factors besides the presence of anthropologists affected the !Kung during the late 1960s and early 1970s. A process of sedentism (sedentarisation) was occurring among !Kung as they began to spend longer periods in the vicinity of places where there were wells and cattleposts (Lee 1972a, d, e, 1975, 1979a:81-82, 364ff., 1979b:314-317; Harpending and Wandsnider 1982). Some of the changes brought about by this process of settling down included social fragmentation and conflict (Lee 1972e, 1979a:368-369), a reduction in the significance of women in decision-making (Draper 1975a, b, 1976), rising population growth rates (Lee 1972d, 1979a, 1979b:315; Kolata 1974; Harpending 1976; Harpending and Wandsnider 1982), and shifts in patterns of land use (Lee 1972a, 1975, 1979a:362). A trading store was established at !Xangwa in 1967 and in 1969 a school and health post were opened there. In the early 1970s people began to go in increasing numbers to the mines, and some of them crossed the border into Namibia where they were able to get rations and, on occasion, cash for work they did at the Basarwa settlement at Tsum!kwe. Discussions over the Tribal Land Act in Botswana led to an increasing realisation on the part of both Basarwa and the anthropologists working with them that the land base of the !Kung and other Basarwa could be threatened.

The Harvard Kalahari Research Group, in keeping with the tradition of anthropologists becoming involved in assisting the people they study, met in 1973 to discuss ways in which their work could be of benefit in terms of helping !Kung and other Basarwa to realise their goals. It was apparent that there was an accelerating pace of change in the northwestern Kalahari (Lee 1976:12) and that the !Kung wished to obtain some of the potential benefits that development might bring. Requests for assistance from the !Kung had been recorded and sent to the Botswana Government, and a delegation of Basarwa even met with the then Vice President, Q.K.J. Masire, to discuss some of their problems and needs. Clearly, the Basarwa wished to progress economically and to be accepted as full citizens of the Republic of Botswana.

It was decided by the Harvard researchers to form a development organisation, the

Kalahari Peoples Fund (KPF), which could help channel funds and technical assistance to the !Kung and other remote area populations. A set of scholarships was provided to !Kung children so that they could attend the primary school at !Xangwa. Investigations were initiated into alternative economic opportunities such as the harvesting of wild nuts (e.g. mongongo and morama, *Tylosema esculenta*). In addition, with the aid of a grant from the Marshall family, the Kalahari Peoples Fund sponsored the work of Megan Bieselee in 1975-76 which was geared toward stimulating the Basarwa to identify their own needs and helping them in the process of establishing water and land rights through digging of wells and registering of agricultural fields (Bieselee 1976). Thus, by the mid-1970s the Harvard Kalahari Research Group had evolved from a two man team investigating hunter-gatherers to a multi-faceted group of researchers and development personnel who were involved in seeking new ways to work with their informants.

The !Kung were not to escape further anthropological attention in the early and mid-1970s. In 1973 Edwin Wilmsen, Polly Wiessner, and Dwight Read arrived at /ai/ai, south of Dobe. Wilmsen did both archaeological and ethnographic research, and he later became involved in nutritional and serological assessments (Wilmsen 1978a, b, 1981; van der Walt *et al* 1977). Wilmsen contributed a report on his research to the Ministry of Local Government and Lands (Wilmsen 1976a) and he provided information on hunting as a source of income for the Rural Income Distribution Study (RIDS) which was carried out in Botswana in 1974-75 (Wilmsen 1976b). Wiessner also started out with the intention of doing ethnoarchaeological research on the problem of stylistic variation, but she shifted into the study of the system of delayed reciprocity among the !Kung known as *hxaro* (Wiessner 1977, 1980, 1981, 1982a, b). She did some ground-breaking research on stylistic variation among !Kung, some of which focused on similarities and differences in projectile points (Wiessner 1983, 1984). Wiessner, like Wilmsen, contributed information on income and expenditures to the Rural Income Distribution Study.

During the 1960s and early 1970s work was going on among other Basarwa groups in Botswana besides the !Kung. Some of these were sponsored by the Kalahari Research Committee and others were done in conjunction with the work of the Harvard Kalahari Research Group. In 1964, for example, a serogenetic investigation was undertaken among the Basarwa in the Pandamatenga area under the direction of S.R. Blecher. A major scientific expedition was undertaken to the Okavango Swamps to study the "River Bushmen" in 1966. This expedition was the largest ever sponsored by the Kalahari Research Committee and consisted of medical and dental personnel as well as an ethnologist, a journalist, and a person to carry out tape recordings of language (see Cowley 1968 for a discussion of this expedition).<sup>6</sup> The emphasis in this research was on discovering the "last River Bushmen," and popular articles appeared in widely read publications such as *Life*, claiming that these people were dying out and that the expedition had discovered the last remnants of these once widespread people. It is interesting to note that research in the late 1960s (e.g. Heinz 1969) and 1970s (Cashdan 1979; Hitchcock 1982a) revealed that the populations of Black Basarwa in the better-watered regions of northern Botswana were by no means "dying out;" rather, they were widespread, existed in significant numbers, and in many cases had even higher population growth rates than desert-dwelling populations.

At about the time that Silberbauer was winding up his research in the Central Kalahari another anthropologist arrived to study the G/wi and G//ana, Jiro Tanaka (1969, 1976, 1980). Tanaka carried out his work on subsistence ecology from December, 1966 through March, 1968 and again from April, 1971 through August, 1972. The populations he studied were different from the !Kung in a number of

respects. The biggest constraint the G/wi and G//ana were facing was the lack of surface water much of the year; as a consequence, people had to depend on moisture from melons and roots. Heavy emphasis was placed on plants in the diet, but a high degree of selectivity was indicated, depending on ease of access, taste, and other factors (Tanaka 1976). Mobility was determined by the distribution of plants and, to a much lesser extent, animals and other resources. The social structure of the G/wi and G//ana in the ≠Kade (!Xade) area was seen by Tanaka (1980) as being highly flexible and characterised by consanguineal, marital, friendship, and other links which allowed movement of members from one local group to another.

The pioneering work of Silberbauer in the Ghanzi Farms in the 1950s and early 1960s was expanded upon by Mathias Guenther (1976, 1979, 1986a), who worked among the Nharo, the largest of the Ghanzi groups. The Nharo have undergone relatively extensive socio-economic change and have been exposed to problems of poverty, landlessness, and declining socio-economic status, largely as a result of the establishment of freehold ranches on the Ghanzi Ridge in the late 19th century. Many of the Nharo have become farm labourers and eke out an existence through getting wages and occasional food from farm owners, in addition to doing marginal food production and, occasionally, foraging.

Guenther carried out fieldwork among the Nharo from August, 1968 to April, 1970, and again in May-June, 1974. Much of his work concentrated on socio-economic change and religion, and he analysed the adaptations of Basarwa in the context of a complicated pluralistic social situation. Life for the Nharo and other Ghanzi Basarwa, according to Guenther (1986a:49), is marred by inter-ethnic conflict, particularly in terms of competition for jobs. Ghanzi Basarwa often use the term //gaba to describe their situation; literally translated, it means "hunger" (Guenther 1986a:50). There is a level of despair, anger, and dissatisfaction among Ghanzi Basarwa that is higher than is the case among foraging groups in Botswana. The outward manifestations of these problems can be seen in the apathy of Basarwa squatters as well as in the frequency of fighting and, in the opinion of many Ghanzi farmers, stock theft supposedly attributable to Basarwa. Stock theft and squatting were two reasons given by Ghanzi farmers for the removal of Basarwa from their farms.

From a socio-economic standpoint, approximately thirty percent of the Nharo of Ghanzi are employed on farms; about twenty percent are unemployed and live as squatters on the farms where they have relatives or friends who are employed; and the remainder are employed intermittently, if at all, and obtain their subsistence in part from foraging and marginal food production (Guenther 1986a:129). Less than half of the subsistence even of individuals who are employed is derived from wages or payments in kind, the balance being made up from gathering, rural industries such as handicrafts, herding, and cultivation (Childers 1976:52). It is interesting to note that even though the Ghanzi Basarwa exist in a variety of socio-economic situations, in some ways their social and kinship systems have been retained to a significant extent (Guenther 1976:124, 132, 1986a:176, 1986b:138-141). One area where major changes have occurred is in religion, with ritual having risen in importance, particularly the trance as a potentially important force in social change.

While there are relatively few nomadic groups of Nharo left in the Ghanzi District, some of them could still be found in the late 1960s in areas to the south of the farms. Anthropological research on the subsistence and economic patterns of mobile Nharo groups was carried out by H.P. Steyn in 1969 (Steyn 1971). These groups tended to aggregate in the dry season (roughly from June to November) and disperse into small, family-sized units in the wet season (December to April). In some cases, they fell back on farms and villages, particularly during drought periods (Tobias 1962:808;

Silberbauer 1965:121, 1981a:20-21).

One of the factors in the changing relationship between the Basarwa and other groups in the western Kalahari was the declining water table. As livestock densities increased and more water was extracted through wells and boreholes, areas that formerly were important hunting and gathering territories became almost uninhabitable except during the rainy season. The economic dependency of Ghanzi and other western Kalahari Basarwa on Afrikaaner farmers and Bakgalagadi cattle owners increased. The incorporation of the Basarwa into the farm labour system and other forms of socio-economic dependency was the subject of research by sociologist Margo Russell and historian Martin Russell in 1973 (Russell and Russell 1979). As Russell (1979:193) notes, the relationship between the Basarwa and the Ghanzi farmers was much fuller than a mere wage-labour contract would imply. The problem has been that the rise of fencing and the increased commercialisation of the Botswana beef industry has meant a reduced demand for Basarwa labour. The result is that more and more Basarwa are becoming unemployed, and their economic and social status is declining even more precipitously.

#### The rise of development oriented anthropological research

In the 1960s the Basarwa were finding themselves increasingly in difficult socio-economic situations. Silberbauer was responding to these problems in his recommendations concerning provision of educational opportunities, training in livestock production, and economic diversification (Silberbauer 1965:135ff.). Although his report was published and circulated widely, by and large his development oriented recommendations were not followed. At Independence in 1966 the only development-related activity relating specifically to Basarwa was the D'Kar Mission which had been founded in 1964 by a branch of the Dutch Reformed Church (Gereformeerde Kerk Aranos) in Ghanzi District (Wily 1979a:22). This mission had a farm, a school, a tannery, and a leather workshop where Basarwa children were able to acquire new skills.

It was in the Ghanzi District where administrators could see the most obvious examples of what was sometimes referred to as the "Bushman Problem". Farmers had complained of squatting and stock theft by Basarwa since the founding of the Ghanzi Farms in the 1890s. Attempts had been made in 1910 and 1937 to establish settlement schemes where Basarwa could be brought together, thus alleviating pressure on the farmers. The settlement scheme idea was resurrected in the *Transitional Plan for Social and Economic Development (1966-68)* with the incorporation of a "Bushman Training and Settlement Project" (Home Affairs Project HA 01). The proposed settlement project, which included the setting up of two livestock training centres where Basarwa would receive instruction in animal husbandry prior to resettlement, gave rise to intense discussions within the Government of Botswana. The Wildlife Department saw the Basarwa settlements as potentially harmful to wildlife populations in the district, so they proposed an alternative scheme in 1969, the "Kalahari Wildlife Utilisation and Bushmen Training Centre", which would be located closer to the farms and would include components geared toward hunting and processing of game. As it turned out, neither of these projects was implemented.

During the 1960s H.J. Heinz had been working with a group of !Xo in the Takatswane area of Ghanzi District. Some of these people had settled at a veterinary borehole on the trek route between Ghanzi and Lobatse. Heinz had assisted these people to raise income through sales of their handicrafts, and he provided training in raising livestock and ploughing (Heinz 1969). In 1971 Heinz applied to the Ministry of

Finance and Development Planning for permission to drill a borehole for purposes of establishing a !Xo settlement (MDFP file 90/2/3, 15 July 1971). Approval was granted by the Government in late 1971 (Presidential Directive 65/71, 17 November, 1971). A borehole was drilled and facilities provided for the !Xo group at Bere. Subsequently, some of the capital inputs and most of the running costs of the Bere Scheme were provided by the Government of Botswana (Wily 1979a:47).

The work begun by Heinz among the !Xo was continued by linguist Tony Traill, who first began visiting the people around Lone Tree in 1968 (see Traill 1974, 1985). Traill did research in phonetics and phonology, and he carried out language surveys in the Ghanzi and Kgalagadi Districts. He was not content, however, simply to study the !Xo. In early 1973 Traill requested permission to establish a development scheme for the Lone Tree !Xo. Once the Ministry of Local Government and Lands approved the scheme, Traill worked with the Ghanzi District Administration in drawing up a project memorandum to cover the costs of drilling a new borehole some distance away from the Veterinary Department water source where the !Xo were located (Ghanzi DDC file D 12 1, 3 July, 1973). Some of the participants in the scheme had the opportunity to receive agricultural training at the Farmers' Brigade in Serowe in 1973 (Patrick van Rensburg, personal communication).

Other non-Government initiatives to assist the Basarwa in the late 1960s and early 1970s included the financial support of Basarwa children so that they could attend the school in the Xanagas farming block in western Botswana. Varena Venter, a missionary, paid for six children to go to the school beginning in January, 1972. This activity was similar to that of the Kalahari Peoples Fund work in Ngamiland, which sponsored 22 children to attend school at !Xangwa in conjunction with the North West District Council. Health assistance was provided to Bere and D'Kar through the Flying Doctor Service of the Seventh Day Adventists who were based in Kanye in eastern Botswana in the early 1970s.

Most of the work in Basarwa development in the 1960s and early 1970s was done either by non-Government organisations or by anthropologists. In order to illustrate this point, data have been compiled on projects which were established for Basarwa in the 1960s and 1970s (see Table 5). It can be seen that those efforts initiated for Basarwa through the early 1970s were the results of activities by anthropologists or church organisations. The Government of Botswana did provide some of the funding for these schemes, especially in the case of running costs. It was not until the mid-to late 1970s that Government became directly involved in establishing settlement and development schemes for Basarwa and other remote area populations.

In spite of the impacts anthropologists were having in the area of Basarwa development, the perception of social scientists was that they were generally unwilling to participate in development-related activities and that they tended to overemphasise the "primitive" or "traditional" aspects of the societies they were studying. As Wily (1979a:22-23) put it, "The impact of these researchers upon Government policy or action was minimal; as is not unusual, the academics tended to avoid officials, and officials tended to view the work of the researchers as backward-looking and unhelpful in solving the present plight of the San." Others felt that anthropologists were not so



TABLE 5  
Basarwa Settlements in Botswanas

| Settlement Name | District Name | Founding Date | Organisation or Person Responsible                                | Population Size        | Reference(s)  |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------|---|------------------------|---|
| Bere            | Ghanzi        | 1968          | H.J. Heinz  | 156                    | Heinz (1970, 1973, 1975, 1978:75-76); Wily (1973a, b, 1976, 1979a)                  |
| Chobokwane      | Ghanzi        | 1978          | Ghanzi District Council, Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) | 150 (1978:70, 1979:37) | Mayane (1979a, b); RADP   |
| D'Kar           | Ghanzi        | 1964          | Dutch Reformed Church, D. Jerling                                 | 115                    | Childers (1976:77-80); Guenther (1979)  |
| West Hanahai    | Ghanzi        | 1978          | Ghanzi District Council, Remote Area Development Programme        | 191                    | Childers (1976); Childers, Stanley and Rick (1982); RADP (1979:36)                  |
| Ka/gae          | Ghanzi        | 1973          | A. Traill, Ka/gae Development Trust                               | 169                    | Childers, Stanley and Rick (1982); RADP (1978:70, 1979:35, 41); Wily (1979a, 1979b) |
| Man/otai        | Central       | 1976          | Central District Council, RADP                                    | 129                    | Cashdan (1979); Cashdan and Chasko (1977); Hitchcock (1982a)                        |
| !Xade           | Ghanzi (CKGR) | 1962          | G. Silberbauer, Bushman Survey Officer                            | 200                    | English <i>et al</i> (1980); Sheller (1977); Tanaka (1980); RADP (1979:35-36)       |

much trying to help Basarwa as they were themselves. One Government official made the following observation:

"Calling for outside assistance in the form of personnel we shall only be calling outside people to come and further their own interests. We shall be calling people to come and do research that will later enable them to sell their materials they will have produced from their research for their own benefit; they will take pictures of Bushmen and sell them for their own profit; they are going to share the profits derived from cattle sold by the poor Bushmen who cannot even count; they may even keep far more cattle at these places than the Bushmen. It is not yet known why certain people can abandon their jobs and decide to go and live without salary with Bushmen. They definitely must be seeing some advantage in the long run, if only a best-selling book or some lucrative film rights" (Marcus J. Rowland, *Report of Tour of Bushmen Settlement and Training Schemes* Ghanzi District: 19th to 24th February, 1972, p. 36; file LG 22/26 (193), 27 March, 1972).'

These kinds of attitudes resulted in an effort to limit the number of researchers studying Basarwa in Botswana. As early as 1965 it was suggested that some restrictions be placed on the activities of Basarwa researchers (file HA 17/1, 23 April, 1975).

One of the advantages of research, albeit indirect, was that it helped draw attention to the Basarwa and eventually served as a catalyst for the Government of Botswana to identify an officer to take over the portfolio of "Bushman Affairs" in 1971 (Wily 1979a:38-39). Funds were set aside for Basarwa-related projects, and a Bushmen Development Committee was formed in 1972. Discussions in late 1972 and 1973 in meetings of this committee centred on issues relating to development, the problem of special assistance being provided to Basarwa as opposed to other groups, the need for integration of Basarwa into the mainstream of Botswana society, and the role of research (Wily 1979a:42ff.).

Administrators saw the pace of Basarwa research picking up in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It should be stressed that some of these researchers did attempt to cater to Government needs. Henry Harpending of Harvard University, for example, did wide-ranging surveys of Basarwa in Ngamiland and Ghanzi Districts in the course of his demographic research. Harpending agreed to provide information to Government (Home Affairs file 14/11/2, 15 May, 1968). Wily (1979a:34-35) saw this as being one of the first instances of cooperation between Government and private researchers.

The year 1970 saw a huge jump in the number of applications to conduct research and do filming of Basarwa. As Wily (1979a:35) notes, three different groups did films in that year, and the Ministry of Home Affairs received seven research applications in the month of July alone. An official in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands commented to the effect that the "research student business is one of the few remaining growth industries" (file LG 22/26, 9 June, 1970). It was suggested that fees might be charged for permission to do filming and that the funds generated be used to establish a special "Bushman Development Fund" to improve these people's living conditions (file LG 22/26, 18 June, 1970).

The struggle between anthropologists and administrators intensified in the early 1970s. On the one hand, anthropologists sometimes went out of their way to provide Government with information that could be useful for development purposes, while on the other, social scientists resisted the efforts to direct research or oversee their activities. On the positive side, anthropologists such as Mathias Guenther did reports on the Ghanzi Farms Basarwa for the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, and he did an analysis of D'Kar Mission which was useful in giving insights into some of the problems there. Megan Biesele, while working on folklore among a group of

!Kung at Kauri in Ngamiland, made some useful observations on socio-economic change among Basarwa, some of which were incorporated into policies of the North West District Council and the Kalahari Peoples Fund. Alan Barnard, who did research on settlement patterns and kinship systems of Nharo in Ghanzi District in 1974-75, submitted reports to the Ministry of Local Government and Lands on development problems and changing settlement patterns of farm Basarwa (for general conclusions on Basarwa settlement patterns as well as specific data on Nharo systems, see Barnard 1979, 1980).

Problems arose at the Bere Scheme which served to make administrators wary of the intentions of anthropologists. In 1971 Government officials repeatedly requested clarification from H.J. Heinz on how he envisioned the relationship between Government and the proposed settlement scheme. Heinz replied that the initiative was a "controlled experiment" which should not be subjected to interference from Government. At the same time, he requested funding from Government for the development of Bere. Concerns grew as the Ghanzi District Council realised that they had little, if any, say in the running of the school at the settlement. Two reports by a school teacher at Bere (Wily 1973a, b) also served to focus attention on the issue of what some people saw as a "top-down" or paternalistic approach to development.

By 1973 the question of what to do with anthropological researchers was being raised in Government meetings, particularly in the ones where Basarwa development was the main subject on the agenda. The Bushmen Development Committee recommended in June, 1973 that the Office of the President be advised to exercise stricter controls over Basarwa research permits and to impose conditions on researchers who were allowed into the country (minutes of meeting of 6 June, 1973, cited in Wily 1979a:53). The Government of Botswana also refused to send a representative to a Symposium on Bushmen Studies organised by the Kalahari Research Committee and the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa in 1973, ostensibly because the agenda had "little to do with Bushmen in a changing world" (Wily 1979a:52).

In 1974 the Government of Botswana created a post of Bushmen Development Officer and filled it with an individual who had experience as a teacher at the Bere Settlement Scheme, Elizabeth Wily.<sup>7</sup> Wily set about establishing a coordinated research and development programme for Basarwa. She was careful, however, to avoid the pitfalls of pushing for special assistance for Basarwa on the basis of their ethnic affiliation. She placed particular emphasis on the idea that the Basarwa were underprivileged citizens of Botswana and as such they had the same rights to development as other remote area populations. The guiding principles of Basarwa development included integration into the national socio-economic system, emphasis on self-help and promotion of self-reliance, and participation in decision-making concerning development action. In 1975 the Bushmen Development Programme was incorporated into Botswana's Fourth National Development Plan as Project LG 32, and funds began to be sought from outside donors for specific sub-projects.

Early on, the Bushmen Development Programme attempted to work through existing ministries and on-going development projects such as the Village Areas Development Programme (VADP) (Wily 1979a:74-89). There were a number of constraints to these efforts, not least of which was the unwillingness of government departments to appear as though they were giving special attention to a small group of citizens. The Community Development Department of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, for example, refused to allow its officers to collect data on Basarwa since they saw this as being outside their terms of reference (LG 1/3, 25 July, 1974). As a result, the Bushmen Development Programme placed heavier reliance on

non-Government organisations and individuals than had been anticipated originally (Wily 1979a:90). Private anthropological researchers, in particular, were tapped to assist the programme in its data collection and liaison efforts among Basarwa.

One of the actions of the Bushmen Development Officer was to write the various anthropological researchers who had done work in Botswana in an effort to solicit their support and obtain information (Wily 1979a:91). Many of the researchers responded by submitting reports to the Ministry of Local Government and Lands; a comprehensive list of these reports was drawn up and given to the Botswana National Archives and was later published as an appendix to the report on the first Remote Area Development Workshop (Remote Area Development Programme 1978:145-157, Appendix 3). Wily, however, had the general feeling that much of the research on Basarwa was esoteric and thus of little immediate relevance to the socio-economic situation. She began to push for research to be much more active in its orientation and argued that anthropologists should become more closely involved in development.

In May, 1974 the Bushmen Development Officer wrote to the Kalahari Peoples Fund, saying that the vulnerability of the Basarwa required development officers who are also anthropologists (LG 22/26 I, 2 May, 1974). In this letter she expressed the opinion that it would not be in the interests of the Basarwa to have a rigid division between research and development. Some anthropologists felt that her emphasis on applied research and development was an effort to get away from "pure research" and they disagreed with her position on what anthropologists should do. Wily also took steps to have a greater say in the research permit granting process. Under the Anthropological Research Act of 1967, the Office of the President received applications to carry out social research. Wily requested that all permit requests relating to Basarwa be submitted to the Bushmen Development Programme for review.

The impact of the Bushmen Development Programme on anthropological research among Basarwa cannot be over-emphasised. The Ministry of Local Government and Lands submitted a document to the Office of the President in 1974 which laid out research policy to be followed. In April, 1975 a Presidential Directive was issued (No. 12/75, 10 April, 1975) which dealt with policy relating to Basarwa research. It should be pointed out that this statement is the only official one issued that relates directly to the Basarwa. Rather than focusing upon Basarwa development, it dealt with the topic that many administrators saw as the most problematic: research. The full text of this directive is presented in Appendix I. Besides the stated intention of reducing research which was not development-oriented, the directive included a set of criteria to be used in evaluating research proposals.

The background briefing note attached to the proposed Cabinet Memorandum relating to research among Basarwa underscored the attitude of Government toward researchers. One concern had to do with the impact that researchers had on isolated communities through their sometimes lengthy presence. Another related to the gifts which anthropologists supposedly had a penchant for giving to their informants. The briefing note implied that Basarwa were sometimes "bribed into cooperation," something which presumably caused artificial dependencies to be created, albeit unwittingly (Wily 1979a:93). A third area of concern had to do with the ability of the people themselves to turn down the idea of research being carried on them. Given these attitudes, it comes as no surprise that some efforts would have been made to control and direct research among Basarwa.

The Bushmen Development Officer, by her own admission (Wily 1979a:91, 93-94), believed that surveys and investigations should be carried out prior to the initiation of development projects. She sought actively to recruit an anthropologist to carry out an

investigation of the Ghanzi Farms' Basarwa, but this was turned down by the Directorate of Personnel (Wily 1979a:94). She attributed this decision to the anti-research sentiment which prevailed in Government. She was forced to relinquish her goal of recruiting professional anthropologists and turned to a strategy of requiring private researchers who applied to do Basarwa-related work to assist the Bushmen Development Programme.

The stricter controls on anthropological research among Basarwa began to take effect in 1975. Edwin Wilmsen, who had applied to do further work among !Kung in the /ai/ai region of Ngamiland, was required to spend part of his time away from his research location, as well as to participate in data collection which was geared toward the development needs of Basarwa groups. A team of anthropologists from the University of New Mexico under the direction of Patricia Draper and Henry Harpending was not allowed to work with the !Kung at all; instead, they were required to request a change of venue from the U.S. National Science Foundation, which had funded the research. The University of New Mexico (UNM) Kalahari Project was asked by the Bushmen Development Officer through the Office of the President to shift its research work to the Central District, where little activity had taken place since the "Masarwa Commission" and the surveys and development work of J.W. Joyce in the 1930s. In addition, a condition was placed on the research permit granted to the UNM team that work had to be done in conjunction with local officials, some of whom were involved in surveys related to the implementation of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP), a land reform and livestock development programme which was being planned in 1974-75.

Until 1975 nearly all of the anthropological research conducted among Basarwa in Botswana had been confined to the western half of the country. Sporadic surveys had been done of language and physical anthropology, mainly by South African researchers, in the eastern half of the country, but by and large the area was relatively unknown ethnographically. This was due in part to the assumption that the Basarwa in the eastern Kalahari and hardveld regions of the country were "acculturated" and had therefore lost many of their traditions (see, for example, Schapera 1930:30, 36; Tobias 1957:33). The Bushmen Development Officer was aware of the imbalance in research focus, and she pushed for anthropologists to direct their attention toward those groups occupying eastern Botswana.

In the case of the University of New Mexico Kalahari Project, the Government's decision to require a change of venue from Ngamiland turned out to be advantageous. Discussions with individuals knowledgeable about Basarwa prior to entering the field revealed a general lack of knowledge concerning the socio-economic situations of people in eastern Botswana, with the notable exceptions of Alec Campbell and George Silberbauer, who had collaborated on demographic data collection among Basarwa during the 1964 census. Campbell suggested that the UNM team study Basarwa along the river in northeastern Botswana. The people there, many of whom were Tyua, turned out to be food producers, fishermen, and part-time foragers who resided in settled villages (Cashdan 1979, 1985; Cashdan and Chasko 1977; Hitchcock 1982a, b). These people were ethnically distinct from the desert-dwelling San in the central and western Kalahari. Sometimes referred to as Black Basarwa or River Bushmen, the Nata groups may represent the descendants of Negro populations who lost their stock and reverted to hunting and gathering (Nurse and Jenkins 1977; Chasko *et al* 1979).

At the other end of the socio-economic continuum from mobile foragers to self-sufficient food producers were the groups residing in the east-central Kalahari. When the UNM team met with the Bushmen Development Officer in Gaborone in August, 1975, it was explained to them that the Government of Botswana had just declared the

Tribal Grazing Land Policy and that surveys were being carried out in sandveld areas by Ministry of Agriculture and District Land Board officials. One region seen as being a potential commercial ranching area was the vast Western Sandveld of Central District. The suggestion was made that the UNM team might work with the technical advisor to the Ngwato Land Board in doing surveys of population and water point distribution along with assessments of land use practices. The UNM Kalahari Project and Ngwato Land Board conducted investigations of the Western Sandveld and found large numbers of hunter-gatherers in addition to people living at cattleposts. One result of these surveys was the first comprehensive land use and development plan for a commercial ranching area designated under the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (Ebert *et al* 1976).

The Western Sandveld contained significant numbers of hunter-gatherers, many of whom were known as Kua (Hitchcock 1978, 1982a, b). Some of these people were in the process of settling on the peripheries of cattleposts, where they were able to gain access to water, occasional food, and employment opportunities. This process of sedentism, whereby groups reduce their mobility to the point where they remain stationary residually year-round, is a subject receiving increasing attention in anthropology, particularly in the case of Basarwa research (Lee 1972a, d, e, 1975, 1979a:362ff. 1979b:314-317; Harpending 1976; Harpending and Wandsnider 1982; Hitchcock 1978, 1982a, 1982b). Some of the impacts of settling down include changes in group size, increases in work effort, shifts in reciprocity systems, and a rise in demographic growth rates. Problems incurred as a result of sedentism include localised resource depletion, social conflict, and higher sickness levels.

In the context of reduced mobility it becomes more costly to provide people with resources. New means are developed to buffer groups against variation in resource availability. These buffering strategies include storage, reciprocity, and food production. These topics were investigated by Elizabeth Cashdan in a comparative study of Basarwa populations on the Boteti and Nata Rivers (Cashdan 1977, 1979, 1985). Cashdan also did research on territorial organisation and subsistence strategies among the G//ana of the northeastern Central Kalahari Game Reserve (Cashdan 1984a, b). An intriguing aspect of the G//ana adaptation in the Central Reserve was their cultivation of melons (e.g. *Citrullus lanatus*), which served as sources of moisture. By doing this the G//ana were essentially growing their own water supply and thus were able to extend the period of time which they could remain at their wet season camps (Cashdan 1984a:316). A comparative study of shifts from foraging to food production among Basarwa reveals that many Botswana groups are depending increasingly on domestic crops as a source of their subsistence (Hitchcock and Ebert 1984).

The University of New Mexico Kalahari Project collaborated with a substantial number of researchers, Government personnel, and private individuals during the course of its work in Central District. Table 6 presents data on the various people who worked with the UNM Kalahari Project along with the topics they were concerned with and the dates of their research. It can be seen that there was an emphasis on ethnology, ethnoarchaeology, and, significantly, land use planning. In early 1976 a member of the UNM team accompanied a group of Basarwa from the Man/otai area on the Nata River to a district meeting at Tutume which dealt with the formation of

**TABLE 6**  
**University of New Mexico Kalahari Project Personnel**

| Researcher                 | Topic                       | Date(s)                      |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Brearley, John          | music                       | 1982                         |
| 2. Bunn, Henry             | faunal ethnoarchaeology     | 1978                         |
| 3. Cashdan, Elizabeth      | exchange, ethnology         | 1975-77                      |
| 4. Chasko, William J., Jr. | land use, demography        | 1975-77                      |
| 5. Crowell, Aron L.        | hunting                     | 1976                         |
| 6. Draper, Patricia        | ethnology                   | 1975                         |
| 7. Ebert, James I.         | archaeology, ethnology      | 1975-76                      |
| 8. Ebert, Melinda          | rural industries            | 1975-76                      |
| 9. Filteau, Patricia       | storage, female initiation  | 1976                         |
| 10. Harpending, Henry      | demography                  | 1975                         |
| 11. Hitchcock, Robert K.   | ethnology, ethnoarchaeology | 1975-76, 1977-79,<br>1980-82 |
| 12. Jenkins, Trefor        | serogenetics                | 1975                         |
| 13. Kroll, Ellen           | ethnoarchaeology            | 1978                         |
| 14. Lundberg, Ulla-Lena    | ethnology                   | 1978                         |
| 15. Nurse, George T.       | serogenetics                | 1975                         |
| 16. Premark, David         | psychology                  | 1977                         |
| 17. Oabile, Malebogo       | land use planning           | 1975-76                      |
| 18. O'Connor, Bridget      | music, story-telling        | 1976, 1977, 1978,<br>1979    |
| 19. Riexinger, Claus       | land use planning           | 1975-76                      |
| 20. Stirling, Catherine    | land use planning           | 1978                         |
| 21. Thoma, Axel            | land use planning           | 1975-76, 1977-78             |
| 22. Totten, Sam            | ethnology, social change    | 1978                         |
| 23. Vierich, Helga         | ecology, ethnology          | 1976, 1977                   |

Village Development Committees. Subsequently, the Nata Basarwa decided to elect their own development committee and to request the Government of Botswana and the Ngwato Land Board to allocate a portion of land along the river to them for their use. Similar decisions were made by groups in the Western Sandveld as a result of discussions with members of the UNM team and Government land use planning personnel.

The people of the Nata River area were quick to realise the potential benefits of anthropologists. They requested members of the UNM team to take messages to the Bushmen Development Officer and to the Central District Council. They used the project's vehicles for purposes of moving materials to a new *kgotla* (council place) at Man/otai. They started their own school, the Bosele Community School, in mid-1976, drawing on the services of a Mongwato assistant of the UNM team as a teacher. They also formed one of the first women's development committees in rural Botswana, and they had a very active Parents-Teachers Association (PTA) which requested funds from the UNM team, the Botswana Christian Council, and the Bushmen Development

Programme to pay for school books and other materials. When the Radio Learning Group campaign was conducted as part of the consultation efforts to explain the Tribal Grazing Land Policy in 1976, the Basarwa community at Man/otai had one of the most active groups in the country, and it was the first one to get a question answered over the air by the Ministry of Local Government and Lands.

During the course of the ethnographic surveys of the UNM team in the eastern Kalahari and Nata River regions, it became clear that people were becoming increasingly concerned that with the introduction of leasehold tenure under the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (Republic of Botswana 1975), they would lose access to land on which they had resided for generations. Attempts by the Nata River Basarwa to have the Sebina Sub-Land Board and the Ngwato Land Board allocate them fields and grazing land in the vicinity of their villages were unsuccessful. Discussions with residents of the Western Sandveld after the TGLP consultation campaign in 1976 revealed that very few people had heard the broadcasts or attended *kgotla* meetings relating to the policy. Essentially, this meant that those people who would be most affected by the introduction of the land reform programme in the tribal areas had heard the least about it. An additional problem discovered by members of the UNM team was that Basarwa were already being told to leave boreholes, ostensibly because owners had been given exclusive rights.

Under Tswana customary law, people had *de facto* rights to land for residential, arable, and grazing purposes (Hitchcock 1978, 1980). Those individuals who dug a well or built a dam were able to gain rights over the areas surrounding that location. The Tribal Grazing Land Policy recommended the giving of exclusive rights to individuals and small groups in what formerly had been land held under communal tenure. In the Western Sandveld region, this meant that people who already had water rights would be able to obtain leasehold tenure over blocks of rangeland covering 64 square kilometres. Literally thousands of people living and working in the Western Sandveld region thus stood to be dispossessed by the implementation of the TGLP. This problem was raised by one of the members of the UNM team at a meeting in November, 1976 sponsored by the Rural Sociology Unit. There it was argued that detailed population surveys and a sound land adjudication procedure needed to be instituted prior to the allocation of land for commercial ranching purposes. One outgrowth of this meeting was a decision by the Rural Development Unit and the Ministry of Local Government and Lands to obtain the services of an anthropologist to conduct a survey of the largest potential commercial ranching area in Botswana, the Western Sandveld region of Central District.

The Bushmen Development Officer was quick to realise the possible negative impacts of the TGLP. In an important message sent to District Commissioners, District Councils, and Land Boards, the following remarks were made:

"The Ministry wishes to make explicit in the land use planning exercise connected with the Tribal Grazing Land Development Programme the importance of evaluating and taking account of the land needs of Basarwa. This is important at all stages of the data collection and survey programme and the process of consultation. Failure to do this will lead to a situation similar to that in Ghanzi District where numbers of Basarwa are unwanted squatters on freehold land, without access to land themselves and with major social, economic, and political problems resulting" (file LG 2/20, 18 July, 1975).

One strategy employed by the Bushmen Development Programme was to initiate what came to be known as "investigation/liaison projects"<sup>8</sup> in order to determine the distributions, numbers, and socio-economic situations of Basarwa and other people in rural Botswana.



Some of the earliest investigation/liaison work was done in the North West District of Botswana. In April, 1975 anthropologist Megan Bieseke began a project geared toward encouraging Basarwa to dig wells, register their fields, and diversify their activities (Bieseke 1976). Consciousness raising efforts were carried out with an eye toward enhancing cooperation among Basarwa in non-traditional ways. Bieseke's work was financed by the Kalahari Peoples Fund and Laurence and Lorna Marshall, and she worked closely with the North West District Council and the Bushmen Development Programme. One of the objectives of her work was to familiarise Basarwa with the various procedures used by bodies such as Tawana Land Board and North West District Council so that they could initiate development and land registration activities of their own.

One of Bieseke's strategies was to attempt to get the Tawana Land Board to accept a detailed land use plan for western Ngamiland which included areas that would be reserved for use by Basarwa. The Tawana Land Board, however, rejected the plan, saying that reserved areas could only be declared in places where nobody was living (Wily 1981:27). Instead, it was recommended that the Basarwa land needs should be met in the communal areas. The difficulty was that people could not obtain exclusive rights in the communal zones. It was then that an application was made for a block grant of land surrounding sixteen wells, but this, too was rejected and the recommendation made that each group had to apply individually for water rights (Tawana Land Board file A/33 I, 26 February, 1976). As it turned out, it was not easy to get the necessary letter of "No Objection" from the local headman as part of the application process, and the procedures were such that approvals were slow in coming. Thus, by 1976 it was becoming clear that the chances for Basarwa getting land through the land use planning under the TGLP were difficult at best.

The possible negative impacts of enclosure and granting of exclusive rights to individuals had been amply illustrated by the Ghanzi Farms experience (Silberbauer 1965; Guenther 1976, 1979, 1986a; Wily 1974, 1979a:12-15, 39-40, 126-131, 1979b, 1980a, 1981:12, 45-49, 1982a, 1982b). There the takeover of land by Afrikaaner farmers had led to the dispossession and, ultimately, landlessness and poverty for several thousand Basarwa. The Bushmen Development Programme felt the situation in Ghanzi to be the most critical of those facing Basarwa in Botswana. When it became evident that it would be impossible to recruit an anthropologist to carry out the work, Wily turned to a former Peace Corps volunteer, Gary Childers, who served as the District Officer (Development) for Basarwa in Ghanzi District from October, 1975 to September, 1976. Childers conducted a survey of the Ghanzi Farms Basarwa over a six month period in 1975-76 (Childers 1976). He found that the majority of Basarwa wanted the benefits that development could bring, and he recommended the provision of land and water as a means of ensuring their socio-economic well-being (Childers 1976:86ff.).

Childers (1976:87) took issue with the notion that Basarwa would be integrated into the mainstream of Botswana life once they were induced to move into villages and could begin interacting with other supposedly more "progressive" groups. The Ghanzi Basarwa had been in regular contact with other groups for decades, he noted, and yet they were at the bottom of the socio-economic scale. The only way they could break out of their subservient and insecure position was through gaining economic self-sufficiency and taking more responsibility in decision-making. Childers recommended the establishment of four areas adjacent to the Ghanzi block where Basarwa could get land and water rights (Childers 1976:97-98). He also recommended development activities be undertaken in these areas, including agricultural training and extension, handicraft marketing, provision of education and health services, assistance in wildlife

utilisation, community development work, rural industries promotion, and employment schemes (Childers 1976:97-99). The Bushmen Development Programme embarked on a whole series of development projects in the Ghanzi District from 1976 onwards, some of which were a result of Childers' suggestions (for a summary of these projects, see Remote Area Development Programme 1978:130-138, Appendix 1, RADP 1979:31-51, 1981:47-57, 1982:86-94).

One of the misconceptions about Basarwa was that they were pure foragers who had no experience herding livestock and no desire to keep domestic animals of their own. Anthropological research and investigation liaison work in the 1970s revealed that many Basarwa were involved in the livestock industry, most of them as herders (*badisa*) on ranches and farms. Basarwa, in some cases, have become successful herd managers in their own right. The types of stock kept by Basarwa include cattle, goats, sheep, horses, donkeys, dogs, and poultry. Donkeys in particular were sought by the Basarwa, who used them for transport and for ploughing. Horses are prized highly, especially by !Kung and by Basarwa in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (Murray 1976:9-10; Osaki 1984). In those parts of the Kalahari where surface water was lacking for much of the year, domestic stock was fed on melons and roots. In some cases, Basarwa dug wells in order to provide water for their animals, and in others they requested permission from well or borehole owners to be allowed to keep their animals close to water sources.

Domestic stock were kept by Basarwa even in game reserves where under government regulations they were not allowed. In a survey of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in the period from July to September, 1976 which was sponsored by the Bushmen Development Programme and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, it was found that the residents of the area kept over 1,500 goats, 100 donkeys, and 21 horses, as well as dogs and chickens (Murray 1976:9; Sheller 1977:34). In the Dobe area of western Ngamiland, Lee (1979a:409-411) found that 27% of the adult males he interviewed had been involved in herding at some point in the past. Wilmsen (1985:96) reports that 34% of the !Kung at /ai/ai were stock owners in 1980. Among Ghanzi Farms Basarwa, 34 of 236 households (14.4%) had livestock (Childers 1976:58-62, Table 10). A much smaller percentage of the Basarwa on the Ghanzi Commonage (around the village of Ghanzi) kept their own livestock (2.9%) (Wily 1974:4-5). Data collected in the Western Sandveld of Central District during the investigation of the potential commercial ranch area in 1975 revealed that about a fifth of the households interviewed had livestock of their own, some of them obtained through payment of a heifer for services rendered on cattleposts (Ebert *et al* 1976).

A major problem for many people in rural Botswana is that they do not have direct or indirect access to livestock at the time they are needed most, i.e. after the first rains when moisture levels in the soil are optimum for planting. Basarwa attempted to obtain livestock through borrowing from cattlepost and ranch owners. In some cases they even hired oxen for draught purposes. A major constraint to crop production in the Kalahari is the timely access to livestock for ploughing, and Basarwa had more problems than most people since few of them had sufficient numbers to make up a ploughing team. They got around this difficulty by using donkeys to plough; in other cases they cultivated by hand (Hitchcock 1978:341-346, 1986).

In the latter part of the 1970s anthropologists and Bushmen Development Programme personnel began to recommend the establishment of livestock loan schemes which would allow people access to animals so that they could plough and begin to build up a breeding herd. In order to make these livestock loan schemes successful, a number of factors had to be taken into consideration. The recipients of the loan animals had to be given the opportunity to get extension advice on livestock

husbandry and management. The Bushmen Development Programme dealt with this problem by recommending the appointment of Agricultural Advisors. In 1976 Ghanzi and North West Districts were able to obtain the services of agricultural personnel. The Ministry of Agriculture later appointed Agricultural Extension Assistants (AEA's) in several parts of the country, including Mmaletswai and Lepasha, two communal service centres adjacent to commercial ranches established under the Tribal Grazing Land Policy. Small-scale livestock production efforts have been discussed extensively in a series of workshops sponsored by what became the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP 1978:17-18, 1979:68-72, 1981:49-51, 1982:59) and in reports by consultants who worked with remote area populations in Botswana (Hitchcock 1978:278-284, 419, 1982c-e; Childers 1981:46-50, 169-171). Similar programmes have been initiated among Basarwa in Namibia (Gordon 1984:11-12, 27-31; Marshall and Ritchie 1984).

One of the prevailing notions that dominated thinking in Botswana planning circles in the 1960s and 1970s was that the Basarwa were foragers who did not participate in livestock or crop production and therefore had no need for grazing or arable land. It was not uncommon to hear the statement that the Basarwa were hunter-gatherers until the entry of Tswana agropastoralists in the Kalahari in the late 18th and 19th centuries (see, for example, Wily 1979a:1, 1981:1,6). The Kalahari was viewed as a vast wasteland which was unsuitable for livestock or crops until it was opened up through the digging of wells and drilling of boreholes relatively recently. Archaeological research beginning in the late 1960s began to cast doubt on the notion that the !Kung and other Basarwa were pristine, uncontacted hunter-gatherers until relatively recently. The work of Yellen (1976, 1977a), Wilmsen (1978b, 1982a), the University of New Mexico Kalahari Project (Ebert *et al* 1976), and the National Museum and Art Gallery of Botswana indicated that there had been a long history of agropastoralist occupation in the Kalahari.

The decision of the Government of Botswana to reduce non-development oriented anthropological research resulted in the turning down of applications to conduct studies and do films. Archaeological research, on the other hand, was not seen as such a threat, so permission was granted to researchers who proposed to excavate sites and conduct surveys. In 1975 a team of archaeologists under the direction of John Yellen of the Smithsonian Institution and Alison Brooks of George Washington University began work in the Dobe area of western Ngamiland. Table 7 provides data on the researchers, topics of investigation, and dates when work was carried out by members of the Smithsonian Institution-George Washington University Archaeological and Ethnoarchaeological Project. Some of this work concentrated on living groups and was geared toward elucidating the processes responsible for the formation of the archaeological record (for a discussion of ethnoarchaeology, see Yellen 1977a; Hitchcock 1982a).

The archaeologists were not immune to the strict controls placed on Basarwa research. The Smithsonian-George Washington University team was allowed to work in Ngamiland on the condition that they lived away from the !Kung camps at Dobe and that they did a minimal amount of interviewing. Some of the work done by the Yellen-Brooks team was carried out at a Middle and Late Stone Age site at ≠Gi Pan, where !Kung assisted in excavations of remains going back tens of thousands of years. It was interesting to see the !Kung digging up the remains of what in all likelihood were ancient hunting blinds, particularly since some of their evenings were spent in contemporary blinds, waiting for animals to come to the pan to drink so that they could ambush them. In one instance, the back dirt from the archaeological excavations was used as cover for ambush hunting purposes.

**TABLE 7**  
**Smithsonian Institution — George Washington University Archaeological and**  
**Ethnoarchaeological Research Project**

| Researcher            | Topic                    | Date(s)                                     |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Brooks, Alison S.  | archaeology              | 1975-76, 1977, 1980,<br>1982, 1983          |
| 2. Bruneau, Wendy     | archaeology              | 1982  |
| 3. Crowell, Aron      | archaeology, hunting     | 1975-76                                     |
| 4. Caister, Daniel    | archaeology              | 1977  |
| 5. Forsythe, Rick     | archaeology              | 1977  |
| 6. Gelburd, Diane     | archaeology, ethnology   | 1975-76                                     |
| 7. Hargrove, Thomas   | archaeology, agriculture | 1975-76                                     |
| 8. Helgren, David     | geomorphology            | 1977  |
| 9. Kaup, Ann          | archaeology              | 1982  |
| 10. Rubin, Kathleen   | archaeology              | 1980, 1982                                  |
| 11. Walker, Constance | archaeology              | 1977  |
| 12. Yellen, John E.   | ethnoarchaeology         | 1968-70, 1975-76, 1977,<br>1980, 1982, 1983 |

The ethnoarchaeological research of the Smithsonian Institution-George Washington University team was able to shed important light on processes of socio-economic change among the !Kung (Yellen 1984, 1985a; Brooks, Gelburd, and Yellen 1984). One area where significant change occurred was in subsistence strategies of !Kung groups. The first goat kraal was constructed at one of the Dobe !Kung villages in 1969 (Yellen 1984:54). After that, the distribution of ownership of livestock and the percentage of people involved in agriculture increased significantly. Brooks, Gelburd, and Yellen (1984:306-307) note that while the !Kung had no livestock or fields of their own in 1963-64, when they were originally studied by Richard Lee (1965), there were 24 people with livestock and 12 with fields out of an interview sample of 52 in 1975-76. Similar patterns could be discerned in the faunal remains found in !Kung camps. Whereas 83% of the bones in the camps derived from wild species in 1963, by 1976 only 16% were made up of wild animals, the balance being those of cattle and small stock (John Yellen, personal communication). Over half of the food consumed by !Kung in 1975-76 was raised, purchased, or obtained through trade (Hargrove 1980). That these patterns are not unusual can be seen in Table 8, which gives the estimated percentages of Basarwa populations engaged in agricultural production in the 1970s. It can be seen that the numbers of people involved in agriculture range from 6.8% to over 90%.

Archaeological research conducted in the latter half of the 1970s revealed that the Basarwa had been in close contact with agropastoral and metal-using populations for the past 1,500 years (Denbow 1984). Archaeological remains found at Tsodilo Hills, to the north of the Dobe area, revealed the presence of Iron Age villages which existed

before the end of the first millenium. Trade networks existed in the Kalahari early on, and the Basarwa and other groups were able to obtain exotic items, including shells from the Indian Ocean, glass beads, and copper implements. Ethnohistorical research (Wilmsen 1982a) suggests that Basarwa were very much a part of the Kalahari exchange system in the 19th century. No longer is it possible to see the Basarwa as representing people out of another age who somehow avoided changes in their lifestyles by remaining hidden deep in the Kalahari (for excellent discussions of this point, see Schrire 1980; Wilmsen 1983; Denbow 1984).

With the increasing push for relevance of both archaeology and anthropology to modern-day problems, it is not surprising that the Smithsonian-George Washington University ethnoarchaeological team became interested in contemporary aspects of !Kung lifestyles. Changes in material culture, including a rise in store-bought goods, were assessed by a member of the team, Diane Gelburd (1978a, 1978b). Shifts in foraging and food production strategies were examined by Thomas Hargrove (1980). Another student, Aron Crowell, worked on hunting strategies, and some of the data he obtained were incorporated into a report to the Government of Botswana which helped to provide a framework for a subsistence hunting licensing system under the Unified Hunting Regulations then being considered. Assistance was provided by the team to the Bushmen Development Programme through their transport of a drilling machine out to western Ngamiland which was to be used in well-digging activities. Indirect effects on the economy of the Dobe region were also brought about as a result of !Kung being employed to assist in the archaeological excavations.

TABLE 8

## Estimated Percentages of Kalahari Basarwa Populations Engaged in Agricultural Production

| <i>Location</i>                     | <i>Group</i>          | <i>Size of<br/>Population*</i> | <i>Number Engaged in<br/>Agriculture</i> | <i>Percentage</i> | <i>Reference</i>               |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| Northwest<br>Kalahari               | !Kung                 | 38                             | 12                                       | 31.6%             | Gelburd (1978a:79-82, Table 8) |
| Northwest<br>Kalahari               | !Kung                 | ?                              | ?  | 7.0%              | Wiessner (1977:85, Table 3)    |
| Western<br>Kalahari etc.            | Nharo, G/wi,          | 4,512                          | ?  | Nearly 40%        | Childers (1976:62)             |
| Southeast<br>Kalahari<br>(Kgatleng) | Tsassi, etc.          | 52                             | 23                                       | 44.2%             | Caye and Koitsiwe (1976:26)    |
| Southeast<br>Kalahari<br>(Kweneng)  | Kūa, etc.             | 136 hh's                       | 66 hh's                                  | 48.5%             | Vierich (1979:41, Table 1)     |
| Eastern<br>Kalahari                 | Kūa, etc.             | 666 hh's                       | 147 hh's                                 | 22.1%             | Hitchcock (1978:339)           |
| Eastern<br>Kalahari                 | Kūa, etc.<br>foragers | 118 hh's                       | 8 hh's                                   | 6.8%              | Hitchcock (1986:94, Table 2)   |
| Nata River<br>Region                | Tyua                  | 82 hh's                        | 75 hh's                                  | 90.2%             | Hitchcock (1986:94, Table 2)   |

\*Numbers given in this column are the totals of people from whom data were obtained; the designation "hh's" stands for households.

In 1976, at the request of the Basarwa Development Officer and the Agricultural Advisor for the North West District, further research among the !Kung was curtailed. Archaeological excavations continued, however, and brief interviews were done on the !Kung, such as the groups residing in and adjacent to the Tsodilo Hills (see, for example, Hermans 1980). The National Museum and Art Gallery of Botswana, under the direction of Alec Campbell, continued to carry out surveys of rock art at Tsodilo Hills. These paintings, which are both aesthetically and culturally significant, have been interpreted by archaeologist David Lewis-Williams of the University of the Witwatersrand as being the product of medicine men and may have been associated with the trance dances of the Basarwa. The artistic tradition of the Basarwa is long-lived and may represent the expression of religious tradition which is still at the heart of Basarwa society. Table 9 presents data on other researchers who have worked with !Kung populations in Botswana. Some of the more recent publications in archaeology (e.g. by Wiessner 1983, 1984 and Denbow 1984) have underscored the importance of the !Kung in terms of shedding light on issues of both theoretical and practical concern. One outgrowth of this archaeological research is that it showed that the Kalahari had been occupied for thousands of years, and for the past 1,500 years the Basarwa were interacting with other populations and thus were very much a part of the regional political economy of Southern Africa.

Because of the ban on research in the North West District, an anthropologist who proposed to conduct studies of environmental manipulation, including the use of fire, by River Basarwa in the Okavango Delta, was required to change the location of her research to the Kweneng District in the southeastern Kalahari. Helga Vierich, a student of Richard Lee from the University of Toronto, carried out work in the northern and central Kweneng beginning in late 1976 (Vierich 1977, 1981, 1982). At the early stages of her research she collaborated with personnel from the UNM Kalahari Project and the Yellen-Brooks ethnoarchaeological team in carrying out studies of subsistence strategies, including gathering and fishing, and social organisation among the Tyua and Northern Kūa of the northeastern Kalahari. Subsequently, she began carrying out censuses and land use surveys of the sandveld areas of the Kweneng which had been slated for possible commercial ranch development under TGLP (Vierich 1977). She enumerated some 2,500 remote area dwellers, including Bakgalagadi and Basarwa, some of whom were Southern Kūa and Eastern ≠Hua. Her census revealed that 23% were heavily dependent on agropastoralists for their existence; 54% were semi-dependent; and the remaining 23% were independent hunter-gatherers (Vierich 1977:12). Many of these people were tied to the agropastoral economy of the southeastern Kalahari. Because of their location, they stood the chance of being dispossessed or disadvantaged as a result of the commercialisation of the livestock industry and the declaration of leasehold ranches.

In her research, Vierich (1977, 1981, 1982) concentrated on the relationships involving socio-economic interdependency that existed among the hunter-gatherers and food producers of the Kweneng District. Vierich undertook intensive investigations of the Kūa of the Ngware area. These people were predominantly foragers who had lived on the fringes of the agropastoral economy for centuries. An increase in well-digging and borehole drilling since the 1930s has led to an expansion in the number of permanent settlements and employment opportunities in the region. Some of the Kūa have lost their options of returning to foraging as a result of overgrazing and social disintegration over the past few decades. Resident populations shifted back and forth between foraging and food production, some people doing seasonal agricultural labour (*majako*) and herding. This oscillation in adaptations over time is an important process experienced by Kūa and other Basarwa in the Kalahari ecosystem.

TABLE 9

## Other Researchers Who Have Worked With !Kung (Zu/wasi) Populations

| Researcher                  | Topic   | Date(s)                                 |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Bucklin, Sue             | rock art  | 1964                                    |
| 2. Campbell, Alec           | ethnology, rock art, archaeology                    | 1964, 1968, 1971, 1975, 1976, 1978 etc. |
| 3. Denbow, James R.         | archaeology   | 1978, 1980, 1982<br>1983, 1984          |
| 4. Hermans, Janet           | ethnology, social change                            | 1979                                    |
| 5. Hitchcock, Robert K.     | hunting, rock art, archaeology                      | 1976, 1977, 1978                        |
| 6. Jenkins, Trefor          | genetics  | 1963, 1968, 1969, 1981                  |
| 7. Kennelly, Brian          | cardiology  | 1969                                    |
| 8. Lewis-Williams, J. David | rock art  | 1976                                    |
| 9. MacGregor, Jean          | ecology   | 1975                                    |
| 10. Murry, Bob & Ellen      | ethnobotany, ethnology                              | 1981-82                                 |
| 11. Pfothenauer, Linda      | social change                                       | 1984                                    |
| 12. Read, Dwight            | social organisation                                 | 1973                                    |
| 13. Wiessner, Polly         | ethnology, reciprocity, stylistic analysis          | 1973-77                                 |
| 14. Wilmsen, Edwin N.       | kinship, ethnology, ecology, nutrition, archaeology | 1973-74, 1975-76, 1977, 1980, etc.      |

Hunting and gathering, according to Vierich, is a persistent, well-adapted way of life characterised by both resiliency and flexibility. Foragers are able to survive not only in a world of foragers but also in one where there are agropastoralists. In the face of changes in the natural and social environment, however, Basarwa are becoming more and more dependent on outside sources of subsistence and income. Their fallback strategies and systems of reciprocity are not as useful as they once were. This is particularly true in the case of ranch development. Vierich, fearing the development of an outcast minority, pressed for the establishment of an adjudication procedure whereby people would be able to put forth their claims to land. Some of her recommendations on adjudication, made in 1978, were later incorporated into the Tribal Grazing Land Policy Guidelines.

Vierich recognised that there was an expansion and contraction in agropastoral activities in the southeastern Kalahari Desert. In rainy years, Bakgalagadi would



move up the fossil river valleys with their stock and would plant small gardens. In drought years, however, these groups pulled back to the eastern hardveld. Vierich's work shed important light on the impact of drought on Basarwa and other remote area populations in Botswana. In June, 1978, the Botswana Society hosted an international symposium on drought which Vierich and a number of other anthropologists attended (e.g. Hitchcock 1979; Silberbauer 1979). Vierich took issue with some of the earlier research which had left the impression that Basarwa did extremely well in spite of drought problems. Lee, for example, after making the point that the !Kung lead an unexpectedly comfortable and secure existence, says,

*"The evidence set out here assumes an added significance because this security of life was observed during a period of severe drought. Consequently, the author witnessed the worst conditions that the !Kung would have to face (Lee 1965:200)."*

Vierich (1981:327) suggests that perhaps Lee did not see the worst conditions that the !Kung faced. Indeed, Wiessner (1977:xxvii, 54) notes that the !Kung of the /ai/ai area faced severe privation as a result of heavy rainstorms which knocked the nuts off the mongongo trees in 1974. In 1979, when a drought occurred in the Kweneng District, Vierich found evidence of malnutrition and even starvation (Vierich 1981:309-310).

It is interesting to note that some administrators in the Botswana Government chose to accept Lee's arguments that hunter-gatherers did well in drought periods and argued strenuously that no special relief efforts for remote area populations were necessary during the 1979 drought. Vierich found, however, that there were cases of stock theft, reduction in income opportunities, and a breakdown in reciprocal access to resource areas, all of which combined to increase the stress on Basarwa populations. As a result of her arguments, Vierich was hired by the Botswana Government to carry out a study of drought impacts in the Kweneng (see Vierich 1979). Between late May and August, 1979, Vierich and another researcher interviewed a total of 348 households. She then made a series of recommendations as to how Basarwa and other groups might be assisted to cope with the problems caused by drought. Vierich (1981:322) found that wage employment and drought relief food were the most reliable buffers against difficulties incurred by reduced rainfall. The ultimate safety net, according to Vierich (1981:324), was the productivity of wild resources. Given the reduced resource situation in the 1979 drought, the Government of Botswana decided to mount a relief campaign, aspects of which were outgrowths of Vierich's and other researchers' recommendations. This drought relief effort provided important lessons for the large-scale drought relief and rehabilitation activities of the early to mid-1980s.

### **Basarwa and the land issue**

The declaration of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy in 1975 served to focus attention on the issue of land rights of Basarwa and other remote area populations in Botswana. The policy itself held that the rights of all citizens would be protected: "Most important is the right of every tribesman to have as much land as he needs to sustain himself and his family" (Republic of Botswana 1975:4). The implementation of TGLP, however, saw the questioning of those rights. When asked to comment on the legal rights of Basarwa in light of the changes being brought about by the introduction of the Tribal Land Act of 1968 and the TGLP, the Litigation Consultant to the Attorney General's Chambers stated:

*"As far as I have been able to ascertain, the Masarwa have always been true nomads, owing no allegiance to any chief or tribe, but have ranged far and wide for a very long time over large areas of the Kalahari in which they have always had unlimited hunting rights .... Tentatively, however, it appears to me that (a) the true nomad Masarwa can have no rights of any kind except rights to hunting" ("Opinion in Re Common-Law Leases of Tribal Land", 23 January, 1978).*

Given the amount of anthropological and popular coverage there had been of Basarwa adaptations over the years, the misconceptions contained in this statement are almost beyond belief. It underscored the fact that the impression remained that the Basarwa were pure hunter-gatherers who roamed over vast areas chasing wild animals. Not even lip service was paid to the existence of territories among Basarwa, something which anthropologists, administrators, and cattlepost owners who interacted with Basarwa were well aware of.<sup>9</sup> Mobility was far from being "nomadic," and a process of sedentism and increasing involvement in food production and the cash economy were occurring among nearly all Basarwa groups in Botswana (Lee 1975, 1976; Hitchcock and Ebert 1984). Basarwa also did not have unrestricted hunting rights; Tswana chiefs had imposed hunting laws in the 19th century, and the 1961 Fauna Conservation Proclamation made further inroads on their abilities to hunt freely. But the most important implication of this argument is that Basarwa could potentially be denied rights on the basis of their ethnic affiliation and a misinterpretation of their lifeways.

The Bushmen Development Programme and a number of anthropologists recognised that access to land was the key to future development and self-sufficiency for Basarwa and other remote area groups. As a consequence, they began to press for land to be allocated to these people. There were differences, however, in the ways in which the Bushmen Development Programme and anthropologists thought that the issue of land access should be approached. In 1974 the Kalahari Peoples Fund suggested that it might be useful to present a case for Basarwa land rights before the United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights. The Bushman Development Officer, however, declined to accept this type of "minority rights" approach, preferring instead to adopt a low-key strategy that emphasised Basarwa having rights as citizens of Botswana and stressing hunting and gathering as being a valid form of land use (Wily 1979a:119-128). Efforts were made in the mid-1970s to register existing rights, one example being the sip-wells of !Xô groups in the southwestern Kalahari. Questions were raised by Land Board members, however, who claimed that such allocations represented "separate development".

In 1975-76 statements were made in District Council and Land Board meetings to the effect that Basarwa did not need any land since "they lived in the bushes, gathering wild fruits". A common attitude among many people in Botswana, including a significant number of Government planners, was that Basarwa should be brought into the villages "so that they could live like other people". "Villagisation" became a popular theme in both district and national level meetings in the latter part of the 1970s. As the Acting Commissioner of Lands stated at a National District Development Conference in Gaborone, "We should gather these hunters together". The Central District Commissioner went a step further in a special Land Use Planning Advisory Group meeting in Serowe, suggesting that "Basarwa, if they are in the way, should be gotten out of the way so that we can put up our fences". The general attitude was that special dispensation should not be made for Basarwa in terms of provision of land since this might be seen as reminiscent of what was happening in South Africa, and indeed some Land Board members warned against the creation of "Basarwas-

tans”.

The TGLP White Paper makes the claim that “Planning will aim to ensure that land development helps the poor and does not make them worse off”. (Republic of Botswana 1975:2) The “safeguards for the poorer members of the population”, according to the White Paper, were supposed to be the “reserved areas” (Republic of Botswana 1975:7). The framers of the policy assumed that the places where the commercial ranches would be established were empty. During the course of anthropological research and the zoning surveys in 1975-76, however, it was revealed that almost every part of Botswana was inhabited. Even areas that had no sources of surface water contained significant numbers of people, both hunter-gatherers and agropastoralists. Anthropologists and the Bushmen Development programme began to exert pressure on the Government of Botswana for detailed population surveys to be undertaken as part of the TGLP.

As TGLP went into its implementation phase after 1975, decisions were made which threatened the land base of remote area populations even further. In spite of stated policy in the TGLP White Paper, the Land Boards decided not to zone any land whatsoever as reserved. Emphasis instead was placed on the commercial areas where exclusive rights would be given to individuals and groups (Hitchcock 1980; Sandford 1980; Bekure and Dyson Hudson 1982). When it came to discussing the issue of compensation for those people who would lose access to land zoned as commercial ranches, it was pointed out by politicians and Land Board members that the TGLP White Paper states only that compensation would be payable to *cattlepost owners* who were required to move (Republic of Botswana 1975:14, emphasis mine). Further, they noted that alternative grazing and water rights would only be made available to *stock owners* (Republic of Botswana 1975:7, 14). Thus, those people who lacked water rights and who did not possess livestock were left out of TGLP process completely.

A primary strategy of the Bushmen Development Programme was to ensure that Basarwa gain legally recognised access to land (Wily 1981:15). The TGLP provided the opportunity for obtaining land rights, but the decisions to ignore the stipulations of the White Paper posed definite problems for occupants of the sandveld areas where ranches were being planned. The biggest problem appeared to be in the western part of the Central District, where the UNM Kalahari Project and the Ngwato Land Board had found thousands of people who had neither water rights nor livestock. The submission of the Central District zoning plan in late 1976 turned out to be a major factor in raising awareness of the Government of Botswana and particularly the Ministry of Local Government and Lands that conflicts over land use were on the horizon. The Central District plan pointedly ignored the findings of the Ngwato Land Board and anthropological surveys in western Central District and zoned the entire area commercial.<sup>10</sup> The Bushmen Development Officer lobbied behind the scenes to get the area zoned as something besides commercial ranches, but her efforts were unsuccessful (Wily 1981:35-36).

The argument over zoning in the Central District led to the decision to include population surveys in the *TGLP Guidelines*. It was agreed that allocation of ranches should be held up until such time as the areas could be investigated. It was also agreed that an adjudication procedure should be instituted whereby people could put forth their claims to land prior to the time leases were given. In 1976 the Bushmen Development Programme requested the services of an anthropologist to conduct a survey of the Western Sandveld region of Central District, a recommendation which the Land Development Committee and the Ministry of Local Government and Lands accepted. Arrangements were made with a non-Government organisation to provide funding for the project, and in July, 1977 the survey work began. In the meantime,

surveys were conducted of other TGLP commercial areas by staff of the Bushmen Development Programme, including the Hainaveld region of North West District and the Lepasha region of Central District. It is interesting to note that most of the TGLP surveys were carried out not by anthropologists but rather by members of the Bushmen Development Programme, District Officers (Lands), and other Government or District-level personnel.<sup>11</sup>

As the Western Sandveld survey was being carried out, information was obtained which indicated that the problems facing TGLP implementation were far more complex than thought originally. Not only were there hunter-gatherers in the commercial zone, but there were also people with substantial numbers of cattle and smallstock. If leasehold rights were to be given to a relatively small number of people, literally thousands of people, along with their stock, would be forced to move to communal areas. This situation would exacerbate problems of overstocking and overgrazing and would result in just the opposite of what was originally intended under the TGLP. During the course of the surveys recommendations were made both by the Bushmen Development Programme and the anthropologist involved which were geared toward resolving some of the problems posed by the granting of exclusive leasehold rights.

One recommendation was that appendices be attached to the TGLP lease which would allow people continued access to ranch areas for purposes of hunting and collecting wild plant foods and other resources such as thatching grass. Many potential leaseholders, however, felt that the most important aspect of a TGLP lease was that it would give them the right to keep people off their property. The Attorney General's Chambers apparently agreed with this position, and it was ruled that such appendices were "illegal". Fortunately, some of the Land Boards decided to include stipulations in the TGLP lease, but none of them related directly to people being allowed to forage in the newly leased ranches. A second recommendation was that compensation be in the form of land, not cash, and that this land had to be of equivalent value to that which was taken over as leasehold. As it turned out, compensation was given only in the form of cash, and the amounts offered to people were extremely small. Some Land Boards did, however, dezone ranches where there were large numbers of claims, notably in the Kweneng District.

In the latter part of 1977 arguments broke out over the rights of Basarwa in TGLP commercial areas. In the case of Kgatlang District, Basarwa were refused the right to alternative land in "population catchment areas" on the basis of their supposedly not being "tribesmen". In other districts, the fact that many Basarwa did not own livestock was used as an excuse not to give them land. The Acting Commissioner of Lands in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands argued strenuously with the Bushman Development Officer and me that anthropological research, especially that of Richard Lee, had shown that territories did not exist among Basarwa and that they "had not a shadow of concept of land tenure or land ownership". He also maintained that Basarwa were so highly mobile that they simply could not possibly have resided in a specific area for the 30 years necessary to give them a customary claim to land. In addition, he held that Basarwa did not have even the haziest idea of the areas over which they ranged for subsistence procurement and visiting purposes.<sup>12</sup>

These arguments were fueled in part by discussions at a seminar in September, 1977 sponsored by the Rural Sociology Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture which concentrated on issues relating to socio-economic monitoring of the TGLP. At this meeting, several anthropologists as well as Government personnel spoke of the problems posed by commercialisation of the livestock industry and the granting of leasehold rights over blocks of land. Examples were drawn from commercial areas of

Kweneng District by Helga Vierich, Ngwaketse District by Ornulf Gulbrandsen, an anthropologist from Bergen University in Norway, and Central District, based on my own research. The discussant at the seminar was yet another anthropologist, Gunnar Haaland, who was supported by the International Livestock Centre for Africa (ILCA). Haaland picked up on the suggestions resulting from the investigation-liaison work and recommended the provision of alternative land for those people who would be dispossessed by the declaration of TGLP ranches.

The Bushmen Development Programme, various anthropologists, and District-level personnel began to call for communal areas to be set aside within commercial zones so that people could continue to hunt, gather, raise livestock, grow crops, and maintain their residences. Data were compiled on range and territory sizes of hunter-gatherer groups as well as ones which depended on a mixture of foraging, food production, and wage labour. In general, it was found that the amount of land necessary to support even a small group of people in the Kalahari was substantial.<sup>13</sup> Suggestions were made, therefore, that suitably large areas of land needed to be set aside in and adjacent to commercial zones so that people could continue to pursue the kinds of strategies that they themselves chose. What came to be known as "communal service centres" were established in a number of TGLP areas in Botswana. As it turned out, the amount of land set aside for communal purposes in commercial zones was very small.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, the district development plans and Central Government Projects relevant to communal area development (e.g. project LG 31, Implementation of Land Use Plans) provided funding primarily for social services rather than concentrating on much-needed programmes for employment and income generation.

The establishment of communal service centres and land and water schemes (or, as Wily termed them, "settlements") engendered heated debate in anthropological and development circles. On the one hand these areas were seen basically as reservations and thus reminiscent of North America where Native Americans were relegated to small, often marginal, areas of land. On the other hand, they were viewed by the Bushmen Development Programme and the people working with it as being perhaps the only way in which the Land Boards could be convinced to provide land for people dispossessed by granting of leasehold rights to individuals and small groups. The settlement strategy was not so much an effort to reduce Basarwa mobility as it was to provide them with secure rights of tenure over blocks of land (Wily 1979a:178-183, 1979b). By the end of the 1970s less than three percent of the Basarwa population was in either settlements or communal service centres. Basarwa themselves said frequently that they wanted "a place of their own" where they could undertake development projects and become self-sufficient. In the case of West Hanahai, set up by the Ghanzi District Council and the Government in 1978, former farm Basarwa were actually able to increase their mobility and their dependence on hunting and gathering.

Given that the amount of land available to foraging populations was being reduced steadily through the expansion of cattleposts, ranches, towns, and mining operations, it became more and more obvious that alternative kinds of economic opportunities had to be developed for people in remote areas. Recommendations were made for various kinds of projects, ranging from beekeeping to road construction and agricultural development. These suggestions were heard in workshops and *kgotla* meetings, and they were echoed in later analyses of TGLP and the livestock projects associated with it (Sandford 1980:24-30; Hitchcock 1978:420-427, 1982c-e; Hitchcock and Nkwe 1982; Bekure and Dyson Hudson 1982). Particular stress was placed on production and marketing of handicrafts since the Basarwa were especially adept at beadwork, basket manufacture, and tanning of skins (RADP 1978:85-89, 1979:106-107).

108, 1981:99-104). Human resource development was seen as an important part of the Basarwa development programme, and education and training were emphasised heavily (RADP, 1978:66-67, 93-94, 113-116, 1979:109-113, 118-119, 127-128, 1981:84-98).

Another issue which came to the fore during TGLP implementation was that relating to working conditions and wage levels in the Botswana livestock industry. Research in cattlepost areas revealed that pay rates were quite low and that labourers had relatively few rights. Average wages for agricultural workers were between five and eight pula per month in 1978 (see the figures given in RADP 1978:96-99). Additional income was sometimes obtained from researchers, casual visitors, and tourists, some of it given as remuneration for such services as demonstrating traditional activities or dancing. Discussions in remote areas indicated that people wanted fair wages and benefits. One suggestion was that a minimum wage was necessary in the agricultural sector (Childers, 1976:92, 1981:50-54; Hitchcock, 1978:420-421; RADP, 1978:127; Wily, 1979a:52, 53, 1982a:294, 300-301). Earlier discussions about minimum wages by anthropologists (e.g. Silberbauer 1965:118) had warned against such a measure since it potentially could result in people being released from employment. A Land Development Committee sub-committee on non-stockholder rights toyed with the idea of including a minimum cash wage as part of the stipulations in the TGLP lease, but in the end it was decided not to force the issue. Employment conditions and wage levels continued to be a major topic at local and even Parliamentary levels in the latter part of the 1970s. Clearly, implementation of the TGLP had increased people's awareness about their socio-economic situations.

The land reform programme had significant impacts on the structure, organisation, and objectives of the Bushmen Development Programme. This was due in part to the fact that its personnel were involved so heavily in conducting population and land use surveys in commercial areas. The expansion of leasehold land in Botswana also had potentially significant consequences for the lifeways of thousands of people in the remote areas of Botswana. As a result, it was decided to expand the focus of the Bushmen Development Programme to include all those people residing outside of established villages. Such a decision fit well with the thinking of Wily, who had long believed that development initiatives should not be structured along ethnic lines. Wily had suggested in 1976 that the programme concentrate upon rural poor people; the findings of the TGLP surveys tended to reinforce her conclusions. The Ministry of Local Government and Lands agreed to expand the programme to include what were termed "extra rural dwellers". In October, 1977 the programme was given the official title of Remote Area Development Programme (RADP), and its target beneficiaries became known as "remote area dwellers" or RADs (Wily, 1979a:202-206).

Between 1976 and 1986 the Remote Area Development Programme employed a large number of people as District-level Remote Area Development Officers (RADOs), investigation-liaison personnel, and specialised advisors. Requests for additional anthropological consultants to conduct surveys were turned down by the Ministry of Local Government and Lands in 1978, partly because it was felt that local people should be utilised to carry out the work. A listing of the various people who were involved in the activities of the Remote Area Development Programme is given in Appendix 2. It can be seen that relatively few of these people were anthropologists. Many RADP staff felt the need for anthropological training, however, and they requested that the ministry include social science in its personnel upgrading programmes. A few of the RADOs were able to study anthropology when they went overseas for training courses in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Some of the most successful remote area development work was undertaken in the

Kgalagadi District where Axel Thoma, who had been the Technical Advisor to the Ngwato Land Board and who had surveyed the Western Sandveld region with UNM Kalahari Project personnel, was assigned as District Remote Area Development Officer in 1977. Thoma set about surveying the district, recording the location of sip-wells, and drawing up educational, agricultural, and water development projects. In 1978 he collaborated with a land use planning advisor, Steve Lawry, in the drawing up of a detailed land use and development plan for remote area populations which was incorporated into the Kgalagadi District Development Plan (Lawry and Thoma 1978). As a result of the programme's efforts, a school for remote area dwellers was established in Hukuntsi along with a hostel, a well equipped with a hand pump, and a gardening project. Thoma was able to demonstrate that the sandveld could support crop production, and he experimented with growing wild plant foods such as *morama* (*Tylosema esculenta*).

One of the outcomes of the remote area development efforts in the Kgalagadi District was the recommendation that a pilot gemsbok domestication project be established at Ngwatle Pan west of Hukuntsi. Anthropologists and planners had long recommended the setting up of wildlife domestication projects and game cropping schemes (see, for example, Silberbauer 1965, 1978; Heinz 1978; Hitchcock 1978:422). It is interesting to note that a U.S. AID-sponsored anthropologist who came in to Botswana to assess the idea of such a project argued strenuously that it should not be implemented, since supposedly it would have negative effects on the "traditional hunting and gathering lifestyle" of the Basarwa in the southwestern Kalahari. This attitude reflects once again that even anthropologists were not immune to the mistaken notion that Basarwa continued to be pure foragers and that they were happily chewing mongongo nuts in the vast desert recesses. The argument would deny the Basarwa something which they very badly want: access to water, land, and opportunities for increasing their production and incomes.

That the life of some Basarwa was not easy was underscored by data from the south western Kalahari, where !Xõ women sometimes had to spend up to ten hours a day sucking water from the sand through reeds so as to provide sufficient moisture for their families. In order to survive in the increasingly complex environment of the Kalahari, individuals and small groups had to engage in a mixed production strategy that included not only foraging but also wage labour, rural entrepreneurial activities, and, in some cases, begging. In this context, it is not surprising that many Basarwa would want the benefits that development projects might bring. Virtually every anthropologist and planner who talked to remote area dwellers heard requests for development assistance. Toward the latter part of the 1970s more emphasis was placed on land and productive activities, particularly as the realisation dawned that more and more land would be taken over by wealthy cattle owners.

The anthropologists and planners who felt strongly that the traditional lifeways of the Basarwa should be preserved had to shift their strategies toward a kind of holding action to prevent further expansion of livestock, mining, and other economic activities in the Kalahari. One way of doing this was through the establishment of new zoning categories such as Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and Hunting and Gathering Areas (HGAs) (Wily 1979a:135-137; Hitchcock 1978:425-427). WMAs were planned in seven districts, and it worked out in such a way that more land was set aside for wildlife utilisation purposes than for commercial ranches (14.27% vs 8.78% of the total surface area of the country). Botswana was already known for its having set aside a significant proportion of the country for national parks, reserves, and monuments (Campbell 1973; Hitchcock 1985a). The problem was that the rights of people residing in WMAs, parks, and reserves were not defined explicitly, and there was a chance that

people might be removed from areas they had occupied for generations simply because they had begun to engage in agriculture, livestock production, and hunting using non-traditional means.

The issue of Basarwa in wildlife areas was seen most clearly in the case of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. Suggestions had been made that part of the reserve should be turned into a WMA and the rest into a national park. People would be excluded from the national park, whereas they would be allowed to continue to reside in the WMA. Limits would be placed on the amount of land they could cultivate and the numbers and types of livestock they could keep. Basarwa were already restricted in their hunting activities in most parts of Botswana. I was told by a Game Scout in 1975 that he would arrest any Mosarwa for hunting violations if he was not dressed traditionally while engaged in hunting (i.e. if he was wearing pants). Because of these attitudes, anthropologists and planners collaborated in designing a special subsistence hunting license for people who depended heavily on foraging for their subsistence. The implementation of the new Unified Hunting Regulations in 1979, however, did not prevent Game Scouts and police from entering the reserve to arrest people for hunting, or, in some cases, for simply having the bones or skins of wild animals in their camps.

The Remote Area Development Programme and the Ghanzi District Council conducted further surveys of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve with an eye toward coming up with recommendations for raising the living standards of resident populations (see, for example, RADP, 1978:63-76, 1979:31-51, 1981:47-57, 1982:86-94). A detailed land use and population survey was undertaken in the CKGR in mid-1979 and a series of recommendations made for development of the area (English, *et al*; 1980). A new borehole was drilled and equipped at !Xade in 1979, thus increasing the amount of water available to local people and encouraging the trend toward sedentism. Development projects such as beekeeping and agriculture were initiated in the reserve in the latter part of the 1970s, and strengthening of local institutions such as the Village Development Committee was attempted. Regular visits by Botswana aircraft and the mobile health service from Ghanzi began to be made in the late 1970s, as well.

The year 1979 was seen as a turning point in the history of anthropological research and remote area development in Botswana. The position of Remote Area Development Officer had been localised in 1978, and the new officer felt that the three key areas of concern were (1) provision of basic needs such as food, clothing, and shelter; (2) provision of social services in order to encourage people to settle in villages; and (3) the need for "mental liberation" from the belief on the part of remote area people that they were "born to be dependents" (RADP 1979:10-11). The impacts of drought were such that people were moving into villages and cattlepost areas at an increasing rate in order to gain access to water, food, and employment opportunities. The drought relief campaign mounted by the Government of Botswana served to provide a portion of the RAD population with food and, in some cases, small amounts of cash for work performed on road-building and other projects.

In March, 1979 arguments erupted at a meeting of the Land Development Committee over the role of anthropologists in "holding up development" and "painting bleak pictures of Basarwa life in the rural areas". A member from the Ministry of Agriculture stated that the surveys conducted in commercial areas were "overly detailed" and that people should be allowed to sign leases and fence their land without having to worry about "a few Bushmen". The man went on to say that there was a "conspiracy on the part of anthropologists and Basarwa to keep cattlepost owners from getting leases over the land where they had their boreholes". In response, I pointed out that this argument ignored the fundamental principles and objectives of the TGLP. I also noted that the numbers of people in commercial areas were not



insignificant. As Table 10 shows, there were some 20,000 people residing in the newly declared ranch areas. Far from being "just a few Bushmen", population surveys and anthropological research had shown that three out of every four people in the commercial ranches were Basarwa.

The arguments by anthropologists for development and assistance programmes to combat the drought and the threat of dispossession in 1979 did not fall on deaf ears in the Botswana Government. No leases had been signed for TGLP ranches until 1979, in part because of the question of what to do about the rights of resident groups. The first area leased under the Tribal Grazing Land Programme, in the Ngwaketse District, was the subject of a Commission of Inquiry established by the President of Botswana in 1980. Calls were also heard for cattleposts to be removed from certain rural areas, especially in Central District, since the people there felt that they had "not been consulted" about the plans to establish them (see *The Botswana Daily News*, 17 March, 1979). Requests were also made by remote area populations for "social justice" and fair pay for their labour on cattleposts. Clearly the Basarwa and other remote area groups were becoming increasingly vocal about their sentiments concerning the direction that rural development was taking in Botswana.

### Remote area development: issues in the 1980s

By 1980 the emphasis of the Remote Area Development Programme had begun to shift away from its original goals of ensuring land and adequate livelihoods for Botswana Basarwa. More and more emphasis was being placed on what was described in Botswana as "community development" and on provision of relief food for destitutes. Villagisation became the rallying cry of the RADP in spite of the fact that anthropological and development-related studies had demonstrated conclusively that settlements generally were characterised by poverty, unemployment, social conflict, high levels of alcoholism, apathy, and dissatisfaction on the part of residents.

The new focus of the Remote Area Development Programme was reflected in the introductory remarks made at the Remote Area Development Workshop held in Gaborone in June, 1979:

"The Remote Area Development Programme is an integrated rural development programme which aims at bettering the general living standard of the poverty stricken communities of the remote area dwellers by providing them with relevant education, health facilities, and healthy water supplies . . . to enable them to settle in one place (RADP 1979:3-4)."

A kind of "bricks and mortar approach" to development began to take shape, particularly in the settlements of service centres. Schools, hostels, and health posts were constructed in a number of areas. Drought relief efforts saw the distribution of maize meal and other goods. Community Service Scheme (Tirelo Sechaba) participants were assigned to remote area settlements. Some of their work revolved around teaching and literacy, but they also assisted with the formation of local institutions such as Village Development Committees (VDCs).

Participatory development strategies were called for, and institution building was seen as a key means of enhancing remote area groups' efforts at becoming self-sufficient. Communities were encouraged to elect their own leaders and initiate self-help projects. Some communities, such as Man/otai on the Nata River, were gazetted as villages and set up their own *dikgotla* where cases were heard. The process of institution building, group formation, and political development was examined by the Applied Research Unit (see, for example Childers *et al* 1982). Rural development

committees began to be formed and leadership roles were defined, although not without difficulty. In some cases the newly emerging leaders were viewed with some suspicion by community members. In other cases they played important roles in motivating people to engage in their own grassroots development efforts (Hitchcock 1985a, b; Hitchcock and Holm 1985).

Some of the changes in the objectives and strategies of the RADP can perhaps best be seen in the case of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. In 1982 a school and health post were constructed at !Xade, and a number of local Basarwa were employed as labourers. Meat and handicrafts were sold to the construction crew by local people. Some of the cash was used to purchase horses, which increase the hunting efficiency of reserve residents significantly (Osaki 1984; Hitchcock 1985a). Drought relief efforts in the CKGR in 1982 saw the distribution of grains and powdered milk. The combination of the drought, availability of permanent water, and the increased access to food and income generating opportunities resulted in a rise in population at !Xade and a few other places in the reserve such as Gyom, Metse-a-monong, and Menoatse. Construction of a new road from Ghanzi to !Xade led to an increased number of visitors, some of whom came into the reserve simply to "see traditional Basarwa". What they found instead were people engaged in agriculture, stock raising, rural industries, hunting from horseback, and only to a limited extent in foraging. High population densities and localised resource depletion had resulted in an increased

**TABLE 10**  
**Resident Populations of Commercial Ranching Areas in Botswana**

| <i>District<br/>&amp; Size*</i> | <i>Area Name<br/>&amp; Size</i>  | <i>No. of<br/>Ranches</i> | <i>Population<br/>Size</i> |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Central<br>147,730              | Lepasha (FDA)<br>768             | 12                        | 600                        |
|                                 | Western Sandveld<br>(SDA) 14,022 | 8                         | 5,500                      |
|                                 | Nata Ranches<br>1,682            | 8                         | 450                        |
| Ghanzi<br>117,910               | Makunda (FDA)<br>640             | 10                        | 100                        |
|                                 | Nojane Ranches<br>1,669          | 25                        | 1,800                      |
| Kgalagadi<br>106,940            | Tshane/Lehututu                  | 10                        | 125                        |
|                                 | Makopong                         | 13                        | 175                        |
|                                 | Werda                            | 10                        | 140                        |
|                                 | Middle Pits<br>4,564 (total)     | 10                        | 130                        |
|                                 | Bokspits (LDP I)                 | 11                        | 550                        |
| Kgatleng<br>7,960               | North West                       | —                         | 1,350                      |

|                       |                                     | <i>Research for Development</i> |        |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------|
| Kweneng<br>35,890     | Western (FDA)                       | 63                              | 1,900  |
|                       | North East (SDA)<br>6,800 (total)   | 59                              | 1,350  |
| Ngwaketse<br>28,470   | Samane (FDA)                        | 15                              | 425    |
|                       | 2nd Allocation<br>Area (FDA)        | 22                              | 650    |
|                       | CDC Group Ranches<br>14,400 (total) | 6                               | 350    |
| North West<br>109,130 | Hainaveld (FDA)                     | 72                              | 1,500  |
|                       | SW Ngami (SDA)<br>5,640 (total)     | 17                              | 3,800  |
|                       |                                     | Total                           | 20,895 |

\*Sizes of districts and commercial ranch areas are given in square kilometres.

dependence on alternative sources of subsistence and income in the CKGR. Overall, the socio-economic status of Basarwa and other groups in the Central Kalahari had declined since the founding of the reserve in 1961.

Once again, anthropologists and development planners were divided over whether or not development activities should be undertaken among Basarwa. During the course of filming a BBC television series entitled "The Making of Mankind" in 1980, some of which was shot in Ngamiland, Richard Lee and Richard Leakey took note of the changes that had occurred among Basarwa. Leakey (1981: 261) saw these changes as being the result of Botswana Government efforts to turn Basarwa into agriculturalists. Researchers who worked in the Central Reserve from August, 1982 to February, 1983 had similar reactions (Tanaka *et al* 1984:9; Tanaka 1986:6). Essentially, some anthropologists felt that the "traditional lifestyle" of Basarwa was being eroded by Botswana Government development strategies and by the Remote Area Development Programme in particular. As Osaki (1984:49) put it, "Under the influence of the development policy of the Botswana Government, which started in 1979, their traditional lifestyle has changed profoundly". That Basarwa had been undergoing change for literally thousands of years and development activities for Basarwa were by no means new in the Kalahari were points that, for whatever reason, were conveniently ignored.

Perhaps the most contentious issue among anthropologists engaged in Basarwa research in the late 1970s and early 1980s was that of the militarisation of the !Kung (Lee 1979a:428-431, 1979b:312, 1985:38-41, 1986:92-96; Lee and Hurlich 1982; Poos 1981; Gordon 1984:18-23; van der Post and Taylor 1984:110-116; Guenther 1986c:199-200, 202-204). An argument broke out among anthropologists attending the Second International Conference on Hunter-Gatherers, held in Quebec, Canada in September, 1980 over whether public protests should be made against South

African Defense Force recruitment of !Kung in the war in Namibia and Angola. Some anthropologists felt that the signing of a resolution against the recruitment was paternalistic, while others believed that some effort should be made to bring world attention to the fact that the !Kung were rapidly becoming the most heavily militarised ethnic group on the face of the earth.

Several major films on the Basarwa showed the impacts of militarisation and the socio-economic changes brought about by settlement, notably John Marshall's film for the Odyssey Series entitled "N!ai: The Story of a !Kung Woman", the BBC's "The Making of Mankind", and Laurens van der Post's "Testament to the Bushmen". It is interesting to compare these anthropologically oriented films to that of South African film maker Jamie Uys' movie "The Gods Must be Crazy", a highly romanticised vision of Basarwa which has become the best-selling non-American film of all time, making over \$250,000,000. A more recent film by Marshall, "Pull Yourself Up or Die Out", dealt not only with the problems of militarisation but also the threat of the possible declaration of a nature reserve in eastern Namibia, where !Kung would be forced to work as "tourist curiosities" or leave if they had livestock and grew crops. These films did serve to increase public awareness of the difficulties faced by Basarwa.

It should be stressed that in general the participation of Botswana Basarwa in the South African military efforts in Namibia and Angola has been relatively small. Wilmsen (1982b:361), for example, notes that only five Basarwa from ai/ai in Ngamiland had joined the SADF, and two of these men had been born in Namibia. In the latter half of 1980 the issue of Botswana Basarwa involvement did come to public attention. Investigations by personnel of the Remote Area Development Programme revealed that few Basarwa had been recruited. A point that was noted by RADP staff was that the primary reason for any Mosarwa joining the military was that it provided substantial economic benefits and a degree of social security. It was done, they noted, because there were few alternative economic opportunities in the northwestern Kalahari.

Anthropologists and RADP personnel continued to press for economic development assistance for remote area populations. National conferences on the impacts of livestock development projects in 1981 resulted in recommendations being made for increased emphasis on communal area livestock production (see, for example, Hitchcock 1982d). The Presidential Commission on Economic Opportunities also called for assistance in livestock development, including the setting up of livestock loan schemes, for people in remote areas (Hitchcock 1982e). Agricultural development in sandveld areas was suggested along with enhancement of extension assistance to Kalahari populations (RADP 1978:19-21, 46-47, 72-73, 1979:68-70, 1981:76-77; Childers 1981:167-172; Hitchcock 1978:336-363, 418-420, 1986). An applied ethnobotanical study of *morama* by Megan Bieseke, Bob and Ellen Murry, and Alan Barnard in 1982-83 gave weight to the argument that commercialisation of wild plants might be a means of generating additional subsistence and income for rural people in Botswana. An overview study of the Remote Area Development Programme done in 1986 by anthropologist Ornulf Gulbrandsen and his colleagues called for increased attention to be paid to production, employment, and income generation.

### Conclusions

The history of anthropological research and development among Basarwa in Botswana reveals that anthropologists have not always contented themselves with studying "pure hunter-gatherers" or the "quaint customs of a primitive people". Rather, they have done detailed studies of a wide range of topics of relevance to

development. They have been able to shed light on processes of socio-economic change and have assessed the impact of development activities. In some cases, anthropologists have been relatively influential in helping to shape Government policy towards remote area populations. Some anthropologists have also become directly involved in providing funding and carrying out development work.

It is important to point out that no other research in Botswana has been so closely monitored or evaluated by the Government. Anthropological research requests have received closer scrutiny and have been turned down much more frequently than other types of proposals. It was Basarwa-related research that helped to shape Botswana policy toward research in general; the Anthropological Research Act of 1967, for example, was formulated in the context of an increased number of requests to conduct studies of Basarwa groups. The only issue relating specifically to Basarwa which has been brought to Cabinet attention in Botswana was that of research.

Anthropological research does have its impacts on the populations under investigation. As Heinz and Lee put it,

"Streams of scientists into Bushman areas have also accelerated the rate of change, inevitably bringing new ideas and money into communities. . . . Along with scientists there has been an increase in the visits of journalists and television unit-films, with misguided rates of remuneration for the Bushman cooperation they seek (Heinz and Lee 1979:251)."

Personnel in the Remote Area Development Programme would in many cases agree with Heinz and Lee, saying that Basarwa studied by anthropologists are less interested in undertaking self-help projects than people who have had no contact with social scientists. That this is not always the case can be seen in the development efforts of Nata River Basarwa in Central District and the !Xõ in West Hanahai and in the northern Kgalagadi District. The majority of Basarwa who have come in contact with anthropologists have said that they wanted to answer the researchers' questions and that they felt anthropologists could provide them with a means of getting their views aired in Botswana Government circles.

Anthropologists, with all their good intentions, have not been able to come to grips completely with the most fundamental issues facing the Basarwa in Botswana: their low socio-economic status and the growing gap in income distribution between rich and poor in the country. Successful programmes for weaning people away from dependence upon cattle owners and villagers have yet to be devised. As of the mid-1980s more Basarwa are on food relief than at any time in history. If anthropological research and remote area development are to be seen as having had important impacts, then the means must be devised whereby the continuing problems of unemployment, low production levels, and discrimination can be overcome.

#### NOTES

1. "Basarwa" is the term used by the Government and people of Botswana to refer to those populations which anthropologists and others have called San or Bushmen. It is a Setswana word which covers all those people who are or were hunter-gatherers. The term used in the past was "Masarwa" (see, for example, Dornan 1925:40, 65; Schapera 1930:36; Tagart 1933; London Missionary Society 1935; Joyce 1938), though this can be seen as implying inferiority. A debate has ensued over the most appropriate term to apply to these people, with some preferring the word "Bushmen" (e.g. Silberbauer 1965:13-14, 1981a:3-6; Cashdan 1983) and others "San" (Lee 1976:5, 1979a:29ff.). The problem is that both words have been used in a pejorative sense in the past. In addition, the term San does not refer to as wide a range of people as is implied by the word Basarwa. According to recent sero-genetic work (e.g. Nurse and Jenkins 1977; Chasko *et al* 1979), there are two major groups of hunter-gatherers in Southern Africa, those falling in the category Khoisan and others who are Negro

(sometimes called "Black Basarwa" or "River Bushmen" (see, for example, Cashdan 1979, 1985; Hitchcock 1982a, b). More and more anthropologists are using the term Basarwa (e.g. Vierich 1977, 1979, 1981, 1982:213; Hitchcock 1978, 1982a, 1982b:257; Cashdan 1985; Yellen 1985:15). Most Basarwa, however, do not recognise a single all-inclusive term for themselves, preferring instead to use local names (e.g. Zu/wasi, "true people"). For purposes of this paper I use the term Basarwa because that is the one recognised officially in Botswana and because it incorporates all those who are referred to as Bushmen, San, or local group names.

2. With apologies to Native American author Vine de Loria, who said this with reference to the Navajo in his book *Custer Died For Your Sins*. Another way of putting it was that there were reputedly more anthropologists than Basarwa in the Kalahari.
3. The research done on the Basarwa brought to Donald Bain's farm at Tweerivieren, near the confluence of the Nossob and Auop Rivers, in the period between September, 1936 and January, 1937, included work done on linguistics (L.F. Maingard, C.M. Doke), physical anthropology and house form (Raymond Dart), music, (P.R. Kirby), ethnology (Dorothea F. Bleek), and plant utilisation (I.D. MacCrone, M.G. Breyer-Brandwijk) (Tobias 1975:74; Rheinallt Jones and Doke 1937).
4. Some of the topics which the Marshall family dealt with in their research include the following: (1) mobility and settlement in the Kalahari ecosystem (Marshall 1960, 1965:245-246 1976:3-7, 62-91); (2) gathering and wild plant utilisation (Marshall 1965:24, 1976:92-123); (3) hunting methods (J. Marshall 1957, 1958; L. Marshall 1976:124-155); (4) social organisation, including the family and the band (Marshall 1960, 1965:247-251, 1976:156-200); (5) kinship terminology (Marshall 1957a, 1976:201-242); (6) marriage (Marshall 1959, 1976:252-286); (7) gift giving and reciprocity, including meat sharing (Marshall 1961, 1965:251-254, 1976:287-313); (8) conflict resolution through discussions (Marshall 1961, 1976:287ff.); (9) games and play patterns (Marshall 1976:313-362); (10) music (Marshall 1976:363-381); (11) religion (Marshall 1957b, 1962); (12) the medicine dance and healing (Marshall 1969); (13) material culture (Marshall 1976:413-416, Appendix I); (4) a film record of !Kung society (Marshall 1976:417); (15) the impact of socio-economic change among !Kung (J. Marshall 1984; Ritchie 1984; Marshall and Ritchie 1984); and (16) demography, health, and nutritional status (Marshall 1976:156ff; Marshall and Ritchie 1984:42ff.).
5. The Harvard Kalahari Research Group has definitely been extremely productive. Besides the various monographs (Lee 1979a, 1984; Howell 1979; Shostak 1981; Katz 1982), a major edited volume has been published (Lee and DeVore 1976). In addition, a number of masters' theses and doctoral dissertations have been completed, based on work done among !Kung (Draper 1972; Bieseke 1975; Gelburd 1978a; Hargrove 1980; Harpending 1971; Lee 1965). Detailed ethnoarchaeological studies have been carried out in the northwestern Kalahari (Yellen 1976, 1977a, b; Yellen and Harpending 1972). Specialised studies of the !Kung include the following: Bieseke (1975); Brooks, Gelburd and Yellen (1984); Draper (1973, 1975a, b, 1976); Gelburd (1978b); Harpending (1976); Harpending and Chasko (1975); Harpending and Davis (1977); Harpending and Jenkins (1973); Harpending and Wandsnider (1982); Howell (1976, 1980); Konner (1976); Konner and Worthman (1980); Lee (1968, 1969, 1972a-e, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1979a, b, 1982, 1985, 1986); Lee and Hurlich (1982); Metz, Hart, and Harpending (1971); Milmine (1975); Truswell and Hansen (1968, 1976); Truswell *et al* (1969, 1972); Yellen (1984, 1985a, b); Yellen and Lee (1976).
6. The Okavango Swamps expedition to "discover the River Bushmen" has been described in Clive Cowley's popular book *Fabled Tribe*. Members of the expedition included leader R. J. C. van Hoogstraten, and anatomist, Fiona Barbour, ethnologist, Herbert Wong, orthodontist, Cyril Thomas, orthodontist, Clive Chappell, dental student, George Beaton, science student, Hamish Hart, science student, Mow Chin, science student, Lesley Irwig, science student, Ben Groenewald, recorder for radio broadcast and linguistic analysis, William Cornuel, guide and mechanic, and Clive Cowley, journalist (Cowley 1968:5-10). Like many of the other Kalahari Research Committee expeditions, this one emphasised physical anthropology.
7. The Bushmen Development Programme, later called the Remote Area Development Programme, has been described in a series of reports and publications. These include the following: Wily (1979a, b, 1980a, b, 1981, 1982a, b); Hermans (1980); Stephen (1982); Remote Area Development Programme (1978, 1979, 1981, 1982); and Guenther (1986a:299ff., 1986c:200ff.).
8. Investigation/Liaison projects were defined by the Bushmen Development Officer as activities designed to find out about the different needs and situations of Basarwa. They included a strategy whereby investigation liaison personnel worked out, in conjunction with the people themselves, appropriate and realistic development plans. An interesting aspect of this approach was that it involved what the Bushmen Development Officer referred to as "conscientisation" or politicisation (Wily 1979a:98; Wily, cited in Childers 1976:2). Essentially they were techniques designed to go beyond observation and neutral data collection and help the Basarwa involved to become aware of their own situations and what steps could be taken to alter them. Investigation/liaison projects were carried out in Ghanzi District (Childers 1976), western Ngamiland (North West District) (Milmine

- 1975; Bieseke 1976); the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) (Murray 1976; Sheller 1977; English *et al* 1980), the Western Sandveld region of Central District (Ebert *et al* 1976; Hitchcock 1978), the Nata River region of Central District (Cashdan and Chasko 1977); northern Kgalagadi District (Lawry and Thoma 1978); Kweneng District (Vierich 1977); Ngwaketse (Southern) District (Childers 1981); and Kgatleng District (Caye and Koitsiwe 1976).
9. Territoriality, settlement patterns, and mobility strategies have been discussed at some length in the literature on the Basarwa. Some of the papers on these topics include the following: Barnard (1979, 1980); Cashdan (1983, 1984a, b); Harpending and Davis (1977); Guenther (1981); Heinz (1972, 1979); Hitchcock (1978, 1980, 1982a, b, c); Lee (1972a, d, e, 1975, 1979a:362ff.); Wilmsen (1982b, 1984, 1985); Yellen (1976, 1977a, b, 1985); and Yellen and Harpending (1972).
  10. Wily's comments on the timing and venue of the Central District surveys (Wily 1981:25) are also incorrect, as the Western Sandveld was investigated in 1975 at the request of the Land Board.
  11. This is in contrast to the statement by Guenther (1986c:205) which holds that all the surveys were done by anthropologists.
  12. Territories among Basarwa are seen by most researchers as consisting of areas of land which are well known to local people and contain sufficient resources to sustain a group in an average year. In general the boundaries of territories are well defined, although in most cases they are unmarked and rarely, if ever, patrolled or defended. People do possess exclusive rights over these areas, and permission is usually sought in order to gain access to them. There have been cases of conflicts over use rights, particularly in areas where there are high population densities. Detailed descriptions of Basarwa territories, along with their characteristics, can be found in anthropological reports of Schapera (1930:77, 127, 148, 155, 158; 1939:70); Lee (1965:47, 53ff, 133ff., 1972a, 1979a:58-61, 117-119, 333ff., 422-424); Silberbauer (1965:43, 69ff, 1972:295-297, 1973:208, 1981a:99, 141-142, 191ff., 250-251); Marshall (1960:333-338, 1976:71-72, 179ff.); Wiessner (1977:48-59); Hitchcock (1978:238-260, 1980:22-26, 1982a:176-181); Vierich (1981:162-164); Wilmsen (1982a:103-107, 1982b:371-376, 1983:13-14, 1984:1ff.); and Heinz (1972, 1979).
  13. Territories and ranges of Botswana Basarwa vary in size, depending on the nature of resources in the areas, resource density, and the number of people utilising them. In general, the areas exploited by Basarwa groups tend to be large. Wily (1981:6), for example, estimates that some groups operate in areas averaging around 3,000 km<sup>2</sup>, while those in more fertile areas may have territories averaging about 500 km<sup>2</sup>. Campbell (1976:166) notes that Okavango Basarwa have range sizes of about 500 km<sup>2</sup>. Other data on Basarwa range sizes in Botswana are as follows: (1) G/wi, Central Kalahari, average size of 6 ranges is 779.67 km<sup>2</sup> (Silberbauer 1972:295, 1973:210, 1981a:193, 1981b:460); (2) G/wi and G/ana, Central Kalahari, average size of 11 ranges is 2,222.64 km<sup>2</sup> (Sheller 1977:21, 34); (3) G/wi and G/ana, !Xade area, Central Kalahari, 4,000 km<sup>2</sup> (Tanaka 1976:100, 113, 1980:79, 81, 117, Table 20); (4) !Xō, Kgalagadi District, average size of 5 ranges is 1,660 km<sup>2</sup> (Lawry and Thoma 1978); (5) Balala, Ngwaketse District, average size of 5 ranges is 521 km<sup>2</sup> (Childers 1981:30); (6) S. Kūa and E. ≠Hūa, Kweneng District, average range size is 1,100 km<sup>2</sup> (Helga Vierich, personal communication); (7) !Kung, Ngamiland, range sizes of 300-600 km<sup>2</sup> (Lee 1965:47, 1979a:334); 320-3,000 km<sup>2</sup> with an average of 1,000 km<sup>2</sup> (Yellen 1976:54, 1977a:54, 60, Yellen and Harpending 1972:253); (8) N. Kūa, Western Sandveld, Central District, average size of 7 ranges is 989.29 km<sup>2</sup> (Hitchcock 1982a:179, 191, 1982b:248); and (9) Tyua, northeastern Kalahari, Nata River region, average size of 11 ranges is 199.91 km<sup>2</sup> (Hitchcock 1982a:179, Table 9). A small range size is given for Nharo groups in the Ghanzi District: 30 km<sup>2</sup> (Barnard 1979:140).
  14. There are six communal service centres in Botswana, three in Central District and one each in North West, Kweneng, and Southern Districts. The total area they cover is 1,085 km<sup>2</sup>, with an average of 181 km<sup>2</sup>. The population of these areas varies from 50 to 480, with an average of 238 people per location.

## APPENDIX I

### Statement on Control of Research among Basarwa in Botswana

In a memorandum sent to the District Commissioners of the Ghanzi, Kgalagadi, North West, and Central Districts on 9 June, 1975, the Bushmen Development Officer (BDO) pointed out that a Presidential Directive had been issued on 10 April, 1975 (Directive 12/75) under "Policy Relating to Research amongst Bushmen Citizens." According to this memorandum, the Presidential Directive directs that "The guidelines of paragraph 7 of the Memorandum (543, Office of the President) and the detailed guidelines presented in Annexure A be adopted to control research among

Bushmen citizens".

The memorandum went on to outline the guidelines, which are:

- (a) Research on Bushmen which is neither 'development-oriented' nor of particular scientific value in its own right should be generally reduced.
- (b) 'Development-oriented' research refers to those studies which can provide the Government of Botswana with information of use in formulating and implementing appropriate development action for Bushmen citizens. Such research should have priority.
- (c) A maximum number of seven (7) individual researchers of Bushmen will be permitted to operate in Botswana at any one time.
- (d) Research proposals will be subject to detailed conditions agreed by the Office of the President and the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, as outlined in Annexure A.

#### Annexure A

The detailed criteria which will be applied in judging research proposals are:

- a) The effect the presence of the researcher, and the manner his/her research will likely have upon the particular community(ies) selected for study, will be calculated and borne in mind.
- b) Research in the Xangwa area of Ngamiland should be minimised.
- c) Unnecessary duplication in research will be avoided.
- d) Research which will only verify 'scientifically' phenomena of Bushmen society already widely accepted will be avoided, unless Government considers such verification necessary.
- e) The relative urgency of research proposals will be taken into account.
- f) Where there is doubt, the academic credentials and past experience of the researcher in question should be looked into before a final decision is made.
- g) That the researcher will visit the Bushmen Development Officer, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, before proceeding to the field, in order to be fully informed of the on-going situation and development action among the Bushmen he will study, and to learn in what ways he may contribute to their development.
- h) That the researcher will report to the District Commissioner of the appropriate District and discuss on-going relevant development in the area with the District Officer (Development).
- i) That the researcher will undertake to submit at least two full copies of every subsequent publication or document he writes which relate to his research period in Botswana, one of which will be placed in the National Archives.
- j) That the researcher undertakes in writing to in no way coerce the subjects of his study to co-operate with his research programme.
- k) That the researcher respect the fact that the final permission for his research be in the hands of the subjects themselves, or their representative.
- l) That the researcher undertakes in writing to leave the area if, in the opinion of the District Commissioner and after consultation with the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, his/her presence is having a negative effect upon the Bushmen under study.
- m) That encouragement rather than interference be given, even at the risk of sacrificing research time, to activities the Bushmen subjects may already be involved in, or wish to initiate, that are relevant to their present and future subsistence or development.



- n) That the nature of whatever remuneration is given to the Bushmen subjects be, firstly the result of close consultation with them, and secondly, as far as is possible, of a long-term progressive value.
- o) That no attempt be made by the researchers to assist the Bushmen (e.g. selling their crafts for them) unless it is done in such a way that it will continue after their departure from the field (i.e. is not dependent on their presence only).
- p) That the researcher undertakes to report to the Bushmen Development Officer, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, before leaving the country at the end of his period of research.
- q) That if any personal physical examination (e.g. taking blood, urine, sputum or other samples) will be involved in the carrying out of the proposed research, that it first be vetted by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Health.

## APPENDIX 2

### Personnel in the Remote Areas Development Programme Who Have Worked with Basarwa in Botswana

| <i>Name</i>           | <i>Position</i> | <i>District</i>     |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Baluseng Baluseng     | RADO            | Kweneng             |
| Barry, Desmond        | ARADO           | Central             |
| Bieseke, Megan        | I/L             | North West          |
| Brenner, Allan        | C/E             | Country             |
| Byram, Martin         | C/E             | Kgalagadi           |
| Caye, Virginia        | C/DS            | Kgatlang            |
| Childers, Gary        | I/L,<br>C/DS    | Ghanzi,<br>Southern |
| Clauss, Bernhard      | Adv             | Ghanzi              |
| Clauss, Renate        | Adv             | Ghanzi              |
| Copperman, Jeanette   | I/L             | Kgatlang            |
| Dikgale, Festus       | RADO            | Kgalagadi, Central  |
| Egner, Brian          | C               | Country             |
| English, Mark         | ARADO           | Ghanzi              |
| Fella, John           | RADO            | North West          |
| Giddie, Mothokhumo E. | RADO            | Country             |
| Gofetile, Lerateng    | RADO            | Country             |

| <i>Name</i>             | <i>Position</i> | <i>District</i> |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Hitchcock, Robert K.    | C/DS, I/L       | Central         |
| Jerling, D.             | Adv             | Ghanzi          |
| Koitsiwe, S.R.          | C/DS            | Kgatleng        |
| Lawry, Steve            | C/DS            | Kgalagadi       |
| Lefoko, Oanatame        | Ag Adv          | Ghanzi, Central |
| Luhling, A              | Adv             | Kgalagadi       |
| Maakwe, Galaletsang     | ARADO           | Country         |
| Mabengano, Marang       | ARADO, RADO     | Country         |
| Makosha, R.B.           | ARADO           | Kgalagadi       |
| Marakanyane, Kgotla     | RADO            | Kgatleng        |
| Martin, Dale            | Adv             | Ghanzi          |
| Martin, Lori            | Adv             | Ghanzi          |
| Matlhare, Leonard       | Ag Adv, ARADO   | North West      |
| Mayane, Soblen          | RADO            | Ghanzi          |
| Molatole, N.            | RADO            | Kgalagadi       |
| Monshu, Gertrude        | ARADO           | Kgalagadi       |
| Mpholhwe, Joseph        | ARADO           | Kweneng         |
| Murray, Mark            | Adv/WL          | Ghanzi (CKGR)   |
| Ngope, Clifford         | RADO            | Country         |
| Northam, Larry          | C/F             | Country         |
| Pfotenhauer, Linda      | I/L             | Central         |
| Pule, Oliver            | RADO            | Kweneng         |
| Ramatlhodi, S.          | ARADO           | North West      |
| Rammala, J.             | Adv             | Ghanzi          |
| Reid, Ngaire            | Adv             | Kgalagadi       |
| Rotsart de Hertaing, C. | Adv/Wtr         | North West      |
| Rowland, Marcus         | Adv             | Country         |
| Schwartz, J.            | ACDO            | Ghanzi          |
| Sheller, Paul           | C/DS            | Ghanzi (CKGR)   |
| Thoma, Axel             | RADO            | Kgalagadi       |

|                      |         |           |
|----------------------|---------|-----------|
| Tlhage, Justice      | Adv/NFE | Kgalagadi |
| Tshweneyegae, Malaki | RADO    | Central   |
| Traill, A.           | Adv     | Ghanzi    |
| Venter, Verena       | Adv     | Ghanzi    |
| Vierich, Helga       | I/L     | Kweneng   |
| Wily, Elizabeth      | RADO    | Country   |
| Xhari, Jan           | ARADO   | Ghanzi    |
| Zufferey, Freddie    | Adv/DS  | Central   |

NOTE: The abbreviations used in the above table are as follows:

RADO = Remote Area Development Officer, ARADO = Assistant Remote Area Development Officer, I/L = Investigation Liaison, C/E = Consultant in Education, C/DS = Consultant — Development Survey, Adv = Advisor, C = Consultant, Ag Adv = Agricultural Advisor, Ad/WL = Advisor — Wildlife, Adv/Wtr = Advisor — Water, Adv/NFE = Advisor — Non-Formal Education, Adv/DS = Advisor — Development Survey, CKGR = Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

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