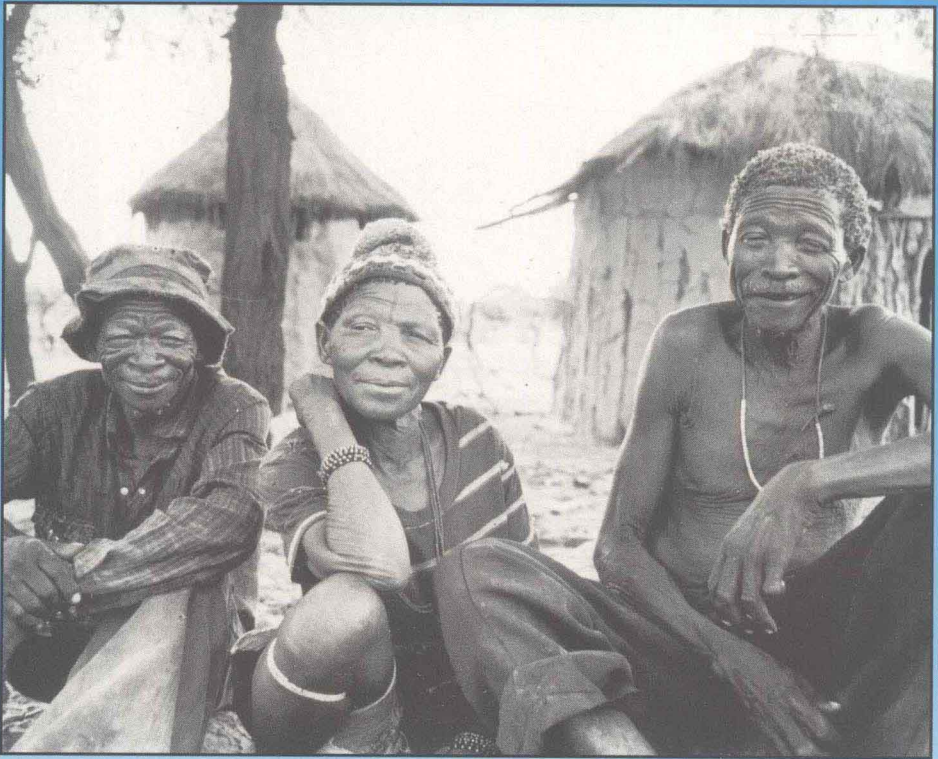


# The Dobe Ju/'hoansi

SECOND EDITION



**Richard B. Lee**



**CASE STUDIES IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY**  
**SERIES EDITORS: GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER**

# THE DOBE JU/'HOANSI

RICHARD B. LEE

*University of Toronto*

First edition published as  
THE DOBE !KUNG



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# Foreword

## ABOUT THE SERIES

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed for students in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, to bring them insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways, in different places. The authors are men and women who have lived in the societies they write about and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. Also, the authors are teachers; in their writing, the needs of the student reader remain foremost. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about the human condition become meaningful.

The scope and character of the series has changed constantly since we published the first case studies in 1960, in keeping with our intention to represent anthropology as it is. We are concerned with the ways in which human groups and communities are coping with the massive changes wrought in their physical and sociopolitical environments in recent decades. We are also concerned with the ways in which established cultures have solved life's problems. And we want to include representation of the various modes of communication and emphasis that are being formed and reformed as anthropology itself changes.

We think of this series as an instructional series, intended for use in the classroom. We, the editors, have always used case studies in our teaching, whether for beginning students or advanced graduate students. We start with case studies, whether from our own series or from elsewhere, and weave our way into theory, and then turn again to cases. For us, they are the grounding of our discipline.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Richard Lee was born in New York City and grew up in Toronto, Canada, where he was educated in the Toronto school system. At the University of Toronto he studied anthropology, philosophy, and sciences, receiving his B.A. in 1959 and his M.A. in 1961. Moving to the University of California at Berkeley for doctoral research, he embarked on a multidisciplinary study of the Ju/'hoansi/!Kung San in Botswana and Namibia in collaboration with Irvén DeVore.

With DeVore he is the cofounder of the Kalahari Research Group, an informal consortium of scholars from a number of fields who have done research with the San. Lee has made nine trips to the Ju/'hoansi, totaling about forty-eight months of fieldwork. Hunter-gatherer research also has taken him to Tanzania, Alaska, and northern Russia, as well as the Yukon, Labrador, and other points in the Canadian sub-arctic.

Currently he is a professor of Social/Cultural Anthropology and Chair of the African Studies Programme at the University of Toronto. He has also taught at Harvard, Rutgers, and Columbia, and has held research positions at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. He has lectured at more than fifty institutions in the United States, Canada, Europe, and Africa.

His books include *Man the Hunter* and *Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers* (with Irvén DeVore), *Politics and History in Band Societies* (with Eleanor Leacock), and *The !Kung San: Men, Women, and Work in a Foraging Society*. He has also been involved in the BBC television series *The Making of Mankind* with Richard Leakey, and the CBC/PBS television series *Planet for the Taking* with David Suzuki.

In addition to his work on foraging peoples, Lee has written on the political struggles of indigenous peoples, on the origins of the state, on the CETI Problem, on critical Marxist theory, and on problems of interpretation in African history. Lee is a past-president of the Canadian Anthropology Society and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. In 1990, he was awarded an honorary doctor of letters degree from the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, for his research and advocacy on foraging peoples. Richard Lee has three children, all of whom have been adopted into the Ju/'hoansi kinship system.

#### ABOUT THIS CASE STUDY

This is a case study of the Ju/'hoansi, foragers of the Dobe area of the Kalahari Desert of northwestern Botswana, near the border of Namibia. This location is important because the Kalahari and its relative isolation provided an environment, over millennia, that nourished a significant foraging culture and insulated it from heavy penetration and influence by the outside world. In the early 1960s, Richard Lee encountered at the Dobe waterhole a group of Ju/'hoansi who were living almost entirely by hunting and gathering. This made it possible for him to study the Ju/'hoansi foraging adaptation, one critically important in human evolution, as a reasonably whole and intact way of life. Unlike many studies by cultural anthropologists, Lee's study was broadly oriented, including environment, resources, subsistence techniques, ecology, and ethnoarcheology, as well as kinship, marriage, social control, ritual, and belief systems. This combination of interests produces an unusually satisfying case study in which the material and ideational dimensions of Ju/'hoansi life are integrated.

The profile of Ju/'hoansi culture that emerges as the case study proceeds is compelling and challenging. A picture of steady work, steady leisure, and adequate diet challenges our conceptions of Western industrialized culture as the pinnacle of human success. The traditional Ju/'hoansi need to work at foraging only a few hours a day to maintain a caloric level that enables them to live vigorous lives without losing weight. And many of their waking hours are devoted to celebrating their existence through ritual and dance, as well as in leisurely and rewarding social interaction. The image of "primitive" man as grubbing an existence from a stingy environment, beset by hungry predators, living a mean, brutish, and short life, is laughably off the mark in the case of the Ju/'hoansi, and we know enough about

other foragers, who lived in different styles and environments, to know that it is far from the truth for most foragers.

Why, then, should the new generations of Ju/'hoansi want manufactured clothing, transistor radios, cattle to keep and exploit, money, jobs, alcohol, and transportation? And why should they accept the assorted ills of "civilization" that come with these things? Lee devotes several chapters to recent change. Across the border in Namibia, the picture has been dismal. Drunkenness, homicide, venereal disease, disorder, loss of pride and identity, are dominant features of the reaction to the impact of Western industrialized culture—as they are in most places in the world where tribal peoples have suffered the impact of Western culture, technology, economics, and power.

In the Dobe area of Botswana, the Ju/'hoansi are faring better; change is slower, and the attractive features of the traditional way of life are still evident. And, as in other places where changes have been destructive, there are significant movements back to a more traditional life pattern. Some groups of Namibian Ju/'hoansi have returned to the Kalahari to pursue a mixed economy, though they retain some contacts with Western medicine and material culture that are useful to them. They have also won some significant victories as Namibia has gained its independence after 1990.

This case study is outstanding not only for its subject matter but for its style. At times technical (but never dry), at times expansive, it tries to let the people speak for themselves. Complex matters are often presented through dialogue with principal Ju/'hoansi characters, so that the meaning of things to them is made clear at the same time that important technical points are made to come alive. Even kinship, that topic so beloved by professional anthropologists, and such anathema to many undergraduate students, becomes interesting. It is a game that the Ju/'hoansi play to keep some order in interpersonal relationships, inheritance, marriage, and the like. It is not cut and dried, hard and fast, as it often seems to be in the literature. Marriage, sex, social interactions, cooperation, and feuding become personal, meaningful events, beyond normative rules for behavior yet ordered by them.

Another very useful feature of this case study is its annotated list of the large number of excellent films on the Ju/'hoansi, many of which are keyed into the text.

In this second edition, Lee does more than bring us up to date on the Ju/'hoansi. He does that, too, and the reader will learn about the destruction and reconstruction of their environment—physical, social, political, and economic—in which the people live and in which they struggle to survive and retain self-respect. But Lee goes beyond description of the sad new world—the relentless "development" and exploitation of the habitat of the Ju/'hoansi and their communal way of life. He pulls out of his observations and those of others the indications that justify some optimism about the future. The resilience and adaptability of the Ju/'hoansi have often been noted and admired. These qualities have not disappeared and Lee describes how they are manifested in the present circumstances of rapid change.

Of particular value as well is the author's analysis of contemporary anthropological thinking, as post-modernists, traditionalists, and revisionists try to construct and deconstruct our discipline. His is a balanced but not traditionalist view, one that will be helpful to students trying to make sense out of the current and confusing anthropological scene.

The fieldwork and long experience upon which this case study is based are respected in professional anthropological circles. We are fortunate to have a case study of the Ju/'hoansi based upon Lee's work and presented in such a fashion that we can all, whether professional anthropologists or beginning students, enjoy and be instructed by it.

The new parts of the case study in this edition include Chapters 11 and 12, as well as the postscript and preface. Material also has been added to Chapter 1, and a large number of additional references are included.

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER

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# Preface

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Two images epitomize the long journey travelled by the subjects of this book. In the first it is the early 1960s, somewhere in southern Africa. Night has fallen. Under a vast and starlit sky of breathtaking beauty, the silence is all-encompassing. Gradually, groups of leather-clad hunter-gatherers can be discerned sitting in front of grass huts at flickering fires and the sound of their laughter can be heard. They trade stories of hunts failed and successful, the arrival of visitors bearing gifts from the West, the expected marriage of a young girl, the foolish antics of an old man of the neighboring pastoralists, and the passing of a government vehicle from the distant capital, the first such sighting in six weeks. To one side, a young anthropologist fiddles with a portable radio—the only one within 50 miles—listening in shock as news comes in of the violent death of a great leader in a distant country. The anthropologist is bursting with the news, but explaining it to the people proves a problem: Only a few had heard of “America” or the “United States” and no one could name the name of America’s great chief. The anthropologist is left alone with his thoughts.

In the second image, the setting is the same but the scene shifts to the 1990s: The cloudless night sky is still vast and the stars brilliantly clear; the camp fires flicker as before, but in important ways the scene is different. Cows are lowing in the background; bicycles and ploughs are parked behind mud-walled houses; and dressed in store-bought shirts, pants, dresses and sweaters—some of it purchased that day from one of several passing peddlers—the people of each household are glued to their radios, as hourly bulletins come in on the upheaval in another far-off country and the fate of its president. This time people discuss these events with animation. All except the very oldest know there is a place called Russia, and the name of its great chief is on everyone’s lips.

Scene one, of course, took place at the time of John F. Kennedy’s assassination in November 1963; scene two, at the time of the attempted overthrow of Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow in August 1991. The place? Dobe, a waterhole in north-western Botswana, southern Africa. The people are the !Kung or Ju/’hoansi, a San-speaking people who had lived as hunter-gatherers into the latter third of the 20th century.

The years 1963 to 1991 are less than three decades apart yet so much had changed, in the world at large, and particularly in the Dobe area itself. In that span of years the people of the Dobe area had experienced the arrival of stores, clinics, schools, and airstrips. They had gone from an existence based largely on hunting and gathering to one in which farming, herding, cash work and welfare were as important as foraging.



One more image may bring home just how dramatic have been the changes between the 1960s, and the 1980s and 90s. In the standard reference work on Botswana (Sillery, 1952), the area around Dobe was considered the least known and most isolated part of the whole territory. This was borne out by my 1963–64 field work. During that time only one vehicle every four to six weeks came to the Dobe area: a total of about a dozen per year. But during my 1986–87 field work, I counted a motor vehicle *every four to six hours*, or some 1400–2200 per year, a 120-fold increase. These vehicles brought a constant stream of visitors: traders, government officials, veterinarians, medical staff, agricultural demonstrators, and tourists.

But as I wrote earlier, think of this: If an observer had arrived in the Dobe area in 1993 instead of 1963, she would not have seen daily hunting with poisoned arrows, full-time gathering of the rich mongongo nut harvest, the weekly healing dances in which powerful healers spiritually defended the !Kung against illness and misfortune. By the 1980s and 1990s, bow and arrow hunting had declined drastically, cultivated grains and food relief were now the staples of the diet, and penicillin rivalled *n/um* as the main defense against illness.

So much has happened as well in *our* world that we are in danger of losing sight of the fact that the !Kung and many people like them have, even in our lifetimes, lived good lives without the benefit of wage labor, bank accounts, credit cards, or supermarkets. They have raised generations of children and taught them dignity, self-respect, and the skills of life without schools, television, or Nintendo, and have cared for their elderly without pension plans or “old folks” homes. Perhaps more remarkable, they have been able to do all this while living lightly on the land in a degree of harmony with their natural environment, in what might be termed the oldest example of sustainable development. In short, even in this hard-bitten age of social and ecological crisis, of wars and economic depression, the !Kung San show us that other ways of being are possible. This book is about letting the !Kung tell their story against the backdrop of these decades of change.

At the same time it would be a serious error to romanticize the !Kung and to make them into the paragons of all virtue, noble remnants of the Stone Age. The !Kung have all the human failings that characterize people everywhere: conflict, violence, stupidity, prejudice are not absent—to take one example, before they settled the !Kung had a homicide rate that was high even by U.S. urban standards. And whatever success they enjoyed as hunter-gatherers has been seriously compromised by the tensions that accompany rapid change.

Telling the !Kung story is the first goal; but something else must be added. It would be all too easy to tell a “just-so story” to make them into the polar opposites of upward-striving urbanites, to give them all the desirable qualities that we lack (or think we lack). This can be avoided only if the observer is prepared to test hunches or suppositions against empirical evidence, and to throw out even cherished views if the data don’t support them. For a variety of reasons “science” has become a dirty word in many university courses, and science-bashing a popular sport. But without some commitment to test the merits of competing explanations against the evidence, what we write will have more in common with fiction than with ethnography. And that would be too bad since wishful thinking is no substitute for understanding.

This book is an account of how one anthropologist has tried to peel off the layers of myth and misunderstanding surrounding the San and gradually sloughed off his own misconceptions to arrive at a clearer sense of how the !Kung have been able to survive as a people with so much aplomb and zest for living.

One major change in this second edition of the *The Dobe !Kung* concerns terminology. For many years the term “!Kung San” has been in common use, especially among anthropologists, even though it is not a term used by the people themselves. This new edition documents the !Kung people’s coming to political consciousness and their emerging determination to take hold of their own destiny, to assert their political rights and revitalize their communities. In this respect the !Kung people are following the paths charted by aboriginal peoples in Canada, the United States, Australia, Russia, and elsewhere; if the appellation “First Nations” or “First Peoples” fits the indigenous peoples of North America, Australia and elsewhere, then surely it cannot be denied to the !Kung of Botswana and Namibia.

The !Kung call themselves—and always have—Ju/’hoansi (pronounced “zhu-twasi”), meaning “real people”. To acknowledge their new sense of empowerment, it is appropriate that anthropologists and students change our old habits and adopt this term of self-appellation. The sound “Ju” has no equivalent in English, but is common in many other languages, and is similar to the French “jamais” or “je.”

Out of respect for the people and their new-found consciousness, this edition of *The Dobe !Kung* has been retitled *The Dobe Ju/’hoansi* (pronounced “doebay zhut-wasi”). Throughout the text, “!Kung” has been changed to “Ju/’hoansi” in contexts where their full name seems appropriate, to “Ju/’hoan” as an adjective, and to “Ju” (“person” or “people”) where a less formal reference is needed. It is worth noting that the spelling “Ju/’hoansi” was chosen (over variants such as “Ju/wasi” or “Zhu/twasi”) by a group of Ju people themselves, working in conjunction with linguist Patrick Dickens (Dickens et al. 1990).

One implication of the new usage is that in the course of events the older terms “!Kung” and “San” will take their place alongside “Bushmen” (and “Eskimo” and “Indian”) on the shelf of terms whose time has passed. However, the terminology is in flux and old habits die hard; don’t be surprised if the older terms appear here from time to time. Eventually the process of self-naming will be fully in the hands of the people themselves.

Since the publication of the first edition, I have returned to the region four times (1985, 1986, 1987, 1993) and have witnessed some of the events that are shaping the lives of the Ju/’hoansi. Through the wonders of long-distance telephone calls and fax machines, I also have been able to maintain close contact with people there. Of particular importance has been ongoing contact with several literate Ju/’hoansi whose education had been facilitated by the Kalahari Peoples Fund, and with whom I now keep in touch by mail. The frequent movement of graduate students and colleagues from North America to Namibia and Botswana and back has provided another source of constantly updated information.

There have been a number of important changes in the Dobe area and on the larger world stage. Of greatest local impact has been the successful freeing of neighboring Namibia from South African rule and its achievement of independence under United Nations auspices in March 1990. The fate of the Namibian Ju/’hoansi

has strongly affected people in the Dobe area, as have trends in the Dobe area itself. These trends, visible in the early 1980s, have intensified and have created new crises (and opportunities) for the Dobe people.

For this new edition, every page of the original text has been reviewed and updated when necessary. The historical section of Chapter 2 has been expanded considerably and updated to address several issues raised by critics of earlier !Kung research. The most visible changes for this edition are the addition of two new chapters: Chapter 11, which details the events of the last decade in Botswana and Namibia and their impact on the Ju/'hoansi; and Chapter 12, which reviews some of the changes in anthropological theory and practice brought about by the articulation of the Ju/'hoansi with the world economy and their entrance onto the world stage through films and other media. Chapter 12 also offers some reflections on the lessons of the Ju/'hoansi and other indigenous peoples for an age which has seen the end of the Cold War and the emergence of environmental and economic crises as the most pressing issues in the world today.

R.B.L.

*Toronto, Canada 1993*

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This is a book about the !Kung San, a remarkable people whom I have been privileged to know since the 1960s. It describes their ways of making a living, their social organization, their politics, sexual and nonsexual, and their world view and religious beliefs.

What it can only suggest to the reader is the !Kung spirit: that peculiar combination of humor and malice, of anger and fun that characterizes their sense of themselves as a special people. These are elusive qualities, and I can only hope you catch a glimpse of them here and there, in between the more concrete accounts of work effort, caloric intake, marriage patterns, and kinship behavior.

A book like this one can also only hint at the fragility of this quality of life as it attempts to adapt in the face of onrushing change. Working with a people like the !Kung is like a race against time: only four years after my arrival the first trading store opened, six years later a school and a clinic were built. By the 1980s, transistor radios and Western clothing were everywhere. I was able to observe a foraging mode of life during the last decades of its existence. If our work had begun in 1983 instead of 1963, we would not have seen daily hunting with poisoned arrows, full-time gathering of the rich mongongo harvest, and weekly healing dances in which powerful healers spiritually defended the !Kung against illness and misfortune. Today, bow-and-arrow hunting has almost ceased, cultivated grains are now the staples of the diet, and penicillin, not *n/um*, is the main defense against illness. Livestock, cash reserves, and material wealth have replaced social relationships as the main source of security for the !Kung. Game meat, once freely given, is now bought and sold.

And yet, even today much remains: a vital culture, a language with over 15,000 speakers, and a people with a continuing sense of humor and self-esteem. The

!Kung, in a word, are survivors, not in the pejorative sense of relics from the distant past, but in the best modern sense—a physically hardy people with inner resources of spirit. They still retain a healthy skepticism about the good intentions of those outsiders who would “develop” them, and, as of this writing, have not forgotten how to hunt and gather. If the rest of us went away tomorrow they would be none the worse for it.

/Tw!gum, a thoughtful !Kangwa man with a keen sense of the absurd, put it all into perspective. Seeing that every !Kung household owned or had access to a store-bought iron cooking pot, I recently asked /Tw!, “What did the !Kung do in the old days before they had iron cooking pots to cook in?” /Tw! looked at me gravely and pondered my question. After a long, meaningful silence, he finally replied, “Everyone knows that people can’t live without iron cooking pots, so we must have died.”

It is to /Tw!, his wife N!uhka, and the !Kung of the twenty-first century that I dedicate this book.

R.B.L.

*Toronto, Canada 1983*

## A Note on the Ju Language

The San languages are characterized by unusual sounds called clicks. These are produced when the tongue is drawn sharply away from various points of articulation on the roof of the mouth. The four clicks used in Ju/'hoansi appear as follows:

- / Dental click, as in Ju/'hoansi /Xai/ *xai*, /Du/ *da* (in spoken English this sound denotes a mild reproach, written “tsk, tsk”).
- ≠ Alveolar click, as in ≠Toma.
- ! Alveopalatal click as in !Kung, n!ore.
- // Lateral click, as in // gangwa (in spoken English this sound is used in some dialects to urge on a horse).

Other features of the San orthography that should be noted include:

- ~ Nasalization as in /twā.
- " Glottal flap as in // "xa (mongongo) or K"au.
- j Pronounced as the “j” in French “jamais” or “je;” example: Ju/'hoansi (alternate spelling “Zhu/wasi”)

For the nonlinguist, San words may be pronounced by simply dropping the click. For example, for // gangwa read *gangwa*, and for ≠Toma// gwe read *Toma gwe*. *Dobe* rhymes with *Toby*.

# Acknowledgments

The !Kung research was conceived at the University of California at Berkeley, was centered for many years at Harvard University, and since 1972 has branched out to a number of different institutions. I am particularly indebted to the University of Toronto for the continuing support it has provided in innumerable ways. Funding for the research has come from several sources: the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Health, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Canada Council, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and the Connaught Fund of the University of Toronto. Part of this manuscript was produced during my tenure as a Connaught Senior Fellow in the Social Sciences.

I also want to thank the government of Botswana, whose officials have made a major contribution to the success of the !Kung research. The people of Botswana have been unfailingly courteous and have made us feel welcome time and time again. I hope that this study, and others like it, will repay in a small way the many debts owed to them. A portion of the proceeds from this book is earmarked for the Kalahari Peoples Fund, a nonprofit foundation supporting development projects in Botswana.

Thanks are also due to the members of the Kalahari Research Group for valuable suggestions and criticisms, and for many good times over the years. Though not all of us agree on all issues, I continue to respect their individual and collective views.

For help in reading portions of the manuscript, I want to thank Megan Bieselee, Harriet Rosenberg, Jane Schneider, Marjorie Shostak, David Turner, and Annette Weiner—critics who are in no way responsible for any errors this book may contain. Sheryl Adam produced the index for the second edition.

For the second edition, several colleagues and friends have been particularly helpful with information and advice: Megan Bieselee, Alec Campbell, Mathias Guenther, Robert Hitchcock, and Jacqueline Solway. Chapters 11 and 12 are drawn in part from a joint manuscript with Dr. Bieselee, and I would thank Dr. Bieselee for permission to use portions of that manuscript here. For updates on the Dobe and Nyae Nyae areas and other assistance, thanks go to Andrea Brandle, Henry Harpending, Trefor Jenkins, Richard Katz, Jeffrey Kurland, Brigit Lau, John Marshall, Lorna Marshall, Jeanette Peterson, Claire Ritchie, Verna St. Dennis, Paul Sheller, Marjorie Shostak, and Eric Wood. Research Assistants from the University of Botswana made important contributions to our 1980s field work: Makgolo Makgolo, Dorothy Molokomme, Leonard Ramotakwane, and particularly Nandi Ngcongco. I also want to thank Royal /Too/to, Chiqo Nxaue, and Benjamin Xishe for their ongoing correspondence since 1986.

A special vote of thanks goes to Harriet, David, Miriam, and Louise, whose good humor and emotional support continue to sustain me.

Finally, my deepest debt is to the Ju people of Botswana.

*i !ha weyshi // kau ge:* May you live in health and peace always.

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# 1/ The Ju/'hoansi

## INTRODUCTION: A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

The inhabitants of these parts are a much finer race of Bushmen than we had generally met with. Freedom and the enjoyment of their own game for food and the skins for clothing are the main causes. They acknowledge no chief and are in the habit of defending themselves against oppressors and intruders either from Lake Ngami or the Namaqua region: in former times they have often combined to resist marauding parties sent out by the Batwana and other tribes. Their minds are free from apprehension of human plunderers, and the life they lead is a comparatively fearless one. The population is numerous, and they are more attached to each other than in other parts.

James Chapman (1868)

Not far from the border of South West Africa . . . is a group of caves . . . visited by few white people. The journey involves a long and arduous trek across sandy country through which no road passes and a competent guide is essential. . . . The country in the vicinity of these caves is probably the least known in the whole Protectorate and Bushmen and the wild animals have it to themselves.

Anthony Sillery (1952)

Chapman in the 1860s and Sillery almost a century later were referring to the same fabled people—the !Kung San of the Kalahari Desert, fierce and independent, unknown to the outside world until recently. And I was going out to find them. The !Kung, or Ju/'hoansi as they call themselves, were virtually unknown to scientists until the 1950s, and now, in October 1963, I was on my way to !Goshe, a waterhole in northwestern Bechuanaland, to make a year-long study of them.

I had traveled a long way from North America: by plane from Berkeley, California to my home in Toronto; from there to Nairobi, Kenya, where I met my friends and collaborators Irven and Nancy DeVore and their family. We then traveled by Land Rover over half the African continent, arriving in Botswana in August. Irven DeVore and I, along with Adam Kuper, surveyed the northwestern Kalahari for two weeks looking for a suitable study site, without success. Then, after the DeVores had returned to Harvard, I came back to the Kalahari with two Land Rovers and two African assistants, determined to find the elusive !Kung. The area west of !Goshe appeared to offer our last hope for success.

Hour after hour, our Land Rover ground slowly in four-wheel drive through the deep sand. On the threshold of a great adventure, I retraced in my mind the steps that had brought me to this place. In the early 1960s there had been a renaissance in evolutionary studies in anthropology. Fueled by the Leakeys' fossil discoveries