

## **14.1 Research and Activism among the Kalahari san today: Ideals, Challenges and Debates : Anthropology and the San – Research and Social Change**

### **16187 - Theory and practice in San Research**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** Saugestad, Sidsel (IAS, University of Tromsø/Arctic University of Norway, Tromsø, Norway / Norwegen)

Theory and practice. This paper will discuss the tenuous relationship between research and social impact. Recently, some authors have questioned the idea of 'engaged' research from a number of perspectives. Sylvain (American Anthropologist 2014) expresses concern that too close engagement with San issues has gotten in the way of theory building, while Nyamnjoh (unpublished 2014) decries the 'Evangelizing Public Anthropology' of Africa. Martin and Flynn (Anthropology today 2015) ask 'Anthropological theory and engagement: A zero-sum game?' (they answer in the negative). This implied dichotomy may be useful for some analyses. . This paper, however, questions it, arguing that in practical terms, it is not possible to do engaged anthropology without using theory; as a value statement it can simultaneously be argued that theory should be combined with engagement. Such deliberations are of current relevance for research among the Kalahari San, where interest from researchers and students (mostly from abroad) is considerable, but the social impact is weak. This paper will ask: what type(s) of research is needed in order to have a (potentially beneficial) impact on public attitudes, and policy making concerning the San? The different but potentially complementary role of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' will be discussed, and examples drawn from the role of institutions of higher education in the region, and their relationship to San organisations or communities, government, non-government organisations and donors.

## **16462 - An Archaeology of relevance: Empowering Communities through Archaeological Research and Heritage Management in Botswana**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *MOOKETSI, Cynthia, Botswana; Ndobochani, Nonofho; Mulau, Mulalu (Botswana)*

San communities in Botswana are the most scientifically researched and economically marginalised. The approach to research on the San, as in most African societies has been to use methods and theories that are not entirely sensitive to the indigenous knowledge. The indigenous knowledge is usually used as a small component of the larger research methodology and thus made to fit in with the rest of methods and theory of scholars' choice. As such, researchers have been the major beneficiaries of the knowledge about the San communities while these communities have reaped very little from this process. Our study contends that while the concept of community empowerment is not a new phenomenon in Botswana, it can be addressed more successfully if decision making and policies are based on research. We call for a relook at the concept of empowerment, and that it can be addressed effectively if the affected communities are engaged at all stages of the process. Using archaeological research and heritage management as a platform, and taking Tsodilo as a case study, we demonstrate how empowerment can be improved by engaging the affected community in strategies that are based on research. We seek to address this by conduction research where the community is seen as equal partners in the process. As we conduct fieldwork we also hold skills training workshops that improve the skills of the researchers and the San communities that we would be working with.

## 16168 - On the G|ui Experience of 'Being Hunted': An analysis of oral discourses on the man-killing by lions

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** Sugawara, Kazuyoshi (*Professor Emeritus, Kyoto University, Otsu-shi, Austria / Österreich*)

“Since old days, we had encountered the lion, and lived in the same land. We (the people and the lion) were created together. We cannot fear it.” This discourse of a G|ui old man, objecting against the relocation program implemented in 1997 by the Botswana government, provides us with a clue for reconsidering human/animal relationship in the recent socio-political context in the Central Kalahari. From 1982 to 2014, I carried out 23 occasions of fieldwork among the G|ui San both at the Xade settlement in CKGR, and at a relocated village, Kx'oensakene (New Xade). One important aspect of this longstanding investigation is to illuminate the habitual thought and practices of the G|ui toward animals. This presentation focuses on the dread of paa-xo (bite-thing) whose prototype is the set of harmful animals such as lions, leopards, poisonous snakes and poisonous arthropods. I shall pay especial attention on three incidents of man-killing by the lion that occurred before 1970s. The narrators interpreted that the two of them were caused by the ‘curse’ (|xoi) of a particular woman. This interpretation correlated with an enigmatic concept cima that may imply the dark side of the circuits of corporeal syntony spreading over not only inter-personal relationships, but also invisible interactions among humans, animals and things. It is also to be emphasized that, in an encounter with the lion in daytime, the G|ui tried to negotiate with this overwhelming ‘other’, projecting some communicative expectation toward them. In the recent context of modernization, I found that an intelligent adolescent man who has enjoyed higher education at Gaborone (capital of Botswana) felt it quite difficult to intelligibly explain various beliefs concerning ‘supernatural’ agency that had been prevalent among elder generations. In spite of this, he spontaneously associated these beliefs with women’s curse that had caused attacks by the lion. This point suggests that those in younger generation may still keep the sense of discerning some family resemblance among diverse incidents that are symptomatic of invisible agents. Human vulnerability to the paa-xo animals that had been the most fundamental condition of the nomadic life has rapidly lost its reality and relevance for the settlement life. However, if the G|ui of younger generation keep remembering that the human being (khoe) has an equal relationship with the animal in that he not only hunts it but also sometimes is hunted by it, they would obtain valuable epistemological resource for holding and renovating the unique view of the world that had been fostered in hunting/gathering way of life.

## **15830 - Fresh Field data from work among the Hai||om and !Xun of Tsinsabis and Ekoka**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Goodwin, Charlie (University of Cologne, Köln, Germany / Deutschland)*

Following twelve months of research (September 2014 - September 2015) among Hai||om and !Xun San groups at the field sites of Ekoka and Tsinsabis in North Eastern Namibia, I will present here fresh data concerning the transmission of folk knowledge among these groups in an increasingly rapidly-changing environment. Working under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Thomas Widlok and Prof. Dr. Michael Bollig at the University of Cologne as part of the E3 branch of the SFB806 "Our Way to Europe" project, these findings will contribute to the modelling of the mobility of ancient hunter-gatherers, as well as being useful for analysis of different "theatres" of folk knowledge transmission. With the theme of "forager failure" in mind, these findings will illustrate some of the many challenges involved in life for Kalahari San people across multiple environments, as well as the challenges involved in conducting research on what the author has termed "folk knowledge" in these environments. Data on memories, mobility, teaching, taxonomy, gathering and hunting will be presented, as well as some of the possible implications of these findings.

## **16212 - Higher Education, Social Innovation, Indigenous San people & realization of Knowledge economy**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Bolaane, Maitseo (San Research Centre, University of Botswana, Botswana); Mazonde, Isaac (San Research Centre, University of Botswana, Botswana)*

The aim of this paper is to generate a debate on the role of Universities in facilitating social innovation and inclusive development to improving the livelihood of the indigenous and marginalized people. This study presents an analysis of a case study in which the University of Botswana interacted with marginalised communities to address knowledge economy. Since its official inauguration, the San Research Centre is gradually being associated with the University of Botswana 'social responsiveness' and 'community engagement' which is outlined in the institution's policy and strategy documents, particularly the Strategy for Excellence . The Centre was established specifically for the purpose of engagement with the underprivileged community. Engagement took several forms ranging from scholarships for the youth, advocating for San rights and working with different San groups to assist them to speak up for their rights . The study highlights the university as an 'actor' in the innovation system 'engaging' the marginalized community within a local context. On the other hand the 'community' acts as 'participants' and 'drivers' of the innovation process for inclusive development. The study identifies enablers and constraints in the process of engagement with indigenous people of Botswana.

## **14.2 Research and Activism among the Kalahari san today: Ideals, Challenges and Debates : Education – Crisis and Opportunity**

### **15944 - Nyae Nyae Village Schools Project: 1990-2015**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** Heckler, Melissa (*Kalahari Peoples Fund, Cross River, New York, USA*)

The Nyae Nyae Village Schools Project began in 1990 under a small thorn tree in /Aotcha, Namibia. The initial goal was to introduce Ju|'hoan children, in their mother tongue, to literacy, numeracy, and the lesson oriented structure of a public school day, in order that they would be better prepared to succeed in the government school in Tsumkwe and elsewhere. However, this apparently straightforward goal belied a much more complicated cultural process that was taking place. This paper explores some considerations involved with the transition of Ju|'hoan children to the formal education system, and describes how the Village Schools aimed to address them to support 5 fully functioning Village Schools with Ju|'hoan teachers teaching in Ju|'hoansi. This paper also addresses the many challenges that had to be confronted and challenges that are still addressed daily.

Ju|'hoan traditional educational practices can be described as one of the oldest field-tested curricula on the planet. Ju|'hoansi decision-making process epitomize direct democracy: one person, one vote and group consensus in decision making. The values underlying this system are communicated and practiced from childhood, and form the basis of their educational approach. These include the practice and idea of child autonomy – the importance of this approach in Ju|'hoan culture cannot be over-emphasized. Although this can be a foreign concept to most Western educational practices, it makes logical sense: to be a thriving democracy, a society must give children autonomy to make decisions and experience the consequences. In essence, democracy requires a problem-solving approach to classroom practices.

## **15767 - People of the Eland/People of ELAN:The Ju|'hoan Transcription Group and Ju|'hoan Mother-Tongue Literacy**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** Biesele, Megan (*Kalahari Peoples Fund, Austin, Texas, USA*)

The Nyae Nyae Village Schools Project (VSP) in Namibia, a primary-grade, mother-tongue literacy undertaking, is a community-based project with professional linguistic credentials. Begun in 1990 and ongoing, the VSP made possible the formation of the Ju|'hoan Transcription Group (JTG) in 2002. Local JTG members received computer literacy and transcription training with ELAN software. They participated in the creation of national literacy education curriculum in Namibia as well as Ju|'hoan enrichment materials, drawn from their own traditions, for English-medium schools in the Ju|'hoan speaking area. The JTG provides a case study of a community-based language documentation project that is being used as an example by other San and Khoe language groups in southern Africa. JTG transcribers process, publish, and archive verbal materials ranging from folklore and oral history to political meetings and local creative writing. A growing international reputation has brought them recent work with archaeologists, anthropologists, and filmmakers from around the world. At the same time they are amassing a community archive available to Ju|'hoan-speaking students and their teachers, leaders, and fellow community members.

## **16060 - The constant flow of tears: Rethinking the relationship between the San and the mainstream society**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** Leepang, Tshisimogo (*San Research Centre, Gaborone, Botswana*)

“When I was home during school holidays, I used to study alone at night under the firelight. A candle was a luxury, so I would gather enough firewood for the fire to sustain me all night”

This paper describes the challenges facing San students in Botswana, from the perspective of a San man who originates from the Central Kalahari. Learning in a language that he did not know until he went to school, facing discrimination from school authorities, and lacking role-models of other San from his community who have attained higher education, the author and other San nonetheless navigated the education system to overcome these enormous obstacles; the author went on to get his masters’ degree in linguistics at the University of Botswana. In this paper, the author will describe his experiences, and link them with structural barriers to San children’s participation in Botswana’s schools. These include the restrictive language policy of Botswana, the refusal of the government to recognize the culture and language of San communities, and stigma attached to being San – “Basarwa” – in Botswana. He will also describe his own motivation to succeed – and why it is important that San themselves access tertiary education and study their own languages, cultures, and histories. Furthermore, the author will argue that some NGOs and academics do make an effort to seriously engage the communities in issues that matter most. These circumstances give birth to the “constant flow of tears”. Finally, he will discuss the ways in which non-San researchers can effectively collaborate with San communities and scholars.

## 16243 - Language Documentation as a Key Strategy in the Maintenance and Preservation of Khoisan languages: The case of Naro

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Saul, Isaac (University of Botswana | Master of Arts in African Languages and Literature, Botswana)*

According to Botswana's national language policy, English is the official language; while Setswana is the national language (RNPE, 1984). The other languages in the country, which number about 26, have not been accorded any national or public roles. This has resulted in their marginalization and neglect in public affairs. These languages, termed minority languages, are highly endangered. The situation is even more critical for the 12 or so Khoisan languages, which are most vulnerable due to the small number of their speakers and their historical legacy of domination and discrimination. Hence, many of the Khoisan language speakers are rapidly shifting to Setswana and the other more demographically and socio-economically dominant languages in the country (Batibo, 2005; Trudell 2011).

This paper will examine the various strategies which are being used to promote, maintain and preserve the Khoisan languages in the country. It will argue that the languages with reasonable documentation records, such as Naro and Nama, have given rise to more self-confidence and self-esteem among their speakers, than the less researched languages, like !Xóö, ≠ Hua, Gllana, Glui, Kwedam, Cua, and Tswaa (Batibo & Tsonope 2000). The paper then will discuss the type of documentation which is most appropriate in the empowerment of the Khoisan people in Botswana. It will take Naro as a case study.

Key words:

Khoisan, Language maintenance, Language documentation, Language empowerment, Naro.

## **16061 - Female initiation or school? Negotiating the value of culture in the decision-making process for Ncoakhoe (San) in the Kalahari**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** Lawy, Jenny (*University of Edinburgh, edinburgh, Austria / Österreich*)

This paper addresses advocacy tacit within local cultural practices of Ncoakhoe (San) in Gantsi District, Botswana. It focuses on a female initiation dance, Du Xgo Tcna, which is carried out at a girl's first menstruation and which signifies a transition from girlhood into womanhood. Typically girls are not permitted time off school to attend this ceremony and so parents are forced to choose between either cultural initiation, which affords Ncoakhoe girls status, or school. Typically many girls who have initiation drop out of school soon after which emphasises the importance of the decision making process. Advocacy offers a way out of this conundrum.

In this paper I argue that making a decision about initiation or school strikes at the heart of issue facing Ncoakhoe in Botswana. The assumption is that parents who choose initiation, therefore do not choose schooling and the cultural values and assumptions that are associated with it. However this is an oversimplification. The notion of advocacy recognises this and in the context of this paper, advocacy is about promoting the cultural practice of initiation within the community, while at the same time supporting the child through school.

Drawing on ethnography from my fieldwork (2010-11), parents who are in the fortunate position of having high status in a Ncoakhoe community were able to negotiate time off school for their daughter's initiation ceremony. Theoretically this kind of advocacy can feed back into the wider community however this has not yet happened. This is the challenge for the future; to promote a form of advocacy where all girls are able to undergo the initiation and continue with their school careers.

### **14.3 Research and Activism among the Kalahari san today: Ideals, Challenges and Debates : *Traditional Knowledge in a Modern Economy – Culture and Livelihood Choices for San Communities***

#### **15946 - Performing Our Past to Secure Our Future: A Look at San-Owned Cultural Tourism in the Kalahari**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Giraud, Rachel (California State University, Northridge, Northridge, CA, USA)*

San peoples have long been involved in various forms of cultural tourism. For over a century, they hosted explorers, anthropologists, and leisure tourists who sought to experience firsthand their distinctive cultural practices, languages, and physical appearance. Non-San tourism operators, many of whom employed or even coerced San individuals and families to perform cultural stereotypes, mediated and profited from leisure tourism encounters. Visitors often treated the San as “primitive” objects of fascination to be gazed at and photographed. While these exploitative relationships still occur, there is an important shift in San involvement in cultural tourism. Increasingly, San peoples are participating in their own community-based tourism ventures. Mindful of outsiders’ fascination with their cultural heritage, they are establishing cultural activities and accommodation facilities in order to entertain and educate guests. The San use these projects to take pride in their culture, correct tourists’ misunderstandings about them, and, above all, to earn an income. These tourism projects not only contribute to San livelihoods but also help increase political recognition by governments that support the expansion of national tourism economies. Based on a survey of San-owned cultural tourism projects in Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa, this paper addresses how San peoples exert political agency by commodifying their own identities in the cultural tourism industry. Specifically, it addresses how they engage their “strategic essentialism” by sharing their heritage through cross-cultural encounters with tourists.

## **15808 - The Bushman Brand: Imagery of nature and culture for tourists in neoliberal times**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** Koot, Stasja (*Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, Netherlands / Niederlande*)

Various scholars (Gordon and Douglas 2000; Sylvain 2014) have explained that the primordial image of Bushmen is an important construct that contributes to their contemporary marginalized status. This image perpetuates in the post-independence and post-apartheid contexts of Namibia, South Africa and Botswana, not least in tourism. In this industry, the 'authentic' Bushman image tends to be fortified, growing rapidly as an important drive of neoliberal discourse. This has created a setting where images are commodified more and stronger than ever before. In this paper, I explore how the image of the Bushmen has changed throughout history, where it stands today and what the consequences of this are. Building on literature about the neoliberalization of 'nature' (or Nature Inc.<sup>TM</sup>, e.g. Arsel and Büscher 2012) and 'culture' (or Ethnicity Inc., e.g. Comaroff and Comaroff 2009), I develop the argument that the Bushman image has now become a brand suiting Western ideas about nature and culture evermore. Today Bushmen show a strong dependency upon market forces in tourism and development. This is an uncomfortable contradiction for those working in or supporting tourism (such as the state, NGOs, anthropologists and local farmers). All for their own purposes, they seem to need and use this 'Bushman brand', although they are aware that it distracts from another reality of marginalization. However, all this does not necessarily mean that Bushmen are only victims of more powerful forces in the market; they also show agency and sometimes strengthen their own brand where it suits them.

## **15941 - !Khwa ttu San Museum: the visions, ambitions and challenges for creating a museum with the San**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Low, Chris (Bath Spa University, Bath, Un. Kingdom / Ver Königr.)*

!Khwa ttu is a San Education and Culture Centre 70 km north west of Cape Town. Since its founding in 1999, !Khwa ttu has strived to build a museum as an integral part of its wider strategies for seeking cultural restitution for the San. After two painful false starts planning finally commenced in January 2014. This paper will report on the progress of the museum some nineteen months down the line, now that a solid template exists from which the primary fundraising initiative is being launched. It focuses on the difficulties of achieving cultural restitution through a museum, the challenges of adequately representing an outdoor hunter-gatherer people in the closed environment of a museum and some of the solutions proposed for making the museum truly significant for the San. The paper will be presented by the co-founder of !Khwa ttu, anthropologist Irene M. Staehelin, and Dr Chris Low, co-ordinator of contents and main liaison to San communities and scholars. The plans are presented in a spirit of dialogue and in the hope that issues might be raised that will enhance the planning and future quality and relevance of the museum for the San and visitors and users alike.

## **16185 - Khwe San in the Bwabwata National Park : Education, Tracking, Employment**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Paksi, Attila (University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland / Finland)*

In North-East Namibia, inside the borders of the Bwabwata National Park (BNP) an approximately 6000, mostly Khwe San people live together with the abundant wildlife. As they reside inside a National Park, many livelihood activities are restricted or limited. In terms of their traditional activities, hunting cannot be practiced to provide food for the table. The young generation seemingly has no motivation to learn and carry-on this unique knowledge, as their livelihood no longer depends on it. Although some of the community members found work as rangers in the park, most of the park workers are from other parts of Namibia. The tracking skills could be also useful in the government controlled trophy hunting, but again, only few benefits are going back to the residents of the Park. Before 1990, many Khwe San were employed, but after the South African military pulled out, they were left without work. The community is now organised into a residents' association and they own and manage a quality camp site inside the Park. Still, in total, only 160 members of the community works as paid employees, majority of the people survive on pensions, veldfood collection and food-aid.

The young generation is seeking a way to get employment, by moving away from their traditional tracking knowledge and trying their luck with modern, formal education, in a hope of entering the job market elsewhere. At the same time, the elders would like to motivate the young generation to carry on their traditional tracking skills. The question is how to keep the knowledge alive – how to motivate, empower and make the youth proud of possessing the tracking and hunting skills and all the related knowledge? How to connect it with employment?

One answer might be found in the tracking evaluation system, developed by Louis Liebenberg, which allows for the combination of formal, certificate-based education with traditional tracking knowledge. This is also combined with the cybertracker – a modern digital tool; trials have been carried out to measure the influence and impact on learning. This paper, based on findings from a recent field trip in 2015, will explore these dynamics.

## ##### Tracking in caves - Reading Human Spoor in Ice Age Caves with San Hunters

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s)** *Tilman Lenssen-Erz and Andreas Pastoors*

The old hunting and gathering subsistence of the San and its modern practice for various purposes necessitates a complex network of ecological knowledge which is being activated and kept thriving for example in tracking. This is an ability which is part of an indigenous knowledge that can be valuable also in scholarly research.

Some caves in the French Pyrenees not only preserve rock art from the Late Pleistocene but also human footprints from the same period, representing the most personal marks of individuals from our early ancestors. Despite the unique scope of information these tracks contain they have received rather little research interest and investigations have been restricted to detailed measuring and description. Although real track reading was not among the abilities of the researchers, it was nevertheless speculated that some of the tracks were caused by ritual dances. In order to obtain deeper insights into the information embedded in the spoor, three experienced trackers from the Ju/'hoansi-San in northern Namibia were invited to inspect the 17,000 years old Magdalenian tracks in France. The San hunters' experience-based track reading resulted in a few confirmations and a fair number of 'falsifications' of established hypotheses about the tracks. The initial working hypothesis of this research project that indigenous knowledge of tracking can provide prehistoric archaeology with new insights, was verified in each of the four investigated caves.

In close cooperation with the Ju/'hoan Transcription Group further research will systematize the investigations on tracks, leading trackers to larger fields of spoor, and will also systematically explore linguistic and methodological elements of tracking in order to appraise its epistemological status as an heuristic method. In the long run archaeology may broaden its methodological spectrum with indigenous knowledge since there are many spheres of prehistoric research where we as western scientists try to read and understand phenomena in which we are in fact 'illiterates'. Collaboration with people who can read tracks as surely as Westerners read books and graphs marks an exciting start to the process of combining two different 'knowledge cultures' in a single epistemological practice.

## **14.4 Research and Activism among the Kalahari san today: Ideals, Challenges and Debates : *Land and Politics – Sedentarization, livelihood and rights***

### **16178 - Sedentarization among nomadic San hunter-gatherers in Central Botswana**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Ikeya, Kazunobu (National Museum of Ethnology, Suita, Japan)*

Most hunter-gatherers have been forced to sedentarize for various reasons during the past centuries. The end of nomadism might come soon throughout the world. This paper will specifically address nomadic hunter-gatherers in the Kalahari deserts with regard to sedentism. I will focus on diverse social histories of San camps and San-Kgalagadi settlements inside Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana for the past 100 years. The comparative studies of sedentarization among the varieties of nomadic peoples in CKGR have been examined. Their lives mainly depend on the deserts. In the '60 , '70s and '80s, there has been a small-scale social change in CKGR, including Molapo and Metsiamanou settlement etc.. The process of sedentarization in this environment then affects the lives of people. I will discuss the transition from camp to settlement, the validity of sedentism for their lives, and government policies which promote sedentarization for the past 35 years.

## **16136 - Land Issues and Dynamics of Livelihood and Residential Practices of the San: Two cases from Botswana and South Africa**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Maruyama, Junko (Tsuda College, Kodaira, Tokyo, Japan)*

In 2006, the |Gui and ||Gana San won the legal right to return to their ancestral lands in a nature conservation area, the Central Kalahari Game Reserve of Botswana. In 2004, !Xun and Khwe San who had worked in the former South Africa Defense Force began to live in Plantfontein, 1.3 million hectare of land granted by the South African government. The CKGR and the Platfontein are both famous as hot-spots of the indigenous rights movement of the San, and with support from the global indigenous networks and their social activism, they acquired land rights after a long period of marginalization and displacement. Tracing back through the history, it was found that the |Gui and ||Gana of Central Kalahari and the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein shared generally parallel histories which reflects the southern African macro-political dynamics, while the meaning of the each historical event and their experiences with the land issue were different from one another. The colonial power deeply impacted on their life in 1950-60's, and following the experiences of the sedentalization in 1970-80's, they relocated to the unfamiliar area in 1990's and gained the land rights in 2000's. However, today, about a decade after the acquisition of the land rights, many challenges are still remaining. In particular, current legal and institutional frameworks of the land rights are still inconvenient for the San communities where the mobility and flexibility of land use play important role for the social life. This presentation will take a case-sensitive approach and examines the heterogeneity of the San's experiences in different national and historical contexts, focusing on their history of the struggle for the land rights and their contemporary dynamics of the livelihood and residential practices. Following an analysis of the historical backgrounds and negotiation processes of the two cases, it will be elucidated that the San's local strategies of the livelihood and the land use after they gained land rights, based on my long-term field research. Examining these two cases will highlight dynamics underlying relationships between the San and national and international communities, and possibilities and dilemmas within indigenous land rights movement.

## 15894 - Land, Livelihoods, and Empowerment among the San of Western 16491 - The Strange Case of the Landed Poor: Land Reform Laws, Traditional San Culture, and the Continued Poverty of South Africa's Khomani People

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** Puckett, Robert Fleming (Oxford University School of Geography and the Environment, Oxford, Un. Kingdom / Ver Königr.)

The †Khomani San people received lands in 1999 under the 'restitution' arm of South Africa's land reform programme. Restitution laws, contained in the Restitution of Land Rights Act and the Communal Property Associations ('CPA') Act, seek not only to return lands to peoples dispossessed after 1913, but also to inculcate the ideals of South Africa's dominant agro-pastoral-based society into defined, cohesive land-recipient 'communities'. These ideals include centralised, hierarchical, representative, democratic leadership and decision-making structures that the West takes for granted. However, these concepts of control are not typically found among foraging or post-foraging peoples, who tend to base their societies on decentralised, small-group, egalitarian social structures that strongly oppose hierarchies, representation, or accumulation. Such social organisation remains intact even after these groups become settled or adopt non-hunting-and-gathering livelihoods, and today's †Khomani self-identify as San, 'Bushmen', hunters, and indigenous people, despite their settlement and their adoption of varied livelihood strategies, including stock-farming. Among such groups, externally imposed governance structures tend to be viewed as illegitimate, and instead of the cohesion and order these centrally legislated structures seek to create, they instead engender dissent, conflict, and non-compliance. The †Khomani, as both a formerly scattered group of apartheid-era labourers and a cultural group of San people, have struggled with little success to plan and implement 'development', infrastructure, and livelihood projects on their lands and have 'failed' to operate the Restitution and CPA Acts' required 'community' land-ownership and decision-making structures successfully. Thus, restitution has failed to bring the socio-economic improvements that the new †Khomani lands seemed to promise. Since 2008, however, the government has temporarily taken governance and approval authority from the †Khomani, which has led to the creation of smaller, behind-the-scenes governing bodies, as the †Khomani have begun taking the reins of power in their own ways. Such bodies, including the †Khomani Farmers' Association and the Bushman Raad, have begun achieving some successes on the †Khomani farms in part, it is argued, because they allow the †Khomani to reproduce the focused, non-hierarchical, small-group structures that are more suitable to them as a non-cohesive group and more culturally appropriate to them as San people. The South African government, with appropriate protections for abuse of power, should provide the space within land reform laws to allow land-recipient groups to make decisions, govern themselves, and manage their lands according to their own community realities and their own conceptions of leadership and social organisation.

## Zimbabwe

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Begbie-Clench, Benjamin (Legal Assistance Centre, Windhoek, Namibia); Hitchcock, Robert (University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, USA); Ndlovu, Davy (Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust, Dlamini, Zimbabwe / Simbabwe)*

The Tshwa San of western Zimbabwe, like other San of southern Africa, have been dispossessed of much of their land as a result of the establishment of commercial farms, state forests, and protected areas, notably the Hwange National Park. In the 21st century, the Tshwa have sought to promote their land and resource rights, to form community-based organizations, to encourage the recording and teaching of the Tshwao language, and to expand educational and economic opportunities for Tshwa children and adults. Zimbabwe Tshwa are taking part increasingly in national and regional symposia and workshops on minorities and indigenous peoples in southern Africa and they hope to attend international meetings such as the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights. There is a widespread desire on the part of Tshwa in Zimbabwe to work more closely with their relatives and friends in Botswana and to improve cross-border relations. This paper assesses the challenges facing the Tshwa as they seek to empower themselves as citizens of Zimbabwe alongside other historically disadvantaged populations in the country and the roles that applied anthropology and linguistics can play in assisting such communities and states.

## **15925 - Building Alliances: tensions, expectations, and cunning conundrums**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** Sapignoli, Maria (*Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle Saale, Germany / Deutschland*)

San mobilization and activism at different levels and scale have increased in the past forty years. In the process, people have engaged with states, with national and international institutions, non-governmental organizations, civil society, and indigenous movements. This has happened through the creation of San organizations, San groups and individuals taking part in international, national, and local-level meetings, drawing up and disseminating declarations and statements, social networking and advocacy on the web, taking positions on governments' policies, and provision of information to lawyers, donor agencies, anthropologists, civil society organizations, and the media. In this paper I will consider the tensions and conundrums that have arisen in the interactions between San and the state and the publics. Through these interactions, different perspectives on rights, equality, and resource use emerged, both in discussions about the land and its peoples and in the debates over Botswana government policies, programmes, and forms of governance.

