

Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa

An Introduction to the Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa

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James Suzman



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PREFACE

At the 22nd Session of the ACP-EU Joint Assembly held in Windhoek in March 1996, a resolution was passed recognising the “special difficulties encountered in integrating hunting and gathering peoples in agricultural industrial states”, and calling for “a comprehensive study of the San people ... in the light of international conventions”. To this end it was decided that a study titled *A Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa* would be conducted, with funding from the European Union (EU).

With a view to implementing the project, the EU commissioned Prof. Sidsel Saugestad at the University of Tromsø to prepare an inception report incorporating a broad work plan and budget. This report was revised in Windhoek in late 1998 by the implementing agency, the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC), and implementation commenced following the exchange of contracts between the LAC and EU in January 1999. A project co-ordinator was formally appointed in the same month, and a total of ten researchers were contracted to conduct the research and prepare a report on their findings.

The outcome of the study is a series of five reports. This first report in the series provides a general introduction to some key findings and issues identified and discussed in the larger and considerably more detailed second, third and fourth reports in the series, which are country-specific reports on the situation of San in South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe (combined in one volume), Botswana and Namibia. The fifth report is the outcome of a specialist consultancy commissioned as part of the study to focus on gender issues in relation to San.

The study as a whole was made possible by a contribution from budget line B7-6200/98-13/ENV/VIII of the European Community (EC). All opinions expressed in the study report series are the opinions of the individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the EC, nor of the LAC.

James Suzman
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Windhoek
January 2001

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James Suzman

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	Africa-Caribbean-Pacific
ANC	African National Congress (RSA)
BDF	Botswana Defence Force
BDP	Busman Development Program (Botswana)
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CBNRM	community-based natural resource management
CBO	community-based organisation
CBT	community-based tourism
CKGR	Central Kalahari Game Reserve (Botswana)
CRIAA SA-DC	Centre for Research-Information-Action for Development in Africa – Southern Africa Development Consulting
EC	European Commission
ELCIN	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia
FAA	Forças Armadas Angolanas (Angolan Armed Forces)
FFWP	Food for Work Programme (Namibia)
FPK	First People of the Kalahari
GOB	Government of Botswana
GRN	Government of the Republic of Namibia
HDI	Human Development Index
HPI	Human Poverty Index
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
ILO	International Labour Organization
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation
KDT	Kuru Development Trust
KGNP	Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (South Africa)
LIFE	Living in a Finite Environment (Programme)
MBESC	Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture (Namibia)
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism (Namibia)
MLGLH	Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing (Botswana)
MLRR	Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (Namibia)
MOHSS	Ministry of Health and Social Services (Namibia)
MRLGH	Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing (Namibia)
NDF	Namibian Defence Force
NDP	National Development Plan
NDTF	National Drought Task Force (Namibia)
NLP	National Land Policy (Namibia)
NNC	Nyae Nyae Conservancy
NNDFN	Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development
RAD	Remote Area Dweller
RADP	Remote Area Development Programme (Botswana)
SADF	South African Defence Force
SFF	Special Field Force (Namibia)
SASI	South African San Institute
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
TAA	Traditional Authorities Act (Namibia)
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Lands Policy (Botswana)
TLA	Tribal Lands Act (Botswana)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola
UNWGIP	United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa

CHAPTER 1

THE SAN OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

1.1 Introduction

The San¹ or “Bushmen” of southern Africa are among the region’s best-known peoples. Iconified as an archetypal hunting and gathering society, they are the subject of numerous ethnographic studies, documentaries, feature films, coffee-table books and postcards. In contrast to their popular image, however, few (if any) San still depend primarily on hunting and gathering or roam the vastness of the “bush” clad in leather and living a life of blissful isolation. Rather, the majority of southern Africa’s San population are struggling to adapt to a rapidly transforming world in which they lack *de jure* rights to land, are largely dependent on welfare in the form of food aid or extremely poorly paid jobs, lack the skills necessary to compete in the evolving political economy and complain of discrimination at the hands of others.

The range of sectors across which San are disadvantaged relative to other southern African language groups suggests that development efforts aimed at them need to be intensified, and moreover that changes need to be made to existing programmes, legislation and policies. While there have been some positive developments during the last decade in particular, these have not been adequate to effect any fundamental adjustment in their collective status. Indeed in some areas conditions for San have arguably deteriorated over this time, partially but by no means wholly as a result of national governments lacking the capacity, will or resources to intervene effectively in their favour.

While some recent policy changes and programmes initiated by the Government of Namibia (GRN) and Government of Botswana (GOB) respectively stand to benefit San in those countries, only in South Africa, which is home to a relatively small San population, have government interventions provided a solid platform from which to effectively address San concerns. Partly in consequence of the limited success of government interventions in other parts of the region, many San feel alienated from and by their national governments – a state of affairs that has not been helped by occasional high-profile conflicts such as have happened in Botswana’s Central Kalahari and Namibia’s West Caprivi.

The past two decades have seen the growing dominance of a global discourse on “indigenous rights”. This is reflected in, among other things, actions such as the United Nations (UN) declaring the period 1993-2003 as the “Decade of Indigenous People”, the recent decision to establish a permanent forum for indigenous peoples at the UN, the ratification by a number of countries of the International Labour Organisation’s Convention 169 (ILO 169) and the development by some national governments of policies that devolve a degree of autonomy to “indigenous” minorities living within their national territories. Among non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs) and others, the label “indigenous” has joined the vocabularaic arsenal necessary to secure the funds of donors and at the same time the identification of indigenous peoples as a special category in international law offers potential benefits for those who can negotiate their way into this problematic social category.

In March 1996 the ACP-EU Joint Assembly passed a resolution recognising the “special difficulties encountered in integrating hunting and gathering peoples in agricultural industrial states” and “noting the lack of accurate overall information on the present condition and prospects of the San” (See Appendix D herein). Pursuant to this resolution the Joint Assembly requested the European Commission (EC) to undertake “a comprehensive study of the San people ... in the light of international conventions”. This

¹ San are currently referred to by a number of different labels, including “San”, “Bushmen” and, in Botswana, “Basarwa”.

introduction will highlight some of the main issues raised in the various components of this “comprehensive study”, place them in a regional context and make broad recommendations regarding possible future development interventions.

There is a growing tendency to conceptualise San as an “indigenous minority” and to evaluate their status against the benchmark of the draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples or the ILO’s Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO 169) (see e.g. Saugestad 1998 and IWIGIA 1999). But national governments in the region are reluctant to consider expanding the rights of minorities within an indigenous rights framework and question its appropriateness in the southern African context. This study suggests that the extent of San economic and social marginalisation relative to others in southern Africa is arguably sufficient to justify the establishment of special programmes on their behalf without explicit reference to their indigenous heritage. A failure to undertake a long-term commitment to dealing with San-related issues and problems is certainly likely to have negative long-term consequences: apart from further alienating San from their respective nation states, it is probable that they will grow increasingly dependent on welfare resources, thereby maintaining an unacceptable status quo while simultaneously burdening already cash-strapped state coffers.

1.1.1 Historical overview²

Up to 300 000 Khoesan³ peoples once lived throughout southern Africa – from the southern reaches of the Zambezi basin to the Cape of Good Hope (Lee & Devore 1976: 5). This population was comprised exclusively of hunter-gatherers until around two thousand years ago when Bantu cattle economies first penetrated into the east of the region and segments of the indigenous population turned to pastoralism.

Following the European colonisation of the Cape in the 17th century, most of southern Africa’s Khoesan populations were wiped out. Squeezed between Bantu migrants from the north and east, and white colonisers from the south, they were variously assimilated, decimated or subjugated by these new arrivals. By the early 20th century only a small San population remained in southern Africa, the majority of whom lived in and around the Kalahari basin in Botswana and Namibia, southern Angola, southern Zambia and north-western Zimbabwe. Being relatively isolated, they continued practising a hunting-and gathering lifestyle supplemented by occasional trade with others and sporadic forays into pastoralism.

San were understood by their various neighbours to be different from all other peoples, and as much as their history of contact with others displays elements of conflict and co-operation, these were framed within a dominant paradigm of alterity. To most Bantu in southern Africa the primarily hunting-and-gathering San did not represent a distinct “tribe” or ethnic community so much as a distinct and inferior order of humanity. Similarly, white colonists did not consider San to be “blacks”, but rather to constitute a “lower” and more “primitive” expression of mankind.

The last century saw the almost complete integration of surviving San populations into the lowest echelons of the regional political economy, and with it their growing dependency on others. With neither white nor Bantu immigrants considering hunting and gathering to be a legitimate form of land use, San were spuriously declared nomads and thus to exercise no objective rights over land or natural resources. Despite sometimes active resistance, by the mid 1970s close to nine tenths of the region’s San population had been dispossessed of their traditional territories and their source of economic and political autonomy (see section 1.3).

Although a small proportion of San adapted well to these conditions, most struggled. The loss of spatial stability, their extreme poverty, the extent of their dependency on others and cultural adaptation problems all contributed to the emergence of a host of serious social problems, including low self-esteem,

² Useful histories of San in different areas include Gordon 1992, Brenzinger 1997, Wilmsen 1989, Silberbauer 1981 and Suzman 2000.

³ The terms “Khoesan” or “Khoisan” were developed by linguists and anthropologists to differentiate between Bantu languages and indigenous southern African languages. The term combines labels for the two main language groups within the Khoesan class: Khoe (Nama/Khoekhoegowab/“Hottentot” languages) and San (San/“Bushman” languages) (see Barnard 1992).

excessive alcohol abuse and apathy. Moreover, dependent on a political economy in which they retained little access to and control over the various mechanisms of power, many San came to devalue their hunting-and-gathering past and the contemporary stereotypes this imposed on them. Some seriously considered the possibility that they were indeed inferior to others and that their marginal position might reflect some form of *natural* order.

During the latter decades of the 20th century San became increasingly affected by decisions taken by their national governments. Writing about Botswana's Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) during the early 1990s, Hitchcock and Holm (1993) noted that the nature of San dependency was shifting away from direct dependency on other individuals or households to a broader structural dependency on the State and its welfare programmes, and moreover that San marginalisation had become essentially "bureaucratic" in character. In the decade since Namibia achieved its independence a similar process occurred there, and San are now overwhelmingly dependent on government aid in one form or the other (Nam). The increased dependency on the State in these two countries highlights on the one hand the extent of San economic vulnerability, and on the other the failure of recent government initiatives to affect any substantial change to the economic status of San populations.

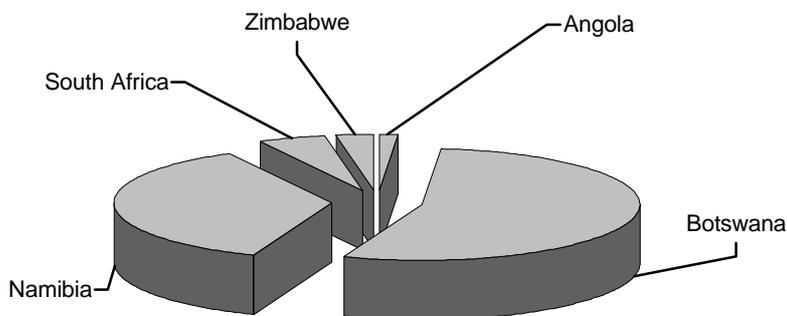


Figure 1.1: Distribution of southern Africa's San population by country

1.2 Who are the San?

Southern Africa's San population is comprised of a series of diverse self-identifying groups which, being "indigenous" to the region, shared a distinct and identifiable cultural "deep structure" that most commonly manifests in language,⁴ social organisation, economic activity, religion and historical experience (Barnard 1992; Saugestad 1997). Despite having few historical associations with one another, a new collective San identity that is premised on cultural continuities, a shared experience of history, similar conditions of poverty⁵ and a number of other common problems has recently emerged among the diverse San groups in the region.

There is no collective indigenous label for the various peoples that at one time or another have been labelled "San", "Bushmen", "Basarwa" "Ovakwankaala" or "Ovakuruha". San groups have traditionally identified themselves according to individual group labels and languages such as "Ju/'hoansi", "Naron" or "Bugakxoe" (see Appendix D). Almost all labels referring to San collectively were coined by non-San and are etymologically pejorative (see Guenther 1986), and with a common "San" identity being a

⁴ Contemporary San populations belong to three major language groups, generally classified as northern, central and southern languages. While there is a large degree of phonemic and phonetic similarity between these languages, they are mutually unintelligible. The largest proportion (60%) of San speak northern (Khoe>Nama/Kxoe) languages and a high proportion (25%) speak dialects of northern (!Kung!/Xu/Ju) languages. The remainder (15%) are speakers of southern (!Xo) languages (see Appendix D).

⁵ In spite of the combined efforts of national governments, NGOs and other concerned parties, San groups throughout the region are conspicuous by the level of their social and economic marginalisation, to the extent that conditions of extreme poverty and low social development are considered synonymous with San identity (see Wilmsen 1989).

relatively new construct, San themselves are not yet agreed as to which label best represents them collectively. The clearest consensus on this issue emerged at the *Common Access to Development Conference* held in Botswana in 1993, where San delegates agreed that the term “San” should be used for the meantime, as it was considered the most neutral. It was also agreed that indigenous labels such as “Ju’hoansi” or “Kxoe” should be used wherever appropriate. Despite this consensus, other labels remain popular. In Botswana, for example, San are almost always referred to undifferentially as “Basarwa”, and in South Africa the term “Bushman” is still frequently used.

1.2.1 Changing identity

While many people identify themselves and are identified by others as “San” (or any number of the other labels under which they are collectively lumped), a “San” identity is not always unambiguous. In some instances San have assimilated into other groups to the extent that they are no longer identified as San; in other instances people identified by others as San do not define themselves as San.⁶ In South Africa, for example, where the potential benefits of having an “indigenous” identity have increased recently, some people from primarily mixed-race Afrikaans-speaking communities in the Cape have “revived” a San or Khoesan identity that had remained dormant for centuries.

Khoesan revivalism in South Africa notwithstanding, identity-switching is often a consequence of the negative values that others have popularly ascribed to San identity and the low self-image of many San. Younger San in particular are often ashamed of their social identity and the popular meanings attached to it. Some attempt to discard their San identity through adopting new names, learning and speaking other languages and rejecting their cultural heritage. In these circumstances the extent to which they can discard their San identity is limited by the degree to which dominant groups are willing to allow them to assimilate (see Nam and Zim, and Gordon & Sholto-Douglas 1999).⁷

1.2.2 How many San are there?

Estimates of the numbers of San in the region have varied greatly over the past century.⁸ Although the data is currently more complete than ever before, identity-switching, movements and migrations in response to war, population pressure, ecological constraints and the inaccuracy of census data all hinder the accurate enumeration of southern Africa’s San population. What is clear is that in contrast to the popular discourse of San “extinction”, population numbers have grown over the last century. In Namibia, where statistical data is most accurate, San population growth rates have been in excess of 2% for much of the last half century (see Marais et al. 1984).

On the basis of this assessment, the San population of southern Africa comprises between 85 000 and 90 000 people, the overwhelming majority of whom live in Namibia and Botswana. The San populations in Zimbabwe and South Africa number fewer than 2 500 and 5 000 respectively, and only very small San populations remain in Angola and Zambia (see AngZam and Table 1.1). Thus, while San constitute small minorities in all of the countries in which they live, only Botswana and Namibia, and to a lesser extent South Africa, are home to sufficiently large San populations to have generated significant public debate concerning their status.

⁶ In Namibia, for example, the descendants of Hai//om San groups in Ongandjera have been largely assimilated in the dominant Oshiwambo-speaking majority and only few still speak Hai//om (Nama) as their first language. It should be noted that although they identify themselves as Ngandjera (Owambo), others in Ongandjera still identified them as Kwankala (San). This identity-shifting resulted in Namibia’s Central Statistics Office reporting the “disappearance” of around 1 600 Namibian San between the 1981 and 1991 national censuses (see Namibia report in this series).

⁷ This is also illustrated by sexual relations between San and others. In areas where San have been more meaningfully integrated into dominant groups, sexual relations and intermarriage between San and others carries little stigma. In areas where integration has been minimal, intermarriage is very rare and often explicitly frowned upon. Sexual relations between San and others are not uncommon in these places, but they usually take the form of a discreet “quick fix”, often involving the exchange of money or favours.

⁸ See Hitchcock 1996, Schapera 1930 and Dekker (1999).

Table 1.1: San populations in southern Africa by country

Country	San population (Hitchcock 1996)	San population (Regional Assessment)	% of total population
Botswana	49 475	47 675	3.3
Namibia	38 275	32 000	1.8
South Africa	4 700	4 350	<0.02
Zimbabwe	1 275	2 500 ⁹	<0.02
Angola	9 750	1 200 ¹⁰	<0.01
Zambia	1 600	300	<0.01
<i>Total</i>	<i>107 071</i>	<i>88 025</i>	<i>±0.14</i>

Problems in the collation of statistical data on San

Census data

A major impediment to generating useful statistics on San populations in southern Africa has been the reluctance of southern African countries to include socio-linguistic or ethnic information in recent census data. While there are compelling political arguments for this, it is in this context sociologically naïve and serves to paper over some very real problems. In particular, as far as San are concerned, it conceals the gaping inequalities between them and others, as well as the unambiguous correspondence between their ethnic identity and their marginal social, economic and political status.

Since 1953 no new national census data in Botswana has allowed for cross-tabulation on the basis of language group or “ethnic identity”. Almost all statistical data on San populations in Botswana published since then have been the product of extrapolation, interpolation and educated guess work. As a result, a major task of the Botswana component of this study was to compile and tabulate all existing statistical data on San living there to establish as accurate a population figure as possible (Bots¹¹). Despite this, real numbers could easily vary by more than 10% of the figure provided here, and it has not proved possible to establish population growth rates or make accurate cross-tabulations concerning socio-linguistic identity and socio-economic or political status.

In Namibia the situation is better. The 1991 census included socio-linguistic data and provided a relatively accurate assessment of numbers of San there. This in turn allowed for reasonably accurate cross-tabulation by reference to a variety of social and economic indicators.¹² This data, as presented in UNDP country reports for Namibia (1996, 1998, 1999), clearly shows the extent to which San are economically, educationally, socially and politically disadvantaged relative to all other language groups in the country (see Figure 1.2)

However, this may be the last time that such comparisons can be made in Namibia, since the Office of the Prime Minister recently announced that socio-linguistic data will no longer be included in future censuses. Thus the forthcoming 2001 census, which would have given some indication of the effectiveness of the GRN’s actions over the past decade in respect of the San population and other ethnic

⁹ No detailed assessment of the number of San in Zimbabwe was carried out for this study. The number presented here is somewhat speculative and includes people who no longer speak a San language, yet are labelled as San by their Ndebele and Shona neighbours. Hitchcock (pers. comm.) has recently put the number at 300 – a considerably lower number than Madzudzo’s estimate.

¹⁰ This estimate is based on data collected by Matthias Brenzinger in Angola during 1996 and from interviews conducted in late 1999 with San who fled into Namibia following the MPLA’s spring offensive. The recent intensification of the Angolan conflict has also resulted in large numbers of San fleeing from Namibia into Botswana and Zambia. Figures provided here do not take into account these recent movements.

¹¹ Other components of this assessment will be referred to in this text according to the following scheme: Namibia (Nam); Botswana (Bots), Angola and Zambia (AngZam); Zimbabwe (Zim) and South Africa (SA).

¹² Although census data on San in Namibia dates back to the 1950s, it is unreliable because officials usually lacked the resources to make an accurate count and therefore guessed the numbers of San living in many areas. Generally, areas beyond the Police Zone and later in the “operational area” were not surveyed thoroughly.

minorities, will be of little use in this regard. This is a cause for concern, as it will effectively remove any means of accurately establishing the impact of any nationwide interventions made on behalf of San, or of assessing the extent to which ethnic consciousness continues to shape – as it so clearly does today – people’s histories, identities and opportunities in Namibia.

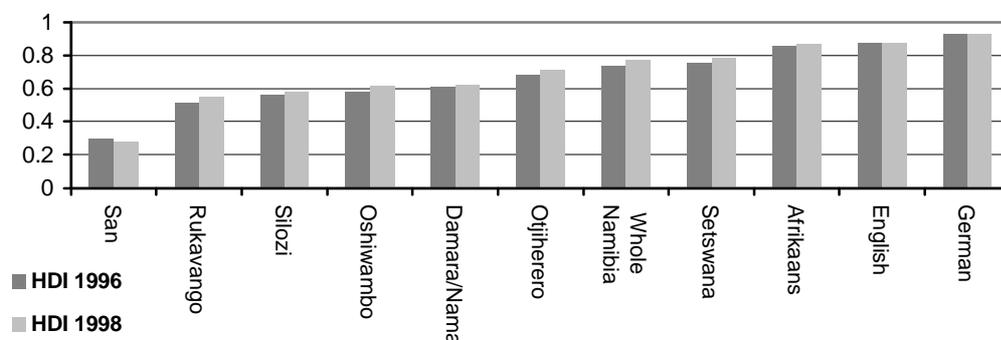


Figure 1.2: Namibian Human Development Index (HDI) by language group – 1996 and 1998

Source: UNDP 1996 and 1998¹³

Wars and migrations

A further problem impeding the accurate enumeration of San in southern Africa has been the ongoing war in Angola and the various migrations that have occurred as a result. Failure to account for these migrations in some population estimates (see below) has resulted in the same populations apparently being included simultaneously in the totals for several different countries (cf. Table 1.1 and Hitchcock 1996, WIMSA 1998, etc.). Thus the Angolan San population, many of whom moved to Namibia during the 1970s and 1980s, and subsequently on to South Africa in 1990, have been included simultaneously in country totals for Angola, Namibia and South Africa when producing estimates of the total regional San population. Similarly, San from Zambia (most of whom were loaded onto trucks and resettled in the Caprivi Region of Namibia by the South African military during 1979) are still often included in country totals for both Zambia and Namibia (see AngZam and Nam).

Most recently, the expansion of the Angolan conflict onto Namibian soil in December 1999, and the refugee crisis that resulted, has further complicated matters. A large proportion of the West Caprivi’s San population have recently fled to Botswana and others to Zambia. Similarly, between January 1999 and November 2000 the majority of Angola’s already depleted San population fled to Namibia, Angola and Zambia (AngZam).

National boundaries

Closely tied to questions of migration are questions pertaining to traditional territorial and kinship links. The densest San populations in southern Africa are situated in the border areas of the six countries in which this study was conducted. Almost all San language groups are split by at least one international boundary, with groups such as the Kxoe traditionally inhabiting an area that now falls within the territories of four different countries. Up until the 1980s many San groups moved freely over borders, and turnstiles were even erected along the border between South West Africa (Namibia) and Botswana so that Ju/’hoansi on either side could visit one another without having to deal with immigration formalities. However, these borders have since been closed and many San kin and social groupings were arbitrarily split. As much as San in these areas are now skilled at negotiating border fences, few risk it because they fear arrest by border patrols. Many complain that without travel and identity documents they are separated from family members living nearby and have no means available to visit them legally.

¹³ The HDI is calculated from data relating to life expectancy, school enrolment, adult literacy and per capita income (see UNDP 1998).

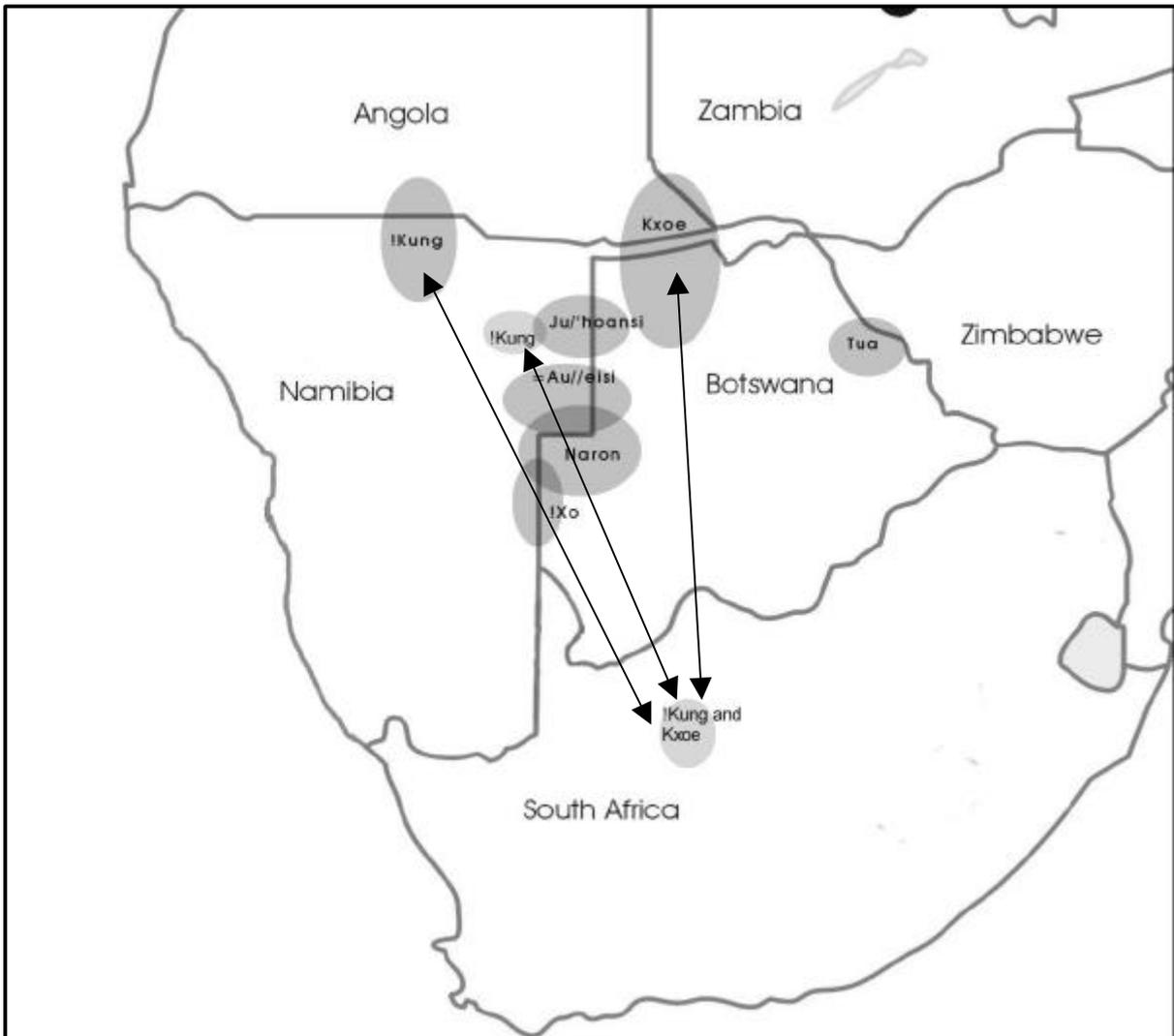


Figure 1.3: Main areas in which San groups are split by national boundaries

1.3 Regional perspectives

The varying numbers of San living in southern African countries, the disparate policy objectives pursued by national governments and their varying capacities to effectively realise these objectives mean that regional comparisons are not always straightforward. Nevertheless, problems facing San populations throughout the region are similar in quality, and moreover the underlying causes of these problems are broadly analogous. Thus, for example, while the precise mechanisms by means of which San have been unable to maintain or secure adequate access to land may be different in each country, the underlying causes and rationalisations for this are very similar.

Due to the absence of comparable datasets for each country in which San live, it is not possible to accurately compare their status in different countries within a quantitative framework. While this would be useful, available evidence suggests that their socio-economic status in each country is sufficiently similar to make broad generalisations. Certainly in the case of Botswana and Namibia there is little question that in terms of poverty, health, education and access to land, conditions are very similar for San in both countries.

Notwithstanding some exceptions, San in Southern Africa are marked by:

- a widespread lack of *de jure* land rights and adequate access to natural resources;
- high levels of extreme poverty and dependency on welfare in the form of food aid or pensions;

- low levels of basic literacy and numeracy, compounded by poor school attendance and high drop-out rates
- poor basic healthcare, squalid living conditions, high incidences of social problems (particularly alcohol-related) and life expectancies considerably lower than national averages;
- high levels of unemployment and a widespread reliance on piecemeal and casual labour;
- weak representation in political or administrative structures and limited capacity to advocate their own interests at a national, regional or local level; and
- a sense of social and political alienation from the mainstream, compounded in some instances by social discrimination and prejudice.

The extent to which San are disadvantaged relative to others suggests that it will take many years, substantial resources and a great deal of effort, patience and flexibility to effect any sort of structural change to their collective status. Having noted this, a number of positive changes have occurred in recent years that cumulatively provide a stronger platform for future development. These include:

- the emergence of a relatively confident and articulate group of community leaders and representatives;
- greater harmonisation of NGO and government development initiatives;
- the establishment of San CBOs throughout the region;
- better representation in local, regional and national elected bodies;
- improved success of education programmes in some areas;
- greater security of land tenure for San in some areas; and
- the establishment of community-based natural resource management schemes in some areas, by means of which San regain partial control over selected natural resources

1.3.1 Dependency

Economic, social and political dependency is a defining feature of life for many San. Extreme poverty and food insecurity are widespread throughout the region and the majority of the San population are dependent on welfare programmes, the charity of others, piecemeal work or labour patronage in order to survive.¹⁴ Because of their illiteracy, poverty, poor political representation and unfamiliarity with the workings of the nation state, San are rendered simultaneously dependent on and vulnerable to others.

San dependency is a multifaceted and complex issue. As much as it is principally economically motivated, it also has strong socio-political and cultural dimensions. San dependency was effected in various ways, but it developed most rapidly where San lost secure access to land and consequently the capacity to live autonomously of the dominant political economy through foraging and hunting. The removal of this option forced San to attach themselves to and work for others. In time San dependency on others came to be institutionalised in various forms, ranging from slavery to mutually agreed (but uneven) symbiosis. Whether owned as slaves, retained as serfs, taken on as bonded or commercial labour, or socially integrated into the households in which they worked, they were expected to accede to the paternalist authority of others.

Economic and political changes in recent years have resulted in San becoming less dependent on others at a household level and more directly dependent on the State and welfare services. Hitchcock and Holm (1993) demonstrated how the extension of the RADP in Botswana during the 1980s resulted in San dependency shifting towards the State and its various social security mechanisms – a process that has also been conspicuous in Namibia since independence. This sort of institutional dependency makes the relationship between San and their governments more direct than in the past and considerably increases San expectations of them.

¹⁴ This problem is most conspicuous in Namibia and Botswana, where up to 70% of San are dependent on government food programmes in one form or another, and where pensions often provide the only cash income in a high number of households. In South Africa employment levels are higher and San are less dependent on welfare services, of which pensions are the most important (SA).

Widespread perceptions of San social inferiority also contribute to maintaining and reproducing conditions of social and material dependency. At their crudest, perceptions of San social inferiority are taken to justify racial abuse. More frequently, San social inferiority is mobilised to account for the extent to which San remain economically and politically marginalized, and to position them as the authors of their own misfortunes. In Botswana and Namibia in particular, San social and economic marginalisation is not popularly understood to be a consequence of the actions of others, but instead is constructed as a direct consequence of San social inferiority. In both Namibia and Botswana, the reluctance of state officials to follow a participatory approach to San development is partly motivated by the widely held perception that few San are competent to make important decisions without guidance or assistance from others.

1.3.2 Poverty

Poverty is the clearest index of the status of San, and throughout southern Africa San communities are characterised by widespread unemployment and an acute reliance on welfare services (where available), casual labour, begging and/or charity.

Until recently a hallmark of San life was their ability to remain partially independent of the formal economy through being able to subsist autonomously as hunter-gatherers. Loss of autonomous access to land and increased sedentarisation over the past century¹⁵ deprived San of this option. As a consequence they came to be increasingly integrated into and dependent on the growing cash economy, but significantly they were only allowed to participate in it at its lowest rung. San thus came to constitute a regional underclass of cheap labour dependent on their employers for their most basic needs (see Bots, Selowane 1995, Wilmsen 1989 and Gordon 1992).

Degrees of poverty

South Africa, Botswana and Namibia are the three most “developed” countries in southern Africa. All fall within the UN’s bracket of medium human development, indicating a reasonably high standard of living compared to other African states. Moreover, per capita incomes in these countries are the highest on the continent.¹⁶

However, these figures are misleading insofar as they mask the substantial inequalities in wealth distribution in these countries. UNDP data indicates that Namibia and Botswana are among the most unequal societies on earth; their Gini coefficients of close to 70% show that most wealth is concentrated in relatively few hands. This kind of structural inequality inevitably promotes relations of dependency between the poor and the wealth – particularly in small developing nations – as only a small proportion of the wealth trickles down.

In both Namibia and Botswana many others join San at the poorer end of the economic pile, but San stand out as being almost universally impoverished: where usually only a small proportion of people from other linguistic groups are poor or extremely poor, the vast majority of San are poor or extremely poor. This is especially true if less easily quantifiable data such as secure access to land and natural resources are factored into the equation. The gap between San and others is best illustrated by reference to Namibia, where despite the fact that San per capita income is just under half of the national average, their 1998 Human Poverty Index (HPI) of 58.1 is almost three times the national HPI of 20.5 (UNDP 1998).¹⁷

¹⁵ The degree to which different San groups came to be dependent on the cash or agricultural economy varied from place to place. In more spatially remote places such as Nyae Nyae in Namibia, and in some Delta communities in Botswana, San remained considerably more independent for much longer than elsewhere. In the most spatially remote of these places, San continue to depend to a far greater degree on hunting and gathering than elsewhere.

¹⁶ In 1998 the UN ranked South Africa, Botswana and Namibia as the 89th, 97th and 107th most developed countries in the world. In terms of GDP per capita they ranked even higher, with Botswana ranked 66th in the world, South Africa 80th and Namibia 85th (www.undp.org/hdro/98hdi.htm).

¹⁷ This is also well illustrated by reference to the next poorest language group in Namibia, Rukwangali speakers, whose per capita income is only 20% higher than that of San, but whose HPI is just over half that of San. The HPI is calculated from data concerning access to safe water, illiteracy, life expectancy, proportion of income spent on food and poor living standards.

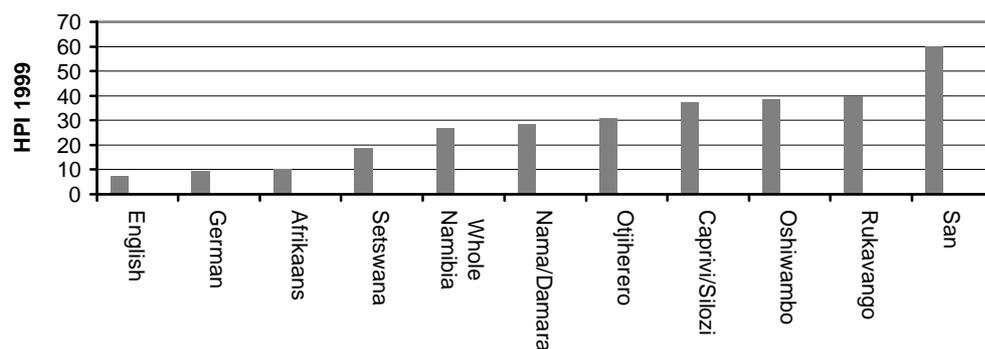


Figure 1.4: Namibian Human Poverty Index (HPI) by language group – 1998

Source: UNDP 1998

This is similarly well illustrated by a socio-linguistic breakdown of people catered for under Botswana's RADP, which is aimed at the poorest of Botswana's rural population (see Table 1.3).

Table 1.3: Remote Area Dwellers (RADs) in Botswana by language group

Language group	Number of RADs	% of total RADs
Tswana	3 600	0.4
Kalanga	2 440	2.2
Kgalagadi	3 520	4.4
Herero	2 520	6.3
Bayei	1 798	5.8
Mbukushu	1 584	8.8
San	33 525	75
<i>Total</i>	<i>51 000</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: Hitchcock 1992: 10

1.3.3 Land, identity and empowerment

The San populations with the best prospects are those few that have retained (or entertain reasonable chances of retaining) rights to land. Among other groups, the Ju/'hoansi of Nyae Nyae in Namibia, the ǀKhomani of South Africa and some Kxoe communities in Ngamiland in Botswana have all benefited substantially from their relatively secure access to land and natural resources. For most of the remaining San populations, inadequate access to land remains a major obstacle to development and has contributed substantially to:

- economic dependency and loss of food security;
- partial breakdown of social structures and pre-existing mechanisms for regulating and sanctioning social behaviour;
- increasing migration into peripheral zones and urban areas;
- high mobility and insecurity;
- inability to accumulate wealth through livestock capital;
- loss of spatial stability; and
- inability to access educational institutions and other social services.

Throughout the region, San and San organisations consider land and natural resource access issues to be vitally important.¹⁸ As San have improved their capacity to lobby for their own interests, they have become increasingly forthright about land rights issues. This reflects not only the symbolic and metonymic value of land in San history and cultural memory, but also their desire to secure a better platform

¹⁸ This was publicly expressed at the 1992 and 1993 San conferences as well as at the *Indigenous People's Consultation* held in Shakawe in 1999 (see Appendices A, B and C).

for social and economic development. Presently, the limited land available to San communities remains a serious impediment to their social, political and economic development. In both the short and the long term, failure to secure and expand San land rights will limit the potential benefits derived from other development initiatives.

San land issues have received coverage in the local and international media for both good and bad reasons over the past 10 years. The restitution of part of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park in South Africa to the remnants of the ǀKhomani San population was widely hailed as a progressive and important step, as were measures partially devolving user rights and control over natural resources to some predominantly San communities in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. On the other side of the coin, plans to evict or relocate San groups from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) in Botswana and the West Caprivi Game Reserve in Namibia have brought San organisations and support groups into dispute with national governments.

Namibia

For San in Namibia, land dispossession has been more extreme in both extent and form than for San elsewhere in southern Africa. The apportioning of the country under apartheid into freehold commercial farms, “tribal” communal lands and wildlife conservation areas meant that by 1976 fewer than 3% of the Namibian San population retained even limited *de jure* rights to the lands they had traditionally occupied. Close to half lived on freehold land owned by white farmers, for whom they worked and on whose employment they depended to retain basic residential rights. Other areas in which San lived were allocated to other “non-white groups” or were designated as national parks or game reserves. Only the small Ju/’hoan-speaking population living in what is now East Tsumkwe (or Nyae Nyae) were granted a San homeland, namely “Bushmanland”, although they were denied even the limited self-administrative autonomy granted to other non-white Namibians residing in their so-called “homelands”.

By Namibian independence in 1990 the situation was largely unchanged. Close to half of the country’s San population still lived in freehold commercial farming districts and over a quarter lived in communal areas under the legal control of other “tribal” authorities. The situation has since been further complicated by recent changes in the commercial agricultural sector that have resulted in substantial farm layoffs, leaving thousands of San and other generational farm workers with neither jobs nor homes.¹⁹

Legislation enacted since independence has done little to redress the wholesale loss of land experienced by San during the colonial period. The forthcoming Communal Lands Bill (which the National Council recently referred back to the National Assembly) looks unlikely to protect or expand San interests in communal areas, since it implicitly reaffirms the ethnic division of land under apartheid by granting “customary” rights based on the ethnic divisions identified by the Odendaal Commission. Furthermore, despite the fact that San are among the principal intended beneficiaries of land purchased for resettlement purposes under the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, the GRN has done little to ensure that San participate in or benefit from the programme. Indeed, in the 10 years since independence fewer than 500 San have been resettled under the scheme, and then in small and overcrowded resettlement areas where they have not been granted the tenure rights stipulated by law (Nam).

Botswana

In Botswana the extent of San land dispossession has been marginally less severe than in Namibia, but of equally far-reaching and long-term impact. Freehold land notwithstanding, legislation governing land access and tenure promulgated after independence (in 1966) was premised on dominant Tswana models and in effect precluded non-pastoral groups such as San from gaining automatic or secure rights to land. While no longer explicitly discriminatory against San or other minorities not hailing from the major

¹⁹ Agricultural employment in Namibia has declined by close to 40% since 1970 and is now down to 1950s levels, when the rural population was only a third of what it is today (Nam).

tribes,²⁰ legislation enacted over the past three decades saw San alienated from vast areas of land which they once occupied and utilised almost exclusively.

The legal dispossession of San in independent Botswana was effected primarily through the Tribal Lands Act (TLA) of 1968 and the Tribal Grazing Lands Policy (TGLP) of 1975. The TLA mandated the establishment of Land Boards, which in turn were empowered to allocate land to “tribesmen” for residential, agricultural or conservation purposes. San were largely excluded from this process, firstly because they were not considered “tribesmen” and secondly because they did not practise a form of land use considered suitable for attaining formal tenure rights. Thus large areas of land previously occupied and used by San were legally ceded to others.

Seven years after the TLA was enacted, the TGLP was implemented to improve rangeland management practices and to expand Botswana’s commercial cattle-ranching capacity.²¹ According to Hitchcock and Holm (1993: 318), the “various ministries involved have never obtained the implementation capacity to achieve these objectives”, but the implementation of the TGLP resulted in substantial areas where San lived being allocated to others for cattle-ranching purposes. Although the TGLP stipulated that those displaced through its implementation should be compensated, San were not compensated because, being “nomads”, it was reasoned, how could they be displaced?

Following outcries over the failure to accommodate San in the TGLP, the GOB announced that San displaced under the programme would be moved to settlement areas of 5 000 to 40 000 hectares, where they could be provided with better services as part of the RADP’s villagisation plan (see Chapter 2). All in all less than 1% of Botswana was set aside for settlement by San and other RADs (ibid.).

Hitchcock (1998) notes a number of ongoing problems in these areas which have limited the benefits accrued to San from this process:

- People in these areas have no legal security of tenure and can be moved at any time.
- They lack exclusive settlement rights and hence others are able to move in at any time.
- The settlements are too small to allow for the continuation of hunting and gathering or significant agricultural development.

The GOB is aware of problems experienced by San in gaining adequate or equitable access to land, and both of its recent National Development Plans (NDP7 and NDP8) stipulate that greater attention will be paid to land issues among RAD populations. Despite this commitment, the most high-profile GOB interventions vis-à-vis San land issues thus far during the NDP7 and NDP8 periods (1991-2003) have been their attempts to relocate G/wikhoë, G//anakhoe and Bakgalagadi RAD communities from their traditional lands in the CKGR (see below).

South Africa

The problems experienced by San in South Africa remain daunting, but they are not compounded by tenure insecurity. In contrast to Botswana and Namibia, the South African Government has undertaken some efforts to ensure that local San populations have adequate land access. This is especially remarkable given that 80% of South Africa’s San population are not indigenous to South Africa at all, but are recent immigrants from Angola and Namibia. Since coming to power in 1994 the ANC Government has granted the †Khomani San limited rights to land within the KGNP and also facilitated the purchase of three farms near Kimberly on behalf of the nearly 4 000 Kxoe and Vasekele San who came to South Africa after Namibian independence. By providing these groups with secure tenure, and in the case of

²⁰ The Tribal Lands Act previously set aside specific portions of land for members of specific Tswana “tribes”. The Act was amended in 1993 to confer rights more equitably on any “citizens of Botswana” rather than only members of specific tribes.

²¹ The TGLP was established with the aim of reducing pressure in “tribal lands” by way of allowing larger cattle owners to move to large ranches established mainly in the east of the country. For a more detailed description of the impact of the TLA and the TGLP vis-à-vis San, see Bots, Hitchcock & Holm 1993, Dekker 1999 and Chr. Michelson Institute 1996.

the ꞤKhomani the capacity to earn revenues from tourist traffic in the KGNP, the South African Government has provided a solid foundation from which other issues can be more easily dealt with.

It is important to note, as Robins (SA) points out, that the ꞤKhomani land claim was favourably received not because of ancestral rights or aboriginal title, but because their application met the specifications necessary for any successful land claim in South Africa for peoples displaced after 1913.

1.3.4 Land and conservation

The extent to which San once depended on hunting and gathering as their principal if not sole economic strategy has meant that dealings between San communities and national governments have often been in the context of nature conservation. For much of the 20th century San were widely considered to constitute part of the region's diverse "faunal heritage", and discussions about granting San access to land were framed within a paradigm of nature conservation.²² Despite this, San communities throughout the region have suffered as a direct result of conservation policies pursued by national governments (Hitchcock 1996):

- In South Africa ꞤKhomani San were evicted from their traditional lands in order to establish the KGNP.
- In Namibia San were either forced to move or were severely restricted in their activities through the formation of the Etosha National Park, Kaudum Game Reserve and West Caprivi Game Reserve.
- In Botswana San communities in Nata, the CKGR and Ngamiland have had to cope with the imposition of "coercive conservation" strategies pursued by the GOB.
- In Zimbabwe the small Matabeleland San population lost access to hunting and veld foods through the establishment of the Hwange National Park.

*Community-based conservation*²³

Over the past 10 years, shifts in dominant approaches to biodiversity conservation in the region have enabled some San communities to gain greater control over the wildlife in areas where they live, along with greater *de facto* land tenure rights. San communities in Namibia, Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe now participate in community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) initiatives. With CBNRM being one of the flavours of the decade in donor circles, significant human and material resources have been poured into these schemes. Certainly in the case of Namibia and Botswana, an arguably disproportionate sum of donor cash has been invested in CBNRM at the expense of other possible development initiatives on behalf of San communities. The attention given to CBNRM is disproportionate because CBNRM is presently a strategy available only to the few San communities which *still maintain access to sufficient land and natural resources to make this sort of programme viable*. Since the majority of San live in areas where they lack *de jure* rights to land, CBNRM is simply not an option available to them.

There is no doubt that CBNRM programmes have brought some significant benefits to local communities, mainly by improving the capacity of community organisations and generating direct and indirect revenues. Furthermore, in terms of land tenure the establishment of conservancies has been of clear benefit to San because it has allowed several communities to secure greater legal control over land and natural resources than they had in the past. Moreover the process of securing user rights has strengthened community institutions and corporate structures (see Nam).

However, the long-term sustainability of CBNRM remains unsure. At present (issues like the presence of Angolan soldiers in West Caprivi notwithstanding) the greatest weakness of these initiatives is that they are often the principal if not the *only* substantial development interventions undertaken in some

²² Gordon & Sholto-Douglas (1999: 54-55) provides a useful description of this process in Namibia.

²³ For a detailed review of the environmental politics vis-à-vis San in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia, see Hitchcock 1996.

areas. This means that beneficiaries often have unrealistic expectations of the possible material benefits to be gained from CBNRM, and this often leads to disappointment.²⁴

CBNRM was never intended or expected to become the only or even the primary source of income for participating communities (Ashley & Barnes 1996: 19). Rather, it was intended that the CBNRM programmes would provide new options for communities to generate additional income at both the community and individual levels. From a development perspective it should be borne in mind that CBNRM and community-based tourism (CBT) evolved out of a global initiative to find better means of biodiversity conservation; they are not first and foremost about human development (Nam).

Because no single project can realistically expect to meet the goals of both biodiversity conservation and community development, greater emphasis will have to be paid to other forms of income generation to help ensure the sustainability of CBNRM among San communities in southern Africa. In their absence, San participants in CBNRM initiatives like the Nyae Nyae Conservancy in Namibia, the CaeCae programme in Botswana and Zimbabwe's Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) scheme remain dependent on state or private sector welfare in one form or another.²⁵

Botswana

Until recently San in Botswana had the legal option of acquiring Special Game Licences to hunt for the pot by "traditional" means. According to Hitchcock (1998), the Department of Wildlife and National Parks decided that the Special Game Licences should be discontinued in 1997, though this was not formally announced.

To gain partial control over and rights to utilise wildlife and other natural resources, San communities must now either apply for an ordinary hunting licence or form a conservancy by way of establishing a community trust in a designated wildlife management area. To date two predominantly San CBNRM schemes have been recognised and approved by the GOB: the Ukwhe and CaeCae schemes. A third, that of the Khwai community in the eastern Okavango Delta, was declined on the basis that the applicants desired it to be an exclusively Kxoe (San) initiative.²⁶ Communities participating in these schemes are given the option of benefiting directly from consumptive use of wildlife as well as from tourism.

Namibia

In line with recent trends in conservation practice, the GRN has passed legislation enabling the partial devolution of user rights over wildlife to communities which satisfy the requirements for establishing a "conservancy". However, only a very small proportion of San in Namibia retain access to sufficient land or natural resources to initiate CBNRM programmes. The Ju/'hoansi of the Nyae Nyae area were the first Namibian community to establish a communal-area conservancy. Government recognition of the Nyae Nyae Conservancy was granted in early 1998, and the conservancy has since expanded the scale of its activities. Two other San communities are now in the process establishing conservancies, though these have yet to be formally recognised by the GRN.

Zimbabwe

Several of the difficulties pertaining to ethnicity and ethnic consciousness in "co-operative" ventures between San and others are illustrated by the problems experienced by San in CBNRM initiatives in Zimbabwe.

²⁴ Sullivan (1999) calculated that the two highest annual per capita incomes generated through communal-area tourism in Namibia were N\$85 and N\$254, not including indirect revenues generated through craft sales, etc. In Botswana revenues generated through CBNRM have been higher.

²⁵ This is well illustrated by the fact that San participants in the Nyae Nyae Conservancy – one of Namibia's best supported, most established and most profitable CBNRM programmes – are undernourished and remain dependent on food aid (Wiessner 1998).

²⁶ In addition the Kuru Development Trust has facilitated the establishment of a freehold CBNRM project on Dqae Qare Guest Farm in the Ghanzi District.

The majority of Zimbabwe's relatively small San population live in north-west Matabeleland where the world-renowned CAMPFIRE initiative – the first of all major CBNRM initiatives in southern Africa – is located. However, as Madzudzo (1996 and *Zim*) has shown, the process has not straightforwardly benefited San communities.

Prior to CAMPFIRE, San in the area practised a mixed economy that included hunting, gathering, farming and trading. Although hunting was illegal, restrictions were so poorly enforced that from the San perspective it constituted an important component of the local economy (Madzudzo 1996; Hitchcock 1996). According to Madzudzo (*Zim*), after CAMPFIRE was initiated “San were completely cut off from wildlife in the name of development”, and moreover that wildlife was now communal property “even though the status of the San was not equal to everyone else's”. Madzudzo reports that councillors and committee members in one ward ensured that San benefited directly from CAMPFIRE, but that elsewhere the extent to which San have been able to participate in decision-making processes and to access “community” revenues has been marginal. In this context he argues that those who have lost the most through the establishment of CAMPFIRE have benefited the least.

South Africa

The South African Government's positive response to !Khomani land claims in the KGNP represents the most important step taken by any southern African government in favour of a local San population. The changing of legislation to allow people to make claims to areas in national parks represents an innovation that ought to be examined elsewhere in the region.

Conflicts

Community management of natural resources has seen some fruitful co-operation between San community organisations and their respective national governments, but it has also been a source of conflict. Despite shifts in the dominant conservation paradigm towards community participation, both the GOB and the GRN have sought to remove well-established San populations from “conservation” areas, with minimal regard for the fact that these populations have been permanently settled within these areas for many hundreds if not thousands of years.

Nevertheless, in both of these cases some progress has been made towards finding mutually agreeable resolutions. In Botswana new regulations enabling San to remain in the CKGR were published in March 2000, and in Namibia plans have been proposed to rezone West Caprivi so that San populations can remain there and benefit from ongoing CBNRM activities. It should be noted that in the case of Namibia, the current refugee crisis and border conflict render these positive developments meaningless for the time being (Nam).

The Central Kalahari Game Reserve²⁷

In terms of media profile, the most prominent conflict between San and a national government has resulted from the GOB's efforts to clear the 55 000 km² CKGR of its long-term inhabitants, namely the G/wikhoen San, G//anakhoe San and Bakgalagadi, and to resettle them outside the CKGR.²⁸

Despite reportedly having used some underhand tactics (see Ditshwanelo 1996 and Gaborone 1997), the GOB has not convinced all the CKGR inhabitants to leave. Through their community organisation, First People of the Kalahari (FPK), those wishing to remain in the CKGR have sought support in and outside Botswana. Assisted by a negotiating team comprised of legal practitioners and NGO representatives, FPK is presently preparing to appeal to the courts to secure their status in the CKGR. The preparation

²⁷ See for example Bots, Hitchcock 1996, Pedder 1998 and Gaborone 1997.

²⁸ The process of “encouraging” San to leave the CKGR began in 1988 and was accelerated during the late 1990s. With a De Beers diamond prospect having been established at Gope in the CKGR after 1997, commentators were quick to link the relocations to diamond mining.

of the court application, however, has progressed only fitfully, due in part to problems in selecting an appropriate strategy, weaknesses and conflicts in the somewhat ad hoc negotiating team, occasionally clumsy NGO and donor interventions in the process, and institutional weaknesses within FPK itself.

Although it directly affects only a small proportion of Botswana's San population, the CKGR issue has taken on a symbolic value that extends well beyond the Central Kalahari. It has been widely covered in local and international media, and strong support has been expressed for the San – stemming on the one hand from a general awareness of the extent to which San have lost access to land in the past, and on the other from the fact that the GOB has pursued a strategy that runs contrary to dominant trends in conservation and indigenous “rights” issues.

While the GOB has not altered its formal position of wishing to “encourage” the San and other settled populations to depart from the CKGR, it recently announced changes in regulations for the CKGR that will allow for San to remain there, accrue limited benefits from tourism developments, retain rights to hunt and gather specific natural resources, and to pursue other economic activities within designated multiple-use zones.²⁹ These regulations are largely commensurate with land policy throughout Botswana and to this extent represent a major concession by the GOB.

West Caprivi

In Namibia Kxoe community leaders are locked in a dispute with the GRN over their residential and land rights within West Caprivi – an area to which they have strong customary ties. This dispute is inseparable from several other difficult issues that are not conservation-related, and like the CKGR RADs, the Kxoe have resorted to challenging the GRN through legal channels. The GRN has been slow to address Kxoe concerns, but has recently proposed innovative legislative amendments that (if enacted) will allow San to remain there and moreover establish conservancies in order to reap economic benefits from living with wildlife (Nam).

However, the GRN's recent decision to allow Angola's FAA (government forces) to launch offensives against UNITA (rebel forces) from Namibian soil has offset recent positive developments. Apart from stalling discussions concerning wildlife management and land rights issues in West Caprivi, the presence of the FAA was the catalyst for the most recent exodus of 1 500 Kxoe refugees to Botswana. In addition, this insecure situation has set back tourism development in the short term and very possibly the long term. Tourists do not go to places where they fear they might tread on a landmine or be shot.

²⁹ Extract from the National Parks and Game Reserves Regulations of 2000 (SI No. 28), published in the *Government Gazette* of 27 March 2000:

Community use zones

18(1) The management plan for a national park or game reserve may designate an area as a community use zone.

(2) Community use zones shall be for the use of designated communities living in or immediately adjacent to the national park or game reserve.

(3) Community use zones may only be used to conduct commercial tourism activities and for the sustainable use of veld products, but not for any form of hunting unless otherwise provided for under these Regulations.

(4) The management plan or the Officer-in-Charge may restrict or permit an activity in a community use area if deemed necessary for administrative or management purposes, or for purposes of ensuring the sustainable use of the natural resources within a community use zone.

(5) The DWNP may charge a fee for the collection or use of any veld products, including firewood, the amount of which shall be determined by the Director in consultation with the affected communities.

Hunting rights

45(1) Persons resident in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve at the time of the establishment of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve or persons who can rightly lay claim to hunting rights in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, may be permitted in writing by the Director to hunt specified animal species and collect veld products in the game reserve, subject to any terms and conditions and in such areas as the Director may determine:

Provided that hunting rights contained herein shall only be by the means specified by the Director in the permit and by those persons listed therein.

(2) The meat and trophies of any animal killed under circumstances of sub-regulation (1) shall be used for the consumption of the holder of a written authorisation from the Director, or his dependants, and may not otherwise be disposed of or sold unless written authorisation to do so from the Director is obtained.

1.3.5 Education

Although the situation has improved considerably over the past decade, San remain conspicuous for their lack of formal education and continuing problems adapting to the formal education process. At present only 20-25% of San are literate, only around 25% of San of school-going age are enrolled in schools (Le Roux 2000; Nam, Zim and SA), and there is a very high dropout rate among those who do attend, marked by a clear dip in numbers enrolled in higher grades.³⁰ This is particularly apparent among female learners, very few of whom complete their formal education. Apart from denying San full or even equal access to the “paper state”, it prevents them from competing with others for a variety of jobs, including those in government. Most significantly, low enrolment and high dropout figures mean that San will remain educationally disadvantaged for some time to come no matter what interventions are made in the short term.

Until recently southern African governments made little effort to ensure San access to formal education. The colonial administration in Namibia saw no need for “primitive” San to receive formal education at all, with the result that by independence in 1990 only a handful of San had attended school. Similarly, in Botswana very few San attended school prior to the acceleration of the RADP during the late 1980s. In terms of formal education levels, South African San are in a marginally stronger position than San elsewhere. Although there are problems with the Department of National Education regarding mother-tongue education (ILO 1999: 23), literacy levels are much higher, with 41% of the Schmidtsdrift San population being literate in either Portuguese or Afrikaans.

During the 1990s, as national governments expanded their efforts to provide San with formal education, it became clear that problems experienced by San in accessing formal education were not going to be solved simply by providing enough places for them in schools. As Le Roux’s recent study (2000) has demonstrated, how well San perform in formal education is contingent on questions of culture, language, power, differences in socialisation, poverty, dependency, access to land and inter-ethnic relations. Moreover it makes clear that for a substantial change to be effected in education, changes have to be effected elsewhere as well.

Thus, for instance, 10 years after Namibian independence and in spite of massive GRN investment in formal education, San education statistics – though considerably improved – remain dismal in comparison to those of the majority population.³¹ Namibia’s Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture (MBESC) has identified a number of problems inhibiting San achievement in formal education (MBESC 2000; see also Le Roux 2000). Prominent among these are:

- high mobility of San individuals and families;
- a lack of mother-tongue education resources in San languages;
- a lack of qualified mother-tongue teachers in San languages;
- San being minorities in most schools;
- abuse of and discrimination against San learners in school; and
- adaptive, acculturative and social adjustment problems among San learners and their parents.

Despite the immensity of these problems, there is a growing awareness among San themselves of the value of formal education, as well as a greater willingness among education authorities to accommodate the “special needs” of San learners. This has created an environment more suitable for dealing with these problems. Namibia’s MBESC, for example, has facilitated the establishment of a specialised “inter-sectoral task force” to assess and implement policy options to facilitate school access for educationally

³⁰ Namibia’s Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture maintains an excellent database on education that enables accurate cross-tabulation on the basis of linguistic identity. Data on education in Botswana is not as complete and generally does not include references to language or language group. District-level data from Botswana and qualitative evidence suggests that although a slightly higher proportion of San have completed some formal education, the situation is comparable to Namibia (see Le Roux 2000: 45-50).

³¹ Between 1990 and 1999 the total number of San enrolled in schools has doubled. Latest statistics indicate that as many as 3 526 San of school-going age are currently attending school (EMIS 1998).

marginalised children. The positive approach adopted by this ministry has produced results: there are currently double the number of Namibian San children in formal education than was the case 10 years ago (EMIS 1998).

San achievement in formal education has been inhibited by a lack of suitable education resources and a lack of skilled teachers fluent in any San language. At present the majority of San learners must study in languages other than their mother tongue. In line with contemporary thinking on the issue, policy provisions in Namibia call specifically for mother-tongue formal education for all learners during the first three years of schooling. A further positive development has been that Botswana, in a break from its 30-year-old insistence on Tswana and English being the only mediums of instruction in schools, has recently accepted that “local languages” may also be used.

Despite these positive developments, the reality remains that there are very few mother-tongue education resources available for San speakers, and only about 1% of San of school-going age are taught in their home language. At present only Namibia’s Village Schools Programme, which caters for 421 primary-level Ju/’hoan-speaking children, has an established mother-tongue education programme. Although a number of other initiatives are underway to develop mother-tongue materials and resources in some San languages, because San language communities are typically small (500 to 5 000 speakers) and dialect communities are even smaller, it is unlikely that materials can or will be developed for *all* San language communities.

1.3.6 Capacity

Tied closely to formal education is the question of capacity. Although the situation is changing, San communities and their organisations still depend substantially on technical assistance, co-ordination and advice from others. Aside from the lack of formal education, capacity problems are linked to a number of socio-cultural factors: in particular the lack of long-term institutionalised leadership and hierarchy structures, poor conflict resolution mechanisms, and unfamiliarity and inexperience with the cash economy at anything but its lowest level seriously impede the effectiveness of community organisations.

Although the past decade has seen the emergence of an ever-increasing number of formally educated and dynamic San community representatives in areas such as Nyae Nyae and D’kar, capacity remains a serious problem in most San community organisations. In tandem with cultural adaptive problems, this lack of capacity and the San’s awareness of it leads to apathy and a low self-image.

There is no immediate solution to the capacity issue. Measures can be adopted to increase individual and community skills, but this takes time. Ensuring meaningful San participation in development planning and allowing San CBOs to develop at their own pace and in their own direction will certainly expedite this process. It is clear that their current capacity limitations mean that San CBOs and NGOs will still require some technical assistance in the short term. A flipside to the need for external assistance is the functional dependency that it can create. San involved in some existing community projects are often stoical about project developments and are content to allow others to dictate the direction of development generally. While NGOs in particular have placed a great deal of emphasis on attempting to get San communities to understand their development options and to establish structures to facilitate decision-making, government-led programmes have done less well in this regard (see Chapter 2).

1.3.7 Culture and adaptation

Whether attributable to a recent adaptation to sustained poverty and the harsh manner of their inclusion in the capital economy, or to a cultural hangover from the days of hunting and gathering, San social and cultural attitudes are not always well attuned to coping effectively with or exploiting the current political and economic order.

San are generally unfamiliar with the more intricate workings of the cash economy. Throughout the period of their incorporation into the dominant delayed-return capital economy, the majority of San, by virtue of their underclass status and low levels of income, have maintained an “immediate-return” outlook. Cultural institutions like sharing, which in and of themselves are good adaptations to economic marginalisation, actually conspire against their breaking out of the cycle of poverty and dependency in which many San feel trapped. This has been well demonstrated at the Kuru project in Botswana, where individual income levels well above the poverty datum line do not automatically ensure better household food security or “higher” living conditions (Dekker 1999: 44). Similarly, the stress on egalitarianism at the local level inhibits the evolution of hierarchy-based structures of the kind that are most suitable for exploiting dominant contemporary political and economic processes.

Loss of land, subordination to others and the manner of their inclusion in the broader colonial and post-colonial political economy have resulted in some extreme instances of the weakening of traditional San models of social organisation, and with this a weakening of San institutions geared to the regulation and management of social behaviour. As much as these problems are widespread among San communities, they are inevitably most marked in areas where material and spiritual conditions are worst. In almost all San communities, apathy, boredom and depression are commonplace. Qualitative evidence also suggests levels of domestic and drunken violence that are considerably above normal.

The levels of alcohol abuse among San also do little to ingratiate them to others.³² Many of those who express prejudicial attitudes towards San justify these by reference to their visibly drunken behaviour and apparent inability to behave responsibly. Of equal concern is the fact that impoverished San, in their quest to sidestep reality through drunkenness, will often throw anything that might work into a home brew, for example battery acid, pool cleaner or industrial alcohol. Apart from its long-term impacts on individual health, this practice is very dangerous in the short term, as was demonstrated in March 2000 when seven San in Namibia’s Omaheke Region died painfully after drinking a mixture that among other things contained a concentrated antibacterial solution for swimming pools.

³² Very little has been written about alcohol problems in San communities, but the University of Botswana has recently carried out some studies (see for example Macdonald & Malamu 1997).

CHAPTER 2

GOVERNMENT, POLICY, NGOs AND COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

2.1 Introduction

Given the nature of the difficulties experienced by San in adjusting to life in modern nation states, the development of suitable policies will contribute significantly to improving their status relative to others. At present, while San are not explicitly discriminated against constitutionally or legally in any country in which they live, there are some areas of policy and law that do so indirectly. Furthermore, because of the general unwillingness of state officials to take San participation seriously, they are frequently overlooked in the planning process.

2.1.1 Conferences and commitments

Between 1992 and 1993 two conferences were organised to discuss the evident problems experienced by southern Africa's San populations. In 1992 the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN) in co-operation with Namibia's Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR), SIDA and NORAD organised a *Regional Conference on Development Programmes for Africa's San/Basarwa Populations*, at which a series of resolutions were passed on land, education and culture, social welfare and economic issues (GRN 1992; GOB 1993; Appendix B herein).

In 1993 a larger follow-up conference was held in Gaborone, organised by Botswana's Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing (MLGLH). Titled *Common Access to Development Conference*, this gathering was attended by a cross-section of stakeholders from Botswana and Namibia, which included government representatives, San community leaders, NGO representatives, donor agencies and external observers. Observers noted the "openness and frankness" that characterised the discussions (Saugestad 1998b: 281), and in the concluding session several resolutions were passed and commitments were made by the GRN and GOB representatives to follow up on these (GRN 1992; Appendix C). The resolutions pertained to:

- the establishment of a programme of affirmative action on behalf of San populations to ensure their equal treatment under the law;
- the establishment of measures to monitor human rights abuses against San;
- the recognition of San models of land use, and the protection and expansion of their land rights and access to natural resources;
- the provision of equal education for all by way of taking into account the cultural and social backgrounds of learners, and the establishment of provisions allowing for mother-tongue education for San learners.

While several NGOs and individual ministries have indeed followed up on these resolutions, neither the GRN nor the GOB have made a concerted and co-ordinated effort to integrate them into existing policy (Saugestad 1998b).

2.2 Policy regarding San

The strategies adopted by southern African governments to accommodate the needs and desires of their respective San populations have not been uniformly successful. Although the South African Government has recently gone some way towards establishing a policy framework suitable for dealing with the long-

term needs of their relatively small and spatially stable San communities, the same cannot be said of the Governments of Namibia and Botswana.

In several instances policies adopted in both Botswana and Namibia have effectively (but not explicitly) discriminated against San due to their illiteracy, different cultural outlook, poverty, different land-use strategies, political disorganisation and relative inability to access state services. Of equal significance is the fact that current policy in both these countries is in some respects clearly inappropriate for meeting San needs, and does not directly address some of the main causes of their socio-economic marginalisation. This is partly due to the fact that the dominant trend in both countries has been to conceptualise San marginalisation as a socio-economic issue requiring principally “economic” solutions. Thus important questions pertaining to cultural identity, secure access to land and political relations are not included in the equation. As a result, much government activity aimed at helping San is only suitable for coping with the symptoms of larger problems.

The limited success of government-led programmes aimed at San in Namibia and Botswana can be accounted for by reference to a number of general problems that apply in more or less equal measure to both countries. These include:

- limited success of poverty reduction/alleviation programmes to effect any meaningful change to structural poverty;
- unwillingness to accommodate the collective concerns of San and other ethnic minorities, or to recognise them as distinct, self-identifying cultural communities;
- a lack of material and financial resources;
- human resource problems exacerbated by social prejudice at various levels within government structures;
- top-down, non-consultative, non-participatory approaches to San development, which effectively disempower San at various levels and actively discourage their participation in decision-making processes; and
- limited government commitment to expanding or protecting San land rights and access to natural resources.

2.2.1 Botswana

Having been an independent government for almost quarter of a century longer than the GRN, the GOB has had considerably more time than the GRN to experiment with policies appropriate for dealing with San issues. Policy pertinent to San has thus undergone a number of changes since Botswana gained its independence in 1966. The Bushman Development Programme (BDP) was introduced in 1974 and was later transformed into what is now called the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP).³³ The change of name from BDP to RADP was significant since it represented a conscious decision not to conceptualise the programme’s target community as an ethnic category and their status as an “ethnic issue”, but rather to view them as people defined by their social, economic and spatial “remoteness”.

For the last quarter of a century GOB policy towards San, as manifest in the RADP, has been guided by integrationist principles premised on ideas of linear social development (Selowane 1995: 17). As the Minister of Local Government, Lands and Housing explained at the *Common Access to Development Conference* (GOB 1993: 18), the aims of the RADP are:

- to facilitate the social integration of a marginalised section of the population into the mainstream of society; and
- to develop rural settlements to a level that is comparable to that of other rural villages in the country by providing social services to improve the living conditions in those settlements.

³³ See Wiley 1979 for a description of the BDP during the 1970s.

The logic underlying this strategy is that San³⁴ must be encouraged to discard their “primitive” ways in favour of a Tswana social economy in order to be integrated into the “mainstream” (see e.g. Hitchcock 1998, Dekker 1999, Saugestad 1998b and Bots). The GOB aims to achieve this by encouraging San to live in permanent settlements, providing them with livestock and ensuring their access to social services. When these policies were designed, they were in step with global thinking on the relationship between nation states and indigenous minorities, which was also explicitly integrationist.³⁵

The overarching policy of non-ethnic nationalism which has dominated government perspectives on identity politics since independence provides a backdrop to the RADP (Selowane 1995: 1-3; Saugestad 1998b). This policy has served the country well from a geo-political perspective, especially during the difficult times before South Africa broke free from the shackles of apartheid in 1994. However, there is now growing opposition to it as minority language groups in Botswana such as the Bayei, Bakalanga and Hambukushu seek greater official recognition of their cultural rights and distinct identities within the framework of the nation state.

As much as integration remains the underlying principle, the GOB has recently demonstrated a greater commitment to accommodating the needs and concerns of San, albeit without making too direct a concession to cultural pluralism. In the 7th (1991-1997) and 8th (1998-2003) National Development Plans the GOB noted that San and other “remote” people experienced problems like “poverty, insecurity, inadequate education and training, weak institutions and leadership, and negative public attitudes”. Consequently in NDP8 (section 71) the GOB undertakes to shift emphasis in the RADP “to issues of land rights, employment, education opportunities, institution building, leadership, training and change of negative public attitudes”.

*The Remote Area Development Programme*³⁶

In Botswana most San are classified as “Remote Area Dwellers” or RADs, the intended beneficiaries of the RADP (see Table 1.3). According to Hitchcock (1992), around 70% of all San are RADs, and moreover San comprise 75% of the total number of RADs (see Table 1.3). For San in Botswana the RADP (and its predecessor the BDP) has been the principal government-led development initiative on their behalf. Between the late 1980s and mid 1990s the RADP was “accelerated” through collaboration with and funding from NORAD.

Although during the period that NORAD assisted the RADP greater emphasis was placed on land rights, development, capacity and cultural identity, the RADP has remained focused on basic infrastructural development since its inception. Due in part to a difference of opinion with the GOB concerning the nature of their agreement³⁷ NORAD pulled out of the RADP in 1997, with the result that since then it has had to operate with fewer resources and diminished capacity (CMI 1996). As Saugestad (1997) has noted, since then the programme has reverted to a “low-intensity continuation of the infrastructure components”.³⁸ This is also reflected in Botswana’s NDP8, in which the RADP and RADs are barely mentioned.

Partly as a consequence of the low emphasis placed on economic development and capacity-building in the RADP since the NORAD pullout, San remain predominantly dependent on government-sponsored welfare in the form of food aid, food-for-work programmes and pensions. Given the relatively small scale of the RADP at the moment and its humble achievements over the past decade, the RADP cannot

³⁴ The current President of Botswana, Festus Mogae, illustrated this when as Vice-President in 1997 he stated: “How can you have a stone-age creature continuing to exist in the time of computers? If the Bushmen want to survive, they must change, otherwise, like the dodo they will perish.” (*The Star*, 19 June 1997; see also Bots.)

³⁵ See for example Bodley 1988 and Roulet 1998.

³⁶ See CMI 1996 and Gulbrandsen et al. 1986 for a detailed review of the programme.

³⁷ See Saugestad 1998 for further discussion of the problems that arose between the GOB and NORAD concerning the RADP.

³⁸ Ninety-three percent of the RADP’s total funding has come from donors, with SIDA and NORAD playing the most prominent role (Dekker 1999: 20-21).

be understood to constitute a major initiative. Indeed, as Good points out (Bots), there is a growing perception in the GOB that the RADP serves little purpose and that the needs of the poorest can be adequately catered for under existing welfare programmes.

2.2.2 Namibia

San in Namibia are not the beneficiaries of any special programmes like Botswana's RADP. However, some ministries have identified them as a priority target group and the incumbent GRN has verbally committed itself to alleviating their "dire plight" (Nam). Moreover, Namibia's Constitution accommodates multi-culturalism or ethnic pluralism. Nevertheless, in the absence of an integrated framework, policy towards San in Namibia has tended to be ad hoc, uncoordinated and inconsistent from ministry to ministry. Thus, for example, while the Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture can claim to have taken some effective steps to deal with San-related problems falling within its sphere of responsibility, the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation cannot make a similar claim. Equally importantly, the GRN has shown little commitment to addressing the key causes of San social and economic marginalisation or to allow San to participate meaningfully in the development process.

The absence of a coherent, integrated policy framework for dealing with San issues or the needs of the very poor in general in Namibia has meant that in the decade since independence the status of a significant proportion of San and other rural poor in Namibia has deteriorated and their dependency on state welfare has increased.

2.2.3 South Africa

South Africa's two major San communities (the ǀKhomani community and the !Kung and Khwe community) have proved able to exploit South Africa's relatively open political climate and have benefited from recent land redistribution initiatives. For this reason the status of the San in South Africa is more secure than that of their neighbours in Namibia and Botswana.

Although the political atmosphere in South Africa is considerably more "San-friendly" than elsewhere in the region, an ILO report (1999) notes that not all departments in the South African Government have been exemplary in their dealings with San. However, the strength and profile of various minority groups in the South African political "rainbow" has meant that minority interests on the whole are better protected than elsewhere in the region. Moreover the San population in South Africa is small enough for its interests (in terms of land rights and access at the least) to be accommodated without any significant disadvantage to others. In addition to this, San stand to benefit from the prevailing attitude of cultural pluralism in which Khoesan peoples are considered a symbolically important part of the "new South Africa". Indeed South Africa stands out in the region for the fact that Khoesan languages, and by extension identities, are promoted in and protected by the Constitution.³⁹

2.3 Implementation, representation and participation

Despite policy statements to the contrary, meaningful participation has been a major problem at all levels of some government-led initiatives on behalf of San. This is firstly because San are poorly represented in government structures and secondly because perceptions of San social inferiority often prescribe the kind of relationship that San have with their "developers".

2.3.1 Representation

In recent years political parties in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa have campaigned for the San vote with greater vigour than in the past, and have also sought to involve San more directly in national

³⁹ Articles 6(2) and 6(5) call for the promotion and development of "indigenous" languages, including Khoe, Nama and San languages. The new national coat of arms bears a /Xam language inscription as do new coins.

and regional politics. Despite this, San remain poorly represented in national, regional and local government structures. To a point this is a question of demographics since San are not numerically strong enough to warrant anything more than token representation in their respective national parliaments. Even in Namibia and Botswana San populations are large enough to warrant (on the basis of demography alone) only one or, optimistically, two representatives in their respective national parliaments.

Their poor representation in regional and local government structures is an area of greater concern since in some regions and districts San constitute a proportionally large enough population to justify greater representation in these bodies than they have at present. The only place where San are comparatively well represented in local and district-level government bodies is in the Ghanzi District of Botswana, the largest area in southern Africa where San constitute the largest socio-linguistic constituency.⁴⁰ In Namibia no San are represented in regional or local councils, though there has been at least one San representative in the National Assembly at all times since independence.⁴¹

Additionally, San are not well represented in the public sector in any country in which they live. In both Botswana and Namibia the majority of government officials dealing with San issues are not San themselves and most of the few San in public sector service occupy only menial, and in rare instances low- or middle-ranking positions. As much as San argue that they wish to see themselves better represented in government organs, few can satisfy the minimum formal requirements necessary to take up employment in these.

That San are poorly represented in the official organs of government and are also frequently frustrated in their attempts to access them means that they are rarely able to give input in a number of important forums in which decisions are made that impact on them. The under-representation of San in these bodies has also been a major motivation behind the proliferation of San community-level organisations, and most recently the decision to establish national and regional San councils (see below).

2.3.2 Participation

Others are rarely prepared to concede that San are their social or in some cases racial equals (see e.g. Gordon 1992, Hitchcock & Holm 1994, Wilmsen 1989 and Suzman 2000). Perceptions of San social inferiority filter their way into the design and implementation of policy and this plays a role in denying San meaningful participation in their own development initiatives as well as in limiting the extent of their empowerment by them. The fact that San often describe state officials as paternalistic reflects in part a situation where some officials do not feel San to be “competent” to take decisions for themselves.

The dominant paradigm in community development at present is premised on the idea that sustainable development is contingent firstly on the partial devolution of decision-making powers to the intended beneficiaries, secondly on their meaningful participation at all levels of the process and thirdly, as a result of this, on improving their capacity and “empowering” them.⁴² These principles are enshrined in official policy throughout southern Africa.

At the edges of the nation state, however, development in action rarely mirrors the virtuous ideals outlined in policy or in the planning process. Although clauses and articles concerning empowerment and participation are essential to the ideological legitimacy of policy, they are often the early casualties in the development process. In some instances this is because other elements of policy are inconsistent with these principles, but more often than not it is because as policy is implemented, it is reconstituted in

⁴⁰ San constitute 45-55% of the Ghanzi District population. All the Kgosi (Headmen) for the nine San settlements there are San (and two of them are women). Additionally, three San have been elected to the local council, although it is reported that they are largely ineffectual within council structures (Bots).

⁴¹ Aside from one Ju/'hoan-speaking SWAPO MP and two recognised San traditional leaders, San have no other representation in legislative organs of government in Namibia.

⁴² There is a large body of literature on this subject. Gardner & Lewis 1996 includes a concise discussion of the main arguments.

terms of “local” knowledge, local practices, the representations through which these are mediated and prevailing power relations.

In both Namibia and Botswana development initiatives aimed at San have been infrequently participatory or empowering. As the individual country components of this study demonstrate, state interventions on behalf of San have been conspicuous for their lack of consultation, inflexibility, implicit paternalism, and because of this, their top-down approach. This has been exacerbated by the fact that in some cases state officials have been reluctant to work with or through community organisations and structures, or to recognise the mandates of these organisations to represent their constituencies.

A related area of difficulty concerns those charged with the implementation of policy. Much of the mistrust expressed by San towards their national governments is contingent on their unfavourable dealings with individual officials. To be sure, some officials with whom they have dealings are highly regarded and respected by San, but for the most part San claim that they are paternalistic, sometimes obstructive and arrogant. Certainly only a proportion of officials tasked by national governments to facilitate San development have coped well with the evident difficulties implicit in the job.

The failure to secure meaningful San participation in programme planning and implementation has meant that they are rarely empowered by the process and that relations of dependency are further entrenched. Indeed the limits imposed on San participation in development initiatives often reproduce the historically uneven social, political and economic relations that have pertained between them and others.

The lack of meaningful participation has also exacerbated the problem of cultural (mis)understanding. There is little question that some of those who have been involved in San projects have had difficulties in making sense of and reacting appropriately to some culturally mediated responses of San to certain initiatives. If San were meaningfully empowered in these projects, these problems would be minimised because San themselves would be allowed to deal with them in a culturally appropriate manner (see e.g. Hitchcock 1998 and Dekker 1999: 60-61).

2.3.3 Material resources

Another key problem impeding the effective implementation of policy in Botswana and Namibia has been a lack of material resources. Botswana’s RADP reduced the scale of its operations considerably after Scandinavian funding was withdrawn, and Namibia’s resettlement programme has struggled due to a lack of funds since its inception. While its relatively secure financial position indicates that the GOB is comparatively well placed to fund development programmes from state coffers, there has been some reluctance to consider remote area development a priority. As Dekker (1999: 21) has argued regarding Botswana, “It is doubtful whether significant resources will be made available to remote communities in the absence of donor funds.” Similarly, the GRN has indicated that programmes aimed at San and other rural poor are not a budgetary priority and hence few resources have been diverted into stalling GRN-led projects implemented on behalf of San.⁴³

2.4 International perspectives

San are the subject matter of well over 1 000 books, films and articles, and they enjoy an international media profile disproportionate to their population size and marginal status. This high profile has meant that there is substantial public interest in San and San issues in countries outside southern Africa. San organisations are supported directly or indirectly by several groups and organisations in countries such as

⁴³ This problem is most marked in the MLRR resettlement programme, which has achieved little since its partnership with ELCIN concluded and funding support from the Lutheran World Federation was withdrawn in 1995 (see Maclean 1999, RAEIR 1998 and Nam).

the Netherlands, the USA and the UK, and have also established links with other “indigenous” peoples throughout the world.⁴⁴

2.4.1 International resolutions, conventions and covenants

Indigenous minorities are the subjects of several international covenants, conventions and agreements, and are referred to in several others. However, the suitability of some of these agreements to the southern African context is not without complication. Political leaders in the region have indicated no intention to ratify agreements pertaining specifically to “indigenous and tribal peoples”, and moreover they have responded negatively to requests to grant “indigenous” people any special status in policy.

ILO Convention 169 and the draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

For much of the 20th century national governments around the world sought to integrate indigenous minorities into mainstream society by way of following policies of assimilation. However, it is now “generally admitted that policies of assimilation and integration aimed at bringing these groups [indigenous peoples] into the mainstream ... are often counter productive” (UN Commission for Human Rights 1997). This shift in thinking was motivated not only by the fact that assimilationist policies rarely worked, but also because of a growing conviction that indigenous people had a “fundamental right” to maintain a distinct culture and way of life, and distinct territories, and to manage as fully as possible their own development.⁴⁵ From this perspective the best way to achieve the meaningful participation of indigenous minorities in the nation state is to accommodate their difference and recognise it as an important component of the national identity.

The current benchmarks against which the relationship between indigenous peoples and nation states are measured are ILO Convention 169 (Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries) and the draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. These documents share the same fundamental principles, including the devolution of partial social, economic and political autonomy to indigenous groups and the broad recognition of their land rights. In these documents the ILO and the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) effectively call for “special rights” or “special” status to be conferred to indigenous peoples.

At present ILO Convention 169 is the only legally binding international instrument aimed at dealing with the “rights” of indigenous peoples. The guiding principle of Convention 169 is that the cultures, lifestyles and customary laws of indigenous or tribal peoples should be respected, and that these peoples should be entitled to “exist as parts of national societies with their own identities, their own structures and their own traditions” (ILO 1996: 3). Key provisions of Convention 169 include the following:

- Governments should enable the participation of indigenous peoples at all levels in decision-making processes that concern them and establish structures necessary to facilitate this process (Article 6).
- Indigenous peoples have the right to decide their own development priorities and to exercise control over their own social, cultural and economic development (Article 7).
- Indigenous people’s rights of ownership and possession of the lands they traditionally occupy should be recognised (Articles 13-15 and 17-19).

⁴⁴ The Kalahari Support Group in Holland and Survival International in the UK are examples. Indications are that campaigning done by the likes of Survival International, while useful in terms of raising the profile of issues outside of southern Africa, has not always been beneficial. Letter-writing campaigns to representatives of the GOB have met with little success and appear to do little more than irritate officials. Moreover their publicity material (e.g. their recently produced video material concerning the CKGR evictions) has been inaccurate, misleading, radically oversimplified and overly dramatic to the extent that the GOB can justifiably question their credibility.

⁴⁵ This change in global thinking is captured by the changes in the ILO conventions. The ILO’s first convention for indigenous peoples (No. 107) was adopted in 1957 but revised in 1988 into its current form (ILO 169) following the realisation that there were “certain weaknesses” in Convention 107, in particular the “assumption that integration into larger society was the only way forward for indigenous peoples and that all decisions regarding development were the concern of the State rather than the people most affected” (ILO 1996: 1).

Several countries have ratified ILO Convention 169 while others, such as the Netherlands and Denmark, have formulated their own national policies in accordance with its key principles.⁴⁶ Additionally, these principles are implicitly reaffirmed in several other international agreements and instruments in which indigenous rights issues have arisen.⁴⁷ The rationale for establishing these standards is not that indigenous people are somehow entitled to special rights by virtue of their indigeness, but rather that indigenous minority interests have been overlooked almost universally in the process of nation-building, with the result that they tend to be economically, politically and culturally marginalised. Most political systems (including democracy) do not cater well for minorities, especially in nation states that are by and large culturally or politically homogeneous (see Roulet 1999).

Indigenous rights in southern Africa

It is widely understood in southern Africa that San constitute an “indigenous” population by ILO criteria. Where the majority of southern Africans trace historical roots to places outside the region, San and Khoe communities consider themselves aboriginal to territories within the region.

Local and international definitions

Defining the term “indigenous” is not straightforward. The ILO and the UNWGIP have adopted fairly broad working definitions of the concept to allow for some latitude in its application.⁴⁸ This latitude notwithstanding, the San of southern Africa fall very comfortably into the category as defined by reference to the following criteria (see UN Doc. No. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/87):

- Historical continuity with pre-colonial societies
- Strong links to territories
- Distinct social, economic and political systems
- Distinct language, culture and beliefs
- Form non-dominant societies
- Identify themselves as distinct from national societies

As Saugestad (1998b) has noted, the category “indigenous” as defined by the ILO and the UN is an “inconvenient” one in southern Africa. The GOB has explicitly rejected the possibility of dialogue on the granting of any special rights to its indigenous San population (or indeed any other minority group), and the GRN has studiously avoided debate concerning the status of the San in terms of a lexicon of “indigenous rights”. Both governments have made it clear that from their perspectives, indigeness is defined exclusively by reference to European colonialism rather than any other historical moments, and that by virtue of this, all of the majority Bantu populations are indigenous. Thus, for example, responding to a question posed in parliament concerning what plans the GOB had made regarding the San population to mark the UN’s declaration of the Decade of Indigenous Peoples, Botswana’s Minister for Local Government, Lands and Housing stated that nothing was planned since “All Batswana [citizens of Botswana] are indigenous”.⁴⁹ While the Minister’s comments have met with some criticism (see e.g. Saugestad 1998 and Lane 1997), they did not stir much controversy at home.

⁴⁶ No African countries have adopted ILO 169. Countries that have adopted it include Norway, Mexico, Bolivia, Peru, Denmark, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and Paraguay. In addition, organisations such as the European Commission and the World Bank have adopted policies on indigenous minorities that are largely in line with ILO 169 (see EC 1999).

⁴⁷ These include the 1997 Project American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Rio Declaration (Principle 22 and Agenda 21), the Convention on Biodiversity, the Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Desertification.

⁴⁸ The ILO defines “indigenous people” as “peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from populations which inhabited the country at the time of conquest or colonisation, or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their social, economic and political institutions”.

⁴⁹ In the South African Constitution the term “indigenous” refers explicitly to the majority Bantu population rather than just Khoesan populations. Similarly, in Namibia the term is popularly understood to refer to all Bantu and Khoesan Namibians.

The rejection of “indigenous rights” (as envisaged in ILO 169) by southern African governments is justified broadly by reference to nation-building and the need to pursue an explicitly non-ethnic form of nationalism (see Saugestad 1998 and Hitchcock & Holm 1993). Development within a framework of “national unity” is intrinsic to the nation-building goal and demands the reconfiguration of national social, political and economic relations outside of an ethnic idiom, and it requires the subordination of traditional or “tribal” allegiances in favour of a dominant national identity.

Thus, in spite of ILO Convention 169 emphasising that indigenous rights are ultimately subordinate to broader national interests, southern African governments reason that promoting indigenous rights in the manner envisaged by the ILO might well lead to the greater valorisation of ethnic identity and greater social division, and ultimately the subversion of the all-important task of nation-building. Such considerations cannot be taken lightly in countries with a national population comprised of a number of diverse self-identifying ethnic communities. Certainly “indigenous rights” cannot claim the apparently objective credibility of arguments in favour of universal human rights. Indigenousness in this context appeals, on one level at least, to a signifier of identity as arbitrary as red hair or for that matter blue blood or white skin.

Southern Africa’s indigenous peoples

The highly marginalised San communities of southern Africa which constitute the principal focus of this assessment are not the region’s only indigenous peoples. Many of the genetic and to some extent cultural descendents of the region’s aboriginal inhabitants now comprise Nama- (Khoe) and Afrikaans-speaking populations living primarily in Namibia and South Africa whose status is not straightforwardly comparable to that of San: South Africa is home to around 300 000 Griquas (Khoe) and Namibia is home to around 200 000 Khoekhoegowab (Damara>Nama) speakers, most of whom could claim with some legitimacy to be indigenous Khoesan. Although there are people within these groups who are just as socio-economically disadvantaged and politically marginalised as San, they constitute a minority. Indeed, like the majority of socio-linguistic communities in southern Africa, these groups are comprised of people whose status spans the socio-economic and political spectrum. Moreover it is clear that in terms of capacity, resources and political influence, their collective status does not compare with that of San. This is well illustrated by Namibia’s HDI statistics in 1998, which indicate that Khoekhoegowab speakers have an HDI close to three times that of Namibia’s San population (see Figure 1.2).

This situation is further complicated by the emergence of a number of revivalist Khoesan groups such as the Khoesan Representative Council and the Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council, whose members are mainly people who were classified somewhat anonymously as “mixed-race” or “coloured” during the apartheid era. All these groups have emerged recently and all have appropriated “Khoesan” identities with a view to gaining rights or status as an indigenous population (ILO 1999: 10-11).

At this juncture, conflating the status of these better organised, wealthier and more empowered groups with that of San might not only lead to the marginalisation of San within indigenous movements, but may also dilute and draw attention away from the seriousness of their current situation. Put simply, in southern Africa there is too much variation within the category “indigenous” for it to be useful in any substantial way for addressing the current difficulties encountered by San communities.⁵⁰ Tied to this, there is a hint of political opportunism in some people’s quest to gain recognition as “indigenous” – especially among revivalist Khoesan groups like the Khoesan Representative Council. Were San issues to be conflated with their agendas, this could arguably taint the credibility of the San case. Similarly, there is a risk that other, better organised groups could capitalise on the difficulties experienced by San and hence draw valuable resources away from where they are needed most.

⁵⁰ This point was made by San delegates from Botswana and Namibia at the Griqua and Khoesan revivalist-dominated *Khoesan Cultural Identities and Heritage Conference* held in Cape Town in 1997, where San delegates from Namibia and Botswana insisted that their status was neither comparable nor similar to those of other indigenous groups in the region.

Thus, while ILO Convention 169 and the draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples provide a useful benchmark against which to assess the status of San in southern Africa and a well-defined goal for which to strive, it is clear that bestowing any special status or rights on San as an “indigenous minority” in the short term may not serve their immediate interests or needs. Given the current opposition to the idea of “indigenous rights” in the region and the broad range of people to whom it could be applied, a far more practical strategy in the short term would be to pursue San rights by explicit reference to the extent of their socio-economic and political marginalisation, and its clear coincidence with ethnic identity. Circumstances in southern Africa are very different to those in Europe and the Americas, and San and San organisations will have to be content to pursue rights issues within the framework of international legal instruments to which their respective national governments are party, and at present this does not include ILO Convention 169.

This does not mean that there is no role for Convention 169 to play in southern Africa. Problems with the concept of “indigenous” notwithstanding, the Convention provides a useful blueprint for development and identifies an appropriate approach for dealing with many of the problems encountered by San (and other minorities) in an effective manner and very importantly, within the framework of the nation state. Indeed the key recommendations of this assessment concerning participation, access to land and the recognition of cultural rights have a great deal in common with Convention 169.

Other agreements, instruments and conventions

Although ILO Convention 169 and the draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples have no legal status in southern Africa, there are other conventions, covenants and treaties to which San can appeal in order to lobby for the establishment of a policy framework suited to their needs. These include Agenda 21 of the Rio Earth Summit, the UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education, and most significantly the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Unlike Convention 169 and the draft UN declaration, these documents appeal less to “indigenous rights” than “human rights”.

UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Outside of agreements dealing explicitly with indigenous rights issues, the UN’s Covenant on Civil and Political Rights is the most important as far as San are concerned. Of all the countries with significant San populations, only Botswana has thus far refused to ratify this Covenant. In countries where it has been ratified, it provides a rubric for dealing with most if not all of the issues that are key to securing San collective and individual rights. Specifically this Covenant makes provision for all people’s right to self-determination, including the collective right to “freely determine their political status, freely pursue their economic and social development and to freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources” (Roulet 1999: 83). Most important from the San perspective is Article 27 of the Covenant, which guarantees the rights of ethnic minorities in countries that have ratified the Covenant to enjoy “*in community* ... their own culture, to profess or practice their own religion or to use their own language” (ibid.: 3).⁵¹ In Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe the Covenant is legally binding and hence provides one means by which San could lobby on a number of issues, and if necessary seek redress through legal channels. In particular, appealing to this Covenant as opposed to ILO Convention 169 focuses more accurately on issues pertaining to the extent of their social, political and economic marginalisation as a human rights or minority rights issue rather than an indigenous rights issue.⁵²

⁵¹ Some have argued that Article 27 falls short of “what is required of international instruments to ensure the protection of minorities” (Stavenhagen 1995: 74) insofar as it refers to *individual* members of minority groups rather than minority groups per se and also because its definition of minorities is ambiguous.

⁵² There are other instruments that San could invoke in order to pursue rights issues. Among the most important of these are the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities and the UN’s International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. See Bloch 1995 for a detailed discussion of how these and other international instruments apply to indigenous people.

2.5 Non-governmental initiatives

Several large and high-profile NGOs have worked with San communities, but until recently few San have benefited directly or substantially from their activities. During the past five years NGO involvement with San communities has increased, and although coverage is by no means complete, it is considerably wider than in the past. The best-known San NGOs and CBOs are the Nyae Nyae Conservancy (NNC), supported by the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDNFN), the recently established Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA), the South African San Institute (SASI) and the Kuru Development Trust (KDT) in Botswana. Several other NGOs that specialise in community-based natural resource management, education, health issues and research on veld products work closely with the San NGOs and CBOs (see Table 2.1).

The expansion of NGO involvement with San communities is a consequence of a number of factors including:

- increased awareness of the extent to which San are economically and socially marginalised in their respective countries;
- increased emphasis on indigenous rights issues in international forums and the drafting of international agreements, working papers and policy guidelines concerning the equitable treatment of these people;
- the perceived failure of some government-led projects aimed at San; and
- the growing awareness that national governments lack the capacity and/or resources to satisfactorily address the needs of San communities.

A further reason for the expansion of NGO activities with San is that San communities themselves have actively sought partnerships with NGOs, with which they have usually had easier and more productive relationships than they have had with their respective governments. This does not mean that relations between San, NGOs and their staff are straightforward or without complications. The history of NGO involvement in San affairs has had its fair share of conflict, confusion and crisis. However, because NGO involvement in San issues has been typically highly participatory, there has been adequate space for San themselves to express dissatisfaction (or satisfaction) with projects and ensure that necessary changes are made when problems arise. In organisations such as WIMSA, the NNC and the KDT, San boards are empowered to make all major management decisions including the hiring and firing of technical assistants and advisors. As much as this “community-owned development” has led to some weak and poorly informed management decisions, it has significantly empowered San communities through increasing their confidence and capacity.

Table 2.1: Major NGOs involved in San affairs

NAME OF NGO	AREA OF OPERATION	TYPE OF NGO / PRIMARY FOCUS
CRIAA SA-DC	Namibia: Omaheke and Otjozondjupa Regions (Windhoek-based)	Development consulting organisation focusing on options for the commercialisation of natural resources such as Devil's Claw and Manketti.
Ditshwanelo	Botswana (Gaborone-based)	Public-interest law centre providing services akin to those provided by the LAC in Namibia.
Health Unlimited	Namibia: Omaheke and Otjozondjupa Regions (Gobabis office)	Community healthcare initiative.
Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC)	Namibia: West Caprivi (Windhoek-based)	CBNRM initiative active in several regions in Namibia and involved with San communities in West Caprivi.
Legal Assistance Centre (LAC)	Namibia (Windhoek-based)	Public-interest law centre providing legal access (i.e. free advice and litigation services), human rights education, and research, advocacy and lobbying services for law reform purposes.
Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDNFN)	Namibia: Eastern Otjozondjupa Region (Windhoek office)	Support organisation for the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and affiliated projects including the Village Schools Programme in Nyae Nyae.

Ombili Foundation	Namibia: Oshikoto Region	Private development foundation managing educational, craft-making and other small income-generating activities.
SNV-Holland	Botswana (Gaborone office)	Dutch NGO with a particular focus on CBNRM initiatives in Botswana.
South African San Institute (SASI)	South Africa (Cape Town-based)	San support organisation (chiefly for South African San but also supporting San on a regional scale).
Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA)	Southern Africa (Windhoek-based)	Networking and support organisation focusing on San development planning, capacity-building and training, advocacy issues and the establishment of regional bodies for more effective San representation.

The most prominent recent organisational development among San communities has been the proliferation of community-based organisations (CBOs). While most of these San CBOs remain small and institutionally underdeveloped with limited funds, their emergence suggests a fairly widespread desire among San to take a more proactive and assertive role in their own development.

Table 2.3: San CBOs in southern Africa

Namibia	Omaheke San Trust
	Nyae Nyae Conservancy
	Omatoko Valley Rest Camp Committee
	Hai//om Development Trust II
	West Kavango San Project Committee
	Tsintsabis San Committee
	Sonnebloem/Donkerbos Committee
South Africa	!Xu and Khwe Communal Property Association
Botswana	Maiteko Tshwaragano Development Trust
	D'kar Village Organisation
	Kuru Development Trust
	First People of the Kalahari
	Grootlaagte Village Organisation
	West Hanahai Village Organisation
	Dobe Village Organisation
	Tshobokwane Village Organisation
	Qoshe Village Organisation

2.5.1 Networking and advocacy

During an extended series of consultations conducted among San throughout southern Africa in 1995, community representatives expressed a desire to establish a regional networking organisation to facilitate linkages between their communities and San organisations throughout the region (Thoma & Le Roux 1995). To this end, the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) was established in 1996 with a mandate to “advocate and lobby for the San’s rights, establish a network for information exchange among San communities and other concerned parties, provide training and deliver advice on tourism, integrated development projects and land tenure”. WIMSA is now directed by an all-San board of trustees whose membership is comprised of community leaders from Botswana, Namibia and South Africa, and which provides a base from which San community leaders can seek funding for projects, liaise with their respective governments or NGOs, and pursue human rights and other issues.⁵³ A total of 20 San CBOs have registered as WIMSA member organisations: nine in Botswana, nine in Namibia and two in South Africa.

While essentially a networking and advisory organisation, WIMSA is taking on an increasingly larger advocacy role by way of facilitating liaisons between San communities and national governments, in particular regarding issues relating to traditional leadership, the establishment of CBNRM programmes

⁵³ See Brörmann 1998 and 1999 for a fuller description of WIMSA and its member organisations’ activities.

and education. It is anticipated that WIMSA will ultimately evolve into the Regional San Council (see the following section).

2.5.2 San speak for themselves

Over the past 10 years San throughout southern Africa have become increasingly more confident in articulating their own needs, desires and aspirations. Political changes in the region over the past two decades have popularised understandings of basic rights issues and San have become considerably more conscious of what they perceive to be their own marginalisation. This process has also been facilitated by the emergence of a small group of comparatively well-educated San who are not only politically aware, but also individually empowered and confident.

The three San conferences held in Ghanzi, Windhoek and Gaborone respectively during the early 1990s (see GRN 1992 and GOB 1993) saw the first clear public demonstrations of the extent of this empowerment. Since then, in part due to WIMSA's networking role, San community leaders and representatives from all over the region have met regularly to share their problems and discuss possible solutions.

As this process continues, San community leaders are working towards establishing a clearer statement of their position as well as strategies appropriate to achieve their goals. Most recently, at a meeting held in Shakawe, Botswana, in 1999, San community leaders reached consensus on a number of issues of concern and established several principles for self-development dealing variously with issues pertaining to dependency, identity, land rights, solidarity, cultural rights and development (see Appendix C).

Regional and national organisation

Pursuant to some of the principles adopted at the Shakawe consultation, WIMSA, the KDT, SASI and their affiliate organisations chose to work towards the formation of a Regional San Council (see WIMSA 2000: 27). It is intended that the Regional San Council will be comprised of members of a series of National San Councils, which in turn will be comprised of community leaders and representatives. For a political community that has remained silent for much of the last century, this is an important step. The envisaged functions of National San Councils include:

- mobilising communities and assisting with the formation of local CBOs;
- organising meetings to develop national and regional agendas;
- co-ordinating with service organisations; and
- lobbying at both national and international levels on San issues.

The envisaged role of the Regional San Council is similar, and its aims are to:

- create a San organisation that is powerful and visible enough to effectively negotiate with national governments and (inter)national organisations;
- effectively address issues that have a regional character;
- exchange skills and information between community-level organisations; and
- access funds and human resources that are accessible only through a regional approach.

The inspiration for establishing these bodies emanates partially from the experiences and achievements of indigenous minorities elsewhere in the world which have been devolved a degree of self-rule and autonomy.⁵⁴ While it is not intended that a Regional San Council will campaign for a similar degree of autonomy in southern Africa, WIMSA anticipates that it will effectively represent San interests in a variety of national and international forums, and offer support to small, dispersed and typically weak San communities which lack the clout to represent their own interests effectively.

⁵⁴ Groups such as the Saami have their own parliaments in Scandinavia, and in Canada Inuit groups have been devolved a substantial degree of administrative autonomy (see for example Henriksen 1999).

The decision to establish San councils is a cumulative result of several factors, most important among these being:

- the inability of small, dispersed and thus typically weak San communities to advocate their own interests;
- the emergence of a small, relatively educated group of San;
- increasing dependency on the State and welfare;
- the limited success of government-led interventions;
- conflicts with government (leadership, land and representation issues);
- the proliferation of San community-level organisations in Namibia and Botswana;
- a growing desire to maintain an exclusive cultural identity;
- a growing political consciousness;
- the inappropriateness of existing policy to accommodate San needs and deal effectively with San problems;
- the perceived failure of national governments to secure minority interests;
- increased networking and contacts between San groups nationally and internationally; and
- continued support from international support organisations, NGOs and the donor community.

As much as the envisaged councils should be of substantial value to San, there is cause for adopting a cautious approach to their establishment, a major reason for this being that it remains to be seen how southern African governments will respond to their establishment. Although it is unlikely that the South African authorities will express much concern in this regard,⁵⁵ the same cannot be said with any certainty about the Botswana and Namibian authorities: in these two countries there is some sensitivity concerning the establishment of ethnically exclusive or “tribal” bodies which pursue agendas that may not tie in with the broad non-ethnic nationalism so central to their rhetoric of nation-building. Additionally, it remains to be seen to what extent placing San issues under a single common umbrella may expose differences in the opinions and agendas of different San groups in the region. What is certain is that once established, these councils will be hard to ignore and they should significantly influence the outcome of debates on San issues and the capacity of San organisations to effectively represent their interests at various levels.

⁵⁵ A number of similar councils already exist in South Africa, including a Griqua Council.

CHAPTER 3

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The scale and extent of San marginalisation in southern Africa does not lend itself to obvious or straight-forward solutions. To facilitate San “development” and empowerment it will be necessary to establish long-term, flexible, integrated and participatory development initiatives that take into account the diverse factors that have contributed to the economic and social marginalisation of San. For this to happen, a clear platform of collaboration between donors, national governments, NGOs and San organisations is essential. Failure to act decisively to reduce the gap between San and others will possibly result in their further marginalisation and increase the extent of their welfare dependency, and in the long term they could also lead to political conflict.

3.1 Indigenous rights and human rights

There is little dispute on the fact that San are descended from southern Africa’s aboriginal peoples and that their ancestors’ presence in the region long predated the arrival of Bantu, Europeans and others. From some perspectives the most desirable course of action to improve their status would entail official recognition of their “indigenous” status and the obligations that would follow from this. However, given the current political and economic climate in southern Africa, addressing the status of San by way of appealing to rights pursuant to their status as an “indigenous people” is not the wisest strategy at the moment. The evidence presented in this assessment suggests that there are adequate grounds for arguing that the marginalised and impoverished status of San is so clear-cut that irrespective of questions pertaining to their status as an “indigenous minority”, special measures should be adopted to improve their status relative to others.

If a broad programme for dealing with San issues is established, which pays sufficient heed to the factors that continue to reproduce San marginalisation, then substantial inroads can be made. But for any such programme to be effective, it would have to be both participatory and cognisant of the socio-political components of San marginalisation, including the role of social prejudice. Moreover it would have to recognise the need of San communities to determine the general direction and pace of their own development and their right to maintain, in community, their cultural, linguistic and social identity should they desire this.

3.2 Framework for intervention

It is beyond the scope of this introduction to make anything more than general recommendations on the kinds of intervention that could be made to improve the status of San. Clearly there is a need for a considerably greater commitment (particularly in Botswana and Namibia) to bringing the status of San into parity with that of other southern African peoples. For this to be achieved, and in accordance with resolutions passed at the *Common Access to Development Conference* in 1993, it is recommended that affirmative action programmes be established, in which San are treated as a priority target group across a board range of sectors.

3.2.1 Long-term development commitments

Lessons learned from the successes and failures of various government-led initiatives, and from the KDT and NNC, among others, demonstrate the need for long-term development interventions on behalf

of San populations. The scale of socio-cultural, adaptive and other problems experienced by San, the fact that the vast majority of them have no formal education, and the extent of their poverty, all collaborate against quick-fix solutions.

Ultimately the sort of socio-cultural and structural economic changes needed to improve the status of San can only come about over the long term, and this will require non-San stakeholders to make a long-term commitment to the process.

3.2.2 Multi-sectoral interventions

The range of sectors across which San are disadvantaged indicates that interventions should ideally be multi-sectoral, or at the very least holistically conceived. Any initiatives undertaken on behalf of San in any one sector will be of little benefit unless they are supplemented by interventions across a broad range of sectors. Thus, for example, any programme focusing on San educational problems without paying attention to their economic insecurity, high mobility and cultural identity will be of limited value since it will not deal with the root causes of the educational problems.

Problem identification

In the absence of suitable research and an appropriate participatory structure, several initiatives aimed at San have had limited success due to weak problem identification. Often responses to problems that have arisen in programmes have been designed to deal with the surface manifestations of these problems rather than with the problems themselves. Most prominently, in government-led initiatives this has been marked by a failure to take into account the broader social, cultural and political dimensions of San development issues. To this extent it is essential that problems emerging in the development process are placed within the broader socio-cultural and economic context and researched in a participatory manner.

Co-operation

The establishment of an appropriate platform for collaboration and co-operation between San organisations and interest groups, national governments, donors and NGOs will be highly beneficial. Presently national governments lack the means to effectively implement policy that is appropriate to San needs or to expand programmes from which San have benefited. Thus there is considerable room for the expansion of NGO activities among San communities and their greater harmonisation with government-led initiatives. Should national governments work towards creating an appropriate policy framework for dealing with San issues, NGOs and donors could take on an increasingly greater role in implementation, thereby reducing the financial burden on the implementing ministries.

Activities that lend themselves particularly well to expanded donor and NGO involvement include:

- capacity-building;
- project implementation;
- income generation;
- community-based natural resources management;
- community organisation;
- community-level healthcare; and
- education and the provision of learning materials in San languages.

3.2.3 Flexibility

In the context of development, flexibility and participation are closely related concepts. For a programme to be meaningfully participatory, it must be flexible enough to accommodate what may be unpredictable target community responses and desires. It should also be flexible enough to allow for the beneficiaries of any programme to respond creatively to any new challenges or problems that might arise. This is

particularly important for San communities in which the cultural gulf between development agents and target communities is often a source of conflict and confusion. The relative success of non-governmental interventions is partially a function of their flexibility and hence their capacity to make changes where necessary.

3.2.4 Regional initiatives

Recent moves in the NGO sector have demonstrated the value of adopting a regional approach to some San-related issues. In addition, the fact that the distribution of self-identifying San socio-linguistic groups does not conform to national borders makes interventions (e.g. through the provision of mother-tongue learning materials) aimed at any one socio-linguistic group a regional issue. The development of strong regional structures should be of great benefit to smaller San populations such as the one in Zimbabwe who would otherwise be unable to draw strength and support from national initiatives.

A number of areas lend themselves particularly well to regional approaches, including the following:

- Educational issues
- Networking
- Health programmes
- Cultural initiatives

Having noted this, there are enough national and district-level peculiarities to the status of San to require caution with regard to subsuming all San issues under a single regional umbrella. As much as strong national and community-level organisation should offset this to some degree, an inevitable consequence of dealing with San issues on a regional level will be the greater centralisation and bureaucratisation of San affairs.

The centralisation of San affairs under a regional umbrella also raises the prospect of problems similar to those in centralised government-led initiatives. In particular it runs the risk of taking the emphasis off decision-making at a grassroots community level and hence possibly alienating the intended beneficiaries. This is an important concern especially among people who were historically anti-hierarchical and highly disaggregated. For regional initiatives to be successful it is essential that they have sufficient resources to ensure meaningful grassroots participation and also to ensure that focus is maintained on community-level issues.

In addition, since San hail from several different self-identifying socio-linguistic communities, excessive centralisation could expose internal differences within the wider San population and possibly weaken their capacity to collectively lobby on key issues. In areas where diverse San kin or language groups live together, conflicts are frequently expressed through the idiom of socio-linguistic identity and there is no reason to believe that this wouldn't be the case in regional structures.

3.2.5 Participation and empowerment

With several government-led initiatives on behalf of San performing poorly as a result of their failure to empower communities, it is essential that participation be made a priority in San development. This is best achieved by means of improving the capacity of San communities to effectively manage their own development through the design and installation of mechanisms that guarantee their active participation at all stages of the development process. Political parties have already made some efforts to include San in their ranks, and such moves should be encouraged. As important, efforts should be made to ensure that San are better represented within bureaucratic structures. This would not only ensure that San are better able to access government services and influence policy more effectively, but also it would go some way to preventing the further alienation of San from state processes and structures. Interventions should aim to:

- support capacity-building initiatives in San CBOs;
- support San networking and regional initiatives;

- ensure satisfactory levels of San representation in traditional authority structures;
- support San CBOs and other grassroots community organisations;
- ensure participation in programme identification, design and implementation; and
- establish measures to ensure San representation in bureaucratic organs.

Scale

Although this assessment calls for development initiatives on behalf of San to be expanded, this does not mean that individual initiatives should be substantial. The limited success of programmes like Namibia's resettlement scheme demonstrates the need for projects to start small to secure meaningful participation and avoid large white elephants. Bearing this in mind, direct interventions made at community level should be small enough to ensure the meaningful participation of the target community and allow them to exercise some control over the process. This is of particular importance if community-level interventions occur as part of a large integrated development programme like Botswana's RADP.

3.2.6 Culture and identity

The general policy of non-ethnic nationalism pursued by governments throughout southern Africa has meant that little attention has been paid to San cultural and social identity issues. This has meant that an important aspect of social reality has been neglected in deliberations on the status of San. This in turn has resulted in San constructing their social identity to an increasingly greater degree as exclusive of and in some instances even in opposition to the nation state. To offset this development it is necessary for an atmosphere to be created in which national identity and San identity are not seen as mutually exclusive. For San to embrace their nation states, it is necessary for their nation states to embrace them.

The benefits of granting greater recognition to San cultural identity and community structures include:

- the creation of a better foundation for long-term co-operation between national governments and San organisations and communities;
- more direct participation of target communities in development initiatives;
- San developing a stronger national identity within their respective countries; and
- a reduction of the scope for cultural misunderstandings between San and those working with them.

3.2.7 Policy

Taking into account historical factors, the extent of their disenfranchisement, their degree of dependency and the extent to which this disadvantages San in daily life, the fact that policy does not discriminate in favour of San means that by default it often discriminates against them. As is made clear in preceding sections of this introduction, the success of any substantial interventions will depend on the support of a policy framework which recognises that San are disadvantaged relative to others in terms of land access, education and political representation.

Key options to be considered in this regard include:

- ensuring that existing law does not discriminate against them implicitly by virtue of their illiteracy, spatial remoteness, language, culture or economic activity;
- the establishment of measures to ensure that San and other conceptually remote communities are aware of their rights and of how to exercise them;
- the identification of San as a category eligible for affirmative action across a range of sectors and the adjustment of policy to this end;
- ensuring the recognition of San community organisations' and leaders' mandate to represent their communities;

- the establishment of mechanisms to ensure that San participate meaningfully in policy planning that directly affects them, including affirmative action placements in regional and local government structures; and
- the recognition and accommodation of discrete San cultural identities as a social and political reality.

3.2.8 Minority countries: Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe

In countries where San comprise very small minorities there is insufficient cause to motivate for policy changes on a national scale. However, there is scope for NGOs and San CBOs active with San minorities in other countries to make contact with these groups to establish what support could be given to them. Certainly Zambian and Zimbabwean San communities should not be neglected in regional initiatives. Until Angola eventually makes peace with itself, there is little scope for intervention there, although as soon as it is feasible a detailed research project into the status of the San population in Angola should be initiated.

3.3 Priority issues

3.3.1 Food security and poverty

The most immediate index of the extent of San poverty is the degree to which many remain dependent on under-paid labour, patronage or welfare services in the form of food aid and pensions. Even in areas where there are well-established development initiatives, household food security remains a serious problem and national governments are expected to support San communities through the provision of food. The long-term reduction of San poverty is contingent on the success of economic measures introduced to effect a more even distribution of wealth in southern African countries and the success of development initiatives in other sectors, such as education. In the meantime, initiatives to reduce San poverty levels in the short term should have a community-level focus.

Levels of San dependency on welfare and aid not only place an unsustainable burden on state coffers, but also foster a culture of dependency among San that conspires against their breaking out of the cycle of poverty and apathy in which many are stuck. However, even if favourable policy changes are made and integrated development programmes are established, it will inevitably take a great deal of time to wean San off welfare. A declining agricultural labour market combined with their lack of autonomous land access and low levels of formal education mean that few short- or medium-term options exist for San to reduce the degree of their welfare dependency. To this extent steps should be taken to ensure that sufficient resources are available to maintain a long-term welfare commitment to San while simultaneously attempting to encourage a greater culture of self-help.

Improving San food security is ultimately contingent on reducing the extent of their economic dependency. In the short term this can only happen through job creation and the establishment of community-level income-generation initiatives. Ideally such initiatives would form part of broader national strategies implemented to deal with extreme poverty and related issues. Recent measures taken by the GOB and the GRN to transform food-for-work into cash-for-work programmes are a positive step. In the longer term emphasis will have to be placed on education and on providing San with new and more widely marketable skills so that they can compete more effectively with others.

Specifically, emphasis should be placed on:

- providing San with skills appropriate for labour outside of the agricultural sector and establishing adult vocational training schemes to this end;
- developing micro projects for income generation at community level, focusing on existing skills;
- providing greater access to land and natural resources suitable for subsistence-level farming;

- establishing cash-for-work programmes instead of food-for-work or direct food-aid programmes; and
- establishing micro-savings schemes.

3.3.2 Land and land access

At present the majority of San lack secure access to land – a factor that distinguishes them from a large proportion of other rural poor. In the few areas where San have retained *de jure* rights to land, their development prospects look considerably brighter than in other areas. Secure access to land and natural resources is the single most important measure that can be taken to improve the status of San across a broad range of sectors. Failure to adequately address this issue will seriously limit the potential impact of other initiatives.

Land access and rights issues are hotly debated throughout southern Africa, and with a large proportion of the region's population dependent on subsistence farming, there is simply not enough land to satisfy everybody's needs and desires. There is certainly insufficient land available to allow for hunting and gathering to remain a viable long-term economic strategy. In addition, most areas to which San have historical ties have been colonised by others and this would necessitate their eviction from them. While both the GRN and GOB have demonstrated their willingness to resettle some San from their lands in favour of others or for conservation purposes, it is unlikely that they could afford the loss in political capital that would arise from forcibly relocating others in favour of San. One option that would sidestep these problems is the purchase of freehold land on behalf of San communities and other impoverished landless peoples as per Namibia's Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act.

With ancestral land claims dismissed as a possibility in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, strategies for San to adopt vis-à-vis land must emphasise both the protection of existing land rights and the need to expand on these with a view to achieving greater parity with others and establishing a stable base for development. However, such claims should be moderated to fit in with national agendas and remain cognisant of others' needs to retain access to land in order for national governments to be responsive to them.

To this end it is recommended that:

- governments, other stakeholders and San organisations initiate a dialogue on land issues;
- an assessment of means for San to access land under existing law be carried out with a view to proposing legislative amendments to ensure that San are better able to access land; and
- measures be adopted to ensure that San are properly represented in land boards and other land allocation structures in the areas where they live.

3.3.3 Education

With the majority of San in southern Africa being illiterate, formal education is a key area for attention. At present, based on contemporary school attendance and dropout rates, a significant proportion of the San population will still be illiterate two decades hence. To minimise the long-term impact of this, it is essential that education initiatives designed for and on behalf of San and other educationally marginalised children are supported. If southern African economies grow and dominant economic strategies move away from a land-based subsistence economy, formal education will be essential to ensure that San are able to compete effectively with others in the future.

Key interventions in education include:

- the development and expansion of mother-tongue learning materials in San languages;
- support for decentralised and alternative schooling strategies;
- the establishment of measures to minimise some of the long-term impacts of illiteracy; and
- the establishment of measures to allow non-literates access to bureaucratic services.

3.3.4 Community-based natural resource management

For San who retain access to land, options exist for them to profit from the sustainable use of natural resources or tourism. Community-based tourism (CBT) is presently the main source of income in San CBNRM initiatives. However, while communities in some areas have clearly benefited from CBNRM initiatives, it remains to be seen how sustainable these are in the long term. Short of the Disneyfication of the Kalahari, it is unlikely that CBT will adequately support a significant proportion of the San population in areas where CBNRM programmes are established. Indeed, even in Namibia's well-established Nyae Nyae Conservancy, the majority of participants depend on food aid from central government.

To ensure the longer-term success of these initiatives, greater emphasis should be placed on the identification of other strategies for income generation within a biodiversity conservation framework. One way to achieve this is by expanding on or developing new schemes based on the sustainable exploitation of certain flora, as in CRIAA SA-DC's successful Devil's Claw (*Harpagophytum procumbens*) harvesting project in Namibia. To this end it is recommended that additional research into the possible sustainable exploitation of certain flora is conducted, and that greater emphasis is placed on food security and alternative income-generation strategies in ongoing CBNRM projects.

3.3.6 Health issues

Social health

The myriad internal social problems that affect San communities at present do little to facilitate their development process. Drunkenness, depression, domestic violence and apathy all conspire against San efforts to improve their own status and capacity. Over recent years a small number of San have given up drinking altogether and consequently they have fared better. As much as these problems are bound up with their broader socio-economic status, addressing them directly should improve individual health and simultaneously reduce levels of conflict within communities. Were the negative consequences of excessive alcohol consumption to be minimised, communities would find themselves better able to deal with other pressing issues.

Tied to questions of social health are questions of cultural health. The low self-image among San clearly contributes substantially to social and other problems. Cultural initiatives like the Panos Oral Testimony Project have clearly demonstrated this. Support should thus be maintained for cultural programmes initiated by and on behalf of San.

Physical health

Of equal importance are issues relating to physical health. San communities are poorly equipped to deal with problems such as AIDS and TB, to which they are very vulnerable due to their poverty. In addition, San are not well adjusted socially to cope with widespread AIDS infection or to prevent it. In urban areas or transit areas (e.g. along the Trans-Caprivi highway) in particular, where sexual relations between San and others are most frequent, these problems are most marked.

Although this situation will only improve substantially when material conditions for San are improved, there are a number of useful short-term interventions that might minimise its impact. In particular, support should be given to the establishment of community-level healthcare schemes which emphasise education and prevention.

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International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities

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International Labour Organization documents

ILO Convention 107: Convention concerning indigenous and tribal peoples in independent countries (adopted 1957)

ILO Convention 169: Convention concerning indigenous and tribal peoples in independent countries (adopted 1989)

APPENDIX A¹

Resolutions adopted at the *Regional Conference on Development Programmes for Africa's San/Basarwa Populations*

Windhoek, 16-18 June 1992

CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

1. The national Constitutions of Botswana and Namibia call for equality before the law of all citizens including Basarwa/San communities. BUT, not all public servants apply the law equally to all the citizens/people. The conference therefore calls on both respective governments to implement a programme of affirmative action by way of:
 - a) informing San of their legal rights; and
 - b) facilitating awareness-building among and training of civil servants to ensure correct interpretation and application of the law
2. There is a need for effective monitoring of human rights and the establishment of a free legal assistance centre.
3. Current legislation in both Namibia and Botswana does not adequately protect Basarwa/San land-use rights/practices. National governments are thus called upon to recognise hunting and gathering as a legitimate form of land-use.
4. Education is recognised as a very important component of the development process. However, It does not in its current form take into account cultural norms and practices of Basarwa/San communities. It is resolved that mother tongue teaching be encouraged or introduced for the first three primary school grades. Furthermore, the conference calls for '*equal education for all*'. This will call for affirmative action in the following areas:
 - a) Policy recognition of pre-school programmes
 - b) Improved adult non-formal education programmes
 - c) Increased access to vocational training

The conference reiterates the principle that nobody should be excluded from education and training on account of economic inability to pay necessary fees. In such cases, governments are called upon to provide the necessary assistance.

5. Teenage pregnancy in schools is recognised as a serious social problem among Basarwa/San communities. The conference resolves that teenage mothers be accorded the opportunity to continue with their education at any school of their choice (including their original school).

Furthermore, Sesarwa/San culture must be taught and respected. Cultural practices such as puberty rites should be accommodated by the education system by granting students leave of absence to observe such cultural rites.

¹ The reader should note that these appendices are verbatim reproductions of the original texts, except that some of the obvious editorial (grammar, spelling, punctuation) errors have been corrected and minimal layout adjustments have been made in some places for stylistic consistency.

6. The conference recognises the need for Sesarwa/San language development. Thus there is need for more consultation and research in this area.
7. The conference reiterates the importance of land as a basic resource for people's subsistence and sustenance. All communities (Basarwa/San included) need ownership, control over and access to land to:
 - a) preserve cultural identity and foster survival through agriculture, hunting, and gathering;
 - b) ensure ownership of identifiable areas; and
 - c) secure inheritance for future generations.
8. The conference resolves that appropriate community based land-use patterns should be ensured through consultation, participation, and affirmative action through the following:
 - a) Reserving the remaining land for communal use and giving priority in allocation to dispossessed communities/people.
 - b) Following a) above, giving syndicates and/or group allocation for boreholes priority over individual applications.
 - c) Adequate representation of Basarwa/San people in land allocation bodies (Land Boards).
 - d) Training for Basarwa/San people in resource management.
9. Given the existence of unexplored restrictions placed on some economic opportunities, the conference calls for national governments to establish community-based income-generating activities through:
 - a) provision of financial support packages;
 - b) provision of effective extension services; and
 - c) ensuring access to and rights to use of natural resources.
10. In light of the prevailing misinterpretation and communication gap so prevalent in decision-making structures, the conference calls on national governments to support the formation of Basarwa national fora through which unity needs and problems can be articulated and discussed.
11. In summary, it is recommended that a process be initiated through which country strategies can be developed and crystallised.

APPENDIX B

Resolutions adopted at the *Second Regional Conference on Development Programmes for Africa's San/Basarwa Populations: Common Access to Development*

Gaborone 1993

TOPIC NO. 1: EDUCATION AND CULTURE

A) EDUCATION

- 1) The following facilities should be provided:
 - (i) Primary schools in villages and settlements, either within walking distance (or with transport provided) on a daily basis.
 - (ii) Beyond the village school level, schools should be provided with hostels.
 - (iii) Transport for students and teachers should be provided at the beginning and end of every term.
 - (iv) with regards to San people living on commercial farms;
 - a) Schools should be built on communal land set aside or bought by Government.
 - b) Appropriate transport should be provided.
 - c) Trained teachers should be provided.
 - d) Social services should be provided.
- 2) TEACHING IN THE MOTHER TONGUE:
 - (i) Relevant curriculum materials should be developed and provided for each language group.
 - (ii) Members of San communities, selected by the communities, should be trained as teachers.
 - (iii) It is strongly recommended that the first years of schooling be taught in the mother tongue.
- 3) SCHOOL FEES:
 - (i) Governments should provide free education for disadvantaged groups up to secondary level.
- 4) ADULT / NON-FORMAL EDUCATION should be implemented through:
 - (i) Evening courses
 - (ii) Distance learning via radio, etc.
 - (iii) Multi-media approaches
 - (iv) Mobile educational units
- 5) TECHNICAL/ VOCATIONAL TRAINING should be provided for:
 - (i) Adults
 - (ii) Within the school curriculum
- 6) EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES should be provided (with transport where necessary).

B) CULTURE:

- 1) Use of the mother tongue is stressed as a means of retaining cultural identity.

TOPIC NO. 2: LAND

- 1) This conference is in agreement with the following consensus drawn by the *National Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question* (1991) in Namibia:

“Ever increasing land pressures in the communal areas pose a threat to the subsistence resources of especially disadvantaged communities and groups. Conference resolves that disadvantaged communities and groups, in particular the San and the disabled, should receive special protection of their land rights.” (Consensus No. 14)

- (i) Governments are requested to take action on the above resolution
- (ii) Governments should clarify the rights of specific groups in communal areas
- (iii) Eastern and Western Bushmanland should be seen as one area
- (iv) Hunting and gathering rights should be recognised as a specific land use
- (v) There should be San representatives with translators on each committee concerned with land allocation.

TOPIC NO. 3: HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE

A) HEALTH:

- 1) Governments should provide community based primary health care to each community which includes:
 - a) Health education
 - b) Nutrition
 - c) Childcare
- 2) Members of the San community should be trained as community health workers.
- 3) Traditional medicine should be included in the development of the health system.
- 4) The following facilities should be provided by governments:
 - (i) Hospitals, clinics, and mobile clinics
 - (ii) Overnight facilities at clinics for patients available at all times
 - (iii) Adequate transport in the form of ambulances, clinic vehicles, and mobile clinic vehicles
 - (iv) Special attention should be given to the transport needs of people in remote areas.
- 5) When patients are unable to pay, government policy on the waiving of health fees should be enforced.

B) SOCIAL WELFARE:

- 1) Old age and disability pension schemes should be established.
- 2) Government should ease the access to identification cards and to the collection of pension by pensioners, by:
 - (i) decentralising the present system, to a complete, mobile home affairs unit
 - (ii) governments should provide easily accessible information on the use of these two systems

TOPIC NO. 4: EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

A) EMPLOYMENT:

- 1) Resources from each area should bring benefits and employment to the local communities, e.g. wildlife utilisation and management, tourism, trophy hunting, community game guard system.
- 2) Wherever possible, affirmative action should be taken to employ the San population in Government posts if posts relate to San development. Contractors and private groups should be similarly obliged to employ San labour.

- 3) Government employers (e.g. safari hunting, tourism and film companies) must ensure that do not exploit the San.
- 4) A labour code should be implemented as soon as possible with special attention to the San workers on farms.
- 5) Minimum wage legislation for all categories, including farm labourers and domestic workers, should be enacted.

B) ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES:

- 1) Governments should promote use of all government facilities to support self-employment opportunities e.g.:
 - wildlife utilisation
 - Agriculture
 - Livestock
 - Tourism
- 2) Ministries should share expertise with members of communities.

TOPIC NO. 5: WATER

CONFERENCE RESOLVES THAT:

- 1) Adequate water should be provided for all.
- 2) Water supply for people and livestock/animals should be separated.
- 3) Low maintenance systems should be installed where feasible.
- 4) Training in system maintenance should be provided.
- 5) Water committees of local people should be instituted.
- 6) Governments should monitor water quality.
- 7) Emergency reservoirs and mobile systems should be planned and established.

TOPIC NO 6: COMMUNICATION

CONFERENCE RESOLVES THAT:

- 1) Transport should be provided for communication between San communities to enhance the consultation process.
- 2) Local liaison offices should be set up for two-way communication between San communities and Governments, e.g. in communicating details of local government structures, and in expressing concerns of communities.
- 3) Rules for use of Government vehicles should be revised by the Ministries of Transport in respective countries, especially with regard to medical emergencies.
- 4) More official border posts should be set up.
- 5) Extension work to explain to San communities the legal aspects of border-crossing should be carried out.
- 6) Radio/line telephone networks should be extended to all communities. Preference should be given to the line networks.
- 7) Local language radio broadcasts should be encouraged.
- 8) San peoples should be assisted to form committees to represent themselves at local, regional, national and international levels.
- 9) National media, both private and Government-owned (including community-based media, should be used efficiently to sensitise the people, Governments and relevant institutions to the problems of the San and other marginalised communities.

- 10) Media organisations, using languages of all the people, should be used for discussing problems and their solutions.

TOPIC NO. 7: OTHER ISSUES

- 1) Governments and donor agencies are requested to support conferences such as this: It is proposed that an annual *San Conference for Southern Africa* be held in Botswana next.
- 2) A committee should be set up to identify and assist the smallest communities to approach NGOs, Governments and donor agencies to obtain assistance and participate in dialogue in the interests of their own development.

APPENDIX C

Resolutions as adopted by the *Indigenous Peoples' Consultation*

Shakawe, Botswana, 1999

The following resolutions were adopted by the consultation, as being important principles for self-development amongst San communities in Southern Africa:

1. There should be no perpetuation of dependency.
 - many development programmes for indigenous peoples lead to further dependency on the dominant society
 - development projects should have no hand-outs and there should be a clear relationship between income and work
2. There should be balance between the development of private and social capital as well as an increase in assets.
 - income-generating projects should improve both private household incomes and social or common capital
 - such incomes should also be used to develop assets through savings programmes and investments in community projects
3. Dependency and self-respect are intimately connected and lack of self-respect is often caused by years of "internalised oppression".
 - education, youth projects and spiritually affirmed cultural work will build self-respect
 - role models, especially among community leaders, are important
 - San organisations should be developed
 - identification with common causes will build solidarity
4. The documentation of oral histories, traditional knowledge, spiritual values and land use systems must be undertaken by all San communities.
 - this will make knowledge available to the youth and to outsiders
 - this will help to strengthen our identities
 - this will be useful in land claims
5. An increase in solidarity is needed as we find ourselves changing environment. Therefore we should:
 - involve the old and the young in open discussions, programmes and projects
 - guard our traditional knowledge and pass it on to the next generation
 - send our young people for education in the formal schooling system without losing them
 - promote bilingual education in primary schools
 - support our own San organizations
6. Our communities must address the present inequality between men and women in society.
 - inequality does not honour our traditions and culture
 - strategies to rectify gender inequality must be developed by each community

7. Our youth is our future and should be made proud to be San.
 - Parents that are proud of their culture are more likely to have children that are proud of their culture
 - Communities must cater for cultural spare time needs of their children
 - Each community must develop strategies to involve their children in activities together with their parents

8. Respecting the significance of our tradition is vital for our survival as a people.
 - our land is part of our origins and thereby oj [sic] as the land is the owner of its people
 - our land is the link to our ancestors, and sal [sic] bear witness to this
 - our land is alive and requires our protection soil and vegetation we are connected to its these are the resources necessary for our physical life

9. All avenues should be explored to increase access to and ownership of our traditional territories.
 - we need to know and understand all the laws that apply to our land
 - communities should be informed and educated and our young people should be sent for formal legal education
 - we should lobby for:
 - a review of the land tenure system,
 - the establishment of a land restitution act
 - and the possibility of registering community land uses
 - we should actively participate in the political systems
 - and seek participation in the traditional leadership structures of our countries

10. As keepers of our traditional knowledge and spiritual values, our leadership must be reinstated and empowered.
 - we will advocate for their recognition by our communities and governments
 - we will advocate for the formation of San leadership platforms
 - our leaders should receive training on a regional level

11. A strategy to deal with alcohol-related problems should be made by every San community.
 - this problem must be dealt with rather than ignored

12. Education must include our own histories, languages and cultures.
 - we must be involved in developing our own curricula
 - elders and parents must be involved in the schools to oversee the education of our children
 - we should lobby to have the history and culture of the San included in Government schools
 - it is our duty to create awareness and request informed support from the non-San society

13. Our spiritual values and rites should be applied to present day life. It could be used to:
 - bring reconciliation between these parties
 - respect natural resources
 - maintain rituals like puberty
 - manage and evaluate projects
 - keep kinship and community ties

APPENDIX D

Major San languages and orthographic note

by **Sidsel Saugestad**

(Additional orthographic notes by **James Suzman**)

Only two groups of languages are native to central and southern Africa: Bantu and Khoesan. Compared to the hundreds of Bantu languages and the millions of Bantu speakers, the number of mother-tongue speakers of Khoesan languages make up a rather small minority of some 100 000, speaking by now about a dozen distinct languages, mostly in Botswana and Namibia. The defining feature of the languages is the click-sounds, described by linguists as being phonetically extremely complex.

There are three main families of languages:

The *Ju* or *Northern Khoesan* family of languages is basically a dialect continuum with a high degree of mutual intelligibility. Ju languages are spoken in Botswana in the Ngamiland District, in the northern part of Ghanzi District, and across the border in Namibia. The largest language in this group is *Ju'hoan*, spoken by some 4 000 of Namibia's San population, and by perhaps twice as many in Botswana. *!Kung* is a well-known dialect within this language.

The *KHOE* or *Central Khoesan* branch comprises up to thirty or more different languages and major dialects. They are spoken in an area extending from Zimbabwe in the northeast, across the Central District and Central Kalahari Game Reserve, including Kweneng and Ghanzi Districts in Botswana, to parts of Namibia in the west. This is the language family with the largest number of languages. Among the best known are *Naro*, spoken by some 6 to 10 000 people in Ghanzi, *G/wi* and *G//ana* (spoken in CKGR), *Tshwa (Kua)*, and *Shua* spoken in the Central District and *Kxoe* spoken in the Okavango area. Two languages in the same family, *Kxoe* and *A//ani*, are spoken in Caprivi and the far north of Ngamiland.

KhoeKhoe is often used as a cover term for a language continuum covering most of Namibia, and with pockets in Botswana. Important languages/dialects are *Nama* (also called Damara), also spoken in the northwestern part of South Africa, and *Hai//om* spoken in northern Namibia (originally in the region of Etosha).

The *Southern Khoesan* family of languages was probably once spoken over the whole of South Africa and the southwestern part of Botswana. Only one language, called *!Xóo*, remains, and is spoken by some 3 to 4 000 people in the southern part of Ghanzi and in the Kgalagadi District.

Most Khoesan languages were already extinct or in a process of extinction before a scholarly interest in them began to develop. This may in fact still be the case with a number of language/dialects in the largely unknown areas of the Central District and Eastern Botswana, where much research is needed in order to determine which ones should be classified as languages in linguistic terms, and how these should be subdivided into dialects. So far, only a few languages have been studied to the extent that proper texts (dictionaries, grammars, etc) are available. These are *Ju'hoan*, *Naro*, *G/wi*, *!Xoo*, and *KhoeKhoe (Nama)*, there is also some material on *Hai//om*, and *Kxoe*.

The present situation is that the languages of most of Okavango, Central District, and Kweneng/Southern remain as unrecorded 'white spots' on the map. Several major languages/dialects are known, but not transcribed. More research in this field is most urgently needed.

Summary table of major San languages

LANGUAGE GROUP	DIALECT GROUP	WHERE
Central Languages (Khoe)	Nharo	Namibia, Botswana
	G/wikhoe	Botswana
	G//anakhoe	Botswana
	Tua	Botswana, Zimbabwe
	Deti	Botswana
	Kua	Botswana
	Shua	Botswana
North Central (Kxoe)	//Xokxoe	
	//Omkxoe	Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Angola
	Bugakxoe	Botswana
	Bumakxoe	Botswana, Namibia, Angola, Zambia
Hai//om	Keren	Namibia
	!KungHai//om	Namibia
	//HengaKxausi (Omatoko)	Namibia
	!Kung	
	!Kung (Mpungu)	Namibia, Angola, South Africa
Northern Languages, !Kung (Ju or !Xu)	!Xu (Vasekele)	Namibia, Angola, South Africa
	Northern Ju/'hoansi	Namibia, Botswana
	Southern Ju/'hoansi	Namibia, Botswana
	(‡Au//eisi, Makauakau, Auen)	
	N//usan	Namibia, Botswana
Southern Languages	!Xo	Namibia, Botswana
	//Auni ‡Khomani	South Africa
	East and West ‡Hoa	Botswana

A note on orthography

There is no fixed orthography for all San languages. Where possible individual reports have used the orthographies most prevalent in the countries in which the studies took place. Hence, for example, the Namibia Component uses the symbol orthography commonly used in there whereas the Botswana component uses the Nguni orthography that is most commonly used there.

Very basically, San languages use four main clicks that are represented in this study as follows:

Symbol	Nguni	Sound
/	c	Dental affricate.
‡	tc	An alveolar stop.
//	x	Lateral affricate.
!	q	Palatal click.

APPENDIX E

The San of Southern Africa: Aspects of a minority situation

A select annotated bibliography

Annex to the San Regional Assessment Report

Compiled by
Sidsel Saugestad

Draft – June 2000

PREFACE

The present selection of literature reflects two concerns:

The first, which is the more conventional one, is to present some sources for documentation on the ethnography of the indigenous people of southern Africa, known variously as Bushmen, San, KhoiKhoi, Khoesan, Basarwa and more recently N/oakwe or just Kwe, or by their autonyms. References to works, some of which are classics in the anthropological literature, are included to give some indication of the rich variety in culture, language and adaptations of the region. The selection is in no way complete, partly because a choice had to be made from a very large body of existing literature, but also because research covers the region unevenly, with many areas, groups, and speech communities not yet properly documented.

The second concern, as the title indicates, is to provide some documentation on the present situation of the San, and more specifically the relationship between the San people and the nation-states of which they are citizens. Some main events and actors on the contemporary scene are included, through reports, evaluations, and discussion papers produced by a number of concerned NGOs. The emergent structure of San representative organisations (defined very loosely) is recorded through the reports or other statements from WIMSA (Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa), Kuru Development Trust and First People of the Kalahari in Botswana, the South African San Institute (SASI) in South Africa, and the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation and Conservancy in Namibia. Other important actors are the concerned NGOs and research organisations, such as the Ditshwanelo/Botswana Centre for Human Rights, the University of Botswana, the Centre for Applied Social Science and the Legal Assistance Centre in Namibia. References to the two Regional Conferences on Africa's San Populations are included, as are some evaluations of the Remote Area Development Programme, and a few other commissioned reports.

It is in the very nature of the present situation that government statements on the issue are more difficult to acquire, but for very different reasons in the different countries: In Botswana the consistent policy of the government is not to identify any group for assistance according to cultural or ethnic criteria, but rather to concentrate on a general rural-development-cum-welfare policy. Namibia, which was burdened with a version of apartheid up to Independence in 1990, does to some extent recognise the special problems of the San, e.g., in their resettlement policy. In South Africa, descendants of KhoiKhoi and San people were assumed to be more or less extinct until only a few years ago, when several groups started to express their distinct identity. In Angola, the travesties of a civil war have left little chance of attending to such issues.

A note on terminology: All reputable works on the Bushmen include a discussion of which term is the most appropriate to use, but so far this debate has concentrated mostly on trying to decide which term has the least derogatory connotations according to their etymological and historical origin. The position taken here is that any term used to express negative attitudes about a group will take on a negative connotation, and in this respect, none of the terms are much better or worse than the others. As a general rule, the terminology and the spelling found in the different documents will be used in the abstract of that document, which means that the writing of many names will vary throughout this bibliography. This reflects a real-life confusion.

The preferred use is the term of self-designation wherever applicable, (and known). No single generic term of self-reference exists, but the Naro (Central Khoesan) word 'Kwe' (or 'Khwe', 'Khoe', meaning 'person') is presently a very strong candidate for becoming such a unifying term. The choice of label is not irrelevant, but the debate will need to run its course before a consensus can be reached. An overview of the Khoesan languages, and a map indicating the location of the different groups, are provided at the end of this document.

Most of the annotations have been done by Shelagh Willet, the remaining have been done by Richard Rohde and Sidsel Saugestad. The collaboration with Stella Monageng of the Documentation Unit of the then National Institute of Development Research and Documentation (NIR), now the Botswana Collection of the University of Botswana Library, is gratefully acknowledged.

This select bibliography was first produced in 1997, to provide some background material for the EU-funded Regional Assessment of the San People. Saugestad has added a few titles and updated the annual reports for the present publication.

Sidsel Saugestad
Tromsø, June 2000

ANNOTATIONS

Anderson, Lars-Gunnar and Tore Janson (1997)

Languages in Botswana: Language ecology in Southern Africa.

Gaborone; Longman Botswana. 204 p.

This book provides a detailed analysis of all Bantu and Khoisan languages spoken in Botswana, their role in society, history and an estimate of the number of speakers of each language. It devotes three chapters to the Khoisan languages, giving an overview of these languages with details of terminology and classification, conventions for denoting clicks, relationship between the main language and the social position of the speakers. Lists the three main language groups as Northern (Ju), Central (Khoe) and Southern, and gives a detailed discussion of the following languages and/ or dialect clusters: Ju/'hoan, Nama/Damara (now commonly known as Khoekhoe), Naro, /Gwi and //Gana, Kxoe, Shua and Tshwa, and !Xóo. One chapter is devoted to a typological analysis of Khoisan languages, which the authors explain is only preliminary. The authors comment on the endangered state of the Khoisan languages and contend that they should not be allowed to die out as their structural complexity is unique and the world of languages would be impoverished without them.

Barnard, Alan (1992)

Hunters and herders of Southern Africa: A comparative ethnography of the Khoisan Peoples.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This book provides the first comparative analysis of the Khoisan peoples since the publication of I. Schapera's *Khoisan peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots*. The Khoisan are described as a cluster of Southern African peoples including Bushman hunters, Khoikhoi and Damara herders who today are hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, labourers and squatters. The author begins his work on *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa* by pointing to differences associated with subsistence pursuits, yet adding that many otherwise diverse Khoisan peoples share a great number of common features of territorial organization, gender relations, kinship, ritual and cosmology. Among these features, Barnard assigns special importance to kinship, which he sees as having at its core certain principles that unite Khoisan culture as a whole. Foremost among these principles he lists "the classification of relatives as 'joking partners' or 'avoidance partners', their classification as marriageable or unmarriageable, and, for certain relatives, as 'senior' or 'junior'". Among the hierarchically arranged herder societies, hierarchy is played out through kinship. And among the hunter-gatherers, it is through kinship, as well as through quasi-kin relationships of giving and receiving, that equality is defined and maintained.

Part I looks at the classification of Khoisan people according to linguistic, genetic, and economic criteria. It also examines what is known of their past history and probable pre-history.

Part II, the major part of the book, is a survey of the ethnography of each of the Khoisan groups, focusing on the major cultural and linguistic aspects as revealed in the literature. For this more detailed discussion, Barnard groups people under the following headings: !Kung; !Xóo; /'Auni and =Khomani (South Africa); G/wi and G//ana; Eastern and Northern Khoe groups; Naro and related groups; and the Hai//om.

Part III examines some aspects of Khoisan society in a comparative perspective, particularly the complex relationships between environmental conditions, ethno-linguistic boundaries and processes of change. In this section there are chapters on settlement and territoriality among desert-dwelling Bushmen; politics and exchange; aspects of Khoisan religious ideology; Bushman kinship and Khoe kinship. A final chapter includes a discussion on methodological and theoretical issues relating to the ethnography. The book is supported by an extensive bibliography.

Biesele, M.A.; Guenther M.G.; Hitchcock, R.K.; Lee R.B; MacGregor, J. (1989)
“Hunters, clients, and squatters: The contemporary socio-economic status of Botswana Basarwa”
African Study Monographs, Vol.9 No.3, pp.109-151.

This paper examines the past and present socio-economic situation of the Basarwa (Bushmen, San) of Botswana. It outlines changes in adaptive strategies, showing that Basarwa groups have chosen a number of alternative lifestyles, and presents case studies of five communities which include the hunting and gathering !Kung of the Dobe region; Kauri where the !Kung have been incorporated into the Botswana semi-feudal system of patrons and clients; Ghanzi where the Naro are squatters and farm-workers; Bere where !Xóo work on a settlement scheme as pastoral smallholders and craftsmen; and settled agropastoralists of the Nata River who are engaged in self-help activities. It discusses changes which have implications for the future of the Basarwa, including the land, the remote area development efforts of the government, and the militarisation of !Kung and other Basarwa in Namibia. The paper concludes that the future of the Basarwa will depend upon how political, economic and environmental issues are resolved and whether or not the Basarwa are included in decision-making regarding development action.

Biesele, Megan (1993)
Women like meat: The folklore and foraging ideology of the Kalahari Ju/'hoan.
 Witwatersrand University Press: Johannesburg. 246p.

This book contains a collection of folktales which are used to illustrate the cognitive opposition of men and women in Ju/'hoan society and its mediation in folklore. The title of the book is a metaphorical play on words typical of the thinking found in the folktales: women demand meat as their social right, and they get it - otherwise they leave their husbands. At the same time, women 'are meat' to men, to be pursued by the hunters. Women maintain their social position by insisting on being their own selves, alluring as the meat that they both 'like' and 'are like'.

Biesele elaborates and illustrates this set of relationships through an extended analysis of folklore, the position of oral traditions in Ju/'hoan society, and the detailed analysis of a selection of tales. The bulk of the material is transcribed from conversations with Ju/'hoansi in western Botswana between 1970 and 1972, but the analysis also draws on material collected by Lorna Marshall in the Nyae Nyae area of Namibia, and draws parallels to early Lloyd and Bleek material transcribed from /Xam narratives in South Africa in the late 19th century.

The balance of power between men (the hunters) and women (gatherers of plant foods) is symbolised in both the dances and the folklore of the Ju/'hoan. Key concepts are: supernatural power (n/om), trance (!ais) and related powers (n/ao), and the dangers from carnivores and the powers that control weather. The analysis emphasises the contribution of oral expressive forms to the formation and sharing of cultural knowledge as tools of survival.

Botelle, Andy and Richard Rohde (1995)
Those who live on the land. A socio-economic baseline survey for land use planning in the communal areas of Eastern Otjozondjupa.
 Windhoek: Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation.

This report was commissioned as part of a broader land-use planning exercise in the area of former Bushmanland, Namibia. It describes the socio-economic development of the area, with an emphasis on the contemporary situation, and makes recommendations for positive interventions in order to improve the social, economic, political and legal position of the population groups identified. The first four chapters present an overview of the aims and objectives of land-use planning in the context of a detailed analysis of the area's environmental, legal, historical, and cultural parameters. Chapters 5 and 6 present the analysis of an extensive household survey of former Bushmanland and Gam, where four social domains based on socio-economic conditions coincide roughly with existing geographical areas inhabited by distinct language groups. The final chapter contextualises these findings in relation to government policy and proposals for finalising a land-use plan.

Some of the most important recommendations put forward concern the necessity of implementing two separate planning frameworks so that the San populations of Bushmanland are not adversely affected by the influx of repatriated Botswana Herero in Gam; that land tenure rights must be reformed and defined as a prerequisite to sustainable natural resource management; that leadership structures among the various San populations must be strengthened; and that these communities must participate in all aspects of development planning and implementation.

Chr. Michelsen Institute (1966)

***NORAD's support of the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) in Botswana.* Oslo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Evaluation report 1:96.**

This evaluation report was commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards the end of the period of Norwegian donor assistance to Botswana. The report covers the following topics:

The natural environment of Botswana and its utilization in remote areas. Discusses the environmental impact of various land use patterns, past and present, and makes suggestions for beneficial land use patterns and initiatives.

NORAD and the RADP. Details the Agreement of 1988 between the governments of Botswana and Norway, whereby funds were provided to the RADP. Chronicles Norwegian involvement, up to the phasing-out of development assistance starting after 1993. Notes a loss of momentum supporting 'empowerment strategy' which was epitomised by the 1993 "Conference on Development Programmes for Africa's San populations", the recommendations of which were never followed up.

The RADP as rural development. Looks at the RADP in the context of rural development in Botswana, and notes the relatively successful implementation of infrastructural developments such as schools, clinics, and infrastructure. Observes however that implementation of the Economic Promotion Fund has been largely unsuccessful owing to lack of training of RADP staff. Recommends relaunching RADP with adequately trained personnel.

Organisation and administration of the RADP. Points out the relatively low status of the programme, and the ambivalence towards it, within the implementing ministry. Points to extensive information on remote areas provided in studies that have been put to little use. Reviews the relationship between RADP and NGOs and notes ways in which NGOs can make a contribution to Basarwa development.

Legal aspects. Notes that the lack of recognition of traditional land use patterns is a legacy from colonialism, which modern Botswana should rectify. Makes suggestions both for improving access to the legal system for Basarwa and for establishing the affirmative action needed to ensure them their legal rights.

Future cooperation between Botswana and Norway. Based on the conclusions of previous chapters, it is recommended that NORAD provide continued but modest support with emphasis on an 'empowerment strategy' rather than a 'settlement strategy'.

It is recommended that NORAD should: 1) openly declare that it wishes to support Basarwa interests and advocacy groups in their articulation of Basarwa interests, including land rights and access to resources; 2) support a renewed initiative within education, through a pilot project for Basarwa education, with full professional design and backstopping; 3) support institutional cooperation and research cooperation, and 4) NORAD should not wait for the new RADP policy statement, as it seems unlikely that it will have a significant impact on the situation, but should go ahead and declare its intention of assisting the government in finding a solution to the "Basarwa issue", in accordance with the internationally accepted standards to which Botswana wishes to adhere.

Three lengthy annexes detail "The legal framework for assessment of land rights for Basarwa and other marginalised groups", by C. Ng'ong'ola and B. Moeletsi; "The legal aspects of the RADP", by H.S. Greve and "The position of Basarwa organisations in contemporary Botswana", by S. Saugestad.

Ditshwanelo/Botswana Centre for Human Rights (1997)

When will this moving stop? Report on a fact-finding mission of the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve.

April 10-14, 1996: Gaborone 28p.

Ditshwanelo's fact-finding mission on the proposed resettlement of the Central Kgalagadi Basarwa followed several reiterations the official position, namely that all moving out of Central Kalahari would be voluntarily.

Previously human rights issues had been raised by Ditshwanelo to both MLGLH and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks concerning allegations made by CKGR residents. Responses to these matters led to a decision to identify the major areas of concern as seen by CKGR residents in order to find a way forward, based on consultation with both the government and affected communities. The objectives of the mission were: to determine the communities' understanding of the reasons for the government's settlement policy; to determine the resettlement 'package'; to determine the groups who claim CKGR as their ancestral territory; and to hear the general concerns of the communities and their recommendations.

The Report gives an account of alternative approaches to development made by community members and suggests areas needing the attention of the government before embarking on or encouraging any relocation. The need for responsible and participatory consultation is emphasised. The pressure to which the inhabitants of CKGR are exposed, is summarised in one resident's statement: "Those who are leaving, are leaving in sorrow, those who are staying, are staying in sorrow".

Gaborone, Samora (1993)

Dialogue between Government and Basarwa: Report of Second Annual Conference on Development Programmes for Africa's San populations.

Gaborone 11 - 13 October, 1993.

The report contains information on both the Second San Conference and the activities preceding it. The interest of some NGOs and donors in the celebration of the UN International Year for Indigenous People led to several meetings and the eventual setting up of an Ad Hoc Committee to work with the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing to prepare for the San Regional Conference. The paper reports on pre-conference seminars, which included a three day seminar at D'Kar in the Gantsi District where Basarwa drew up an agenda on issues to be addressed, and gives details of the Palapye all-District seminar which decided on common concerns, and chose delegates for the conference. It outlines the structuring of the conference and topics covered in discussion groups and plenary sessions, looks at the achievements of the conference, and concludes that it was at least successful in promoting a dialogue between Basarwa from Namibia and Botswana and their respective governments.

Short term achievements are noted to be: 1) Local control and participation by Basarwa gave them a sense of empowerment. 2) The fact that Basarwa spoke openly and coherently about their needs and problems was a source of surprise to many who stereotype them as passive and inarticulate. 3) The need for special training for RADP officers was recognised. 4) The need for more participatory research by Botswana scholars on Basarwa was articulated. 5) The collaboration between the government and NGOs in organising the conference was seen as the beginning of continued cooperation on behalf of Basarwa.

Fourteen sets of recommendations are listed, and it is noted that Basarwa participants were sceptical about follow-ups of the conference, They therefore recommended the setting-up of a watchdog body of RAD officers and NGOs to monitor the implementation of resolutions. Basarwa delegates commended the government on the promotion of infrastructure and social services for their communities, but at the same time emphasised that an affirmative action policy to redress historic and socio-economic imbalances was required.

Gaborone, Samora (1996)

Resettling of the central Kgalagadi Game Reserve Basarwa: who gains or loses in a state sponsored dispossession?

University of Botswana: Gaborone

The paper commences with a brief background to the establishment of the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve (CKGR) stating that it was set up to protect the rights of residents and preserve natural resources. The main theme of the paper is that the Botswana Government's decision to relocate the inhabitants of the CKGR violates their human, land and democratic rights. Furthermore, the paper contends that this policy is contradictory in view of the government's own new Tourism Policy which emphasises community management of wildlife resources in line with United Nations decisions on the management of the environment.

Official reasons for the proposed relocation of CKGR residents include the following: Relocation is necessary to ensure conservation of resource bases and will enhance tourism potential in the region. There

will be provision of social services outside the Reserve and the Basarwa need to relocate to be integrated into the mainstream of Tswana society.

Each of these issues is dealt with, and contradictions and inconsistencies are pointed out. Recommendations include: the formation of a Research and Monitoring Committee consisting of government, district authorities and the Botswana Council of NGOs to monitor the CKGR issue; to revisit the 1985 fact finding mission's Report; and to review current conditions of Basarwa in both settlements and major villages and determine who will actually benefit from the proposed tourism in the CKGR.

Good, Kenneth (1993)

“At the ends of the ladder: radical inequalities in Botswana.”

***The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.31 No.2, pp.203-230**

The author traces the history of the increasing impoverishment of both Basarwa and other rural Batswana. He notes that for the Basarwa, this development has its roots in history as they were deprived of both land and water rights and lost their cattle to the encroachment of increasingly powerful Tswana. The expansion of cattle ranches and the expulsion of Basarwa from the ranches has accelerated their pauperisation; settlements provided for them have not provided viable alternatives; and their attempts to voice their problems and seek access to the government are seen as subversive and assumed to be orchestrated by interfering foreigners.

The paper gives numerous examples of contemporary inequalities along the dimensions of land, cattle, incomes and political organisation and leadership: a) although there is evidence that the San were the original inhabitants of the whole Kalahari region, by the 1980s, most were living in settlements averaging 20 sq kms in size, located in either CGAs or Wildlife Management Areas and on what was marginal, fragile and infertile land. They had “few or no productive resources” even for subsistence activities, b) regarding cattle-holding, in 1976, 85 percent of the San who laboured on Ghanzi freehold farms had no cattle themselves, but one man had nearly sixty (60). On the seven settlements in Ghanzi, a total of some 75 remote people were said to own in all, 650 cattle, of which 470 came from a new council distribution scheme. The average holdings of this small minority of San was 2 to 5 cattle each, c) regarding the inequality in incomes, in a survey in the late 1980s, over 30 percent of the sample of agricultural workers received a cash income of less than P30 per month, and in late 1990, the starting yearly wage of an industrial class worker was P2 900, compared to that of a top civil servant which was P114 000.

Gordon, Robert J. (1992)

The Bushman myth: The making of a Namibian underclass.

Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press. 304p.

This book presents a detailed and well-researched examination of the Bushman as presented in accounts by early travellers, missionary correspondence, newspaper accounts, and magistrates' reports. It is historical rather than ethnographic but blends the 'revisionist' theme with literary and ethnographic approaches, which present Bushmen in terms of savage innocence.

The book focuses not so much on the Bushmen themselves as on the image of them created by the colonisers and perpetuated by South African soldiers, administrators and anthropologists. The references include many archival materials, citations from South West Africa (now Namibia) and official German files and Blue Books, court cases involving Bushmen and records of articles from little known Namibian and South African newspapers and magazines. Illustrations show early photographs of Bushmen encountered by explorers as well as contemporary studies. Gordon concludes that the effect of what he sees as false perceptions created by outsiders has been to legitimise the alienation and pauperisation of Bushmen in Namibia

Guenther, Mathias (1986)

The Nharo Bushmen of Botswana: Tradition and change.

Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag. 348 p.

The author writes about Nharo Bushmen living as farm workers or squatters on farms in the Ghanzi District of Botswana, based on fieldwork between 1968 and 1970. The book discusses the economic, social and

ideological changes that members of Nharo society undergo as they adapt to the settler society in contemporary Botswana. In the first chapter the author introduces the Nharo and describes their relationship with other Bushmen of the area. The Ghanzi Nharo follow a variety of economic and cultural life-styles that include living on the farms as labourers and being sedentary food producers and entrepreneurs. The author notes that sedentary Bushmen far outnumber those engaged in the traditional hunting and gathering life style. The life and history of Ghanzi settler society is described in the second chapter and the effect of this society on the Nharo and their adaptations to it are outlined.

The following chapters deal with the environment and with the economic activities carried out in the area. The social organisation of the Nharo is set out, with subsequent chapters describing their religious beliefs, rituals and the trance dance. Their negative self-image is contrasted with the enhanced position of the trance dancer, who provides them with renewed self-confidence. The final chapter is concerned with the dynamics of change and development. Social and cultural changes are summarised and their effect on Nharo culture and social life assessed. Details of official plans for Bushman development are discussed and finally the author speculates on the likely future of the Nharo in view of the changes brought about by adaptations to the settler society and those imposed as a result of government policy.

Guldemann, Tom (1998)

San languages for education: A linguistic short survey and proposal.

National Institute for Educational Development, Ministry of Basic Education & Culture, Okahandja, Namibia 39 p.

This report gives a survey of currently available information on the Khoesan languages of Namibia. Presents short surveys of the following languages: Khoekhoe, Naro, Ju/'hoan, !Xuu and !O!Xuu, !Xóo and /'Auni. The following details are discussed for each language: most appropriate language name; other names in use; research and publications available; community organisations, linguists or others who can contribute to future language planning; sociolinguistic status; state of standardisation; current use for educational purposes; proposed measures to be taken in the near future, including cross-border cooperation. The author proposes a sequence for development of Namibian San languages and for a standardised orthography for non-Bantu click languages.

Hardbattle, John (1993)

"Statement on behalf of The First People of the Kalahari".

In Veber et al. "...Never drink from the same cup". Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, (IWGIA), 141-148 pp.

This statement was delivered at the conference on Indigenous Peoples in Africa in Denmark, June 1993. It explains the aims of the organisation, The First People of the Kalahari, and outlines the support needed in order for it to function adequately. Some of the major problems facing modern day Bushmen in Botswana are seen to be their forced resettlement, dependency on drought relief, lack of political power, non-recognition of their language and culture by the government, alienation from land and natural resources; and exploitation by local officials. There is also an urgent need to monitor and report on the situation in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

The main goals for the First People of the Kalahari are stated to be:

- to be recognised as a distinct people and to secure ownership of the remaining Kwe ancestral territories;
- to be a people capable of creating their own sustainable development;
- to establish a centre that can communicate, exchange, and distribute information about the conditions of the N/oakwe scattered all over *Gomkghae* (the San Face), and
- to create National Council for the N/oakwe through duly elected representatives who will work for the recognition of land and human rights, and to achieve self-determination through the National Council.
- The statement argues that a suitable name for the Bushmen is 'N/oakwe' (a widely used term, meaning 'red people'), and this name should be recognised by the government. Also included is a letter addressed to the Minister of Local Government, Lands and Housing, outlining the objectives of the organisation, and asking the government to facilitate further consultations.

Heinz, H.J. (1966)

The social organisation of the !Ko Bushmen.

Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand, 249 p.

This study is based on material collected between 1961 and 1965 during visits to various bands of the !Ko (!Xóo). The groups he studied live southeast of Kalkfontein, not too far from the cattle trek route, and thus are acculturated to a certain extent. The author's report covers such topics as primary and secondary groups, kinship and marriage customs. The author is interested in the taboos and tensions found within !Ko social life, and in comparing the !Ko with other Bushmen groups. Heinz notes that there are not only linguistic differences between the groups but also cultural variations, attributed to environmental influences. For example, the !Ko live closer to the cattle track and to its boreholes; their hunting is more restricted as they adhere to the territory of their bands and they therefore do not cover such great distances as do the G/wi or the !Kung. He also suggests that marriage is less institutionalised among the !Ko than in other groups, although the !Ko have stricter requirements for a marriage's conclusion.

Hitchcock, Robert and John Holm (1993)

"Bureaucratic domination of hunter-gatherer societies: a study of the San in Botswana." *Development and Change*, Vol. 24, 305-338 pp.

The article suggests that in the case of the San in Botswana, state bureaucratic domination is becoming the determining factor in social change. The authors provide evidence of such domination with respect to settlement of the San, the establishment of headmanship, the extension of social services and environmental legislation. In this new environment, San self-determination requires the creation of effective political organisations to counter the bureaucratic state. The article notes that some San groups are already reacting to the expanding presence of the state by increasing their involvement in various aspects of Botswana's electoral politics. While the outcome of the San political challenge to the state is still in doubt, the article concludes that San settlement seems to be a precondition for political change, but that there is a serious cultural sacrifice involved.

Hitchcock, Robert (1996)

***Kalahari communities: Bushmen and the politics of the environment in Southern Africa.* Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 100 p.**

The booklet presents data and conclusions based on a series of research and consultancy projects carried out in Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe between 1975 and 1995, and also provides information on Bushman communities in South Africa. The introduction deals with the problems of ethnic minorities in a continent-wide perspective, noting that the assimilation policies of the governments in the countries where they live present a major problem for such minorities. Other common difficulties include their being forced out of areas proclaimed as game reserves and national parks and being restricted from their traditional hunting areas by new hunting laws. Hitchcock notes, however, that currently indigenous groups have become politically aware and are making efforts to promote self-help and increase income and that grass roots action committees and associations have been set up.

The author estimates the number of Bushmen to be some 50 000 in Botswana, 38 000 in Namibia, close to 10 000 in Angola and some 5 000 in South Africa, 1 600 in Zambia and 1 300 in Zimbabwe, speaking a large number of different languages and dialects, and existing in a variety of socio-economic situations. Botswana avoids the issue of ethnic identification, associating this with South Africa's apartheid policies. Instead development is addressed to so-called Remote Area Dwellers, defined by their location in remote areas, and their poverty.

The chapters that follow examine each of the countries in the context of a specific problem as follows. Botswana: socio-economic rights and development. Namibia: decentralisation and land rights. Zimbabwe: indigenous communities and natural resources management. In each case both the current situation and the past history of relations with the respective governments are given. Bushmen in all three countries have experienced the loss of their traditional living areas and insecurity of tenure in the areas where they are located. They are invariably the poorest of the poor and lack political power. However, a new self-awareness can be detected in many Bushman communities, and this is stressed in the chapter dealing with identity

politics and the future of Southern African Bushmen, which mentions advocacy organisations in both South Africa and Botswana. The links with worldwide indigenous organisations are seen as a source of hope for many peoples struggling to maintain their identities and rights to natural and cultural resources in an increasingly complex world.

Hitchcock, Robert and Rosinah Masilo (1995)

Remote Area Dweller Special Game Licence. Utilization, and alternative management strategies in Botswana. A report to Department of Wildlife and National Parks and the Natural Resources Management Project (USAID Project No: 690-0251-33), 96 p.

The report presents the findings arising from a consultancy on Remote Area Dwellers Special Game Licences utilisation and alternative management strategies in Botswana. Three sites were investigated; /Xai/Xai in North West District, Ukhwi in Kgalagadi District and Phuduhudu in North West District.

Reports that in all three sites, the communities investigated had a majority of households engaged in hunting but that the exploitation of wildlife in the three areas was affected by factors such as the interpretation of fauna conservation laws by DWNP personnel in the region, availability of various kinds of weapons, the existence of alternative sources of food and individual preferences of hunters. Notes that hunting methods include use of spears, clubs, bows and arrows and guns but that regulations enforced by DWNP officials varied from one region to another, regarding which weapons were permitted to SGL holders. Comments on frequency of arrests for hunting violations. Indicates that, contrary to allegations by safari operators and some representatives of conservation NGO's, RAD communities derived significant benefits from SGL usage from a nutritional, economic and social standpoint, and that withdrawal of Special Game Licences could have negative effects on living standards.

International Labour Office (ILO) (1999):

Indigenous peoples of South Africa: Current Trends. Project for the Rights of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. Geneva: ILO. 47p.

This report is one of the outcomes of a project to promote general awareness of the ILO Policy on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, and to foster a debate about this issue in South Africa. It was commissioned by ILO and is written by Nigel Crawhall. In 1998, ILO, together with the Department for Constitutional Development hosted a conference on the Constitutional Accommodation of Vulnerable Indigenous Communities. This report provides demographic, cultural and economic information, which is hoped will form a basis for future initiatives to improve the situation of indigenous peoples, within the framework of the South African Government's Reconstruction and Development Programme.

The first section comments on the complexity in connected with defining who is indigenous in South Africa, noting that the two times 'indigenous' is mentioned in the constitution, it can be inferred to mean local, or Bantu-speaking in contrast to European settler, not to mean indigenous in the ILO sense of the term. After the demise of Apartheid, a large number of groups have claimed indigenous status, with varying acceptance of legitimacy. The report presents a historical review of the different contemporary groups claiming indigenous identity, progressing from those groups who have the strongest continuity of identity to those for whom indigenous identity is being triggered by recent debates.

- *San (by ethnic group)*: Includes the 3 500 !Xu and 1 100 Khwe, who immigrated from Namibia in 1990 and who live around Schmidtsdrift; some 500 =Khomani, /'Auni and Saasi living in Northern Cape Province, and some of which speak the last surviving Southern San Language, known as N/u; and small pockets of descendants of //Xegwi speakers, a larger but unknown number of /Xam descendants, and a few hundred !Kung. Main organisations: !Xu and Khwe Trust, Southern Kalahari San Association.
- *Nama (Khoekhoe)*: Five to ten thousand Nama-speaking people living in the Northern Cape
- *Griqua and !Koranna*: Approximately 300 000, ranging from impoverished rural farmers to middle-class urban dwellers. Strong organisations.
- *Coloured, Basters and revivalist Khoesan*. A very mixed category, including organisation such as Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council.

A needs overview of South African indigenous peoples notes that the Khoe and San people constitutes some of the poorest of the poor in South Africa. The Apartheid system created a type of double jeopardy,

whereby they were discriminated against because of their identities and stigmatised status as a rural underclass, yet there was no institutionalised recognition of their needs similar to the limited services provided to other ethnic groups identified by the apartheid regime's classificatory system.

The following factors hindering socio-economic and cultural survival of indigenous South Africans are listed and the implications are discussed:

- Disruption of traditional economies and loss of natural resource access
- Apartheid and colonial policies of ethnocide and dissimilation
- Socio-political problems
- Institutional weakness
- Gender issues, domestic violence and substance abuse

A discussion on constitutional concerns notes that a Pan South African Languages Body (PanSALB) has been set up to advise the government on language issues, including the promotion of Khoesan languages. Reports on a series of land claims that have been raised. The most noteworthy case has been the recently settled land claim by the =Khomani San in the Southern Kalahari which includes part of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, and which was argued with reference to the ILO concept of Indigenous rights for land restitution.

The report concludes with a series of general recommendations based on consultations with Nama and San indigenous peoples: to combine economic priorities with cultural resources, include gender awareness in development, and to promote empowerment through education. Specific recommendations to the South African Government and ILO include: to educate and train government officials, to monitor inter-governmental cooperation, to establish a statistical baseline, and to build institutional capacity and promote international dialogue.

Jansen, Rudd, Neville Pradhan and John Spencer (1994)
Bushmen Ex-servicemen and Dependants Rehabilitation and Settlement Programme.
Republic of Namibia Evaluation report. Windhoek.

The report evaluates the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Programme carried out by the Evangelical Lutheran church, as implementing agency along with the Namibian Government. It also examines a further ELCIN Bushman settlement project at Ekoka, eastern Ovambo and looks at the situation of Bushman farm labourers near Rundu, Kavango. The authors provide the historical and regional setting, tracing the events, which led to the recruitment of Bushmen from both Angola and Namibia into the South African Defence Force. Those Bushmen who were not resettled in South Africa were facing a bleak future without homes to return to, and having no salaries, food or housing when the SADF withdrew from Namibia. These circumstances led to the establishment of the Rehabilitation and Settlement Programme.

Initially the programme was established on an emergency basis and aimed at providing an alternative to South African resettlement for Bushman soldiers. The report deals with subsequent developments, the problems, achievements, and constraints involved. The areas looked at in detail include: settlement and infrastructure; agriculture and environment; education; vocational training and income generation; health and nutrition; community development; spiritual care.

Kann, Ulla (1991)
Where the sand is the book: education for everyone in the Nyae Nyae Area: a challenge.
Nyae Nyae Development Foundation, SIDA, 44 p.

This consultancy report to the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation (NNDF) presents an overview of educational issues in the Nyae Nyae area. It identifies language and orthography issues, low adult literacy rate, and low primary school enrolment as some of the main problems, along with previous negative experiences of education at Tjum!kui school. Kann discusses the Village Schools Programme, which was designed and introduced to provide a bridge between village life and mainstream education. The objectives of the programme are: a) to increase the number of children who actually start school; b) to overcome the high drop out rate; and c) to learn village skills in the Ju/'hoan language, before the children have to start learning a

foreign language, English. The report includes a number of recommendations, which deal with school development, pre-school activities, teachers and the relationship to the Ministry of Education.

Kann, Ulla, Nomtuse Mbere, and Robert Hitchcock (1990)

Let them talk: A review of the Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme.
Report submitted to the Ministry of Local Government and Lands and to NORAD.
Gaborone.

The report gives the findings of a study commissioned by the Ministry of Local Government and Lands to identify present and future needs of the programme and to evaluate the involvement of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). Undertaken midway through the Accelerated RADP period, the report looks at the achievements of the programme over a period of sixteen years, noting that infrastructural developments such as the establishment of schools, boreholes, and health posts have been impressive. The most obvious and basic result of the programme has been the establishment of many settlements for Remote Area Dwellers but the problems they face are also noted. It is acknowledged that the objectives of the RADP will take both time and greater support to achieve.

The report provides an introductory summary and covers the following areas: policy; economic promotion; employment and income generation; land and natural resources; human resource development (education and training); knowledge of the general public; institutions, leadership and administration; administration of the programme; finance, budgets and plans; and monitoring and research.

The main factors seen to retard Remote Area Dwellers are listed as:

- Poverty resulting from the lack of effective economic development, income generation or employment.
- Insecurity caused by insufficient access to land and natural resources.
- Inadequate education and training.
- Weak institutions and leadership.
- Negative public attitudes.

The report makes a number of recommendations, the two most important being that: a) the status, morale and effectiveness of RADP staff be raised by improving their training, and b) that time and money be invested in informing and educating the public, including government officials from other departments, about the RADP.

Kuru Development Trust (1999)

Activity report for the Year 1999 and plans for 2000. 70 p.

Kuru Development Trust started up as a Community Based Organisation (CBO) in D'Kar, committed to the development of the San. In 1996 it was decided that Kuru should become a support organisation to include other communities. The primary objective of the Kuru Development Trust is formulated as follows:

To assist marginalised communities in Botswana with the establishment and development of sustainable community self-help organisations, which will increase the capacity of these communities to gain control of their social and economic lives.

A Board of Trustees includes some 20 members, representing different settlements in the Ghanzi and Ngamiland Districts. Kuru has developed a wide range of activities in the field of agriculture, income-generation, training, pro-school activities, art and cultures. The various activities are grouped in programme departments as follows:

1. *The Department for Education and Culture* organise a variety of adult education activities and in-service training, as well as a mother-tongue pre-school programme that has trained almost 1000 teachers. A contemporary Bushman Art project, a museum and a library and resource centre documents the rich and varied cultural heritage of the San.
2. *The Ghanzi District Extension Programme* works in most settlements in Ghanzi District in areas such as micro-enterprise, dry land agriculture, rural finance and community based natural resource management.
3. *The Ngamiland Extension Programme* started in 1998. PRAs and planning exercises have been conducted and a community mobilisation process has begun in three main areas. The focus of activities is

- on the protection of natural resources, creation of income-generating opportunities, providing security of tenure to the communities and the strengthening of cultural identity.
4. *The Business Department* focuses on providing wholesale and marketing support to income-generating activities in remote communities as well as skills training. The emphasis is on arts and crafts with tourism as an increasing focus.

Highlights of the Training and Art and Culture Programmes have included the expansion of the Bokamoso Pre-school Programme, continuing work on the Naro language project and the publication of a book in Naro produced in collaboration with the Cultural and Art Centre. The *Dqae Qare* game farm, described as the first community-owned game farm for the Bushmen, is open for tourists, with staff training taking place in various game reserves in Botswana.

Kuru is reporting of a period of debates about further reorganisation. The objective is to achieve a more clearly defined division between the provision professional support services, and the policy making of a representative San organisations on national and regional level. Networking among San communities in Southern Africa and with other organisations is being carried out under the auspices of the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA).

Lee, Richard B. (1972)

!Kung spatial organization: An ecological and historical perspective, *Human Ecology*, Vol. 1 No. 22, 1972, 125-147 pp.

The article demonstrates the relationship between the way hunters and gatherers organise themselves spatially and socially. For the !Kung San of Botswana, seasonal differences in water availability are seen to play a key role in such organisation. A persistent construct in anthropological studies of hunters and gatherers has been that they are usually to be found in patrilocal bands, but the author argues that this is too rigid a concept. Great flexibility and adaptability are observed, especially among the !Kung San for whom the lack of water is a constant constraint and necessitates variation in group sizes. In times of scarcity, groups are much smaller, but even when they are larger, they do not necessarily follow a patrilocal model

Meteorological data over a 50-year period manifest the extreme fluctuations in rainfall occurring in the region. Using an historical perspective, Lee concludes that there is no such thing as a typical year for the !Kung San and that for environmental reasons, groups are continually shifting and changing. However, members of groups do have a clear concept of territoriality. The author finds that the !Kung San seem to have worked out reciprocal patterns for sharing resources, which function well as long as territories can be used without too much intrusion from neighbouring groups.

Lee, Richard, and Irven Devore, eds (1976)

***Kalahari hunter-gathers: Studies of the !Kung San and their neighbors.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 427 p.**

This volume reports on some of the main findings of the 'Kalahari Research Group', which in the period from 1963 to 1973 did research in the Dobe area of North-West Ngamiland. The book is divided into four parts corresponding to the research group's four main problem areas: ecology and social change; population and health; childhood; and behaviour and belief. The Introduction notes the challenges facing anthropologists working with the people whose way of life and future existence is under threat. The Harvard Kalahari Group has set up the Kalahari People's Fund, which aims at understanding the development problems of the Bushmen and assisting them in their efforts at self-determination.

The section on ecology and social change introduces the basic adaptive strategies of the Kalahari San. Describes the environment within which the Dobe !Kung operate, as well as the impact of the !Kung settlement patterns from the perspective of ethno archaeology. Reports on J. Tanaka's ecological work with the /Gwi and //Gana San.

The section on population and health presents basic population and health parameters. Reports on two bodies of demographic data for the Dobe Area and the reproductive histories of 165 Dobe Area's women. Includes a discussion of Nancy Howell's newly developed techniques for estimating the ages of people who do not keep track of dates. The section on childhood discusses Patricia Draper's study of !Kung childhood,

which is one of the first in which the dynamics of child development are closely related to ecological adaptation.

In the section on behaviour and belief, Richard Katz describes the major features of the !Kung healing dance complex. Megan Biesele presents an introduction to her collection of over 75 !Kung myths and folktales. The book sets out the depth and accuracy of the !Kung's knowledge of animal behaviour. Includes a reprint of Lorna Marshall's classic, "Sharing, Talking and Giving: Relief of Social Tensions among the !Kung Bushmen," originally published in 1961, which outlines the fundamental attitudes and behaviours that underline the sharing way of life.

Lee, Richard (1979)

The !Kung San: Men, women and work in a foraging society.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 526 p.

This is a detailed study of the !Kung as encountered by the author during fieldwork carried out at Dobe on the northwestern border of Botswana between 1963 and 1973. The goal of the research was to reach an understanding of the inner dynamic of !Kung (Ju/'hoan) society. The study deals with the key elements of !Kung life, their methods of subsistence, technology, group structure, land use, and work effort, followed by an analysis of cultural, ideological and political aspects.

An important aspect of the study involves health and nutrition, chemistry of the food available, and the climatic adaptations of the !Kung. Detailed registrations of subsistence activities document the prime importance of vegetable foods (gathered) over meat (hunted) for average calorie intake. Under circumstances free from competition with other groups, nature provides an ample diet with very little input of work hours.

Social changes taking place in !Kung society as a result of interaction with other groups are examined. The influence of Botswana government policies upon the !Kung is noted. The book was written at a time when some !Kung had joined the South African Defence Force in Namibia and were being used to patrol the Namibian border, and the negative effects of such contacts are commented upon. The last chapter summarises the data under the heading: 'Lessons of the !Kung'. Appendices contain lists of plants and mammals of the Dobe area, explain apparent anomalies in population data and list the major foods used.

Le Roux, Willemien (1999)

Torn Apart. San children as change agents in a process of acculturation.

A report on the educational situation of San children in southern Africa. Commissioned by Kuru Development Trust and WIMSA (Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa) 174 p.

This study gives a broad analysis of the meeting between San children and the formal educational system in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa. The research was done qualitatively and involved field visits and literature reviews over one year from 1998 to 1999. The study is meant to deliver the groundwork for an action phase where it is hoped that the findings will lead to the formation of a common strategy for policy makers and implementing bodies, also involving San organisations.

The report observes that even though San children have entered formal education institutions for three decades, only a handful have made it through tertiary education, and educational authorities in all countries where they live report lack of success in controlling the dropout rate.

The main findings are summarised as follows: The present education system remains problematic for the San child in spite of the fast acculturation process that is taking place all over. San children have cultural and material problems to adapt to mainstream education and needs to be supported throughout their school career. The children are burdened with conflicting expectations: parents expect them to gain access to the world of employment and political power, while the educators expect the children to bring changes to the San people.

The study further identifies three critical periods in the encounter of San children with formal education: a) the first three years at school, adapting to routine and separation from parents, b) the years around puberty when stigmatisation and emotional abuse takes its toll, and c) during late adolescence when career choices and lack of money become crucial issues.

Consultations with the San revealed several factors that contributed to the crises:

1. *Powerlessness and marginalisation*: they feel that events are beyond their control and they are dependent on the mercy of others
2. *Poverty*: most San are very poor, and programmes to assist them often end up marginalizing them further, by turning them into welfare clients.
3. *Language*: San children suffer because they do not learn in a language that is familiar to them: the problem is compounded by first having to learn a majority language, and then after some years to switch to English, an even more foreign language. The benefits of learning to read and write in the mother tongue before moving to a new language is not yet recognised by educational authorities in Botswana.
4. *Abuse and discrimination*: despite efforts to counteracting the phenomenon, the studies confirms a pattern of physical, sexual and emotional abuse.
5. *Cultural erosion*. San children receive western-type education. The report argues for more flexible structures of education as well as avenues for exchange between traditional knowledge and modern education.

The report concludes by presenting a large number of constructive recommendations.

Loermans, Hannie (1992)

Sustainable development in the Kalahari from a gender perspective.

The Hague: SNV. 40 p.

The paper notes that whereas gender relations among the San in the Kalahari traditionally were relatively egalitarian, in recent years the socio-economic position of San women has deteriorated significantly as compared to that of men. Development efforts have provided more benefits to men than to women, and land use and conservation policies generally have ignored women's interests. Women are gradually being cut off from important natural and economic resources, and are caught in a process of marginalisation. Drawing on data on San women in a project in East Hanahai, the paper analyses this process and demonstrates that strategic gender interests need to be taken into consideration in order to work towards truly equitable and sustainable development.

Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Botswana (1985)

Report of the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve fact-finding mission. 57 p.

This is a report prepared by a seven-member fact-finding mission, which was appointed in 1985 by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to investigate the conflicts surrounding the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve (CKGR). The Reserve was established in 1961 to protect wildlife resources and to preserve land for the hunter-gatherer communities of the area. The government's programme to promote the social and economic development of the inhabitants, classified as Remote Area Dwellers, the encroachment of cattle into the Reserve, and the continuing needs of the wildlife population have all resulted in serious problems mainly due to lack of resources, particularly water.

The mission made sixteen recommendations, including the following: a) the degazetting of the southern part of the Reserve in order to make a Wildlife Management Area (WMA); b) the establishment of two communal cells using the Communal First Development Area (CFDA) planning approach; c) the provision of six boreholes; d) the undertaking of a detailed study of the proposed WMA; and e) strengthening the Department of Wildlife and National Parks staff.

Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, Namibia (1992)

Regional Conference on Development Programmes for Africa's San/Basarwa Populations. Windhoek, Namibia. 16-18 June, 1992.

The first regional conference on Africa's San populations was hosted by the Republic of Namibia's Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, and funded by NORAD and SIDA. San from four countries (Namibia, Botswana, Zambia and Angola) participated along with representatives from governments and NGOs. It is estimated that there are over 100,000 San in Southern Africa but in only two countries, Namibia

and Botswana, are there government development projects. It was recognised that all San share common problems, such as lack of access to land and resource bases, and challenges from more powerful neighbours.

The San in Namibia held a preliminary meeting in May 1992 at Mangetti Dune, where 27 delegates were elected to represent their interests. Translations into five languages were provided during the meeting. As a result of the regional conference, 54 resolutions were tabled, organised under the following seven topics: Education and culture, Land, Health and social welfare, Employment and economic opportunities, Water, Communication, and Other issues. It was resolved that a regional conference on San development should be held annually, and that the next one would be hosted by the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing in Botswana.

Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing, Botswana (1996)
Regional Conference on Development Programmes for Africa's San/Basarwa Populations. 'Common access to development', Gaborone, 11-13 October 1993.

At the second conference on development policies for Africa's San/Basarwa peoples, the following topics were dealt with in keynote addresses, plenary sessions, keynote presentations and group discussions: Economic opportunities; Health and social services; Legal status; Access to development and natural resources; and Education and culture. Introductory speeches by the Swedish Ambassador in Namibia and the Resident Representative of Norway in Botswana emphasised the importance of the conference as a means of initiating dialogue between the San and their respective governments. The role of NGOs in promoting development of the San is noted. In discussions throughout the conference, San speakers highlighted the importance of self-development most suited to their own needs. Eleven resolutions were passed unanimously.

Mogwe, Alice (1992)
Who was (t)here first?
Gaborone: Botswana Christian Council, Occasional Paper No. 10.

The author was commissioned by the Botswana Christian Council to make an assessment of the human rights situation of Basarwa in the Ghanzi district. The report identifies six major areas of concern: the land issue; civil rights; women; social and economic rights; access to water; and farm workers. For each of these topics, official policy is outlined, and the way the Basarwa experience their opportunities and constraints is documented through a large number of statements. Their description of problems experienced is then followed up by recommendations.

The picture that emerges in all areas is a pervading sense of being disadvantaged and discriminated against in interaction with the 'black people' and with government: 'The Batswana are oppressing us - only our necks are free to move - our bodies are held down'. Among major areas of contention are the restrictions on hunting ('The wild animals are our cattle') and the sexual abuse by black men towards Basarwa women. Many Basarwa families find themselves 'maintaining and caring for little black babies only, without there being any red ones'. Speaking a minority language causes particular problems in meeting with the legal system, at schools and in seeking assistance at health clinics.

The report calls for further in-depth research directly involving the participation of Basarwa themselves. Mogwe comments that for a long time, the Basarwa have had development planned for and around them, without it actually reaching them. She includes a postscript, which describes a follow-up visit to Ghanzi where she discussed her recommendations with her informants, to ensure that their views were presented properly in the report.

Molutsi, Patrick (1993)
"Research trends and agenda for the 1990s: The case of research on the Basarwa." In Saugestad and Tsonope (eds). 7-8 p.

The paper examines the nature of post-Independence research conducted in Botswana. Molutsi notes that three categories exist: policy-oriented research supported by donors and government; academic research by local and foreign scholars to fulfil degree requirements; and unpublished reports by local students and academics. Research on the Basarwa has tended to be avoided by Batswana scholars because of its

methodological complexity, the lack of prestige involved in studying a people perceived as socially inferior, and the domination of the field of Basarwa studies by anthropology. There is also a political sensitivity, arising from tensions between government authorities and researchers advocating Basarwa rights. The paper notes that changes in research policies and trends have tended to encourage micro-research, and that in the future more Batswana researchers may be expected to take part.

Ngakaeaja, Mathambo et al. (1998)

“A San position: research, the San and San organisations”. In A. Bank (ed) *Proceedings of the Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference held in Cape Town, 12-16 July, 1997.*

University of Western Cape, Institute for Historical Research, 30-31 pp.

The paper represents the view of a number of San organisations in Botswana and Namibia on the topic of research carried out in their communities. Notes that despite the large amount of research that has been undertaken among the San, little benefit has accrued to them as a result of this activity. Points out that governments have tended to ignore the traditional norms, values and leadership structures of the San as well as failing to recognise initiatives by the San to form representative organisations. Claims that academics have tended to ignore current socio-economic realities and the challenges of cultural transition now taking place. Contends that much research has concentrated on a narrow range of topics and made use of categories such as “the Bushmen” and “nomadic hunter-gatherers of the Kgalagadi” and lists four examples of how the stereotypes of nomadism has been seized upon by the governments to justify unjust policies and by individual employers to treat San employees unfairly.

Calls for action-oriented research in which San communities and the grass-roots organizations working for their betterment would be intimately involved in research, which would assist the communities in their transition to modern society. Considers that such research should aim not only at understanding of San culture and ideas but should focus on the problems currently facing San and their solution. Concludes that San themselves are the experts concerning San issues and should be involved in research from the planning stage so that research proposals are submitted to the representative organizations for consideration and states that such a response from academics will lead to a more valid contribution to the future of the San.

Ng’ong’ola, Clement (1997)

“Land rights for marginalised ethnic groups in Botswana, with special reference to the Basarwa.” *Journal of African Law*, Vol. 41, 1-26 p.

The article addresses the problem of land rights for Basarwa and considers possible methods of alleviating them. Observes that the issue of ‘securing land rights for the Basarwa’ has often been identified as crucial for the improvement of their situation. The author suggests that much current debate on the issue can be traced back to an erroneous legal opinion voiced by a litigation consultant in the Attorney General’s Chambers in 1978 to the effect that as ‘true nomads’ Basarwa had only hunting rights but none to land. Assesses the contemporary legal framework for land tenure as well as giving the historical situation from which it has arisen. Examines the basis of traditional Tswana land tenure and compares it with territorial concepts held by Basarwa. Concludes that failure to acknowledge and accommodate some of unique and distinctive features of Basarwa and land tenure within the legal system is at the core of marginalisation of these people.

Suggestions for the amelioration of the situation of the Basarwa include the recognition of the following categories into which they can be divided: 1) Those located in territories of the dominant Tswana tribes where historically, they were regarded as serfs, with no land rights. 2) Basarwa based in areas where they form the majority of the population. 3) Basarwa whose rights and interests were apparently ignored in the allocation of Tribal Grazing Land leases. The author concludes that the rights of these categories of Basarwa would be addressed if Land Boards were sensitised to the needs of all marginalised groups, if adjustments were made in land allocation rule in order to accommodate forms of land use unfamiliar under the Tswana model on which the law is based. He considers that the replacement of tribal affiliation with citizenship should also be helpful, while the doctrine of aboriginal peoples of Australia is seen as less likely to be useful in the Botswana context.

Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDNFN) and Nyae Nyae Farmers Co-operative (NNFC) (1997)
Annual Report. Windhoek. 26 p.

This report from NNDNFN (formerly Ju/'wasi Bushman Development Foundation), and the NNFC (formerly the Ju/'wasi Farmers Cooperative), outlines the structure of the two organisations and reports on their main activities and achievements.

The Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative is an NGO representing all the farmers living in what was previously called Eastern Bushmanland, seeking to assist the reestablishment of access to their traditional land (*n!oresi*), and to start subsistence farming in a way that can be adapted to the modern economy. Nyae Nyae comprises some 30% of the ancestral land of the Ju/'hoan people. The overall goal of the NNFC is to secure land rights and to improve the standard of living for the Ju/'hoansi through sustainable management and utilisation of natural resources.

The main new activity in 1996 was the enactment by the government of Namibia of a Conservancy Legislation (granting communities living in communal areas the right to utilise wildlife through the formation of conservancies and wildlife councils), and the ensuing decision to register Nyae Nyae as one conservancy. So far a committee has been established, and a Wildlife Strategy Plan has been developed.

The main problem in 1996 has remained the incursion of Herero people and their cattle into the already cramped Nyae Nyae area, threatening the prospects for wildlife-related developments.

The NNFC, based in Baraka, is governed by a board of 12 people, representing the different communities. The Windhoek-based NNDNFN provides advice and support to NNFC as required and performs accounting and logistical services. It is governed by a board of nine, including the manager and chair of NNFC. A total of 35 people are employed by NNFC, while 15 persons are engaged as advisory/support/consultancy staff, about half of them based in Windhoek.

Separate reports detail the activities of the Community Based Natural Resource Management and Agricultural Programme; the Village Schools Project (teaching of children in grade 1 to 3, developing teaching material in Ju/'hoan, and holding English and Ju/'hoan literacy classes); the Technical Training Workshop; the Income Generating Project (mobile shop and craft production); and the Windhoek support office.

There is no more recent annual report available. The Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative has changed its name to the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, while basic activities are much the same.

Saugestad, Sidsel (1996)

“Setting history straight: Bushmen encounters in Cape Town. Southern African Bushmen join in the international debate about indigenous organisations and issues.”
IWGIA Newsletter No. 4, 4-11 pp.

The ‘encounters’ referred to in the title took place on the occasion of the exhibition entitled ‘Miscast: Negotiating the presence of the Bushmen’, held at the South African National Gallery in April 1996. In portraying the horrific mistreatment and near extermination of the South African Bushmen, the exhibition elicited a negative response from some who saw it as demeaning and humiliating while others saw it as possibly playing a role in the awakening of a Khoisan nationalism and helping to restore a pride in past history.

The exhibition made possible the coming together of Bushman organisations from South Africa, Botswana and Namibia, and the author sees this as an invaluable part of the process of awareness-raising and mobilisation currently taking place among these groups. The occasion of the Public Forum gave such organisations as the Kuru Development Trust of Botswana and the Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) an opportunity to make presentations. Both the regional diversity and the existence of common problems were revealed.

The author notes that while it may not be possible to identify one common Bushman culture, the people are united in a common experience of landlessness, of being either unemployed or working as farm labourers, and occupying the lowest stratum of society in a developing market economy.

Saugestad, Sidsel (1998)***The Inconvenient Indigenous. Remote Area Development in Botswana, Donor Assistance and the First People of the Kalahari.*****University of Tromsø, Faculty of Social Science. 366 p.**

This is a broadly based analysis of the relationship between the San of Botswana and the state. The introduction notes the emergent significance internationally of the concept of 'indigenous peoples', as it is being defined by organisations such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations, and situates the events in Botswana within this global perspective. It is suggested that in the name of national unity, the country's ethnic diversity was ignored during the crucial first years of nation building, in effect making the San 'invisible' in the formulation of national policies.

The main analysis focus on the relationship between the Khoesan people and the Bantu as they moved into Botswana, and traces the development of the official policy, the history of the Remote Area Development Programme, and the background for NORAD's involvement. The author argues that two different approaches to an understanding of the position of the Basarwa can be identified: according to programme documents, the main characteristic of the target group for the NORAD-supported RAD Programme is that members of that group are poor and marginal welfare-needing clients. As an alternative to the 'client' model, it is suggested that the potential benefits to the San of being recognised as an 'indigenous people' should be explored. While there is considerable empirical overlap between the two categories, there is a significant difference in the effect that can be gained by a poverty-oriented development programme, and initiatives that address the underlying problems of discrimination, and seek to contribute to empowerment.

A comparative perspective on the situation in Botswana is introduced by looking at the situation of the Saami people of Norway and other cases, noting how changes in official policy towards indigenous groups have taken place in recent decades. It is emphasised that most changes have been dependent on the initiatives, and self-mobilisation of the peoples themselves, who are only gradually earning recognition and support from their governments.

The last section analyses a sequence of events occurring in 1992 and 1993 in Botswana. These articulated and recast the relationship between the state and the San/Basarwa minority. Even though official policy so far refuses to recognize the San as an indigenous people, their organisations clearly identify them as such, linking up with international movements in contexts where such issues are debated. From this period, the Remote Area Development Programme has decreased in significance, not necessarily as a development programme, but as an instrument for policy formulation towards the San minority.

Saugestad, Sidsel and Joseph Tsonope, eds. (1993)***Developing Basarwa research and research for Basarwa development. Gaborone: NIR/University of Botswana. 79 p.***

The report contains the papers presented at a two-day workshop held at the University of Botswana in September 1993. The workshop was aimed at bringing together researchers from the region and assessing their research achievements, experiences and interests. This gathering was of particular significance in that it was the first of its kind to be held in Botswana rather than in Europe or the USA, attracting mainly scholars from the University of Botswana in addition to local consultants, development workers and academics from Namibia and South Africa. In his opening address the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Botswana, Professor Thomas Lou, emphasised the timeliness of the workshop, noting the need for local structures within the university, which could initiate and facilitate research on the problems of the Basarwa. The director of the National Institute of Development Research and Documentation (NIR) emphasised the need for interaction between policy-makers and academics as well as for participatory research with Basarwa themselves.

Shostak, Marjorie (1990) [1981]***Nisa. The life and words of a !Kung woman.*****London: Earthscan Publ., 402 p.**

The book is based on research carried out in the Dobe area during the 1970s. In a lengthy introduction, the author describes the life-style and social organisation of the !Kung and details the nature of her fieldwork and her reasons for conducting it. Her interest in the lives and personal experience of !Kung women was related to

issues regarding the role of women in society, as raised by the women's movement in the West, and her belief that an understanding of the role of women in a society which had 'remained unchanged' over many years might throw light upon these issues.

Shostak introduces each section of the book, dealing with a particular period in Nisa's life, with an explanation of !Kung behaviour and their attitudes toward the theme of the chapter. The book, beginning with Nisa's earliest memories, covers the story of her life up to the age of about fifty when the author interviewed her. Themes that arise include the attitude of !Kung parents towards sexual play by children, sexuality, marriage and extra-marital affairs, birth and motherhood, the experience of loss, grief and aging.

Nisa's life include two trial marriages in her teens, neither successful, and she married for the third time before she had her first menstruation, which along with marriage is a milestone in !Kung women's lives. Her first and third child died before they learned to walk. Her husband died and she returned to her parents' village where she eventually remarried. By then in her thirties, Nisa found that maintaining !Kung life was more difficult as Tswana and Herero were expanding with their livestock, contaminating water holes and denuding the countryside. Increasingly, !Kung men worked for outsiders and Nisa helped an European woman with her house and baby. Throughout her life and marriages Nisa takes lovers. She tells of her healing powers and trances induced by drugs and drum-medicine songs, and the pain they cause her.

In an Epilogue the author tells about discussions with Nisa about the publication of the book and her sense that the intimate details Nisa shared with her had resulted in a deep relationship of caring and trust, and the gift of opening a 'window on a complex world that is quickly passing.'

Silberbauer, George B. (1965)

Report to the Government of Bechuanaland on the Bushman survey. Gaborone. 138 p.

The author was a government administrative officer when he was commissioned by the Bechuanaland Government to investigate the state of the Bushmen in the country prior to Independence, the objective being to determine how they might best be included in the new nation. The survey took nearly six years to complete. The research design was based on the assumption that all Bushmen in Bechuanaland, whatever their present state of acculturation, had originally been hunter-gatherers. Therefore it was decided to select one group of particularly unacculturated Bushmen for intensive study (the G/wi), and then to study representative communities of Bushmen who had been in contact with other Batswana and with Europeans. The report concentrates on the G/wi, but also contains valuable information on demography and the ecology of the area to become the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR).

The report concludes with seven pages of annotated recommendations. Among these are the creation of a Central Kalahari Reserve, suggestions that Bushmen be allowed to remain in their traditional area and that fifteen boreholes be provided for them. Recommendations covering education emphasise the need to encourage and assist those who have finished school to participate in the pupil/farmer training schemes.

Silberbauer, George B. (1981)

Hunter and Habitat in the Central Kalahari Desert.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 330 p.

This detailed analysis of the G/wi of the Central Kalahari is based on fieldwork conducted from 1958-1966, as part of the study done for the Bechuanaland government. The author points out that many of the conditions described no longer pertain to the region, because of changes in land use and the incursion of pastoralists into the area previously inhabited solely by hunter-gatherers. This type of society, based on a close-knit network of intimate relationships, is particularly vulnerable when faced with such incursions.

The society is examined from a socio-ecological viewpoint and connects such phenomena as band fission and fusion with the seasonal availability of water and veld foods. It is shown that many aspects of G/wi life are related to the exigencies of the terrain, and the author devotes several chapters to describing this terrain, and its utilisation by the G/wi. Information on social organisation focuses on the nature of the 'band', which is defined as a community occupying a defined territory and controlling the exploitation of that territory. Aspects such as band formation and composition and interband migration are reported. The kinship system and the elaborate system of exchange that reduces inequalities in the distribution of goods and reinforces egalitarianism, are explained and illustrated.

In a chapter headed 'The G/wi Universe' the author elaborates on the belief system which underlies all aspects of life including language and the relationships between man and animals, all part of an ordered system created by *N!adima* but at times disturbed by the evil being, *G//amama*. It is noted that the social organisation becomes disrupted by the congregation of large numbers in an area, and that the coherent interrelationship between Bushmen, their sociocultural system and habitat easily decline into personal demoralisation when such changes occur.

Skotnes, Pippa, ed. (1996)

Miscast: Negotiating the presence of the Bushmen.

Cape Town: The South African National Gallery. 383 p.

This volume was published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name held at the South African National Gallery in Cape Town, and contains papers by several authorities on the Bushmen. The illustrations form an integral part of the presentation and include pages from significant documents, reproductions of cartoons, rock art and artifacts. The book and exhibition aim to tell the story of genocide in Southern Africa, to reveal the artistic achievements of the San and to stimulate awareness of the conditions, aspirations and interests of the descendants of the Khoisan in contemporary Southern Africa.

Topics dealt with include the contribution of W.H.I. Bleek, Dorothea Bleek and Lucy Lloyd to early Bushman research. Their attitudes towards the subjects of their investigations are contrasted with those of their contemporaries, many of whom saw Bushman as scarcely human. Modern interpretations of rock art are covered in several papers and the exploitation of Bushman art as themes for commercial purposes is contrasted with the original purpose of the paintings. The tragic history of the extermination of the Cape San and the death of their language is the theme of parallel texts and papers. Cultural aspects of Bushman life are revealed in studies of both music and religion.

Several authors focus on the image of the Bushman as revealed in literature, showing how this impacts upon readers and may create distorted perceptions of the true nature of Bushman society and culture. The misuse of human remains, which have been callously displayed in museums worldwide, along with illustrations and texts, which reveal an obsession with San physical characteristics, are symptomatic of the way these people have been mistreated over the centuries by those with whom they have been in contact.

SNV/Netherlands Development Organisation (1993)

Remote Area Core Programme. Basarwa Strategy Paper.

Gaborone: SNV/Botswana Publications. 48 p.

This strategy document gives an analysis of the situation in Botswana and the Government of Botswana's policy, and defines development objectives and strategies for support to the Basarwa on the basis of this analysis.

SNV has chosen the Basarwa as its target group, feeling that the gap between policies and the actual situation is more distinct and discomfiting with the Basarwa than is the case with other rural poor. Besides being a target group in their own right, suffering from the most extreme poverty, it is expected that potential results for and by Basarwa would benefit others, whereas focusing on poor people generally would probably not benefit Basarwa.

Distinctions are made between various adaptations: on ranches, in wildlife-related settlements, on the fringes of villages, and in some urban areas, - each requiring different development policies. With integration seen as an unavoidable reality, assistance from SNV would emphasise that the process should be on the basis of equity. Integration should not be 'one-sided' (the minority adapting to the majority) but 'double-sided': past and present survival strategies, social structure and cultural values should be recognised in development efforts, serving as the basis for identity and dignity for the Basarwa.

SNV's strategy is characterised as an 'integrated process approach', defining as the main objectives: 1) to strengthen the economic position of the Basarwa; 2) to strengthen Basarwa cultural vitality and to aid in identity-building; 3) to strengthen social emancipation and political mobilisation through awareness raising; and 4) to strengthen the capacity of Basarwa women to increase their self-reliance. The strategy is further elaborated in four regional programmes, for Ghanzi, Kgalagadi-North, Ngamiland and Boteti.

Suzman, James (1995)***In the margins. A qualitative examination of the status of farm workers in the commercial and communal farming areas of the Omaheke Region.*****Windhoek: Legal Assistance Centre. 64 p.**

This report is based on conversations and interviews with farmers and workers in the northern Omaheke District, and aims at highlighting some of the issues that affect farm workers' lives. In the area, Nama/Damara speakers comprise some 50% of the workforce, the Ju/'hoansi 27%, and the remaining are Owambo, Kavango and Herero.

Conditions on commercial farms, mainly white-owned, have changed after Independence, but the farms are still seen as authoritarian and paternalistic institutions in which the farmer (*baas*) stand as the locus of authority. Communal farm areas are characterised by economically active and very mobile cattle owners, who depend on a lower tier of seasonal farm workers.

Payment and working conditions reflect an ethnic hierarchy with the Ju/'hoansi, who are extremely low paid and under very insecure working conditions, at the bottom. Inequalities are justified by employers using ethnic stereotypes, characterising the lowest paid as culturally inferior (*dom*) and unreliable. Individual coping strategies among farm workers are based on a large extent of mobility, seeking out the best possible short or long term economic work conditions, which again reinforces stereotypes of unreliability. Improvements in their conditions require government policies (resettlement schemes), stricter implementation of the Labour Act of 1992, and education and awareness raising among the marginalised sections of the farmworkers.

Suzman, James (2000)***"Things from the Bush": A contemporary History of the Omaheke Ju/'hoansi*****P Schlettwein Publishing, Basel. 196 p.**

In this book, which is the result of eighteen months fieldwork on the white-owned commercial farms and former "native reserves" of the Omaheke, the author examines the processes involved in the construction and articulation of contemporary Ju/'hoan identity. The central argument of the book is that Ju/'hoan identity is constituted, not in terms of cultural institutions left over from their hunting and gathering past, but in terms of their conceptual marginalisation and domination by others. In contrast to other ethnographies of San peoples this book focuses on San that have not depended on hunting and gathering for at least a generation.

The first part of the book examines the historical processes that resulted in Ju/'hoan marginalisation in Namibia's Omaheke with a particular focus on the role of white farmers and Herero in this process. The second part of this book examines contemporary Ju/'hoan identity in the light of an examination of religious practice, folklore, kinship and historical process.

Thoma, Axel and Piek, Janine (1997)***Customary law and traditional authority of the San.*****University of Namibia: Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS)****Paper No. 36, 92 p.**

The first part of this report gives the results of a field survey, which investigated the traditional authorities, and customary law of the San of Western Bushmanland. Part two reports on a workshop held at Mangetti, Otjozondjupa Region, 5-8 March 1996, on traditional authority, in light of the Traditional Authorities Act of 1995.

The preface refers to the two San Regional Conferences on Development Programmes for Africa's San Populations, noting the recommendations which included enhancing education; strengthening communication; securing access to land and natural resources and promoting culture and awareness of identity. It was in response to these demands that CASS, together with WIMSA, set up a programme to carry out research and civic education for the whole of Western Bushmanland and to assist in the establishment of an income-generating project for the people of the Omatako Valley.

Data collected during the field survey detail specific areas in each of the ten communities visited. These include: the people, their origin and mother tongue, leadership structures, family structure and inheritance process, land ownership, land-use and sharing of resources, traditional court processes and views on

restructuring traditional authority. The survey revealed the communities' awareness of the necessity to establish a leadership structure in order to control the invasion of pastoralists into their environment, and to develop mechanisms to unite relatively fast growing communities. Although most communities preferred their traditional process of reaching decisions by consensus, they realise the significance of the concept of representation in relation to the outside world, in particular the government.

Arising from the survey, a workshop was held where San representatives shared their concepts of traditional authority and customary law. Suggestions were made regarding a leadership structure for San in Bushmanland, and representation to the Council of Traditional Leaders was discussed.

Tobias, P.V. (1998)

"Myths and misunderstandings about Khoisan identities and status". In A. Bank (ed) *Proceedings of the Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference held in Cape Town, July, 1997.*

University of Western Cape, Inst. of Historical Research. 19-29 pp.

This is the keynote address to the conference in Cape Town, and it deals with various myths and misunderstandings about the Khoisan identity and status. Tobias looks at the origins of the names 'Khoikhoi', 'San' and 'Khoisan' and notes the current use of the latter term by groups such as the Khoisan Representative Council. He deals in turn with a series of misapprehensions about the genetic inheritance of the San, their supposed Asian origin and the notion that they are physiologically adapted to life in desert conditions and that their numbers are declining, all of which have been disproved by recent research. Refers to prejudiced early descriptions of Khoisan languages thought to be extremely primitive and even animal-like, and shows that in reality, these languages are highly complex and utilise an extremely wide range of speech sounds.

The misapprehensions of earlier researchers as to the nature and purpose of rock art are examined and contrasted to modern research that has revealed the breadth, subtly an interrelatedness of San thought. Points out that modern archaeological research suggest that the transition from a foraging to a pastoralist's life-style has occurred repeatedly in the past.

Tobias concludes by referring to the pioneering efforts of the Kgalagadi Research Committee between 1957 and 1975 and the many subsequent research efforts of Japanese, American, and European. He expresses the hope that the conference will succeed in throwing light on various aspects of Khoisan life and the problems about which both the public and government should be aware.

Valient-Noialles, C. (1993)

The Kua: Life and soul of the Central Kalahari Bushmen.

Rotterdam: Balkema. 243 p.

This book is based on research carried out in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve between 1977 and 1990. The name 'Kua' in the title is the term of self-designation for some people within and east of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve who belong to the Central Khoesan linguistic group.

The book provides a general introduction to Botswana, to the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, to Bushman culture, and to linguistics. It gives an account of the methodology employed and the material collected, which include a great number of photographs and films, tape recordings of dialogue and music, plant materials and information on their use, as well as some 100 artifacts. The major part of the book concentrates upon the social life of the Kua, their mythology and religious beliefs, hunting methods, such arts as the designs engraved on ostrich egg shells and decorations on traditional dress and personal ornaments, and songs and musical instruments. The book also pays attention to the interaction between Kua and people of other groups such as the Bakgalagadi.

Conducted at a time of change in the lives of the Kua, the research reveals the changes brought about by mining activities in the CKGR. The author also discusses the problem of the proposed resettlement of CKGR people away from the area where they have lived for generations and where their ancestors are buried.

Vierich, Helga (1982)

“Adaptive flexibility in a multi-ethnic setting: the Basarwa of the southern Kalahari.” In Leacock and Lee, eds: *Politics and history in band societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 213-222 pp.

This paper is based on a regional survey among the Basarwa in Botswana, covering much of the southeastern Kalahari. The author notes that out of a multi-ethnic population of about 10,000, there were found to be over 2,000 people doing a substantial amount of hunting and gathering and most of these were Basarwa. The paper tries to assess the degree of economic change among these Basarwa, basing the assessment on such things as livestock ownership, growing of crops, employment on cattle-posts and agricultural lands, incidence of mine labour, and frequency of hunting and gathering activities. To supplement this information, Vierich looked at inventories of belongings, and examined what kind of food they were eating. She also looked at the type of buildings and other structures, which provide information on whether they were storing food, and investing in more permanent structures. Looked at the overall settlement pattern in relation to the distribution of different areas of land use within the region. In terms of social criteria, looked at evidence of acculturation, such as the degree of fluency in the dominant Bantu languages, the presence of a Bantu name, and the number of actual intermarriages with Bantu groups.

The author notes that these measures of acculturation did not always coincide with the degree of economic change. What appeared at first to be an unbroken continuum of adaptations from hunting and gathering to heavy dependency on agriculture and pastoralism, emerged as four major clusters of adaptive strategies: a) a classic hunting and gathering strategy; b) a basically hunting and gathering subsistence, seasonally supplemented with agricultural and livestock products; c) a mixed strategy involving roughly equal inputs from pastoralism and agriculture and hunting and gathering; and d) a pattern in which agriculture and pastoralism provide the majority, if not all, of the subsistence.

White, Hylton (1995)

In the tradition of the forefathers. Bushman traditionality at Kagga Kamma. University of Cape Town Press. 60 p.

This short book traces the background of a group of some 30 Bushmen of =Khomani origin, who settled in 1991 at Kagga Kamma, a nature reserve in the Western Cape of South Africa, and who exhibit themselves to tourists. The commercial presentation of this group as ‘authentic’ hunter-gatherer Bushmen has been noted - and criticised - by many, as cashing in on prevailing stereotypes of the Bushmen as untouched and pristine people living in harmony with nature.

The author, however, documents the group’s own commitment to ‘Bushman-ness’, and what they call “Bushman work”. A detailed analysis of the interaction between this group and the encompassing society follows them from their domicile in Northern Cape, where a number of communal reserves were set aside for ‘coloured’ occupation in the 1930s; through a period from 1937 to the early 1970s when they enjoyed the limited hunting rights in the Kalahari Gemsbok Park. After they were expelled from the park they pursued a rather unstable adaptation as herders and waged workers for Bastards and as clients for shifting white patrons, leading eventually to their recruitment by the owners of Kagga Kamma as resident Bushmen.

These changing fortunes have left the group in a situation of extreme vulnerability, where they find a solution in embracing traditional icons of Bushman-ness, thus linking themselves to the “tradition of the forefathers”, not only as a commercial gimmick, but also as an element of identity management. They contrast their sense of historical connection with their ancestors, to the Bastards whom they perceive as having lost their language, culture and their distinct identity.

In seeing the Bushmen’s expressions of identity as a reaction to dispossession and wage labour, and as a strategic response to opportunities of patronage based on the global interest in images of ‘traditional’ Bushmen, the author shows that there is a remarkable congruence between the park management and the resident Bushmen in conveying this picture of pristine hunter-gatherers to the tourists, *but for entirely opposite reasons*. The author is clear in his description of economic exploitation, that leave the Bushmen with no cash remuneration, no long term security, and free but dismal accommodation in exchange for their services. The group is equally clear in expressing a wish to perform as they are doing at Kagga Kamma, but on their own land, i.e. to establish an independent tourist venture in which the Bushmen themselves will reap the economic benefits of cultural commodification.

Wilmsen, Edwin N. (1989)

***Land filled with flies: A political economy of the Kalahari.*
Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 402 p.**

The book provides a full-length exposition of the 'revisionist' position on the Kalahari San. The author states that the book is 'not ethnography', but examines current anthropological studies in an attempt to place the Kalahari San-speakers in their historical and economic context. Using nineteenth century historical material, colonial reports and correspondences, and other seldom cited references, a case is made for a Kalahari past characterised by extensive trade relations among the various groups resident there. Based on data on ecology, nutrition, kinship and labour relations, the author argues that San people have, over centuries, been systematically excluded from the larger regional political economy. Increasing marginalisation of San-speakers and their inclusion in an underclass in the wider Tswana-speaking society is seen as resulting from the destruction of wildlife through hunting using modern weapons and the rinderpest epidemic of the late nineteenth century. The possibilities of trade and keeping of cattle being drastically reduced, the economic position of the San-speakers worsened considerably, and San dispossession and underclass status were perpetuated.

In addition to looking at historical records from the past, the policies towards San-speakers during the post-Independence period in modern Botswana are considered, noting that misconceptions regarding the nature of San society can partly be attributed to ethnographic models and false perceptions derived from the colonial era.

Wily, Elizabeth (1979)

Official policy towards San (Bushmen) hunter-gatherers in modern Botswana, 1966-1978. Working Paper, No. 23, University of Botswana/NIR, 222 p.

This is a report on the period from 1974 to 1978 when a Bushman Development Programme was in operation in Botswana, later to be renamed and changed into a Remote Area Development Programme. The author was the first Bushmen Development Officer, and was herself rather instrumental in getting the programme started.

The objectives were to "foster the self reliance and development of Bushmen citizens, and to facilitate their integration with the wider society of Botswana" and this was to be achieved by the extension of existing rural development projects and the implementation of new projects.

The point of departure for the programme was the problematic situation in Ghanzi, where the fertile land along the Ghanzi ridge had been allocated (from early in this century) to individual owners on the basis of freehold tenure, leaving the Naro with no rights to use or live on the land, as they were squatters who might be removed at the owners will. At the outset, a programme to assist the Bushmen in Ghanzi was seen as politically acceptable because the freehold leases had been granted by the former colonial government, the farms were owned for the most part by Boers, and there was land available elsewhere for resettlement. When it was recognised that the socio-economic problems of the Ghanzi Farms labourers and squatters were in no way restricted to this particular district, it was no longer seen as politically expedient to define the target group as 'Bushmen'.

Wily describes how the first period of the programme was a balancing act between seeking strategies that might enhance Bushman emancipation, while at the same time trying to deal with the unwillingness within the implementing ministry to initiate any activities perceived to favour one group specifically, and the frequent accusations that any policy towards the Bushmen meant 'separate development' and echoed the 'apartheid' system in South Africa.

Efforts by the Bushman Development Officer to use existing mechanisms to obtain access to land and water failed to get sufficient support within the ministry, and the programme was changed to the current Remote Area Development Programme, with an emphasis on welfare more than on empowerment.

Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) (1996)
Report on the San Conference hosted by the WIMSA, Gross Barmen 8-12 September 1996. Windhoek.

This conference brought together 12 delegates from Botswana, 14 from Namibia and 3 from South Africa. Separate discussions of the country groups and ensuing plenary deliberations revealed the commonalities and

differences between the various San communities. The most important common issue identified was access to and control of land, followed by the necessity of a San leadership structure and efficient communication between government officials and the San communities.

The most significant country-specific constraints in Botswana include the fear of the possible relocation of the people of the CKGR, the government's lack of commitment to participatory development planning and poverty elimination strategies, and the absence of representative San leadership that could speak for all San language-communities in Botswana.

The South African delegates identified as their specific difficulties the lack of respect towards San, the lack of identification documents and the insufficient provision of qualified translators in official meetings.

The delegates from Namibia recognised as their country's specific problems the condition of the San farm labourers, obstacles for elderly San people to obtain their pensions, lack of access to government officials, lack of transport, and unemployment.

The objective of WIMSA/Botswana to be a networking organisation, facilitating communication between San organisations and the Government of Botswana as well as with other groups and organisations, was noted. The report describes WIMSA activities, including the history of how it came to be established, its structure, the constraints it faces and its future tasks. It summarises the discussion on tourism held by the delegates from Namibia and South Africa, with suggestions as to how San communities should plan to benefit from tourism.

Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) (1999) Report on Activities, April 1998 to March 1999. Windhoek. 62 p.

WIMSA was established in 1996 to serve the San in South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe, to provide a platform for the communities to express their problems, needs and concerns. WIMSA is required to advocate and lobby for San rights, to establish a network for information exchange among San communities and other concerned parties, and to provide training and advice to San communities on tourism, integrated development projects and land tenure.

A regional WIMSA office was established in Windhoek. The regional WIMSA office is facilitating processes for San groups in Angola, South Africa and Namibia, and works together with the South African San Institute and WIMSA/Botswana on regional issues. WIMSA/Botswana is working in close cooperation with the Kuru Development Trust in Botswana, and is also aiming to assist San communities in Zambia and Zimbabwe.

During its first year, the regional WIMSA focused attention on the specific problems of the Namibian San communities of the Kxoe in Western Caprivi, the !Kung in formerly western Bushmanland, the Ju/'hoansi in the Omaheke region, the Hai//om near the Etosha National Game Park, the South African =Khomani community in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, and the development programme of the !Xu and Khwe Trust,. WIMSA also initiated preparatory steps for work to be done in Angola.

During the same period WIMSA/Botswana developed what it calls the Community-Owned Development Strategy, which implies that interest groups should organise themselves, accumulate their own development capital through savings and loans schemes, and improve their skills.

Main activities during 1998 into 1999 focused several interrelated sectors.

1. *Education and training.* Activities related to training have included on-the-job training of Namibian WIMSA San counterpart trainees, training within the Community-owned Development Strategy in Botswana, several training exercises related to tourism, and participation in conferences. A special focus has been on conditions for education for San children, and an Oral Testimony
2. 2) Institutional capacity building has focused on the recognition and training of traditional leaders, and participation in a number of international meetings and conferences: First African Indigenous Women's conference (Morocco); 16th session of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (Geneva) including a Workshop on Tourism and Indigenous People and Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordination meeting; Indigenous Peoples' Consultation on Empowerment, Culture and Spirituality in Community Development (Shakawe); and a Conference on Indigenous Peoples from Eastern, Central and Southern Africa (Arusha)
3. WIMSA has assisted in development planning, particularly the development of tourism enterprises that may benefit the San

4. Another important area for WIMSA engagement is land and natural resources, where WIMSA has assisted in registrations and consultations for the Nyae Nyae Conservancy and N=ǀa Jaqna Conservancy, Namibia, =Khomani land claim, RSA, the Central Kalahari Game Reserve Issue in Botswana and the uncertain situation for San in Angola.

Human rights issues are reflected in the participation in a Southern African Human Rights NGO Network, the initiatives taken for a Regional Assessment of the Situation of the San People in Southern Africa, which has been commissioned and funded by EU, and the situation of Kxoe refugees from Caprivi. The report emphasises the networking function of WIMSA, noting its links with support groups working with San, with the EU, with government ministries and the media. The following organisations (NGOs and CBOs) are members of WIMSA:

- *Botswana:* Maiteko Tsharagano Development Trust, D'Kar Village Organisation, Kuru Development Trust, First People of the Kalahari, Groot Lagte Village Organisation, West Hanahai Village Organisation, Dobe Village organisation, Tshobokwane Village Organisation, Qoshe Village Organisation.
- *Namibia:* West Caprivi development Trust, Nyae Nyae Conservancy, Omatako Valley Rest Camp Committee, Sonneblom/Donkerbos Committee, Hai//om Development Trust II, Tsintsabis San Committee, San Project Committee in Western Kavango.
- *South Africa:* !Xú and Khwe Trust, Southern Kalahari San Association.

!Xú and Khwe Trust (1996)

Development Programme of the !Xú and Khwe Communities at Schmidtsdrift.

Kimberley: South Africa. 15 p.

This document sets out the development objectives and lists the needs for assistance of the !Xú and Khwe Trust. The Trust assumed responsibility in November 1993 for the further development and guidance of the San community located at Schmidtsdrift, Northern Cape.

Some 3000 !Xú and 1000 Khwe, comprising former South African Defence Force soldiers, many originating from Angola, and their dependants, were evacuated from Namibia to South Africa in March 1990. They make up the world's largest San community, eking out a meagre existence as virtual refugees in a provisional tent camp, separated from family in Namibia and with no clear rights as citizens in their new country. They depend on a dominant military culture, described as paternalistic and insensitive, and are discouraged by numerous unfulfilled promises or rumours of repatriation or possibilities for employment. In 1994 the SADF unilaterally decided to withdraw funding of all social development programmes for the community. The report describes the resulting situation as one of low morale, poor self-esteem and a general state of insecurity and uprootedness, with a coming generation of youths lacking visible male role models other than disbanded and disillusioned ex-soldiers.

The Trust is composed of 10 elected !Xú and Khwe representatives, and 10 resource persons from different professions. The objectives of the Trust are to assist the entire San community, promote their interests towards independent decision-making, preservation of identity, improvement of quality of life, and financial independence.

The development priorities are first and foremost to secure land for permanent settlement, provide funding for training and empowerment programmes, and introduce economic programmes that may increase self-reliance.

In 1996 the !Xú and Khwe were awarded the rights to collectively own and settle on the farm Platfontein near Kimberley. The purchase of the farm has been characterised by delays and stalled negotiations. After almost ten years the !Xú and Khwe are still waiting to resettle on land where they plan to build permanent structures.

APPENDIX F

ACP-EU JOINT ASSEMBLY

ACP-EU 1736/96/fin

RESOLUTION²

on the San People

The ACP-EU Joint Assembly,

- meeting in Windhoek (Namibia) from 18 to 22 March 1996,

- A. aware that the largest surviving remnant of the San people is contained within five territories of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Zambia,
- B. mindful of the special difficulties encountered in integrating hunting-and gathering peoples within agricultural-industrial States,
- C. noting the lack of accurate overall information on the present condition and prospects of the San in all five territories,
- D. noting that the EU has in the past afforded support to projects concerning San,
 - 1. Requests the Commission to undertake a comprehensive study of the San people in relation to their countries of abode in the light of international conventions;
 - 2. Requests a report to be presented to the next session of the Joint Assembly for its consideration.
 - 3. Instructs its Co-Presidents to forward this resolution to the ACP-EU Council

² Adopted by the ACP-EU Joint Assembly in Windhoek, Namibia, on 22 March 1996.

APPENDIX G

Terms of Reference for *A Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa*

1. Introduction

Following a resolution passed at the 22nd session of the APC-EU Joint Assembly in March 1996, noting “the special difficulties encountered in integrating hunting-and-gathering peoples within agricultural-industrial States” and calling for a “comprehensive study of the San people... in the light of international conventions”, the WIMSA coordinator prepared a detailed Project Proposal for a regional study. At the request of the European Commission, Sidsel Saugestad, Associate Professor, University of Tromsø, prepared an inception report, which was later approved in principle by the EU. The following terms of Reference specify the objectives, activities and expected outputs of the Assessment.

2. Background to the assessment

San communities in Southern Africa are still facing marginalisation and discrimination in terms of access to information, fair remuneration and treatment as a people. They struggle to obtain rights to land and natural resources, they try to be recognised as partners in negotiations with government or private industry, desire culturally appropriate school curricula and mother tongue education, and they request some measure of self-direction in their development projects.

Two *Regional Conferences on Development Programmes for Africa’s San Populations* have not been followed up by appropriate policy measures to ensure equity in development. A number of international conventions and declarations testify to a growing concern in the international community for the position of indigenous peoples, and the relevance of this process for Southern Africa needs to be considered.

3. Objectives of the Assessment

The overall objectives of the Assessment are to:

- strengthen the opportunity for San people in Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe to define and achieve their own development objectives,
- increase the participation of San people in political decision making,
- provide comprehensive and up-to-date information for use by the various stakeholders in San matters (politicians, governments, NGOs, parastatals), and,
- enhance the potential beneficial impact of the various international declarations and conventions on human rights and indigenous peoples on policies in the region.

For this purpose, to:

- undertake a comprehensive study of human rights and socio-economic situation of the San peoples in Southern Africa in relation to their countries of abode, and in the light of international conventions, for presentation to the ACP-EU Joint Assembly.

4. Activities

The following activities will be carried out under the direction of the Legal Assistance Centre of Namibia (LAC) in order to achieve the objectives and purpose of the Assessment:

- 4.1 Research into the present human rights and socio-economic situation of all San people in Southern Africa.
- 4.2 A comparative analysis of government development policies, their implementation and impact for San people.
- 4.3 An assessment of the legal position of the San people in the light of both municipal and international law.
- 4.4 An analysis of programmes and effectiveness of CBOs, NGOs and university based institutions involved in San development.
- 4.5 Based upon the above, to make recommendations in order to advance the human rights and socio-economic situation of the San.

5. Guiding Principle

In determining the priorities for the Assessment, prime consideration shall be afforded to the needs and the interests of the San.

6. Management of the Assessment

- 6.1 The LAC shall appoint an advisory group with representatives from Namibia Botswana and South Africa.
- 6.2 The LAC, together with the advisory group, shall be responsible for the successful management and completion of the entire Assessment.
- 6.3 The LAC shall in consultation with the advisory group
 - 6.3.1 engage a coordinating consultant as well as other sub-consultants in Namibia, Botswana and South Africa, as required;
 - 6.3.2 in consultation with the coordinating consultant, determine and approve priority time-frames and specific tasks;
 - 6.3.3 ensure effective budgetary control over the Assessment, with flexibility within agreed parameters.

7. Research procedures

- 7.1 Country studies will be undertaken in each country, on the basis of which a regional picture will be generated.
- 7.2 In-depth studies of select issues.
- 7.3 Identification and recommendation for empowerment strategies.
- 7.4 Identification and recommendation for development projects.
- 7.5 Publications and dissemination of results

8. Anticipated outputs

- 8.1 A series of comprehensive regional reports on the human rights and socio-economic position of the San People in Southern Africa.
- 8.2 A series of issue-oriented publications based on the regional reports and studies of select issues, suitable to reach politicians, San communities, NGOs, CBOs and other role-players.
- 8.3 A series of bi-annual progress reports, detailing plans, progress and identifying sub-contractors and other role-players.
- 8.4 Enhanced networking and co-operation between the San and role players in the field of San development and Human Rights.
- 8.5 Enhanced capacity of the San to articulate and advance their rights.

9. Timeframe

It is anticipated that the Assessment shall commence on 1. October 1998 and shall be completed within a period of 24 months.

10. Human resources

10.1 Co-ordinating consultant: one person fully employed for a 15 month period. To be recruited by, and based at, the Legal Assistance Centre.

The Co-ordinator shall have

- relevant research experience in social science and indigenous issues,
- experience in consultancies,
- work experience from San areas
- speak at least one Khoesan language, and preferably also Afrikaans.

10.2 Sub-contractors should demonstrate previous experiences with indigenous peoples, relevant literature, analysis and field investigations in the region.

APPENDIX H

Consultants and research teams for *A Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa*

Project Co-ordinator

Dr James Suzman

Botswana

Prof. K. Good (Dept of Politics University of Botswana)

Dr Isaac Mazonde (Head of the National Institute for Research, University of Botswana and Chair of the Basarwa Research Committee)

Ms R Rivers

Ms L Cassidy

Namibia

Dr James Suzman

Ms Silke Felton (University of Namibia)

Dr Matthias Brenzinger (University of Cologne)

South Africa

Dr Steven Robins (University of Western Cape)

Angola and Zambia

Dr Matthias Brenzinger (University of Koln)

Zimbabwe

Elias Madzudzo (Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe)

Specialists (gender)

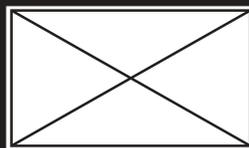
Dr Heike Becker (University of the Western Cape)

Ms Silke Felton

At the 22nd Session of the ACP-EU Joint Assembly held in Windhoek, Namibia, in March 1996, a resolution was passed recognising “the special difficulties encountered in integrating hunting and gathering peoples in agricultural industrial states”, and noting “the lack of accurate overall information on the present condition and prospects of San”. The European Commission was consequently requested to undertake “a comprehensive study of the San people ... in the light of international conventions”. To this end a series of studies was conducted among San populations throughout the southern African region over the period 1999-2000 as part of a project titled *Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa*. This publication is one of five reports produced under the project.

Reports on the *Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa*:

- ***An Introduction to the Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa***
– James Suzman (ISBN 99916-765-3-8)
- ***An Assessment of the Status of the San in South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe***
– Steven Robins, Elias Madzudzo and Matthias Brenzinger (ISBN 99916-765-4-6)
- ***An Assessment of the Status of the San in Botswana***
– Lin Cassidy, Ken Good, Isaac Mazonde and Roberta Rivers (ISBN 99916-765-2-X)
- ***An Assessment of the Status of the San in Namibia***
– James Suzman (ISBN 99916-765-61-1)
- ***A Gender Perspective on the Status of the San in Southern Africa***
– Silke Felton and Heike Becker (ISBN 99916-765-4-6)



Legal Assistance Centre