

**Poverty and the Kalahari Bushman:
The Re-conceptualisation of Poverty**

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Hypothesis

All successful, self-sufficient indigenous societies have socio-economic utility. When evaluated according to current poverty measurement systems, such as the ‘positivist’ Dollar a Day¹ measure, individuals who may be happy, satisfied and rich within the context of their culture can nonetheless, still be classified as being in poverty (Sahlins, 1974). Said misclassification results from the rigid application of narrow criteria in a ‘one size fits all’ assessment of poverty that fails to fully consider the complexity of poverty indicators.

Rather than attempting to assess all indigenous cultures according to the values of an economic system that, by definition, considers them poor, the system of assessment should instead be adapted to reflect the needs and values of each culture; *i.e.* a multi-dimensional constructivist approach, including both ‘entitlement and endowments’ (Sen, 2001: Sen, 1981) as well as consideration of individual values outside of ‘Western’ economic norms.

Research Aims

1. To gain recognition for the Bushman and their struggle for survival
2. To enable a broader and fuller understanding of Bushman poverty and how it was created

¹The analytical ‘centrepiece’ of the World Bank’s Poverty Reduction Handbook published in 1992 was the ‘poverty line’ that grouped households below or above a line based on their levels of consumption as measured through household surveys carried out through random sampling methods (Norton *et al*, 2001: cited Moser 2003, pp114).

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3. To re-conceptualise poverty
4. To help towards the creation of a better methodology for poverty measurement

Introduction

This paper is not only about Bushman poverty but also in a greater sense about African poverty as well as indigenous poverty elsewhere in the world.

Many major institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United Nations (UN) are biased towards a narrow monetary aspect as a primary focus towards poverty. This misconception creates the tendency to assume that all poverty is monetarily interrelated and this perhaps, unintentionally excludes indigenous groups from maintaining their natural life style by adding the unnecessary elements of money and industrialisation to the equation. This has the knock on effect of destroying cultural integrity, identity and knowledge.

The act of glossing over of cultural and traditional methodologies by assuming a pecuniary alone approach to poverty can adversely affect the nature and mission of many otherwise well intentioned poverty reduction strategy. In Africa traditional methods are more than just a way of doing things; they are also one of the many keys to unlocking the rich history of the African continent and its people (Davidson, 1991). Excluding this understanding maybe a contributing factor for the reason why Africa is littered with failed development projects and that poverty is wide spread throughout the continent.

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The use of history and the Bushman in poverty analysis helps in understanding the underlying complexities of poverty. If a cure for poverty can be found then it has to come from an understanding of these underlying trends. There is a need to reconceptualise poverty to accommodate an understanding from an indigenous perspective.

Most current measures are able to recognise the symptoms of poverty and many offer sugar coated pill solutions. However, they fail to recognise the historical contingency and underlying culturally specific elements, outside of the Indo-European conceptual norm, that cause poverty in the first place.

A new way to conceptualise poverty is needed. This paper attempts to do just that. Using subaltern concepts of poverty and history as a root to understanding, specifically African poverty and that of the Bushman; concomitantly with a reflective wider view of poverty and the way it is measured and understood in today's world.

By studying the history of Bushman a broader understanding of poverty can be obtained. What's more, new methods for capturing data based on indigenous conceptions of the rudiments of poverty are possible. This study demonstrates why deeper understanding of poverty is needed for more accurate measurement. African poverty is historically rooted, a single definition of poverty is not possible, not all solutions involve money, and teleology, whilst solutions offered need to be culturally specific, socially useful and required.

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Chapter One

Africa, Poverty and the West

In this chapter, modern concepts of poverty and ways of measurement are considered. Special attention is made to institutional understandings of poverty, their tools of measurement and place in history.

The Washington Consensus

In July of 1944 a meeting took place in Washington between 730 delegate's representing 44 allied nations in which a plan was drawn for a new economic world order. This was to become known as the Bretton Woods agreement, an agreement that would direct the reconstruction of the new world after WW2 ended. Out of the Breton Woods, institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) were formed.

The IBRD was later amalgamated into the World Bank, and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) was formed. The agreements that emerged out of this consensus linked all major currency to the Dollar, and the Dollar in turn was linked to gold at a fixed price of '\$35 a troy ounce' (31.103g), placing America firmly in control of the world's economy (Timberlake, 1969, pp.142). The IBRD was set up to finance and direct the reconstruction of Europe after the war.

Despite Third World resources being used to rebuild Europe it was not until after the reconstruction of Europe was complete that the Bretton Woods institutions turned their attention on the undeveloped world. Up until this time the development had taken place only where

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strategic advantage was held or where a needed resource was to be found. Investor's eyes now turned to these continents, looking to open, assimilate, and exploit new markets.

From the 1950s poverty was seen as a 'transitional phase of the growth process that could be addressed once developing economies modernized and diversified' (Reed, 2002, pp. 2).

During the cold war much of the development centred on the Truman containment strategies and the struggle to keep the third world aligned with the West. The "African Marshall Plan" was only partially successful with many states aligning with Russia whilst others played one side against the other and very little real development took place (*c.f.* Halliday, 1989, pp. 81-86; Rivero B, 2001, pp.179).

In the 1980s and 1990s the Bretton Woods institutions implemented a new plan in Africa. The fact that 'The ability of Bretton Woods's institutions to deal with the problems faced by developing countries has been increasingly questioned in recent years' (Öniş and Şenses, 2005, pp.22). The new vision for the undeveloped world would connect their markets to global markets and in return they would receive heavy investment into local industry with international corporate backing and freedom to invest. As long as the governments followed a course of restructuring according to guidelines and rules laid out by the World Bank, IMF and the WTO.

The Washington consensus, as it became known, loosely draws upon the "Lewis model" a growth centred structural adjustment theory, that utilise free market neo-liberal principles to propagate business and development whilst being designed to encourage rural workers into city. This has had a devastating effect upon Africa's rural population, creating greater divisions between the rich and poor, whilst allowing MNC to usurp resource and utilise cheap labour for

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their own profit. This resulted in nothing more than making GDP look healthy whilst profits are exported.

Following the cold war containment strategies Africa became flooded with weapons and large amounts of cash, on loan or from Western bilateral investments. The temptation was too much for many African leaders; corruption became rife allowing for Neopatrimonialism to develop and despotism to take root across much of Africa. This set state against state and people against each other (*c.f.* Collier, 2007: Kaldor, 2006: Kaldor M & Prins G, 1999).

Powerful war leaders appeared on the scene all claiming freedom from oppression as their reason to fight and future goal. Neopatrimonialism and Despotism is an on-going problem, and another possible reason why much of Africa still remains undeveloped and in a state of constant 'complex political emergency' (Kaldor, 2006).

Post Washington Consensus

Opposition to the Washington consensus grew in the 1990s leading to the creation of the millennium development goals (MDG). The Post Washington consensus in contrasts with the neo-liberal approach is a modernisation theory with emphasis placed on poverty reduction strategies through economic empowerment and human rights (*c.f.* Grieg, *et al*, 2007: Payne, 2005).

The Millennium Declaration by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has now been generally accepted as the progressive route forward. The MDG created by the UNDP, aims to reduce Poverty by half through a set of 8 key objectives to be achieved by the year 2015 (see: fig1).

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However, well intentioned the MDG are they still fall short on more than one crucial issue. The UNDP, the creators of the MDG, see industrial development as the only way out of poverty and views GDP of a nation as an indicator of success. Meaning the so called harmonisation of development policy that happened over the last three decades actually means assimilation of all cultures into development projects that reflect the Western development model, as the only way out of poverty.

Where does this leave the indigenous cultures like the Bushman? And how does this effect local government policy that deals with indigenous groups living outside of the economic union? Presumably and accordingly they should be driven out of their natural environment and forced into modernity to earn their rightful Dollar a Day? Historically, attempts to assimilate the Bushman have by all accounts failed.

Contemporary Poverty Debates

The poverty debate that has taken place over the last decade or so centres around two main approaches, as identified by Maxwell (Maxwell, 1999)). These approaches being the quantitative approach favoured by the World Bank and David Dollar, recognises 'income and consumption patterns as the best proxies for poverty' measurement (Moser, 2003, pp.114-5). The qualitative method, a more humanistic approach recognise basic needs and wellbeing as being objective influences on poverty status (Moser & Mcilwaine, 2003).

The Orshansky Threshold

The "quantitative" or the positivist approach, as favoured by David Dollar of the World Bank relies on 'large scale random sample household's surveys, of consumption expenditure

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patterns. The roots of this approach can be traced back to the advent of the ‘Orshansky Threshold’ as summarized by (Barrington, 1997).

“Formula:

$$I_p = FM * MNFE = FM * PFP * EFP$$

$$\text{Nonfarm } I_p = 3 * 1 * EFP$$

$$\text{Farming } I_p = 3 * 0.6 * EFP = 0.6 * \text{nonfarm } I_p,$$

Where I_p = poverty level income, FM = food multiplier, defined as the inverse of the proportion of income spent on food, $MNFE = PFP * EFP$ minimum essential expenditure on food; PFP = proportion of total food value purchased, EFP = estimated yearly cost per household, assuming all food is purchased in the market (re-rendered from (Barrington, 1997).

Orshansky estimates that the average, American farming families purchased 60% of their food and non-farming households purchased 100% of their food. She multiplied the average proportion of food value purchased ‘(PFP) by 3.7’ (Barrington, 1997).

The Orshansky threshold was originally created by Mollie Orshansky (1915-2007) in 1963 ‘as a heuristic device for identifying children in poverty in the USA. It was never intended to be used as an official government statistical tool (Hauver, Goodman and Grainer, 1981). It disregards any non-food elements, as a compensation for the lack of non-food elements she uses a food multiplier to calculate the inverse of the average proportion of income spent on food. Providing the minimum income needed for the archetypal American household (*ibid*). However

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she does not include wellbeing, morbidity or any other deprivation indications such as loss of freedom or deracination's.

The data Mollie used to create this system was captured by the US department of agriculture, who had gathered data on nutrition and consumption for the creation of an emergency food strategy in times of crises such as war or disaster, natural or otherwise (*c f*: Hauver, Goodman, *et al*, 1981). Mollie used the same data to create an imaginary basket of goods equivalent to 1800-2500kcls (or the Dollar equivalent). She then multiplied this by three to give the minimum income needed for survival of the average American household, in times of crises or food shortages (Hauver, *et al*, 1981). The U.S. government has kept the original formula intact, merely adjusting the Dollar's purchasing power, to allow for inflation.

The Dollar a Day

The analytical 'centrepiece' of the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy published in a hand book in 1992 was a 'poverty line' that grouped households below or above a predetermined level based on their consumption expenditure as measured through random household surveys (Norton, *et al*, 2001: Moser, 2003). In 2002 this system was adopted and modified, by David Dollar and Aart Kray of the World Bank to suite the developing world.

With the adaptation of 'Purchasing Power Parity' (PPP) (Alba & Park, 2003) that has allowed for the simplification of international comparisons which led to the creation of "the Dollar a Day" (DD) poverty measure, the standard measure of poverty favoured by the Bretton Woods institutions. This has become the leading global standard poverty measure. Despite all the obvious inadequacies and inaccuracies with the DD measure it is still the most quoted

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statistic. Yet the roots of this system remain ancient, out of touch and inadequate at measuring poverty accurately.

The quantitative approach utilises hedonic calculus which is limited by only being concerned with the sum-total and, does not include minority or individual sufferance (Sen, 1999). What's more communities outside the economic network are not included. For this reason marginalised groups like the Bushman are simply not included.

A popular and widely used headcount index in its simplified form $P_o = \frac{N_p}{n}$ or best

written as
$$P_o = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^N I(y_i < z)$$
 where P_o is the proportion of the population counted as poor and N_p equals the number of people considered to be poor within the total population. This method is fallible due to random sampling techniques employed in data collection and remote regional variations i.e. Bushman, that are not included because they don't spend money to survive.

The effects of neo-liberal conceptions of African poverty

The institutional concept of poverty as expressed by the World Bank (i.e. Dollar and Kraay), being a neo-liberal viewpoint, see the undeveloped world suffering in a 'low-equilibrium trap' (Kraay & Raddatz, 2007). This means that the capital stock accumulation rises at the same rate as population growth. Therefore, income per worker does not increase, resulting in zero per capita growth and an economy suffering from stagnation or zero economic growth and consequential increased deprivations (Kraay & Raddatz, 2007).

This view led to the neo-liberal doctrines used to tackle poverty through the introduction of monetary based value systems; thus, allowing the transgression of transnational corporations,

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political elites and international organisations along with the WTO and the G8 whom all enforce the dominant neo-liberal model of development.

During the 1980s and 1990s the neo-liberal view was generally accepted by most mainstream political elites of the West. Governments and institutions used these principles to develop models for markets where, these markets would increase the offensive in the 3rd worlds “justified” assimilation, of all cultures into the neo-liberal model; a kind of global homogenisation.

The orthodoxy of neo-liberalism was later accepted by the many centre left elites in the West. The only difference was they sought to make a third way, where social justice and welfare would be combined with neo-liberal market development, e.g. Clinton and Blair during the 1990s (*c.f.* Payne, 2005, chp.4, pp79).

As for Africa the third way was supposed to open up African markets to rest of the world whilst maintaining the West’s hegemony over African politicians’ and concomitantly maintaining the supply of “cheap resources” flowing to the West. Labour for the multi-national corporations (MNC), mainly resource extraction through mining, some small light industry and agriculture, would be provided by the Africans themselves (*c.f.* Grieg, *et al*, 2007: Thomas, *et al*, 2004).

The low skilled, low waged employment offered by large corporations, who import most of their skilled labour and offer little or no training to local employees does little for African development or poverty reduction. Moreover, little is gained in either knowledge or wealth, as large corporations tend to export most of their profits. So nothing is returned back to the local

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economy, resulting in empty development and increased poverty and sufferance (*c.f.* Greig, *et al*, 2007; Thomas, *et al*, 2004).

Neo-liberal development chooses profit over socioeconomic growth. Most if not all development theories applied to African development and poverty reduction efforts since the end of the cold war have been growth centred. That is, the maximisation of output in order to increase profit whilst disregarding the natural social diversity that exists within the “underdeveloped world”. For these reasons it is difficult if not impossible to separate the neo-liberal view from the Positivist’s poverty measurement/reduction strategies.

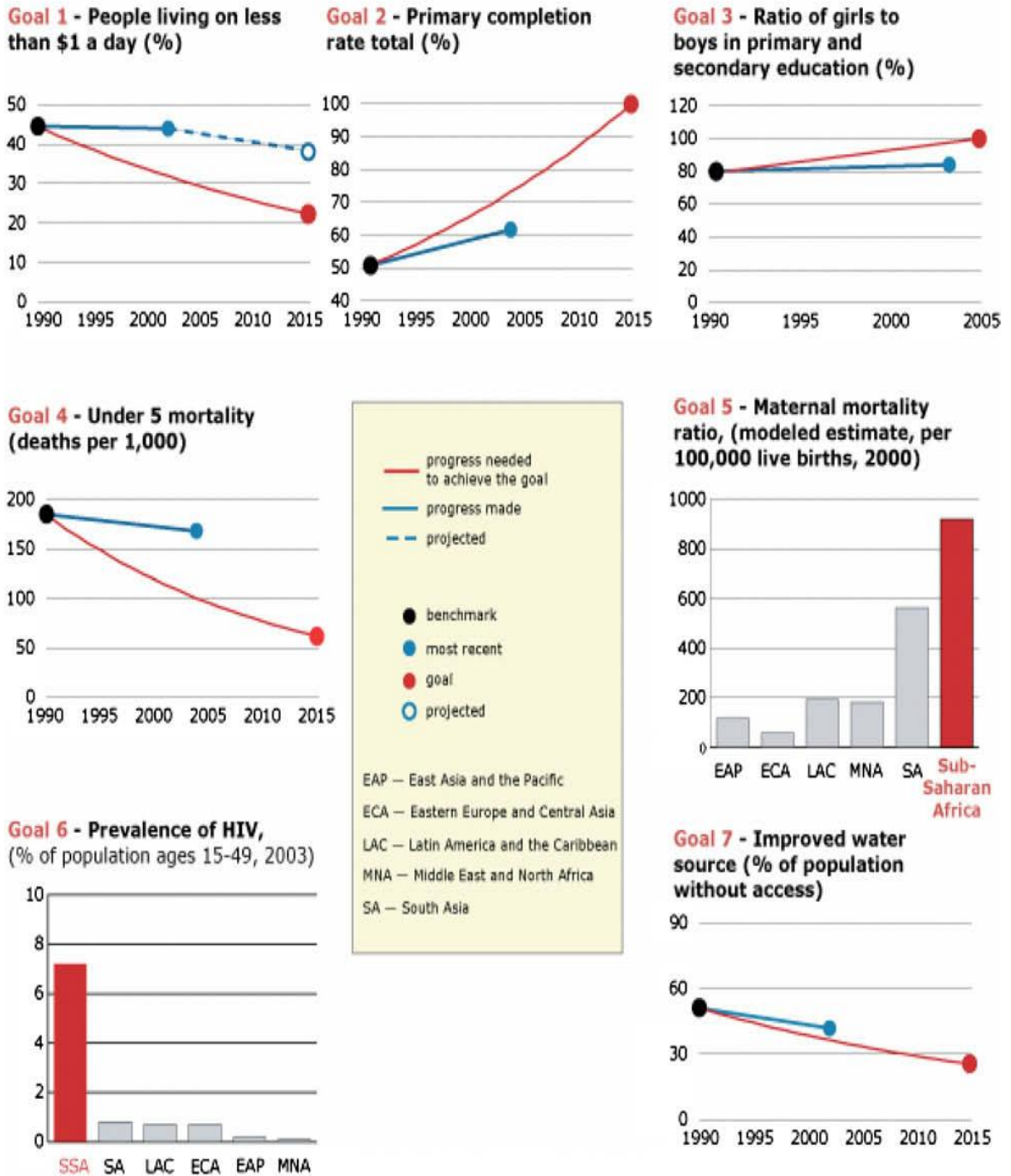
Since the end of colonialism, development theorists have centred on this narrow view of poverty. The Dollar a day poverty line is a further expression of this view, and assumes that all cultures and people have an automatic need for a Dollar, and a Western education, excluding any indigenous claim to autonomy.

Perhaps one of the reasons economist opt for the simplification of poverty, down to a simple single number equation is the pursuit of parsimony therefore they miss the complexities at the root of poverty by oversimplification. Economists use Occam's razor to devastating effect, by attempting to quantify complex problems into a single number; the subsequent results often bear little resemblance to real world situations and contain few human values. Yet this does not necessarily mean that poverty cannot be measured. However, it may mean that current neo-liberal models are not correct and need adjustment.

Even if the neo-liberal model is correct, then by their own measure neo-liberal poverty reduction strategies are failing in Africa.

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Sub-Saharan Africa



(Fig. 1) World Bank table showing the failure of Africa to meet the MDGs Source :

(Easterly, 2009).

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Global Poverty is on the increase yet the World Bank insists on incorporating Chinese statistics into their calculations in attempt to show the contrary. The World Bank figures just don't add up if you remove China from the equation (*c.f.* Pitts, 2002).

UNDP

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was a move away from static income based poverty lines and a one size fits all economic perspective of poverty. This has led to the development of the new indices' such as the 'Human Development Index' (HDI) and the 'Human poverty Index' (HPI) as promulgated by the UNDP since 1990. These include objective measures such as health, education, life expectancy, and access to clean water' (Krishnaji, 1997: Noorbakhsh, 1998) recent addition include morbidity factors such as; infection rates or susceptibility to diseases like AIDS, TB, dysentery and malaria for example (Krishnaji, 1997).

Change has not come entirely from within, but rather from external pressures and, although many institutions a reluctant to admit it, the realisation that poverty is on the rise. In Africa income disparity has widened, poverty and conflict has increased.

David Dollar, and Art Kraay (2002), of the World Bank, argues that, a kind of trickledown effect is making people richer worldwide. However, it is well known by classical economist that for every one per cent increase in wages, spending increases by only a half of a per cent, this is called diminishing returns; trickle down is virtually non-existent.

In contradiction to neo-liberal thinking all recent evidence suggest that a case for Marx's 'over accumulation' (*c.f.* Harvey, 2010) has occurred, leaving the world in an economic crises and the poor masses out on a limb. Despite this, neo-liberal economists are failing to

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adapt policies or recognise individual conditions and sufferance whilst relentlessly pursuing a one size fits all silver bullet approach to poverty.

The Narayan Approach to Poverty

The second approach is the Narayan approach. This is a qualitative and more humanistic approach (*c.f.* Moser, 2003, pp.114-115) that takes into consideration basic human rights, needs, freedoms as well as access to entitlements and opportunity (*c.f.* Sen, 1981, 2001: Sen and Drèze, 1999). This represents an important shift away from the static poverty lines, moving towards an approach that recognises the ‘multidimensionality of deprivation through the analysis of assets and vulnerability’ (Moser, 2003).

Qualifying the Subjective

An Uniformitarian approach, somewhat loosely attempts to use qualitative anthropological data more effectively to better understand indigenous cultures by identifying what is natural behaviour and what is situational. This may allow a deeper understanding of problem/reaction yet it still fails to capture hidden cultural trends and therefore fails to offer viable solutions.

The Environment

The environment has now joined the poverty debate, as global warming and climate change becomes another object of blame for there being so many poor. Pollution and environmental degradation go hand in hand with modern development. Many indigenous societies are threatened as modernity encroaches upon their lands bringing with it disease, environmental destruction, and pollution from insensitive farming, mining and drilling

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operations, deep within indigenous people's territory without consultation (*c.f.* Shiva, 2005: Shiva, 2002: Shiva & Bedi, 2002: Shiva & W.R.M. 1991: *et al*).

As the environment becomes more threatened there is an increasing danger of the securitisation of the natural space That could increasingly result in the exclusion of people from the forests, rivers and plains, the hunting grounds indigenous societies need for survival. This may ultimately leave many indigenous societies without a home or means of existence (Shiva, 2005: Shiva, 2002: Shiva & Bedi, 2002: Shiva, 1991: *et al*)

As many tribes find themselves in the way of resources their wishes often take second place to development. The Bushman is a case in point, recently relocated out of the Central Kalahari, their home, as they find themselves in the way of diamond extraction (Survival international, 2012, 2011: Solway, 2009: Taylor and Mokhawa,2003).

Repeated Patterns

What is happening to the Bushman and many other indigenous communities around the world is not dissimilar to what happened across Britain and much of Europe during the mid to late 18th and 19th centuries, with the Enclosures Act (*c.f.* (Hobsbawm, 2006, chp.8). The Enclosures forcefully drove peasant farmers off the land and into city, to begin work in the new industrial machine; this fuelled the industrial revolution with cheap expendable labour (*ibid*). Thus far African urbanisation has not yet led to increased riches for the majority of people; rather it has brought 'increased suffering and poverty' for many (Kitching, 1989).

Imala (1980, pp17) argues that there is a 'relationship between poverty and the powerlessness of the majority and the affluence and power of the minority. It is important to understand how these relationships have been created and the way they are perpetuated'.

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However, in the case of the Bushman freedom to hunt and roam is the only wealth they want. This is obviously what they want otherwise they would not have spent twenty years in court fighting for the right to do just that, be left alone in the desert. They are a powerless minority who once considered themselves wealthy, yet without possessions. They have been stripped of their wealth by invading groups.

As Monnickendam (2004) argues, the control of the processes for poverty reduction and those who govern the poor and manage their wellbeing are predominantly in the hands of the wealthy minority and political elites. 'Those who decide who are poor are themselves never poor' (*cite. Monnickendam, 2004, pp. 26*). Consequently, decisions that affect the poor are subjugated by their struggle for power and the exploitive nature of that process. Galbraith (1994) argues that 'everyone's access to a basic source of income is an absolute and inescapable requirement in a good society' (*cite. Good, 1999, pp. 186*). Offering the presupposition that, societies that fail to deliver these basic human rights, are presumably uncivilised, unjust and not good.

Underdevelopment and the Loss of Freedom

Sen (1999) much like Collier (2007)) claims that the developing world suffers from various forms of 'un-freedoms'. Freedom being the 'primary end and principle means of development' (Sen,1999, pp.31). Lack of which restricts developmental growth, trapping them into cycles of development and un-development. For the Bushman development means loss of freedom which equals Poverty.

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Security

Questions of security have also recently entered the debate adding yet a further dimension to the equation. Colliers (2007) argues that this creates a series of poverty/conflict traps in the form of cycles of war and peace, development and un-development and war again. He goes on to suggest that abundant resources as well as a pot full of foreign aid money acts like a honey trap for would be freedom fighters. He relates this to a game of 'Snakes & chutes' (Collier, 2007, pp.05). The Bushman's' life would be seen as underdeveloped in Collier's and Sen's eyes yet the contrary is true, development is making them poor.

Universal Strategy

So despite all the discussion and all the measurement it is obvious that the strategies designed to work in Latin America and Asia did not work for Africa. Interestingly however, for many Latin American and Asian countries development has brought hostility and conflict between indigenous groups and the encroaching modern world. Indigenous land has been invaded, polluted and exploited in too many ways to mention in this paper. The result is increased sufferance for many indigenous communities, whose rights are being systematically abused. The infiltration into indigenous territory is currently threatening the last remaining un-contacted tribes of the Amazon whilst also has seeing the last of the Bushman forced out the Desert, despite court rulings (Survival international, 2012, 2011: *et al*).

Despite all the development in Latin America and Asia poverty is still widespread in these continents and indigenous communities are being threatened. African poverty is at its highest it has ever been. Global income disparity is on the increase. A reconceptualization of poverty is needed.

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A New Vision of African Poverty

So far this chapter has outlined some of the main debates on poverty and the “Developing world. Both positivist and constructivist’s assume the way out of poverty as being teleological development and employment creation through industrialisation. It is generally accepted by all sides that this is the obvious way out of poverty. Yet in the process this has completely alienated and undermined any indigenous authority and disregarded their knowledge and entire way of life.

All these theories on ways of the measurement of poverty that have come out of this debate follow the understanding that if one were able to accurately measure poverty this will ultimately lead to a cure. Poverty measurement has become another modern infliction thrust upon the poor that has thus far failed to produce the results and have shown completely disregard to alternative paths of existence, cultures and knowledge. Perhaps we are valuing or measuring the wrong things. To try to understand this better the next chapter will look to pre-colonial African history in an endeavour to understand what went wrong.

The historical concept of poverty is the loss of political autonomy and resistance to colonialism and as a ‘struggle against and response to impoverishment under colonial rule’ (Kuhanen, 2005, pp.31). Although here in lies a problem historical accounts of poverty are frequently political biased and often written by corrupt [] ‘officials with their own agendas and lacking the voice of the poor’ (*op cite*).

Despite these biases, and in attempt to move away from the Hobsbawmian perspective of Africa as a savage dark continent without history or ‘the Rousseauian picture of an African golden age of perfect liberty, equality and fraternity’ (Hodgkin, 1957, pp. 174-75: cite).

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Mudimbe, 1988), notwithstanding the lack of African agency in international relations and in written African political history, the next chapter will delve into the African history in an endeavour to reveal some of the issues that have created prolonged poverty in Africa.

Chapter Two

A Short History of Africa, Poverty & the Bushman

At the Dawn of man the Bushman possessed all the land. They treated the 'Bush' as a gift from 'God', as is the water, air, and animals, theirs to use and share. Then the people who knew better, the people with the cows and things arrived. The people who took the land and dispossessed the Bushman, Now Bushman have no 'Bush', no 'land', nothing but a dying memory of how it used to be, before the people who knew better, the people with things arrived (c.f. Perrott, 1992, pp. 1-7).

There is little that has been inflicted upon people anywhere in Africa that has not or also been inflicted on the Bushman of southern Africa. Consequently by studying the history of the Bushman one is actually getting a micro perspective on what went wrong within the African sub-continent.

'Of all southern African people exposed to the colonial onslaught, those labelled 'Bushman' have the longest, most valiant, if [not] costly record of resistance to colonialism' (Gordon, 1992 pp. 6-7: Gordon, 2009).

The Bushman have suffered persecutions for hundreds of years. They have suffered persecutions from African people, who moved on to their territory with cows, and later from the white settlers. Treated as animals by the European settlers by the 1870s they had been hunted to extinction in the cape. The last legal license to hunt Bushman was issued by the South African

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government in 1927 and as late as 1936 in Namibia (*c.f.* Gall, 2002: Gordon, 1992: Isaacson, 2001: *et al*)

The Bushman were used in genetic experiments by the Germans in Namibia, who cut off their heads to measure the thickness of their skulls and sent specimens back to Germany for show. They were trying to prove that they were evolutionarily less evolved than Europeans which was a common misconception of the time. The delusional unbridled superiority of Europeans was justified by early colonizers in 'doing God's work'. This belief cemented with pious misguided conceptions of Darwinism, used to justify the bringing of God and civilisation to the savages. The fact that Africans already had their own conceptions of God and civilisation was irrelevant.

In Namibia the Germans attempted to dog tag all the Bushman in order to control their movement. A Bushman caught without a tag was either imprisoned, put to work, experimented on, hung, shot or simply had their heads chopped off (*c.f.* Gordon, 2009: Isaacson, 2001: *et al*).

How it was

Although we may have little real evidence in the form of written text of how Africa was before colonisation, we do know how we found it.

Given the conditions in many parts of Africa at the time of early colonisation, it is hard to imagine that people of sub-Saharan Africa, and particularly for those in the southern part of the sub-continent, had ever experienced protracted hunger or even starvation. In a place abundant with wild life, fertile land and plentiful water it would appear unlikely and there is no evidence of it ever happening.

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‘Travellers [in Africa] of the pre-colonial era encountered no poverty there [claimed the] Ghanaian Emperor seated upon a “platform of red and gold”, ‘Tarikh el Fettach [treated his subject to] ten thousand meals’ [served daily] (Diop, 1987, pp141).

Nonetheless the question must be asked, did Africans understand the concept of poverty? If so, what definitions would they have used to describe it.

The main source of how Africa was before annexation comes from the writings of missionaries and early explorers. The Portuguese and Spanish records of slave trading goes as far back as the late 1460^s and are a main source of material for 15th and 16th century African history (*c.f.* Kodesh, 2011: Wheat, 2011: *et al*). Later the accounts from the slaves themselves proved an invaluable source of information.

In more modern times anthropological studies and epigenetic investigations have discovered new links in Africa history. However, until recently African history has mainly been written by Westerners. Consequently, early accounts of African history are tainted with a Eurocentric or Indo-European bias (*c.f.* Davidson, 1991: *et al*).

The true history which comes from the African peoples by means of stories, ceremonies and dance, traditionally this knowledge is handed down to younger generations over centuries. This is a common custom in many African societies, including that of the Bushman. Interpreting the stories and dance is the key to understanding much of how Africa was in ancient times. However, said interpretations are still open to cultural and ethnic biases.

Cattle and People

The domestication of cattle and livestock has been traditionally followed by the establishment of agricultural practises in most parts of the world. In Africa however, the domestication of cattle

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and the advent of agriculture took a much different route altogether. In many parts of Africa people have herded cattle for centuries, yet never took up agriculture. Other groups only recently took to a mix of agriculture and herding; many still follow a nomadic herding lifestyle (*c.f.* Davidson, 1991; Diamond, 1997; Diop, 1987: et al).

A change in the perception of the meaning of wealth and power took place for Africans with the arrival of cows into the subcontinent. Conceptually, a man with lots of cows did not have to hunt therefore did not have to work. He was rich. A man with no cows had to hunt therefore was poor. This was an important shift away from indigenous modes of production. This shift in perceptions represents the beginnings of the land struggle between “hunter gather tribes” and cattle herders.

In today’s world the concept of cows as wealth is not considered in poverty calculations. Yet in places like Botswana cows are still consider more valuable than money. Poverty calculations fail to consider poverty in these terms, yet there are many Africans whose only wealth is cows. The loss of cows would place them in poverty.

As population grew and spread across the continent many tribes still maintained a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence relaying on cows, hunting, and gathering, with some barter trading. People migrated over many hundreds of kilometres as the seasons changed and populations grew (*c.f.* Bennett,1984: Davidson,1991: Diamond, 1998: Diop, 1987: *et al.*)

In the south people began to settle, as the land had no apparent owners, except the Bushman. For the new settlers with cows, Bushman claims to land did not count. Bushman owned no cattle and had no chiefs with whom to negotiate (*c.f.* Gall, 2002: *et al*).

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Across Africa, many great nations were built on a mix of cattle, gold, copper, ivory, pots and art as well as some cultivated crops such as bananas, plantain and yams. This represented the beginnings of an African economy (*c.f.* Bennett, 1984 Davidson: 1991: Diop, 1987: *et al*).

Before They Came

It was told that even before the first contact with the white man and the Soaqua² in 1653 in the Cape, that far away in the northern Kalahari in Botswana the Bushman were being subjugated and forced into slavery, being forced to look after the cattle of the Tawana tribes who had moved into Bushman territory from the neighbouring Ngami land. Competition increased between the new Tawana cattle herders and the Bushman of northern Bechuanaland, as cattle and Tawana competed against wild life and the Bushman for land and water (*c.f.* Gall, 2002: Hitchcock, 2002: Wilmsen, Denbow, Bicchieri, *et al.* 1990).

The Bushman having no sense of ownership saw the Tawana cattle as easy prey. This obviously brought a lot of problems for the Bushman and they were soon labelled as thieves and outsiders, by the herder tribes. Derogatory names ultimately help to maintain the exclusion of Bushman from the rest of African society (*c.f.* Gall, 2002, *et al*).

In retaliation for the Bushmen killing cattle, the Tawana sent out hunting parties to hunt and kill Bushman. The lucky ones were captured and used as slaves, being forced to tend the

² Soaqua used by Van Riebeeck to describe the bushman, originally the masculine plural form of the Khoekhoe term for Khoisan (originally spelled Koisan). Contact with the Khoekhoe was actually made earlier than official records, by a crew member of Vasco De Gama in April 1497 (see chapter 3: pp,44 of this paper). Some trading with the Khoekhoe was also carried out before Van Riebeeck. It must be noted there was little distinction made between the Khoekhoe and the Bushman at this time and is likely this contact was only with the Khoekhoe (Barnard, Alan (2004) *Hunter-gatherers in history, archaeology and anthropology*, Oxford ; New York, Berg, Barnard, Alan (2007) *Anthropology and the bushman*, Oxford ; New York, Berg. *et al*)

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Tawana cattle (Gall, 2002: Hitchcock, 2002: Wilmsen & Denbow, *et al.*, 1990). Amartya Sen (2001) argues that the loss of freedom and entitlements is a fundamental component of poverty; could this have been the first steps into poverty for the Bushman?

In the Cape the story was much the same although perhaps a little more peaceful than in the north. Before the European settlers arrived there appeared to be some form of understanding between the Bushman and the Khoekhoe. The Bushman in the Southern Cape did not appear to have natural tendency to hunt Khoekhoe cattle, perhaps because of the abundance of animals. Wild life, Khoekhoe, cattle and Bushman lived alongside each other on the plains of the cape with little trouble (*c.f.* Barnard, 2007: Gall, 2002).

Bushman tells stories of hunting antelope from between the legs of Khoekhoe cows. However, the Khoekhoe still considered the Bushman as inferior. This is evident in the names used to describe them. San, San-Khoi, Khoi-San are all derogatory terms, meaning men without cows or without things. These terms used by the Khoekhoe, designated the bushman to the lowest status in society.

The Khoekhoe also employed Bushman to tend their cattle although not to the extent of Tawana tribes in the north and they could not have been consider slaves to Khoekhoe s as they could leave (*c.f.* Barnard, 2007: Gall, 2002:Wilmsen, 1990).

Who's Who

There is little distinction between the Khoekhoe tribes and the Bushman claims Barnard (2004).The main apparent difference is that the Bushman are in fact Khoekhoe without cattle. Suggesting that they once had cattle but had lost them along the way. However, he gives no proper explanation as to why they might have lost their cows. His theory is doubtful, as there is

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more evidence to suggest that if they were once the same tribe, this is likely; which in fact could be said for all people³. It is more likely that the Khoekhoe that took the alternative route to farming and cattle herding. The Bushman remained living as they had always done, as hunter gatherers out of choice.

As cattle herding nation's grew in size tribes like Bushman and those that did not take up cows were marginalised in numbers. They lived in an ever decreasing area in which it is safe to live without being imperilled into bondage, or killed. Yet even the Bushman could not have imagined what to expect once the white man arrived.

Pre-Colonial Hunger

Whether or not Africans had suffered the effects of protracted mass hunger, poverty or such deprivations before European colonisation is open to debate, though doubtful. There is little evidence to suggest that they did. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that they had maintained their lifestyle and developed a mixture of rich cultures across the sub-continent with strong traditional heritages vested over many centuries.

We know that most tribes had systems and techniques developed over thousands of years to fend off the worst of the conditions of drought (*c.f.* Davidson, 1991). Nomadic people like the Bushman of the central Kalahari were, and indeed still are, adept at dealing with drought and harsh conditions. Their methods of dealing with drought are extensive and have remained unchanged for thousands of years. The Bushman of the Kalahari relies upon traditional watering

³ Epigenetic studies have shown that all people can be traced to a small group of around between '1000 and 10,000 people living in the Cape some 200,000'years ago, the only people in the Cape at that time were Bushman so therefore seemingly all people share common ancestry with the Bushman; as they rightly claim they really are the first people (Barnard 2004: Deacon and Deacon 1999: Gall 2001).

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holes and wells, between which they travel as the seasons change. When it is dry or no water is available, they use tubers, roots melons, or previously stored water buried in ostrich eggs or dried hollow tubers.

They are expert hunters and gathers of food and resources and are entirely self-sufficient. Often living and hunting in small mobile bands that move with the seasons, they follow the wildlife and the rain. They possess an extensive knowledge of their environment, which they use to their full advantage for maintaining their way of life (*c.f.* Barnard, 2004: Barnard, 2007: Gall, 2002).

In fact all Africans had systems for dealing with drought long before colonisation, knowing this; it is hard to imagine that poverty meant having no food or dying from thirst. The evidence suggests there was an abundance of wild life in Africa. Also, just because many people choose to rear cows does not mean they forgot how to hunt or find alternatives sources of food and water during hard times.

After all, once all the tribes of Africa lived as hunter gathers. Indeed many cultures still use a combination of cattle rearing, hunting and gathering along with formal employment (*c.f.* Barnard, 2004: Barnard, 2007: Davidson, 1991: Gall, 2002: Hitchcock, 2002: *et al*).

Competition and Leadership

Egalitarian tribes living a hunter gatherer lifestyle coexisted with cattle rearing people across much of Africa. However, as cattle and people increased in numbers, competition for land and water and other resources also grew. It would be wrong to say that the Bushmen were marginalised into sparse regions, as Barnard (2007) would have us believe. Rather it would be more accurate to claim that they were actually hunted, enslaved or assimilated out of existence in

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areas where the fiercest competition was to be found. They have always lived in the desert regions and in the areas where they are still found today. Bushman originally ranged from Northern Botswana into Namibia and onto the cape, a distance of some 14000km. It was the same artists that painted the famous rock art in Tsedelo Hills Botswana that also painted the Cape rock art in South Africa (Gall, 2002: *et al*).

No Formal Rule

The Bushman, unlike all other tribes in Africa, has no culture of leadership. Many tribes, including the Bushman, combine a belief of God as Creator and ancestor worship. The spirits guide and protect the people and the village from danger. They also heal the sick. For most tribes the spirits speak through a chosen hierarchical leadership of elders, shamanic priests and dancers. In Bushman society worship and healing is expressed through dance that any clan member young or old can initiate. To an outsider the Bushman life is simple and disjointed and yet they are a highly complex society.

African society's were often large and highly organized tribes that had structured leadership with rule of law, imposed through systems of kings and chiefs. Systems of justice and order were enforced through the chiefs and their representatives. Disputes were settled through local chiefs or passed on to the paramount chief when problems could not be resolved locally.

The Bushman generally lived in small bands of 10-14 people within disorderly egalitarian societies with no formal authority. This made them easy to abuse as they had no mass organized resistance (*c f*: (Hitchcock, 2002: Davidson, 1991: Gall, 2002: *et al*).

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Changing Perceptions

Before colonisation the African people were not man-eating savages as often portrayed in early 17th and 18th century writings. Nor a subspecies of human at the bottom of the evolutionary ladder as described in early 19th century thinking. They were highly adept organized societies. Not, as with most societies, without their problems, but on the whole strong, well organized, and self-sufficient societies, economically viable yet without a recognisable formal economic system or currency. But they did have a gold standard.

Africa's gold standard, claims Diop (1987), had been in operation for many hundreds of years before the Europeans arrived. Gold dust, copper and salt was traded at set rates of exchange from which kings would claim taxes. The standard of 4.6 grams of gold dust called a Mitkil was worth between '500-3000 cowries'. This practise was widespread across much of Africa (Diop, 1987, chp.6, pp.134).

The Slave Trade

By the time Europeans decided to colonise Africa, the slave trade had been taking its toll on the continent pretty much continually since the 13th century. There were at least four major slave routes out of the continent. By the '1850s' the African continent should have held double the population than it did had the slave trade not taken place (Manning, P, 1990, pp.171: cited: Nunn, 2008, pp.142).

It is estimated that between 1701 and 1810, approximately eighteen million slaves were exported from Africa. Nun (2008) puts the total number of captured African people transported via the Trans-Atlantic slave route at around '12 million' with another '6 million' exported via

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other slave trade routes (Nunn, 2008). ‘These figures do not include those killed during raids or those who died on their journey to the coast’ (Nun, 2008)⁴.

“There are reasons to expect that the slave trade may have been at least as important as official colonial rule for Africa’s development. For a period of nearly 500 years, from 1400 to 1900, the African continent simultaneously experienced four slave trades. By comparison, official colonial rule lasted from 1885 to about 1960, a total of approximately 75 years” (Nunn, 2008).

The loss to the African continent cannot be counted in lives alone. Slavery must have affected the development of the entire continent setting it back years through lost productive asset and retarded social change. The slave trade inevitably broke bonds and kinships that had been established for many centuries.

Guns and Slaves: For Sale

Slaves were traded for guns, gunpowder and other weaponry as well as salt, spices and other such goods. The result was, weakening opposition and securing dominance over the kings or chiefs. The slave trade set Africans against Africans and caused wars where previously peaceful bonds had held. For the kings and chiefs it meant having guns, weapons and power.

The slave trade itself did not affect the whole of the continent. It was dominant on the west coast as far down as Angola but did not expand any further. On the east coast the trade extended as far down as Mozambique. In the north, east and west the African slave trade penetrated deep into the interior from both coasts.

⁴See also, Lagerl, 2005 & Mitchener and McLean, 2003 for related Evidence.

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A Question of Ownership

The great Zulu, Xhosa, Ngami and Ndebele nations of the far south were never affected by the slave trade before the settlers.

The only people being enslaved in the south were the Bushman albeit on a considerably smaller scale. However, Russell (1976) argues, there may be some linguistic misinterpretation of earlier accounts of Tswana claims to Bushman ownership. 'Bushmen certainly have been 'enslaved' to the Tswana.' However, 'in making this claim the Tswana were unlikely to be making the kind of claim that we first suppose. "He is mine" is more likely to suggest that he works for me; therefore, he is my responsibility. Instead of actually implying he is my slave(Russell, 1976). This sounds reasonable, however, definitions of slavery and that of the freely employed is a very fine line, as Finley (1964) suggests,

'All forms of labour on behalf of another take place under conditions of relative powerlessness. Our own readiness to contrast the degradation of slavery with the dignity of paid wage labour is a wonderful testimony to the effectiveness with which our own system has effectively legitimated its own particular form of relatively un-free labour' (Russell, 1976).

The Bushman did suffer from of their encounters with cattle herding tribes however, they still represented, vibrant, and complex culture. The Bushman, as with many other African societies, were only reduced to a state of paucity by the incursion of the European.

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The Spirit Lives On

Somehow the African spirit had survived and the continent was in full flourish despite the obvious setbacks caused by slavery. Africa remained a vibrant and rich continent with the many tribes from one nation living the way they had always done “free” (Diop,1987, chp.1-2).

It is in this spirit the Europeans found Africa, In a time of great wealth and civilised according to culture and traditions of Africa’s many ancient societies’. A subcontinent teeming with wild life and a rich flora that provided for the people’s needs. All except for the few unfortunate indentured Bushman and the people being enslaved, were experiencing a golden age, suggests (*c.f.* Diop, 1987,1984: Bennett, 1990: Davidson, 1991). The next chapter focuses on the changes that took place after Europe settlers arrived and the creation of poverty.

Chapter Three

The Bushman: Poverty and the Effects of the Colonial Onslaught

In order to understand and place African poverty in its historical context, this chapter discusses the effects of Colonialism and its discontents. Starting from the establishment of the colonial economic system and proceeding to analyse its social and economic demographics. Africa faced disruptions to indigenous production systems [which] contributed to a life ‘of 'disease full' poverty with frequent famines, chronic malnutrition, and disease’ (Kuhanen, 2005, pp.22) previously unheard of inflictions.

By the time Dutch settlers landed in the Cape, African people with cattle already occupied the land from north to south, east to west. Great empires, not yet known to the outside world, existed. Utilising a mixture of farming, cattle herding and trade combined with hunting

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and gathering, great civilisations had spread across the continent. Things were about to change as the “new world” impinged itself upon the last “untamed” continent of the known world.

To explain the roots of Bushman poverty one has illustrate the colossal dispossession suffered by indigenous Africans at the hands of European colonisers. Colonisation wiped out rich indigenous societies at the same time as introducing a European cultural paradigm that viewed indigenous culture as inferior: to be judged assimilated, educated and replaced by ‘superior’ European cultures.

A Shaky Start

From the outset the relations between the Bushman⁵ and the new white settlers was fraught with problems. In 1497 at the bequest of Vasco de Gama, crew man Fernao Veloso Landed on the southernmost point in Africa in a small boat with his men looking for water to supply the Portuguese ship anchored of shore. A group of Bushman watched as the party came ashore. As the men clambered from their boat the Bushman broke cover and charged, shooting arrows and throwing spears. They succeeded in chasing the white invaders back into their boat and away (*c.f.* Barnard, 2007). This was the very first contact between the Cape Bushman and the white man. Although it was not until 1652 when Jan Van Riebeeck and his 90 men arrived to build a fort and vegetable garden for re-supplying ships on route to the Indies, that Europeans began to settle in the Cape.

Early colonisation was based on the principles of self-sufficiency, whilst at the time much of Africa had subsistence economies in place. From the outset the new settlers complained about

⁵It must be noted there was little distinction made between the Khoekhoe and the Bushman at this time and it is possible that this contact was only with the Khoekhoe. Soaqua used by Van Riebeeck to describe the Bushman, originally the masculine plural form of the Khoekhoe term for Khoisan (originally spelled Koisan) (Barnard, A. 2004).

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the Bushman, accusing them of stealing cows and having no 'interest in the protestant work ethic' (Gall, 2001, pp96) when employed to help build the new town or work in the gardens. In reality they most likely had 'no wish to be labourers in the white man's [farms and] vineyards' (*c.f.* Barnard 2007: Gall, 2001, pp.99: Guenther 1977: *et al*).

The new settlers in the Cape soon began pushing further in to the interior claiming more and more land for their own, which brought the obvious contentions from the cattle herding Khoekhoe tribes and the Bushman. Disputes were settled between the Khoekhoe and the settlers with the new settlers agreeing to share grazing with the Khoekhoe on common land, however, the Bushman were banned from the common land and banned from hunting anywhere. The white settler offered rewards to the Khoekhoe for dead or captured Bushman (*c.f.* Barnard 2007: Gall 2001: Guenther 1977: *et al*), effectively becoming a currency for other tribes.

The lack of a legal system meant that the early colonisation processes was left mostly unchecked by common law. Consequently they created their own set of rules that were not equal for all people, thus allowing white settlers to treat the African population as they pleased, without needing to justify their actions to a court of law

What is interesting to note at this point is that a familiar pattern is emerging that was repeated across much of Africa. That is the favouring of one people over another based on perceived wealth the Khoekhoe owned cows and farmed. This favouritism could be one of the root causes of current contemporary disputes. The current day ruling elites just happened to be those same tribes that the European's favoured during colonisation, a coincidence perhaps, most likely not. Later divisions in the South African political structure only helped widen division between the many tribes in the south. Many of these divided tribes are now opposing political

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parties based on ethnicity rather and solid political principles; possibly another reason much of Africa remains impoverished.

The Boer⁶ viewed the Bushman as a savage untameable animal, and were considered fair game they could be hunted and killed with impunity in later time they issued licenses to hunt bush man (My hunter's Heart, 2012) The Boer began conducting raiding parties into Bushman land, committing indiscriminate slaughter along the way. Killing men, women and children, whole family groups were slaughtered at once (*c.f.* Barnard 2007: Gall 2001: Guenther 1977).

Bushman Revenge

The Bushman retaliated to the white invasion with much courage and inventiveness, choosing not to attack the new Boers settlers head on instead they began a campaign to make life difficult for the new settlers. Bushman would steal sheep and cattle and harass the Khoekhoe who worked for the new Boer invaders. Unfortunately from these actions the Bushman in the Cape also acquired the reputation of being cattle rustlers and thieves, a dishonour that stuck with them well into the twentieth century (*c.f.* Gall 2001: *et al*). Derogatory labels that transcend time enforce the imposition of historically contingent negative attitudes towards Bushman.

The struggle between the Bushman and the Boer came to head with the Battle of Sneeberg, in which the Bushman suffered a heavy defeat. This cleared the way for the Trek Boers to cross the mighty Orange River and begin the "Groot Trek" in 1835. By 1847 the northwest cape as far as the Orange River was completely annexed by the settlers. Bushman land was declared a communal grassing land, only the Bushman had no rights or access to this land (Gall, 2001, pp.94-100: *et al*).

⁶Boer is the Dutch name for Farmer; the early Dutch trekkers took this name as their common identity.

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The killing did not stop at Sneeburg. The slaughter of Bushman would continue until the Cape was completely free of all Bushman, although it marked an important turning point for the Bushman's struggle against assimilation into Western culture.

'The last known Bushman artist of the Maluti Tribe was shot in the Wittenberg Native Reserve', 'he had ten small horn pots hanging from his belt, each of which contained a different colour paint with no two colours alike and each had a marked difference from the rest. It was apparent from his dress that he was well respected amongst his people'. Thus perished 'the last of the painter tribes of Bushman' (Stow, 1905, pp. 230: cited Barnard 2007, pp. 35). With him died a 20,000 year old tradition of Bushman rock art. By the turn of the century only 500 Bushman remained in the Cape. The Cape Bushman had put up a brave and gallant struggle, in an inevitably failing battle against the Boers.

Here ends the story of the Cape Bushman, the only Bushman left were now in the desert regions of Namibia and Botswana. The victory over the Bushman spurred the Boers on and into the interior in search of land and wealth, eventually leading them to discover gold in 1886. Gold helped to produce the first European rush to claim the Southern African interior and its riches.

Monetisation: The Creation of African Poverty

The 'great scramble for Africa' began in the late nineteenth century during the first great depression of European industrial capitalism in 1873-96. Although it was not until the great explorer Stanley (1874-1877) navigated the Congo River in '1877' that the way was opened for the first great scramble to claim the African interior. Until then colonies had been concentrated around the African coasts (Wills, 1887: Hobsbawm, 1994, 1996).

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In 1876, Europeans ruled around 10% of Africa. By 1900, they had extended their control to around 90% of the continent. Africa, the last great frontier, was carved up primarily between Britain and France, with considerable expanses going to Belgium, Germany and Portugal (Hobsbawm, 2006, 1996, 1994)

Africa had to be monetised from scratch. The monetisation process was for many a brutal experience. Early colonization saw British soldiers riding across southern Africa burning huts and grain stores, usurping cattle, sheep, goats, chickens, grain and any other food stock they could utilise (Papers, 1789, 1852, 1878, 1884, 1887, 1893, 1896, 1897, 1918, 1836)

People were forced into servitude with the imposition of a hut Tax for anyone who wished to rebuild or keep their huts or continue farming. This gave people no choice but to earn coin from the only place possible, by working for the white man (Sittert, 2002: Makgala, 2004: Gluckman, Mitchell & Barnes, 1949: Papers, 1789, 1852, 1878, 1884, 1887, 1893, 1896, 1897, 1918, 1836, *et al*)

Thus African cultures were being eradicated and subsistent agrarian societies were being modified through the imposition of European socio-economic values that accumulated wealth into the hands of the few. Indigenous values were being dispossessed and in place new structures appeared. Africans were at the bottom of the ladder and the Bushman below that held the status of animal (*op cite*).

The Birth of Bechuanaland

When the white man eventually arrived in what became northern Bechuanaland in '1874' they found large Tawana herder tribes and Bushman. The Tawana sold large areas of prime cattle country to the new white settlers, showing total disregard for any claims of ownership from

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the Bushman. This is perhaps because the Bushman concept of land is that no man can own it. However, in reality simply no one bothered to ask him. Bushman was required to provide what was asked of them by the new Tswana⁷ elites (Hitchcock, 2002, p5: Gall, 2002: *et al*). Once again the Bushman was banned from large swathes of their own territory.

All across Africa similar patterns emerged that saw the destruction of social systems and survival mechanism that were systematically stripped away and replaced with colonial rules. Along with the destruction of property crops and theft of livestock heavy fines were imposed for breaking the rules or not paying hut tax. New rules all but destroyed any claim of autonomy whilst imposing dependency on the new colonisers and their mother land, through the sudden need to earn coin (Papers, 1789, 1852, 1878, 1884, 1887, 1893, 1896, 1897, 1918, 1836, *et al*).

‘The young nations rightly fear, seeing their original world swallowed up in the whirlpools of industrial society and disappear forever, somewhat like animal species we try with difficulty and often in vain to protect against the invasion of technical man’ (Bigo, 1974: pp. 23 cited: (Mudimbe, 1988, p5).

The West as Developed, Africa as a Resources/Agricultural Extract Economy

“The great historical tragedy of Africa has been not so much that it was too late in making contact with the rest of the world, as the manner in which that contact was brought about; that Europe began to propagate at a time when it had fallen into the

⁷ The first great leader of Bechuanaland Khama III chief of the Bangwato who owned many cows almost as many as all the tribes around him collectively, so “rightly” he became the first Chief of the Tswana tribes and he alone gathered the many tribes of Bechuanaland and created the Tswana nation Crowder, Michael (1985) Tshakedi khama and opposition to the british administration of the bechuanaland protectorate, 1926-1936. *The Journal of African History*, 26, 193-214, Henderson, Willie (1990) Seretse khama: A personal appreciation. *African Affairs*, 89, 27-56. *et al*.)

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hands of the most unscrupulous financiers and captains of industry” (Césaire, 1972: cite: Mudimbe 1988, pp.2: Schwarz & Ray, 2000, chp.13).

Nearing the end of the 19th century the raiding of the continents riches was on-going. Africa has a vast and often harsh environment along with a large wide spread populations, which made it all the more difficult to control. Large areas remained pretty much as they had always been except for the odd interference from the authorities collecting taxes or ministers seeking souls to save.

Nomadic tribes where just that – nomadic, their obstacle was the creation of colonial borders; this meant they now had less space in which to live. In times of drought they were simply stuck consequently “Hungry season was invented” in Africa. Creating yet more depravation and suffering. The freedom to roam is not included in most current poverty measures they consequently miss the negative effects that the creation of borders have inflicted on nomadic tribes.

New crops that had first appeared in the 1600s and onwards like maize for example brought over by the Portuguese as well as other crops such as tea and sugar and tobacco had by now become widespread, alongside cattle, sheep and goats, creating a commodification resource. However, mostly Africans found themselves growing these high value crops on white farms. Indecently the reliance on some these new crops eventually proved to be another folly, when locust and drought devastated low resistant crops.

The End of Tradition

The Final nail in the coffin for the traditional African way of life came not in the form of any man, although many early African conspiracy theorists indeed blamed the White man. In

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1889 Rinderpest made its first appearance in Somaliland (Van Onselen, 1972, pp.2) brought over accidentally by the Italians.

Moving south Rinderpest spread through Africa at a rate of 'twenty miles a day' (Van Onselen, 1972, pp.2) devastating Africa's wild life and cattle. By 1897 it had reached as far south as Groot Schurr in Southern Africa. For the cattle herders and farmers the loss of livestock meant no income or food. Van Onselen (1972) argues that this accelerated the process of migrant workers into the mines whilst also being indirectly responsible for the rapid urbanisation that took place around the turn of 19th century. Many Africans whom had lost all their wealth and means of survival flocked to the missionaries, which delighted many a missionary who saw the Rinderpest as a blessing in disguise (Van Onselen, 1972: *et al*).

At the end of the century Rinderpest and big game hunting had taken their toll on African wild life with many species close to extinction as much as '95% of southern African cattle' (Phoofolo, 2003: Van Onselen, 1972: *et al*) were wiped out. In response, large areas of African Bush were turned over to wildlife conservation and hunting was curtailed. These game conservation areas excluded people and banned black Africans from Hunting. Only the Bushman of the central Kalahari fared well from this deal as the British in Bechuanaland land saw no use for the central desert region and set it aside for Bushman and animals. Thus the Bushman had finally found a home in which to be left in peace; little did they know it was not to last.

1900 saw colonial acquisition of Africa almost completed, it was clear at this point they did not get it all their own way. A new politicised African emerged creating resistance to the colonial onslaught. African opportunists used the myth that Rinderpest was white man's

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invention and plan to rob Africans of their means to exist to further enslave them. They [the opportunist] turned it into a political tool, in attempt to raise anger and turn people against the colonial masters (Davidson, 1991: Van Onselen, 1972).

New Imperialism

Imperial powers began by thinking that they could remould Africa after the image of the West and rationalise the exploitation of the continent. As Cooper argues by the First World War ‘they were largely frustrated’ (Cooper, 1994, pp. 25-26) by their efforts and endeavoured to disguise their failures, through system of indirect rule, made to look like attempts at preserving African culture and society (ibid); when in affect they were actually aiding the destruction of culture as it was seen as primitive and in the way of modernisation.

Modernisation placed too much emphasis on the creation of a monetary economy without regard for indigenous concepts of wealth. Indigenous structures such as access to land and barter were replaced with coin and the paying of taxes to white governments.

The systems that the colonials had built where constructed on racial and class lines, mainly black and white with some favoured elite Blacks in more senior positions as puppets for the rulers. This created divisions between black elites and black working class with the old tribal statuses of elder, leader or herdsman, being replaced with “power relations”, for those who hold the favour of the colonisers to those who don’t. In this sense Africa was stripped of its original power structure sometimes turning wealthy chiefs into a poor low status person, whilst promoting otherwise low status opposition to senior positions through subversive economic empowerment tactics.

As Mudimbe (1988) argues,

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“As a[n] [] example, one could regard the social disintegration of African societies and the growing urban proletariat as results of a destabilization of customary organizations by an incoherent establishment of new social arrangements and institutions” (Mair, 1975: Memmi, 1966: Turnbull, 1962: cited:Mudimbe, 1988, pp.4).

As a result, by the end of the 1930s, many British tropical colonies in Africa were ‘debt-ridden, undeveloped, and suffering from increasing poverty and declining standards of living’ (Kuhanen, 2005, pp. 20).

The resistance seeded at the turn of the century began to remerge, only this time much more politicised, militarised and organised than before with a new cry for African independence.

The new era of development instigated by the empire allowed opportunist to grab wealth from colonial development programs. Subsequent “favouritisms’ on either tribal or ethnic principle’ created further divides amongst African elites squabbling for the spoils of colonial hand-outs. Already ostracized groups were marginalised, sent even deeper into poverty, and left on fringes of society. This included groups like the Bushman, even if they had wanted to develop along the lines of modernity; they had the least chance of all of achieving it.

The Cold War Years

The lost “Decades” of the cold war years saw Africa as the victim of Truman’s containment strategies, and the struggle for the ideological mind of the African people. ‘[The] impact of colonial policy and doctrines of geopolitical strategic containment changed African social attitudes towards political rule’ (Lockwood 2005, pp.4). The lack of widespread knowledge and enforcement of law along with the quick transitions to independence, allowed for corruption to take route at the very heart of African politics.

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Fragile States emerged run by despotic African leaders who used the huge loans that came with independence, and the cold war hand outs, to build large armies and create authoritarian states. The fungibility of subsequent development money was hard to chart as millions of dollars was diverted into overseas bank accounts, used to buy weapons, or simply never seen again. As a consequence, many projects across Africa came to an abrupt end as funds dried up and work stopped.

Unequal distribution and a rising impoverished population began to take its toll on the weak states; the people of the Africa began to fight each other on a scale never seen before. Marginalized groups desperately following corrupt, despotic, political hopefuls, applied pressure on weak states. Revolt came with pockets of violence and semi isolated wars all across the continent; which for some ultimately lead to genocides and atrocities incomparable in history.

The Failing African States and the Neo-Liberal Counter Revolution

Wars of the 70s, 80s fuelled and funded by, and sometime plotted by the West did nothing towards solving Africa's growing poverty. Drives to modernise failed across the sub-continent. Africa had gained its independence but not yet fully gained its freedom. By the end of the cold war the many Western governments turned their backs on states that held no more strategic interest or mineral wealth. States that were left to fend for themselves collapsed under the burden of debt and wide spread poverty (Meredith, 2005: Harden, 1990: *et al*).

Systems of clientelism saw African political leaders gaining power from favour. From this fertile ground a new class of opposition rose. A new African middle class emerged out of corrupt unregulated systems, supported by unequal divisions of wealth and privilege, where money meant

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power and the justification of opposition as legitimate; by any means (Meredith, 2005: Collier, 2007: Harden, 1990: *et al*).

The late eighties and the nineties saw the rise the resource curse. Blood diamonds, Bauxite, Cobalt and Oil, to name but a few. All should have helped Africa grow rich but unfair trading rules, despotism and greed saw the riches of new found wealth squandered into white elephant projects and the pockets of the elite (Meredith, 2005: Collier, 2007:*et al*).

Meanwhile the Bushman living in the central Kalahari were pretty much a rarely seen tourist attraction. However, Bushman near populated areas in Namibia and South Africa had the hardest time, often being harassed and chased out of the area. Authorities were unable to easily roundup Bushman and give them documents. Consequently, when caught they were arrested, imprisoned and forced into hard labour for extended periods of time, for failure to produce a “Dom Pass”⁸.

Neo-Liberalism and Globalisation

Neo-liberal globalisation accelerated the destruction of indigenous social economic systems. Political elites hoisted this vision of modernisation and growth at the expense of indigenous values.

“Economic growth – including that induced by globalization, - will result in urbanization, undermining traditional rural societies. Unfortunately, so far, those responsible for managing globalization, while praising these positive benefits, all too often have shown

⁸ Under the apartheid system all black, coloured or Indian South Africans had to carry identification documents and carry a pass book, nicknamed the Dom pass, showing the holder had permission to be in the area, or not.

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an insufficient appreciation of this adverse side, the threat to cultural identity and values” (Stiglitz, 2002, P247).

Neoliberal development continues to fuel destruction of culture through harmonisation.

Indigenous living is not encouraged or accepted as viable.

Structure, Divisions and War

The neo-liberal revolution saw the rise of the African pirate entrepreneur and the creation of Buccaneer states and resource grabbing militias. Killing many and stealing yet more wealth from the people in the form of deracination and stock theft as well as raping women and the conscripting of men and children into militias. Bushman and other indigenous groups were conscripted as trackers and guides during skirmishes. The breakdown of communities decimated entire regions.

The systemic break down and assimilation of African society during the late imperial period was only partially successful. As a subaltern view would suggest, assimilation took place in an environment where, due to the geography, only pockets of development happened. Over time this allowed for the growth of resistance (Cooper, 1994).

Still today Africa has areas of major development with vast stretches of harsh bush or dry desert between one developed area and another. Not only is it difficult to control or police and still means that many isolated population are being left out of development thinking, despite their reliance on the modernisation process and entry into new global system. Whilst others are ready to grab every opportunity they can in order to snatch wealth and power.

As Mudimbe (1988) argues ‘a dichotomizing system emerged’ with many ‘paradigmatic oppositions []: traditional versus modern, oral versus written [] agrarian [] communities

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versus urban and industrialised civilization; subsistence economies versus highly productive economies' (Mudimbe, 1988, pp.4).

It could be argued that much of Africa is still suffering from the same ailments today.

The emerging class structures saw hunter gather tribes like the Bushman at the bottom of the social economic order. Or as the ex-President of Botswana Festus Mogwi famously quoted on the BBC TV news in 2007, "there is no place for people living in the Stone Age, in Botswana". A view that has changed little since Van Riebeeck landed in the Cape in 1475.

Modern Slaves

Two key characteristics of slavery are people as property and deracination. The Bushmen in Botswana cannot be considered "enslaved" according to Finley (1964) as they are aboriginal inhabitants. According to Russell they were never enslaved and it was down to a dialectic misinterpretation that considered them so. However, their forced removal from the CKD (Central Kalahari District) could be seen as a form of 'deracination' (Russell, 1976) .

In contradiction to Finley (1964) and Russell (1976) doubting ownership views of Bushman by Tswana elites, in 1993 Geoffrey Oteng the Botswana Government's assistant minister of local Government, lands and housing in Gaborone in 1993 issued a 'violent diatribe' at a Botswana society conference. Addressing the Bushman and John Hardbattle⁹ Minister Oteng to stated,

⁹ John Hard battle before his death was a devoted and respected campaigner for Bushman rites in Botswana. He had gained international assistance to help the Bushman fight for their rights.

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“you think that these outsiders will always help you, well one of these days they will be gone and there will only be us, and we own you, and will own you till the end of time, and you will not achieve what you want’ (cite: Gall, 2001)¹⁰.

Deracination fulfils Finley’s (1964) first criteria and this statement seemingly fulfils his and second criteria of slavery whilst challenging Russell’s (1976) views of ownership. Thus leaving the Bushman by all accounts still enslaved in the twenty first century, despite slavery being made illegal a well over century ago.

Understanding the historical processes of dispossession during colonisation is fundamental in understanding the creation of poverty in Africa. Indigenous groups have been left out of development thinking as their knowledge has been regarded as primitive and unscientific and until recently has been disregarded as useless. Moreover Africans themselves have been co-opted into the destruction of their own indigenous forms which many no longer value.

African assimilation was partially successful. Historically Africa was to be developed along the lines of Western economies, but rigged by the forces of economic imperialism to receive little benefit from ‘modernisation’, thus sowing the seeds of its own destruction through the creation of mass poverty.

The roots of African poverty are historically contingent. Contemporary conceptualisations fail to capture important historical causes. The next chapter evaluates current conceptualisation offering a simple solution.

¹⁰ This was also reported The Memegi and The Reporter, Botswana’s leading Daily new papers, although at the time of writing this paper, back issues were unavailable in the UK.

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Chapter Four

The Historical Contingence of African Poverty

The Conflicting Nature of Indigenous Modes of Production

Thus far '98%' of human existence he has been living as a hunter gatherer (Gall 2002), only 2% has been spent on technological advancement and wealth. Yet today many have an aversion to anyone living as hunter gathers, considering them primitive. It follows that they therefore do not consider their knowledge or way of living in any conception of poverty measurement.

Uniformitarians attempt to treat qualitative data in a fashion that it becomes possible to identify which aspects of hunter gather behaviour is central to their structure and which aspects are Situational. For example when we consider aspects of Bushman culture such as sharing and land ownership we are actually seeing something that is not only central to Bushman culture but also is an 'expression of a universal theme of hunter gather modes of production' (Wilmsen & Denbow et al, 1990, pp.19). This is partially along the way to understanding universal aspects of indigenous culture but as previously stated, in chapter one, misses hidden aspects. A combination of subjective and objective data is clearly needed.

Historically the San, San Kung, Kung, Yeyi and Pedi to name but a few minorities Bushman groups that inherited few rights. In Botswana, Bushman were, and to some extent still are, considered as 'Bolata (Malata)', a literal translation would be 'Serf' (Barnard, 2007: Barnard, 2004: Hitchcock, 2002, p5: *et al*) the lowest human class.

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Minority Struggle

The Bushman, like many minorities groups, 'have [] to struggle against what they [may] view as domination and discrimination from other groups and the nation-state' (Hitchcock, pp. 26). In compliance with the MDG for education, Bushman children are taken by force and pressed into the modern system of education by the Botswana government's policy of compulsory primary education for all children up to 11 years old. Bushman are struggling to keep their land, way of life whilst fighting for the education of their children, to be taught, in their own language. A situation that '[] Werbner has described as the constructive and destructive force that identity strategies have in contemporary Africa' (cite: Hitchcock, 2002, pp. 26).

If the government insists on stealing their children through education, it should at least be in a language they understand, their own. The Bushman are at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder, trapped between tradition and modernity while struggling for identity and autonomy. No current poverty measures capture these conditions.

Bushman have recently won a high profile and longest running court case in Botswana's legal history, Bushman vs. the Botswana State; over their forced removal from and return to the CKG. However, despite a court ruling in their favour (Gall 2002) their return has not been fully realised. They are now fighting for hunting and water rights, which would appear counterproductive as they already have the right to roam the C.K.D.

Considering these people are supposedly living in the "Stone Age" it would appear that they have learned to fight for their cause in the most modern of ways. In contradiction to most if

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not all poverty calculations to date, Bushman don't want to earn money or own things they just want to be left in the desert although some do now utilise a mixed economy.

Perspectives on Poverty

In a greater sense poverty is more than just the loss of material or physical asset; it is the loss of freedom which is at the route of most if not all African poverty today. Recognising the need for preservation of culture in order to maintain autonomic integrity is central to understanding the wider issues of poverty.

Poverty definitions should include freedoms and wellbeing as indicators of measurement. Sen (2001) goes a long way to recognising this aspect of poverty yet his view is still a liberal one. He sees the solution as development and income creation, Sen argues that not having access to income opportunity is a loss a freedom constituting poverty. For the Bushman the contrary is true, freedom means the incorrigible right to choose between being assimilated into the modern way of living or not, the loss of which constitutes poverty.

Therefore,

'Recognising that poverty is actually more than a status of deprivation [More] specifically, poverty is a social relationship. It is a social relationship of competition among individuals, social groups, and the State in their pursuit of wealth and political power' (Reed, 2002, pp. 2).

Policy should include minority sufferance and conceptual ideologies as necessary indices.

Poverty measurements should reflect cultural variations and conceptualisations of assets and individual vulnerability.

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Politics and Elites

The power struggles and interrelations of the political elites who don't consider marginalised minority groups and consequently their beliefs, customs, and traditions are simply left out of the equation. Whilst, under neo-liberalism, customs and traditions are seen as barriers to modernity; as a materialistic approach becomes more widespread under the guise of modernity, the cost is the loss of indigenous knowledge and ultimately the loss of the indigenous people themselves.

'In this perspective, poverty results from the competitive relationship in which a significant number of people are unable to gain access to life-supporting assets, be they productive, environmental or cultural, while others are able to secure the conditions for stable, productive lives' (Reed & Sheng, 1998: cited: Reed, 2002).

Kuhanen (2005) argues instead of considering poverty 'inherent to and rather typical of primitive' African societies' he argues that it is actually a product of political choice, that involved a 'considerable amount of coercion and violence' (Kuhanen, 2005, pp.22). It almost certainly appears to be the choice of the Bushman to resist attempts at modernisation, choosing to live as they always have.

Poverty defies simple definitions even within a single group, making generalisation and assumption difficult. A structural definition would see poverty as a social condition that reflects differing levels of access and political power between individuals and between groups.

Social definitions of poverty focusing on underlying causes that out of necessity incorporates a historical knowledge of the root causes of poverty is a viable approach to conceptualising African poverty.

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Often in Africa quantitative data is ‘non-existent or highly unreadable’ (Kuhanen, 2005, pp. 27-28) making most modern day poverty measurement’s based on quantifiable data impractical.

New definitions of poverty have significant implications in regards to policy and institutional operations as it requires economic growth in tandem with the ‘transformation of social relations at the root of poverty’ (Reed, 2002). This requires the opening of access to the poor, of productive assets at a local level whilst, nationally providing conditions for those assets to be utilised effectively (*ibid*).

Whilst others like White (2005) may argue that ‘Perhaps all that was needed all along was more money’ (White, 2005) consequently he falls in to same old trap of the many, by assuming that more money would have cured the problem. For groups like the Bushman, money is the problem and ruins lives, a concept perhaps alien to the Western mind however Bushman sees ownership and wealth as the root to dissonance. Possibly Bushman conceptualisations of poverty are ownership and loss land on which to hunt? This is notwithstanding people in cities etc. that do need money however, not all poverty can be solved with money and business as in the Bushman paradigm.

What happens to indigenous people affects us all. By recognising that they are part of the environment and protecting the people of the forests and desert will go a long way toward preservation of the environment. Policy should reflect indigenous rights, modes of production, disallowing alienation, destruction of culture and people’s lives; which to date has not been managed. The destruction of indigenous ways of life is taking place world over whether intentional or not, it is no less than global cultural and ethnic genocide.

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Ontology

Addressing epistemological questions on poverty may help focus on the issue of cultural relativism that requires a different understanding of culture. Whilst ontological pursuits may consider dollars and profit, this does not mean that they must be in conflict. Difference does not have to mean un-development. Poverty is not conceptualised the same in all cultures.

Historically African poverty has been conceptualised ontologically from an Indo-European perspective. Epistemology and ontology hold equal weight when it comes to understanding and measuring poverty, yet the difficulty still lies in the measurement of subjective or epistemological quantities.

The [neo] liberal view is too narrow. In this modern age of environmental and culturally destructive relativisms, a conceptual trans-modification of thinking is needed that accommodates multidimensional aspect of poverty through acceptance of difference. Hardt and Negri (2009) conceptualised a world that 'accepts, embraces, and integrates difference' as good and normal. Poverty measure should reflect these kinds of values. Both the subjective and objective data hold an equal value that needs to be captured in order to fully appreciate complexity.

What is needed is an empty box approach that assumes nothing, makes no presuppositions. A measure that integrates both subjective and objective concepts, that is situational and culturally relevant yet internationally comparable.

On Measurement

So we come to what can and cannot be measured, poverty is complex with as many variables as there are people and cultures. Poverty cannot be simplified down to a simple Dollar-a-Day number or even an Indo-European liberal designed multidimensional conceptual measure

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of wealth and poverty? The evidence suggests that this is not possible or thus far has not been achieved. That does not suggest we should give up trying. Rather the attempt should be to design a tool that allows indigenous groups to choose the elements that they consider is causing their particular form of poverty and what is important to them; an empty box in which they put in their perceived valued objects. In the appendices I have included data from a conceptual tool and also show different ways of presenting the results. A universal tool like this could help towards achieving these goals more research is needed.

A Conceptual Tool

The poverty tool box is a simple percentage calculator. At the same time it is also an attempt to capture culturally specific data that respects local values and asset realisation conceptualisations. To start with an empty box that allows for the addition of cultural specific objects that becomes gradable variables that become calculable integer.

The grading is done by importance and relevance based on individual or collective community participation. This could be collected by NGOs, aid workers, church groups, national and international institutions to name a few methods of direct data collection. The data can be pooled online to create a global resource database showing actual conditions poverty.

By dividing the data into basic needs such as food, water, shelter, etc. yet still remain culturally specific, alongside wellbeing indicators like political freedom access' to ancestral graves for healing ceremonies, hunting rights, land ownership, etc. and that these objects are chosen and graded by importance by the participants or particular groups under study themselves.

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The results are a combined percentage of poverty depth (see examples in appendix). By breaking down and measuring the quality and quantity and cultural value of what is there, actually tells us what is missing and what needs to be fixed. This is a reversal of current day poverty measurement methods.

Limitations to this Study

The limitation is also in the data gathering additional research required. The data provided is conceptual data based evidence from my study. The obvious limitations are that I could not directly ask the Bushman themselves for this study. Consequently the data is conceptualised and based on logical assumption made from in-depth bibliographic research along with video documentaries that includes interviews with the Bushman and other participant's as well personal experienced gained whilst living in Botswana for over 20 years.

Also included is comparative data sets taken from a study on Mumbai street children in India. Data was collected in a similar method and is merely presented alongside the Bushman data in the appendix as an example of the workings and flexibility of the conceptual "poverty tool box".

Using situational data for measuring the depth of poverty at a particular moment in time data could be used to measure changes over time.

A database like the poverty tool box could be used to compare global situational poverty and therefore gain a fuller understanding of the many varying complex issues that are causing poverty and highlight possible pathways to solutions based on cultural preferences. Obviously this would not solve poverty that is ultimately a political problem; at least it could perhaps tell us

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what is needed. The more data points the better the tool becomes at telling us the bigger picture. Additional research required.

Conclusion

Understanding and measuring poverty is a complex issue, which works on many levels. What most poverty measures are good at is highlighting the symptoms of poverty, hunger, lack of water, poor sanitation, and susceptibility to illness, child mortality, and malnutrition and having no money. However, these measures fail to capture the causes or consider cultural aspects of poverty.

African poverty finds its historical roots in the breakdown of indigenous modes of production and trading mechanisms along with the loss of traditional systems of value and law that began with the slavery but in the greater sense it with colonisation. For the Bushman poverty began with the change in perception that took place when cows arrived and worsened when the settlers arrived. For the Bushman poverty is the loss of freedom to live as they choose.

Contemporary measures offer solutions based on assumptions that are often culturally irrelevant. The historical concepts of poverty are not considered and not capture by current measures. Indo-European solutions are the norm in much of the developing world however; they are failing to eradicate poverty and in many cases are causing it, especial so for the indigenous people of the world.

The Bushman struggle has been a long valiant one and they are still fighting. This struggle is not unique to the Bushman however; theirs has been the longest one. Indigenous people world over are struggling for identity and autonomy against the increasingly dominant industrial machine, destroying all in its path.

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Africa's poverty is historically contingent and only the Africans themselves can reflect the significance of this in any measurement or conception of poverty. Other factors that are often local causations of poverty as well as national concerns are regionally variable and often complex. Tools need to be developed that capture this complexity; the poverty tool box is an attempt to show the feasibility of this idea.

Africa's poverty cannot be solved by measurement alone. That takes political will and freedom, for people to choose their own pathways and have access to the means for achieving their goals. This along with the ability to recognise that not all poverty can or should be solved using the Western growth centred models and industrial development as the sole aim. What's more, it probably cannot be solved by any Indo-European recognised solution, thus, the empty box approach is needed. It must come from the people themselves. Indigenous people's solutions have to be accepted and recognised by governments and international organisation as correct in order to protect their rights and autonomy, even if it means loss of profits. An all-inclusive approach is mandatory for an accurate measurement of poverty.

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